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UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS AND CATHOLIC UKRAINIANS: ETHNICITY AND RELIGION IN THREE URBAN ALBERTA PARISHES

by

SOPHIA MATIASZ

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1994

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Ukrainian Catholics and Catholic Ukrainians: Ethnicity and Religion in Three Urban Alberta Parishes* by Sophia Matiasz in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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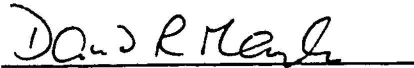

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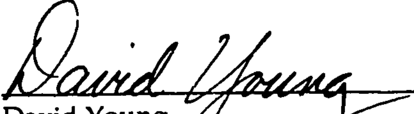

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ABSTRACT

Three of the nine parishes of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, are the focus in this study of the relationships between religion and religious affiliation on one hand, and ethnicity on the other. The historical background dealt with in this work includes (a) distinction amongst three phases of migration from Europe to North America between the 1890s and the post-World War II era, considered in connection with the rise of Ukrainian nationalism; (b) the establishment of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, along with a description of its European antecedents; and (c) the post-war formation of the three parishes from a single parish. That history is a background for the discussion of the construct of ethnicity in the description of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Edmonton, with specific reference to the descriptive adequacy of primordial or functional definitions, compared to situational definitions. Research methods, designed in terms of controlled companson of parish communities, included participant observation and urban ethnography over a three-year period; unstructured ethnographic interview; review of documents; and a structured telephone survey of 350 members of the three parishes. The findings indicate that while religion and religious symbols are inextricably linked to community members' definitions of ethnicity, there is a great deal of variability in the specific associations people draw between ethnic identity and aspects of religious affiliation, religious identity, and religious symbols.

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My heartfelt gratitude is extended to all of the Ukrainians in Edmonton, Alberta, and especially to the members of St. Josaphat's, St. Basil's, and St. George's Ukrainian Catholic parishes, who gave their time, their ideas, thoughts, and homes, to an inquisitive interloper. I would prefer not to list names for fear of omitting some. However, Bishop Praszko of Australia (then Bishop of the Ukrainian Exarchate of Australia, New Zealand and Oceania) and the late Bishops Savaryn and Greschuk, of Edmonton, provided a vital element of support without which it would have been impossible to begin the research at parish level. The parish priests in the respective parishes made significant attempts at identifying and understanding the value of this research. Obviously the bishops, priests, and the parishioners cannot be held responsible for the interpretations, analyses and conclusions presented herein.

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CHAPTER I: ETHNICITY, TRANSFER, ADAPTATION AND RENEGOTIATION: UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS IN EDMONTON, ALBERTA, CANADA

Introduction

The relationship between religion and ethnicity seemed to be lived and realized differently in different Ukrainian Catholic parishes in the urban centre of Edmonton, Alberta, in the early 1980s. That observation raises the salient questions of this ethnographic study of three of those parishes. The parishes were all "Ukrainian" and all "Catholic" and in fact until after World War II had a common history, yet the way that people in each of the parishes defined the terms and symbols associated with those two identities demonstrated different configurations of association between the terms. The general questions that motivate the more specific research question are

- How is it that people in each of the parishes can be so different in the way they attach meaning to the things that are associated with ethnic and religious identity?;
- In what ways are they the same?; How did the differences arise?;
- What factors influenced the development of the differences and the commonalties?;
- How do people learn to maintain the differences and the uniformities?; and
- What is the degree of deviation from a modal attribution of relationship, or modal behaviour, that is allowed before Ukrainian Catholics would determine that something, or someone, is not Ukrainian, or not Catholic.

The research question addressed through field work and ethnographic interview in the three parishes, and in the wider context of Ukrainian-Canadian social and cultural activities, was this: what are the patterns of attribution of meaning to the symbols associated with Ukrainian ethnicity and Ukrainian-Catholic religion in the three parishes?

The study addresses four areas: description, theory, method, and implications. The descriptive goal is to explain the definition of ethnicity and religion and the Ukrainian Catholic context, and to examine the some specific patterns of interrelationship between those areas as evidenced by comparison of the three parishes. Ethnicity is paramount: there is no assumption of the discreteness or opposition between the domains of ethnicity and religion, but an assumption, born out in the field work, that religion can be more or less associated with ethnicity.

The theoretical domain addressed in the study is that of situational ethnicity. There has been little definitive research into the dynamics of voluntary ethnicity—how, when and under what circumstances members of specific groups choose to assert ethnic identity. This research describes marked patterning of ethnic-identity assertion by Canadian-born Ukrainians. An assumption based on a theoretical premise of situational ethnicity motivated a methodological stance: that emphasis on the behavioural, rather than cognitive, aspect of ethnicity is more appropriate to an approach which stressed the variability of ethnic profession and the voluntary nature of ethnicity. That is, the method in this study did not aspire to a description of a "cognitive structure" but was based on what people did, how they did it, and what they said it meant. The focus was not on individual variation in identification, but was rather upon comparison of patterns amongst the three groups defined as parishes. The study thus may provide systematic support to proponents of a theory of situational ethnicity. This approach has focussed on

isolating some component parts of ethnicity and to review their interrelationships, and on finding what combinations are meaningful, and the conditions under which they are meaningful.

Third, in the area of methodology in ethnography and cultural anthropology, the controlled comparison method has not been commonly used. Where it has been used, two communities that are distinct from each other have usually been the focus. This study, on the other hand, has provided a refinement to a methodological approach defined by Eggan (1954), by comparison of three outwardly very similar units within the same social institution and within the same complex society. This application may provide a model for comparative "complex-society-based" studies to be conducted in the future.

Finally, this study provides data for further research concerning Ukrainian ethnic identity. For example, no data were available on parish statistics. No authoritative research-based source existed for an analysis of the role of priests in church organisations. There is at least some preliminary approaches to those areas of study are developed in this work. There is implicit in the study an address to work in ethnicity with other groups. The first wave of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada along with many other immigrant groups. The trends and dynamics that are observed in studies of Ukrainian groups may be useful in the study of other ethnic groups with similar or different patterns of migration in Canada, as well as in other countries that received immigrants from one country of origin over different times.

Background

The general questions and the research question originate in personal experience and the application of anthropological theory to general questions developed through personal experience. Personal background and identity is a key element in ethnography, as well. In the case of this field work, my identity as both Ukrainian and Catholic is important in brining an etic approach to the beginning of the research and an emic analysis of changes in Ukrainian ethno-religious expression of ethnicity in Edmonton, and in Alberta, over time.

I was born into a Ukrainian Catholic family in Western Australia where my parents had settled after migrating as Displaced Persons as a consequence of World War II. My specific interest in the Ukrainian Catholic religion, both in terms of theology and ethnic identity, went back to my childhood when I was attending a Roman Catholic school where most of the teachers were Irish or Australian Catholic nuns. From this time on into secondary schooling I learned to negotiate a Catholic existence, with prayers in Latin on Monday through Friday. In adapting to the Irish or Tridentine Catholic tradition I learned congregational responses to the Mass which was attended as part of a normal school day. Additional services such as Benediction, Stations of the Cross and parish celebrations and funerals brought me into contact with specific prayers such as the Rosary.

Much of the time in my formative years the Latin Rite or Gregorian calendar was not synchronised with the Eastern, or Julian, calendar. Class discussions on the Monday following a Roman Catholic religious observance (e.g., Palm Sunday, Easter, Pentecost) inevitably led to a question of clarification as to whether or not I was a Catholic. There was constant questioning in the school that perhaps I was not a Christian as I occasionally differed in my experiences of the Churches' calendars. It was not unusual for there to be some confusion as few of the Irish Sisters of Mercy knew much of Eastern Rites Catholics. Inevitably, it was my mother, with her broken English of the time, who "explained" my background, her history and our practices, whenever the

teaching nun at the time became anxious about my lack of participation in the Latin Rite tradition.

As post World War II migrants to Australia my parents did not understand the Irish (Latin Rite) used by the Catholic nuns. They maintained their resolve to be involved in developing a Ukrainian Church and sectarian community in Perth, the capital of Western Australia. As I grew older this involved my attending a Ukrainian Youth Club on Friday evening and Ukrainian language classes on Saturday morning, watching the Ukrainian soccer club teams, or playing netball in the Ukrainian netball team in the afternoon, and going to Ukrainian socials, parties, and dances or visiting Ukrainian families during the evening. Sunday, of course, required attendance at Ukrainian Mass, participation in Ukrainian folk dancing classes or other social events in the afternoon, and attending the Ukrainian Church Youth group (*Obnova*) in the evening. Through this involvement and the commitment of my parents, my weekends were "Ukrainian," and in the parlance of our household our weekdays were "English."

Early in life, this differentiation had given me a map or lexicon of symbolism from both the Latin or Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Catholic domain. Therefore, in the investigation of the effect of changing ethnic perspectives on religious organisation in the context of the fieldwork, that dual lexicon and the recognition of distinctions between the two traditions became a research tool. Participant shifts within the total Catholic tradition (Roman or Ukrainian) were recognisable in the terms of reference provided by my background.

Arriving in Edmonton after living and undertaking research in Australia and South East Asia, I found that one of the most striking aspects of Ukrainian life was the wide range of "acceptable" Ukrainian behaviour. In retrospect, the observed expressions of Ukrainian life in Australia appeared restrictive compared with the wide availability and variety of ethnic expression within legitimate and accepted groups in Canada.

My first year in Canada was spent participating in and observing a variety of Ukrainian activities, both religious and secular. These included singing in a non-denominational and non-partisan choir. I learned that the choir was a vital link in the cultural life of Ukrainians from a variety of Ukrainian backgrounds in terms of religion, length of residence (or ancestral residence) in Canada, level of education, political persuasion (both in terms of homeland and local provincial politics) and of course, social class. The choir, therefore, provided a vital link for me in "settling into" an organisation within which I could legitimately take part and express myself openly to other participants. In this way I met with community members from a cross-section of people from different economic and political backgrounds spanning different regions of Alberta.

The following year, I went to meetings and conventions in Edmonton and in Winnipeg. I had visited Ukrainian Catholic parishes in London, Lourdes and Rome in the intervening summer. (Earlier visits had been made to different Ukrainian Catholic parishes throughout Australia and Los Angeles.) These experiences reinforced comparative perspectives and together with my Australian-Ukrainian background provided a basis for investigating Ukrainian ethnicity in Alberta, and, more specifically the part that patterns of affiliation with Catholic institutions might play in the situational manifestation of that ethnicity. I looked for a social context in which to complete field work in an address to that question.

A brief survey of Ukrainian Edmonton in 1980 revealed nine Ukrainian Catholic parishes (including the Cathedral), four Ukrainian Greek Orthodox parishes, one Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Church and one Ukrainian Pentecostal Temple. After an initial period of observation I discovered the church now designated the Cathedral had been until 1948 the only Ukrainian

Catholic parish in Edmonton. When it had been reclassified to cathedral status sub-groups of parishioners were formed and some went separate ways (the relevant details of which will be discussed later). I decided to investigate the Cathedral and its daughter parishes. At first, only the Cathedral and one derivative parish (St. Basil's) was to be included in the study. However, as the evidence of a continuum amongst parishes appeared—on the focal axes of the study—the third parish (that is, St. George's) was included.

I observed a complex situation involving ethnic identity, in which a fairly large portion of the population identified themselves, or were identified, as Ukrainian. I observed the relationships which some of them ascribed to religious symbols. It was necessary to create a basic definition of who was a Ukrainian in Edmonton in the early 1980s. That was developed through a review of both a literature about demography and a literature about ethnicity.

Defining the Empirical Universe: How Many Ukrainians? Who Are They

A first order in description is contextualisation. It is important thus to identify the community in which this study was conducted, in order to understand the social and historical context. By 1971, the number of Ukrainians in Europe or worldwide (whether previously identified as Galician, Bukovynian, Ruthenian or Ukrainian) was 21.6 million (Darcovich 1980a:43). The Canadian 1981 census showed that of the 24 million Canadians over 750,000 had at least one ancestor of Ukrainian origin. Of these, 189,785 lived in the province of Alberta. Pursuing the history of trends in this area was particularly difficult as census division boundaries changed drastically with a restructuring of provincial municipal structures between 1941 and 1956. There were further major changes in census division boundaries in 1961.

In 1981, the Canadian census definition of ethnicity was widened to male and female ancestors. This allowed respondents to identify themselves as belonging to one (single) or two or more (multiple) ethnic groups. Therefore, a direct comparison of 1971 with either single or total (single and multiple) origin is inaccurate and hence cannot be done: it has been necessary to propose estimates. The Prairie Provinces have been characterised by substantial numbers of Ukrainians on the farm, rural non-farm, and urban sectors. The Aspen Grove Belt in the northern or parkland areas of the provinces had the most concentrated rural population.

In 1981, statistical estimates for Edmonton had 84,565 residents with Ukrainian backgrounds and of these 63,120 had single origin Ukrainian backgrounds and 21,445 had multiple origins (Darcovich and Yuzyk 1988:10; Kordan 1985:48). At the same time Calgary's population included 29,005 people of Ukrainian background 18,045 with single origins and 10,960 with multiple Ukrainian origins (Kordan 1985:41). Edmonton and Calgary, in 1981, contained more than half the Ukrainian background population for the whole of the province of Alberta which was 136,710 single origin and 53,075 multiple origin: a total of 189,785 (Darcovich and Yuzyk 1988:8). The total population of Alberta in 1981 was 1,628,000 (Darcovich and Yuzyk 1988:800). Ukrainians thus constituted 2.2 per cent of the total Canadian population (Jevtuh 1990).

Canadian-Ukrainian statistics were considered to be significantly under-reported. Several studies have shown the Ukrainian experience of stigma and discrimination. This factor appeared to be

more marked in the earlier censuses as the stigma of being Ukrainian in Canada became evident.[1] Demographers have shown concern over losses (or varying numbers) of Ukrainians representing Austrian, Polish, Russian, Romanian, Czechoslovakian and Yugoslav nationals. These identifications diminished with time as Ukrainian identity became more clearly recognised within the community in general and later within the census in particular (Darcovich1980a:814). There were other parallel problems of identity as Ukrainian homelands were referred to as Austrian, Polish and later as Russian polities. Prymak (1991) has shown the importance of actions by governments in shaping the nature of immigration.

In conducting fieldwork with Ukrainians in Edmonton, individuals who were shy of identifying their Ukrainian background were frequently encountered. This phenomenon continued as late as 1983. This observation reinforced the assertions made by writers, and statisticians such as Kaye (1964a; 1964b) and Darcovich (1980b) that actual numbers of Ukrainians at times were far higher than those reported in the censuses because of consistent under- reporting by individuals of Ukrainian descent. On the other hand, Ukrainians were significantly over-represented in the law reports in the 1915-1929 era, as Ukrainians adjusted to laws and institutions of Canada (Robinson 1992).

Before 1931, when religious denominations were not classified by ethnic origin, the Ukrainian population could be identified only by association with the Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic Churches (Yuzyk 1980:165). This classification included some Ukrainians and other individuals of Slavic and non-Slavic-backgrounds who were later defined as Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox. In 1931 and 1941 Ukrainian Greek Catholics were combined with Roman Catholic numbers. A further problem, in terms of identity by religion, arose with the 1971 provision for reporting "no religion." There were 29,760 Ukrainians with "no religion" or 5.1% percent of the population (Yuzyk1980:166). This compared to an overall Canadian response of over 4.0% per cent having "no religion." It must be noted religious classification up to the 1980s extended far beyond church membership or church attendance or even church affiliation.

> The classification should be interpreted as comprising a comprehensive form of church affiliation that includes the gamut of attachment intensities: active propagation of the beliefs of the denomination, regular church attendance, mere sympathy, and passive attachment arising simply from family ties or tradition. (Yuzyk 1980:165).

Most Ukrainians emigrating to Canada were either Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox. Minority religious groups identified were Baptists, Adventists and Roman Catholics. The Greek Catholic denomination diminished in numbers when the Greek Orthodox Church was officially organised in Canada in 1918. In the early period of Ukrainian settlement both groups lost members to the United Church and the Anglican Church.

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[1] Discussion on the social environment which Ukrainians encountered at the end of the twentieth century is given later in this thesis. Kostash and Potrebenko have detailed the different forms of rejection experienced by Ukrainians and their culture. Avery and others have documented what at best, could be described as a challenge of Ukrainians' loyalty to Canada during and immediately after World War I. Researchers, and writers such as Lupul (1972; 1977; 1982) have posited that not all Ukrainians would be likely to present or identify themselves as such because of the history of Ukrainian identity expressed vis-a-vis the larger community over time.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church has had various names. Its first official title was that of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of Canada. In 1951 "Ruthenian" was formally changed to "Ukrainian" and "Greek" was omitted. It has been known historically as the "Uniate Church" and more recently as the Greek Catholic or Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. In the Canadian censuses, the denomination was listed as Greek Catholic in 1931 and 1941; as Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic in 1951 and 1961; and as Ukrainian Catholic in 1971.

In Canada in the 1980s many Ukrainians were not able to separate Ukrainian religious practices from Ukrainian ethnicity. In other arenas part of the ethnic diversity within the Ukrainian Greek Catholicism developed as Ukrainian Greek Catholicism gained adherents from neighbouring ethnic groups in Austro-Hungary, particularly Slovaks, Hungarians, and people of Polish and Romanian origin. Greek Catholicism in the Near East was found in small national minorities such as Arabs in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt and some Iranians, and East Indians. In each case the churches are organised as autonomous bodies under the jurisdiction of their own patriarchs in union with The Vatican.

In Canada in 1971 Ukrainians constitute the main ethnic group within the Eastern Rite Catholic Church: 80% per cent of total number. Within the Greek Orthodox tradition, for the same time, Ukrainians made up 37% per cent of the membership. Table 1 shows the proportion of Ukrainians in the Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches in Canada in each decade between 1931 and 1971. These statistics appear to have been considered a useful proxy when demographers (e.g., Darcovich and Yuzyk 1988) and other researchers extrapolated for ethnicity when a direct ethnic classification was not available (for example, in the case of marriages when ethnicity was often defined on paternal lines). Currie (1990) has taken further the relationship between inter-ethnic marriage and socioeconomic status. Darcovich noted the census data that identified other Slavic and Austrian origin Greek-rite adherents, especially those of Polish, Russian, Czechoslovakian and Austrian origin, could have included some Ukrainians who tended to have identified with these political entities or nation states because of adopted citizenship on residence. The census numbers of Polish and Russians had been declining since 1931 and suggested that this decline in numbers could be accounted for by the view that some Ukrainians who had previously identified with these groups were now identifying themselves within their "true ethnic group."

Table 1. Ukrainians in the Greek-rite Denominations, Canada 1931-1971

Decade	Greek Catholic			Greek Orthodox		
	Ukrainian	Total	Percentage Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Total	Percentage Ukrainian
1971	186,460	227,730	81.9	116.700	316,610	36.9
1961	157,559	189,653	83.1	119,219	239,766	49.7
1951	164,765	190,831	86.3	111,045	172,271	64.5
1941	152,907	185,657	82.4	88,874	139,629	63.7
1931	130,534	186,654	70.0	55,386	102,389	54.1

(Source: Darcovich 1980:172)

In comparison with other ethnic groups in Edmonton, in the 1980s, Ukrainian presence was quite pronounced both literally and figuratively. Some were accounted for through their church membership (Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, United, Pentecostal or Baptist; Table 2 identifies affiliation and residence of Ukrainains in Alberta, distinguishing between urban and rural

residence). There were the number of politicians or bearers of public office (for example a former city mayor, then leader of the Alberta Liberal Party, and a former Chancellor of the University) who openly expressed their affiliation with the Ukrainian community.

Table 2. Population of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin By Religion and Rural-Urban Status - Alberta 1981

Religion	Total	Urban	Rural
All Religions	192,230	142,040	50,190
Ukrainian Catholic	36,845	26,345	10,500
Eastern Orthodox	38,300	24,585	13,715
Roman Catholic	36,185	28,505	7,680
United Church	34,060	26,140	7,920
Anglican	7,400	5,920	1,480
Presbyterian	1,855	1,435	420
Baptist	2,850	2,215	650
Pentecostal	3,085	2,265	820
Lutheran	5,040	3,820	1,220
Jehovah's Witnesses	1,910	1,480	430
Mennonite	255	185	70
Adventist	1,070	665	405
No Religion	17,870	14,185	3,685
Other Religion	5,490	4,295	1,195

(Source: Darcovich 1988:22-23)

Other evidence of Ukrainians in Edmonton were noted. The areas of first settlement by Ukrainians during the 1890s boasted a museum village near Edmonton and near Elk Island National Park, and a colossal "painted Easter egg" (*pysanka*) in the nearby town of Vegreville. A monument to pioneer women and another to the millions who died in the 1932-33 Ukraine famine were prominently positioned in Edmonton's town square in 1981 but subsequently removed.

The Ukrainian presence in Edmonton and surrounding areas was part of popular consciousness in the community. Ascribing ethnic status presents a definitional problem, however, as there is a common-sense definition of ethnicity that does not provide a clear enough operational definition. To come up with such an operational definition for saying who is Ukrainian in the context of the research, a preliminary discussion of ethnicity as it has been treated in the academic literature is necessary. Table 3 shows the Ukrainain population of Edmonton by sex and place of birth.

Table 3. Ukrainian Population in Edmonton: Sex and Place of Birth, 1981

Male	41,825
Female	42,745
Born in Alberta	65,130
Born in Canada (not in Alberta0	13,265
Born outside Canada	6,175
Totals	84,570

(Extrapolated from Darcovich 1988:11)

Ethnicity: Theoretical Background

Not A Model of Boundaries

Anthropological contributions to ethnicity studies and to emergent theories regarding ethnicity have predominantly focused on the transfer of rural people, their culture and their identity to urban situations. The adaptation of the transferred culture and identity has been paramount in these and inter-country migration studies which provide the base to ethnicity studies and theory. In each, the new and transferred culture's adaptations to the social, economic—and especially political—situations have been reviewed.

The research that contributed to this dissertation has shown that ethnic identity is not static. Nor is it homogeneous. It can vary from being the essence of nationalism to being a loose association based on primordial or sentimental or *ad hoc* responses to significant religious or cultural calendar events. Within this range the interpretation of critical symbols and rituals moves from a social response to an experience or event to a socio-political response based on shared history, perceived (or imagined) community and a shared social or nationalistic vision. To move through these processes and to identify divergent responses to ethnicity and nationalism, communities must be formed; history experienced, claimed and understood; cognitive responses interpreted; and normative behaviours defined, interpreted and transferred from one place to another and from one generation to another. Interpretation and understanding of ritual and the symbolism expressed through that medium, like any other social interaction can, only be interpreted through a knowledge base or set of understandings. These too will vary. At any time in any place within one group, variation may occur according to age, status, knowledge, deemed accepted practice, participation and so on. Groups transferring, adapting and redesigning those practices will have further opportunities for variability unless there is no change, no adaptation nor questioning allowed, as may occur in the most fundamental and prescriptive of societies.

Most early anthropological literature on ethnicity focused on group formation by ethnic communities in the countries to which they have migrated and the processes which maintain and differentiate such groups from others in their vicinity. Later developments (for example Wong 1982; Friedland and Nelkin 1971) in American anthropology focused on the transition and adaptation of rural or peasant groups into an urban environment within new, if not alien, dominant cultures. In the development of the theory of ethnicity, concepts such as "ethnic group" and that group's relationship with the host or dominant society, have been assessed in terms of the social, economic, political or other relationships that the ethnic (that is, the minority) group has in relation to the dominant society.

These studies have addressed the position of the minority group from the perspective of the dominant group. This dominant-society focus in anthropology has presented useful analyses of relationships between the less powerful group(s) and the immigrant, cultural, or racial minority group. However, this focus on the interrelationships between groups has minimised the importance of the internal dynamic and variation within the ethnic (minority) group. That is, while anthropologists have sought to define, analyse and generalise about "boundary maintenance mechanisms" which one group has had in relation to another, there has been a tendency to present all of those within one ethnic boundary as having similar orientations or understandings. The portrayal of those within each boundary was, particularly in the influential work of Barth (1969), based on a principle of cultural homogeneity. In a similar manner Redfield's field work (1967, 1991) contributed to an understanding that small, face-to-face communities were homogeneous and conflict free.

That theoretical approach would be an unhandy tool for this study. In the Ukrainian Catholic context in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, dominance relationships of the 1980s were more complex, as those who were most established in (and therefore most familiar with) Canada, established their priority of position with reference to the later immigrants. Those Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada post World War II encountered two types of dominance: that of the Canadian (i.e. non-Ukrainian) society and, within the Ukrainian community, those groups and leaders who had arrived or were descendants of those who arrived in the 1890s or 1930s.

Situational Ethnicity

Other theoretical models relative to ethnicity suggest themselves. Anthropology and sociology have provided comprehensive descriptions of ethnicity which have separately addressed situational power-based definitions and behavioural components within ritual. Other research has identified criteria and opportunities by which "others" were included or excluded and so on. These issues, illustrated in early American anthropological contributions to ethnicity studies, set a base line from which anthropology developed its American analysis of ethnicity. These studies do not, of themselves, assist with explanations of social dynamics and ethnic identity variation in the 1980s. Other scholars, among them Moerman (1965; 1968) and Naroll (1964; 1968), have questioned more directly the relationships within those communities of individuals bearing the same descriptor(s). What constitutes Ukrainian and who the Catholic Ukrainians are was not clear-cut in Edmonton in the 1980s. At least two major categories of defined Ukrainian Catholic custom are available: that which has adapted to, and incorporated, ninety or so years of Canadian life; or that which responds and conforms to pre-World War II Europe and contextual interpretations of symbols of Ukrainian religious and national independence. A third category, of course, correlates to that which is constant or common to both. Nagata (1972; 1974; 1976), has redefined the principles of relationships with groups of other names and titles. These focus areas have been used to address behavioural components of how individuals and groups define what their behaviour and relationships should be and how appropriate interaction is defined and maintained. These approaches have developed through ethnographic documentation(s) of family, kinship, and network relationships and traditional interpersonal and ritual behaviour(s).

Few studies have attempted to document variations that have occurred with different transpositions of groups of the same ethnic (or minority group) origin or to address significant shifts in power relations between the dominant group and the minority group over time. That is, ethnic presentations in anthropology have been mainly synchronic in character. There is a vital element of change to be understood through a series of longitudinal studies for one particular set of inter-relating communities or within one community. Unfortunately for the world of anthropology such studies have not been possible for a variety of reasons. Perhaps the most critical of these reasons has been the impracticality, if not impossibility, of retaining one anthropologist or a team of anthropologists to address a such situation over decades. Relatively recent contributions to anthropology from researchers such as Padgett (1979) and Patterson (1976), for example, have begun to build a theoretical model that allows a layered approach to identity, especially religious identity and nationalism. The subgroup within an ethnic group can express more or less on either religious or nationalistic perspectives (or both, while still having and expressing a common core.

On the other hand, anthropology has consistently acknowledged that cultures, behaviours and relationships do change through variability in enculturation and through diffusion of traits. This has been of particular concern to anthropologists reporting on peasant or rural cultures where

industrialisation or land reform has been introduced. Yet in the wake of the many contributions to fieldwork it has been difficult, apart from studies with a specific cultural-change focus, to assess what has happened to those communities after the initial field work publication. It has been even more difficult to systematically review subtle but significant changes in relationships between communities of differential status and power, especially in complex urban, and more recently multicultural, democratic nation states.

When Ukrainians moved into western Canada in the 1890s they brought with them an identity based on their regional-geographical origin. In terms of classic anthropological definitions of ethnicity, from, say the *Harvard Ethnic Encyclopedia*, common geographic origin was the most significant descriptor, the one that identified Ukrainian immigrants of that time: they used the geographic descriptors ascribed to them, and different individuals claimed different labels for identifications—"Galician," "Ukrainian," "Bukovynian," "Austrian." Over time those immigrants who originated from the Western region of Ukraine established their identity in terms of their nation of origin, their religious practices (where appropriate), and their economic, social and political orientation.

These aspects were renegotiated with each of the subsequent major periods of migration. Anthropological description and interpretation in this dissertations shows that other dimensions of ethnicity were explored, debated, defined and redefined as the immigrant group moved beyond purely survival-type concerns and began to negotiate their presence and existence vis-a-vis other groups. In the first stages of Ukrainian migration history non-Ukrainians collectively formed the "other." Later the Catholic Church and its hierarchy in Canada was challenged to accommodate Ukrainian Catholic identity. The Ukrainians who arrived on the Western Canadian prairies first moved to roles that were closer to being part of the host (Canadian, albeit hyphenated Canadian-Ukrainian) community when the next large immigrant group arrived. This process was repeated when the post World War II Ukrainian displaced persons arrived in Edmonton. The Ukrainian immigrants who traveled out to Edmonton in the earlier periods appear, by this time, to have lost, to some degree, the "otherness" they experienced in relation to the rest of Canadian society. In moving towards, or adapting to, the Canadian customs they appear to have redefined their Ukrainian (ethnic) identity. Their interaction with post World War II Ukrainian displaced persons established another type of "other" relationship, that which responded to an expectation that ethnic identity was synonymous with nationalism.

This research considered a different perspective which attempts to define what constitutes "Ukrainian" through the time that Ukrainians developed their understanding of, and position within, their Canadian environment. The process by which individuals perceive their location within a community and respond to maintain that membership has been documented extensively in both anthropology and sociology. Each individual within a group of significant others develops practices appropriate to that group, extended family, community, neighbourhood or religious congregation. Each establishes those boundaries of acceptable\non-acceptable behaviours and included\excluded individuals or other groups. These behaviours and the processes of exclusions are further reinforced when a dominant or superior group excludes the minority group. Minority group boundaries are more significant in excluding the dominant group's individuals from marriage and other forms of intergroup exchange. Early American anthropologists demonstrated this in the duality of the "Black" and "White" world of the 1930s and 1940s. Ukrainians defined themselves, in similar vein, against the Polish overlords in Ukraine at the end of the last century. The pattern was repeated in Canada: first vis-a-vis the English speaking majority and later vis-a-vis the French Catholic Church hierarchy and Roman-based canon law. They referred to those "others" in the process of establishing and maintaining their Ukrainian Catholic traditions, rituals

and institutions. At different times Ukrainians have had to work through their designated inferior status. Opportunities for their establishment on the prairie lands of Western Canada could have resulted in ghetto-type patterns of segregated or separated settlement. This did not happen. Neither have melting pot explanations of post-1930s American immigrant communities accounted for Ukrainian ethnic and ethno-religious identity persisting in Western Canada. As this research developed it was noticeable that knowledge of one's own history (whether fabricated or not) can be highly important in the fashioning of ethnic identity (see Eriksen 1993:71).

Culture Change: Uniformity and Variability in Symbols Over Time

Each community has, to a greater or lesser degree, some established criteria by which transgressions of behavioural norms are identified, defined, and punished. As well, communities and culture are viewed as living, dynamic, entities, capable of change. As the community and/or its culture changes, what constitutes acceptable behaviour also changes. Before a community can define change it must be able to recognise the pre-change norm. In this dissertation it has been difficult to establish within diverse sub-groups who decides the acceptable level of conformity to norms. The priests and parish leaders, usually men, have played a significant part in maintaining a particular stance in this aspect of cultural and ethnic identity maintenance within each parish boundary. Furthermore this research has not sought to include those who withdrew from such domains. Therefore it is not possible, in this research, to identify the processes of exclusion, or levels or types of sanctions applied to those who transgress the norms. Indirect reference to those who transgressed these boundaries have been included, identified in the research when identified in interviews.

This study exemplifies theoretical complexity in ethnic identification, in that it demonstrates that there are many components to ethnic identity, to individuals' ethno-religious perspectives, and to legitimate behaviour, and in individuals' expectations of perceived or imagined community participation in nation building (or rebuilding). The process by which some components of culture remain, develop, or are discarded is not easily translated into research based on hindsight. Certainly the level of education, socio-economic status and political assertiveness have all contributed. The differences between sub-groups (parishes in this instance) are noted, along with an attempt to explain them in terms of historical influences and variation.

The theoretical models that deal with change and with group boundaries do not have to deal with individual variability. Models based on situational ethnicity must are based upon such observations. It could be expected that not all members of a parish sub-group (let alone all of the population of Ukrainian Catholics in Alberta, Canada) would have the same responses to, or understanding of, Ukrainian ethnicity, Ukrainian Catholic or Catholic Ukrainian ethno-religious identity or Ukrainian nationalism.

In each orientation, symbols and their meanings vary. As fluid and not so fluid boundaries shift, the use of similar, if not identical symbols also varies. Much of the similarity and differences can be explained by shared history. However, this does not explain all of the variations.

The community of Ukrainians in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada has provided fertile ground from which to refine and develop perspectives on ethnicity. This has been demonstrated most effectively through the history of Ukrainian minority status prior to immigrants' departure from Ukraine and particularly after arrival in establishing themselves in Canada.

Migration groups transpose themselves for a variety of reasons. Those most commonly espoused by historians and sociologists include the "push-pull" factors in one country that may be experiencing social, religious, economic or political hardship and thereby 'pushing' individuals or groups away. The corollary, of course, is the "pull" or promise of comparatively better conditions in the country to be settled. The conditions upon leaving a country and those on entering a new place of settlement greatly affect those migrating, their position vis-a-vis their homeland (recently left) and their habitat to be established. Clearly Ukrainian immigrants of all migration periods did not come with clear or realistic notions of what settlement in their new Canadian environment would be like.

The creation of new community facilities for the first migration group were only given priority after basic economic survival issues had been addressed. Those who arrived after World War II came with both economic and political concerns reflective of their Displaced Person status and experience. The process of community and social institution evolution addressed between the 1890s and the 1950s was obviously something that could not be directly shared by those who, by definition, had other community and politico-ethnic experiences in Europe prior to, and during, World War II. However, for all these differences in experience and education, and in cultural, religious and political awareness, of the people from separate phases of migration, there is, at the core, a sense of unity and a recognition of common symbols, common rituals and a range of similar responses to some aspects of Ukrainianness. At one level there is a uniformity between the groups in their use of symbols; at another level there is difference, subtle in articulation and reference; strong and profound in effect.

Problems With Primordial Definitions of Ukrainian Ethnicity

What Ukrainians experienced and defined as "Ukrainian" in Canada was not clear in 1890: the term was not even in popular use. By the 1950s that had been resolved in the Ukrainian Catholic domain within the resolution of Catholic (i.e. Roman Catholic and its French speaking hierarchy in Canada) and Ukrainian Catholic (that which engendered the fostering, development or adaptation of a set of beliefs in common with the rest of the Catholic world, but with a set of rituals and practices in keeping with a Byzantine based East European context of being Ukrainian: in practice, Ukrainian Catholic).

More recent contributions in the fields of sociology, history and political science have focused on ethnicity as a component of emergent nationalism. The research for this dissertation began in the 1980s with a primordial definition of ethnicity, and only as the research and analysis developed did the value of the functional element of ethnicity emerge. As for Ukrainian nationalism, several authors, Himka (1982; 1988a; 1988b) and Petryshyn (1980) among them, have documented the beginnings of Ukrainian nationalism in late nineteenth century Ukraine and post World War II Britain respectively. Ukrainian Catholic expressions of Ukrainian identity in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, in the early 1980s did not support the view that *all* ethnic group behaviour contributes to national consciousness or nationalism. It has become apparent, through this research, that "ethnic identity becomes crucially important the moment it is perceived as threatened" (Erickson 1993:76). While there has been a redefinition of Ukrainians in Edmonton vis-a-vis other groups in Edmonton, and in Canada, that redefinition has not been uniform. A dual or hyphenated (Ukrainian-Canadian or Canadian-Ukrainian) identity has not been uniform either. This dissertation provides a summary of the responses to the ethnic identity that the organisation of religion through parish formation has had over the time of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

Changes in symbol understanding, use or manipulation has altered ritual to some degree. It has not, however, affected fundamental beliefs regarding the spiritual domain.

The problem of relating ethnicity to primordial, functional responses or nationalism is appropriately posed with regard to Ukrainians in the St. Basil's, St. Josaphat's, or St. George's parishes in the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Edmonton. These three parishes originated in the, at that time, only Ukrainian Catholic parish in Edmonton immediately post World War II. Their responses are varied in the community focus on religious institutions, in their participation in Ukrainian community organisations outside of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and in Canadian community organisations outside of the Ukrainian community.

Operational Definitions

Ukrainian

The operational definition for "Ukrainian" in this work will be one derived from the perspective of situational ethnicity, and one that acknowledges the demographic complexity of identity. A Ukrainian is, for the purpose of this study, someone of Ukrainian descent who chooses to identify himself or herself as such, and who demonstrates this through voluntary association in a Ukrainian organisation or association.

To be Ukrainian, however, does not necessarily align someone within a particular religious organization. Though historically Ukrainians have been predominantly Ukrainian Rite Catholic or Orthodox, it has been noted herein that Ukrainians have collectively established other churches within a Christian framework.

Catholic

The definition for identification as "Catholic" in this work is a straightforward and institutional one, and is based upon association, however loose, with the institution of the Catholic church.

Ethnicity

Speaking back to a literature that I review of Chapter III of this work, I sought to adopt a tentative working definition for this study in ethnicity. Ethnicity is a collective social entity of those who share a sense of common origin, whether real or imagined. What mattered most in this definition was that historical ethnic consciousness transcended temporal, geographic and even linguistic boundaries, as in the case of Jewish ethnicity. One of the most obvious means by which this consciousness has been delineated has been through symbolic "markers" that are cultural, and/or territorial. These have had specific meaning according to the age-set within which one was identified. The temporal variants have had specific significance for Ukrainians in Western Canada in light of the different histories and experiences of each migration generation.

Religion and Religious Identity: Individual and Group Dynamics

The focus in the study is the importance and function of religious markers rooted in bonds of shared past and perceived ethnic interests. While I did not seek to determine religiosity or theological orthodoxy, I sought to define religion as human behaviour involving belief and ritual

concerned with the supernatural. The overlap between religion and ethnicity via the markers employed therein have the central place in this work. The boundaries of one to the other, in this study, indicated the forces operating in both ethnicity and religion. The dominance of one may have changed with respect to the other. This change varies according to the experiences of the group or individual. This relationship reflects a dynamic, the variability of identity of the group and of the individual within that group.

In examining ethnicity in religious communities this study employed the following premises:

- whether engaged in the choice of one form of identity over another, or whether merely accepting the identity given, the individual established a conscious sense of belonging;
- ethnicity involved a subjective sense of belonging in a group that was open to change through time and circumstance; and
- ethnicity was, and is, primarily a consciousness of kind within a group and this consciousness was, on occasion, contrasted to identities of other groups of individuals.

What The Study is Not

This study did *not* concern itself with the role of cultural brokers from one particular ethnic background negotiating with the wider culture. The concern here was neither with the dynamics of boundary change nor maintenance where two cultures met. Rather the concern of this thesis was with the dynamics found within the ethnic group. Language-use formed a part of this study but only to indicate what language domain was important for the expression of ethnic identity and the religious ritual that facilitated that expression. Therefore, this study did not investigate the intricacies of language maintenance or development. Neither were network associations assessed for realms of influence, the identification of cultural brokers or of established support systems. Earlier work (Matiasz 1980) had shown that, for situational-ethnicity-perspectives, network theory can highlight interpersonal dynamics but that theory has been assessed as inadequate for the purposes of explaining cultural or group norms that were controlled through institutionally prescribed behaviours.

Nor was it the purpose of this study to investigate political factions within ethnic groups. Differences of opinion or interpretation may have been noted but only to illustrate differing or different approaches to the issue.

Organization of This Work

Chapter II specifies the methods used to address the research question. Research for this dissertation involved traditional anthropological methods: participant observation, interviews and questionnaires. This three parish comparison presents both methodological and theoretical (or conceptual) unit variation hitherto not used in anthropology. The threefold comparison provides a dimension and contextual analysis which is both productive and challenging. It reinforced the arguments against ignoring internal differences within communities in the rush to focus on group boundaries and relationships with groups outside such boundaries.

Chapter III presents a brief history of the development of the concept of ethnicity within anthropology and substantiates a working definition of ethnicity for this dissertation.

Chapters IV, V, and VI are a description of the historical and social context in which the parishes exist. Chapter IV relates the theoretical position derived in Chapter III to the specific situation, and provides historical background of the transfer of a culture from traditional rural Western Ukraine to a similar geographic area, but one without a long history of rural European social order. The traditional Ukrainian Catholic culture, adapted first to rural Canada, was later re-adapted to an urban Canadian situation. In the two-stage move from the 1890s through to the 1930s, the original Ukrainian culture was transferred to markedly different social, economic, geographic, political or cultural contexts. Chapter IV also addresses the importance of the sub-culture of church and religion in the transference of Ukrainian culture and ethnicity to Canada. A brief summary of Ukrainian history, Church, and State provided the base data, albeit secondary or historical data, from which Ukrainians first developed a process of ethnic self identity. While negotiating this identity vis-a-vis other groups Ukrainian Catholics learned and recognised religious practices as they would in any socialisation or enculturalisation process. In the transference of religious practices from one context to another Ukrainians developed a broader ethnic identity in relation to other groups. Labels were applied by the outsiders observing the Ukrainian settlers; Ukrainian and Ukrainian Catholic self-descriptors or labels were applied and redefined in relation to both religious and ethnic practices. Chapter IV traces part of the history of how each of these processes of identification were negotiated vis-a-vis other religious or other ethnic groups and with each other.

Chapter V traces the first period of migration from Ukraine to Canada in the 1890s. Collectively their entrance to Canada demonstrated internal confusion about their labeling of themselves. Individuals were preoccupied with survival skills especially while financial resources and their skills in the English language were non-existent. These Ukrainians were not received positively in their new environment. They were confused about their political (national) status and about the permanency of their entry. Along with other immigrants from Europe who laboured in the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Ukrainians assisted in the opening of the West, and eventually settled in western homesteads. At first survival strategies predominated. Cultural activities, expressions of ethnicity and attempts to negotiate or renegotiate their collective identity followed. This earlier period led to confusion about ethnicity and negative labeling which remained through to the 1980s. Each period of migration presented different experiences of transferring Ukrainian culture from Ukraine to Canada and these, in turn, contributed to different contemporary expressions of Ukrainian ethnicity and definitions of acceptable and legitimate ethno-religious behaviour. The individuals and groups of Ukrainians that arrived at different times came with their particular historical backgrounds, economic opportunities and educational experiences.

Chapter VI further expands the variation among Ukrainians and Ukrainian Catholics in experiences and, more importantly, in understanding their culture and their ethno-religious practices and history. This chapter traces the development and negotiation of Ukrainian ethnic identity from Ukrainian village/peasant culture of the 1890s through the transplantation and adaptation of that culture to rural Western Canada, urbanisation in the 1930s, subsequent Ukrainian chain migration and the arrival of post-World War II displaced Ukrainian persons. These processes all contributed to the development of an established and powerful Ukrainian and Ukrainian Catholic community in the 1990s. Each of these phases further defined and determined what constituted acceptable elements of being Ukrainian in Canada; what was acceptable from

the host (religious) hierarchy and society; and what range of behaviour was accepted within their ethno-religious boundaries: especially those of Ukrainian Catholicism.

The rest of the work focuses explicitly on the three parishes. Chapter VII explains how a single urban parish in the early part of the century evolved to become three separate parish units in a complex urban Ukrainian-Canadian context. Each of the three parishes is presented as a separate local organisation within a hierarchy of eparchy and Church, each a variation within the one ethno-religious tradition. Each has been observed to have had different responses to the history, economics and politics (church and secular) to their ethnicity within the Canadian context and in relation to their or their ancestral place of origin.

Each Ukrainian Catholic parish was composed of the parish (Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants), and the priest in his ascribed role of significant leader. In this role the priest has, in practice, also determined what church oriented behaviour is legitimately Ukrainian Catholic. In this sense the parish priest is a Ukrainian Catholic Church cultural gatekeeper: a role which has been established and reworked through history. The parish buildings themselves reflect values and responses that their parishioners and priests have perceived and chosen to be an appropriate form and structure within which to present and maintain, if not develop, their ethno-religious traditions.

Definitions and expressions of "Ukrainian Catholic" in the 1980s varied significantly from any expression of Ukrainian ethnicity in the 1890s. Composite case studies of individuals interviewed during the study have been presented to reflect the communality and differences between parishes.

Chapter VIII reviews the three parishes' developments from a singular entity of Ukrainian Catholic culture through a process of change within defined, acceptable, legitimate boundaries. The line by which legitimate and illegitimate cultural traditions have been determined, have been but rarely defined in written form: when they have been transgressed. Dogma, church and political history, and the boundaries developed therein are learned and perpetuated to some predominantly male degree by cultural brokers - usually priests. The women interviewed seldom acknowledged what their understanding was, denied their own authority, but appeared to recognise accepted traditional practice.

The priest, in his role defined within the parish, has, himself, become a symbolic marker along the traditional/modern continuums of Ukrainian Catholic traditions in parish organisational life. At the beginning of this research each parish was seen as a separate social unit within the same tradition. The relationship or parishioners to the world outside reflected the focus of religion and Ukrainian ethnicity. Some parishioners focused primarily on parish based activities and have had minimal involvement in broader Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian community activities and organisations. Others chose (carefully it seemed) either Ukrainian or non-Ukrainian activities. The constellation of community perception, role, ethnic identity, and ethno-religious traditions and practice varied from parish to parish. This chapter seeks to determine the communality of experience, identity and legitimate behaviour for all three parishes. Variations are seen in the context of the history of migration, length of residence and attitudes towards Ukraine as homeland. These variations appear to reflect socio-economic status and length of residence in Canada. They are demonstrated in data collected in interviews, through the content analysis of parish newsletters and bulletins, and a telephone survey of individuals from each of the three parishes.

Finally Chapter IX summarises the findings of this dissertation.

The epilogue provides some reflection on the factors that have changed in the time between the field work and the final write-up of this dissertation.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

Controlled Comparison As Methodological Approach

Eggan's (1954) approach to controlled comparison was the basis for the method for this study. Here the emphasis was on a small scale unit with as much control over the frame of comparison as was possible to ensure.

> It has seemed natural to utilise regions of relative homogeneous culture or to work within social or cultural types, and to further control the ecology and the historical factors so far as it is possible to do so. (Eggan 1954:747)

Following that imperative, the method employed in this study was to utilise "covariation and correlation ... avoiding too great a degree of abstraction" (ibid:748). The ideal fieldwork combination in Eggan's framework was that of employing the concepts of structure and function with the ethnological concepts of process and history. Those four considerations—structure, function, process, and history—contributed to the articulation of the research question. The controlled comparison approach motivated the identification of the parish as the more-or-less bounded unit for comparison, and during the process of field work the number of parishes to be compared was increased for two to three. Each of the three parishes included in the study was operationally defined as a separate and independent community within the same sub-culture: Ukrainian Catholic. The three parishes were identified after a review of the historical antecedents of modern Ukrainian Catholocism in Alberta, during an initial process of participant observation. The specific procedures of data collection and analysis are elaborated here.

Entry Into the Field

The whole of Edmonton is permeated by Ukrainians and their descendants. Ukrainian Greek Catholics were equally pronounced in their presence. Individual participation in the parishes was not restricted geographically. Consequently, the traditional anthropological fieldwork approach of settling into a self-contained or delineated community was not appropriate since it was not possible to move into a single area in order to conduct the research. Isolated Canadian Ukrainian communities did not exist in Edmonton in the 1980s. As a researcher recently arrived in Edmonton from Australia, a process of introduction began while I determined an appropriate role as anthropologist in this situation.

Being able to communicate (speak, read and write) in Ukrainian as a result of my socialisation within the Ukrainian communities in Western Australia, I did not have to undertake the language classes to which most anthropologists need to apply themselves before beginning fieldwork in a "new" culture. This socialisation within the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia also gave me a basis for understanding the issues and practices within the Ukrainian Church as well as a framework within which to focus my research. This background also provided an understanding of the wider Catholic (French-hierarchy dominated) world into which the Ukrainian Catholics had been (reluctantly) subsumed. The interface between Ukrainian Catholic (or Eastern Rite) and Roman Catholic (or Latin Rite) was a significant area of tension. More importantly it was an area that influenced the focus of this research: the methods communities have used to determine and assess "legitimate" Ukrainian Catholic practices and, through that, Ukrainian Catholic identity. During an initial period of field experience, I found that many individuals perceived two

parishes, St. Basil's parish and St. Josaphat's, to have been through the "Latinization" process to a greater or lesser degree, so those two parishes were first identified for comparison.

In the latter part of my first year as a full time graduate student, I conducted a pilot study within one of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church parishes in Edmonton which was reviewing its own need for change in response to changing attitudes, Ukrainian-English language use, and so on. The survey focussed on parishioners, individual's perceptions, expectations and anticipations of change that could occur within the wider Ukrainian community and more specifically within that particular parish.

At the same time I entered into one aspect of the mainstream of Edmonton Ukrainian community life by participating in a non-sectarian, non-denominational choir which had in its program for that year the staging of a Ukrainian opera: *Ivana Kupalo*. While I experienced cultural and social aspects of singing and developing my awareness of the dimension of Ukrainian culture not available in Australia, I gradually developed contacts both within Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Ukrainian non-Catholic communities in Edmonton. As the year progressed, and especially as the opera performance was actually being rehearsed, the time between practices and rehearsals was utilised to establish contacts, develop a network, identify potential key informants, clarify wider issues, understand the history of inter- and intra-community relationships. This entree into Ukrainian cultural life proved a valuable beginning and supportive network of acquaintances for the further establishment of a comprehensive and informative network.

After the first year as a full time student and as the intensive research phase began, I found that the process of establishing a preliminary network of informants had been particularly helpful as my entry into the "field" had developed out of the security of other participant-involved, culturally-based activities. At all times and especially at both the full time study and intensive research phases I was careful to alert individuals that I was in Edmonton specifically for the research. The initial response, particularly from the older choir members, was one of delight and joy, with the occasional reaction of tears (and accompanying humility and/or pride) that someone, and a "young" person at that, would venture all this way (from Australia) to talk to them about their "life experiences." There was a genuine curiosity about someone born in Australia being able to speak Ukrainian.

Where and when possible I attended services and festivals at each of the three parishes which form the focus of this research. The initial focus was on St. Basil's; secondly St. Josaphat's (the "mother" parish) was included; and as the research framework became clearer, St. George's was added, for reasons that become apparent as the findings are discussed, later in this work. Having attended many Masses and participated in a variety of other church activities, I approached the parish priests in each of the three. At no time did I officially join any of the parishes as I considered that to join only one could present or imply a bias to my interests in and research on the three church communities. To join all three presented other potential problems in divided loyalties. Most importantly, joining one or all three parishes presented research as well as personal ethical dilemmas. Early in my research I determined that as far as possible an objective and theoretical perspective would be maintained where the parishes were concerned. It was therefore important that I was not seen as a member of one and not of the others. It was also important that I not be seen to be under the undue influence of one or other of the parish priests, parish lay organisations or influential lay leaders.

In explaining my interests to individuals the overt responses received can only be described as total acceptance at community or parish and parish priest level. However, it must be pointed out that in the initial stages some individuals were particularly defensive about talking openly on

issues surrounding a division in the "mother" parish that eventually resulted in the relocation and re-establishment of the three parishes in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Other issues occasionally arose when older individuals indicated a fear of my questions, apparently about the perspective I might bring to each situation. It appeared that individuals were most sensitive about discussing their ethnic identity immediately after they returned from a trip to the Ukraine. This appeared to echo Padgett's (1979) research-experience with Serbians in Milwaukee that highlighted the special need of some informants for privacy, especially after a recent trip to their homeland.

Research Procedures

After the initial entry into the field, a somewhat more formal research phase began in which individuals from each of the three parishes were interviewed. The controlled comparison approach also dictated that I not bias interpretation by giving more credence to the perspective of any one parish. Such cross-referencing also provided other valuable information. When, in an interview, a person from one parish made an unsolicited comment in which reference was made to an event, a person or a particular practice from another parish, I tried to reference such a comment from the perspective of the data collected from the parish that had been referred to. By noting key phrases, dates, issues when I returned to the parish that was referred to in another interview/conversation, I compared information from earlier interviews. From this process a greater depth of interviews followed throughout the research/interview phase as I built on each interview.

The research phases were not absolutely discrete. Throughout the phase involving historical review I joined in participant observation, and explored personal accounts of the same time span through interviews. The interview were very informal, or spontaneous "chats" with those available for, and open to, discussion. I thus applied the "tool kit" of the anthropologist: participant observation; use of written materials; and extensive formal and informal interviewing. Finally, I ran a telephone survey of individuals from each of the three parishes prior to my departure from the "field" in January, 1984. Throughout the research period (September 1980 to January 1984) a number of techniques were used simultaneously. That is, at any one time I usually engaged in participant observation, conducted library research and interviewed informants. The value of each of these techniques was that information gleaned from one technique or source was cross-checked against another by a process of cross-referencing.

Historical Review And the Basis For Research Procedures

These procedures for the research on Ukrainian ethno-religious organisation were decided after examination of the anthropological literature on ethnicity. The initial stage of research was to determine the experiences represented by the three waves of Ukrainian immigrants and then to focus specifically on those that came to Alberta and Edmonton. The research focussed on what circumstances prevailed that motivated them to leave their homeland, and what conditions existed upon arrival in Canada.

One of the first considerations was the distinction between three separate waves of migration. The first group of Ukrainians to settle in Canada in the 1890s initiated a wave of immigration that lasted until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. A second wave of migration began in the 1920s and continued into the late 1930s. Finally, the post-World War II displaced persons and refugees, or "New Arrivals," constituted the third wave. Between then and the breakup of the Soviet Union, and particularly by the late 1970s and 1980s, only a few individuals or families migrated to

Canada from Poland via Austria, Germany and Italy. Throughout the more than 100 years of migration, individuals and families of Ukrainian origin and descent had moved to Edmonton from other countries and from within Canada. Individuals from these secondary migrations or relocations form a very small category within this survey. Individuals and families identified themselves, and were identified by others, with one of the three migration waves, that brought them or their ancestors to Canada.

Similarities and differences between these three waves were critical. A distinct pattern emerged due to varying responses by Canadian society in general (and in the Ukrainian communities in particular). My main concern was with the process whereby each wave of immigrants adapted to maintain its religious institutions and within that their individual ethnic identity. In determining that process, my questions were concerned with an understanding of the world view that each group of migrants transported to Canada. Over time the legacy of these combined transitional experiences had contributed to expressions of Ukrainian Catholic tradition in Edmonton in the 1980s. I was particularly interested to learn how Ukrainian Greek Catholics organised and reflected upon their religious symbols and how they used these symbols express varying and sometimes differing responses to the issue of ethnic identity.

My initial research had begun with historical accounts of conditions in Ukraine before and during each of the three waves of migration. This part of the inquiry led to reading reports of church organisations, jubilee editions of accounts of the Basilian and Redemptorist Orders and the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, orders which had been involved in accommodation of the immigrants in Canada. By 1980 there were several Ukrainian regional histories (for example, histories of the communities of Mundare and Two Hills) and family histories.

Participant Observation

In using participant observation I chose a wide range of social and religious events selected in order to ensure that I spoke to as many individuals as possible within the context of this research. These included attending a banquet to honour the six million Ukrainians forced into starvation in Ukraine in the 1930s, concerts marking special days such as the remembrance of Taras Shevchenko (one of Ukraine's foremost poets), Ukrainian Independence Day celebrations, addresses by Ukrainians who had been political prisoners in Ukraine, seminars and workshops sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, workshops on Ukrainian weaving, weddings, a bridal shower, Christmas and Easter religious services, along with Sunday religious observance, choir concerts, music and dance performances, operas, conferences, and a variety of dances, picnic-type open days and parish spring teas. I also attended meetings of the Catholic Women's League at St. Josaphat's parish.

It was during this phase that the question of joining any of the parishes, and thus establishing my participation as being relatively full participation, had to be re-addressed. Joining one parish could have presented a bias in my work and joining all three could have lead to numerous complications. Since it was difficult for a non-member to attend all parish organisational meetings, functions, etc., I considered the ethics of joining one, two or all of the parishes. I reasoned that it was inappropriate to join only one and perhaps farcical to join all three. I therefore joined none of the parishes. There was no pressure from any source for me to join any of the parishes or any of the organisations. A common response seemed to indicate that most people expected me to return to Australia as a matter of course. Therein there was a strong "transitory" nature to my presence. I considered that I could, however, join groups outside the

parishes as a full member. I had joined *Dnipro Ensemble* (a non-denominational, non-partisan, cultural group) within which I sang in the choir and participated in one opera production and several concerts. This participation in the choir seemed to accommodate any questions concerning my participation in Ukrainian activities on the rare occasions that I was asked. This cultural dimension to my participation seemed further reinforced and accepted with my participation in a very informal circle of weavers. These people met either in the organiser's home or in one of the community or student-resident-halls available.

The weavers and the singers provided a cross section of Ukrainians - descendants of the first and second migration Ukrainians, post-World War II immigrants, Catholic, Orthodox and agnostic from any age group; male and female; uneducated or highly educated/qualified. By the time of the production of the opera *Ivana Kupalo* , I had begun my exploration of the nine Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton. Informal discussions with choir members during breaks and at other functions or in their homes provided a wealth of information. Those discussions reinforced or clarified a community "world view" that hitherto was developed from an academic perspective as I familiarised myself with the history of Ukrainian settlement. Most significant perhaps was that this group of singers formed an important reference group that took on a two-fold level of importance. First, as a group of people aware of, and articulate about, their community and culture, important friendships were established and subsequently maintained. There was also a vital and critical pool of individuals who responded immediately as I sifted and sorted through the observations of the Ukrainian community. The network to this research network that I developed beyond the choir was germane if not critical to my entry to Ukrainian organisational life.

Attending public events proved to be most valuable for the collection of information of groups or pan-religious issues. There was a continuous round of activities open to the public and sponsored by various Ukrainian organisations. These organisations varied from the *Pysanka Festival* of the nearby town of Vegreville through to specialized gallery showings of individual artists' works.

At each parish, members of the congregation included a wide range of people: older women in darker coloured plain garb and young couples with children and teenagers dressed in the latest fashions. However, one parish, St. Basil's seemed to continually portray a more obvious statement of conspicuous consumption and, for example, there were far more fur coats in evidence in winter.

Further variety came with the content of programs at church functions with the mix of the themes Ukrainian Catholicism and Ukrainian nationalism. I observed few private and public meetings where there had been no mention or recognition of Ukrainian cultural, religious or political identity. It was not the case though that religion permeated all aspects of organisational life. Neither is it the case that nationalism permeated all aspects of religious or organisational life. However, it appeared in every instance that there was some degree of either or both religious or political stances.

Collecting and Using Written Documents

Ukrainian emigration to Canada, the reception of Ukrainians by the wider community, along with the immigrants' efforts to maintain their identity are documented in numerous archival sources. The materials available fell into three broad categories:

- Primary sources such as documents printed by Ukrainian organisations;
- Published books, articles, newspaper accounts and government records;

- Unpublished theses, papers and documents.

In addition the three parishes that were finally identified as a focus for the study each issued bulletins on each Sunday apart from the summer months. Complete sets for the three parishes for the calendar year 1983 were collected and analysed for similarities and differences.

The weekly "Ukrainian News" printed in Edmonton, was available on microfilm and the period from 1945 to 1959 was checked for evidence of parish change, parish splintering and so on. I subscribed to this weekly during 1981 - 1983 and had further issues mailed to me in Australia for 1984 and 1985. For this time I also subscribed to the local non-Ukrainian (that is, Latin Rite) Catholic newspapers: *The Western Canadian Regional Catholic Newspaper* and *The Western Catholic Reporter.*

Published books and articles on Ukrainians in Canada had been scarce in the past. Because of the concerted effort of agencies such as the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, a stream of academic research and conference proceedings had become available in published form. Perhaps even more important was the invaluable process begun by the Institute of developing bibliographies and indexes and location of collections of materials. Institute seminars covering a variety of topics from a myriad of disciplines were also available to attend or listen to previously recorded tapes in the Institute. Government records provided some information. These included the Canadian Census reports up to and including 1981.

There were a number of unpublished theses and papers housed in the Institute. Some were written by non-Ukrainians; the majority, however, were written by individuals from Ukrainian backgrounds. Both categories provided seminal accounts of Ukrainian life both prior to departure from Ukraine/Austria/Poland/Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and on arrival in Canada.

Interviewing

Initial Open-ended and informal interviews

This method of data collection provided a variety of valuable insights into the attitudes and lives of individual Ukrainians. It also proved to be the most complicated and time-consuming of all the data collection methods employed. I began by informally interviewing Catholics, Orthodox and more rarely agnostic or atheistic Ukrainians in order to obtain an overall picture of the issues common to all Ukrainians. While participating in the choir of *Dnipro Ensemble*, I identified and interviewed several prominent Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek Catholic individuals. These interviews provided contrasting information gleaned through parish-specific interviews. In the latter a very strong, almost "party-line" philosophy seemed to emerge at the cost of glossing over the deeper rifts experienced by individuals as the one parish of St. Josaphat's gradually re-structured itself into three separate, autonomous, distinct and sometimes differing parishes.

The interviews usually began with life histories. These discussions provided a great deal of personal information about the experiences of individuals (and more often their parents) in establishing Ukrainian settlements in Alberta. Those that came in the 1930s emphasised the need for adaptation to the already-settled Ukrainians and Canada upon their arrival. Further, the post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants spoke of the transition from Ukraine to Western Europe via Germany, and subsequent adaptation or challenging of locally established Ukrainian culture on arriving in Canada.

The Parishioner Interview Participants

An interview sample of members of all three parishes was selected from the parish registers. The majority of those listed in parish lists were actually heads of households; spouses were included in the family category and only listed separately when apparently making separate financial contributions. The same principle applied to adolescents or young adults within families. Most adult offspring appeared to have been automatically included as members. Only after they had moved into separate accommodation and/or formally requested separate registration (and therefore received separate envelopes for their contributions) did they appear as individuals or new families on the parish list. There was a general acceptance by parish informants that each church member was seen to be representing a spouse and at least two offspring. Two of the three parishes kept confidential lists of the members in each. When approached, the parish priests of St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's provided their lists in confidence. From these lists people were randomly chosen for interviews. The parish priest at St. George's selected individuals and wrote out a list of those he considered should be interviewed.

A specific demographic breakdown of all parishioners within each of the parishes and their period of migration was not conducted. By sheer size alone the task was beyond the scope of the research. Each of the parishes had a membership from a diversified population. The membership of St. Basil's, in particular, was too large to consult directories to ascertain occupations. Further, there was some doubt on my part that such registers would be consulted should they be available. Part of the principles of privacy and confidentiality would have required that this information remained private until divulged voluntarily by the individual informant.

Individual interviews were arranged through the recommendation of parish priests as well as by network extension and referral. On special parish functions and occasions individuals were identified or met. Interviews were arranged with these individuals with the intention of obtaining an equal or balanced representation by gender, age, birthplace (that is, national origin), educational and occupational characteristics and participation in organisation(s) in each parish.

In practice (as is explained later in more detail) this process of matching backgrounds of informants across parishes was not practicable. As the research and interviewing progressed it became apparent that pursuing the idea of such controls was not facilitating realistic representations of the community specific to each parish. Thus, as I became more familiar with each parish community and gained more knowledge of specific individual and group backgrounds the factors such as education, period of migration and age were identified as differentials unique to each parish community rather than sociological or anthropological criteria for establishing groups or sub-groups.

An interview schedule was constructed in order to gather information on background characteristics, time of immigration (if appropriate), emigration to Canada, maintenance of ethnic patterns, and attitudes toward Canada, Ukraine and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, and the Roman Catholic Church.

In all of the research phases, each parish provided a comparison for the other two. Similar units, for example, parish groups of like nature, were compared and contrasted as were the degree of orientation, retention of ethnic religious patterns and so on.

In all three parishes the majority of those interviewed were men (70 per cent of St. Josaphat's, 69 per cent of St. Basil's and 27 out of the 50 people interviewed from St. George's). The process of individuals being selected indicated more of the traditional Ukrainian perspective that women do not participate in significant positions within the Church and this attitude is apparently carried

through into the (traditional Ukrainian) homes. On occasion when women did answer the phone they deferred to their husbands' knowledge or as single or widowed women, emphasised that they did not know about "our church and our culture."

Padgett's (1979) report on the religious organisation of Serbians in Milwaukee identified clearly the assertive role that women had in parish life. This contrasted significantly with the research conducted in the Ukrainian Catholic parishes of St. Josaphat's, St. Basil's and St. George's where women repeatedly referred the interviewer (female) to the men of the parish.

In all, 25 of St. Basil's parishioners were successfully interviewed face-to-face. Another 100 were interviewed in the telephone survey. Thirty-one of St. Josaphat's parish were successfully interviewed face-to-face and another 100 by telephone. St. George's parish yielded 20 face-to-face interviews and 50 telephone interviews. Almost all interviews took place in the respondent's home and lasted up to three hours. I was continually greeted warmly and hospitably, especially by the older respondents. The problem, if any, was to conduct the interview and to gracefully decline the many offers of food and drink and then to be able to leave politely.

Many interviews were obtained through personal contacts. Individuals seemed particularly concerned that I interview person A or person B. A few individuals (all women) refused to participate in the interviewing. The stated reason was that of a feeling of inadequacy and that I should interview her husband or person B (also always a male).

Respondents can best be described as either primary or secondary sources of information. A primary respondent refers to the adult in the sampled household who agreed to the interview. They include male heads of households, single female heads of households, husband and wife together, the wife alone, or adult "children" living at home with their parents. While my initial contact was with the person listed on the parish list (or more often a name given or referred to me) a number of female contacts declined (as was explained above) referring me in the process to their husbands or brothers. Men occasionally referred difficult, "unanswerable" topics to their parish priest. Women did not refer me to priests but to other men.

Gender Bias In Selection

Throughout this survey the patriarchal nature of the Ukrainian Catholic tradition is reflected (and perhaps perpetuated) in the gender bias of the interviews. It must be explained that interviews with women were sought. This process of the interviews highlighted that the history of the study of religion and religious structures has rarely been other than gender specific. Waardedburg (1973; 1978) has shown that insufficient time has been given to gender role differentiation. Women have not been observed or analysed as a category in their own right but as an extension of, or a corollary to the patriarchal system. As an exploratory study of the ethnicity expressed through religious affiliation this survey determined not to specifically analyse gender roles as presented by these parish communities.

Interviews were only occasionally conducted with just one person. Now and then an individual would prefer to meet me for coffee or tea or a meal and the interview would be conducted in a restaurant, coffee shop or at the informant's place of work. At various times, when interviewing in the home, husbands, wives, children, relatives, friends and neighbours joined in. These secondary informants often contributed their own answers to questions thus expanding the amount of information received. This process of expansion also resulted in many interesting conversations where different points of view were elaborated upon, challenged, or clarified.

Telephone Interviews

Finally, a telephone survey of each of the three parishes was conducted in November and December of 1983. The telephone survey yielded 100 members from each of St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's parishes. The sample of 100 was drawn by randomly selecting names from the parish list supplied (in confidence) by each parish priest. A random numbers list used in sociology was employed in obtaining the sample. St. George's apparently did not have a similar parish register of families/individuals who formally paid (by envelope) into the church coffers. There may well have been a list. However, the parish priest of St. George's insisted that he draw up a list of appropriate individuals to interview. Interestingly, each name on the list provided in this manner was a male. The list contained 139 names. Of these contact was made with 50 individuals who were again interviewed by telephone. In the two larger parishes the protocol of telephone interviews had been to call the number given for the family and to ask for the individual on the list or the head of the household. When these were not available there was a brief introduction and a request for an interview. Most often the person who initially answered the phone was the head of the household identified on the list and therefore was the individual interviewed.

The Nature of the Interviews

With both the face-to-face interviews and those interviewed by phone, questions covered five areas:

1. Bibliographical data such as respondent's age, sex, marital status, occupation,
2. Organisational membership and activity (Ukrainian as well as non-Ukrainian);
3. Ethnic identity indices such as use of the Ukrainian language, and the understanding of the use of Ukrainian symbols within the Church;
4. Length of membership within the parish; and

Sense of community within the parish and within the overall Ukrainian community.

The formal questionnaires used in the survey are provided in the appendices to this work, in both English and Ukrainian.

Establishing personal contact was relatively easy but not always productive in the research sense. Initially, the elderly interviewees would appear to be overcome with my having traveled all the way from Australia to interview them. In these situations, it was sometimes necessary to return two or three times to work through the "getting to know you" stage before the interview proper was conducted. On a handful of occasions interviews were cut short with a response that people were afraid to answer as they had just returned from a trip to Ukraine. Most fear dissipated when I explained that I had obtained the then Bishop's permission or that the Bishop of the Australian eparchy (who knew my family) had written on my behalf to the local bishop. However, at no time did I pursue the placating of fears of those recently returned from Ukraine. In those instances the formal interview was abandoned and the visit ended immediately. On occasions individuals would initiate some aspect of the discussion when I saw them at social functions. The information gained from these subsequent discussions were not included in the research or its write-up phase unless those interviewed sought to clarify or revise their perspective. Such revisions were rarely initiated by an interviewee.

Interviews With Clergy

Interviews were also conducted with the priests of each parish. The interviews have not been used directly within the scope of this research. However, they were informative as to the world view of each parish as presented from the pulpit. As church leaders, the parish priests did permit me to interview members. The parish priest at St. Basil's was concerned that I might be doing research into the role of women within the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite and through this that I may have planned to question or challenge the status-quo regarding women and their position, role, and power within the parish and/or the Church. Two very lengthy interviews occurred on separate occasions and I believe was, eventually resolved, to one parish priest's satisfaction when I informed him that the then Bishop of Ukrainian Catholics in Australia, Bishop Ivan Prasko, had kindly written a letter of introduction and support which I had forwarded to the then Bishop of Edmonton. I also explained on each occasion that both Bishops had shown enthusiasm for the research that I had planned to conduct. This round of intensive interrogation was the only difficult interpersonal encounter in all of the research.

Conclusion

In pursuing these research objectives, the controlled comparison method in this field work situation provided an opportunity to combine the structural-functional approach of British anthropology, and from there to integrate that approach with the traditional and different interest in American anthropology which focusses more on cultural process and history. On a more practical level, a unit-by-unit comparison and contrast provided a more accurate indication of variables (for example, gender age, country of birth, or years of experience in the Canadian setting). In turn this process identified which of these variables were more significant in determining a shift in ethnic perception and behaviour. Much of the interpretation and redefinition of responses has occurred with the benefit of reflection and analysis away from the "field" situation. "Field" interaction has shown that patterns of behaviour and responses at group level are clouded by key or dominant individual contribution and unique aspects of individual responses.

Eggan's suggested method allowed for more specific highlighting of similarities and differences as they occurred during the period of research. Therefore, the research was able to have both synchronic and diachronic dimensions to it. Further, data were obtained from several other sources. These included historical documents from organisations in the Ukrainian-Canadian community; interviews with leaders of Ukrainian voluntary and religious organisations; examination of ethnic press publications, both historical and contemporary; informal interviews with Ukrainian-Canadian citizens who were among the early immigrants; and interviews with Ukrainian-Polish émigrés from the most recent arrivals (from 1980 through to 1983).

This chapter has provided an explanation of the strategies chosen and employed as suitable for research on an ethnic group dispersed throughout a large urban area. The translation of research goals into a research design required operationalisation of key concepts and the selection of appropriate research techniques. Such techniques were standard anthropological approaches: participant observation, use of written documents and printed materials, and interviews.

An acceptable research and community role was easily adapted as my personal background equipped me with a knowledge of Ukrainian culture, language, history and a keen understanding of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic tradition. After an initial period of building rapport, the techniques noted above were used in the data collection process.

Participant observation included a variety of public events and private meetings held at all three parishes and in the wider Ukrainian community. Written materials included primary sources, published matter, and unpublished theses and papers. In addition to life histories and interviews with key informants, a final stage of the research consisted of a telephone survey conducted in order to cross-check information collected in face-to-face interviews.

During the period of research and data collection, a number of obstacles were encountered, any of which could have presented problems to the researcher interested in urban ethnic groups. Delimiting the Ukrainian population by geographic or social boundaries was impossible using conventional sources such as census data or city directories. Moreover, the posited definition of "ethnicity" - emphasising the variable nature of ethnic identity and permeability of boundaries - did not lend itself to such a procedure. Therefore, the research population was defined to include persons affiliated with the three Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church parishes of St. Josaphat's, St. Basil's and St. George's, all located in Edmonton. This totalled some 2,053 families. This delineation of parameters was for analytical purposes only and was not intended to be all-encompassing or to convey the impression that Ukrainians in Edmonton constituted a monolithic or homogeneous ethnic entity. On the contrary, this study was under-scored with the demonstration that, even with one organised religious tradition, there was variation.

CHAPTER III: ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ETHNICITY

Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical framework based on anthropological literature on ethnic identity, with specific reference to understanding Ukrainian Catholic identity in Edmonton, Alberta in the 1990s.

This review is oriented specifically toward an explanation of the constructs that anthropology has developed that might be applied to describe and explain the way that religious affiliation indicates patterns of ethnic identification in the three parishes which are the subject of this study.

The study of ethnicity in anthropology, sociology and history has a relatively recent history. The examination of Ukrainian consciousness has been an even more recent area of study. Modern Ukrainian identity vis-a-vis its neighbours and its rulers has been traced back to the 1830s and the influence of Ukrainian nationalist-writers such as Taras Shevchenko. This has subsequently led to the development of political consciousness amongst villagers of Western Ukraine towards the latter part of that century: a time which coincided with Ukrainian migration to Western Ukraine. The beginnings of political consciousness developed and flourished in Western Ukraine and was transported to Canada in different forms. In this dissertation the significance of the use of Ukrainian as an ethnic label in Western Canada has been explored. It began with a review of the development of the concept of ethnicity within anthropology and the analytical framework that emerges.

This research commenced with a primordial explanation for ethnicity. To date, the most comprehensive attempt at defining ethnicity in primordial terms has come from the Harvard group of scholars compiling the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. In attempting to encompass all the features which comprise ethnicity, 14 aspects were identified (Thernstrom 1980:2).

1. Common geographic origin
2. Migratory status
3. Race
4. Language or dialect
5. Religious faith or faiths
6. Ties that transcend kinship, neighbourhood, and community boundaries
7. Shared traditions, values and symbols
8. Literature, folklore and music
9. Food preferences
10. Settlement and employment patterns
11. Special interests in regard to politics in the homeland and in the adopted country
12. Institutions that specifically serve and maintain the groups
13. An intensive sense of distinctiveness
14. An external perception of distinctiveness

These features imply no hierarchy. There is, however, a recognition that the "degree to which these features characterise any group varies considerably with the size and specific history of the group" (see the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* [Thernstrom 1980:2]). This

definition also noted that the distinctiveness of ethnic groups persisted over long periods but that they also changed, merged and dissolved while they retained unique elements.

However, this definition has not been able to portray the internal dynamics of ethnicity. This research focus was mindful of the context of ethnicity. As Bartow (1994:9) has noted "no one can hear, see, smell, taste or touch ethnicity. As an influence upon behaviour it is something we can know only through the things that are taken as signs of it." Descriptions of ethnicity must deal with social relationships, whether the relative positions be couched in political, economic or religious frameworks. Isajiw (1974), explored 27 definitions of ethnicity, and concluded that any definition was to some extent arbitrary. "Most significantly, variations among definitions depend on the level of generalisation, the methodological approach used, and the types of variables included" (Isajiw 1974:113). Isajiw and Makabe (1982) have also assumed that ethnic identity is one of the many possible identities which can coexist.

Anthropological orientations provided the theoretical focus in this study of ethnicity. Within this orientation the premise of this study was that ethnic identity must be conceived as a group phenomenon which was expressed by individuals. The purpose of the exegesis was to establish the factors that determined the individual and collective declaration of ethnicity through religious group affiliation. The key here was the behavioural component of ethnicity: the assertion of an ethnic identity in different and changing circumstances. It was considered within the rubric that ethnic identity is determined by context and is therefore variable. Refinements of the distinctiveness of ethnic identity were checked against the voluntary nature of ethnic expression and/or assertion. The fieldwork provided details of where such ethnic expression varied. Variability within a common and acceptable, if not predetermined, core explained a different understanding through the collective history of what constituted being "Ukrainian" (particularly "Ukrainian Catholic"). What constitutes an acceptable and legitimate Ukrainian identity, and more specifically, legitimate Ukrainian Catholic behaviour and ritual is reviewed and documented in the chapters that follow.

The correlation of ethnicity and ethnic religious participation provides the focus but it is first necessary to present a brief overview of ethnicity in the discipline of anthropology. To this end, the material is reviewed in sub-sections that correlate with the historical development of the notion of ethnicity in anthropology. Incidentally these developments also correspond, in large measure, to the overall development of general social theory within cultural anthropology. The approach of this study is to reflect how fields of research (especially in social science) are differentiated more by the questions posed in the research framework than by the people or the phenomena actually studied. I give a brief overview below of the major approaches to ethnicity and further develop a framework of ethnicity that was used in this study.

Early American Ethnic Studies

The earliest publications in anthropology on the question of ethnicity, for example Dollard (1949) and Warner (1945), presented a duality of an implicitly superior "White" world as opposed to an implicitly inferior "Black" world.

In anthropology, little substantive data was produced in studies on the theory of ethnicity before 1965. What was available up to this time was achieved within the constraints of traditional anthropological method, a method designed to research and describe non-Western societies. Among the earlier contributors to this field were Wirth (1929; 1945); Dollard (1949); Powdermaker (1939); Miner (1938); Whyte (1943); Hughes (1943; see also 1971); and Warner

(1945). Each used the anthropological approach for American ethnic studies. The emphasis was on the description of societies and how they functioned.

Dollard's work, using the approach of a social psychologist, examined race relations, and focussed on the psychological problems encountered by Blacks and Whites in Southern America. While he emphasised social status and social order, Dollard argued White-Negro relationships were a reflection of plantation history. His thesis was that economic power and status were maintained by the peaceful coexistence of racial groups through slavery and that this, in turn, gave way to a caste system.

In similar vein, Powdermaker (1930;1939) drew a portrait of a functioning community by describing a caste-like social system in which Negroes were regarded by Whites as "innately inferior." The underlying assumption was one of assimilation, or at the least, acculturation. At issue was the aspired-to ideal of whiteness and the corollary model of assimilation of Negroes who were thought to be increasingly adopting White social patterns and standards of behaviour. Much of the description of early Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada conformed to this type of model. Ukrainians portrayed as "men in sheepskin clothing" (see the 1977 work of Kostash) were, at first, discouraged from maintaining language and cultural identities separate or distinct from that of the dominant society.

Wirth (1929) used a similar approach while investigating the ghetto area in Venice, California which was a Jewish-settlement-location. The ghetto was seen to be a form of accommodation between divergent population groups, a form through which one group subordinated itself to another. Whyte's (1943) investigation into street corner society in an Italian slum area of Chicago repeated this approach and reinforced the stance of Wirth. Whatever sub-group interaction occurred, in street corner society, seemed to be only between the males at the top of each sub-group pyramid. There appeared to be no explanation of grass roots interaction *across* sub-group lines.

Miner's (1938) attempt to describe an old rural French-Canadian folk culture departed from that approach. Again, the focus of attention was the dissection of social structure, but further consideration was given to the factors responsible for the maintenance of the local subculture. The community of St. Denis could perhaps be seen as a prototype of Quebec communities hitherto scarcely affected by the change which would later come about through concurrent industrialisation and urbanisation.

Drake's (1945) contribution was supervised by Warner. As with Powdermaker's and Dollard's work, the condition of Negroes was seen vis-a-vis Whites, where the Negroes built separate, subordinate states. This configuration was evaluated in terms of its impact on the personalities and institutions of Negroes in Chicago. Drake and Cayton's work emerged as the most comprehensive of all the studies of the 1940s. American studies, at this time, still stressed the assimilationist approach. The common approach in the research was to present minority racial and migrant groups that adapted to, and therein adopted the new (dominant cultural) ways.

In summary, early efforts by anthropologists to come to terms with ethnic identity were predominantly focussed upon an examination of race relations in their most obvious dualistic Black-White dimensions. The issues were couched in terms of the subordinate group attempting to adapt to the ways of the dominant society, that is the Whites. When the focus on race was extended to ethnicity, social structure still dominated this "melting pot" and diminished the importance of the mix of the groups, at the expense of the individual identities of the ethnic group.

A more sophisticated, less generalised exposition of ethnicity emerged from the British structuralist-functionalist school of anthropology.

The British Structuralist-functionalist School and Ethnicity.

A major contribution, perhaps the most significant influence on current ethnicity studies, began with Gluckman's work (1940; 1961; 1962). His thesis stressed the structural-functional approach of equilibrium or conflict between Zulu and White groups in South Africa. In doing so Gluckman (1961) attempted to define tribalism in terms of a working political system and shared domestic life. For illustration and support he drew on Mitchell's (1956) *Kalella Dance* and Epstein's (1958) evaluation of the political system to demonstrate that tribal association did not dominate political life. Gluckman's conclusion was often quoted: "An African townsman is a townsman, an African miner is a miner, he is secondarily a tribesman" (Mitchell 1960:57). That is, tribalism did not comprise structured sets of political relations; and further, the social system was not thought of as rigid, closed or self-consistent.

Different principles of organisation may have been effective in various areas of relations. Gluckman and Mitchell (1966) argued that social systems in towns were not merely a restructuring of tribal patterns of relationships. Mitchell's (1966) work provided a foundation for future studies in ethnicity which focussed on the importance of categorical relationships. These studies also demonstrated where ethnicity functioned to simplify and codify behaviour in otherwise unstructured situations. These contributions echoed the findings of Morton Fried (1968) whose comparative ethnological evidence showed tribes, as conventionally perceived, to have been not bounded populations. Their political organisation appeared in reaction to contact with existing states, even when this contact was minimal.

Though British structuralist-functionalist interpretation of ethnicity, in essence, continued the examination of social structure in the style of the earliest American studies, the focus was not inherently assimilationist. The emphasis was on equilibrium rather than on conflict or on idealisation of the superior group by those subordinated. Additional refinements appeared with the recognition that tribal people, once moved into urban situations, were no longer merely transported tribesmen. Instead, new social mores were developed in the new location. By contrast, the strong dually-structured orientation of the early American race-relations studies assumed situations were structured only in the simplest terms. This appeared to be the beginning of the recognition that, as individuals chose the form or type of ethnic group participation, they exercised personal choice. A question remained: did this process allow for individuals to choose to *not* express ethnic identity or ethnic group affiliation?

The process of urbanisation was a dominant theme in Epstein's (1962) work, where again, tribal associations were seen to be of different types which catered differentially for social categories and served different ends. While focussing on the process that allowed for the growth of voluntary associations both Epstein (ibid.) and Little (1961; 1966), along with Gluckman (1961) and Mitchell (1956), appeared to have perceived ethnicity as an identity that was, if not subordinate to other identities in new conditions, was at least one of a complex of identities.

Ethnicity in Area Studies

Later scholars, followed neither of the major traditions explained above and produced models that were not presumptive about uniform and isolated communities. Yet another school of research in

anthropology emerged after the publication of studies by Furnivall (1939, 1948) in which he examined colonial Southeast Asia and established his plural society archetype. By definition, in pluralist societies "the sections are not segregated; the members of the several units are intermingled and meet as individuals; the union is not voluntary but is imposed by the colonial power and by the force of economic circumstances" (1948:307). In Furnivall's model, the political dimensions of plural societies were reflected in economic structures. The value of the pluralist model was that it provided a view that bridged the gap between the distortions of the classic anthropological presumption of tribal uniformity and isolation, on the one hand, and that of the multi-ethnic context on the other.

The situation of Ukrainians in Ukraine prior to the turn of the century has also been reviewed in light of these studies. A discussion on the Ukrainian national identity in response to the Austrian (later Polish and then Russian) hierarchy is provided later in this dissertation. The new nationalism in Ukraine was expressed through religious participation. With respect to this phenomenon the church had, in the long term, a vital role to play which Gellner would label the "high culture of religion." "Before the emergence of nationalism, the religion defined fairly closely all the under-privileged as against the privileged" (1983:73). This paradigm is further refined by Himka's assertions, discussed later in this dissertation, that the priests of the Ukrainian Catholic religion formed a caste-like social group separate from its peasant parishioners. The priests behaved more like the Polish secular society which controlled Ukrainian territories. In this sense the Ukrainian traditional agrarian society of western Ukraine, and especially Galicia, used "culture or ethnicity primarily to distinguish privileged groups, thus underscoring their distinctiveness and legitimacy" (Gellner 1983:102). The emergent forms of Ukrainian nationalism conformed in many respects to the paradigm of high culture presenting opportunities for bureaucratic functions to be best performed by priests and foreigners. At this stage, prior to the periods of emigration, Ukrainian ethnicity was part of the emerging nation state.

Hechter (1971; 1976a; 1976b) addressed the economic facets of nationalism in the context of emerging nation-states. His overly simplistic conclusion was that the origin of ethnicity in modern times ultimately derived from inequities in the capitalist world- economy. However, other anthropological data did not support the idea that ethnicity was simply an aspect of social stratification. Nagata (1972, 1974 and 1976) showed with Malaysian data that the two concepts are often at odds. Ethnicity and class should not be treated in circumscribed and discrete dynamic spheres, but instead, should be seen as two principles that, if discrete as principles, maintained a dynamic relationship.

A. Cohen's (1975) work portrayed ethnicity as a form of interaction between culture-groups operating within common social contexts (1974:xi). Cohen, Mitchell (1956), Epstein (1958), and Gluckman have all presented ethnicity as an intrinsically innate predisposition (that is, that to have such identities is intrinsic, not that any specific identity is intrinsic). R. Cohen's work posited ethnicity as a strategy manipulated by individuals to advance personal interests and to maximise their power. This was explained within an environment of a *series* of dichotomies of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. His model had relevance to Ukrainian ethnicity and minority status both in Ukraine at the turn of the century and in Western Canada until the 1930s. Cohen also showed (1978:394) that some inter-ethnic relations were not based on inequities between the groups. There was additional evidence to suggest a positive value to ethnicity (that is, when there was a lack of stratification, and therefore of potential incorporation into the total society at the cost of a separate group identity). Self-ascription of ethnic identity produced counter movements

to save or revive the cultural distinctiveness in danger of being lost.[2] The latter model could have accounted for some of the ethnic revival amongst Ukrainians in Western Canada in the 1970s and 1980s.

Berreman (1962, 1972, 1975), Bruner (1961), and Morrill (1962) have investigated "area studies" in South Asia, Indonesia and Africa respectively, and their work contributed to a definition of ethnicity as they looked at ascribed statuses in the context of culture contact. In developing the notion of labelling in ethnicity this thesis has drawn upon the concept of ascribed status within role theory. Linton (1936, 1940, 1957) developed the distinction between achieved and ascribed roles. The latter refers to the criteria by which the individual is considered within society to occupy a particular status or role. Factors outside of one's control : sex, age, kinship relationships, and race form a collection of markers by which ascribed status or role is assigned. Therefore many elements are not negotiable. This thesis seeks furthermore to determine what combination of ascription and voluntary ethnic identity affect individual behaviour and collective sub-group behaviour and what factors are beyond the control or choice of the individual.

All of these researchers used slightly different perspectives, but each devoted time to the cultural systems and to the way the group being investigated maintained them. In each case, the traditions of the "old" culture were transported into new environments where, after an initial period of stabilisation, new cultural practices were adopted.

In picking up where Furnivall (1939, 1948) left off, Nagata (1974, 1976, 1977) examined the plural society of Chinese, Indians and Malays in Malaysia. Her conclusion provided an insight into the process of assimilation. In Malaysia, with no "melting pot" or rigidly defined notion of Malaysianization, ethnic identity seesawed according to social and economic situations (Nagata 1974). With this focal point (1974 and 1977) she also contributed to a greater understanding of what constituted an ethnic group.

Nagata's work is particularly valuable in its qualification of the more deterministic assumptions of other scholars. For example, Greeley (1974), Abramson (1966, 1973, 1976), Kellstedt (1970), and Laumann (1973, 1976) have emphasised socio-demographic permutations based on presumed common origin like race, religion, nationality and language. From Nagata's work, it was apparent ethnic groups did not necessarily exhibit similar levels of contrasts or similar orders of relationship to one another. In Greeley's work (1974:27) there was an additional assumption that members of an ethnic category actually experienced ethnicity, ethnic "self-definition" or ethnic identity. Even if this assumption was correct, there was, in Greeley's work a static characterisation of ethnic identification which did not sufficiently represent the variability to which individuals were committed to their ethnic heritages. Nagata's work assumed no direct or deterministic relationship between an ethnic group or category, on the one hand, and ethnic identity on the other. Most importantly, Nagata's findings showed the extent to which it was untenable to assume that because a number of individuals possessed a similar socio-demographic characteristic they automatically constituted a social group.

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[2] Self ascription of a referent term is used here to differentiate those descriptors given by others and those applied by the individual to him or herself.

Barth and Situational Ethnicity

With the work of Barth, anthropologists began to examine the variability and dynamics of ethnic identity. Frederik Barth (1969) criticised the assumption that rigid ethnic boundaries enclosed a culturally homogeneous population. He focussed on ethnic identity as largely voluntary, grounded in self-ascription and subject to situational context. Such points of view echoed the early writings of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918, Vol 1) in their examination of the Polish peasant. The peasant's identification was explained in terms of the "situation being foremost as a determinant of appropriate behaviour." This was further reinforced in the writing of Depres (1975), Patterson (1976), and Cohen (1975), along with Lyman and Douglas (1973), and others. The emphasis in this group of writings was directed away from the static descriptions of cultural content toward a dynamic approach to ethnicity.

Within an "Area Specialist" approach, Moerman (1965; 1968) tried to define "who" the Lue were. The value of his work was that the "what," "why," and "when" dimensions of Lue ethnic portrayal were clearly differentiated. The drawback of Moerman's work was that the definitional approach which moved to a processional assessment, was not integrated at the level of the disparate variables. At issue was the debate between Moerman and Raoul Naroll (1964; 1968). Naroll's (1964) definition of ethnic unit centred on those who spoke a common distinct language, whose territorial proximity was recognized and who thus could be perceived as being "tribal" societies. Naroll's "cultural" focus on ethnicity emphasised shared cultural values and concomitant ascribed social status. His paradigm allows for a distinctive social boundary which has been established through shared behaviours, traits and customs. Cultural markers were both those that identified the boundaries of inclusion or exclusion and those that formed the distinctive cultural symbols that provided a bond for the participants.

Hodge (1969) and Little (1966) along with other scholars who studied urbanisation and urbanism, raised various factors that mitigated against the spatial boundaries which separated urban ethnic groups. However, selected cultural forms displayed positive ethnic identification. Therefore, it was assumed by these writers that cultural forms would be used for the purposes of self-identification. In addition, P. Cohen (1969) and Levy (1973) indicated that many urban ethnic groups developed social organisation as well as cultural forms. But those cultural forms did not explain the intensity of the ethnic identity of those who counted themselves as group members on the basis of ancestry alone (see Liebow 1967). Patterson (1976) accounted for such forms of identity by invoking Gans' (1979) "symbolic ethnicity."

Another level of explanation was offered by Milton Gordon's (1964) recognition of communal life. Both Turner (1969) and van Gennep (1960) showed the significance of these events for the individual and for the group. However, the sense of communality that emerged in an ethnic group or individual, with the expression of ritual or the use of symbolic markers, was also subjected to change and variation.

Barth's (1956, 1959, 1963, 1966, 1967, 1969, 1972) work was influential during this period because it provided an alternative approach to the major orientations in ethnicity research in which the ethnic group was seen to be primarily a culture-bearing unit. The debate between Naroll and Moerman had provided a classic example. However, through the focus on the vitality of identity and the process of identification, Barth challenged the notion of ethnic boundaries. He also challenged the fluidity available for economic exchange and social interaction. The emphasis in Barth's work was on the boundaries that defined identity. His critics (for example Buchignani 1982a; 1982b) maintained that through that focus Barth overlooked the importance of social structure and organisation. On this issue Barth was also criticized by l. Depres (1975) and ; van

den Berghe (1975; 1976; 1978) for his stance that individuals could exercise complete freedom in their individual expression of that identity. With this orientation Barth was further seen by Despres (1975:192-3) to be distorting reality, because self-ascribed identities would not necessarily correspond to that which others imposed. The corollary was that prescribed identities need not make interest groups of those to whom they were not dictated. This countered the degree of freedom Barth gave individuals in their choice of each form of identification within an ethnic group.

With respect to choice, Patterson (1975) argued that the significant point of ethnicity was the member's cognitive orientation to his/her ethnicity, and *not* that members were identified by others in the social system. This study demonstrated that where such choices were consciously made ethnicity or ethnic identity had stronger meaning as several layers of identity were interpreted through cultural, religious and nationalistic expressions of symbolic markers.

In the early stages of this study Barth's approach to individual choice, in the limited range allowed by the group, was accepted. As Ukrainians moved away from their differentiated geographic locations in Ukraine and later in prairie Canada, Barth's definitions appeared to lose significance. At first an individual was perceived to have expressed cognitive orientations within the internal boundaries allowed by the group by choosing one form of ethnic expression over another. The assumption was that sub-groups that allowed a variation of expression of identity combined Barth's approach with Nagata's, which assumed neither that all ethnic groups within the same system were identical nor that there was total consensus in intra-group relations.

It could have well been, as Uchendu (1974:265) pointed out, that an individual exercised no choice during the formative years of individual development but that historical situations could have instigated a search for new identity. In the studies that emerged in the late 1906s and early 1970s examples were given from post colonial Africa with descriptions of competing spheres of loyalty: Pan Africanism, negritude, nationalism and ethnicity (see also Mazrui 1967; and Hechter 1976a, 1976b). Nagata (1979) indicated the Middle East crises stirred Pan-Jewishness, and catastrophes in homelands united smaller affiliations against other groups. Preliminary explorations into Canadian Ukrainian history noted that it could also be that as social, economic and political conditions in the wider society alter, the ethnic groups as units needed to renegotiate identities and re-create strategies for the expression of these. Anthropologists had demonstrated that variation occurred within and among ethnic groups. It was assumed that intra-group and individual expressions of identity and ethnicity could also be changed through time and circumstance. This in turn would affect the sense of communality within the group.

Ethnoreligious Identity

On the subject of ethnicity and religion, the material to date has dealt in the main with sects and ethnic divisions within denominations. As is evident in the following discussion on the available literature, little has been done on the investigation of intra-group differences within one ethnic division of these religious groups.

Social scientists agree that religion has provided a strong basis for the development of both social identity and ethnocentrism. It was religion as theology and religion as social interaction that guided the development of national identities in the Middle East, and especially ethnic identities in America and Canada. In its extreme forms, religion has been important in developing nationalistic identities. While scholars have debated the degree to which religion has been central

to the social adjustment of any particular ethnic group, they have agreed that religion did and does play an important role in this domain.

Some others addressed the question of the inter-relationship between ethnicity and religion. The treatment of this topic began with the historians who elevated religious pluralism to a general principle, based primarily on voluntary Protestant denominations and the absence of a State Church. Others disagreed, maintaining, with Herberg (1955), that denominations became merely individual species of the genus Protestantism-Roman Catholicism-Judaism. In yet another perspective, American historians, led by Richard Niebuhr (see, e.g., 1965) built on the models of Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch and identified the social sources of religion in America. More recently the "case study" sociological approach was taken to test the generalisations of Neibhur et al. (See especially Lenski's 1961 contribution and that of Stark and Glock (1968)).

With Herberg (1955) and the sociological analysis of religion, scholars with diverse concerns have become singularly aware of the ethnic impact on North American religion. Like church historians, ethnic historians also noted the inter-relationship of ethnicity and religion. Most notable were the historians of American politics who pointed to "ethnocultural" factors (see Swerenga 1970). But even with the aid of the sophisticated empirical techniques presently available, these scholars have often been plagued by a rigid framework that examined patterns around simplistic and sometimes artificial notions such as "melting pot" or "pluralism" or "liturgical." The parallel developments in ethnicity and religion were most carefully delineated by Herberg in *Protest-Catholic-Jew* (1955). (For a concise summary of the ethnic debate the reader is referred to Gordon (1964), particularly chapters 4, 5 and 6.)

The literature is largely silent on the issue that this study has sought to explain, that is, in the context of the variation of migration period, differential sub-group identity and the differing inter-relationship between ethnicity and religion in parishes.

In another approach, Lenski (1961) found that religious involvement tended to increase with each succeeding generation in the United States, rather than fall and then rise again. Increasing Americanization, he noted, correlated positively with increased religious involvement. Originating with the historian Marcus Hansen (1942) in 1938, the notion that generational experience affected the cultural behaviour of the many immigrants in America received wide currency. What grandparents brought with immigration and transplanted into the new environment, their sons and daughters rejected in their eagerness and desire to become assimilated to a new and different life. According to this hypothesis, it would be the grandchildren of the immigrants - the third generation - who would return, after the process of Americanization, to an interest in their ethnic history and culture. They would recollect and reconstruct the traditional culture and religion of their forefathers.

Herberg in *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (1955) dealt further with this hypothesis and adapted it to religious behaviour. In Herberg's conceptualisation, the Hansen principle would still have been operating. Within the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish communities the patterns of religious behaviour would have reflected the overriding influence of generation and nativity. As part of the larger transplanted culture, religious behaviour and attachment would have been relatively high among the immigrants, low among native born children and finally high again among the third-generation grandchildren. Since the pattern was seen to be universalistic, the same pattern was expected for all Protestants, Catholics and Jews, regardless of socio-economic background and nationality.

Another dimension emerged with Hurh's (1980) debate over Hansen's interpretation of the second-generation low-ethnic profile. Hurh contended that Korean immigrants at this second-generation-stage tended to have ambivalent attitudes about their ethnic identity. Eventually, immigrants reached the optimum level of limited social assimilation and discrimination. Following this, a collective sense of marginality led to an identification crisis and finally to the emergence of a new ethnicity qualitatively different from national loyalty (nativitism) that was evident upon arrival into America (Hurh 1980:454-5).

The fundamental points made by these historical surveys were well taken. However, none accounted for the wider social and economic contexts that saw the immigrants "find" their way into the American way of life. First, there was no paradigm which accounted for economic opportunity throughout American society and the processes by which individuals or communities developed economically in spite of prevailing social theories of the time (Social Darwinism, for example). In spite of historic affiliations, ethnicity was seen to have responded to external and subjective circumstances, circumstances which made change (over time and space) an inherent condition. Second, the behavioural significance of ethnicity has not been fully understood apart from a comprehension of the broader social system. Third, there has been supposition in Herberg's and Hansen's work that within ethnic groups' cultural activities, values and norms were homogeneous.

Italians have been the ethnic group most intensely investigated within the Catholic religion (Zucchi 1988; Tomasi 1975; McBride 1981). The overriding theme in these publications has been the perspective that Italian Americans within the Catholic Church were insular. This introspectiveness appeared, from these reports, to have been much stronger among Italians than any other immigrant group. Comparisons were made with the Irish who were seen to use the Church as a centre of religious and even political activity. Implicit in some of these studies was a reference to the Italian ethnic battle with the Irish Catholic Church hierarchy. In the literature, this was often referred to as the "Italian problem." (For a detailed discussion see Russo and Engel (1969).) Each of these studies concentrated on Italian ethnic identity in terms of conflict with non-Italian bureaucracies of one sort or another.] No attention had been paid to the different ways Italians may have accommodated their identity within the Italian culture and within the larger American culture of which they formed a sub-culture.

In pursuing the literature in search of intra-ethnic differences, only Simon (1979) and Padgett (1979) appear to have concentrated on the situational approach to ethnicity. Each investigated the dynamics of voluntary ethnic identity. In both studies the focus was on how, when and under what circumstances members of specific groups chose to assert their ethnic identity while becoming part of the wider community. Simon explored several Greek Orthodox churches within the Greek community in New York City. Her research showed that the Greeks struggled with the ebb and flow of anti-alien, often anti-Greek pressures primarily through two strategies: assimilation and encapsulation. "Many Greeks relented in the face of these assimilationist forces and attempted to Americanise customs which publicly distinguish Greeks from mainstream ... society" (Simon 1971:143). In order for the Greek Orthodox Church to have operated as a major force it had to modify its form and function to conform to the Protestant model. Over time this strategy was ineffective. In the face of changing social conditions and particularly with the influx of new immigrants, it presented a controversy over the effectiveness of symbols which were vital markers for those identifying as Greek.

These religious symbols (for example, the church calendar and the different pattern of the celebration of Easter) which once isolated the Greeks <u>from</u> the wider society now provided the

Greeks with respectability and acceptance in relation to the wider society. Those who accepted the Protestant model found this adapted system no longer equally effective or acceptable. The Greek symbolic synthesis was therefore still in a state of flux. This research into Ukrainian Catholics in Edmonton, Alberta anticipated that the same process of continual renegotiation of identity would characterise most ethnoreligious groups.

In a fashion similar to that of Simon, Padgett explored the "episodic" qualities of Serbian American ethnicity. In doing so she demonstrated that the assertion of ethnic identity by second and third-generation Serbians was neither random nor unpredictable. Accepting symbolic ethnicity as portrayed by Gans (1979), she explained the differences between descendants of Old Settlers and New Comers (those who arrived in the 1950s).

In Gans' approach, symbolic ethnicity has been described as continued loyalty to ethnic symbols without extensive formal involvement with the group. ."..Most people look for easy and intermittent ways of expressing their identity for ways that do not conflict with other ways of life" (Gans 1979:8). A primary implication of symbolic ethnicity was that individuals were free to assert their ethnic and other identities. At the same time, a reduction in the active assertion of ethnic identity did not automatically entail the acceptance of other identities. What was crucial was that an "ascribed permanent" identity gave way to voluntary ethnicity in a complex urban society.

The value of the work of both Simon and Padgett was that they investigated the ethnic group in the light of changes in social, political and economic conditions in the wider society and within the smaller ethnic group itself. Each had acknowledged the diversity of character within the ethnic groups that were surveyed, and therein related the group to the changing conditions that form the basis for the differences.

Summary

With the operationalisation of ethnicity as stated earlier, several questions arose in the light of available ethnoreligious data. They are corollary questions of the general questions that motivated the specific question, articulated in the first chapter of this work. Within the total framework of Catholicism, what availability was there for the expression of ethnic sub-identities? Given, that on the basis of earlier discussions of the literature, ethnic groups were not static within themselves and were not uniform over time or from situation to situation, what range of activity was legitimate? How has this expression varied from subgroup to subgroup? How was it different from generation to generation? What were the factors that precipitated this potential for temporal, situational and generational variation? How did factors operating in their homeland at the time of departure affect their need to express their identity? What factors allowed for ethnicity to be expressed above religious identity? Under what conditions were the preference to retain a religious identity stronger than the need to express an ethnic identity?

Ethnic groups were by no means the homogeneous groups perpetuated by stereotypes within popular literature. Both the use of labels for groups by themselves and those used by outsiders displayed different perspectives of what constituted a "group." This form of identification was subjective but even objective criteria had identified variations within acceptance of group labelling, identity and membership. The label "Ukrainian" denoted exclusiveness. It also denoted variability. Internal aspects of Ukrainianness were variable and voluntary in the expression of intellectual and social differences. This developed in a form of internal negotiation. Additional changes occurred with respect to outside forces which impinged upon the experiences of the

group. Therefore, within the social arena of religion, identity and social organisation, the reasons for the choice, the identity subsequently accepted and expressed, and the cohesion maintained were not expected to be the same for each subgroup of Ukrainians.

A summary of the literature presented so far has indicated that most of the material on ethnicity and religion has been concerned with the effect of religion upon ethnic identity. This included work of groups such as the Italian Catholics, Jews and Sikhs. This study concerned itself with the relationship of negotiated ethnic identity and its reflection in the social and ritual organisation within religion. The primary concern has been the legitimate expression of diversity of character within one ethnic group.

Barth and others have treated the negotiation of ethnicity in their work. The major area of concentration has been the determination and maintenance of boundaries by different ethnic groups. The exclusion/inclusion criteria has been seen in intergroup dimensions. Little work has been focussed on intragroup negotiations of similar subgroup boundaries. It has been anticipated that where these subgroup delineations did exist they would be less pronounced, more easily negotiated and perhaps even fluid compared to intergroup markings. Within this framework with its internal mosaic, the individual was perceived to be able to identify, establish and maintain or alter an ethnic identity according to situations at hand. Durkheim maintained that religion was a reflection of society and that it was much more than creed and faith. Its most fundamental and enduring elements were the social aspects of rite, ceremony, hierarchy and community. Therefore, the societal power of religion was in its transmission of symbols and rituals. Individuals chose the symbols and rituals most consistent with their perception of acceptable ethno-religious forms and these were seen to be a reflection of the pervasive ethnic orientation.

It became apparent that if religious organisations were a function of personal expressions of ethnoreligious orientations, and, if ethnic group identity was variable and able to be classified as a range of types rather than a web of traits, then religious organisation (and the manipulation of ethnoreligious symbols therein) was a strong function of intra-group identity.

This orientation was most important as it emphasised the voluntary and variable nature of ethnic orientations within heterogeneous groups.

CHAPTER IV: THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH: AN OVERVIEW

This study examines the variation within expressions of ethnoreligious identity within a single religious group. Anthropologists have, in the past, explained variations in people's perspectives by employing the notion of "world view." The varying perspectives of sub-groups within the Ukrainian Catholic tradition could be explained by the different migration experiences of each group within each migration wave. To explore that premise it has been necessary to first understand the source of the culture and religious tradition from which these migrations began. Each of the three major migrations of Ukrainians to Canada began from one location in Eastern Europe: Ukraine. In tracing the physical transference and adaptation of Ukrainians and with them, their religion into Canada, some key historical and geographical factors need to be understood before proceeding to the economic, political, social and religious aspects.

In drawing on this aspect of Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian Catholic tradition, my intention has not been to present a compendium of history, geography or other disciplines, but to illustrate that over time these geographic origins and events shaped differently the experiences of each of the three generations of Ukrainians who emigrated to Canada. Each wave came from a different Ukraine to a different Canada. Individual and collective small group experiences in the Ukrainian homeland influenced greatly where, when and how the Ukrainian transition into Canada, and specifically to Alberta, took place. In pursuing this process of transition from Ukraine to Canada it is vital that there is some (albeit basic) understanding of the historical background, culture and religious culture which contributed to a sense of "differentness" within a group of people originating from Ukraine.

Ukraine and the Ukrainians

Until the 1990s the area known as Ukraine formed one of the 15 constituent union republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and was portrayed in Western media in the late 1980s and early 1990s as one of the union republics striving to establish its own economic and political independence. More recently the Western World recognised Ukraine's entity as world attention focussed on the effect of the explosions of the Chernobyl nuclear plant and the changes in the country over more than seventy years of communist rule. Political events towards the end of 1991 led to the breakdown of the USSR and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. The worlds of Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians were very much focussed on this development especially as one-third of Soviet capacity of nuclear energy facilities were established in Ukrainian territory.

One of the four original republics when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a federal state was created on December 20, 1922, Ukraine lies across most of the south of what until the latter part of 1991 formed the European USSR. Ukraine is bounded to the north and east by what was until 1991 known as the Bylorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, to the west by Poland, to the southwest by Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and the entity known as Moldavian SSR, and to the south by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. The capital of the Ukrainian republic is Kiev. These areas are identified in the map in Figure 1, based on *West Ukrainian lands in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the late 19th Century* (Subtelny 1989:246).

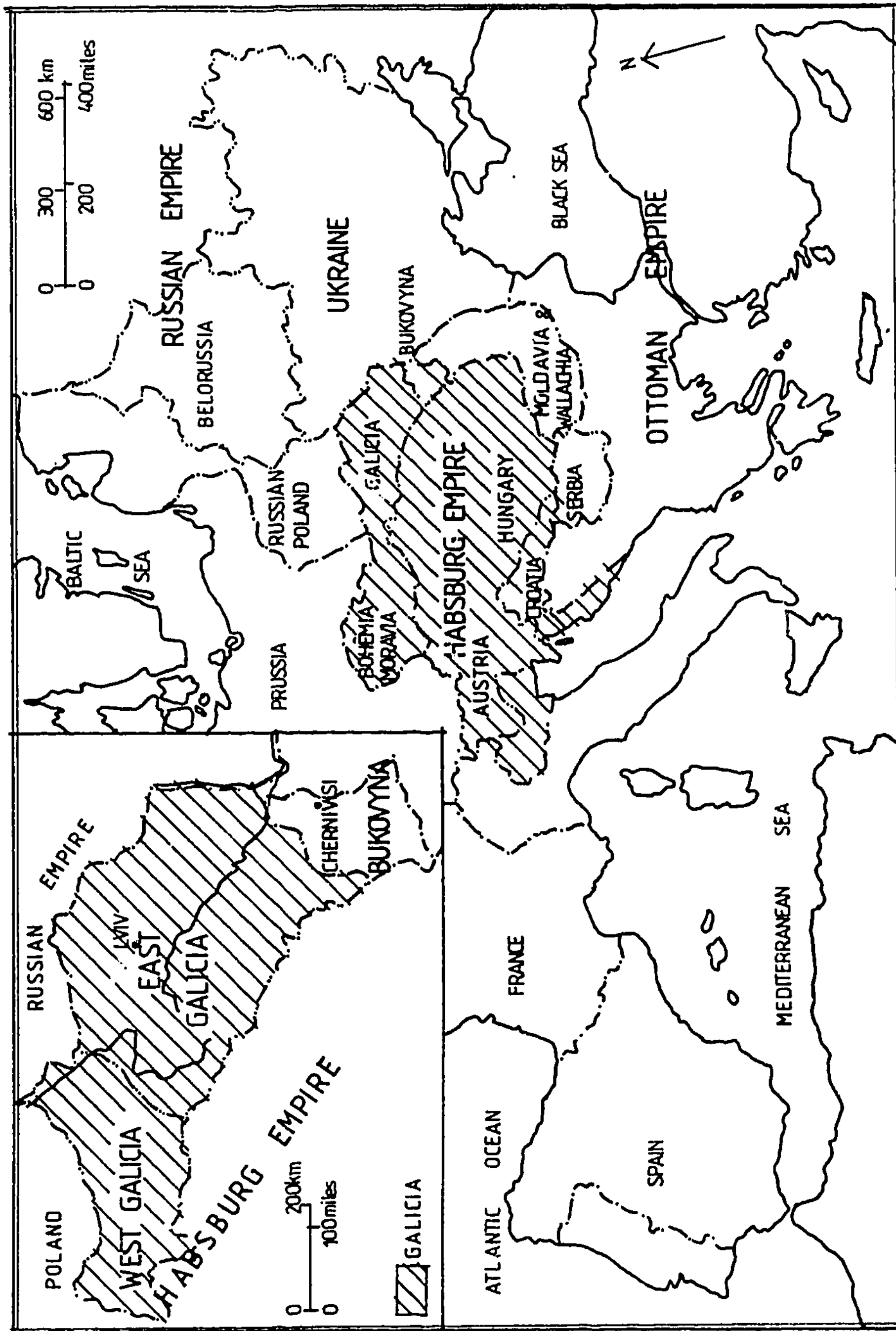

Figure 1. Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Late 19th Century (based on Subtelny 1989:246)

Between 1891 and 1914 few Ukrainians emigrated to Canada from the western fringes of the Russian Empire or from Transcarpathia. Most Ukrainian immigrants to Canada came from the western province of Galicia and the southwestern province of Bukovyna. Both regions were at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Both Galicia and Bukovyna are identified in the map inset in Figure 1. More recent research has begun to identify the migration of Ukrainians from Eastern ("Russian") Ukraine in the early part of the twentieth century (see e.g., Leschenko 1992).

Galicia came under Austrian rule in 1772, when the province became largely an undeveloped and backward agricultural region that provided food and conscripts for the Austrian empire. The redirection of its products and resources and the imposed boundaries cut it off from its trade routes and natural markets, resulting in substantial decline of Galicia's towns. It could be argued, however, that Austrian rule proved favourable to the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy's religious life and education. For example, in 1774 the Catholic part of the Ukrainian religious tradition, hitherto known as Uniate, was renamed the Greek Catholic Church, and its clergy were granted the same rights and privileges as the (Polish) Roman Catholic Church. The peasant Catholics did not fare anywhere near as well. The newly created statutes giving priestly privilege led to apparently different values which in turn led to a tension that subsequently developed into a caste-like social division between the priestly "priviligentsia" and the poor peasant. This relationship, dissonant at times, transferred to Canada with its Ukrainian immigrants and appears to continue to form part of the value system for Catholic Ukrainian Canadians interviewed in this survey, issues which are discussed in the following chapters of this thesis.

Bukovyna, the other province of Western Ukraine that supplied a substantial number of early Ukrainian immigrants, is located near Rumania. When Bukovyna came under Austrian rule it was sparsely settled. For example, in 1775 it had 75,000 inhabitants with a distribution of seven people per square kilometre. By 1890, when the migration to Canada began, the population had grown to 642,000 (see Kubijovyc and Zhukovsky 1984:317).

The generally poor socio-economic conditions and political events in 18th and nineteenth century Ukraine appear to have caused groups of the Ukrainian village-based population to emigrate abroad, beyond Ukrainian ethnic territories. Writings of various scholars up to the middle 1980s have emphasised the lack of education, the poor land and productivity, the lack of a gentry that had a "high" Ukrainian culture and so forth. More recent writings, those of Hryniuk, for example have underscored that "Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were 'peasants of means', modest no doubt by many standards, but among the more successful of the peasants" (Hryniuk 1991:15). The earliest documented political immigration of significance occurred in the early eighteenth century. (See Kubijovyc and Markus [1984] for a discussion on this issue.) Other socio-economic emigration from Ukrainian territories targeted Hungarian territories, and Vojvodina and Bosnia in Yugoslavia. Later (in the 1890s) another period of migration started as Siberian railroad construction offered employment and migration opportunities. Contemporaneously, Ukrainians migrated to Canada, the United States and Brazil.

The religious tradition of Ukraine, which includes Orthodox and Catholic, is classified with the family of what were called Byzantine-rite churches. Pospishil (1987:36) clarifies the expression of rite and church:

> Up to recent times, the various Eastern Catholic churches were called "rites," since the different forms of worship were regarded as the main characteristic of churches, although other criteria, such as canonical discipline or law, ethnic heritage, etc., were perceived as a unified and distinctive characteristic of each

> individual church. The new codes will bring here new clarity. From now on a Catholic is a member not of a "rite" but of a specific church, a church which follows in its worship, a certain pattern of liturgical forms called "rite."

The usage of the term "Ukrainian Church" therefore supplants labels hitherto invoked such as "Ukrainian Rite" or "Ukrainian Byzantine Rite."

With the official introduction of Christianity in 988 in Kiev and the Kievan Rus' State, St. Volodymyr the Great (then ruler of Kievan Rus') made Kiev a centre of the then Byzantine rite and of Byzantine culture. Since Kiev was distant from, and politically independent of Constantinopole, almost immediately a distinct religious focus was formed: the Constantinople Uniate Metropolitanate of Kiev (documents often refer to the city with the more traditional spelling - Kyiv). It had jurisdiction over Ukrainian, Bylorussian and some Russian territories, and it was in this time that the Byzantine Kievan rite, and within that, religious culture, was developed. In an anthropological study which focuses on the interpretation and use of symbols to define and differentiate identity, it is important to note the word "Rite" has been used to mean an expression or form of worship embracing the sum total of liturgical texts, practices, usages, customs, rubrics, prescriptions, and has nothing to do with faith - be it Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant.

The term "Eastern Churches" has a different connotation from this association with the term "rite," and refers to the Churches that developed in the eastern half of the Roman Empire along with those communities that were founded in dependence upon them, even though the dependent Churches were found outside of the boundaries of the Empire. All Eastern Churches evolved from the Patriarchates of Constantinopole, Alexandria and Antioch, and the two Churches of Persia and Armenia respectively which developed outside the Roman Empire. Five characteristic rites developed within these ecclesiastical jurisdictions: the Alexandrian, Antiochene (or West Syrian), Byzantine, East Syrian, and Armenian. Thus the Byzantine Rite is only one of the Eastern Rites. The term Byzantine has often been confused with the Eastern Rite and the terms have been incorrectly used interchangeably.[3]

Of all the Eastern rites, the Byzantine was the most important in regard both to the number of Christians belonging to it and to its widespread diffusion. The term Byzantine rite was used to refer to the rite of the ancient Byzantine Empire, which spread its ritual influence not only throughout all of the Eastern base of the Mediterranean, but also to the countries of the lower Danube and Balkan Peninsula and up to all of the Slavic countries. Pospishil (1987:36) explains:

> The term "rite" has become obsolete in legal aspects as can be demonstrated by referring to the Catholic Romanians, Slovaks, and Ukrainians, all who belong to the Byzantine Rite and who could use the same liturgical books, for example in

[3] All of the Eastern rites may be classified under five fundamental headings, Alexandrian, Antiochene, Armenian, Persian or Chaldean, and Byzantine. They owe their great diversity not only to differences in rites but also to doctrinal differences, especially those concerning the two natures of Christ, that developed in the fifth century. In the following classificaiton those marked with an asterisk (*) are Catholic and Monophysite; and those marked with a plus (+) are Catholic only. *Alexandrian* rite includes Coptic* and Ethiopian*; *Antiochene* rite includes Malankar*, Maronite, and Syrian*; *Chaldean* includes Assyiran Chaldean; Indian Mellusian; Malabar Byzantine+; Albanian; Bulgarian; Chinese; Estonian; Finnish; Georgian; Greek; Hungarian; Italo-Albanian; Japanese; Latvian, Melchinte, Romanian, Russian, Ruthenian, Ugandan, Ukrainian, White Russian, and Yugoslavian; while *Armenian* is a singular classification.

> the English language, but of whom can constitute a different church, membership in which is a factor of significance in legal relationship.

Further,

> The Catholic Church is today a communion of at least twenty Eastern ritual churches *Jui iuris*, to which is to be added the Latin ritual Church: American (Patriarchate and separate jurisdiction); Bulgarian; Bylorussian; Chaldean; Coptic; Ethiopian; Greek Melkite; Hellenic Byzantine Rite; Hungarian Greek Catholic; Italo-Greek and Albanian; Krizevtsy (Byzantine Rite, Yugoslavia; Latin; Malabar; Maronite; Romanian; Russian; Ruthenian (Byzantine Catholic, U.S.A.); Slovak Greek Catholic; Syrian; Ukrainian. (Pospishil 1987:37)

Much confusion through the centuries has been caused by the terminology for designating the Christians of the Byzantine rite who inhabited the area west and southwest of Russia in eastern and western Galicia, Podcarpathia, Hungary and certain districts of Czechoslovakia and northern Rumania. These people prefer to call themselves Ukrainian, White Russians, Ruthenians, and Slovaks, although for many years the official ecclesiastical term Ruthenian was used to include all of them. Ethnically different from the Ukrainians and with a different language, the Ruthenians are also called Subcarpathian Rusyns. For many centuries the area they inhabited belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but they were Slavic. After World War I, Subcarpathia Rus was made a part of the Czechoslovakian Republic, and in 1939 it was proclaimed the Independent Republic of the Carpathian Ukraine. It was returned to Hungary (1939-44) but it is now a part of Ukraine. The majority of its Christian inhabitants became Catholics in the Union of Uzhhorod (1646) and in 1771 the eparchy of Mukachevo was established.

There was no Ruthenian rite distinct from that which is called the Russian Byzantine rite. However, changes introduced during the seventeenth century were sufficiently numerous to cause the rite used by both the Ukrainian and Ruthenian Catholics to be called the Ruthenian rite and to have its own edition of the liturgical texts.

Orthodox and Catholic Ukrainians

Traditionally the majority of all Ukrainian people belong to the Orthodox Church. The term "Orthodox," while Greek in origin, dates from the earliest period of the Christian Church when it denoted the "true creed" of the entire Church. After separation, this designation was later modified in its application by the majority of the Eastern churches to distinguish them from the Catholic Roman-based Church. When part of the Ukrainian Church entered into a union with Rome, the new church came to be known as the Uniate, the Greek Catholic, or the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite. The term "Greek" in that context has no ethnic connotation, but merely indicates that in the past the Ukrainian Church was within the spiritual and jurisdictional sphere of the Byzantine church.

In a review of the major occurrences in the development of the Ukrainian Church several key phases of history need to be noted. In 1607, the Polish Sejm (parliament) adopted a constitution for the Greek religion that could have applied to both the Orthodox and the Uniate. Hetman Khmelnytsky in 1649 demanded a privileged status for the "ancient Greek law"; and in 1667, by the Treaty of Andrusiv, Poland agreed to tolerate the Greek Ruthenian religion. For centuries this Church was known in official documents as the Church of Rus' (*Rus'ka tserkva*) or Ruthenian

Church—the Uniates appear in the Roman document as Rutheno-Catholics—while in Muscovy-Russia it was called the Kievan Church or the Church of Little Russia.

Historically, the terms applied to the church of both the Ukrainians and the Bylorussians and reflected the close historical and ecclesiastical links between these two neighbouring Slavic people. The ethnic designation "Ukrainian Church" came into popular use only during the last century. The development of an ethnic dimension to the Ukrainian Catholic Church has emerged gradually over the last three to four centuries. While this thesis does not form a contribution to theology or ecclesiastics it does address the social or cultural aspect of church. This must be raised within the context of identifying the base upon which each branch of the church has separated and developed. That development and the identity, its definition, and boundary setting has ramifications for the transition of Ukrainian culture and religious tradition to Canada.

The two principle Ukrainian churches (Catholic and Orthodox) each have essential differences of dogma and canon law. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has theological principles in common with the entire Roman Catholic Church key dogmas. These have included the procession of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son, the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, a concept of Purgatory, and the Pope's infallibility when speaking *ex cathedra*. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in principle also accepted a single administrative centre for the entire Catholic Church. In recent years the movement for the establishment of a Ukrainian (Catholic) patriarchate appears to have formed some challenge to this central administration. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in contrast has not shared this core with the Catholic world.

Both of the major Ukrainian Churches (Catholic and Orthodox) have based themselves on the scriptures, the apostolic succession, and the apostolic rules. Many of these rules have been established and maintained through Church councils. A difference between the churches developed as the Orthodox Church does not recognise a series of ecclesiastical laws binding the Catholic Church. For example, the Orthodox Church observes only the rules of the first seven ecumenical councils, some local councils, and the resolutions of the local councils *(sobors)* of the Kievan Church and its successors.

Historical and dogmatic differences aside, in their external manifestations and in their ecclesiastical culture and religious consciousness, the two major Ukrainian churches have remained closely related to each other. Therefore, even after the formal separation into Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox, a sense of commonality appears to have survived and has been manifested in common church feasts, rites and customs. Both major Ukrainian churches have nearly identical divine services, a common liturgical language, similar church buildings and chants.

In the traditional setting both Churches adhered to the so-called old style, that is, the Julian calendar dating from 46 B.C. and lagging 13 days behind the generally used Gregorian calendar. The Gregorian calendar, established in 1582, has been used by the Western Catholic and Protestant churches and has been partially adopted in recent times by the Ukrainian Catholic Church in countries such as Canada and the United States.

In both churches the lower ranks of the clergy married. Celibacy has been a recent and partial phenomenon in the Ukrainian Catholic Church and appears to have been imposed by the mainstream Catholic hierarchy (for example, French and Irish Catholic priests and bishops in North America). The Ukrainian Catholic Church therefore has developed an entity separate and different to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Each has also developed their own relationship vis-a-vis the Roman based Catholic Church.

When Kievan Rus' was converted to Christianity in 988 the whole Christian Church world was still united. The rift between the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria with Rome did not happen until 1054. There appears to have been a time and distance lag since the Ukrainian Churches were not immediately affected by the schism. Kievan Rus', despite its subordination to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinopole, appears to have shown little hostility towards the Latin West.

More significant, perhaps, in terms of this thesis, has been the focus on the ethno-religious definition within the Ukrainian Catholic Church in response to its immediate neighbours. The definition of Ukrainian rather than Catholic appears to have been developed through a tension over time with neighbouring Poland.

Poland developed an aggressive stance toward Ukrainian territories and took over regions as far as Kiev and the Cossack territory along the Dnieper River. During periods of expansion, Poland, consistent with its Catholic statehood, pursued a policy of enforcing a Roman (or Latin) form of Catholicism upon Ukrainians in occupied areas. The Polish language and Polish culture also were encouraged and developed. The impact of such practices upon the Ukrainian people and their Church in Western Ukraine is developed in the following chapter. Efforts to ensure Ukrainians maintained Polish cultural and church practices appear to have slackened when Protestantism made great advances in Poland during the latter half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th Centuries. When the counter Reformation later restored the supremacy of the Catholic Church in Poland, the Jesuits were again powerful within the Polish political hierarchy and then turned their attention to the Ukrainians.

At about the same time, some Ukrainian Orthodox bishops were thoroughly dissatisfied with the patriarch of Constantinopole who, after the fall of Constantinopole in 1453, had been forced to recognise the Turkish Sultan. The Jesuits and the Polish King advocated union with Rome by promising improved conditions. With the support of four of the Orthodox bishops, the Act of the Union was officially proclaimed at a Church Council in Brest-Litovsk in 1596, despite the opposition of two bishops and a large section of Ukrainian clergy, gentry and laymen, especially the Cossacks.

Through this process, with opposition and some confusion, the Uniate church (Ruthenian Greek Catholic) came into existence, having the official support of the Polish government and the Papacy. The supremacy of the Pope was recognised in matters of dogma by the then known Byzantine rite. The maintenance of Old Church Slavonic which was spoken, and the written language used in the liturgy and ceremonies and traditional rituals were left unchanged. Priests continued to marry but before ordination. The Church was promised a seat in the Polish Senate, and Ukrainian Catholic bishops, like their Roman Catholic counterparts, were exempt from taxation. In practice, the parity was never realised. Uniates and Latin-rite citizens were, in theory, to enjoy equal rights in holding state offices. In practice, again, discrepancies appear to have remained constant. The Uniate church has been known as the Ruthenian church, later under Hapsburg rule (1772-1918) as the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church, and after 1918 as the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

After the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1596 the Uniate (later Ukrainian Catholic) Church in Galicia appears to have been more fortunate than the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, although the Ukrainian Catholic bishops were not given seats in the Polish Senate and the prelates and clergy were denied equality with the Latin bishops. The Ukrainian masses clung to their clergy and Church for several reasons and especially due to their dislike of the Polish aristocracy and fear of assimilation. When Galicia became a province of Austria after the partition of Poland in 1772

this suspicion and fear of Poland's colonial presence was reinforced. The Hapsburgs buttressed the Uniate church as a counterforce to the Polish aristocracy by officially designating it the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church.

The Church and Ukrainian Nationalism

This reinforcement of a separate religious—and thereby political—consciousness bolstered the beginnings of Galician nationalism, something which developed over the next two centuries. After the collapse of Poland, the Uniate church was systematically destroyed in those Ukrainian regions which had been absorbed by the Russian Empire. With state support it emerged in the nineteenth century in Galicia as a Ukrainian national church. In this form the Church became the defender of the Ukrainian culture and of the rights of the Ukrainian people. For the purposes of this thesis, in tracing the transition of Ukrainian culture to North America it has been significant that the Ukrainian settlers who began to emigrate to North America in the late 1880s, were preponderantly from Galicia and hence were adherents of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church. It is also notable that these migrants originated in regions that had produced writers that aroused national sentiment (Ivan Franko, Taras Shevchenko among others). The literacy tradition and their political sentiments were part of the world view of the Ukrainians in Canada.

Ukraine in the first World War benefited from the internal disintegration in the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, and was able to put forward social, political, and national demands. The Ukrainian Central Rada was established in Kiev on March 17, 1917, by the representatives of various Ukrainian community, cultural, professional and political organisations. This Rada was proclaimed as the all- Ukrainian representative body. Various political bodies were re-organised or created, a mass rally was held, a newspaper (previously banned) was revived, and congresses supported Ukrainian independence. Organisation of soldiers, peasants, and workers were established and their members elected delegates to the Rada. With these revolutionary changes Ukrainian culture and education flourished while Ukrainian-Russian relations deteriorated. However the groups within the Rada did not perform in a consistent or stable fashion. In November 1917 the Bolsheviks overthrew the Provisional Government.

The Rada's leaders concluded that a separate peace treaty with the German military was the only way to save the Ukrainian National Republic. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed between the Ukrainian National Republic and the Central Powers of Germany. Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria signed in February 1918. The Treaty provided Ukraine with German military support and cleared Bolshevik forces from its land in 1918. The Treaty lost support through Austro-Hungary's disintegration, Turkey's renunciation, and the Allied powers' suspending of relations with the Ukrainian National Republic.

The new State's regime, legislation and administration resembled those of earlier, Tsarist, times. Internal dissent and strikes followed. Agreement with either the Allies or Moscow was required to maintain stability. By the end of 1919 the Bolshevik, Polish and White forces surrounded the Ukrainian National Republican Army in Volhynia. By early 1920 Volhynia and western Podilia were occupied by the Polish army and the remainder of the country fell under Bolshevik control. The Treaty of Warsaw in 1920 surrendered western Ukrainian territories to Poland. The Polish and Ukrainian armies fought the Russian army. However the Polish-Soviet armistice of 1921 and the signing of the Peace Treaty of Riga established diplomatic relations between Poland and

Soviet-Ukraine and legitimised Poland's annexation of western Ukraine. This period of turbulence left the fate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church uncertain.

In Kiev, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church and established itself in 1921, under hostile circumstances, as an independent national church without formal ties to any patriarch. The Soviet political system subsequently destroyed the hierarchy and the clergy during the first five-year plan in the 1920s. The only prelate to survive (Bishop Ivan Theodorovich), had been sent from Ukraine to the United States to head the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in North America which, by default, also had jurisdiction over Canada.

The leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Sheptytsky and his clergy, participated actively in political affairs during the existence of the independent Ukrainian State (1918-20). After World War I and the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and with the annexation of Ukraine's western region by Poland, the region continued to roil in the legacy of centuries of hostility between ethnic and national interests. The Soviet occupation of Ukraine in September 1939 led to the state takeover of the church institution. The German occupation of Galicia in 1941 brought temporary and uneasy respite from Soviet domination, until the second Soviet occupation in mid-1944. The Soviet effort was directed first at defeating Germany, and with Germany's defeat, measures aimed at liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church were introduced. Mass arrests of leading Ukrainian clergy focussed on Galicia. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was forced underground after the 1946 proclamation of the reunification of Greek Catholics with the Russian Orthodox Church. Both the Vatican and the Ukrainian Church in the west refused to recognise the forced reunification and considered it to be uncanonical and illegal.

The Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine in 1944 was disastrous for the Greek Catholic Church. Of 2,700 clergy, only 216 (8 per cent) were present at the "Council of Lviv" to declare themselves for the then imposed union. Hundreds of clergy and bishops, including Metropolitan Josyf Slipjy, were imprisoned, and many died in captivity. Of the few who escaped some eventually went to Canada. Up to the 1980s the Ukrainian Catholic Church existed only as an underground institution in Ukraine. The recent changes in internal politics an initial loosening of restrictions by the USSR hierarchy imposed upon the practice of religion and on religious institutions. Religious practice appeared to be tolerated and negotiations to re-open churches, long shuttered, appear to be underway. By the latter part of 1991 the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine was negotiating its independence vis-a-vis its Ukrainian Orthodox and Roman Catholic counterparts.

Some Distinctively Ukrainian Aspects of Churches

It may be instructive for readers unfamiliar with the church as a physical, social, and political entity, to be provided with some background about the physical church and some of the more-or-less distinctive aspects of the Ukrainian Church.

Church Buildings

To an outsider, and perhaps to many who attend churches, the architecture of churches is often a mystery. Byzantine churches are usually constructed in the shape of a Greek cross with four arms of equal length. The internal part of the building is divided into three parts, each of which is

distinct from the others: the sanctuary (bema), the nave (naos), and the vestibule (narthex). The sanctuary and nave are separated by the iconostasis. This partition of wood or marble is usually a relatively tall structure and richly decorated with images or icons set facing the nave. The iconostasis is pierced by three doors, one set of double doors in the middle and one singular each side. The more ornate doors in the middle are called the royal doors. The members of the congregation and clerics with status below a deacon cannot pass through these (royal) doors. There is a relatively rigid tradition in the embellishment and use of the doors. The door on the right is called the south door and usually is adorned with an icon of St. Stephen, the first martyred deacon. On the left or north door, there is an icon of St. Michael, martyr and protector of the faith. Through these doors (to the right and left of the royal doors) pass the clerics junior to a deacon.

Behind the royal doors is the altar, a flat square of wood or stone on four legs. In the Ukrainian Catholic tradition there is no altar stone as in the Latin rite. The sanctuary continues in front of the *iconostasis* by means of an elevated platform above the nave. Pews were traditionally used only by members of the clergy and the sick and aged: others were expected to stand. More recently, pews have been used for all the congregation and there is variation from parish to parish on segregated or mixed seating arrangements.

The interiors of the churches are ornately decorated with frescos painted in the Byzantine style with themes considered proper to each part of the church. Above the altar in the cupola of the apse is usually found a fresco of the Blessed Virgin Mary holding the Child Jesus, while in the central cupola there is a painting of Christ the Pantocrator (the Almighty). The walls of the church are decorated with murals depicting significant events of church or national history.

The Church Calendar

The Gregorian and Julian calendars differ not only on the fixed feasts, which are celebrated 13 days apart (Christmas 25th December and January 7th) but also on the movable feasts of the Easter cycle. The dates of the latter are calculated according to the paschal period which is based on the monthly lunar cycle. In the 1950s when the Displaced Persons of Ukrainian origin arrived in Edmonton (and in other parts of Canada) the use of Julian or Gregorian calendars became an issue of significance as groups of Ukrainian Catholics negotiated what formed appropriate Ukrainian Catholic behaviour in the Canadian context. This issue of which calendar was still being debated by members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Edmonton in the 1980s. Ukrainian Catholics appeared at this time to have resolved parish differences by agreeing to differ. Some parishes, such as St. George's, celebrated Ukrainian Catholic traditions and rituals only in accordance with the Julian calendar. Others, like the parish of St. Basil's, conformed to the Gregorian calendar and those similar to St Josaphat's recognised both but favoured the Gregorian calendar.

The Place of Parish Priests

To understand religious developments among Ukrainian peasant-settlers in Canada, it is necessary to appreciate the old-country situation at their departure. Whatever the peasants knew about the nature of society, politics, and the benefits of religion, was derived mainly from the parish priests who enjoyed many privileges in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in exchange for loyalty to the Hapsburg Emperor rather than the Romanov Tsar. These issues are of particular significance because the Ukrainians in Ukraine and especially in Galicia had a social structure

dominated by the Greek Catholic clergy who were provided with education, seminaries and opportunities to enter university and who were therefore, over time, a hereditary caste that dominated a predominantly rural society. Economically, the clergy were independent with the state providing them with a residence, a tract of arable land and forest, a small salary, fees for teaching catechism in the village school and donations from parishioners for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. The children of the married clergy (in the majority) shared in the benefits and gradually increased the ranks of the intelligentsia. The Ukrainian clerical elite thus possessed power and privileges similar to, if not quite as great as, those of Polish nobility.

Summary

Central to this dissertation is the manifestation of ethnicity through religion. The Ukrainian Catholic tradition, transported with Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, brought with it its own social and political history. Locked in this tradition were responses to its situation in the homeland. These responses formed a collective "blueprint" in responding to the new dominant culture and its dominant religious (that is, French Catholic) culture. The confusion experienced while dominant cultures and leaders of nation state or church hierarchy grappled with classification or definitions of Ukrainians were repeated upon arrival in Canada.

This chapter has provided an overview of the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church vis-a-vis the larger Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has, in situations of adversity, provided a focus for Ukrainian identity. The primary purpose of this chapter has been to give an indication, in the most basic terms, of how both Ukrainian identity and the religious institutions with which it has been associated has varied over time.

The first immigrants from Ukraine to Canada would have recognised themselves as Galician or Bukovynian rather than Ukrainian. This ethno-religious identity was redefined in response to different political states' domination over parts of Ukraine during the past hundreds or so years that form the developmental period of Ukrainian Catholic ethnic and national identity.

As Ukrainian Catholic identity developed in the Canadian context debates evolved around preferred language use; resource allocation; state support or challenge; and clarification of terminology or nomenclature. Some of the positions taken in the debates reflect a defence of traditional church practices such as calendar use, on the one hand, and the right of individual parishes to internal, independent and autonomous decision-making. The issues debated were manifest differences between different migration groups. These issues also were reflective of the socio-economic and political status of Ukrainian peasants in their Ukrainian homeland and, in the first instance, on their arrival in Canada. This dissertation continues by tracing the processes by which that position of the Church changed with changes in socio-economic and political status of Ukrainians and consequently in their expressions of their Ukrainian ethnicity through their involvement and participation in the Ukrainian Catholic tradition in Edmonton.

CHAPTER V: CANADIAN MIGRATION AND UKRAINIAN ETHNICITY

This chapter examines briefly the key aspects of migration and the key issues that, in cluster, affected each period of migration from Ukraine to Canada. Obviously individual experiences varied within each migration wave and from one migration period to another. This study draws on the collective experiences of Ukrainians in transferring to and settling in Canada over different migration periods. To understand the cluster of factors impinging on Ukrainian immigrants, their reception and their responses, it is necessary to appreciate the variations from one migration period to another. This survey is not an attempt to explore historiography nor ethnohistory, but rather is an attempt to show how these variations left a legacy of differences within the Ukrainian Catholic community in Edmonton, Alberta in the 1980s.

When Canada sought immigrants to settle the Prairies in the late 1890s and early 1900s, Ukrainians and other central and eastern European immigrants arrived in great numbers. As is the case with most patterns of migration, migrants of low socioeconomic status experienced discrimination. The discrimination experienced by Ukrainian peasant immigrants at that time also was reflected in some aspects of the Ukrainian community many years later.

The pattern and process of migration from Ukraine to Canada is consistent with world-wide migration patterns. For example, economists have referred to the push-pull factors of migration. At the time of each major migration wave Ukrainians experienced both the push from their homeland, in the form of depressed economies; famine; and inequitable structural, political and social conditions during Polish, Austrian or Russian rule. The pull of comparatively open and democratic social, economic and political systems in Canada, the United States and, later, England and Australia, provided an essential attraction. These factors in the homeland and in the countries to which Ukrainians migrated is more apparent with the luxury of hindsight.

The first period of large-scale Ukrainian migration to Canada occurred within a pre-established socio-economic structure. Petryshyn (1978), Swyripa (1982), and others have demonstrated that the process of selection of all emigrants, including Ukrainians, developed as a reflection of existing Canadian political and social relations. One of the socio-political norms of the first period in which Ukrainian migration occurred was importing labour. This paramount economic principle allowed Ukrainian immigrants to enter the Prairie Provinces because French-Canadians and Anglo-Saxons, for whatever reasons, had chosen not to settle there. On the other side of the Atlantic other conditions prevailed. John-Paul Himka (1982, 1988a, 1988b) has demonstrated that contemporaneous socio-economic conditions and political events in Ukraine frequently caused large groups of the population of certain regions to emigrate abroad or beyond Ukrainian ethnic territories.

Conditions in Ukraine

The 1890s period of Ukrainian migration to prairie Canada happened when the Ukraine was dependent on antiquated farming methods that attempted to support regions with populations of up to 67 people per square kilometre. These practices, outmoded as they were in 1880, attempted to support the population from extremely small family farms with an average size of three hectares or approximately seven acres (see Kubijovyc and Markus 1984:819). Himka (1982;

1988a; 1988b) has also noted that half the individual family land holdings came to less than two hectares or five acres. In practical terms most families owned less than the minimum five hectares or approximately twelve acres considered essential to support a family.

Subtelny (1989:309-310) shows that the amount of land owned by peasants changed significantly over time.

> In 1859, the average size of a peasant holding in Eastern Galicia was 12 acres; in 1880 it slipped to 7 acres; and in 1902 to 6 acres. Or, to put it differently, the percentage of peasants who could be classified as poor, that is, who owned less than 12 acres of land, rose from 66% in 1859 to 80% in 1902. Eastern Galicia was a land of about 2,400 large land owners who held over 40% of the arable land and hundreds of thousands of tiny peasants plots which accounted for about 60% of the total territory under cultivation.

The quality of life when evaluated by other dimensions, such as debt burdens, health services, and comparative life span, presents similar indices of the impoverished life of Ukrainians in Ukraine during this period. Subtelny (1989:316) shows that, consistent with the politics of poverty, Ukrainians experienced discrimination in many forms; topics which are discussed later in this chapter. Both Subtelny (1989) and Himka (1988a) have written that after 1848, Galicia, Transcarpathia and Bukovyna continued to be the poorest regions of Europe. Subtelny (1989:333) has demonstrated that the regions were overwhelmingly inhabited by Ukrainian peasants and the landowning elite consisted of non-Ukrainian Romanians in Bukovyna, and Hungarians in Transcarpathia. It appears that in practise each Ukrainian region was colony of Austria.

Himka (1982) has demonstrated that because of primitive farming implements, limited use of artificial fertilisers, and outdated farm management procedures, Ukrainian peasants in Eastern Galicia produced much less per hectare than did peasant farmers elsewhere. Only landowners and richer peasants could afford farm implements and machinery. The grain production in Eastern Galicia under these conditions produced low yields per hectare. The following table compares grain production in Eastern Galicia to Bukovyna, Lower Austria and Denmark.

Note: Himka notes that figures for Denmark refer to the average harvest in 1903-12. (Himka 1982:15)

Table 4. Grain Production (in Quintals) Per Hectare of Arable Land, 1907

	Galicia	Eastern Bukovyna	Austria	Lower Denmark
Wheat	10.8	13.6	15.5	31.0
Rye	8.6	11.4	13.8	19.0
Barley	8.0	12.8	14.7	-
Oats	6.5	10.9	11.6 -	-

(Note: Himka [1982:15) notes that figures for Denmark refer to the average harvest in 1903-12.)

The abolition of serfdom in 1861 would have been considered a positive milestone for Ukrainian peasantry, but such was not the case. Having received insufficient land, the peasants were forced, with each generation, to divide up their small parcels of land into even smaller, and consequently less productive, parcels. As late as 1900, 95 per cent of the Ukrainian population of Galicia and

Bukovyna were peasants. Employment outside the village, though sought and practised seasonally, was hard to find. Employment opportunities in an overpopulated Austria-Hungary were so limited that some Ukrainians migrated to northern and central Yugoslavia, France, Germany, Siberia, and finally Canada.

The attraction of Canada at that time was mainly the large tracts of uncultivated land in the West, alienated only recently through suasion and force from its aboriginal inhabitants. Clifford Sifton, the then Minister of the Interior, encouraged European migration to Canada. The agents employed in Europe by the Canadian government were paid a commission of $5 a family and $2 per individual who emigrated to Canada. The perception of Canada as the "promised land" was promoted throughout Galician villages by these agents. From that distance, Canada presented opportunities for access to jobs and consequently to a relatively easy upward economic and social mobility. For Ukrainian peasants this was the major attraction to Canada. They arrived as the Canadian West was being settled, a significant part of the massive immigration of more than 4 million people from many backgrounds, who arrived between 1901 and 1931.

When Ukrainians moved to Canada at the turn of the century they found that "Ukrainian" was a term unfamiliar to the majority of Canadians. It was not a term that collectivized those who spoke Ukrainian or who participated in Ukrainian religious institutions.

The Ukrainians who migrated to Canada in the 1890s were from Galicia and Bukovyna. (Figure 1 identifies the regions in relation to the rest of Ukraine.) They were citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and therefore labelled Austrian and carried Austrian passports. The ambivalence of national identity they brought to Canada was still evident in the Ukrainian Catholic community 100 years later.

As previously noted, the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants in the 1890s came largely from the region of Ukraine, within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which were the least economically developed and had the highest levels of unemployment. As noted, seasonal migration had been attempted by many Ukrainians who travelled to other parts of Europe but this provided only a partial and temporary solution to poverty, malnutrition and high mortality. This profile of health and occupation status and poverty appears to have been repeated throughout Ukrainian history and in turn contributed to subsequent migration periods.

Throughout the nineteenth century and until 1917, Ukrainian people were divided between the large multi-national empires of the Romanovs and the Hapsburgs. In 1900, 17 million Ukrainians were located in the Russian Empire, another 3 million were in Galicia (then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), 300,000 in Bukovynia, and 400,000 in Sub-Carpathia. The latter, a part of the Hungarian area of the Hapsburg Empire, provided few migrants to Canada. There is evidence to suggest those migrating from Romanov regions chose in the first instance to migrate to southern Siberia rather than to Northern America. (See Kaye and Swyripa [1982] for more details.)

Most Ukrainian immigrants arriving in Canada before World War I came from the Austrian crown lands of Galicia and Bukovyna. The Galicians were in official reports variously referred to as "Austrians," "Galicians," "Bukovynians," "Ruthenians," or "Rusyn" (from the ancient name of 'Rus' designating Ukraine). From this origin there have been many interpretations and counter-claims in the controversy of whether "Rus" meant Russian. This varied nomenclature baffled even those who wrote about the Ukrainians: it seemed to baffle the Ukrainians themselves. This combination of complex factors in the history of Ukrainian migration to Canada led to further problems of identification for Ukrainians.

Subtelny (1989:307) explains that the legal (constitutional) reforms of the 19th century became apparent.

In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries nationally conscious West Ukrainians began to call themselves "Ukrainians," a national name that had been adopted by the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the east. There were two basic reasons for abandoning the traditional designation, *Rusyn* (Ruthenian): it was felt that *Rusyn* was too similar to *Ruskyi* (Russian) and by adopting the name used by their compatriots in the Russian Empire, the West Ukrainians wished to stress their unity with them. (Subtelny 1989:307)

Bukovyna and Galicia were politico-geographical designations applied regionally to Ukrainians whereas Ruthenian and Ukrainian were ethnic designations of the (Ukrainian) people themselves. This overlap of labels was continually overlooked by Canadian census-takers and those who compiled Canadian statistical data. As late as 1930, confusion still existed among Canadian immigration officials and scholars in efforts to interpret the ethnic identities of people from Ukrainian-speaking regions of Europe. Part of the problem arose because the designation "Ukrainian" did not appear as a distinct category until the 1931 census.

Ukrainian Sojourners and Migrants

The goal of many of the Ukrainian immigrants in the 1890 wave of migration, because that wave inclued so many impoverished peasants,. was to earn enough money to pay for the voyage to Canada and to repay any other existing debts. The immigrants' principal economic goals identified through interviews were associated with the accumulation of enough capital to return to Ukraine, to buy land and therefore establish themselves as land-owning farmers. In this regard in particular, the Ukrainian peasant migrant to Canada appears to manifest the behaviour of "sojourners."[4]

Subtelny (1989:547) indicates that

> the opportunities that Canada offered were great, but so was the effort required to take advantage of them. The newcomers arrived in a foreign land with little or no money, unable to speak English and often illiterate. After a long, exhausting, journey, they were left to fend for themselves amidst cold, uninhabited plains. Simple survival was the first and most daunting task. To provide shelter against the harsh climate, they built primitive, one-room huts. Lacking money and unable to plant crops until the land was cleared, they faced the threat of constant hunger and even starvation. To earn money for necessities, men crisscrossed the countryside in search of work. Meanwhile, the women were left on their isolated homesteads to improve dwellings or to build new ones, to somehow feed and care for the children, and to begin the backbreaking task of clearing the land. Unable to afford machinery or even draught animals, the immigrants accomplished their work by hand. Usually several years passed before the first crops were ready.

[4] The concept of "sojournery" was brought into prominence in 1952 in the writing of Siu who noted that among immigrants are a category who intended to use their migration to develop an economic surplus which would then be used to re-establish the migrant on return to their homeland.

And to clear an entire homestead often took fifteen to twenty years of exhausting work.

Evidence of Canada's ability to attract immigrants is demonstrated by the fact that from 1861 to 1971 Canada took in nearly 11 million immigrants. As late as 1971, 15.3 percent of the Canadian population was foreign born.

The nature of the population movement in and out of Canada has corresponded to general world-wide economic conditions. Petryshyn (1978:75-76) notes "the Canadian West led to massive immigration (over four million immigrants) between 1901 and 1931. Immigration was restricted during the depression from 1931 to 1941 (150,000 immigrants)", but since then migration was stimulated by World War II and the period of post war economic growth (3,583,000 immigrants from 1941 to 1971).

During the Canadian immigration period of 1946 to 1966, 59.9 per cent of the immigrants were western or northern European in origin, 21.1 per cent were southern European in origin, and 11.9 per cent eastern European in origin. During this period the remaining 7.1 per cent of immigrants came from other countries.

Tesla (1976, cited in Swyripa 1984) has shown that the pre-World War I Ukrainian immigrants, numbering more than 140,000, were mainly farmers. A small number of craftsmen also arrived. At the same time, Canada began a shift from small to large scale farming. This also encouraged a shift of the Ukrainian population, along with other rural Canadians, to urban centres as shown in Table 5. Since immigration, many Ukrainians who entered Canadian society as settler-farmers have gradually shifted (i.e., from the original set of descriptors that included "men in sheepskin clothing") to other occupations, as many other socio-economic roles were developed by Ukrainian individuals and groups.

Table 5. Percentage Rural Status of Ukrainian Canadian 1901-1971

Year	Ukrainian	All Origins
1901	96.5	62.5
1911	85.0	54.6
1921	80.1	50.4
1931	70.5	46.3
1941	66.0	45.7
1951	49.7	38.4
1961	34.8	30.4
1971	25.0	23.8

(Source: Darcovich 1980:10)

At the same time the percentage of Ukrainians whose main occupation was agriculture decreased, but not with the same rapidity as the rest of Canada's rural population, as can be seen from Table 6. See also Figure 2, (*Distribution of Ukrainian Rural Population 1921*, Swyripa 1984:346).

Isajiw (1982:59) has presented a thesis that for an immigrant group a socio-economic pattern is formed "when its members are funelled primarily into one type of occupation, and once established this 'entrance status' can be changed only gradually usually only over the lifespan of two or three generations."

Table 6. Percentage Labour Force Employed in Agriculture, Canada, 1921-1971

Year	Ukrainians	All Origins
1921	67.2	32.8
1931	55.1	28.7
1941	48.2	25.6
1951	36.1	15.6
1961	20.9	9.9
1971	11.3	5.6

(Source: Darcovich 1990:11)

This premise is further echoed in the comparison of rural urban distribution of the Canadian population as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Comparison of Ukrainian Canadian and overall Canadian Rural Urban Distribution, 1931-1971, in Percentages

	Percentage of Ukrainian Canadian Population		Percentage of Canadian Population		Differential Percentage
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Rural Residence
1931	29.5	70.5	53.7	39.3	31.2
1941	33.9	66.1	54.3	45.7	20.4
1951	50.3	49.7	61.6	38.4	11.3
1961	65.2	34.8	69.6	30.4	4.4
1971	75.0	25.0	76.2	23.8	1.2

(Source: Tesla 1976:305 Table 6 adapted and cited in Petryshyn 1978:33. See also Maps 3 and 4 at the end of this chapter.)

Mirroring the general Canadian rural-urban distribution by 1971, 75 per cent of the Ukrainian immigrants had become urban residents. In 1931 the Canadian mean of rural residency was 31.2 per cent and had moved to 1.2 per cent in 1971. However, it was only during the 1950s that Ukrainians began to move away from primary and non-professional occupations (agriculture, logging, fishing, hunting, trapping, mining) for higher ranked occupations such as clerical work, manufacturing, and service work. (See Isajiw [1982] for further details.)

From 1931-1971 during this transition of Canada from an essentially rural to an urban society, the second wave of immigration brought 68,000 Ukrainians to Canada. As with the first migration, men came first, although by the 1920s whole families were encouraged to emigrate with the push of the so called "$5 and $2 agents."

Kaye and Swyripa (1982:51) show that the Canadian Government's need for agriculturalists and peasant farmers again dominated this post World War I period of migration. By this time part of Galicia had been annexed by Poland. Again, as in the Austro-Hungarian period of rule over Ukraine, there was insufficient land for all the Ukrainian peasants. At the same time Poland was attempting to redevelop its economy and therefore restricted the seasonal and permanent migration of skilled workers. Professionals were even more restricted in their efforts to migrate.

Ukrainians appear to have migrated to Canada through a pattern of chain migration where one individual, or a small group, from a village ventured off and then corresponded with family or other villages in Ukraine. Small groups then followed in an effort to join their antecedents or, when immigration regulations changed, were sponsored by those predecessors. This process of migration and chain migration settlement assisted the process by which the traditional homeland community organisation was refocussed in Canada. (For further details see Martynowych [1978:40] and Bilash [1983].)

Official census statistics noted by authors such as Swyripa and Petryshyn indicate that during the period 1890-1931 approximately 170,000 Ukrainians entered Canada. Conditions in Canada and Austrian Ukraine (noted earlier) were ideal for the mobilisation of large scale immigration. Not only were Canadian authorities and railway companies anxious to populate the prairies, but Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna were just as anxious to escape political oppression and economic hardship. After 1905, limited immigration from Russian dominated Ukraine to Canada primarily affected the industrial east around Ontario and Quebec although small numbers gravitated to Alberta mines, western and urban centres and rural settlements. Figures 2, 3, and 4, a the end of this chapter, provide a graphic indication of the settlement patterns of Ukrainians in rural areas in the Prairie Provinces in 1921, 1941, and 1971.

While Canada was still soliciting migrants from the "preferred" traditional sources - Great Britain, the United States and Northern Europe in the late 19th century, Ukrainian peasants were anxious to investigate the information and to clarify rumours of free land in Western Canada. As a result, on September 7th, 1891, Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pilipiw, two peasants from the village of Nebyliv in Galicia arrived in Montreal. They later moved into the Edna-Star region of Northern Alberta and from the nucleus that they established emerged the first area of Ukrainian settlement. When they arrived in Canada

> they were investigating reports that they had heard from the Germans about the vast uninhabited stretches of fertile land in western Canada. Their arrival - and the subsequent arrival of the rest of their families and friends - was the best possible endorsement of Canada as a destination. (Petryshyn 1980:27)

Under Austrian domination there were no laws on emigration. The constitution introduced in the late 19th Century provided for freedom of emigration, hence it was difficult to prohibit or limit it. The immigrants that followed Eleniak and Pilipiw through a repeated sequence of chain migration, were mainly peasants whose "world" was restricted to the area within a few miles of particular Ukrainian villages. To leave a traditional peasant village for a "better life" in Canada was not without difficulty. As noted earlier, farm productivity in much of Ukraine was low. Family land holdings were small - an average of two hectares when five was considered minimal to sustain a family - and these allotments did not produce crop surpluses. There was therefore little or no money to fund expeditions to remote and ultimately risky situations. Kaye and Swyripa (1982) have noted the need for individuals to dispose of unproductive land plots, houses and livestock at undervalued rates. As interest in Canada grew and the challenge to experience a better life was met, land values dropped further and the corresponding need to borrow the difference increased as credit charges grew apace.

In addition to this economic cost emigrant Ukrainian peasants also underwent considerable political risk. At the time of the first migration authorities did not require passports for exit from Ukraine. When Ukrainian peasants made the attempt to leave Austria they consciously eluded strict Austrian surveillance in what had, until that time, been their homeland. In deliberately moving away from their homeland they also turned away from the notion that Austria was their

home. They re-identified their political allegiance and provided further opportunities for re-identifying their own identity in relation to their former homeland and the country to which they migrated: Canada. This transition forms one of the more deliberate and therefore significant turning points in the development of an independent political, nationalistic or cultural definition of Ukrainian ethnicity.

Arriving in Canada, Ukrainian immigrants experienced the depression of the 1890s which was followed by a slow recovery and then rapid progress. By 1899, however, prices, government revenues and exports had recovered and with that recovery economic conditions improved. During this time the Canadian West was attracting investment and settlers, but not in sufficient quantity to satisfy Clifford Sifton, then Minister for Immigration, who launched an ambitious immigration policy objective was to obtain the farmers necessary to bring land in Western Canada into agricultural production.

Immediately after the 1890s Canada opposed unrestricted immigration to stop a rapid rise in urban populations and infra-structure problems similar to those observed in American cities. As a result labourers, farmers, and domestics were preferred immigrants as it was assumed that they would move into undeveloped but potentially viable rural areas and Ukrainian peasant immigrants fitted the bill. By 1914, several "inadmissible" categories appeared in immigration regulations: criminal and "other vicious classes," paupers, destitute immigrants, diseased persons including the physically and mentally infirm, prostitutes and procurers and subversives. During this period the Ukrainian immigrant was highly visible with hitherto unheard, and therefore comparatively strange, speech, different peasant clothing and unfamiliar customs. As settlements were negotiated and established perceptions of strangeness appear to have been reinforced with Ukrainian homestead concentrations in ethnically exclusive block settlements.

Helen Potrebenko (1977) and Myrna Kostash (1977), among others, noted the difficulty of the journey across the Atlantic and across Canada. Kostash shows "the immigrants" journey was a "pilgrim's progress."

> They ran the gauntlet of Russian border police, fraudulent money changers, greedy steamship agents and careless dock workers - more than one immigrant lost cash and baggage before embarking at Hamburg; they endured seasickness, the discomforts of steerage accommodation and stale food; they were herded through customs halls, immigration halls and land offices. (Kostash 1977:16)

While Canadian government agencies provided some guidance to immigrants, there was no centrally directed program to ease the transition of the East European from his traditional peasant world to the North American environment. Personal accounts of hostility and suspicion by the Anglo-Saxon majority in Canada are retold by Kostash. Stereotype descriptions such as "Galician," "Bohunk," "Russian," and "men in sheep-skin clothing" reflected in hostile public attitudes, along with the perception that such individuals were "undesirables."

> The bitterness engendered by this initial contact between two widely divergent cultures and outlooks often persisted for decades in the memories of the Ukrainian pioneers. (Kaye and Swyripa 1982:44)

With the benefit of hindsight and recently documented history, it is obvious that each of the major generations of Ukrainian migrations had very different experiences when leaving their homeland.

Enumeration of these differences could begin with the levels of experience within the world in general. That is, some of the Ukrainian immigrants of the 1890s were peasants, some were

literate and others, in increasing numbers by the third migration, were highly qualified professionals. Other orientations and differences were based on economic backgrounds. Neither peasant emigrants at the turn of the century nor the professionals who came as exiles after World War II had sufficient money to settle. Between these two groups of Ukrainians without economic assets on arrival there were diverse differences in how they saw themselves and how others saw them.

The pattern of chain migration established in the first wave continued during the second period, but departure for the second wave of immigrants was financially more secure than for their predecessors. They therefore began life in Canada with higher socio-economic status. Those immigrants who arrived in Canada between World War I and World War II "encountered a well organized community life with churches, reading halls, religious and soci-cultural organizations, and a number of Ukrainian-language newspapers to serve their needs" (Kaye and Swyripa 1982:51).

For those who came in the 1920s, Canada was a place to be considered home for a short time - they were temporary migrants who were planning to return home when they had saved enough money. However, over time that "sojourner" perspective changed and Canada became a homeland when the Ukrainian immigrants realised that permanent return to Ukraine was impossible. In contrast, those who came in the third major period of migration came with a a strong sense of ethnic identity. Decades later it appears this strong sense of identity and a highly politicised approach to that identity caused conflict in different Ukrainian immigrant communities in Canada. It is this difference in approach and orientation and experience that forms the major focus of this dissertation.

The third wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada consisted of about 38,000 people who, at the end of World War II, were living in displaced persons camps in Western Europe and comprised various social strata which included professionals. They settled predominantly in the urban centres of Eastern Canada in the years between 1947 and 1952 (Petryshyn 1978:76). This third wave of Ukrainians was considered different from the first two waves which had been admitted on their ability to develop and work Prairie farm lands in Western Canada: "Socioeconomically, the new immigrants were more diverse than previous immigrants had been and greater numbers were well educated. Almost all settled in urban areas in the industrialized East, particularly in Ontario" (Petryshyn 1978:76).

Just as the earlier migrations had taken place within a pre-established Canadian socio-economic structure, the third wave of Ukrainian and other immigrants best fitted the specific man-power requirements of the time period of migration. Upon arrival, post-World War II immigrants found themselves in the midst of an economy which had been transformed during the war into a well developed industrial system. The first two waves of Ukrainian immigrants were selected for their capacity to work prairie farmlands in Western Canada but by 1911 15 per cent of the first wave already lived in cities and over 30 per cent were urbanised before World War II. The third period of Ukrainian immigration found a Canadian economy which had declined in the primary and goods producing industries and increased in the areas of skilled and white collar occupations. A common perception amongst Ukrainian immigrants is that one thing the third wave of immigrants had in common with the first two was that the third wave of immigrant Ukrainians moved into work apparently disliked by Canadians, or into professions for which the number of trained Canadians was insufficient, but that the last group of Ukrainian immigrants entered the economy in lower middle class occupations rather than in farming.

Another pattern, the manner by which Ukrainian immigrants entered Canadian society, was also significant to the subsequent development of Ukrainian ethnic identity and ethnic consciousness amongst Ukrainians. What happens to immigrants as sub-groups within this process? Kalbach and Richard (1980:79) indicate that, at first, if an immigrant occupies a low position in the economic order, his or her sense of identity is likely to be within his or her own ethnic group, and dependent upon this ethnic group for his or her social needs. Immigrant groups in such ethnic/class hierarchies usually have lower income levels and less prestigious jobs than members of the foundation groups or those of "ethnics" who have been in the host country for several generations.

Second, it appears that over time an immigrant must become more like the native-born if he or she is to become upwardly mobile within that social order. To do so the immigrant must be able to communicate with those in the upper strata of the host society. If this premise is accepted, it follows that linguistic assimilation may be the first step in the process for removing oneself from one's initial immigrant group. This step away from the original group *may* constitute a step toward the dominant group's culture, values and comparatively higher social class.

Summary

Ukrainian migration to Canada over several decades (1890s through to the 1950s) is as complex as the different social, economic, political and religious histories preceding each migration and the process of transition and establishment and maintenance in Canada of cultural and ethno-religious traditions, customs and rituals.

While consistent with other major periods of migration from one country to another during modern history, by definition the history preceding Ukrainians and more especially Ukrainian Catholics is unique. In transposing this history within their cultural baggage into Canada, Ukrainians, more particularly Ukrainian Catholics, defined and renegotiated their religion, religious practices and definitions thereof and, as they established themselves began to assert the legitimacy of those practices in light of their earlier experiences. The collective experiences of each group, while constant with their common origin and the process of migration, were at variance with each other. The collective experiences and consciousness that defined and explained ethnicity and religion varied according to period of migration. Within that collective/communal experience, individual and sub-group variation also occurred. This variation can only be understood in terms of the immobility of the generations of Ukrainians prior to the initial period migration of Ukrainians to Canada.

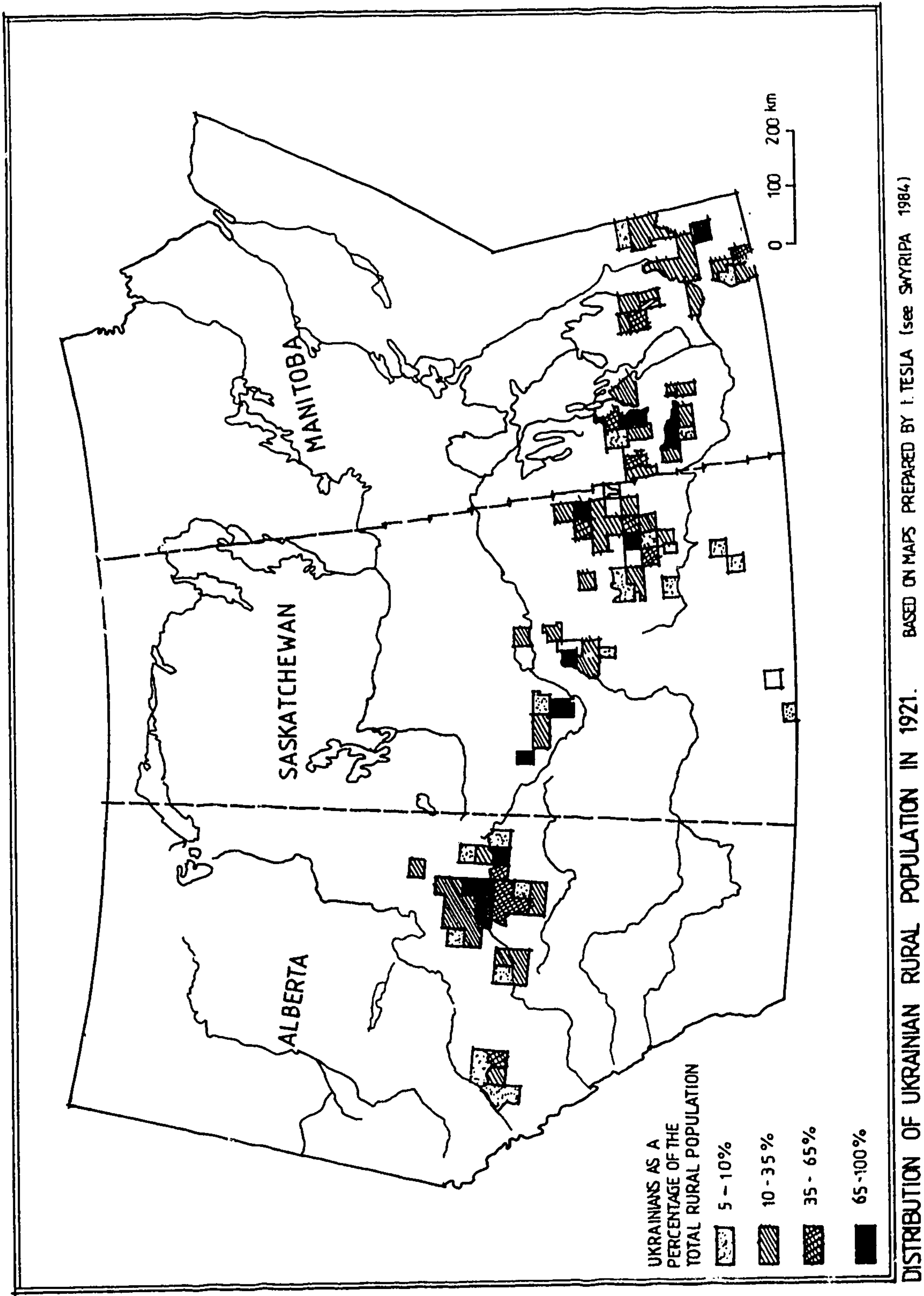

Figure 2. Distribution of Ukrainian Rural Population in 1921.

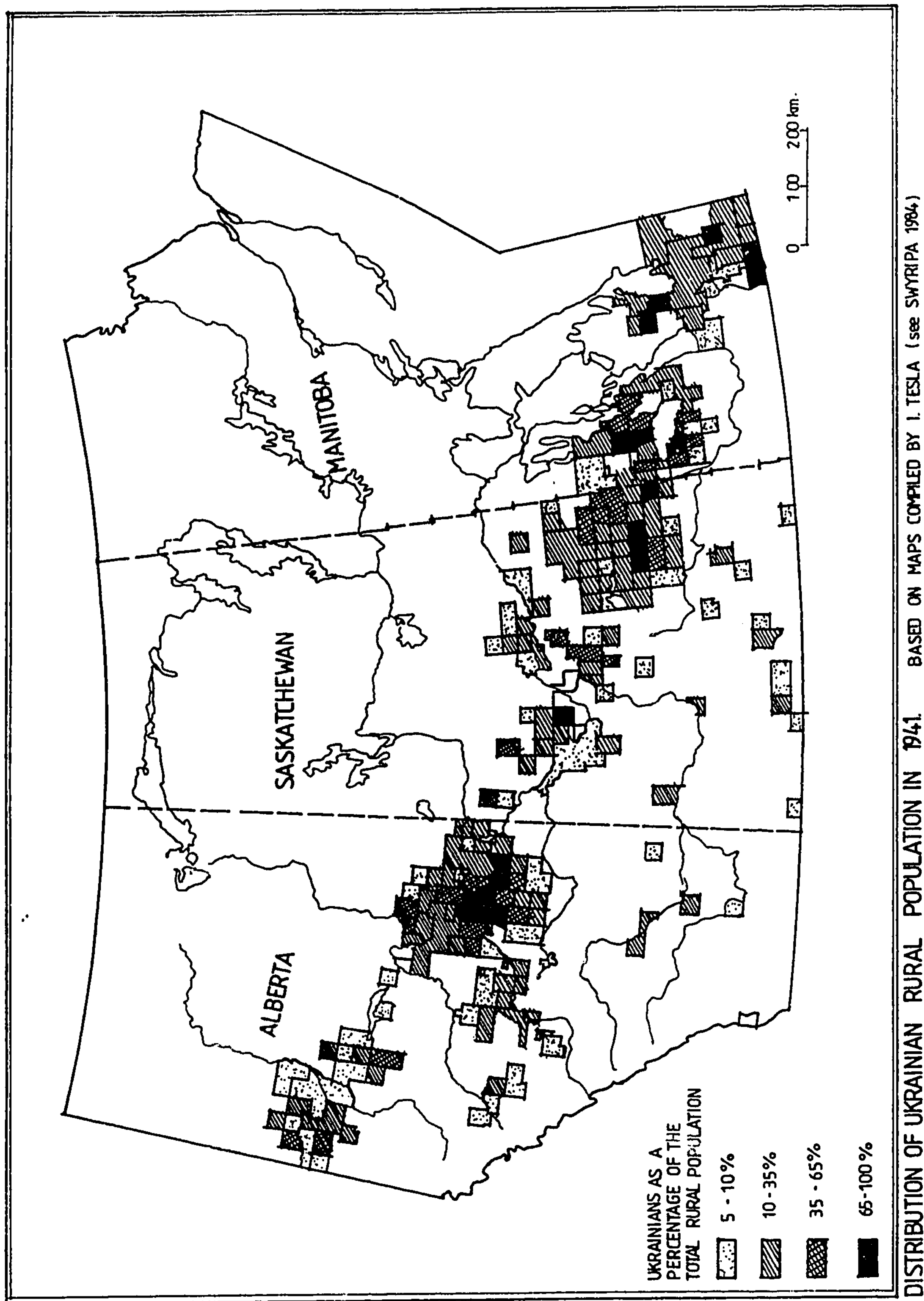

Figure3. Distribution of Ukrainian Rural Population in 1941

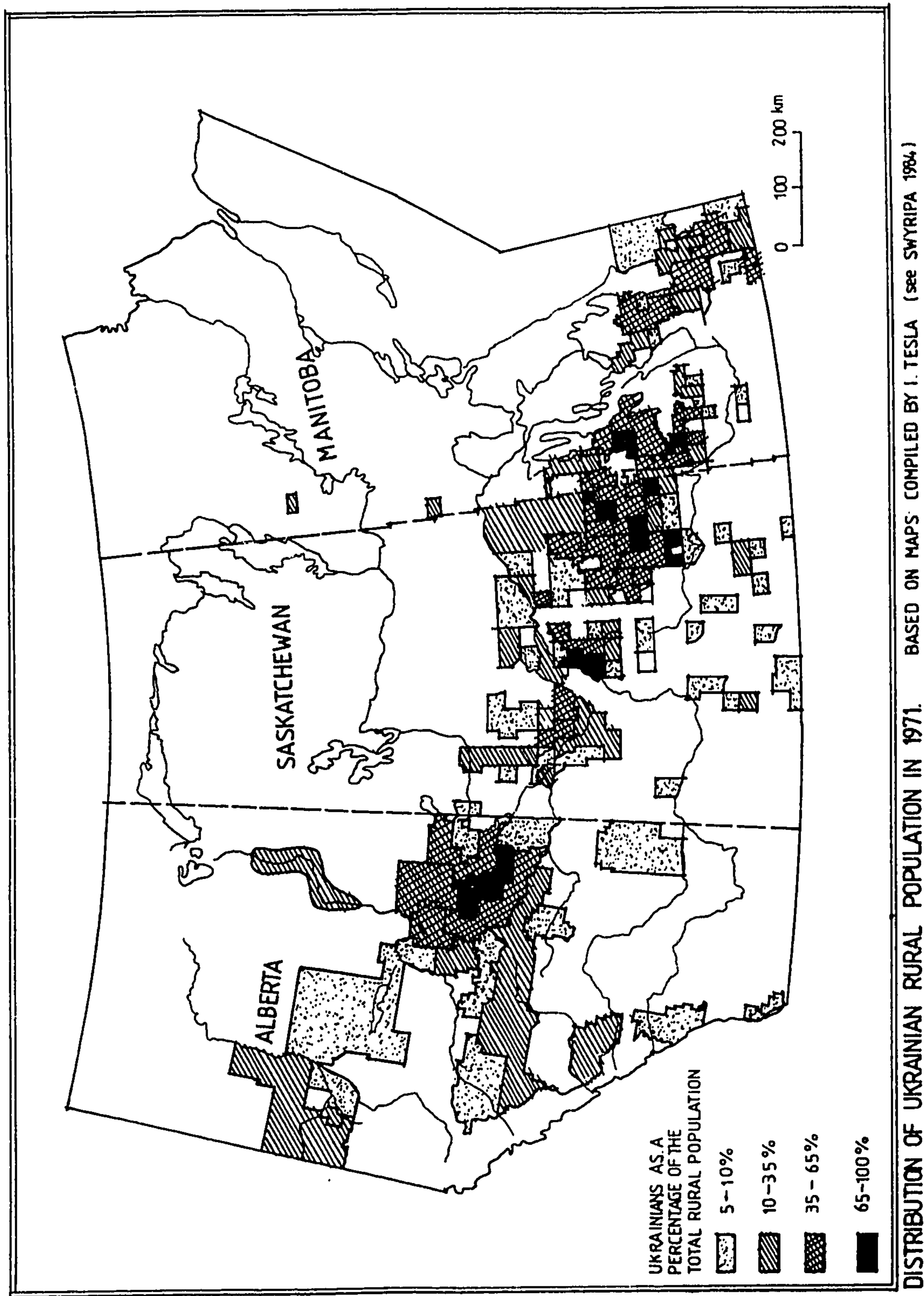

Figure 4. Distribution of Ukrainian Rural Population in 1971.

CHAPTER VI: THE DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN ETHNO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN CANADA

Group behaviour involving ethnicity has different cognitive frameworks depending on the type of ethnicity in play at the time. This thesis deals with Ukrainian Catholic expressions of emergent nationalism, primordialism and situational ethnicity. In the development of ways to manifest ethnic expression in social contexts, such as church or parish organisation, one form of expression is usually dominant for one group at any one time.

When Ukrainian peasants arrived in Canada in the 1890s they brought with them their rural Ukrainian culture. Non-Ukrainians identified them by their "sheepskin clothing" and their different language. These Ukrainian immigrants were aware, of course, of their language, their religious practices, and their dietary habits; all of which were integral to their ethnic identity. These aspects of social interaction, positive or negative, were heightened in relation to the Austrian, Polish or Russian culture or hierarchies around them. In Canada this identity was expressed relative to German-speaking immigrants who preceded them to Canada and the English-speaking administrators. Upon arrival in Canada the immigrants from Ukraine were not uniform in their perception of their individual or group (Ukrainian) identity.

> The word 'Ukraine' was only defined by Charles Young and Helen Reid in the 1931 sociological study (Young 1931), and they noted the political, economic and cultural bases of Ukrainian identity in Canada and its links to Europe. It remains notable that the adoption of the term Ukrainian and the state of Ukraine emerged simultaneously at the end of the Great War.
>
> ...
>
> Before the Great War, most British Canadians wrote of 'Galicians', 'Bukovynians', 'Ruthenians', or more rarely, 'Little Russians'. They thus used a mixture of geographical and linguistic categories to identify a distinctive people. (Ferguson 1991:310, footnote 27)

Ukrainians, in Canada at this time, also appear to have neither clearly nor consistently applied the term "Ukrainian" to themselves. Many factors contributed to such ambiguity, but long periods of experiencing colonial overlordships had the consequence that a variety of other national labels had been applied to people who spoke Ukrainian.

By the 1980s, when the research for this dissertation was conducted, collective definitions of Ukrainian origin, language and nationality had been articulated both by the Ukrainian-Canadians and by non-Ukrainian-Canadians. By this time a sense of Ukrainian identity, Ukrainian community and Ukrainian Catholic practice in Canada was firmly established and some aspects of Ukrainian cultural, historical and ethnic expression had been elaborately documented in academic, national and provincial forums. Also by this time Ukrainians had negotiated a religious identity and affiliation as well as social and economic referents.

This chapter seeks to identify and explain the socio-political factors within Canada that contributed to the development of Ukrainian ethnic and ethno-religious identity over the three major periods of Ukrainian migration to Canada. In order to understand some of the factors

influencing the expression of Ukrainian Catholic culture in the 1980s it is first necessary to appreciate their situation upon arrival in the 1890s. Those Ukrainians who arrived in the 1890s eventually found themselves in a rural situation in prairie Canada. The rural, social and cultural system was very different from what they had known in Ukraine. To many, in the first instance, it would appear that the escape from Austrian cultural systems and the representatives or overlords therein was an initial blessing. However, the complete absence of familiar social structures meant that the Ukrainians, like most immigrants, had to effectively establish new socio-cultural organisations. These patterns or cycles of re-establishment of the familiar in a foreign environment were repeated to different degrees for those Ukrainians who migrated later.

Church and Social Indentity In Ukraine: Historical Background

Many years after the arrival of the first Ukrainian the proclamation of the Papal Bull in 1948 established a Ukrainian Greek Catholic eparchy in Edmonton. The eparchy was formed around the only Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish in Edmonton. This proclamation forms a significant event that later became a turning point for Ukrainian cultural and religious history in Edmonton, Alberta, and in other parts of Canada. In its simplicity, the Papal Bull was the culmination of many years of political and religious struggle. The Papal Bull proclaimed the parish to be the Cathedral. Almost simultaneously the arrival of the post-World War II Ukrainian Displaced Persons gave another redefinition of Ukrainian Catholic religious practice within that parish. The cumulative effect of both led to the single Ukrainian Catholic parish becoming three parishes. This divergence of parishes, which began post 1948 was, for the purposes of this research, a critical watershed.

To understand the importance of the religious, social and political inter-relationships it is necessary to elaborate some of the significant contributing historical factors introduced in Chapters III and IV. Several major periods of cultural, social, economic and political history need to be considered. Of these, the more significant can be divided into three time spans roughly coinciding with the major migration periods.

In Galicia (that is, Western Ukraine) before World War I, during the period of Ukrainian subjection by Russia and Austria-Hungary, at least up until the turn of the century, formal Ukrainian language education in general (for example, school-based) and Ukrainian language use in particular was denied. Himka (1988a; 1988b) and Rudnytsky (1981, 1987) indicate the level of some of the debate on this aspect. For example, "landlords frequently had educated peasants sent to the army" (Himkab 1988b:14).

> Landlord opposition to peasant education was not confined to placing obstacles in the way of individual peasants and individual schools on the village level. The entire political influence of the Galician nobility was used to hinder the development of popular education. (Himka 1988b:14-15)

Himka (1988b:26) also notes:

> The all European revolution of 1848-49 had a tremendous effect on Ukrainian society in Galicia. The Ukrainian national movement, which had hitherto been a cultural movement embodied in grammar books and collections of folk songs and verse penned by priests and seminarians emerged for the first time as a mass movement with apolitical dimension.

Elsewhere, Himka (1982:19) has shown that

because Polish nobles had set the tone in cultured society, educated Ukrainians in Austria had also considered themselves Polish. Although in 1848 many of the members of the Supreme Ruthenian Council were still more comfortable in the Polish language than in Ukrainian, they now asserted their separate national identity. .... Significantly, the first Ukrainian-language periodicals began to appear precisely during the revolution of 1848.

Rudnytsky has, however, presented an interpretation which claimed the Austrians used policies less oppressive than popularly portrayed. Himka's (1988b) contribution to clarifying this area noted that during the Austro-Hungarian empire the period after the 1860s was the time in which the Ukrainian nationalist movement penetrated rural Galicia. This nationalist movement developed at the time of the first major migration. It was, according to Himka and other writers, a time of general discrimination against Ukrainians of all classes. Examples, as illustrations of this discrimination and its impact on Ukrainian social, economic, political and religious life in Ukraine and later, indirectly in Canada, are noted below.

Often presented in the discussion on the treatment of Ukrainians during Austro-Hungarian dominance is the idea that the Vienna government, from the days of Maria Therese and Joseph II, supported the Ukrainians in order to achieve leverage against the Polish rulers then in Galicia. This dimension of support by the Austrians won Ukrainian political sympathies despite Ukrainians not being granted the rights that contemporary Polish nationals enjoyed in Galicia.

The organisation of religion is one illustration of the differential treatment of Ukrainians in their homeland. During the Hapsburg rule over Ukraine the term *Greek Uniates*, while applied as a religious description, was disparaging. The perception of inferiority vis-a-vis the Latin-oriented Church developed into a social schism. Its impact was particularly powerful as it combined both class and religious distinctions. For example, rich townsmen (whether Ukrainian or not) belonged to the Latin Rite. In contrast the Ukrainian Catholic priests were alienated from the gentry in both religious and socio-economic spheres by being considered serfs along with their parishioners. The Ukrainian priesthood therefore developed its own separate and distinct social order. The wealthy clergy were predominantly found in the Basilian order of monks, who had monopolised office, and who received a higher education and so distanced and separated themselves from the parish-based-clergy and the peasant faithful. The peasants at the bottom of this church-class pyramid were extremely poor and disenfranchised from the educational, religious and political power base.

During Maria Terese's rule (1740 - 1780) it was forbidden to use the hitherto discriminatory term "Uniate." As part of the social reform Ukrainian Catholic priests were given a state salary and a Galician Metropolitan See was established. At the same time the Basilians monks lost much of their relative privilege. They also lost their autonomy as they were incorporated under the jurisdiction of regionally based bishops. With this new type of administration the bishops and priests were required to be accountable for their involvement in society.

In spite of developments at this time the Ukrainian (or Eastern) "Rite" was one of the most persistent and inflexible factors differentiating Ukrainians from Polish Catholics. (An explanation of the external aspects of "Rite" was presented in Chapter IV.) For example, Ukrainians used the Cyrillic alphabet and Polish was written in Roman script. In practice a Greek Catholic priest could not baptise in the Latin Rite nor was it acceptable for Ukrainian Catholics to be baptised in the Latin Rite. As in most cultures families practiced religion through an oral tradition and that tradition passed beliefs and rituals from generation to generation. Therefore one's affiliation to a "rite" was also determined at birth.

Another illustration of this social cleavage was education, a ladder of social mobility within most literate societies. Those Ukrainians with greatest access to higher levels of education were the priests. It appears that before 1770 the Ukrainian clergy was relatively uneducated and the liturgy and catechism were learned by rote memory. In 1770 a seminary with university status was established. Learning Polish, and in turn, seeking educated company (Polish), the clergy were seen to become "Polonised" and for this they were recognised socially. Over time their values and attitudes appeared to be more in keeping with the dominant Polish society than with their disenfranchised Church and Parish.

> The integration of the Ukrainian lands into Poland resulted in significant national and religious transformations. Part of the relatively small elite, particularly the magnates, became Polonized as a result of Polish education and of the large number of in-migrating Polish nobles and Catholic clergy (especially the Jesuits). (Subtelny and Zhukovsky 1988:168).

In similar vein Subtelny (1989:214) notes that the "Greek Catholic clergy constituted a distinct social group that was the closest thing West Ukrainian society had to an elite." The Greek Catholic clergy were provided with education, seminaries and opportunities to enter university and become a class which dominated the predominantly rural society. The clergy were provided by the state with a residence, tracts of arable land and forests, and a small salary. They also managed to collect fees for teaching and donations from parishioners for baptisms, marriages and funerals. In practice this combination of resources allowed the priests to be dependent on their parishioners but socially connected to the world outside of the parishioners.

Subtelny (1989:214-15) shows that

> The clergy has gained a position of leadership among the peasantry by default when the native nobility had alienated itself from Ukrainian society in the 16th-17th centuries by becoming Polonized (and hence Catholicized). Because members of the lower clergy, unlike the hierarchy, were allowed to establish families, priestly dynasties evolved that often came to be associated with specific regions for many generations. In the 19th century, there were about 2000-2500 such priestly families in Eastern Galicia. Frequent assemblies, lengthy visits, and intermarriage had made the Greek Catholic clergy a tightly knit, hereditary caste with a strong sense of group solidarity. Bound to the masses by a common faith, they enjoyed great influence and Russian Austrian Rule, authority among their peasant parishioners. Yet - especially prior to Hapsburg rule - the material and cultural levels of the Ukrainian village priest were scarcely higher than those of the peasant. True, the priestly plots provided by the community were generally larger than those of the peasant, and fees from christenings, weddings, and funerals provided additional income. But the widow and children of deceased parish priests often lived from the same plots as new appointees, while the expense of preparing sons for the priesthood and daughters for suitable marriages bankrupted many a priest.

A detailed description of the income, privileges and encumbrances are presented in Himka (1988b). One specific issue of note is that the Greek Catholic priest, unlike his Polish or Austro-Hungarian counterpart, was generally married, usually before ordination at an age younger than his married parishioners. He was therefore relatively poorer than his Polish or Austro-Hungarian colleagues.

> Outside from the general discrimination experienced by Ukrainians of the classes (low prestige, limited use of Ukrainian language in government and higher educational institutions) Ukrainian priests experienced socio-economic discrimination specific to their stratum. (Himka 1988b:127).

However,

> the peasant was brought up to fear God, to revere the benevolent emperor, to respect the authority of bishops and priests, and to obey his superiors. The natural state of society, governed by unfathomable universal laws which preserved peace, order, well-being, happiness, and the people's identity, required that the peasant be humble, hardworking, sincere, honest, resigned to his fate, and grateful for any blessings. (Yuzyk 1982:146)

A contrary view is presented by Krawchuk (1989), who notes that clergy and peasant remained in distinct and separate classes throughout the Austrian period. As part of the "privilegentsia" Ukrainian priests

> enjoyed equal status with Roman Catholics, a higher level of education than was available to the peasant, certain legal exemptions, and economic independence from their parishioners. (By virtue of their office, priests received from the imperial government small salaries and large tracts of arable land from which profits could be reaped after the peasants had ploughed the soil). (Krawchuk 1989:81)

The Church In Canada

The transition of Ukrainian peasants to the Canadian prairie brought only one part of the Ukrainian Catholic social, economic and educational structure because there were no priests accompanying the initial group of settlers to Canada. When Canada opened up to immigration from central Europe at the turn of the century, Ukrainians came from Bukovyna or Galicia without their clergy. Priests later visited from the United States. For a variety of reasons they visited irregularly and for short periods of time. Yereniuk (1989:113) shows that as early as 1880 and 1890 The Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in Rome forbade married secular priests to serve in North America.

Apart from being economically impoverished, illiterate, speaking little or no English, and with limited technical skills, it appears that Ukrainians entering Canada at this time came <u>without</u> a collective identity. There was no familiar or accepting socio-religious structure within which to relate as a community. Ethnic identities experienced at this critical time of transition were responses to negative stereotypes imposed by the Anglo-Saxon dominant society on small groups of Ukrainian immigrants as they arrived. A self-defined positive sense of distinctiveness, or ethnicity, was not developed in the Canadian context until much later. The initial responses on arriving in Canada were essentially directed to individual and family survival. The lack of common Ukrainian identity, and the absence of familiar social and religious structures over long periods fostered a climate of confusion and indecision for Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovyna about what constituted "Ukrainian," and indeed, "Ukrainian Catholic." This ambiguity lasted for many years, even into the period in which this research was conducted.

The absence of the Church and its representatives as it was known in Ukraine was arguably of benefit in developing an independent economic and political Ukrainian entity. Without familiar

social and religious structures Ukrainians were able to ultimately benefit from the new responses to their situation. However, in Ukraine in the eighteenth and nineteenth century the Ukrainian Catholic Church had been the only institution that demonstrated a significant leadership among Galician Ukrainians under Austrian rule. The Ukrainian Catholic Church had significance also as it was the Church to which almost all Ukrainians of Galicia and Transcarpathia belonged.

Once in Canada Ukrainian settlers found themselves under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic hierarchy as if they were Latin Rite Catholics. They were correspondingly deemed to be part of the Russian Orthodox Church if they were Orthodox Ukrainians from Bukovyna and Eastern Europe. Yereniuk (1989) shows that the decrees from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith also "stated that all Byzantine-rite Catholic Churches were to be integrated into the local Latinised dioceses in North America." In several ways the process of negotiation of Ukrainian Catholic identity and legitimacy, a process that had gone on in Europe, began again all over again for the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada.

In general the leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine had little, if any, impact upon Ukrainians in Canada. However, from the renewal of the Galician Metropolitan See in 1807, the Ukrainian Catholic Church benefited from stronger leadership. The most notable of the leaders at this time was Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytsky. By the end of the nineteenth century Metropolitan Sheptytsky demonstrated his sensitivity to his Ukrainian members, and his outstanding leadership in his awareness of the thoughts and needs of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada who wrote numerous letters to him.

The Catholic Church hierarchy at this point also seemed to be concerned about their inability to appropriately address the religious needs of the Ukrainian immigrants. The General Vicar of Bishop Lacombe of St. Albert visited the Metropolitan in Stanyslaviv (a region in Galicia). Before this visit the Roman Catholic Bishop of Prince Albert had travelled to Vienna, Rome and Lviv in an attempt to bring Ruthenian Ukrainian Catholic priests to Canada. This initiative is recorded by Krawchuk (1989), Senyk (1989) and others as an indication that some elements of the Canadian - French dominated Catholic hierarchy had at least been aware of the ethno-religious needs of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic immigrants. When the French-Canadian Church representatives visited the then young Metropolitan Sheptytsty in Stanyslaviv, he discussed the importance of visiting his Canadian resident congregation. His efforts were met with opposition from the Congregation of the Propagation of Faith in Rome. These obstacles appeared insurmountable until 1909 when Metropolitan Sheptytsky attended the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal.

Until this time Metropolitan Sheptytsky had provided guidance to the Ukrainian Catholic communities in Canada by writing supportive encyclicals in letter form. The first arrived in Canada by post in 1901 with a general address to the "Ruthenians Settled in Canada." His letter acknowledged his receipt of correspondence from many Ukrainian settlers in Canada concerned about the absence of Ukrainian priests in particular and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in general. Other letters followed. The most renowned was his second letter in 1902 entitled "The Tenets of Faith; a Letter of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky to the Ruthenians Settled in Canada."

While visiting Montreal for the Eucharistic Congress the Metropolitan also visited Ukrainian Catholics in their homes. He thereby further acquainted himself with the problems in context and appeared to begin immediately to develop a solution.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky also visited Manitoba and other places in Canada including Vancouver. Krawchuk (1989:85) has noted that in Vancouver "he was pelted with rotten eggs by (Ukrainian) socialists who did not care for his policies in Galicia, and in particular objected to his condemnation of the political violence in Galicia." This display of dissatisfaction was significant as it became one of the more public demonstrations of a major rift in the developing Ukrainian Catholic community in Western Canada. This rift developed into a schism that continued to divide Ukrainian Catholics into Catholic and Orthodox groupings in the pre-World War I period.

Sheptytsky's letters all indicated his understanding of the more traditionally based Ukrainian Catholic needs in Canada. Immediately upon his return to Lviv his writing resumed. In February 1911 in a 96-page booklet, *For Canadian Ruthenians* (*'Kanadiiskym Rusynam'*), he related the principles of faith to the religious, cultural and moral position in which the Ukrainians found themselves. Bozhyk (1927), referring to specific parishes, noted that Sheptytsky's document cut short the exodus of Greek Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy and Presbyterianism. At the same time he issued a letter (or epistle) to all Ukrainians with a request that the Ukrainian settlers in Canada be remembered in prayers. He thereby reinforced the cultural and spiritual link between Ukraine and Canada. In March 1911 he reissued a trilingual (Ukrainian, English and French) statement,*Address on the Ruthenian Question to their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada*"

After his visit among Ukrainian Catholics in Canada, Sheptytsky documented the state of Ukrainian settlement there. In this he accepted the popular estimate given in the *Winnipeg Free Press* that 150,000 Ukrainian Greek Catholics were settled throughout Canada. Yereniuk (1989), however, cited Darcovich and Yuzyk's (1980) assessment that approximately 150,000 Ukrainians in total had migrated to Canada. The newspaper account was obviously inflated. Metropolitan Sheptytsky, diplomatically perhaps, also acknowledged the assistance of the Latin Rite hierarchy to the Ukrainians. The greater part of the document, however, concentrated on the problems facing Ukrainians without Church leadership. In this Sheptytsky's supporters claim he provided a bridge which connected the problems of Church hierarchies to those of the individual Ukrainian Greek Catholic immigrant (See Krawchuk:1989).

In addition to the absence of the traditional forms of ethno-religious organisation, Ukrainian immigrants encountered negative labels about their clothing, accented speech, customs and religion. Settlement had occurred in isolated homesteads with only other recent immigrant Ukrainians or Ukrainian-speaking Mennonites as neighbours. With no priests at this time, immigrants were left to their own devices and began to improvise by occasionally gathering in each other's homes for communal prayer. In the absence of other forms of social support such gatherings provided a variety of individual and communal needs in addition to those associated with religious gatherings.

During the same period St. Boniface (Manitoba) was the See of Archbishop Langevin, with *suffragan Sees* (that is, church administrative units) in Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Catholic hierarchy in Western Canada at the time, and until the last part of the second decade of the 20th century, was French. Accordingly the area in which the Ukrainians settled was under the jurisdiction of Bishop Vital Grandin and his auxiliary Bishop Emile Legal who were both based at St. Albert near Edmonton. Bishop Legal attempted to address the spiritual needs of the Ukrainian settlers with the assistance of the Catholic Oblate Fathers.

> The Main reason why French-Canadian priests felt called to serve in the Ukrainian missions was that this large Catholic immigrant constituency had far too few of its own priests. There is every basis for believing that, in their

> decision to dedicate their lives to the Ukrainian people, ...(they) were motivated by a sincere concern for the spiritual well-being of the people. Yet along with that fundamental pastoral concern, a variety of additional factors was also at play.
>
> The French-Canadian priests saw themselves not only as missionary priests but also as defenders of the Catholic faith. In addition to active proselytizing by established Protestant and fledgling Russian Orthodox denominations, an array of suspended priests, apostates, and outright imposters had declared open season on the Ukrainian settlements, challenging the symbols of religious authority to which the immigrants still clung. To counter that spiritual threat, a strong Catholic mission was seen as vital. (Krawchuk1991:208)

McGowan (1991) has documented the Ukrainian Catholic dependence upon the Latin-rite hosts for chapels, clergy, and the sacraments.

Baptisms, marriages, confessions and other religious rituals were also accommodated during the infrequent visits of Russian missionaries. In Ukraine in the Russian Empire, the Russian Czar had instigated a strong Orthodox conversion campaign around the turn of the twentieth century. This program extended to North America and Russian Orthodox priests paid by the Czar emigrated to Alaska and California. From there they made regular missionary visits to East European settlements throughout the North American continent, including those of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada. While the French-Canadian Catholic and Russian Orthodox priests focused on Ukrainians in Canada another outreach program was being developed in Lviv.

By 1897 the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Lviv recognised the problems facing Ukrainian immigrants in Canada and facilitated the arrival of Father Nestor Dmytriw who was then based in a Ukrainian community in the United States. He visited Ukrainian Canadian settlements including Edmonton and then returned to the United States.[5]

All the priests who attempted to address parish based needs of Ukrainian Catholics in Western Canada encountered difficulties at several levels. Foremost was the issue of Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests being married before ordination. This Ukrainian Catholic Rite practice no doubt caused some consternation among the French (Latin Rite) hierarchy. At the same time it appears that it was difficult to locate a celibate priest among the clerics willing to emigrate. Yuzyk (1982:148) shows only two per cent of the Ukrainian priests in Galicia as being celibate in 1894.

The Basilians

While married Ukrainian Catholic priests were not accepted the French priests were not themselves in a position to provide adequate spiritual care for the Ukrainians in Alberta. For example, to find a remedy the French Canadian Latin Rite hierarchy began to intercede with the

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[5] A second Ukrainian priest, Father Paul Tymkevych, from Western Ukraine, arrived in Edmonton following representation by the Vatican Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. He established a base in the Ukrainian settled Edna-Star region. Unfortunately, the needs of the community were different to those for which he was prepared. After much controversy, which included a legal battle over the use of a church building, he too moved on to the United Hungarian Empire as commented on earlier.

Vatican Curia, the Austrian government and the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Ukraine to have Ukrainian Basilian Fathers (who were monks and therefore not married) come to Canada.

This acceptance of the Basilians by the Latin Rite hierarchy requires comment. It is interesting to note that Ukrainian Basilians are often popularly referred to as the Ukrainian Jesuits. (The history of Latin Rite Jesuit involvement in the Ukrainian Catholic Church revival during the Austro-Hungarian Empire as commented earlier.) With this background of celibacy and exposure to the Latin Rite philosophy and discipline the Basilians would, of course, be seen to be far more acceptable to the Oblate or French hierarchy in Alberta or the United States.

This popular perception of the Basilians in Ukrainian Greek Catholic culture was still evident among Ukrainian Catholics in Edmonton in the 1980s. In response to the requests of the Canadian bishops, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv sent his personal secretary, Father Basil Zholdak, to Canada to visit the Ukrainian settlements and to report back to him. The news of Father Zholdak's visit seems to have inspired the French bishops of western Canada to increase their efforts on behalf of Ukrainian immigrants. One of the resolutions of their conference in 1901 was to build at least one church for Ukrainians during the following spring. In the meantime, a French Oblate, an Armenian and a Polish priest all worked as best they could with Ukrainians throughout central and Western Canada.

> In resisting non-Ukrainian missionary priests, the Ukrainian immigrant was driven by national values more than by religious concerns. The francophone Catholic priest was all too ready to cater to both needs and to recognize the historical factors that had fused them together within the Ukrainian psyche. But he could not change his ethnic background, and that remained the main stumbling block between him and his parishioners. For his part, the Ukrainian immigrant, whether out of a historically cultivated defence mechanism or out of sheer prejudice, was susceptible to the notion that a non-Ukrainian priest was an agent of denationalization. (Krawchuk 1991:217)

The end of 1902 saw the arrival in Canada of three Basilian missionaries, Fathers Platonid Filas, Sozont Dydyk and Anton Strotsky, accompanied by one brother and four Sisters of Servants of Mary Immaculate. "As the need for missionaries was greatest in Alberta, they proceeded to Edmonton" (Senyk 1989:97). This group formed the first permanent Greek Catholic clergy in Alberta. Their first base was in south Edmonton (then called Strathcona) where they started visiting the sick, teaching written and oral Ukrainian to domestically-employed Ukrainian girls, and performing religious services for the 100 or so Ukrainians in Edmonton and surrounding areas. They later established themselves in Mundare, Alberta.

Senyk (1989:98) notes that the Basilians had to quickly adapt from their homeland clerical model in which they were auxiliaries to the diocesan parish clergy in parish work. They were ill-prepared for the Canadian context in which they themselves had to create and provide elements of church organisation and religious ministry. At about the same time Bishop Legal's episcopal corporation purchased a block of 38 lots in Edmonton. The Basilians in 1903 bought almost half of that property (18 lots in all) for $2,300. A building was established and the new church - St Josaphat - was consecrated on Sunday November 27, 1904 - the feast of St. Josaphat. Meanwhile, a parish residence was built in Rabbit Hills in 1903.

Formal Establishment of a Church and Hierarchy

The Ukrainian parishes in Canada were administered as essentially overseas outposts from Lviv in Ukraine until 1912. By appointment of the Apostolic See Mykyta (Nicetus), Budka became the first Ukrainian bishop in Canada. He presided over his large pan-Canadian eparchy diocese, or bishopric, from Winnipeg. This thesis did not seek to develop an analysis of Budka's leadership. Various writers, among them Krawchuk and Hryniuk have presented different perspectives on the Bishop's contribution to the Ukrainian community. This thesis sought only to use his period of office as an era after which Ukrainian ethnic, religious and political sign-posts appear to have changed.

By 1912, scattered across Canada were 20 Ukrainian Catholic priests, 80 churches and chapels, and three schools with a total of 80,000 registered adherents (Kazymyra 1975:20). There was concern among both the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic hierarchy that Ukrainians were joining the Seraphimite (All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox) Church and the Independent Orthodox Church (referred to as the Ruthenian Orthodox Church). Olender (1989) shows that at the same time Presbyterian and Anglican missionaries attempted to create a Protestant Uniate Church. Yereniuk (1989:111) notes "within fifteen years of the first arrival of Ukrainians in Canada, four different jurisdictions attempted to satisfy the spiritual needs of the people." An interim solution to this situation, noted by Krawchuk (1989), was that Roman Catholic bishops of Canada sought Vatican permission for some of their priests to work within the Eastern rite. Amongst the first of these were the Oblate Fathers and later the Redemptorist Monks and Brothers in 1907. Between 1906 and Bishops Budka's installation in 1912, nine Latin-Rite priests had transferred and were working among Ukrainians, albeit with obvious cultural and linguistic barriers remaining.

With Bishop Budka's appointment concerted efforts began to legalise the incorporation of the "Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada." The incorporation was ratified by the Canadian federal Parliament in 1913. Bishop Budka established the first Canadian council (*sobor*) of the Ukrainian Catholic priests in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, and guidelines for the clergy were set in place. Yuzyk (1982:150,171) notes the Regulations of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada were published in 1915 (entitled *Pravyla Rusko-katolytskoi tserkvy v Kanadi*). A number of the Ruthenian students were sent to study in a Roman Catholic seminary in Toronto and additional Catholic priests arrived from Ukraine. Bishop Budka then expanded his ministry to establish *bursas* (student residence halls) at the University of Manitoba and the University of Alberta while a girls' school (or academy) was established at Yorkton under the auspices of the Sisters Servants.

At the outbreak of World War I Bishop Budka presumed to speak for Ukrainian Catholics and wrote a letter dated July 27 calling on Ukrainians to join the Austrian side in Europe. This letter was hastily withdrawn almost immediately but the confusion remained for a significant time after the event. Repudiation of the letter followed instantly. Swyripa (1983) demonstrates that in reaction to Bishop Budka's letter different elements of Ukrainian political life were eager to claim freedom from both Austria and Russia. (The impact of Canada's entry into World War I on Ukrainians is dealt with later in this dissertation.) In Bishop Budka's defence, Krawchuk (1989:87) argues that the incident must be understood in light of the cultural "transition" behind it.

> Budka had literally been plucked from the Austrian social and political context and inserted into the Canadian political environment. He could not have been adequately prepared for the transition. (Krawchuk 1989:87)

Yuzyk (1982) adds support to the notion the letter made sense in "the context of Old World politics where Austria, to all Ukrainian parties, was considered to be the lesser of the two evils when compared to Russia." However, "upon learning of Canada's subsequent declaration of war, Bishop Budka issued another pastoral letter on August 6, renouncing his previous statement and urging support for the Canadian war effort" (Kaye and Swyripa 1982:153). However, by 1918 Ukrainian radicals opposed Bishop Budka and his regulations and after some conflict they broke away from the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to establish the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada.[6]

Bishop Budka left for Lviv in 1927 and thereby ended the first phase of the organisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. By this time the Ukrainian Catholic eparchy had grown to include 47 priests, 299 parishes and missionary outposts, provincial headquarters for Basilian and Redemptorist monks and over 160,000 Ukrainian Catholics. (See McGowan [1991] and Yuzyk [1982] for differing estimates of the numbers of the Ukrainian Catholics to be 200,000 and 160,000 respectively.) The Ukrainian Catholic weekly *Canadian Rusyn* was established in Toronto in 1911 and in 1918 it became the *Canadian Ukrainian* but subsequently ceased publication. In 1929 it was replaced by the *Ukrainian News*.

The Immigrants' Situation

The latter part of the first phase of the Ukrainian Catholic eparchy's establishment in Canada coincided with the second major wave of immigrants. Kaye and Swyripa (1982:48-49) summarise the economic ruin of Ukraine in the inter-war years. Men were conscripted to various Polish functions and Ukrainian land carved up. The loss of manpower, availability of land and currency problems amounted to extreme difficulties and formed one of the more significant push factors for those who proceeded to emigrate. Whole families were encouraged to emigrate in the 1920s. However, it was still the norm for men to go first and for their wives and families to follow. Despite the problems inherited after World War I, those who did emigrate were more financially secure than their 1890s predecessors. "In the short period of 1926 to 1929 the bulk of the inter-war Ukrainian immigration arrived in Canada from Galicia and Volhynia, then under Poland" (Gerus 1991:164). With chain migration again the common pattern, the second wave of immigrants moved to areas where individuals from villages in common had settled. The second wave provided a labour pool for those already established. After working for a few years individuals and families from the second group moved onto their own homesteads or moved into occupations available in the towns.

The world wide depression of the 1920s meant Canada had her own unemployment problems; many inter-war immigrants lost their jobs and some were deported. As a result, farm workers, domestics, labourers and relatives of Canadian citizens were no longer accepted into Canada. The new requirements were for immigrants who could adapt themselves to work in urban situations. Not many Ukrainians qualified.

The first wave of immigrants from Ukraine concerned themselves with survival. One large sector welcomed the priests, as symbols of higher culture, learning and the meditator between God and the common populace. (There have been many assessments of the culture of Catholic religious structure and the role that the priest have been given in their mediator role.) Another group,

[6] The most significant contribution to this area of Ukrainian Canadian history has been the work of Yuzyk which may be referred to for greater detail. A summary of the key issues are found in Krawchuk (1989:89).

considered radical, challenged the major tenets of Ukrainian Church organisations and broke away from the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada 1918.[7]

Whatever religious group affiliation was chosen, the Ukrainian *sojourner's* world view, constant among the first migration wave, carried over for the second group of immigrants. The 'Canadian interlude' was frequently seen to be second choice especially among the few who came from urban parts of Ukraine. This apparent state of temporariness was more pronounced than with the first wave because of changed conditions within Ukraine.

Those of the second wave of immigrants had grown up to experience the reading clubs (*chytalny*), volunteer fire departments, gymnasiums, cooperatives and credit unions that helped establish a national orientation throughout Ukraine. Many came from Galicia where they had made contributions to the Ukrainian Revolution. Those that had been involved in military service during the war were far more aware, more urbane and politically motivated than their predecessors in the first wave. In time, however, hopes for an independent Ukraine faded. The younger generation with literate backgrounds adjusted to the Canadian situation by increasingly joining professions and skilled occupations in industry. Some of the older generation who were semi-literate began servicing the Ukrainian communities' needs by teaching in parish schools, editing Ukrainian newspapers and other similar contributions.

Those that had been in Canada throughout the first World War had undergone a very different set of experiences. Canada's participation in the war meant many Ukrainians along with other ethnic groups were registered and nearly 6,000 Ukrainians were interned as Austro-Hungarian nationals (Melnycky 1983:1). The reasons for internment varied. Most former Ukrainian camp inmates were interned as a result of "trying to enter the United States in search of work, as was common at harvest time, without the required documents" (Melnycky 1983:4).

Further:

> Ukrainians were also interned for attempting to enlist in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Ukrainian immigrants from the Russian empire were obligated to serve in Europe whether naturalized or not, and approximately two thousand fought with the Canadian Expeditionary Force overseas. Unnaturalized Austrian Ukrainians, however, were not permitted to serve in any capacity, although thousands registered as Russians, Poles and Bohemians or anglicised their names in order to enlist. (Melnycky 1983:5)

Other reasons for internment were listed as refusing or failing to register, breaking parole or even writing to relatives in Austria. The disruption caused by Bishop Budka's letter, calling on Ukrainians to enlist and come to Austria's aid, further compounded common Canadian confusion about how to assess or politically categorise Ukrainians. Paradoxically these experiences echoed the prejudices that Ukrainians had undergone in other times in European countries.

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[7] Yuzyk (1982) has documented the problems that developed and their resolution. The disruption in the community was reflected in the series of disparaging terms coined to describe those that had changed church affiliation. During interviews conducted for this research, elderly informations claimed that such labels were still employed from time to time to note those that had changed church affiliation during this pre-World-War I period.

By the end of World War I Bishop Budka had been appointed as Ukrainian Catholic Bishop in Canada and involved himself by visiting internment camps and tending to the pastoral care of the internees. The internment experiences of Ukrainians during this time questioned the notions of freedom, democracy and naturalisation, all of which arose out of existing prejudices based largely on fears arising from economic factors. Overall, the effect on Ukrainians in Canada was to establish a strong sense of Ukrainian identity which became evident about 1914. With the benefit of hindsight it would appear that such external forces manifest in this type of prejudice led to an internal Ukrainian group focus which helped Ukrainians redefine their ethnicity.

Yereniuk (1989:125) establishes that between 1891 and 1925 the social history of Ukrainians in Canada showed a "dynamic and energetic community that was challenged to maintain old world values but at the same time subjected to the New World's freedom and liberty." The Church seemed to accommodate the Ukrainian immigrants without making any radical change or adaptation.

> The Ukrainian Byzantine Rite has always had room for married, as well as secular and monastic celibate clergy. Yet in their homeland, Ukrainians felt a greater attachment to the married clergy who shared their pattern of life. In Canada, the same attachment was popularized. The Greek Catholics, under the influence of the Vatican, established an almost exclusively celibate clergy, both secular and monastic. (Yereniuk 1989:124).

Church accounts refer to the increase in missionary work, at the time that Bishop Ladyka was appointed in 1929. He developed this work further by establishing new parishes and encouraging priests into the publication field. The Albertan Ukrainian Catholic parishes continued under the direction of the Winnipeg based Bishop until the creation, by Papal Bull, in 1948, of a three-eparchy-system across Canada. The Eastern eparchy encompassed Toronto; the central area of Canada: Winnipeg; and the western: Edmonton. With this arrangement, Bishop Neil Savaryn became Bishop of Edmonton and remained so until his death on the traditionally celebrated Ukrainian Christmas Day, January 7th 1986. Bishop Demetrius Greschuk, a former secular priest, was at first appointed Bishop Savaryn's auxiliary and later took over as Bishop until his untimely death in 1990.

At the beginning of his appointment, Bishop Savaryn's eparchy consisted of 53 priests; 14 parishes; 106 churches and 29 missionary outposts; 39 presbyteries and 41,985 parishioners. The priests came from the Basilian and Redemptorist orders that had earlier established themselves in Canada and were subsequently joined by the Studdite priests. The Sisters Servants had expanded their mandate and established five full-day schools and three part time English language schools. *The Ukrainian News* was already established. Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church affiliated organisations for lay people had also expanded. Men's organisations, the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League and parallel associations for youth groups were formed throughout the eparchy.

Millions of refugees emerged in Europe after World War II due to the extensive mobilisation of forced labour throughout the war during which approximately 5 million Ukrainians were deported by Germans to labour camps. Faced with the choice of repatriation or displaced person status most Ukrainians opted for the latter. Western Europe could not absorb this number of refugees, and consequently many tens of thousands of displaced persons were resettled in Australia, the United States, and Canada.

There is among some Ukrainian community leaders in Canada a perception that most of the post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants came with professional qualifications: with university,

college or technical education. Swyripa notes (1984) there was a greater range of social class backgrounds. Many had experienced only urban lifestyles in Ukraine. The majority had lived, during most of the war, in forced labour gangs or concentration camps in Europe. Before their political and work experiences in Germany, many of the Ukrainian post-World War II refugees had undergone the atrocities of enforced famine in Ukraine as Josef Stalin implemented his programs of agricultural collectivisation.

Ukrainian Greek Catholics In Edmonton, 1950s and Beyond

Immigrants in the third wave of Ukrainian migration to Canada were highly conscious of their political/national profile. It is worth noting a small number were former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) that fought against enemy occupation. Some of the post-World War II immigrants joined institutions already established within the Ukrainian communities. The 1950s also saw the arrival of Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests with their families from western Europe. This period was also one of great expansion as many churches, presbyteries and associated buildings were erected and new priests established their parishes.

The arrival of 2,000 or so Ukrainians in Alberta had profound repercussions for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community. "Well before the Second World War most Ukrainians in this country were Canadian-born" (Luciuk and Hryniuk, 1991:xxi). The Papal Bull of 1948 had already proclaimed there to be four Ukrainian Greek Catholic eparchies instead of the one originating from Winnipeg. The creation of the Edmonton eparchy meant the hitherto only Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish (St. Josaphat's) was now a Cathedral. Compensation agreements had been made on behalf of the Basilians who had manned St. Josaphat's, who ventured south of the Saskatchewan River to establish their new parish in the name of St. Basil the Great. A large number (no definite figures have been made available) of the original St. Josaphat's congregation followed the Basilians southwards.

Summary

When Ukrainians arrived in Alberta the process by which Ukrainian Catholic traditions were re-established vis-a-vis the dominant religious cultural tradition (French or Irish Catholic) were not significantly different to that of their negotiation with the dominant Polish Catholic hierarchy in their homeland. The difference in negotiation appeared to be that over time the Ukrainian community in Canada, Alberta and Edmonton gradually worked its way through from one of social and economic disadvantage to one of substantial material wealth and social acceptance. The political structure within which they negotiated their existence was also used to develop their social and economic standing. It was therefore a development which identified processes and opportunities significantly different to those which the first Ukrainian immigrants of the 1890s experienced.

Over four or so generations Ukrainians in Alberta have moved from a social position of being marginal, disenfranchised, penniless peasants distinct in their apparel and their inability initially to communicate with their English or French-speaking neighbours to a relatively powerful ethnic group. The Ukrainian Catholic tradition was negotiated through the challenges, demands and pleas to the Canadian French Catholic hierarchy. Attempts to transpose priests from their homeland were initially met with opposition on many counts. Proselytising Russian Orthodox and English-speaking Protestant groups also redefined ethnicity albeit with significant shift or change in membership along the way.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy took some time to establish and maintain its presence in Canada. Early missionaries did not remain in the community for significant periods and were, therefore, of no assistance in directing or developing a base from which to negotiate with the mainstream/dominant/Canadian political system. Ukrainian Catholic priests in Canada have, on the whole, not been political leaders in Canada. Their leadership after the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop was in the social, cultural and obviously religious Ukrainian domains.

By the 1950s Ukrainian Catholic eparchies were established across Canada. Their buildings and officials indicated a strong presence. Into this establishment, built on the rural-urban shift and wealth of the Ukrainian farmer, entered the post-World War II Ukrainian refugees. Although small in number their impact on the Ukrainian community, and especially the Ukrainian Catholic community, was significant.

CHAPTER VII: CHOICE AND LEGITIMACY

It was apparent that each of the three parishes central to this research had changed and had adapted in response to the collective experiences of its members of the social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of Canadian society.

What Is Ukrainian?

In concrete terms the physical structures within each of the three parishes reflected the technology and the resources available at their construction. These structures may also have served symbolically to reflect a set of values of what were acceptable and appropriate expressions of Ukrainian Catholic culture for the Church hierarchy which made such assessments. Some aspects of each of the Church buildings at St. Josaphat's, St. Basil's and St. George's parishes have remained constant. It was this consistency which formed the structural symbolic core of what was Ukrainian Catholic. There were, however, subtle and significant differences in the expression of what was Ukrainian Catholic. These differences illustrated which of the boundaries of accepted/rejected practices were blurred.

Every community has clearly defined norms that identify which extreme forms of behaviour are not acceptable. The three Ukrainian Catholic parishes surveyed appear to recognise easily and simply what is unacceptable behaviour. In ethnic or nationalistic terms such extreme instances of behaviour could be the introduction of overt practices derived from cultures of ethnic groups with which there has been a history of tension or friction. Therefore the (hypothetical) introduction of the Russian or Polish languages into any part of the service would not be acceptable in a Canadian Ukrainian Catholic parish. It could have been, that Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Poland used Polish to communicate different issues to their Polish speaking members just as English was often used in Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Canada, America, England or Australia. On the other hand, the introduction of new parts to religious rituals would not have been questioned by all parishioners. Some may have accepted that the priest knew best. Others might have enquired the reason for the change and from where that change originated, and a smaller group would probably have demanded an explanation of the rationale before accepting or undertaking the practice.

In determining variance in the ethno-religious practice this thesis seeks to understand what forms the basis of religious behaviour that expresses ethnic identity. In pursuing that concern it was assumed that different practices in an ethno-religious domain might be based on different levels of knowledge, understanding, and/or prior experience.

Before any parishioners were able to make such assessments they required a knowledge of the ritual in which they were participating. Simplistically, if individuals or groups went through the paces within a ritual without having any notion of why they were doing x or y at one time or a or b at another they were not in a position to question or challenge a variation in practice.

As the interview phase of this study developed it became clear that only a small numb[illegible] Ukrainian Catholics interviewed actually had a clear cognitive paradigm of what consti[illegible] Ukrainian religious practice, much less the symbolism of what occurred in different pa[illegible] religious and festive rituals. A small proportion of each parish community interviewed, [illegible] to explain why different practices occurred, what those practices meant and what the orig[illegible] of

those practices might have been. Most parishioners interviewed, however, indicated that they had not before considered what constituted legitimate Ukrainian Catholic practice in church rituals. Therefore, they were not able to determine what formed a contravention or an aberration of appropriate or legitimate practice.

The interviews further showed that what was determined to be legitimate church-based practice or ritual by each individual was based on personal experience within each individual's parish. That is, a practice was considered to be appropriate if it had already been accepted in its use in the parish. As one parishioner stated in an interview: "If it occurs in our parish then that experience indicates to me that it must be acceptable." Within this the following questions arise: How do individuals learn what to do? At what point, if any, do individuals develop a confidence in their knowledge base that enables them to question what happens in their church rituals? Is it the case that some individuals never *seek* to comprehend the rationale behind the services and therefore, perhaps, never questioned? Or is it the case that some individuals, for whatever reasons, never comprehend the rationale behind the services?

Basic socialisation paradigms have indicated that in most cases individuals developed a familiarity with the structure and process of a ritual through regular church attendance. As in most forms of socialisation, children brought to church regularly responded in a manner deemed appropriate for their age-grade level, or their cognitive development. That is similar processes occurred in the enculturation of all children.

In Canada, some Ukrainian children have had the benefit of formal instruction through the Ukrainian language schools' religious components of the curriculum. Others attended voluntary associations such as the Children of Mary or altar boy groups and thereby have had more formal input from priests, brothers, nuns, cantors or other individuals recognised by the parish or Church hierarchy. In such associations, the socialisation process also provided opportunities for the development of reward systems based on cultural knowledge. This process of recognising knowledge and leadership allowed for the development of some individual roles that were more visible within the parish community.

These roles demonstrated what formed acceptable behaviour and what did not. The church community was seen, in this research, to be a separate community in its own right. From this perspective It is possible to see gradations of power and status attributed to individuals who moved into adolescence and adult age groups through age-sets. These age groups were given the age-grade status that went with graded positions which in turn reflect their own status, prestige or power. Such individuals within the community of the parish, could in time, became recognised leaders of the parish or Ukrainian Catholic community. The question then arose: *who* informed, instructed or appointed such (potentially) eminent lay persons?

The three parishes collectively present a Ukrainian Catholic (that is, ethno-religious) consciousness or awareness that stretched back 100 years to the 1890s. This consciousness presented a range or continuum of awareness. Comparatively, the parishioners of St. Basil's had the greatest number of ancestors who left Ukraine in the 1890s and migrated to Canada. There was no conclusive data available to determine percentages of first-migration families or their ancestry. However there was a popular perception that more than three quarters of the members of this parish could demonstrate family links to this original period of migration. The immigrants who moved from Ukraine to Canada during that early period formed perhaps the most critical transference and adaptation of Ukrainian culture. These immigrants did not move directly to Edmonton and form a Ukrainian Catholic parish. At the time, by definition, there were no Ukrainian community or church centres in Canada or Alberta. Consequently the first part of their

migrant life in Canada was spent scattered and physically and culturally isolated throughout the prairies.

The parish with the most recent transference of Ukrainian Catholic culture from Ukraine was, of course, St. George's. St. Josaphat's provided a mix of individuals who migrated in the 1920s or post-World War II and descendants of those individuals who migrated as early as eighty or ninety years ago.

Historical Aspects of Patterns of Choice

The Early Period

Central to the question of *who* determined, informed and taught what was Ukrainian Catholic was how the composition of the hierarchy (and teachers) changed. The following discussion will have to demonstrate that knowledge, in general, and religious education, in particular, were often acquired in spite of the village priests.

Different studies (Swyripa 1982 among others) have shown immigrants who moved from Western Ukraine to Western Canada were uneducated peasants. The reasons for migrating were essentially economic (e.g., see Chapter III of this thesis, in which was reported the inefficient agricultural practices on the very small portions of land from which the villages of Western Ukraine eked out a meagre existence at the turn of the century).

It has also been demonstrated that within this context at the end of the last century there was little opportunity for personal advancement in Ukraine. Most peasant villagers had little opportunity for education and less time for the development of Ukrainian-specific organisations and institutions that could negotiate national, cultural or religious identity in relation to other religions.

At the time of major Ukrainian immigration to Canada anthropology and ethnic studies as we know them today were obviously not fully developed. Therefore there were no anthropological data available with which to compare the degree of ethnic identity expressed by this group of Ukrainian immigrants. However, personal diaries, kept by immigrants at the turn of the century, indicated that some individuals had a sense of Ukrainian identity.[8] However, this identity was largely an expression of what they were *not*, and appears to have been defined reactively in response to conditions imposed in response to interaction with the Austrian, Polish or Russian cultures.

There were anecdotal reports of Ukrainians from villages in Western Ukraine following Mennonite migrants from the same village in a chain migration to Western Canada. An interesting question was whether Ukrainian and Mennonite immigrants to Western Canada had world views similar to each other. If there was a degree of sameness, was that expression of similarity consistent for individual and collective levels? An additional perspective was whether that "sameness" was an expression of their Ukrainian and Mennonite identities in relation to the Austrian, Polish or Canadian social, political, economic and religious structure. Part of the Ukrainian social structure appears to have been developed through the Church.

[8] Diaries, by definition, indicate literacy and at least some education. Individual awareness of historical and religious matters, throughout this research, was strongly correlated to levels of education.

Himka (1988b), among others, has documented the "tensions between priest and peasant" and attributed a significant portion of that to "traditional peasant rights and ... payment for sacramental rites" (Himka 1988b:133). Himka has shown the national movement in western Ukraine in particular focussed on a strategy to improve peasant education and power with an informal education process which developed through village reading clubs in the early nineteenth century. To this process the village priests were variously indifferent, hostile or naively supportive of the reading clubs (see Himka 1988b). Where priests were involved, Himka noted (1988:88) that they accounted for about a tenth of church officers and the most common form of office for priests was that of president. Himka (1988b:108ff) also illustrated the comparative economic status of priests vis-a-vis others in the village (especially cantors, nobles and peasants).

The reading clubs were vehicles for the dissemination of information and they also provided a break from the day to day issues of Galician peasant serfdom. Ukrainian peasants in Galicia paid

> rents in labour, kind and money to the lord of the manor, the state and the church. According to the land cadastre of 1819-20, peasants paid out 84.7 per cent of their net annual income in rents. The lion's share of rents went to the landlords (80.0 per cent), the rest to the state (16.1 per cent) and church (2.8 per cent). (Himka 1988b:2).

The priests enjoyed power and status. This was reflected in higher levels of education, comparative material wealth and privileged social status. Very few priests came from peasant origins: the majority of them were the sons of clergy, albeit rarely of noble background. However, the peasants were not always socially alienated from their village clergy. Himka provided documented cases in which the priest supported and identified with the peasants. Other illustrations documented the priest's support of the remnants of a social caste-like organisation of the earlier feudal system. It should be noted that the parish itself was the largest land owner.[9]

There have been many descriptions of the Ukrainian immigrant's transfer to Canada before the turn of the last Century. Among the documentations were those written by church affiliated authors who noted that "for these se[illegible] Canada, their religion and church affiliation were not important" (Yereniuk 1989:109). [illegible]ther points of view suggested that in the context of establishing a new form of surviva[illegible]ew and equally harsh social environments there was little real need of church and church[illegible].

Tales from Ukrainian literature and folklore reinforced the perspective that traditionally the clergy did not meet the needs of their peasant or village community. Jarmus (1989:57-58) affirms that

> the model for the priesthood which prevailed limited priests to the service at the altar, and left them there for centuries. Thus for many years the priest served his faithful by means of the proverbial "*Kadylo* and *Kropylo*" (by incense and holy water), while the individual needs of people were left unheeded, unattended. ... Ontologically, they were supposed to possess the calling for priesthood, though

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[9] Other analyses would demonstrate that the privileges of the Ukrainian Catholic priest were paltry compared to those of the Austrian church.

[10] See Kostash (1977) and Potrebenko (1977) for citations of anti-clerical perspectives. France Swyaipa, in conversation and in her publications has cited the struggle that came with isolation and social and economic marginalization.

many were simply following in the footsteps of their fathers. Spiritually, they were expected to possess deep faith. Psychologically, they were supposed to love the calling and the people, and to be ready to suffer with them.

When the first Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Alberta in the early 1890s, they did not bring their village priests with them. The first of the religious congregations did not arrive until 1902 when the Basilian Fathers, together with the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, began their Canadian work with four members each. Although only a few years separated the arrival of the lay immigrants and their compatriot religious it must be noted that the circumstances surrounding the exodus of the Ukrainian lay immigrant was different to that of the religious. The expectations of each type of immigrant was also different. The peasant immigrants were scattered in ethnic clusters over a vast Prairie region. The transference of an old Ukrainian village paradigm of ministry which was church- rather than parishioner-oriented did not readily lend itself to the additional and perhaps new needs of the parishioners scattered across a new continent.

Senyk (1989:96-97) has explained that after the reforms of the Hapsburgs the Ukrainian religious houses were suppressed by Emperor Joseph II if they were not able to demonstrate that their activities were useful to the state. Teaching was considered to be one of the more useful functions that the clergy could perform. By this state-based form of evaluation severe reductions were applied to the non-performing religious houses. Other scholars have noted that by this, and other processes, there occurred a depletion in the Ukrainian priesthood of an element that was sensitive to Ukrainian village culture and to the village trials and tribulations. Further structural reform occurred later with the incorporation of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox monasteries into the Russian Empire. It has been important to point out that a thorough reform of the Basilian Order occurred in the 1880s when the Jesuits were called in for assistance. The embryonic consequences of this reform were developing when the first immigrants left for Canada. This reformation did however have an impact on the priests and their parishes in Ukraine and this eventually carried over in Canada.

Yereniuk (1989:109) has implied that in the absence of cultural and national identities religious identities were clearly asserted.

> It was expressed in the institutions related to the parish (Hromada)- the church building and complex, the emphasis on an indigenous priesthood, the use of the well-roofed Byzantine site, national religious customs, and language. These were symbols of self-definition, which nourished and preserved the identity of the Ukrainian immigrants. (Yereniuk 1989:109)

These symbols of self and group identity were not available to Ukrainian immigrants when they arrived in Canada. The host Canadian Catholic Church appears to have been as hostile to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and community needs as was the environment into which the immigrants ventured. The Latin (Roman) Catholic Church hierarchical response was documented in both critical and more favourable terms. These commentaries appear to have been reflective of the orientation of the writer within either the Latin or Ukrainian Catholic rite/tradition, or outside of both traditions. For example, Senyk (1989:97) has noted "incessant and insistent appeals were made by Canadian bishops...for Ukrainian missionaries who belonged to a religious order," and made little reference to the jurisdictional conflict that occurred as the Roman Catholic hierarchies insisted that the first Ukrainian settlers had to conform to the established structures (see Krawchuk 1989:81-93).

The imposition of a Roman Catholic jurisdiction on Ukrainian Catholics in Canada and the ban on married priests had been policies decreed by the Vatican in 1890 at a time which coincided with the beginning of major migration of Ukrainians to North America and Argentina.

The first four priests - Nestor Dmytriw, Pavlo Tymkevych, Damaskyn Poliva, and Ivan Zaklynsko came to Canada via the United States. They eventually returned to the United States for three main reasons.

> First, because of their extreme poverty, they (the Ukrainian immigrants) could not financially support a parish priest. Second, there were conflicts with the Roman Catholic clergy who considered the Eastern rite ministry an intrusion into their own jurisdictions. Third, even in the early years of settlement, Catholic Orthodox tensions among Ukrainians had begun to divide colonies and even in the case of Edna-Star, Alberta, split a parish in two. All of these factors discouraged the first Ukrainian Catholic priests from staying in Canada for more than a year or two. (Krawchuk 1989:82)

Finally, in 1902, the Basilian missionaries (three priests and one lay brother) arrived in Canada and proceeded to Edmonton where the need for Ukrainian Catholic missionaries was considered greatest. Even with their Jesuit-mediated reform in 1882 it appears that the Basilians were not prepared for the very different work required of them.

> In Ukraine the Basilians were only auxiliaries to the diocesan parish clergy in pastoral work. The life of the Basilians was centred in their own monasteries. From their monasteries they went out to preach, to give retreats and missions, but they always returned to monastic life. In Canada the conditions in which the Ukrainian pioneers lived, the absence of other priests, and their own woefully small number forced the Basilians to undertake solitary missionary labours. The Basilians were not auxiliaries in a well-organised parochial system, but instead had to create and provide elements of church organisation and religious ministry. (Senyk 1989:97-98)

For the purposes of this study it is important to note, along with the difficulties that the Basilian monks experienced, the difficulties that the would-be parishioners had with the priests who arrived to minister to them. The education of Ukrainian priests was hitherto limited and thereby

> did not prepare candidates for service in the church. There was little or no vision of the pastoral orientation necessary for parish priests. This would have required a philosophy which included pastoral care extending beyond the church and liturgy, designed to accompany the faithful through the pains of everyday life. The old educational system simply did not develop an awareness of pastoral responsibilities and pastoral care. Rather, the notion of priest as pastor was overshadowed by the image of the priest as server at the altar. (Jarmus 1989:60-61)

The gathering of these points of view is not intended as a criticism of the individual priests in their attempts to address the needs of their compatriot Canadian immigrants. Rather, these points have served to illustrate the difficulties presented to the priests and to the laity in establishing the parishes that both hoped for. To begin with, there was no Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy or infrastructure. There were very few clergy in Canada and they were apparently at odds with the Ukrainian peasants who looked to priests for spiritual guidance. The cultural, educational and

social dissonance was evident before departure for Canada. The new social order of both ecclesiastical hierarchy and lay social structure, dominant in Canada, presented a set of parameters in which the needs of the immigrants and the ability of the priests to meet them were even more disparate than before.

As these parameters were negotiated there was a delay in establishing a Ukrainian Catholic Church structure in Canada. The lack of priests to meet the Ukrainian Catholic immigrants' needs, the widely dispersed settlement and the history of differing world views between Ukrainian priest and parishioner meant that at the beginning of the migration period at least Ukrainians were particularly isolated. They were open to the proselytising of diverse religious groups. The Ukrainian peasant immigrants were, at various times, courted by the Canadian Presbyterians, the Russian Orthodox, and the Canadian based French Roman Catholics.

Olender (1989) has documented the trauma experienced by Ukrainian immigrants in Canada choosing a church with which to affiliate. "Ukrainian Catholics, with a strong tradition of anti-clericalism, were more willing to accept independent Non-Conformist priests than were Orthodox Ukrainians from Bukovyna." (Olender 1989:197). Olender has also effectively described the work of the Presbyterian mission between 1900 and 1925, which failed primarily because of the apparent abandonment of the Eastern-rite liturgical form of worship. Rauser (1991) has shown how Ukrainian women were targetted in educational/socialization missionary work of the Methodist Church in the Ukrainian Star Bloc settlement in east-central Alberta. The Independent Greek Church in Canada was, at that time, not readily identified as a viable option to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. (It appears, however, to have formed a basis for an alternative independent Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church to be established in 1918.)

Individuals that had changed over to the Orthodox Church decades earlier had then been disparagingly called *perekynchyky* (i.e. a literal translation would be to call those people pejorative terms that indicated that went from one end to another. In real terms it questions their loyalty and their ability to sustain membership in anything). During this research their relatives who were practicing Ukrainian Orthodox parish members indicated that they were, several decades later, still being ostracised, albeit indirectly, for what their predecessors had done. The form of the ostracism appeared to be occasional whispering, finger pointing, and so forth. The source of the ostracism appeared to be mainly practicing Ukrainian Catholics who knew the individual's personal or family history well enough to know of the change in church affiliation.

The intolerance for relative choice for the alternate forms of religious expression and for alternate religious affiliation, even if it were culturally Ukrainian, raised many questions. It would appear that at this point Ukrainian settlers in Canada had a choice that they may not have had in Ukraine. On the other hand, those that remained with their Ukrainian Catholic tradition, despite all of the encumbrances, and isolation, appear to illustrate that many Ukrainians retained some semblance of the religious traditions that they, or their parents, had transferred when they migrated. Greek Catholics had turned to Russian Orthodoxy and Presbyterianism. When Metropolitan Sheptytsky later urged Ukrainian Catholics to remain faithful some of those who had converted to Presbyterianism changed to Russian Orthodoxy rather than Greek Catholicism (see Krawchuk 1989:85).

Whether the underlying traditions or church philosophy were understood beyond the singing, ceremonies, the splendour of church decorations and religious mysticism, that is, the superficial, is not clear. Furthermore, what subtle (or not so subtle) changes occurred as the early Ukrainian settlers were challenged by competing Ukrainian Catholic, Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and other religious paradigms, is not evident. Anthropologists in other research have referred to

syncretism. How much of that occurred, how much was changed, adapted or discarded, is not evident. There appears to have been no documentation or description of how specific religious practices or symbols were understood or interpreted. There was therefore no documentation from that time to demonstrate changes in the use of religious symbols and markers. Another form of detailed documentation - that of changes in the use or interpretation of symbols, markers, traditions or services could have occurred through diary or journal notes that priest, cantor or parishioners used, but none appeared to be available at the time of research, interviewing or writing. Myrna Kostash's thorough interviews have given some insight into the social changes that occurred when locally available materials were used to embellish churches and the ornaments within them (see Kostash 1977:118-119).

Religious concepts and ritual practices were borrowed from the Latin Rite Church and incorporated into traditional Ukrainian (Catholic) practices (see Kucherek 1989). This process of borrowing from the Latin (or Roman) was often referred to as the "Latinisation" of the Ukrainian Catholic church rituals, or discussed in terms of the Ukrainian Catholic Church having lost ground to its Roman fraternity. During this research St. Basil's was disparagingly assessed by some Ukrainian Catholics outside of that parish as being part of this "Latinisation" process.

I do not propose to detail either liturgical or theological areas of difference, dispute or transference. This thesis has not been about the theology of the Eastern or Ukrainian Catholic Rite. However, there were some obvious practices which, when identified, separated one church-focussed social group from another and one church tradition from another. These differentiated practices have been developed and are presented later as they serve to illustrate the shift in Ukrainian boundaries defined in traditional terms. The new boundaries, however, are not as easily defined.

While adults were, during this early period of Ukrainian church history in Canada, neither uniform nor clear about what constituted Ukrainian Catholic traditions and how best to sustain them with the limited resources available, the children of the first Ukrainian immigrants were experiencing an additional form of disorientation through cultural misinformation.

> The variety of educational institutions available to Ukrainian Canadian school children did not disguise the fact that except for the schools run by religious orders belonging to the Greek Catholic Church, each institution was committed to the same objective: the Anglicization of the Ukrainian child. (Kostash 1977:81)

At this time however,

> The overwhelming majority of Ukrainian immigrants before the First World War came from Galicia. Among them were several dozen *gymnasium*, seminary, and university students who, for either economic or political reasons, had been unable to complete their education at home. Most of this small but dynamic and zealous village intelligentsia became teachers in western Canada, where they formed the first national and political elite of the Ukrainian community. (Gerus 1991:158)

Interviews with elderly Canadian Ukrainian citizens who attended school in rural Alberta in the second decade of this century indicated that they spoke Ukrainian only at home, and that Ukrainian history, geography, literature, and the arts were *never* discussed at home or school. Parents actively discouraged children from presenting themselves as Ukrainian in any public

arena. To illustrate, one elderly Ukrainian woman declared in 1982 that she had never quite understood why she was reprimanded in "the third class for speaking to my brother in Ukrainian during recess." This elderly person felt she had never learned to speak Ukrainian adequately and had never learned to read or write Ukrainian until she married a Ukrainian man. In her married life she developed a rudimentary level of Ukrainian reading but felt intimidated by the writing process. In interviews she referred to traditional practices within the Church or referred to individuals within St. Basil's parish with Ukrainian titles and Ukrainian pronunciation. She always referred to "The Mass" and never the "*slushzba boshza*." She claimed she knew little of the history of Ukraine or Ukrainians apart from the time at which the Basilian priests established themselves at Mundare. She was convinced the establishment of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Edmonton in the 1950s was a statement of reward for the valuable contribution of the Basilian priests, sisters and brothers. She appeared to be in awe of the central role played by the Basilians whose importance appeared for her to be validated by the fact that the Bishop of the time (Bishop Neil Savaryn) was himself a Basilian. She had similar respect for other religious orders whether of Ukrainian, French or English-speaking background. She saw little difference in their role and preferred the Ukrainian Basilians because she knew them. She also had a relative who had entered the Church and as they were all there for "the same reason" it was not useful to look back to a time of difference or conflict.

The interaction between Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the Roman Catholic hierarchy (symbolised in Canada by Archbishop Langevin) has been well documented (see Krawchuk 1989; Marunchak 1978). In his *"Address on the Ruthenian Question"* he noted that the 120,000 to 150,000 Ukrainian Catholics in Canada at the time were designated to be ministered by a collection of clergy as

> had been incorporated by the Roman Catholic one Greek Catholic parish Church, 10 by the Basilian Order, 10 referred to simply as "Greek Catholic" and 72 undesignated and awaiting a Ukrainian bishop. (Krawchuk 1989:85-86)

With the arrival of Bishop Budka in 1913, the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church was incorporated under an episcopal charter passed by the Canadian Parliament. This newly created Church thereby immediately subsumed 80 parishes. Ukrainian Catholics in Canada were therefore no longer isolated in relation to other Ukrainian Catholics, other Ukrainian Catholic parishes, or the Roman Catholic hierarchy and ecclesiastical structure. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was therefore at least validated in the secular political arena. The tensions within the church political arena remained. This recognition appears to have paved the way for negotiation of Ukrainian Church and community status. The legislation itself did not compensate for the isolation, nor the overt and covert ostracism which portrayed Ukrainians as being emotional and mystical in the religious sense and different in dress, language, food habits and clothing in the social sense. The legislation did, however, provide a platform (albeit legalistic) from which to negotiate further.

The confusion of Ukrainian individual and collective political identity and national identity came back to haunt Ukrainians in Canada during World War I (that is, the confusion of Anglo-Canadians in their inability to develop consistently "safe" labels by which to categorise Ukrainians politically, increased with the different ideological groupings within the Ukrainian community.) Krawchuk (1989:88) has noted the development of two new strands in Ukrainian community identity.

The first stressed an independence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was not answerable or accountable to the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy. In practice this meant the appointment of an autonomous Bishop with total control over Ukrainian Catholic priests. At the same time an opposing Ukrainian secular social strand, uniquely Canadian, developed in the new upwardly mobile professional groups - teachers, journalists and others. This adaptation, perhaps as a mechanism to foster upward mobility, provided additional dimensions to more traditional (Galician social and radical) vehicles of social change, enculturation and a questioning of things political.

Ukrainians throughout Canada during World War I had to endure the increased racism and discrimination that developed after Bishop Budka issued the pastoral letter in which he called on Ukrainians in Canada to support the Austrian side in their war effort. The immediate impact of this call for support has been debated. However, the war response by Anglo-Canadians intensified the apparently long held hostility toward ethnic minority groups in Canada and the hostility increased further after Canada declared war. Canadian suspicions about the real loyalties of former Austrian subjects living in Canada turned into

> concern for national security. Under the War Measures Act (1914), thousands of Canadian immigrants, including an estimated 5,000 Ukrainians, were designated "enemy aliens" and were placed in internment camps. (Krawchuk 1989:87)

This no doubt came as a particular blow to the apparent economic progress made by Ukrainian farmers by this time. Ukrainian emigration to Canada had almost doubled after 1905 although the predominance of these mainly male immigrants were concentrated in farming, industrial and manufacturing regions. (See Makuch 1983:70 for a discussion of Ukrainian-Canadian economic development during World War I.)

The opening months of World War I saw all East European immigrants being evaluated vis-a-vis contemporary middle class Anglo-Canadian culture, its values and its norms.[11] By the latter stages of World War I "enemy" publications and 14 organisations were prohibited by the declaration in 1918 of additions to the War Measures Act. Severe penalties for violations were enforced.[12]

Further

> no meeting or assemblage of any kind except church meetings or meetings for religious services only, shall be held in Canada during the present war .... in the language or any of the languages of any country or portion of any country with which Canada is at war, or in the language or any of the languages, of Russia, Ukraine or Finland. (Regulations respecting unlawful associations 25 September 1918 [Section 9] quoted in Swyripa and Thompson [1983:195].)

Krawchuk (1989:87) has defended Bishop Budka's lack of political skill and his inadequate preparation for the transition from Ukraine to Canada. The point to be made is that the Anglo-Canadian community intensified its suspicions of so-called "alien" Ukrainians. Bishop Budka's political indiscretions on this and other occasions (see Avery 1983:97) appear to have contributed to the vulnerability of Ukrainian Canadian social, political and economic status.

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[11] See Avery (1983) for details on labour instability, strikes and confrontation of Ukrainians vis-a-vis Anglo-Canadian workers.

[12] See Avery 1983 and especially Appendix II of the publication for a discussion of the impact and ramifications for both the Anglo-Canadian and other communities including Ukrainian

The Budka period in Ukrainian Canadian Church history was significant. Opposition to Budka had developed among the social upwardly mobile professional middle class. Within that developed the fear that the Ukrainian Catholic Church would not establish its non-Catholic independence and autonomy. This insecurity prevailed in the community and opposition to Bishop Budka continued. At the core of the community response was disappointment that the Bishop had not heeded the call for more married priests or for greater community participation in the management of church affairs. The escalation of these community concerns led to the breakaway and formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

With the breakaway the more progressive members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada left it and joined their Orthodox Brethren. One of the key factors for the division was, no doubt, the prolonged shortage of Ukrainian Catholic priests.

> It was largely because of the ban on the immigration of married priests that the Ukrainian Catholic Church simply could not keep pace with the massive immigration of its people into Canada. In the resulting pastoral vacuum, some Ukrainian Catholics turned for spiritual solace to the hierarchically and doctrinally familiar Roman Catholic Church; others repudiating anything remotely Latin, renounced their Catholicism in favour of an independent church that would be unequivocally Ukrainian. Those, finally, who remained faced the challenge of striking a uniquely Canadian balance between Ukrainian and Catholicism. (Krawchuk 1989:91)

Another aspect of this phenomenon has been identified by Kelebay (1980; 1994) who perceived that the beginning of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Montreal was a reflection of the Ukrainian community's response to events in Ukraine 1914-21. It appears that those Ukrainians who had a belief in Russian social democracy became disillusioned with Russian attempts to incorporate Ukraine within it. In Canada this led to a redefinition of what was "Ukrainian": "various sectors of the organised community began to resent what they thought were 'Romanising', 'Latinising' and denationalising the Catholic Church in Montreal" (Kelebay 1980:82).

The Second Period

The Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada in the 1930s found a more urbanised population and they were directed to primary industrial and heavy manufacturing regions. As it was, the proportion of immigrants moving into the Prairie Provinces fell from 80 per cent in 1904-6 to 54 per cent in 1914. The total Ukrainian population for Alberta had risen from 17,584 (in 1911) to 23,827 (in 1921) with the percentage of males falling from 57.5 per cent to 54 per cent and the percentage of females rising correspondingly from 42.5 per cent to 46.0 per cent over the same period. (See Darcovich and Yuzyk [1988] for more details).

Interviews with seven elderly men who had migrated in the 1930s showed that those few Ukrainian immigrants who came out to rural areas of Alberta usually followed their relatives from the same geographic region of Ukraine. These were usually distant relatives from the same homeland region or village. The earlier pattern of migration was for men in their twenties to move out to Canada alone with the intention of getting a job, saving money, and returning for their wife and sometimes, children. This process continued for the immigrant to arrange for his wife (and or family) to follow with another immigrant or for a male immigrant from Canada to visit the homeland and then to return to Canada bringing another man's wife and family with him. In any

event it appeared from the outset that immigrants during this period, in contrast to the sojourned of the previous migration, developed a conscious plan to establish themselves within Canada This approach to Canada as a permanent homeland contrasted to that of the immigrants who had arrived earlier and who had a broader set of plans which included the possibility of an eventual return to Ukraine. This return appeared to be vaguely set for sometime after developing an economic surplus and when Ukraine's social, political and economic conditions had improved.

It appears then that in the first period Ukrainian immigrants came with a "sojourner" approach. That is their migration to Canada was but a temporary plan and they would plan to eventually to return to Ukraine permanently. The individuals in the next significant migration in the 1920s and 1930s appeared to have come with plans to return to Ukraine but to only visit. This group appear to have hoped for a better economic life in Canada even after the original wave of immigrants had freed much of the pressure on the land holdings in Ukraine. This period of Ukrainian ethnic identity has developed in terms of a process of ethnic identity-change, and a comparative loss of 'otherness', that occurred in Canada after the first migration. Another perspective of this shift, of course, would be that of recognising the importance of the changes that occurred coterminously in Ukraine. This latter focus would need to be addressed in a separate piece of research - probably by a historian. It would appear that whatever the changes in Canada were, they were not enough to discourage the second major migration before World War II.

Kelebay (1980; 1994) has focused on the clusters of immigrants who transferred from Ukraine to Montreal. In explaining the "intellectual baggage" that came with each migration period Kelebay has drawn on the work of Louis Hartz which developed a paradigm where each of the migration periods and their immigrants are seen as "fragments" thrown off from the country and culture of origin. Kelebay noted (1980:75)

> The key to the understanding of ideological development in a new society is its *point of departure* from Europe: the ideologies borne by the founders of the new society are not representative of the historic ideological spectrum of the mother country. The settlers represent only a fragment of that spectrum. ... The significance of the fragmentation process is that the new society having been thrown off Europe, `loses the stimulus to change that the whole provides. ... ' A new society which leaves part of the past behind it cannot develop the future ideologies which need the continued presence of the past in order to come into being.

In accepting that explanation Kelebay appears to have oversimplified the issues. If there are parallels between the migration of Ukrainians into Quebec and that of Ukrainians into Alberta there is a danger in concentrating on the elite "which tends to set the subcultural intellectual agenda and which challenges all others" (1980:75). The exploration in this dissertation which has been into the expression of Ukrainian ethnic identity through religion (especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church) has demonstrated the "subcultural intellectual agenda" to have been often far removed from the peasant or migratory agricultural worker who was placed in a position of developing survival strategies in response to imposed cultural, social, economic or political conditions. Himka has identified that those groups driving the social and political agendas were predominantly the priests and the church hierarchy. During the first of the major periods of Ukrainian migration to Canada these priests and their hierarchy had conflicting interests. These interests were those background social, political and economic factors which bound the priest, and his hierarchy, to both peasants and landlord (see Himka 1988b:19).

An anthropological analysis of these events suggests that while the events of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian settlement history unfolded within the "Great Tradition" (identified by Redfield and others) there are, within the Great Tradition, those that partake of the Tradition's nationalisation. While this has occurred there have been other groups, that who are significant to the life of the parish community, that are removed from the process of leading, deciding and determining what is "legitimate." These individuals or groups have been directly affected by what is decided, approved or decreed by those at the socially, politically, economically, intellectually and religiously (if not ecclesiastically) elevated position but they may not have understood the decisions or the processes by which the decisions have been made.

Returning to Kelebay (1980; 1993) and Hartz (1964), while it may be that the second period of Ukrainian migration to Quebec brought "immigrants who were more politicised and more patriotic than the first fragment of pioneers," they were also able to benefit from the survival strategies (geographic, economic and political) established by their predecessors. With their apparently more assertive personal and collective stances the second group of arrivals further developed a niche for Ukrainians in the Canadian milieu. Personal interviews with Ukrainian immigrants who had moved to Alberta during the 1930s indicate the personal experiences of the first group were visited on the second. It was clear in several instances that new land owners with their hectares of Canadian land expected of their newly arrived compatriots the servitude they had themselves entered into with their Anglo-Canadian employers upon their arrival. Power brokers were defined in terms of land and other capital ownership, not by cultural knowledge.

The second period of migration delivered to Canada Ukrainians who were not so readily identifiable as the pioneers before them. Those of the 1920s migration period were more easily absorbed into the developing Ukrainian- Canadian environment. The subsequent group was not treated with the same degree of overt stigma and discrimination experienced by the first group of Ukrainian settlers. Interviews indicated that those who moved into Albertan agricultural districts did so for reasons similar to their family member predecessors. This thesis has focussed on the similarity and differences between the groups of Ukrainian Catholics of each major migration to Canada. One of the most striking issues has been the similarity of the anti-colonial fear and rebellion of the first two migrations. The first migration group transferred to Canada their anti-Austrian sentiment. The second migration came with a similar anti-Polish sentiment. One major area of difference has been that the second group had benefited from the emergent nationalism developed in Western Ukrainian provinces at the turn of the century. This group had a stronger sense of Ukrainians, world-wide, being part of the same community, albeit imagined in Benedict's terms. This (imagined) community had a specific focus or centre: independent Ukraine.

What happened to Ukrainians collectively in each of these periods of migration has had a direct influence on individual responses to being Ukrainian and also to being or not being Ukrainian Catholic. Ukrainians individually responded as to whether to remain within the collective Ukrainian Catholic community. Their responses had an impact on the collective Ukrainian Catholic community which was now a community based on voluntary association and chosen ethnic identity rather than a common or united response to an external colonial body. This different, new response to Ukrainian ethnicity and ethno-religious participation and affiliation carried into the next decade. The impact of the change was evident with the subsequent third major period of migration.

The Third Period

Over 120,000 Ukrainians came to Canada between 1892 and 1914 (Lehr 1991:31). This contrast to Osborne's claim that between 1896 and 1914 170,000 Ukrainians ventured onto Canadian shores (c.f. Osborne 1991:81). Osborne noted that another 68,000 Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada between 1919-1939. Among these were some 200 Ukrainian Catholic clergy. "Eventually during the 1945-54 decade, 33,385 displaced Ukrainians emigrated to Canada, the great majority of them .... Catholics" (Bociurkiw 1989:149).

The actual number of post-World War II immigrants that settled in urban Edmonton was comparatively small. The industrialised areas of Toronto and Montreal attracted more because of greater opportunities for all immigrants at this time. (See Stebelsky [1991] for details.) Conversations with sociologists and researchers of the Ukrainian community indicate approximately 2,000 of the Post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants arrived and remained in Edmonton.

> Between 1947 and 1957, over thirty-five thousand Ukrainian refugees made their way into Canada. They differed from the Ukrainian Canadians in their political outlook (for they sought a refuge from which they could liberate Ukraine from Communist oppression and then return home), and these differences generated considerable stress in the Ukrainian community. The refugees were also not mostly peasants, as were the pre-war Ukrainian immigrants, but represented a broad socio-economic mix of the Ukrainian population, with a large admixture of intelligentsia. It was the refugee intelligentsia, professionals, and businessmen who contributed to a restructuring of the Ukrainian-Canadian community and the emergence of a new urban profile within it. (Stebelsky 1991:124)

It appears few, if any, became farmers in the areas around Edmonton as their predecessors had done. The impact of this comparatively small group of Ukrainians upon the Ukrainian community in Edmonton is difficult to assess. "In the prairie provinces, the influx amounted to only 3 to 5 per cent of the Ukrainian-Canadian population" (Stebelsky 1991:144). However this group challenged the previous generations of Ukrainian settlers over non-Ukrainian practices, particularly in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Those who did settle in Edmonton brought with them the experiences of the Second World War and their immediate post-war years in displaced persons camps in Europe. They therefore brought with them more variations to the theme of Ukrainian homeland politics.

> The most controversial issue was the division of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists in February 1941, into two factors, the O.U.N. (m) or *Melnykivtsi* and the O.U.N. (b) or *Banderivtsi* [13]

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[13] With the beginning of World War II Galicia found itself in a devastating five year period. Most of the Ukrainians who arrived in Canada in 1947 had spent the previous post-War years in Displaced Persons Camps in Europe. These D.P. camps were veritable beehives of activity and political debate. The most controversial issue was the division of the O.U.N.

> The pioneers expected the refugees to accept their leadership in the parishes, organisations and associations that they founded, and to join the rank and file. But this was not always the case. This process of accommodation and integration of pioneers, immigrants and refugees was interwoven with problems

...

> This important intellectual-political division during the war had a divisive effect on the patterns of community organization, development and cohesion in "diaspora." However this split did not affect the essential unity of outlook among the ....Ukrainians because the intellectual viewpoint of both factions was fundamentally similar. (Kelebay 1980:84)

This perspective translated into different social aspects of Ukrainian community life. In the main, however, both politically oriented groups (noted above) were in agreement as to what was essentially Ukrainian and in their overall response to political events and social and religious ramifications in their homeland. Kelebay's work, noted above, has documented that the integration of the refugees in Montreal was punctuated with conflicts that polarised the "old" and the "new" in patterns similar to Edmonton.

When interviewing some of the key participants about the re-orientation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church community during the 1950s, it was evident that after thirty years the issues were not yet resolved. The major differences appeared to have been accepted by those interviewed. However, gaining access to those particular individuals "known" to have been part of the key discussions, meetings and disagreements was difficult in itself.

Within the Ukrainian Catholic community individuals who were familiar with the objectives of this study voluntarily approached the "key players" in the 1950s debate and gained access for research interviews to be conducted. Only then were interviews obtainable. Even then the "issues" from the 1950s were not easily discussed. In some cases two or three repeat interviews were required before informants provided specific examples of "what" the concerns were during the 1950s. Identifying "who" drove the different agendas was complex. "How" the differences unfolded within the community in the 1950s was even more difficult to determine. One of the more pragmatic research aspects of interviewing became difficult as there was concern that individuals interviewed should not be quoted. For instance, no note-taking was allowed in several of the interviews.

The informants and I were concerned that a process of questioning (and the subsequent release of information in the dissertation) should not be used to revisit and reinforce the differences, factions

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> of education, upbringing, speech, poise, religion, experience, political conviction and family. (Kelebay 1980:85).

> The initial invasion of the Red Army resulted in the decimation of a radically new form of government; warring factions of the Organisations of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) fought with each other, with the Germans, with the Poles, with the Soviet partisans, and with the Red Army. Ukrainians sympathetic to Soviet rule were ousted . Those who accepted German rule, who were in turn forced to flee in the face by of the returning Red Army in 1944. .... It seems that during these five years, no matter what side an inhabitant chose, it would sooner or later be the wrong one. And if individuals tried to remain apolitical, they still would be hard pressed to avoid the raids, artillery, or bombing of one of the many competing factions. (Magocsi 1983:205).

and the divisions within the community. Specifying particular concerns, arguments or disputes would only revisit the personal conflict of the 1950s. Although the detail may be interesting, its declaration would be identifying, and divisive—and therefore unethical—if it were to be presented here. General concerns, however, are discussed here. It was apparent that all the men and some of the women spoken to in the course of gathering information were acutely aware of the general issues. It is difficult to determine whether this was a reflection of the concern that these sensitive issues should be left as they were, or if the apparent acceptance was more that the divisions could not be eradicated and so there was no point in bringing them to the fore. Another factor could have been that the researcher was new to the community and, being a younger female, was not the appropriate gender or age generation with whom the issues should be discussed.

Those who were part of the 1960s debate on what legitimately constituted Ukrainian Catholic and who were interviewed, presented several different perspectives on what did or did not constitute "Ukrainian" Catholic. The key aspects focussed on the boundaries of "Ukrainian" and "Catholic ." There appeared to be much less concern about whether the boundaries between "Catholic" and "Orthodox" were blurred or breached. The different perspectives of what legitimately constitutes Ukrainian Catholic are developed and presented in the next chapter.

During the interviews, I found that individuals voluntarily stressed the significance or importance of specific priests in their lives. Some did not hesitate to extol the virtues of Father A or Father B. Others had relatives -brothers, uncles, cousins - who had been Basilians and followed this order of priests through what appeared to be a longstanding family connection. Most common responses were those from individuals who had encountered Basilians while farming in the Mundare/Vegreville/Two Hills region of Central Alberta, east of Edmonton. Collectively these different, but nonetheless personalised, encounters with the Basilians became the major self-reported criteria for many parishioners when they moved to the city or changed residence and chose parishes according to which priest worked in parish A or parish B.

It should be noted that it is not only the Basilians who have been hailed as having personal followings. The parish priest of St. George's during the research phase of this dissertation was often referred to as a "special person" who worked in the country district immediately outside of Edmonton. He was also seen as one of the most important players or cultural brokers who maintained the traditions of pre-World War II Ukraine.

In this instance therefore, it was mainly the post-World War II individuals (and families), who personalised their relationship with the St. George's parish priest. By comparison, those who related closely to the Basilians were more likely to have had family farming history that included the earliest Ukrainian rural settlement in Alberta.

Generally there was agreement that the 1950s debate was heightened when the post-World War II immigrants (still labelled "New Arrivals" in the 1980s) began confidently, and in some cases aggressively, to question some of the established practices of St. Josaphat's parish. At this time St. Josaphat's was the only urban Edmonton parish. The post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants challenged the installation of statues, the absence of the iconostasis and the celebration of Christmas on December 25th (in lieu of January 7th as in the more traditional Ukrainian use of the Julian calendar). Each of these practices was seen to be an expression of the Ukrainian Catholic tradition compromised by Roman Catholic practices.

Interviewees referred to the holding of a meeting of the whole parish of St. Josaphat's where a vote was taken as to what practices should be adopted permanently. No date was identified other than it having been sometime in the mid 1950s. The debate was finally put to a vote. Those who preferred the Julian calendar (Christmas on January 7th); the iconostasis in church structure; the removal of statues; and Ukrainian being the only language to be used at Mass, appeared to be a minority of the total parish of St Josaphat's in the early 1950s. This group of dissenters moved away to establish a new parish. At about the same time that the parish became an eparchy, the Basilian monks were compensated financially for the establishment of St. Josaphat's as a parish and one group had decided to break away from this original parish "to follow" the Basilians.

This third (more traditional) parish was located near St. Josaphat's in a district of Edmonton often referred to as "*Mala Bukovyna*," or little Bukovyna. It is in an area immediately north of the former parish: an area into which many Ukrainians first settled in Edmonton. Most Bukovynians were Orthodox. This area of Edmonton also accommodates the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Cathedral-parish of St. John's. Within 10 years of the proclamation of the Papal Bull of 1948 the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Parish of St. Josaphat's was re-formed into three parishes: St. Josaphat's Cathedral parish; St. Basil's parish, and St. George's parish.

In terms of its physical structure, St. Josaphat's Cathedral remained much the same. Since its construction, the walls had been embellished in typical Ukrainian tradition with scenes depicting Biblical and Ukrainian historical events. The iconostasis was added later and the statues were relegated to side altars.

Both St. Basil's and St. George's parishes underwent a two stage process before being relocated at their present sites, but the circumstances within each process were markedly different. St. Basil's members moved to the south of the river into a wooden structure, formerly the home of a French language Catholic parish. (The structure of this French parish church has since been relocated to Fort Edmonton, a village-museum in Edmonton.) From there the Basilians bought a large parcel of land and began the mammoth task of establishing the large complex which in the mid 1980s included the church, presbytery, recreation hall, and older citizens' housing. Two prominent members of St. Basil's parish proudly explained in interviews that in the 1950s and 1960s individuals took out personal mortgages on their homes to raise the colossal capital required for this building program. This process of parishioners taking on personal financial risk to establish the new parish could not be substantiated in my research, and the taking out of personal loans was often disputed when these were questioned more closely in interviews. However, it is important to note that there is still a strong sense of "we went away and did this on our own" sentiment about the setting up of St. Basil's. The St. Basil's complex is not traditional architectural Ukrainian design and therefore by definition differs from the way parish buildings were designed, built and used in Ukrainian villages.

The St. George's group moved into a building formerly used to house a Polish language Catholic parish. A modern structure, it was destroyed by an arsonist later caught and self-pronounced as an "Anti- Christ."[14] A community hall then functioned as a church until a traditional Ukrainian-style church building, red brick with gold dome, was completed in 1982. This traditional style of building was proudly said by parishioners of St. George's parish to be an adaptation of a 16th

[14] Church leaders were aware of the existence of this particular individual and the different places of worship that had been destroyed or extensively damaged by his hand. Personal details of this individual were not sought nor considered significant for the purposes of this research.

century tradition. Ukrainian church scholars disputed that the building design is indeed 16th century. In any event the parish of St. George's appears to be clearly focussed on a chosen 16th century design adaptation of what was *seen* to be traditionally Ukrainian.

In adapting the 16th century architectural style to Canadian twentieth century conditions, the parish of St. George's appears to have been engaged in more than nostalgia. A strong sense of pride is conveyed by many individuals who quoted at length the time, effort and commitment of the building committee that investigated, researched and proposed the building project. The strong community spirit in this project has been further evident in the historical and architectural research and consultation that took place within the parish as the plan to build the structure developed. This commitment was also reflected in the intensity of fund raising even after its erection in order to reduce the debt quickly. One of the most interesting fund raising drives came from the *Marian Sodality* which organised cooking bees where "*varenyky*" [better known as "*pyrogies*" (a traditional Ukrainian dumpling)} were made and sold. To continue the strong sense of Ukrainian history and Eastern Rite, parishioners from St. George's parish noted that the inside of the church boasts an elaborate chandelier imported from Greece which came complete with small icons. At the time of the research the walls were to be embellished in traditional religious murals depicting historical events and a traditional iconostasis was to be erected later. Included in the parish complex in 1982 was a community hall. The married parish priest lived in a nearby house which served as the presbytery.

St. Basil's provided an interesting architectural contrast: cream brick, modern, majestic in simplicity, and with very high ceilings. In appearance, while empty, it could have passed as a middle-class Catholic parish located anywhere in the Western world before Vatican II. The walls were not painted with traditional murals. Instead, an enormous mosaic of the Resurrection embellished the wall behind the altar. There was no iconostasis and it appeared through interviews that there would be none.

Thus, the parish architectural structures within each parish differed. However, each had at least one dome on its roof. There was a constant but low-key debate as to what was appropriate or legitimately Ukrainian about the variety of domes employed. What is important, particularly within the context of this survey, is that the members of each parish spoke most assertively that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish with which they identified represented the "true" Ukrainian Catholic tradition.

What of the people who made up these parishes? There was a perception within the general Ukrainian community, which was projected well before my research began, that St. Basil's parish members were more upwardly mobile, professional, third or fourth generation Ukrainian who spoke English more than Ukrainian and who had negotiated an ethnic image that emphasised a Canadian identity greater than Ukrainian identity.

St. Josaphat's parish was purported to be a mixture of all migration and migration descendant generations. It included descendants of first wave immigrants and also those of the second and third waves. To further substantiate this perception the members of St. Josaphat's parish were seen to have negotiated a combination of Canadian-Ukrainian identity which fluctuated according to circumstance and socio-economic status of both individual and Ukraini[illegible] sub-group within the wider Canadian socio- economic and political climate.

St. George's parish was reported to be the parish where one could find mainly post-World War II immigrant Ukrainians. There was some debate as to the size of the professional class within the parish. On the one hand, this parish was popularly perceived to be the least upwardly mobile. On

the other hand, this parish was also seen to have a greater proportion of intelligentsia from post World War II Ukraine. Here, I was told confidently, and repeatedly, were found members of organisations especially concerned with issues and concerns in contemporary Western Ukraine. This parish, was perceived internally and externally to be the one that would be predominantly Ukrainian-speaking, and most concerned with political freedom and nationhood in Ukraine. One measure of this was the collective goal for the establishment of a patriarchate in the diaspora as a manifestation of political and religious self-determination and ultimately, in time, of independence.

The three parishes which formed the focus of this research demonstrated clearly that there were areas of commonality or constancy in the symbols for all three parishes and, no doubt, for the other eight Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton. There were other more subtle forms of variation between the parishes in this study. These more subtle and significant variations were differences in behaviour and symbolic interpretations of that behaviour. They were also significant as they demonstrated the role that the Church has in the wider Ukrainian community in the first instance and second for the wider Canadian community. The church/parish leaders—priest and lay leaders—obviously had a particular role in the organisation and maintenance of a specific stance with regard to the rest of the Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian communities. That environment, internal and external to the parish, was presented through teachings, sermons or homilies from the pulpit, and through monthly parish news bulletins. A more significant role perhaps in connecting the parish to the wider world was through the organisation of associations or activities within the parish for establishing, maintaining or promoting links with the Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian community outside of the parish.

In this respect the parishes, their priests and their newsletters varied. The variation appeared to be reflective of the type of association within each parish. With three parishes (or indeed three units of similar structure, function, etc.) it was tempting to construct a continuum and to then place each along that continuum. In terms of identifying the key elements of ethnic identity, key symbols which facilitated, maintained, promoted, expressed and validated that identity, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its parish units provided unique entities. Those entities carried a common core: beliefs, history, language, traditions and rituals. The expression of that core to the world beyond the parish, Church, and Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian communities varied in a subtle but significant manner.

If the notion of continuum was be applied, St Josaphat's Cathedral parish, the longest established, sat comfortably in the centre. It provided a traditional base of Ukrainian Catholic religious practices but included for pragmatic purposes the occasional use of English language and English traditions (for example, calendar variations for those that wish to celebrate Christmas and/or Easter the "Canadian way"). St. Josaphat's parish also provided an opportunity to participate in an organisation which was more typically Canadian than Ukrainian: *Knights of St. Columbus*. The Cathedral Parish had among it members those leaders of the Ukrainian community who directed national-umbrella Ukrainian organisations. At least one leader of one of those organisations (Mr. Savaryn) concurrently held office in Ukrainian organisations at local and national level and, at the time of the research, carried the mantle of Chancellor of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta. This parish also promoted the education and welfare needs of the community through advertising places in bilingual Catholic school programs and places in Ukrainian or bilingual nursing homes (established or about to open) or accommodation for elderly people.

To one side St. Josaphat's parish was the parish of St. Basil's, which had most members descendant of the 1890s parishioners. This parish appeared to have greater links with Basilian priest involvement and individual family history connected to the Mundare region. The language used was more accommodating of the Canadian influence in the Ukrainian settlement and its changes over time. Activities and associations organised around the parish included hockey, needlework groups, a club for young marrieds, bingo evenings and a small permanent facility for elderly accommodation across the road. This presented an all encompassing parish where one way or another most social-cultural needs would have been met within the parish domain.

St. George's parish presented a very different combination of associations and activities. Newest in both structure and parish formation it also met the parish needs of those Ukrainians (and their descendants) more recently arrived in Canada. The parish priest, transposed from his Ukrainian role with his wife, was one of the few married clergy accepted within the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This priest also served parishes in the rural districts outside of Edmonton. His parishioners may have lived, some 40 or so years before, in rural areas of Ukraine. Few had experience of rural Canada. Many maintained that Ukraine would establish political and religious independence and their priest reflected this through his sermons and the newsletters. These issues were also reflected in the membership of St. George's parishioners of organisations in the Ukrainian community outside of the Catholic parish. Concurrently St. George's parish appeared to host few organisations that were not directly connected to church/parish matters. Whilst women's and men's lay organisations, the *Children of Mary*, altar boy associations, bilingual classes were found in their parish, hockey clubs, Bible reading groups and other associations were not. St. George's provided significant variation in the number of parishioners who were members of Ukrainian community organisations outside of the parish. These aspects of the parishes will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Summary: Variability and Uniformity

The core of what constitutes Ukrainian Catholic can be defined or demarcated fairly simply. Variations in terms of acceptable behaviour are not so readily determined from a religious perspective. If the qualitative definition of ethnicity includes geographic region of homeland, response to homeland issues, period of arrival, and experience on arrival in Canada, each of the variations can be explained and reinforced through the development of these three parishes. Individuals of similar experience and definition of the world - Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian and Canadian - tended to express their social and religious experiences and identities collectively. The varied experiences of groups of Ukrainian (Catholic) immigrants in leaving Ukraine, arriving in, and settling in Canada give rise to the different expressions and acceptance of what is meant by Ukrainian and Ukrainian Catholic.

One way to approach the exposition of uniformity and variability is through presentation of case histories. They are not simply illustrative, but provide an understanding of the central argument of this work.

Case Studies

These case studies provide synoptic "examples" derived from interviews with individuals representing or descendants of the same migration waves. Pseudonyms are used in each case. This has been done in order to maintain the confidentiality of personal data collected through interview and with a view to preserving anonymity within the parish framework. Cases presented

in "amalgam" were developed from the larger categories of membership within each parish. That is, as St. George's had by far the most members who were immigrants or offspring of immigrants of the 1950s period the case studies presented conform to this general sub-group of Ukrainian Catholics resident in Edmonton. Conversely, individuals who were immigrants of the 1950s period were a very small minority of members of St. Basil's parish. To identify members of such a small sub-category would present potential exposure and personal disclosure: an inappropriate and unethical process.

The different categories of amalgamated personae are intended to show different types of response to ethno-religious organization, affiliation, participation and interpretation.

Nancy

Nancy was born in Alberta in the first decade of the twentieth century. She and her many brothers and sisters were aware of their Ukrainian background and of their Ukrainian Prairie farmer neighbours. She completed seven years at the local grade school. Her brothers and sisters gained relatively equal levels of education in the "Anglo-school." She stated that their parents taught them to be proud of being Ukrainian and they spoke Ukrainian at home but never outside of the home or when non-Ukrainians were present in their home. Her family regularly participated in the events of the nearby (Basilian) parish and although they didn't attend Mass every Sunday, there were daily family prayers where devotions to "Mary, the Mother of God" and the Rosary were said by all members of the nuclear family assembled together.

During Nancy's formative and adolescent years there was no Ukrainian language school and Nancy's parents did not attempt to teach her to read or write in Ukrainian. Nancy recalled that there were few opportunities to develop an understanding of Ukraine's history and that she was still confused as to whether her Ukrainian immigrant parents had arrived from Poland, Austria or Galicia. (However, after two or three interviews it was determined Nancy's parents had arrived from Galicia.) Attempts to discuss this seemed to confuse her and she would inevitably conclude that part of a discussion with "anyhow what does it matter, I'm proud to be Ukrainian."

Nancy married a young Ukrainian man from the same rural area of Western Canada. When they met, Nancy's future husband had already qualified as a teacher and the early part of their married life was spent in rural school districts. As their family expanded they moved into urban Edmonton and participated in Ukrainian community life.

Nancy was very proud of her six children, their level of education and their development through different professional endeavours. Her grandchildren visited regularly and, where her children had married Ukrainian partners, she was particularly proud that they regularly attended their parish within the Ukrainian Catholic Church, took part in parish based activity groups, and were able (due to bilingual school enrolments) to converse with her in Ukrainian. She delighted in reporting that her grandchildren's ability to converse, read and write in Ukrainian was "by far better" than her own.

Nancy had for many years helped with cooking and cleaning rosters in the different Church organisations. She had great admiration for the work of the Basilians and listened regularly to the Ukrainian religious radio programs prepared and presented by one of St. Basil's member priests. She was also devoted to Pope John Paul II and became most distressed when he was shot (in 1981) and she responded to this by continuously praying for days for his recovery. In contrast, when asked about the Ukrainian Catholic church leader Cardinal Slipyj, Nancy said Cardinal

Slipyj was just that: a Cardinal.[15] When going to mass on her own, Nancy carefully chose her attendance at St. Basil's to coincide with one or other of her favourite priests celebrating Mass. She had a preference for the "ones with English language sermons because it's easier for us all to understand." When members of her family arranged to pick her up she was obviously delighted at the prospect of attending with them whether the Mass had English sermons or not. She recounted proudly which parts of the Ukrainian sermons her grandchildren retold her: "they had obviously understood."

She delighted in her grandchildren's endeavours and spoke to them about the importance of being "good " (which in her assessment included attending Mass, saying the Rosary, practising with their musical instruments and developing their Ukrainian language skills). It was "OK" to have friends who were not Ukrainian. She thought her sister had done well to marry a Polish Catholic. She was, however, most distressed that a member of the extended family had married someone from a Ukrainian Orthodox background. It appeared to be even more difficult for her to comprehend why the marriage took place in the Orthodox Church.

Although Nancy appeared to be unsure of her family's history and seemed confused about her country of origin, nevertheless, she stated she was proud that she was Ukrainian. Above all else she was Ukrainian Catholic (with a preference for English language services).

David

David was a middle-aged married professional who married a Ukrainian background wife and with their five teenage children participated in a variety of Ukrainian activities. A member of St. Basil's parish, he attended mainly on festive occasions but declared proudly that his wife, children, parents, aunts, uncles and cousins were all involved to a greater or lesser extent: "but we all go."

David's grandparents had settled in prairie Alberta in the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants. He seemed to be unsure of the details of his grandparent's life histories and needed to double check (with his father or mother) before saying (in a follow-up interview) that his ancestors had arrived from "somewhere in Galicia." He appeared to be very aware of his parent's Canadian history and work life and their contribution to his education and financial development. David was proud of his family's participation in both the general arena of the Ukrainian community and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in particular. He stated, however, that the pressures of his professional work life and the ensuing round of social engagements made it difficult for him to take a more active role in each milieu. He was very much aware it was his generation that was able to present multiculturalism to Alberta in general and, through that, to establish bilingual schools that benefited the Ukrainian community. Other communities were seen to then adapt that model of bilingual education for themselves.

David cited other achievements by the Ukrainians of his (and the previous) generations: the establishment of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club (in which "women also were members"); the financing of, and lobbying for, the initial stages of the Canadian Institute of

[15] Cardinal Slipyj died in 1984. Born in 1892, he was arrested in December 1945 when a large part of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Ukraine - more than 2,550 priests, monks and nuns - were arrested in Galicia. After 17 years in prison Cardinal Slipyj was released. Until his death he led a strong movement to have the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate proclaimed by the Vatican and recognised by the Soviet authorities.

Ukrainian Studies; the great work done by that Institute especially in the publication of academic works and the provision of scholarships and fellowships to foster academic inquiry. He also noted that Ukrainians now had the opportunity to stage operas and had developed many levels of "musical and artistic expertise." He also noted that at the time of the interview it was a Ukrainian who was the Chancellor of the University of Alberta and that another Ukrainian was Mayor of the city in which this study was being conducted.

The future of the Ukrainian community depended, for David, on the responses of his children's generation and their ability to assertively present "multiculturalism"[16] to the wider community. David spoke Ukrainian (albeit haltingly). He was aware of recent (post 19th Century) Ukrainian history but had "little time to read about Ukrainians over there.

Being Ukrainian Catholic appeared to present a link or commonality with his immediate and extended family of whom he was "proud." Being Ukrainian was a more defined way of negotiating the world outside of his immediate milieu and of furthering the development of things multicultural through his professional expertise, and his professional and political network.

George

George was registered as a member of the parish at the Cathedral of St. Josaphat's. He attended when "he needed to": to keep his siblings and one of his sibling's family happy. George was in his sixties and worked in a labour intensive occupation. He stated he had limited choices in establishing himself in Canada because he had "no qualifications at all."

George was born in Ukraine in the mid 1920s. He was in his teens when World War II broke out. He found himself in work camps in Germany and at the end of the War - a displaced person. He chose initially not to migrate to Canada as his oldest sibling and family had done. He married in Germany, had children and then fifteen or so years later chose to meet up with other members of his family and therefore resettled in Canada. At first he lived in eastern Canada but eventually settled in Edmonton.

George attended Ukrainian functions but joined few organisations. Those functions and organisations in which he participated were those in which extended family members also participated. George's sibling had arrived in Canada immediately after the War and had dealt with re-defining "what is Ukrainian" and "how to present Ukrainian issues in the wider community."

George appeared to be proud of his family's involvement in both the Ukrainian and Ukrainian Catholic community. He noted that he attended church "wherever it was convenient" and felt that being restricted to "one church" was something he did not understand. He also reported that on occasion he attended the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral but found that the services were too long.

George preferred the social aspects of being Ukrainian and felt comfortable in Edmonton because "there was always something to do with other Ukrainians." He noted his doctor, dentist and lawyer were all Ukrainian. He did the bulk of his banking in a mainstream bank but also had an account with the Ukrainian credit company: something not experienced in his former post-World

[16] That is, multiculturalism as government policy to facilitate equality of opportunity for ethnic minority groups to express their ethnicity, access and participate in mainstream government-sponsored services.

War II country of residence. (This despite the large number of Ukrainian institutions in Germany.)

George's children (now adults) spoke Ukrainian to him. However, they lived away from him and as they had not learned to read and write Ukrainian, they relied on phone calls or English language letters to communicate. Both of his children had married non-Ukrainians and he felt his children appeared to be not as proud to be Ukrainian as were his nieces and nephews. That was "alright" because his children had their lives to live as he had his. He did say that he felt that in some places Ukrainian would be a forgotten language soon. When clarification was sought he quickly stated that "this would not happen in Edmonton: there are too many Ukrainians, too many proud Ukrainians for that to happen." The survival of the Ukrainian language for George was a function of the number of the Ukrainian population that maintained active membership participation in organisations and equally in the "well-directed" energy of the Ukrainian (lay) leaders.

George was happy to be associated with Ukrainians. He participated socially and stated that he most liked Ukrainian humour and patterns of social interaction. Part of that interaction included attendance at religious ceremonies at any of the eleven Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton although he was most likely to attend St. Josaphat's or St. George's and St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Parish.

Stefan

Stefan was married with a baby daughter when he arrived in Canada in the 1920s. He travelled to Alberta alone to work for a distant relative whose family had established themselves on a Prairie farm. Stefan's relatives had emigrated in the 1890s and continued to write to the members of his family left behind in the "*Chernivtsi*" part of Galicia. (Author's note: Chernivtsi is not part of Galicia. When clarification was sought with the interviewee he looked both defensive and embarrassed. The matter was not pursued further.)

At first Stefan planned to work hard, save whatever money he could, and return to *Chernivtsi* with a plan to buy a large plot of land. He found his relatives (the Prairie land owners) and their Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian farmer neighbours all had a lot of work for him. In a few years he revised his plans, sent for his wife and child, and on their arrival, settled on a farm several miles away from the area in which his Canadian life began.

Stefan was aware of all of his neighbours and especially of those who were Ukrainian Catholic. He attended the local rural parish which was apparently irregularly serviced by members of the Basilian order. Stefan said he had "only three years of schooling." He stated he was "non-literate" but on the several occasions that he was interviewed he enthusiastically engaged in discussions about world events, especially those that impinged on the Ukrainian homeland or "USSR affairs" (as they were then called).

Stefan would repeatedly state in each of the interviews that he felt the Ukrainians in the "diaspora were the most unfortunate race in the whole of humanity." He would not entertain any discussion that perhaps in comparison to other displaced post-World War II communities the Ukrainians in Canada had done quite well to establish themselves socially, economically or politically. Stefan claimed that he and his wife, together, regularly attended whatever nearby rural Ukrainian community functions were organised. In recent years he and his wife stayed with their family in the city during the winter and left their Canadian-born son (and his family) to attend the farm.

During spring through to fall the elderly couple would return to their farm and Stefan would help his son with the more labour intensive jobs, his wife would plant vegetables, harvest them and bake, pickle or preserve the produce for a store of supplies which were kept in the farm's "summer house." Stefan's wife (now in her seventies) continued the practice of white-washing the interior and exterior of their modest farm house "just like we did at home."

Debilitating physical conditions and a history of major surgery and health problems meant neither Stefan nor his wife drove cars any longer. However, driving tractors on the farm seemed to be no problem for Stefan. Their social interaction with other Ukrainians - both Catholic and Orthodox depended on their offspring or younger friends to picking up and delivering them. Stefan and his wife seemed undaunted at the prospect of getting somewhere when their children were busy. The telephone was an extension of the family's system of communication and both Stefan and his wife appeared to have no trouble in locating a rural or urban neighbour friend or parish member to help them maintain their physical mobility and social involvement. The locus of their existence appeared to be an extensive network in which Stefan and his wife (in both rural and urban locations) hospitably entertained those friends who were able to visit them.

Stefan's extended family included doctors, lawyers, dentists, pharmacists, clerics and store keepers. Although he felt he was by comparison a "very poor distant cousin" he nonetheless appreciated the extensive (Ukrainian) family network that he and his family could call on in times of need. Stefan claimed that where possible he was keen to reciprocate within that network.

Stefan and his wife shared a great admiration for the priests that said Mass, and the brothers and sisters who visited them at the farm. Community leaders and those who contributed to Ukrainian folk-art (singing, dancing, choirs, operas and so forth) were in Stefan's estimation the best resources ("*majno*") that any community could have. He noted his children were not such "important" community leaders but they did participate in community activities in whatever way they could. Each had married Ukrainian background spouses and, although they were disappointed that each of their children's spouses had shown comparatively low levels of interest in farming, at least they communicated with Stefan and his wife in Ukrainian and "they understand us."

Stefan was most conscious of his low level of formal education. He and his wife managed to keep in touch with their rural and urban church and secular friends. Being Ukrainian was almost a complete way of life with only occasional interaction with people who are not Ukrainian. Stefan's "religiosity" was an extension of a village orientation of family, friends and fellow Ukrainians. The network of secular friends seemed interwoven with those from rural or urban parishes.

Roman and Vera

Roman was in his fifties when the interviews for this dissertation took place. He was married to his Ukrainian wife of twenty five years and had three grown children and two grandchildren.

As a young man in his teens he arrived in Canada in 1950 after spending several years in different camps in Europe after the end of World War II. Roman was at first quite shy and diffident in interviews. He explained that he felt that he did not have a lot to contribute to my survey/interviews as he was just "an ordinary man."

Upon arrival in Canada Roman first lived in one of the larger eastern Canadian cities and became established there with his parents and younger sister. He was able to enter high school soon after his arrival but still felt his accented English "betrayed" his background and he lamented that he

could not read, speak or "think" enough English for it (the accent) "to go away." Roman's entrance into high school was embarrassing and exacerbated by his placement in a class of Canadian students "a few years" his junior. He graduated and got a job in a small company. After a few years of menial work he entered college but his part time studies were interrupted when he moved to western Canada.

After visiting Vancouver and Saskatchewan, Roman established himself in Edmonton where a distant relative of his father had moved in the 1930s. Roman resumed his studies and worked as a professional within a large company. Precisely what his role was difficult to establish. He had worked for that company for more than twenty years.

When Roman first arrived in Edmonton he joined Ukrainian clubs and danced and sang in traditional ensembles. There he met the young Ukrainian woman whom he courted and married. Vera came from a similar Ukrainian migration period and although she did not remember her future husband, en route to Canada her parents and Roman's parents had spent some time in residence at one of the German labour camps. They were therefore known (albeit fleetingly) to each other prior to their marriage.

Vera worked in a professional capacity in a large educational institution. Roman was obviously proud of her achievements and in discussion often referred to her superiority or "expertise" things pertaining to Ukrainian art, culture and tradition. In interviews where both were present Vera deferred to her husband and stated that women knew little of the religious or "political" things I asked and that perhaps the parish priests or the "professors and lecturers" of various Institutes and academic departments would be of greater assistance.

Their children were all participants in Ukrainian organisations or associations of one type or another. Both daughters sang, although the elder had restricted her activities since the birth of her two children. The younger daughter had completed her first degree in science and was continuing her studies to become a health professional. Roman and Vera's son had completed his studies and was pursuing a lucrative career in business administration. His participation in Ukrainian associations was limited and his church attendance seemed to coincide with significant festivals or when his Ukrainian contemporaries visited from other provinces.

Roman and Vera appeared to be very clear that St. George's parish best reflected religious traditions and practices as they knew them as children. The celebration of Christmas on the 25th of December was not appropriate in their minds. Using English in the Mass demeaned the Ukrainian language. "Younger people" who had married non-Ukrainian speakers would probably prefer such arrangements but perhaps it would be enough to have bulletin notices printed in the English language. It was important to Roman and Vera that their elder daughter had married a Ukrainian man from a similar background: his parents had settled in the city that was Roman's first Canadian home, although Roman did not know them prior to their daughter's meeting with their son.

Roman was confident that his efforts in Ukrainian organisations which supported Ukrainian independence were "worthwhile." He was confident that Ukraine would be free, albeit not in his lifetime. Vera appeared less confident of the outcome but both saw the Church and its leaders (especially Cardinal Josef Slipyj) to be critical individuals leading the way to national independence and religious autonomy with the creation of "patriarchate."

Summary of Case Studies

These case studies demonstrate a personal difference or variation in attitude of each case/person (albeit it an amalgam case) presented. There was no uniform response to the importance of Ukrainian as their preferred language. Knowing or being confident about one's knowledge of Ukrainian history, literature or church history was not important for survival or for an absolute definition of what or who constituted the definitive Ukrainian.

What was important for each of these amalgamated cases was that the Church provided a very important, if not vital, link to other Ukrainians. For some the link also carried a spiritual link to another part of the world, Ukraine, that could not be established or sustained in any other way. For others, involvement in the Ukrainian Catholic tradition was a vehicle through which one could confidently define oneself vis-a-vis other Ukrainians (Orthodox, Pentecostal or just plain "other") and vis-a-vis other non-Ukrainians.

Each of those interviewed appeared to choose carefully their praise of their children: whether or not they spoke Ukrainian, participated in Ukrainian organisations, or married Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox or non-Ukrainian. The vital issue with each person's child/ren was that some form of communication remain. The Church, its tradition and Ukrainian "culture" were stated to be important to all people interviewed. As interviews progressed it appeared that members of each generation reflected carefully their experiences in relation to "others" of the same generation, migration or educational level. Each then appeared to have another measure of their "Ukrainianness" in relation to their common experience, membership or participation *with* their children (and their spouses and offspring). A third level of ascription or self reporting appeared to occur in relation to each person analysing his/her child/ren's participation in the Ukrainian community or the Ukrainian Catholic Church vis-a-vis other people's children's participation. This third measure appeared to evaluate the potential for success in transposing their experience of being Ukrainian to the next generation. The question rarely appeared to be one of "relevance" of what was being promoted or practised but whether the "next generation and their children" would continue with the maintenance of "that" Ukrainian culture familiar to the interviewee.

CHAPTER VIII: PARISH AS LIVING CULTURE

The previous chapters have demonstrated that the migration of Ukrainians to Canada from 1890 to the 1980s occurred for varied reasons and under circumstances that were different for each generation of migrants. The social, economic and political circumstances which greeted Ukrainian immigrants on arrival in Canada also varied with each migration period. These circumstances changed further as Canada related to the rest of the world, especially during World War I and after World War II. Ukrainians, especially those from her western regions, re-defined themselves socially and politically in relation to Polish and Russian settlement and influences in Ukraine. The Ukrainians and their descendants in Canada were affected by these changes as new immigrants with new attitudes arrived. With improved communications, changes in Ukraine were quickly relayed to Canada and closer contact sustained over greater periods of time. This chapter seeks to examine the culture, values and norms of ethno-religious expression in each parish and to compare these collective practices.

In relation to a collective Ukrainian reality the most salient changes occurred in how Ukrainians defined their collective self. Through this redefinition they renegotiated their relationships with the larger community of Canada and the rest of the world. Some of these changes were also reflected in shifts within the social and political aspects of Ukrainians' attitudes and adherence to their religion. The Ukrainian Catholic Church culture, transferred from Ukraine with the particular cultural traditions that each immigrant brought, also underwent its own metamorphosis in response to the Canadian environment, the Canadian Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and the collective redefinition that occurred within the life of the total Ukrainian community.

Religion seen in this context as a changing set of traditions reflective of the group's identity has provided one means through which "Ukrainianness" has been questioned, challenged and ultimately redefined. The Ukrainian Catholic tradition has been one particular form of religion and religious practice that has been central to the core values of each of the major migrant groups that entered Canada. While it formed a core for the expression of Ukrainian identity, both social and political, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has provided one system of expression of Ukrainian ethnicity and Ukrainian nationalism. It responded to conditions and issues outside of its boundaries. In turn these responses appear to have had significant repercussions within the boundaries of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Again there appears to be definite focus of "Ukrainian" being preferred above all else for the Post War II immigrants focussed on reviving Ukrainian independence through their direct experience of community although, again in Benedict's (1965) terms they would be imagined. The degree of Ukrainianness preferred is indicated by Ukrainian Orthodox rituals and practices being preferred over non-Ukrainian Catholic.

While the theology of Catholicism and the religiosity of its adherents were not part of the focus of this research, the concern has been to determine the use of the social aspects of religious organisations to demonstrate ethnicity. Within that a critical aspect has been the acceptance, tolerance, rejection or introduction of religious or political symbols or expressions of ethnicity. The expression or suppression of these markers required a definition and/or redefinition of what constituted being Ukrainian. Cultural arbitrators—community leaders, priests and others—engage in determining what is "legitimately" Ukrainian. It appeared that those outside of the process in which legitimacy was determined carried out their daily routines with little regard to the issues being considered.

To the majority of Canadians of Ukrainian descent and living in Edmonton, being "Ukrainian" was probably not an issue as they went about their personal/work/professional lives. For a small number, those lecturing in, or teaching Ukrainian studies and those using the Ukrainian language in their day to day work for example a bilingual health professional, being defined or identified as Ukrainian may have had some importance. Being Ukrainian could be important for a Ukrainian-speaking dentist who has had many Ukrainian-speaking patients. However, few Canadians of Ukrainian descent living in Edmonton required services to be delivered only by Ukrainian-speaking professionals. That is, there were times when being or not being able to speak Ukrainian did not have much bearing on the situation at hand. Furthermore, in life-threatening situations, if a person was identified as Ukrainian his/her religious affiliation may have had relatively less relevance. However, there may have been times when it was important for an individual to identify him/herself not only as Ukrainian but more in terms of his/her ethno-religion. Hospital records may have chosen to identify when a chaplain or priest was to be called in cases of emergency, for example. Thus, individuals may have chosen to define themselves in terms of ethno-religion in broad terms to in order to avail themselves of a specific service. A corollary of the example above could have been that of a patient having a wish, a need or concern for the rights to have of access to a priest/minister or their choice. Other similar instances of service "choice" occurred with bilingual Catholic education programs where parents chose on behalf of their children.

Within any group of individuals who further redefined themselves in terms of both ethnicity and religion there were further differentiations. The denomination to which the Ukrainian individual in Edmonton subscribed could be Catholic, Orthodox, United, Pentecostal, Baptist, and so on. Within the "Catholic" category some would have adhered to the Roman Catholic Rite and others to the Ukrainian Catholic Rite.

In the early 1980s there were nine Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton and of course only three of the nine have formed the focus of this study. The three were chosen because the two more recent parishes developed out of the original Ukrainian Catholic parish in Edmonton. These three parishes provided a focus on the parish as "living" culture. Each of the three parishes expressed a Ukrainian Catholic group or parish identity different from the other two. Manifestations of the differences were seen in the parish buildings, the church buildings, and parish activities. This chapter demonstrates that, within the range of alternatives that were available for the expression of Ukrainian Catholic Church tradition, each of the three parishes reflects a place in a continuum of the adaptation and use of significant markers.

The variation was demonstrated in Chapter VII in the case studies of individuals who belonged to the parishes. Another demonstration of difference between the parishes is the results, presented in this chapter, of a telephone survey which involved a smaller sample for the examination of the manifestations of collective identity. The telephone survey focussed on socio-economic indicators, a brief history of individual participation in parish activities, and current participation in Ukrainian community organisations outside of the parish. A series of ethnic, ethno-religious and religious markers or symbols were put to the interviewees for comment. Their responses and comments have been analysed and presented in this dissertation in an attempt to distinguish variation in ethno-religious perspectives in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The examination of parish newsletters provided another approach to define what happened within each parish. Newsletters from each of the three parishes were collected and analysed. Individual responses in face to face interviews were also used to assess variation in the physical expressions through buildings, symbolic expressions in church services, and the expressions of each of the

parishes as a social unit. The obvious and immediate question was whether the parish formed part of a much bigger unit. A spontaneous response, of course, was that all three parishes are part of the Eparchy of Edmonton, and all three form part of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Alberta and in Canada. It appeared that they had far more in common with each other than there were differences. The things that the parishes had maintained in common must take account, however, of the differences between groups that are reflected in the formation of these parishes. Those differences were significant to the Ukrainian Catholic community in Edmonton in the 1950s and 1960s. To some individuals in each of the three parishes these differences were still important in the 1980s.

Specific Differences in Building and Services

As has been noted, the present St. Josaphat's Cathedral was built in the 1930s as the only parish of the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Church in Edmonton at that time. Its Church structure, (also described earlier) was a reflection of the materials and building technology of the period in which it was built. During the time of the research the interior wall frescos (reflective of Ukrainian Church decorative traditions) were being restored to remove the candle smoke and grime of fifty or so years of constant use.

During the 1950s the appearance of the interior of the church building as an "authentic" representation of a Ukrainian Catholic Church was challenged by post-World War II Ukrainian refugees. The absence of the iconostasis which has been traditional for both Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians, and the presence of saints in statue form were one of the main concerns, along with changes such as the move away from using the traditional (Julian) calendar.

The members of St. Josaphat's parish at that time were predominantly Ukrainians who had moved from surrounding rural districts into the urban area of Edmonton. These people had begun to identify with the Canadian community's celebration of Christmas on the 25th of December. This ritual, when it replaced the traditional Julian calendar's observance of Christmas on January 7th, was severely questioned by the newer arrivals. In response, the second and third generation Ukrainian Catholics, of both rural and urban origin felt they had been subjected to enough discrimination. Maintaining "the old" practices were further enforcing the school and university students and their teachers and parents to experience another level of discrimination. For instance the Christmas break from educational institutions was over by the time "old" Ukrainian Christmas came around. A second concern was that as more students ventured to cities away from their parents' place of residence they were not present for the traditional celebrations of Christmas Eve (6th January) and Christmas Day itself. The "new" practice was to simply transfer most dietary and festive regulations and practices so that they concurred with December 24th and 25th.

Along with the issue of dates and calendars was the concern of whether the English language should be used in Ukrainian Church services. The traditionalists were adamant that only the Ukrainian language be used. There was another debate later as old Church Slavonic, the traditional language of the Mass and other formal celebrations, was gradually replaced with vernacular Ukrainian. This language issue was considered to be at least one step removed from the question of Ukrainian versus English. It was not developed further within this thesis as it was not initially seen to be significant in separating one parish from another. In the intervening decade, English substitution for Ukrainian vernacular has been the focus of many a debate.

In the 1980s the three parishes' church buildings differed quite markedly in architectural style. The parish of St. Basil's congregates in a very large, spacious building with a large mosaic behind the altar, no iconostasis (and with no apparent plans for one to be installed) and no wall frescos. The then new building of St. George's parish church had plans for the traditional iconostasis. Frescos had not been embellished on the walls of the adapted traditional sixteenth century styled building. All three church buildings conformed to the Catholic tradition of defining space with the use of altar, pews and confessional. The more subtle Catholic symbols of the burning red oil lamp, trays of candles for burning, and the Ukrainian Catholic traditional practice of having banners (*choronve*) in the body of the church were also constant. These banners, embroidered in traditional Ukrainian motifs, were brought to the front of the church before the congregation during Mass on special days - Christmas, Easter, and Church and on parish feast days. They were carried at the beginning of processions around the parish church, on display at the front of the church and on occasion were used in other religious ceremonies.

The services conducted within the church buildings do not differ significantly in terms of Ukrainian Catholic liturgy. Other major services, for example the *Moloben* and *Panachyda*, were essentially the same. The language used, the hymns chosen, and the attendance of the congregation appear to have altered but slightly. These variations, apart from calendar use difference, were a reflection of each parish, as part of living Ukrainian culture, being different. Critical to this dissertation is the premise that each living microcosm of all cultures changes in reflection of the time, people and circumstances in which it is found. Parishes within the Roman Catholic tradition would also have similar *minor* variations reflective of the parish composition, its history and its clerical administration. These may include statues, paintings or frescos that reflect the order of priests who established or maintained the parish, the inclusion of particular music or musical interpretation, and so forth.

As a living community, each of the parishes were also compared to each other. It was soon noticeable that each parish developed an individual, if not unique, approach to the organisation, sponsorship and maintenance of activities other than religious services. St. Josaphat's sponsored organisations such as the *Ukrainian Catholic Women's League*, and the *Knights of Columbus*. At the time the research was conducted, church calendar events such as spring teas were observed to be "modern" adaptations to living in Canada, an opportunity to develop social environments within the Church domain and a valuable mechanism by which to raise money. Both the introduction of new organisations (for example, the *Ukrainian Catholic Women's League*, and the *Knights of Columbus*) and the new form of seasonal non-religious ritual reflected both parish and communal life as systems that changed.

These adaptations indicated two key areas where the Ukrainian Catholic parish tradition in Edmonton has changed quite markedly. They served as reminders that culture, by definition, as an abstraction of human social life, also changed. This thesis sought to identify that degree of difference between parishes, each of which remained Ukrainian Catholic by tradition. Changes, if too radical, would have gone beyond the acceptable boundaries of what was traditional Ukrainian Catholic behaviour. Some of the changes were consistent with the Canadian (English-speaking Roman Catholic) milieu. Other changes, variation of music and type of hymn used during church services at St. Basil's, for example, could be explained as an adaptation to the musicology of the Canadian culture being transferred into the more traditional Ukrainian Church environment. For both St Josaphat's and St Basil's parishes these types of changes appear to have been reflective of an adaptation of a tradition which had been transposed to a foreign environment without substantial periodic injections of contemporary practices from their homeland(s). Changes in

traditions associated with Advent and New Year have been document by Marechko-Sochan (1992).

Examples of changes that would have been "too radical" may be the abolition of blessing of the pysanky, and the associated symbolic focus, at Easter; or the introduction of all changes as suggested by either the Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox hierarchy for their respective parishes.

Parish Publications: Bulletins and Newsletters

The Content

Each of the parishes issued bulletins in which were listed notices of the individual parish activities, service times, readings for the day, significant feast days, etc. Each parish produced a weekly bulletin and distributed it at Mass throughout the year with a recess over the summer. The three parish bulletins were each printed in a mixture of Ukrainian and English. However, St. George's parish bulletins used only Ukrainian for parish news. Interestingly, the last page of the St. George's bulletin consisted of advertisements from Ukrainian owned or Ukrainian-sensitive businesses. The language used in these advertisements was a mixture of Ukrainian and English.

As in the case of St Joseph's and St. George's, St. Basil's bulletin was made up of two sheets folded over to make a four page newsletter. In most instances the major part of the bulletin was printed in English. One page of the four was in Ukrainian. An obvious difference, in comparison to the other two parish bulletins, was that notices of donations made to the parish were printed in English and Ukrainian. St. Josaphat's bulletin had notices of service times in both Ukrainian and English. Notices of significant meetings, events and so on were in either or both languages, as were the advertisements of local businesses.

The collection and analysis of parish bulletins for all of the parishes began formally from the beginning of January, 1982, through to the end of December of that year. None of the parishes produced newsletters during the summer months. An analysis of the notices given in the January 1982 parish bulletins showed that St. George's maintained the traditional Ukrainian (Julian) calendar and thereby emphasised the celebration of the Nativity on January 7th and the Epiphany on January 14th. All of the St. George's bulletins for January 1982 noted the readings and responses for each Sunday. Readers were invited to the parish Christmas dinner at the end of the month.

St. Josaphat's bulletin showed differences in the organisation of the church calendar from the other parish bulletins in several ways. Most importantly, by January the Nativity had been celebrated, so too the Epiphany. News in the bulletin noted the bilingual school fund drive; *Marian* hour for the *Knights of Columbus*; pre-marriage counselling classes; marriage bans; activities of the *Arkan* dancing school; the Men's Club; and the *Ukrainian Catholic Women's League Goodwill Club*; and the Senior Catholic Youth Club. St. Josaphat's newsletters also highlighted Ukrainian Independence Day as a nationally significant concept and informed the parishioners of planned independence day celebrations. Additional information included the proposal to send birthday greetings to Cardinal Slipyj. Notice was given of the annual parish meeting. St. Josaphat's bulletin also was the only one of the three parishes that noted the *Ukrainian Youth Curling Bonspiel* in the nearby town of Lamont.

St. Basil's parish newsletters for January 1982 requested contact from parishioners interested in having a priest from the parish visit their homes with holy water. Houses are blessed by the priest with water used to symbolise the baptism of Jesus Christ by St. John the Baptist in the Jordan River. This celebration occurred at the end of January and is referred to as *"the Jordan."*

Notices in English told readers that the Epiphany celebrations were to be held on January 6th, while Christmas had earlier been observed on December 25th. Bulletins for the remainder of January noted parish house- keeping issues such as the distribution of envelopes for weekly parish collections from the parish vestibule. Specific notices highlighted the activities of the Men's Club; the *Ukrainian Catholic Youth Club*; the *Ukrainian Catholic Women's League*; and basic Ukrainian cross stitch classes among other activities. Additional notices referred to appreciation nights for volunteer workers; the hours of operation of the *Ukrainian Bilingual Playschool*; and the celebration of St. Basil the Great's feast day. A mid-month bulletin advertised a concert by one of Edmonton's better known Ukrainian dance groups: *Cheremosh*. Readers wishing to formalise their membership within the parish were invited to complete a form included in the bulletin.

Throughout February of 1982 the parish bulletins in St. George's focused on information about eminent feast days; the visits of the parish *"Vertep"* (a Christmas ambulatory pageant visiting homes); the special celebrations for Cardinal Slipyj's birthday, with a subsequent item the following week reporting on that event; a report on parish finances in which it was noted that the parish had a bank loan outstanding for the amount of $230,000. The parish bulletins also included deliberations on the theology of "God made Man" and an equally substantial reference to the nationalist spirit of Ukrainians in acknowledging the special role of Cardinal Slipyj as a national leader as well as a church leader.

St. Josaphat's parish bulletins throughout February 1982 treated a number of issues in approximately equal coverage in both Ukrainian and English. Some of the key issues noted in the bulletins referred to the meetings of the different parish clubs and/or of their executives; announcements for a mass to celebrate Cardinal Slipyj's birthday and the concurrent celebration of his ordination jubilee; preparation for individual (private) and parish (public) practices throughout Lent; lectures on the future of the Ukrainian heritage (to be delivered in English in St. Basil's parish hall); the annual Shevchenko concert to be held at St. Basil's (in the following month); advertisements for kindergarten and grade one registration at three Catholic bilingual schools; and an additional advertisement within the bulletin format of the impending "*Cheremosh*" concert. The bulletins occasionally included notices of donations made to the parish.

St. Basil's bulletins for the four weeks of February 1982 covered similar topics: the Kindergarten (*Sadochok)* at St. Martin's; preparation for Lent (with an emphasis on there being no dances or weddings allowed); the *Ukrainian Catholic Women's League* annual tea; the schedule for registration in three Catholic bilingual schools and notice of the annual parish meeting. Additional areas (that is those not noted in February in the other two parishes bulletins) were the *Married Couples Club*; a welcome to parishioners who joined within the last year or two to participate in a coffee and doughnuts meeting after the Sunday evening Mass; a married couple's communion breakfast; notice of the English language movie "Brother Sun, Sister Moon" about St. Francis of Assisi at a local commercial theatre; a *pysanka* (Easter egg) painting workshop; the parish hockey club paper drive and Scripture studies which were to be conducted in Ukrainian.

In March 1982, St. George's bulletin focused on the spiritual observance required of parishioners throughout Lent. A special case was made about a Ukrainian priest who had worked within the restrictions of living in a region of Poland (where freedom of religion was not taken for granted). Reference was again made to the Patriarchate as a symbol of the Ukrainian nation spirit.

For the same month the newsletter of St. Josaphat's parish noted the work of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League and for this organisation advertised a Lenten Retreat. March was also the month in which spring teas were celebrated and notices for St. Basil's, St. George's and St. Josaphat's referred to the annual tea in each parish for the bishops as well as the tea at the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Beverley (a suburb of Edmonton). Different St. Josaphat's clubs advertised their activities. Calls were made in the parish bulletins for interest in applications to reside within *"Verkhovyna"* (St. Josaphat's Senior Citizen's Residence) and notification given of the celebration of the liturgy for Ukrainian Catholic residents of the Angus McGuigan Nursing Home.

St. Basil's parish bulletins for March 1982 highlighted preparation for Easter; a retreat to be conducted for *Ukrainian Catholic Women*; the renewal of marriage (anniversary) blessings; family planning meetings; and the notification of passion and Easter service schedules.

Many of the pre-Lenten preparations noted in the March bulletins continued into April in reflection of the seasonal celebrations of the Church calendar. However, some variations occurred from parish to parish. For example, the St. George's parish bulletins continued a prolonged discussion of the Patriarchate with an emphasis on the need for the acceptance of the Patriarchate by those who might not have done so or who may have done so reluctantly.

Notices in the parish bulletins showed that spring teas continued into April. Palm Sunday was celebrated on the second Sunday of April and, of course, Easter followed. Two bulletins were devoted to Easter: the first was devoted entirely to a traditional ecclesiastical parish greeting on the feast day; the second (sequential bulletin) reported on the previous Sunday's Easter celebrations and presented information that 400 parishioners had received Holy Communion on that occasion.

Both St. Basil's and St. Josaphat's parishes celebrated Palm Sunday on the first Sunday of April 1982. Easter therefore was solemnised on the second Sunday in April, one week ahead of the festivities at St. George's. Both St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's bulletins reminded readers of the obligations of Christians at Easter time. For Ukrainian Catholics these included fasting on Good Friday: abstinence from food such as meat, eggs and dairy products. One of the St. Basil's bulletins had an attachment which focused on the traditional foods blessed at Easter; the liturgical explanation of the days throughout Holy Week and English transcriptions of traditional Ukrainian Easter hymns. St. Josaphat's parish, in its newsletter, also advertised the housekeeping issues such as how many collections were to be made on Easter Sunday and which charitable organisation would be beneficiaries of those collections. Immediately after Easter, St. Basil's and St. Josaphat's bulletins prepared the way for May devotions. St. Basil's bulletin also continued with daylight saving time notices; requests for donations so that Bibles would be sponsored for distribution behind the Iron Curtain; the Ukrainian language film show at the University; notice of debentures available to finance St. Mary's Ukrainian Church in Vancouver; and the usual information regarding parish club activities. For this time St. Josaphat's newsletter advertised concerts for both the Ukrainian music Society of Alberta and the *'Arkan'* Ukrainian folk dancing school.

Traditionally the Ukrainian Catholic church calendar for May 1982 was focussed on the "*Moloben*" (May Devotions to Mary). St. Basil's and St. Josaphat's bulletins emphasised this and highlighted Mother's Day on the second Sunday of May. St. Josaphat's newsletter noted the impending ordination of a Ukrainian Catholic priest in the Cathedral that month. St. George's newsletter informed readers of the planned concert (*Akademiya),* in honour of Cardinal Slipyj, to be held at St. Basil's Parish Community Centre the following month. It also reported the parish Easter dinner and the Easter Sunday High Mass. In what appears to be a regular pattern, the St. George's bulletins referred to specific feast days, their significance and the concomitant theological issues that arose. One of the May bulletins also reported on the money raised through 13 parish groups, Christmas caroling, $8,999.00. (As an observer I noted that it may have been rather unusual for the parish newsletters to account, in May, for an event conducted in January. None of the parishioners that I knew or interviewed raised the matter at any time.)

St. Josaphat's newsletters for May 1982 referred to the activities of the different parish clubs as well as the concert organised by the *Dnipro Ensemble*. The St. George's parish newsletter recalled the anniversary of the death of a Ukrainian parish priest while in a Nazi work camp.

The bulletins of St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's advertised seminars and classes in preparation for the celebration of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity (which was celebrated in 1988). St. Josaphat's bulletin also announced a special collection, in aid of the *World Congress of Free Ukrainians*, would be conducted immediately.

One issue of St. Basil's parish newsletter sought assistance for recently arrived ethnic Ukrainian immigrants from Poland and advertised for candidates for the position of Ukrainian dance and language instructor on behalf of the Peace River Ukrainian community. Other notices referred to three Basilian orphans who had been sponsored by the *Diocesan Ukrainian Catholic Women's League*. It included a reminder that memorial graveside services in urban Edmonton and nearby rural areas were to be conducted according to a schedule distributed earlier. An attachment to one of the newsletters gave notice of, and an application form for, the annual parish summer camp for six to 12 year olds, in July 1982.

For the month of June 1982 the major differences between the parish bulletins was that St. George's parish bulletins emphasised the special feast days attributed to each of the Sundays. These were accompanied by quotes from the readings of the liturgy for each Sunday. In one issue St. George's parish bulletin had a one and a half page description of the importance of Cardinal Joseph Slipyj as a leader of Ukrainian Catholics. The following issue highlighted Cardinal Slipyj's life and achievements. On "tag day," a Pro-Life Sunday, the St. George's parish bulletin included a diary of an embryo which covered the time from 5th October to 28th December (at which time the foetus was reported in the diary entry to have been aborted).

St. Josaphat's parish news bulletins for June 1982 noted both the "tag day" for the Pro-Life movement and the concert to be held in honour of Cardinal Slipyj. Other key issues highlighted were the Summer Camp, the Ukrainian Day camp for children aged seven to 12 years, and the bilingual programs in the Catholic Education system. The needs of 50 Ukrainian refugees awaiting sponsors were brought to the parishioners' attention, courtesy of the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services in Edmonton. Father's Day was noted in all three parish bulletins. St. Josaphat's parish news bulletin made additional reference to the celebration of the feast of St. John the Baptist on June 24th (which is predominantly a Latin Rite calendar observance).

St. Basil's parish news bulletin for June 1982 noted issues, concerns and celebrations such as the seasonal memorial graveside services; St. Basil's bilingual kindergarten *(Sadochok)*; and a pilgrimage in honour of Saints Peter and Paul.

None of the parishes produced parish bulletins for the month of July 1982 as was the summer practice.

St. George's parish newsletter for August 1982 highlighted the Sunday feast days; the Liturgical readings for the week; the special significance of feast days (such as the Assumption) for organisations such as the Marion Sodality and so on. The parish priest's impending 70th birthday was noted and the preparation for the millennium of Ukrainian Christianity Celebration was couched in terms of the "Past meeting with the Future."

St. Josaphat's did not produce a news bulletin for the month of August 1982. St. Basil's produced one news bulletin from the months of July and August and this highlighted an explanation of the harvest blessing (in that year on the Feast of the Transfiguration). "When Russian Ukraine accepted Christianity in 988 this custom (of offering the gods the first fruits of the harvest) took on a Christian tone." This newsletter also noted that a similar practice is referred to in the book of Deuteronomy (26:1-2).

In September 1982 the parish bulletins for all three parishes appeared to return to their usual weekly patterns by which their respective parishioners and other readers were informed of regular events.

St. George's September 1982 newsletter referred to the Sunday feast days and seasonal celebrations. They also made particular mention in three consecutive Sunday's consideration of the history of Christianity in Ukraine beginning with the travels and work of Saints Cyril and Methodius through to the development of Russian Ukraine. This history continued into the October 1982 newsletters. An additional area of concern and celebration appeared to be that of the parish kindergarten *(Sadochok)* having been in existence for 25 years. Particular reference was made to a mother who attended the kindergarten in its earlier days when she was a child and who was now taking <u>her</u> child along.

St. Josaphat's newsletters during September 1982 noted: a pilgrimage to the Holy Land being organised from Toronto; an art display in a parishioner's home; enrolments for the "*Arkan*" dancing school; *Children of Mary Association* activities for boys and girls; the annual fall tea at nearby St. Vladimir's and St. Nicholas' parishes; feast day celebrations at Beverley Ukrainian Catholic parish; a Ukrainian-Canadian Archives and Museum exhibit of Chicago Ukrainian artists; and the Ukrainian Catholic eparchial Youth car rally.

St. Basil's newsletters for September 1982 reported that the liturgical year beginning was September 1st; that the campaign to send Bibles through to Ukraine had raised $2,925 and that this amount had been sent to Rome; a retreat was to be held (in English); the impending parish Council meeting date; the Ukrainian Catholic eparchial Youth car rally; social events such as the Harvest Ball *(Obzynky)* and the annual bazaar; an invitation to the St. Nicholas parish Ladies' League to join parish choirs and to attend embroidery classes; the announcement of the consecration of Fr. M. Daciuk as Bishop of Winnipeg in October; and requests for donations of household items for a newly arrived Ukrainian family that had emigrated from Poland.

St. George's newsletters for October 1982 continued with the history of Christianity in Ukraine. In addition reference was made to the 65th anniversary of Cardinal Slipyj's priesthood; recognition of distant Australia moving to eparchy status from their then current category of

exarchate; wedding bans were announced and the seventh Council meeting *(Sobor)* of Ukrainian Catholic leaders was remembered.

There was a different range of issues noted in St. Josaphat's newsletter for October 1982. These covered the National Federation of Canada Convention panel discussion to be held at the U.N.O. hall in Edmonton; concerts to be held at both the Ukrainian Youth Unity Centre and the student Union; a fall tea; seminars for *Ukrainian Catholic Women's League* branches; a seminar in preparation for the Millennium; a Men's club retreat at St. Nicholas' parish; ceramic classes at a nearby Catholic school taught by one of the Sisters; volunteers required for home keeping; a letter from Bishop Greshchuk acknowledging support for, and contributions to, the bilingual program; the anniversary of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's death; the Ukrainian Catholic radio program schedule; and a Hawaiian dance at St. Basil's parish. An attachment to the third Sunday of the month's bulletin announced that a meeting in "defence of Ukrainian dissidents" would be addressed by former dissident Nadia Svitlychna (who had been recently released from the Soviet Union).

For the same month (October 1982) St. Basil's parish newsletters noted the Bilingual (Education) Program Fund had established a $4,400 levy on the parish (calculated at $15 per family). Other notices referred to were: advanced Ukrainian language classes; that weddings in the parish were for parishioners (of at least one year's standing) and their children; application for entry to St. Michael's Nursing Home; the manifestation of the Human Rights to be held in the Edmonton Jubilee Auditorium; Millennium seminars; prayers for Metropolitan Andrij Sheptysky and the parish choir's planned visit to Vancouver for the opening of St. Mary's church building.

St. George's parish newsletters for November 1982 continued with the history of Christianity in Ukraine. Additional information was given about seasonal feast days.

St. Josaphat's newsletters in November 1982 announced its parish feast day; lectures on Ukrainian-Jewish relations; Ukrainian Catholic religious radio program items; literary evenings in honour of a Ukrainian author Mykola Ponedilok; displays of sculptures at a nearby Gallery; a youth organisation *(Plast)* tour to Germany, France and Italy; and appeals for financial support of the Edmonton CKER Ukrainian radio program.

St. Basil's newsletters during November 1982 continued with similar announcements of local events and of information from Vancouver. They also prepared parishioners for the "housekeeping" issues that included envelopes for the New Year; imminent First Communion celebrations; and the New Year's Ball.

The last month's set of newsletters for St. George's and St. Josaphat's parish in 1982 developed further the history of Christianity in Ukraine and also prepared the way for housekeeping arrangements. St. Josaphat's newsletter also announced the completion of the *Verkhovyna* Senior Citizen's Residence. St. Basil's parish newsletters addressed similar issues and included detailed information of the Christmas Mass schedule.

Parish Publications Summary

The weekly bulletins produced by each of the three parishes in this survey fulfilled a very important role in informing parishioners and visitors of mass times, significant feast days, seasonal rituals and traditions as well as each person's/family's responsibilities in respecting those feast day or seasonal rituals.

The format of each parish's bulletins did not vary significantly from the others. Interestingly, St. George's parish news bulletins provided a series of information on more traditional responses of the parish to Christmas festivities in the form of a *Vertep*; theological discourse; the importance/significance of the then Cardinal Josef Slipyj and the need for the Patriarchate. This parish appeared to be the only parish to present a coherent written form of Ukrainian ethno-political religious history. While the other parishes - St. Josaphat's parish in particular - informed individuals who read it that different seminars/lectures or visiting guest speakers were scheduled, it appeared to not take the more substantial concepts and issues or to use the parish newsletter as a teaching/instructional aid. St. Basil's bulletins also used the newsletter in this capacity.

St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's parish bulletins appeared to have much more in common with each other. The seasonal (modern Canadian) calendar reflected similar events, feast days, rituals etc. These parish bulletins also reflected varying degrees of involvement, awareness or promotion of different aspects of Ukrainian or Canadian Catholic life.

One hypothesis not tested during this survey but of interest since its completion has been whether the parish bulletins reflected who the information brokers were within each parish and whether the lay power brokers/information brokers were able to participate in information dissemination or whether the bulletins simply reflected parishioner membership in Ukrainian-non Ukrainian associations or organisations? For example, the religious/church nature of most of St. George's parish bulletins indicated that the parish priest may have addressed this domain. Parish priests may have developed other parishes' newsletters but to what extent were there differences in lay parishioners involvement? For example, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (an international association) and the national Federation of Canada and their activities were mentioned more in St. Josaphat's parish newsletter.

Was this reflective, perhaps of St. Josaphat's parishioners being members of those larger Ukrainian organisations? Similar explanations could account for notices about _Plast_ (a Ukrainian Youth Association) in the same parish newsletter and not in St. Basil's or St. George's. In similar vein, the newsletters of St. George's parish made most mention of the Patriarchate.[17]

Both parish priest and parishioners of St. George's on the issue of the patriarchate seemed most active in comparison to the other two parishes.

The parish newsletter/bulletins provided some insight into the internal "world view" of the three parishes surveyed in this dissertation. They indicated a common core. They also show some variation in style and content. They raised some interesting issues about the degree of influence of lay people and their associations upon the dynamic of the parish (and perhaps the newsletter). An alternative appraisal could have been that the parish priest acted as gatekeeper on what constituted acceptable practice and relevant information. If either one, or combination of, the explanations was consistent for all three parishes then the newsletters reflected common cores with different (although not differing) boundaries.

[17] Many Ukrainians and their researchers would be aware of the rivalry occasionally expressed between the two major Ukrainian Youth organisations: *SUM* and *Plast*. The divisions are similar to those of the *U.N.O* referred to earlier in this thesis. Although the respective groups wore their particular uniforms on special occasions the differences were not pronounced nor constant within this research. There was a popular view, not checked or challenged by this research, that a larger proportion of the *SUM* members were found in St. George's parish (with some elements of *Plast* there also). The corollary was that St. Josaphat's parish had greater numbers in *Plast*.

Telephone Interview Survey[18]

The Terms of the Survey

A survey was conducted as part of an extension of the investigation of the importance and function of religious markers that are rooted in bonds of shared past and perceived ethnic interests. (A copy of the questionnaire and tables of summaries of responses to the last part of the questionnaire, the symbols, are provided in the appendices of this work.)

To refine those perceptions gained in interviews about the understanding and interpretations of ethnic symbols a telephone survey was conducted to determine more carefully whether ethnicity was the focus for one group while religion may be the focus for another. The purpose of the survey was to identify the overlap between religion and ethnicity via the markers employed therein, and more importantly in some cases to identify the continuum of acceptable (or legitimate) responses. In expressing that behaviour variations are allowed. While ethnicity in the sense of nationalism is the focus of one set of behaviours, expectations and ties to the former homeland are the norm. When religion is the dominant focus ethno-religious expressions of ethnicity have other norms with subtle but strong differences.

The boundaries between the two indicated the forces which operated in both ethnicity and religion. The concern was also that dominance of one may have changed with respect to the other. This change varied according to the experiences of the group or individual. This in turn reflected another dynamic: the variability of identity of the group and of the individual. While not seen to be an attempt to determine religiosity or theological debate, this survey did define religion as human behaviour involving belief and ritual concerned with supernatural beings and forces.

It is, perhaps, timely to recap that in this thesis, in order to examine ethnicity in religious communities the following premises were assumed:

1. Whether engaged in the choice of one form of identity in preference to another or merely accepting the identity ascribed, the individual established a sense of belonging;

2. The expression of ethnicity involved a subjective sense of belonging in a group which was open to change through time and circumstances;

3. Ethnicity was primarily a consciousness of kind within a group and this consciousness is on occasion contrasted with other identities of excluded groups or individuals.

A tentative working definition had been adopted for this exploration: ethnicity was a collective sociocultural entity of those who shared a sense of common origin, whether real or imagined. What mattered most in this definition was the historical ethnic consciousness that transcended temporal, geographic and even linguistic boundaries, as in the well documented case of Jewish ethnicity.

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[18] The main part of this section of the dissertation was presented at a conference in Edmonton in 1986 and subsequently published in an amended paper "Three Parishes: A Study in the Ethnic Use of Religious Symbols" in David J. Goa (ed.) (1989) *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Tradition and the Canadian Context.* Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Edmonton, Alberta. I am very grateful to David Goa for his comments and assistance in developing this section.

One of the obvious means for this consciousness to have been delineated was by symbolic "markers" (cultural, biological and/or territorial). My emphasis was on the acceptance of the selection of types of expressions of ethnic identity. Therein the use of symbols and cultural markers reinforced the legitimacy of the choice of expression.

Bearing these issues in mind, several questions were raised about ethnoreligious data (which will be discussed further). Within the total framework of Catholicism what scope was there for Ukrainians to express ethnic sub-identities? Investigation of the literature showed ethnic groups were not static and were not uniform from one period or one situation to another. Interviews also reinforced this intergenerational valuation. So what was the legitimate range of activity for Ukrainian Catholics? How did this expression vary from one group of Ukrainian Catholics to another? Was there a difference between one generation of Ukrainian Catholics and another? What were the factors that precipitated this potentially temporal, situational and generational variation? How did factors operating in their homeland at the time of departure affect the need of Catholic Ukrainians to express their ethnoreligious identity? What factors allowed for Ukrainian identity to be expressed above Catholic identity?

It had been noted earlier in this thesis that for many of the immigrants in Canada at the turn of the century national identities were meaningless. For example, Bukovynians and Galicians from Ukraine perceived themselves in a regional rather than a Ukrainian national identity. This was further complicated by the fact that for part of the last century part of Galicia was settled by Austria, and Ukrainians who migrated during this period carried Austrian passports. Therefore they were classified as Austrians in Canada. Ukrainian immigrants of that era were treated differently from those who subsequently emigrated from Soviet territory. Thus there was no uniform classification of immigrants from this particular group for any historical period. Ethnic dimensions and intra-ethnic differences have been overlooked because of sweeping generalisations with broad ethnic and religious classifications that have ignored social, economic and political factors affecting ethnicity and religion.

Barth and others have examined the negotiation of ethnicity, particularly the determination and maintenance of boundaries by different ethnic groups. The exclusion/inclusion criteria have been seen in intergroup dimensions. Very little work has been focussed on intragroup negotiations of similar sub-group boundaries. Where these subgroup boundaries did exist they were probably less pronounced, more easily negotiable and perhaps even fluid compared to intergroup markings. Within this sphere, the individual was perceived to be able to identify, establish and maintain or alter an ethnic identity according to circumstances. Durkheim (1975) maintained that religion was a reflection of society and that it is much more than creed and faith. Its most fundamental and enduring elements, in his view, were the social aspects of rite, ceremony, hierarchy and community. That is, the societal power of religion was in its transmission of symbols and rituals. Individuals chose the symbols and rituals most consistent with their perception of acceptable ethnoreligious forms and their choice reflected the pervasive ethnic orientation.

It appears then that membership of religious organisations was a function of personal expression. Does this expression, through voluntary membership, express that individual's non-religious orientations? Further, if ethnic group identity was variable and able to be classified as a range of types and not a complex of traits, then religious organisation (and the manipulation of ethnoreligious symbols therein) could be a strong function of intra-group identity. This focus on religious and non-religious ethnic identity expressed in church or parish orientation was particularly important as it emphasised the voluntary and variable nature of ethnic orientations within heterogeneous groups.

Participants and Procedures

The telephone survey involved 100 members from each of St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's parishes. The sample was drawn randomly by name selection from the parish list supplied by each parish priest. (A random numbers list was pursued in obtaining the sample). St. George's apparently did not have a similar parish register of families/individuals who formally paid (in sealed envelopes) into the church coffers. However, the parish priest of St. George's himself drew up a list of appropriate interviewees. Interestingly, all the people on the list of 139 names were men. In other parish lists, for example, families were noted by Mr. and Ms x or y; Ms w; never Ms z. It appeared that this particular parish priest considered only men able to answer the questions that could be put to them. The values of the parish appeared to be reflected in the norm that church business and knowledge about church was men's business only. Of these 139 men, fifty were interviewed by phone.

In the two larger parishes, I called the number and asked for the individual on the list or head of household. (There was a brief introduction and a request for an interview. Most often the head of the household, that is, the interviewee himself answered the phone). In both St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's a sizable majority (70 per cent and 69 per cent respectively) were also males. At St. George's 27 out of 50 were men. The whole process of selection appeared to reflect the traditional Ukrainian view that women should not participate in significant positions within the church.

Finally, a chi-square test for association (parish affiliation by pattern of response about ethnic and religious symbols) was performed on the tables shown in the appendix.

Results

Sixty-two per cent of the members of St. Josaphat's and 42 per cent of St. Basil's parish were over 55 years of age. Thirty out of 50 of St. George's were in this age bracket. Eighty-four per cent of St. Basil's, 51 per cent of St. Josaphat's and 4 per cent of St. George's were born in Canada. The respective Ukrainian-born was 8 per cent; 42 per cent and 80 per cent. Of the 84 per cent of St. Basil's that were Canadian-born, over 60 per cent were descendants of immigrants from the first wave. Only 28 per cent of interviewees of St. Josaphat's had ancestors who had arrived in the first wave. None of St. George's respondents could trace the arrival of their immediate relatives to this time.

In summary, St. Basil's emerged as the most upwardly mobile of the three parishes, with a younger, better educated population. St. Basil's had by far the highest number of parishioners born in Canada along with the highest incidence of English spoken between spouses and with children. St. George's had the highest number of parishioners born in Ukraine and the highest number using Ukrainian with spouses and children at home. Even though St. George's was without doubt the parish of new arrivals, its congregation appeared very stable, with 60 per cent of those interviewed claiming to have had at least 20 years' membership within the parish. The longest established parish, the Cathedral's parishioners, emerged as most stable with 37 per cent having been members for over 30 years. St. Josaphat's also had the largest number of parishioners over the age of 55. In all other aspects—country of origin, use of English, use of Ukrainian—St. Josaphat's fell between St. Basil's and St. George's. Its members had the lowest percentage with more than nine years of formal education.

On the question of symbols in Ukrainian Greek Catholic practice in Edmonton, some interesting results emerged.

Choirs

Eighty-four per cent of St. Basil's, 73 per cent of St. Josaphat's and 84 per cent of St. George's agreed that it was common practice for choirs to be used in the Liturgy. Most people considered choirs to be more traditional than having the congregation singing (83 per cent for St. Basil's 70 per cent for St. Josaphat's and 80 per cent for St George's). The probability associated with the chi-square value, however, is <.05, so a clear case for distinction between parishes cannot be made.

Icons

There was a high degree of concurrence on the use of icons (83 per cent at St. Basil's, 76 per cent at St. Josaphat's and 96 per cent at St. George's). With a probably of <.05 associated with the chi-square, differences between parishes observed in the survey may have been by chance.

Embroidered Vestments

The use of embroidered vestments appeared to be an area of agreement: 83 per cent of St. Basil's; 75 per cent of St. Josaphat's; and 92 per cent of St. George's. In fact, with a probability of <.10 on the chi-square test for association, one could not argue for a meaningful difference between parishes.

Liturgy

There appears to be agreement between parishes about recited Liturgy, but the chi-square (probability <.001) would tend to indicate that there is in fact a difference between the parishes in the pattern of response, originating in the relatively higher percentage from St. Josaphat's who "don't know" and the marginally higher minority from St. George's who felt that it was "not Ukrainian."

Embellished Walls

The patterns of response provided for a significant chi-square value at the <.025 level, enough to indicate some probability that there is a patterned difference between parishes. It is reflected in the proportions from St. Basil's (15%) and St. Josaphat's (21%) who "don't know," compared to the pattern at St. George's, where a strong majority expressed an opinion.

Iconostasis

The differences between parishes for this item echo the pattern of responses for embellished walls: though most respondents overall identified this as being Ukrainian, only 10% of St. George's respondents would not make a distinction between "Ukrainian" and "not Ukrainian," while consistently larger proportions of respondents from the other two parishes either did not respond or said that they didn't know. The chi-square probability (<.025) indicates that this pattern is most likely not due to chance, but represents a real difference in the sample.

Taras Shevchenko

Taras Shevchenko was considered a Ukrainian national symbol by 39 per cent of St. Josaphat's interviewees (compared to 65 per cent for St. Basil's and 54 per cent for St. George's). This

configuration produced a significant chi-square value (<.001), with St. George's configuration being less like the other two parishes'.

The Rosary

The use of the Rosary posed some problems in interpretation. Forty-five per cent of St. Basil's respondents thought the Rosary was not a traditional Ukrainian practice, even though this was the parish in which Rosary evenings were most frequently conducted. At St. Josaphat's 31 per cent thought it was Ukrainian, 32 per cent thought it was not and 30 per cent were unsure (7 per cent chose not to respond). There was a similar division from St. George's respondents, where 48 per cent thought it was Ukrainian and 44 per cent disagreed. Another area of difference occurred over the place of the Knights of Columbus in the traditional church domain. Seventy-six per cent of St. Basil's, 39 per cent of St. Josaphat's and 66 per cent of St. George's parishioners thought the Knights were not of Ukrainian origin. The chi-square probability confirms the observation of difference between parishes (<.001).

Three-barred Cross

The three-barred cross was seen as Orthodox by the majority in St. Basil's (58 per cent) and a minority of St. Josaphat's (41 per cent). A large percentage (16 per cent and 24 per cent respectively) stated that they did not know. Sixty-eight percent of St. George's respondents recognised the three-barred cross as Ukrainian. The chi-square probability level (.<001) indicates that the difference between parishes is substantiated, with St. George's parish demonstrating a pattern distinct from the other two.

Statues

Statues in churches were accepted as a traditionally Ukrainian practice by 58 per cent at St. Basil's, 38 per cent at St. Josaphat's and 48 per cent at George's. St. Josaphat's, with a higher proportion than the other two responding "don't know," seems to be the origin of most of the difference, producing a chi-square probability of <.0025.

Confessional

The chi-square here produced a probability of <.005, indicating parish differences (with 70 per cent at St. Basil's confirming that it was a Ukrainian custom, 64 per cent at St. Josaphat's and 60 per cent at St. George's, but with 28 per cent of St. George's identifying it as "not Ukrainian."

The Flag

The Ukrainian flag was clearly a national symbol for all parishes (68 per cent at St. Basil's, 54 per cent at St. Josaphat's and 88 per cent at St. George's); nine per cent, 18 per cent and two per cent respectively recognised the national flag as a symbol of faith rather than nationality.[19] St. George's, however, had a higher degree of affinity with the symbol as a national one, and St. Josaphat's had a distribution on all axes that was very dissimilar. The difference is born out in the chi-square probability of <.001.

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[19] Interestingly none of the respondents asked for clarification about which flag I meant. Some referred to the azure-yellow colours of the flag in popular use since the resolution of the Ukrainian National Council of 27 June 1949 to use those colours until the national emblems were defined by an independent government of Ukraine

The Trident

The Trident (often used as an insignia) had national significance for 25 per cent of respondents at St. Basil's, 37 per cent at St. Josaphat's and 0 per cent at St. George's.[20] It represented a symbol of faith for 25 per cent at St. Basil's, 18 per cent at St. Josaphat's and 64 per cent at St. George's. The very high chi-square value and its associated probability (<.001) confirm parish difference.

Marian Sodality

The significance of the *Marian Sodality* in church tradition was one area of apparent disagreement between the parishes. Of the St. Basil's respondents 16 per cent thought it was Ukrainian, 25 per cent that it was not, 45 per cent noted that they did not know, and 14 per cent chose not to respond. As for St. Josaphat's respondents: 21 per cent thought it was Ukrainian, 19 per cent that it was not Ukrainian, 56 per cent responded that they did not know, and 4 per cent did not respond. This contrasted with the St. George's respondents where 84 per cent indicated that they recognised the Sodality as Ukrainian, two per cent recorded that they thought it was not Ukrainian, 12 per cent did not know, and one did not respond. This produced the highest chi-square value of all the symbols queried about, with a corresponding level of probability (<.001).

Cardinal Slipyj

Finally, the interviewees were asked the significance of the then head of the Ukrainian Catholic Rite, Cardinal Slipyj. Forty-five per cent of St. Basil's respondents stated that they saw him as an important national and religious leader, compared to 51 per cent from St. Josaphat's and 82 per cent from St. George's. Papal representation (a less significant role) was indicated by 15 per cent of St. Basil's respondents, 7 per cent of St. Josaphat's and 12 per cent of St. George's. Seven per cent of St. Basil's respondents, three per cent of St. Josaphat's and none of the respondents from St. George's felt Cardinal Slipyj had no leadership significance for them. Based on the chi-square probability of <.001, it is clear that the difference, by parish, in this sample, is real.

The three parishes appeared to have had a great deal in common. The support for the use of the Liturgy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite was universal in the survey. The timing of the celebrations differed according to the Julian or Gregorian calendar. Whether the Liturgy was recited, sung by the choir or sung by the congregation appeared to be immaterial to the respondents. However, the *Marian Sodality*, the *Knights of Columbus*, and the Rosary did not conform to this traditional perception of religious practice. Symbols chosen because of their perceived relevance (to the researcher); the Ukrainian flag, the Trident, and the issue of the Patriarchate symbolised in the Ukrainian Cardinal of the time, Cardinal Slipyj, elicited different responses from parish to parish.

Discussion

What has this data said about ethnic identity among Ukrainian (Greek) Catholics in Edmonton? It appeared that after three or four generations Ukrainian (Greek) Catholics in Edmonton have retained traditional, or variants of traditional, Ukrainian Catholic religious practice. Ethnic self-

[20] The Trident is a symbol used by Ukrainian nationalists to identify their Ukrainianness. The history of its use is documented in Krawchenko (1970). During the survey respondents did not seek clarification as to which version was being referred to, nor did they indicate that they were aware that there was more than one form of the trident

assertion has produced movements to revive cultural distinctiveness, which at different times has been in danger of being lost. This research has shown that at St. Basil's, the traditions of the old culture were transported into the new environment and, after an initial period, new cultural practices were adopted. Ethnic identity, within the context of these three Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes, has had a changing cultural and religious content. As discussed in Chapter II of this thesis in the section on 'Barth and Situational Ethnicity' Isajiw (1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1980), Uchendu (1974); Skinner (1975); and Hechter (1976) have all highlighted the need of ethnic groups to renegotiate identities and recreate strategies for self-expression. At the outset this research has demonstrated that there is variation within and among ethnic groups. Intra-group and individual expression of identity and ethnicity through religion may change according to time and circumstance. The most critical set of elements in this expression (here labelled ethnicity) is the shift that occurs through a focus on the homeland and the essence of imagined community in relation to that homeland - nationalism. Without that focus the cognitive orientation to the culture can only be primordial. One other behavioural option is that of situational ethnicity.

Religion has provided a strong initial base for social identity and ethnocentrism, within which the individual can identify, establish, maintain or alter an ethnic identity according to the situation. Therefore, religious organisations have had a function of combined personal expressions of ethnoreligious orientations. The ethnic group has been variable and can be classified as a range of typologies. Religious organisation and the manipulation of ethnoreligious symbols therein have been considered strong functions of intra-group identity.

Conclusion

Ethnicity has been seen as a collective sociocultural entity of those who have shared a sense of common origin. From this perspective all three parishes, St. Josaphat's, St. Basil's and St. George's, subscribed to an identity revolving around the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite. All three parishes have been seen as legitimate expressions of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite. However, within these orientations each varied slightly from the other two.

Clearly the issues involved here were not fully resolved by the participants themselves. Knowledge of the background, history and application of the practices seemed highly correlated to age and gender. Older males were considered by others, and indeed, considered themselves to be more knowledgeable of such things. Interestingly, there appeared to be no specific education program or campaign within which church ritual or tradition had been addressed. Obviously the priests of each parish were the most knowledgeable of the theology and cultural practices within the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite and especially within their own parishes.

Individuals in each parish indicated that they had been members for varying lengths of time. Individual preferences for parish priests were reflected in parish affiliation. Even more important, as a factor predisposing the members towards making their choice was previous association based on past individual or family history with any of the parishes or the parish priests. Where parish membership changes had been made the reasons given included geographical location or another type of convenience such as the times Mass was conducted on Sunday.

Most significant inter-parish differences have also been seen in terms of the individual's association with traditions or ritual performance. The response "we do practice that in our parish so it must be Ukrainian" has been quite common in the telephone interview responses. Furthermore these responses were more prevalent among female respondents. These symbolic markers have been recognised as signposts: means of reflecting a consciousness of common

origin. These markers, religious and cultural, have been accepted to have been a reflection of a group phenomenon.

It has been clear that the parishes have more in common with each other than they have differences. However, each parish member interviewed indicated an awareness of separateness or "otherness" with regard to the other two parishes. The use of symbols and cultural markers reinforced the legitimacy of expression. However, the range of legitimate options was narrowed when viewed from outside the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite. From inside, the established practices seem to be rarely questioned.

Durkheim's view has supported the societal power of religion in its transmission of symbols and rituals. In the case of St. Basil's, St. Josaphat's and St. George's parishes, symbols have been re-interpreted through popular usage to become symbols of group identity. This study has shown that much of this has been based on the generation of migration and period of migration of the priests leading the parishes. The individual parish use of religious and/or cultural markers represented their lifestyles and their place in the larger Canadian social universe. Their synthesis of religious markers provided a continuum which extended from an internally focused model concerned with cultural and rationalistic phenomena through to one focussing outward to the wider Canadian context. Location on the continuum has been highly correlated to the period of arrival of individuals (or ancestors) in Canada. Within that location the determination of legitimacy of what had been done in the parish had been left predominantly to the parish leaders: the priests. The combination of these factors led to a manipulating and redefining of the symbols reflective of conditions upon their arrival in Canada. In turn these perceptions and the interim history affected current responses within the individual parish group.

CHAPTER IX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters provided a description and analysis of the key phases in the development of an identity through an ethno-religious structure. The religious tradition was part of the mind set which travelled with Ukrainian immigrants to Canada in the three major periods of migration: 1890s; 1930s and post-World War II. Each of the migration periods and the Ukrainian immigrants therein demonstrated different aspects of the definition or parameters discussed earlier in this thesis..

This research set out to explore the dimensions of that expression within what is defined as Ukrainian Catholic by the adherents of three Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton. The core of what is considered *Catholic* is constant: what is considered *Ukrainian* is not. The "processes of urbanisation" identified in Epstein's (1971) work have clouded the original set of expectations of church and priest for the original Ukrainian immigrants of the 1890s.

Models of conflict, exploitation and competition may be of use for analysis within one country in transitions from one region to another. There is additional value in pursuing that model in attempting to understand the reasons for enticing Ukrainian peasants to open up prairie lands hitherto uninhabited. Further value may be gained in analysing the absence of corporate economic or political power. In tracing the development of an internal, subordinate, traditional institution, this model of competition has little value unless that institution and its membership has an element of coercion, confrontation and manipulation to it. Some aspects of that may be found throughout Ukrainian Catholic Church history and adaptation in Canada over the last 90 years or so. As much as this area of investigation may be interesting it was not the focus of this research.

A. Cohen (1974; 1985), Mitchell (1974; 1979), Gluckman (1961; 1962)and Epstein (1971; 1978) have all presented ethnicity as an intrinsically innate predisposition. This research has shown that there may be an element of "primordialism" in one's ethnic group affiliation. The ties that transcend kinship appear to be important in facilitating continuous membership and voluntary participation in one specific aspect of ethnic identity: religion. Ukrainian identity in Canada over 90 years is a mixture of group presentation during times of inequity and reactionary redefinition to an institution under threat. Ukrainian Catholic traditions and the Ukrainian Catholic "system" was maintained in various ways according to the Ukrainian peasants preoccupation with economic survival. Later, spiritual survival was paramount in the light of proselytizing Orthodox and Presbyterian missionaries or the French/Irish/Italian (Roman) Catholic hierarchy and its politic.

Nagata's models (1974, 1976, 1977) from Malaysia provide a valuable, albeit economically rationalist, model from which to approach ethnicity, teeter-tottering according to social and economic situations. This presents perhaps a contemporary response to the choices, or lack of choices, as perceived. It presents little useful explanation of the group phenomenon in the development of Ukrainian Catholic identity in Edmonton. It may present some explanation for individual variation and this could be further explored in subsequent research.

Chapter III presented Barth's contribution to the variability and dynamics of ethnic identity and the rigidity of boundaries often assumed. Barth's clarification (1969) that boundaries surrounding ethnic communities were not rigid provides a valuable framework within which to assess the variations in definition of what constitutes Ukrainian and especially Ukrainian Catholic.

The situation in which ethnicity is self-acclaimed, identified or denied may vary from one period of history to another. It is also varied from one person to another during any particular time period. There is not enough evidence from this research to demonstrate gender or age variation other than the pattern of elderly males being perceived, and perceiving themselves, to be the arbiters of what is considered to be appropriate behaviour, traditions and rituals. There is some evidence to show that there may be some correlation between levels of education in the mainstream Canadian system and the degree of choice in accepting, rejecting or shifting between different expressions of ethnicity. Sociological research presents a pattern of disassociation of minority group ethnic identity as "mainstream professionalisation" occurs. Upward social, economic, or professional mobility appears to be contrary to the maintenance of traditional ethnic minority values: language, religion and so on (as demonstrated by Kalbach [1965, 1970]and Isajiw [1980]).

This opportunity for upward mobility, through education in the Ukrainian village of the last century was open only to priests and their families as they established and maintained their priest caste. In this traditional milieu the opportunity for upward mobility came with the rejection (at least socially) of the traditional village base from which the priest and his family emerged. Transference to Canada and a prairie milieu meant that priest, and religion, and the role and activities associated with each were redefined. Requests were made by Ukrainians in Canada, and by the (Roman) Catholic Canadian hierarchy on their behalf, for Ukrainian Catholic clergy to follow. The redefinition of minority status through restrictions in social, political and economic dimensions of religion were initially the same in Canada as in the homeland.

The transition of disenfranchised status peasants from Ukraine to Canada was met with conditions of parallel magnitude. Elements of choice were more pronounced—with the acceptance or rejection of Russian Orthodoxy, Oblate priests' presentations of Roman Catholicism, or proselytizing Presbyterian missionaries. However by the time Bishop Budka had travelled across Canada in 1912 there had been opportunity to redefine attitudes and values in response to religion, church and its leaders. Twenty or so years away from the Ukrainian village and its patterns of culture allowed different responses to what constituted acceptable Ukrainian Catholic leadership from Ukrainians for Ukrainian Catholics now resident in Canada.

Bishop Budka's reception in Canada varied from very warm welcomes to direct and threatening confrontations. The question that emerges from this time is which type of expression of Ukrainian and particularly Ukrainian Catholic identity is most acceptable and to whom? If Moerman's (1965, 1968) work is seen to be of value then clearly this period of Ukrainian Catholic history marked an important shift from the "traditional" (in Moerman's terms "tribal") way of behaving to a redefinition of what was appropriate, required or desired in adapting the Ukrainian village orientation of the religious world to the Canadian context. That such a major split in the Ukrainian community in Canada developed and support for the Canadian Orthodox Church emerged concurrently with the display of dissatisfaction with Bishop Budka as a symbol, figurehead or cultural marker of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Ukraine to be incorporated into that life in Canada is not accidental.

In the transition of Ukrainian settlement in Canada from rural to urban sectors, additional social organisations were formed consistent within the model presented by Cohen (1969) and Levy (1973). Over time many Ukrainians adapted to their "Canadian" lifestyle and many took on a "symbolic ethnicity" consistent with Gan's (1979) explanation of spasmodic interactive ethnicity. There is some evidence (Kostash (1977) and others) to demonstrate that this "symbolic ethnicity" was, to some extent, imposed by the mainstream response which disallowed the expression of

everyday ethnicity. Over time Ukrainians were able to work and live alongside their Canadian neighbours and within the Canadian milieu. For many the demands of occupation or career, single or family lifestyle, competed with the time available for participation in Ukrainian (or Ukrainian Catholic) activities or organisations. It is possible, of course, for individuals in contemporary urban Canada to proceed in their daily life patterns without regularly attending organisations representative of Ukrainian religion or culture.

The choices open to Ukrainians to participate, define or challenge their ethnicity and ethno-religious affiliation *appeared* to be far greater in the 1980s than in the 1920s and 1930s, and even more so than the period of internment during World War I and immediately after. In practice those choices may not be as open as writers such as Barth would have us believe. Participation in religious activities provides a set of boundaries within which one belongs especially when that social organisation also carries within it elements of social, economic and political history and relationship to "other" organisations, religious and secular.

The variations in perception and expectation of parish and priest are based largely on the individual's communal focus through church which in this set of three parishes includes vital symbols, traditions and symbolic interaction which reaffirms Ukrainian culture in Canada. The transition of one peasant culture into the undeveloped Canadian prairies provided a nucleus of Ukrainianness that travelled as part of those immigrants.

From this beginning in impoverished (but developing) western Ukraine—Galicia and Bukovyna—some 100 or so years later in urban Edmonton now exists an adaptation of that Ukrainian (Catholic) tradition. This second transition saw Ukrainian economic immigrants move to the position of marginalised newcomers with little education, no English language skills or dominant "English" cultural knowledge or experience, relatively little capital, and no Ukrainian cultural support systems to positions of power, status and relative wealth in business, corporate life, educational systems and positions in political or public office. Within that transition over the past 100 years several aspects of ethnicity were negotiated and redefined by individuals and subgroups of Ukrainians with the wider (host) society in the first instance.

Part of the collective experience of being Ukrainian in Canada in the 1890s was that of being extremely poor. That experience was consistent with their position and absence of effective power in their homeland prior to their migration. That pattern of relative poverty, lack of opportunity for progression vis-a-vis colonial or mainstream host systems was consistent for each group that left Ukraine or Europe to venture to Canada.

As each migration group established itself it renegotiated its position in western prairie rural life with the social supports, social institutions and cultural practices that were appropriate. Initially, Ukrainian identity developed in regions of concentrated Ukrainian homestead settlement. As a sense of Ukrainian community developed in the prairies part of identifying, negotiating and renegotiating Ukrainian institutions included the establishment and maintenance of Ukrainian religious traditions and practices. Previous (homeland) experiences appear to have provided negative role models for church, church power and status, priest-roles and the relative position of the parishioners. For those who migrated after World War II the roles of priests who had been through the war experiences with them gave them a different social and nationalistic perspective.

Claims that ethnicity and its expression are primordial appear to have some relevance in closed village settings in Ukraine at the turn of the century. There the range of possible choices for "appropriate" village behaviour in terms of what constituted "Ukrainian" was especially limited. Lack of resources, education and opportunity to break through that model (unless one was of the

priestly caste) meant the range of choices in behaviour was extremely limited. Individuals were born into peasant families and in traditional circumstances would be expected by both Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians in the village (and probably in the surrounding villages) to stay within the village system. There was no need in Barth's terms for expressing "cognitive orientations" about internal boundaries because the boundaries were limiting. Small communities through ostracism, ridicule and gossip, were able to maintain an "expected" mode of behaviour. Even though peasants in villages were excluded from participating in the culture or the privileges of the elite church clergy-families, their presence provided an element for the priest caste who were able (to some degree) to exercise choice, be educated, develop an economic surplus and call on others for assistance. The choices available to parish priests were expanded in practical terms as the peasant parishioners were enlisted in providing options, resources (money or labour) in exchange for religious services.

It would appear that the model of ethnic expression or identity at a personal level in Ukraine was one fraught with negative experiences and hardly one to be replicated in Canada. However, one of the first institutions to be established in rural Alberta was that of prayer groups in lieu of the church based parish which developed as soon as priests arrived. The transposed Ukrainian Catholic tradition in Canada presented different opportunities for the expression of ethnicity or ethnic identity. The Edna-Star litigation over the Church buildings was one of the first major confrontations (and renegotiation's) of the Catholic-Orthodox dichotomy for Ukrainians in Canada. Proselytising Russian Orthodox priests were accepted by some, either temporarily or permanently. Others, of course, rejected that (religious and ethnic) option outright. Presbyterian missionaries were likewise accepted by some small and more remote communities. Roman Catholic Oblates were dismissed, rejected or ridiculed as they struggled with the tradition and the Ukrainian language. While these options presented themselves between the 1890s and 1912 other social groups were established among Ukrainians in the prairies. One of the most important of these was the reading clubs (*chytalny*) and later the Ukrainian schools and bursars.

With the appointment of Bishop Budka, affirmation of religious tradition was challenged by outside fears of Ukrainian political allegiance (in relation to Ukraine and Austria) and how that, in turn, may have affected their allegiance to Canada. Ukrainianness was, in this instance, refocussed from the rural economy and relative wealth, status and the relatively limited choices that were implied. Ukrainian boundary maintenance simultaneously moved away from the focus on legitimate or appropriate religious traditions (internal or private issues to the group of individuals known as Ukrainians, and Ukrainian Catholics), to a more open questioning by Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians about the Ukrainian settlers' political allegiance vis-a-vis Canada. Ukrainian political values were, in this process, monitored vis-a-vis mainstream (that is non-Ukrainian) values and ideologies.

The shift of internal to external redefinition of "Ukrainian" occurred again in the 1930s. Rural based Ukrainians over time prospered by working their land. Through educational opportunities a new professional class developed within Ukrainian society. These professionals were able to redefine their social position in relation to their peasant forebears. They were also able to question the established status-quo and redefine some social options. With the rural to urban shift across Canada Ukrainians became more visible physically and economically and then politically in towns and cities such as Edmonton. Part of establishing or asserting their presence and their organised religious structure was to build the church of St. Josaphat's.

World War II provided further challenges from outside the Ukrainian community as the displaced Ukrainians arrived. Refugee status focussed negative labels on the new arrivals from both

established Ukrainians and the Canadian elite. Resident Ukrainians demonstrated their frustration at having to once more redefine their identity and to justify their established cultural and religious practices to these new people.

The parallels between the third and first migration period are interesting. The process of entering Canada as a "D.P." was similar to the entry of the "men in sheepskin clothing" in the 1890s. Ukrainian cultural, social and religious institutions and organisations were able to support the post-World War II refugees with relief agencies and United Nations' Relief organisation representation. These Ukrainians were expected to work in positions of relative subordination to both earlier established Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians as their predecessors of the 1930s had done. Unlike the 1930s economic immigrants, the post-World War II refugees came with some education and opportunities during the War (and after) to define their knowledge and practice of the Ukrainian language, culture and tradition. This combination of factors in their background provided a framework from which they challenged the legitimacy of Ukrainian practice and traditions in Canada. This is a reversal of the processing of questioning, challenging, and redefining appropriate and acceptable Ukrainian behaviour (including religious - Catholic behaviour).

There were some similarities between the experiences of Ukrainians and some individuals who were interned during World War I and the experiences of their cousins in Ukraine, and later in Germany during World War II. Both sets of experiences were outside of the Ukrainian-Canadian community of Edmonton and its surrounds. Both led to a reaffirmation or redefinition of Ukrainian cultural, political and Ukrainian national identity for many. For those who reaffirmed their Ukrainian identity a small group developed a fervent Ukrainian nationalism.

Chapter III presented a model which combined Nagata's and Barth's assumptions that there may be sub-groups (within an ethnic group) within the same system which chose from a variety of possible behaviours their expressions of their ethnicity. This choice assumes that not all ethnic groups (within that system that allows choice) are identical and implies that, through this choice, and negotiation of that choice, that there will be conflict or tension in intragroup relations. The Ukrainian Catholic parishes of St. Josaphat's, St. Basil's and St. George's provide cases in point.

There this research observed a combination of membership and participation in Ukrainian organisations which have Ukrainian political processes or independence as their focus. The relatively recent arrival of the parishioners and their priests and a maintenance of traditions (for example, priests marrying) provided a critical sub-group norm. This research has used this, and other norms, as indicators by which the Ukrainian (ethnic or national) aspect of identity is strongly matched with the religious (Ukrainian Catholic) dimension of that identity as expressed in group behaviour.

Where individual families have experienced four generations of ambivalence or ambiguity over their ethnic identity, homeland political issues and Ukrainian nationalism, ethnic identity may not be very strong by definition. Equivocation over where one's ancestors were born and the way that they were able to define themselves is a significant illustration of this phenomenon. Education did not address this issue: Ukrainian history, geography or social studies were <u>not</u> taught in any school in the 1930s and the school curriculum on Ukrainian issues was particularly negative prior at this time. The prairie school curriculum was not positive in its Ukrainian content until the establishment of bilingual programs in the 1970s. Language maintenance was discouraged by many parents who were children in the 1920s and 1930s when it was "not acceptable" to speak Ukrainian at school. This combination of vague Ukrainian labels from the past and lack of cultural knowledge does not facilitate an assertive Ukrainian identity. In the absence of formal

educational structures the church/parish focus has been extremely important in educating, maintaining, defining or re-defining ethnic identity.

The dual ethnic-religious label could be presented as either Ukrainian- Catholic or Catholic-Ukrainian. This choice or option in expressing identity through religious affiliation appears to be a choice in St. Josaphat's parish where there is a mixture of both world views. The choice of Christmas being celebrated on either 25th December of 7th January reinforces this alternative. Easter, however, is celebrated according to the Gregorian calendar. Does that necessarily mean that both St Josaphat's and St. Basil's are more Catholic than Ukrainian?

All of these issues indicate the inadequacy of portraying an ethnic group—Ukrainian—as homogeneous. While the core aspects of the features that comprise ethnicity were constant for Ukrainian expression in the new environment, there are significant variations in the immigrant background, level of education, understanding of colonial power and differential status, whether that be social, economic, political or religious. The mix and match of the key components varied significantly over the 90 or so years of Ukrainian migration considered in this thesis.

The first major group of Ukrainian immigrants were noticeable in their language difference, inability to communicate in English, clothing and food preferences; over time they were less obvious in language, dress and food preferences. They had changed their language, their food, and some had changed their names.

By the 1980s non-Ukrainians were participating in Ukrainian traditions such as celebrating the *Malanka* (New Year's Eve celebrations) or the summer solstice rituals of the *Ivana Kupala* and recognition of the Ukrainian was apparent in the frozen *pyrogies*, marketed as Ukrainian and not Polish, in supermarkets; large *pysanka* (a painted Easter egg in traditional Ukrainian style) monuments in country towns; statues and sculptures in city squares commemorating their history in Ukraine, and the contribution of Ukrainians, and particularly Ukrainian women, to the pioneer life which developed rural, and later urban, Western Canada. Members of the Ukrainian communities were well known as office bearers and public officials in Edmonton in the 1980s. Their official profile carried reference to their ethnicity. Canadian institutions also contributed financial support to Ukrainian education programs from bilingual pre-school to graduate scholarships and fellowships and specialised centres such as the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Over time the social position of Ukrainians in Edmonton vis-a-vis the host society has changed. Ukrainians are not represented in large numbers in the directorships of large companies and public corporations. They are however, no longer punished in schools for speaking Ukrainian either in class or during recess. In fact, bilingual education programs are facilitating and encouraging language use previously denied.

In tracing the developments and change in the acceptance and legitimacy of Ukrainianness several models and concepts have been identified and put forth. The earliest studies in anthropology provide understandings of the interaction between dominant and minority groups. The Ukrainian migration to Canada provides another paradigm by which cultural, political, social and economic dominance is described. However the earlier contributions of anthropology provide little towards an understanding of the Ukrainian-Canadian phenomenon. Descriptions of the factors responsible for the maintenance of local subcultures (for example, Miner 1939) have been noted.

The mix of sociological and anthropological concepts seems inevitable and almost constant for a large part of the work referred to and the anthropologist's fieldwork conducted. There are

similarities to migration and subordinate group experiences in the United States of America. The process of migration was the same. The dominant group imposition of values, attitudes, institutions and the restriction of opportunities appear to be similar. The opportunity to develop separate identities appears to be different.

The model of supremacy and subordination in American studies is perceived to have some relevance to the Ukrainian-Canadian situation because of the common ground of one group's supremacy being couched in social-Darwinian terms. However, studies which have focussed on inter-racial negotiations of identity provide little insight into the dynamic of Ukrainian identity and ethnic institutions being developed. The focus on "race" provides limited opportunity to differentiate relative status and power for Ukrainians in Canada over time. That focus provides even less valuable descriptions, let alone explanations, of subgroup or individual variation to being Ukrainian at any one point in time. Mitchell's work (1966 and with Gluckman 1966) provides an opportunity to move beyond "race" as a coded behaviour in otherwise unstructured situations.

The British structuralist-functionalist interpretation, with its emphasis on the social structural aspects of society, and its interpretation of ethnicity provides a valuable, albeit superficial, starting point from which to begin the process for understanding Ukrainian ethnicity in Edmonton, Canada. Ukrainians in Canada, over the last 100 years have demonstrated that, transported into urban situations, they are successful urban dwellers with attitudes, values and previous experiences having contributed significantly to the "grafting" of social mores to the new situations. In establishing and maintaining religious traditions in Edmonton, Ukrainian Catholics did more that just adapt to the definition of allowable conduct, activity or expression by the dominant group. There is some evidence of "grafting" by the first peasant immigrants. There is further evidence of steadfast maintenance of previously defined legitimate Ukrainian Catholic behaviour, rituals, symbol use and so on by those who transferred from an educated, urban or collectivised common experience of post-World War II refugee status. Along the way from Ukraine to Canada and from 1890 to the 1980s many combinations of choice have been exercised. Some have chosen *not* to express any element of ethnic identity or ethnic group affiliation, others have. This research presents two aspects of ethnic identity: the individual and the group. In purely organisational terms the corporate ethnic identity of the three Ukrainian Catholic parishes surveyed have issues, values, traditions and rituals in common. For all three parishes the group/parish entity appears to extend as far as the eparchy - with the local Bishop as head and not much beyond that. For St. George's parish members interviewed, the group entity includes other local parishes and a strong recognition and level of support for the Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy in Rome. St. George's parish members also include the local St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral as part of their shared Ukrainian entity. The boundary maintenance potential provided through religious difference is in this parish overlooked in terms of cultural homogeneity. At the other end of this spectrum the members of St. Basil's parish who were interviewed saw the boundaries of religious difference more strongly than the commonality of cultural background and experience. In this way they felt more in common with the (Roman) Catholic parishes around them than they did with St John's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish across the river.

As I questioned interviewees about the possibility of distinguishing elements of ethnicity and religion in their personal identity, some would say the two are inextricably linked and that it was impossible to distinguish one from the other. When this issue was raised with parishioners from St. Josaphat's and St. George's, answers were consistently given with reference to the need to establish and maintain Ukrainian independence. The expectation of this independence appeared to

be more eagerly anticipated within the lifetime of St. George's parishioners interviewed. St. Josaphat's parishioners were more likely to consider that although they wanted Ukrainian independence, it was not likely to happen in their lifetime.[21]

All three parishes demonstrated that they conducted Mass and other church celebrations and rituals in a similar way. In each parish Ukrainian language use varied, calendar observation of rituals reflected different parish histories and individual parish priests' *personas*. In all three parishes these expectations, and their variations, were exemplified by each parish priest and his parish's organisations, secular (or non-religious) activities. This research asked no questions about the legitimacy of belief, or moral philosophy. This dimension was not intended to be part of the research.

Minor aspects of celebration varied: in the times when services were held; seasonal celebrations; responses to the then Cardinal Josef Slipyj; use of traditional or more modern hymns and songs; and reference to and inclusion of specific news of the homeland. These issues appeared to be not significant in determining inclusion/exclusion; appropriate/inappropriate Ukrainian behaviour. They have, however, been significant in determining appropriate/inappropriate or the pure/impure aspects of religious behaviour. These issues identify a means by which ethnic identity (in which religion is but one part) can be defined and renegotiated in terms of consistency with, and maintenance of, homeland learned traditions passed on and reinterpreted over different generations. Contributing generations had different experiences in terms of education, personal economic wealth, understanding of the world beyond their Ukrainian community, and knowledge, understanding and respect for church, its rituals and its priests.

Each period of migration was received differently by recipient generations of Canadians who over 90 years learned about Ukrainians, Ukrainian religion and Ukrainian Catholics. In various capacities Ukrainians as a collective group in Canada have been accepted, rejected (or alienated), or involved in mainstream organisations and institutions. Individual Ukrainians and Ukrainian Catholics have had as many ethnic identity experiences and crises as there have been individuals of that background, or association through personal liaison or intermarriage. Throughout this myriad of personalised experiences there are some common themes and processes which unify Ukrainian Catholics over the 90 or so years of migration. Those common experiences have not been so static or repetitive that they have been constant for all Ukrainian Catholics. These three parishes have demonstrated the variability allowed while maintaining legitimacy of tradition and labelling as part of identity. Having at one stage (pre 1950s) a common organisational core in the only Ukrainian Catholic parish of urban Edmonton, they had re-established themselves into three parishes (developed concurrently with eight others) each of which over 30 years developed different approaches to their Ukrainian Catholicism and to their national or ethnic identity.

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[21] Ukrainian independence was indeed proclaimed in November 1991

CHAPTER X: EPILOGUE

The world watched as the USSR was dismembered in 1991 and individual nations, including Ukraine, moved towards establishing their independence and self-determination. Negotiations to re-establish former property ownership and church jurisdictions appear to have begun in Kiev between representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine. What impact will these secular and religious political negotiations have upon Ukrainians in Canada (and throughout the rest of the world)?

This research was conducted from 1981 to 1984. This dissertation seeks to reflect the information available and the community responses to the issues during this time. Various scholarly works have been published in the interim and these have been used as they became available and had relevance to the topic at hand.

In the meantime two areas that have direct impact on this area have experienced significant changes. The first concerns the political changes in what was formerly known as the USSR. The second is the increasing amount of published material on areas of immediate relevance that is now available. Issues central to this dissertation were introduced through the history of Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovyna prior to the turn of the century. When the dissertation research began the literature on village based religious and social history was limited to the early articles and publications of historians such as Himka (1982) and Swyripa (1982). Documentation of the process of negotiating the transition of the Ukrainian community into the Canadian setting was first described in articles by sociologists such as Roman Petryshyn (1977) and Isajiw (1982). In recent years the number of articles and books, the range of issues raised in publications, and the scope of the debate has grown rapidly and voluminously. The most recent collections of articles appear to be entering another phase of writing, description or analysis. Stella Hryniuk's (1991) publication appears to be challenging assertions of Himka (1988b in particular). The historical fact of how poor Ukrainian peasants in Galicia and Bukovyna actually were, seems to be of special concern in the newer writings. This debate will, no doubt, continue over time as more scholars enter the discussion and, with the political changes in the former USSR, more primary sources become available.

This dissertation was written at a time when it was well established that Ukrainians were in many aspects disenfranchised in comparison to their Polish, Austrian and Russian counterparts. It is still accepted that the primary motive for leaving Ukraine, and especially Galicia and Bukovyna was to participate in better economic circumstances, especially in light of rural overpopulation and continual sub-division of properties with each generation. These circumstances translated into further improved social, economic and political conditions. The costs of Ukrainian adaptation and negotiation are not denied but the relative position of Ukrainians in Canada compared to their relatives in Ukraine in 1991 is far better in many dimensions. There is a parallel situation in church communities across Canada and particularly in Edmonton with its numerous Catholic, Orthodox, United and Pentecostal Churches.

Debates, sticking points and tensions throughout the history of Ukrainian migration in Canada have often focussed on "What is Ukrainian?" and more importantly for the purposes of this dissertation "What is Ukrainian Catholic?"

Will the final arbiters in such disputes or clarification be priests and leaders from Ukraine? What status or relational impact will this have upon the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada and in Edmonton? Will there be a role to play for Canadian resident Ukrainian Catholics in bringing their experiences and knowledge to revitalise generations in Ukraine that have been discouraged

from participating in their religion? Who will decide in such circumstances what practices, rituals and behaviours are Ukrainian Catholic?

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Tabular Summary of Responses About Symbols From Telephone Interviews

The responses to questions relating to symbols, from the telephone question (see Chapters II and VIII) are shown in tabular form below, by parish.

Note that in all cases the number of respondents accounted for were

- St. Basils 100
- St. Josaphat's 100
- St. George's 50.

Chi-square values associated with the distribution are shown as well, along with the associated probability level.

Table 8. Response to Symbol: Ukrainain Flag

-	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
National	68	54	44
Faith	9	18	2
Neither	6	1	0
Both	7	5	4
Don't Know	8	17	0
No Response	2	5	0

$\chi^2 = 39.39$ p=<.001

Table 9. Response to Symbol: Trident

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
National	25	37	0
Faith	25	18	32
Neither	0	0	0
Both	9	12	15
Don't Know	32	30	0
No Response	9	3	3

$\chi^2 = 61.91$ p=<.001

Table 10. Response to Symbol: Taras Shevchenko

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
National	65	39	27
Faith	7	20	0
Neither	5	6	0
Both	3	8	18
Don't Know	19	24	3
No Response	1	3	2

$\chi^2 = 63.50$ $p = < .001$

Table 11. Response to Symbol: Knights of Columbus

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	7	12	3
Not Ukrainian	76	39	33
Don't Know	11	45	12
No Response	3	4	2

$\chi^2 = 34.50$ $p = < .001$

Table 12. Response to Symbol: Marian Sodality

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	16	21	42
Not Ukrainian	25	19	1
Don't Know	45	56	6
No Response	14	4	1

$\chi^2 = 76.06$ $p = < .001$

Table 13. Response to Symbol: Statues

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	58	38	24
Not Ukrainian	24	30	18
Don't Know	14	26	5
No Response	4	6	3

$\chi^2 = 12.14$ $p = < .025$

Table 14. Response to Symbol: Three-Barred Cross

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	23	25	34
Not Ukrainian	58	41	11
Don't Know	16	24	0
No Response	3	10	5

$\chi^2 = 46.40$ $p = < .001$

Table 15. Response to Symbol: Confessional

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	70	64	30
Not Ukrainian	14	6	14
Don't Know	13	22	5

$\chi^2 = 16.16$ p=<.005

Table 16. Response to Symbol: Cupola

	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	68	39
Not Ukrainian	3	3
Don't Know	19	6
No Response	10	2

$\chi^2 = 2.02$ p=<.50

Table 17. Response to Symbol: Iconostasis

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	70	63	38
Not Ukrainian	11	5	7
Don't Know	14	26	3
No Response	5	6	2

$\chi^2 = 13.13$ p=<.025

Table 18. Response to Symbol: Rosary

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	37	31	24
Not Ukrainian	45	32	22
Don't Know	12	30	2
No Response	6	7	2

$\chi^2 = 20.77$ p=<.001

Table 19. Response to Symbol: Sung Liturgy

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	83	70	40
Not Ukrainian	2	7	6
Don't Know	11	16	2
No Response	5	7	2

$\chi^2 = 11.06$ p=<.05

Table 20. Response to Symbol: Choir

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	84	73	42
Not Ukrainian	1	2	4
Don't Know	13	18	3
No Response	3	7	1

$\chi^2=10.44$ $p=<.05$

Table 21. Response to Symbol: Recited Liturgy

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	83	68	36
Not Ukrainian	9	8	8
Don't Know	1	18	5
No Response	7	6	1

$\chi^2=18.94$ $p=<.001$

Table 22. Response to Symbol: Embellished Walls

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	72	67	41
Not Ukrainian	7	5	3
Don't Know	15	21	0
No Response	6	7	6

$\chi^2=11.85$ $p=<.025$

Table 23. Response to Symbol: Icons

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	83	76	48
Not Ukrainian	0	0	0
Don't Know	11	17	0
No Response	6	7	2

$\chi^2=6.50$ $p=<.05$

Table 24. Response to Symbol: Embroidered Vestments

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Ukrainian	83	75	46
Not Ukrainian	1	0	0
Don't Know	9	18	3
No Response	6	7	1

$\chi^2=7.83$ $p=<.10$

Table 25. Response to Symbol: Cardinal Slipyj

	St. Basil's	St. Josaphat's	St. George's
Leader/Symbol	45	51	41
Representative of Pope	15	7	6
Not a Leader	7	3	0
Don't Know	27	31	2
No Response	6	8	1

$\chi^2 = 26.17$ $p =< .001$

Appendix B: Parish Survey Form (English)

PARISH SURVEY

Introduction:

1. Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐
2. Married Status Married ☐ Not Married ☐
3. How old are you? Under 18 ☐ 18 - 24 ☐ 25 - 34 ☐
   35 - 44 ☐ 45 - 54 ☐ 55 - 64 ☐ over 65 ☐
4. Where were you born? Alberta ☐ In Canada, but not in Alberta ☐
   Ukraine ☐ Western Europe ☐ United States ☐ Elsewhere ☐
5. If you were not born in Canada, in which year did you arrive?
6. In what country was your Father born? ....
7. In what country was your Mother born? ....
8. Where were your grandparents born?
   Mother's mother .... Don't know ☐
   Mother's father .... Don't know ☐
   Father's mother .... Don't know ☐
   Father's father .... Don't know ☐
9. In approximately what year did your family's ancestors first arrive in Canada?
   On your Mother's side .... On your Father's side ....

Education and Parish Membership:

10. How many years of formal schooling do you have? ....
11. Which language do you use most often in your home?
    With your spouse? Ukrainian ☐ English ☐ Other ☐ ....
    With your parents? Ukrainian ☐ English ☐ Other ☐ ....
    With your children? Ukrainian ☐ English ☐ Other ☐ ....
12. What is your occupation now or when you were last employed? ....
13. How long have you been a member of this parish? ....
14. How religious would you say that you are?
    Very religious ☐ Moderately religious ☐ Not religious ☐
15. About how often do you attend church?
    More than once a week ☐ About once a week ☐
    2 or 3 times a month ☐ Once a month or less ☐
16. Have you ever changed the denomination or parish to which you belong?
    Yes ☐ No ☐
    If yes, When did you last change? (year, please) ....
    Why did you last change? ....
    To which denomination or parish did you belong before? ....
17. Do you attend any of the following parishes? Please indicate how often you attend them if you do.

St. Josaphat's	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
St. Basil's	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
Church of the Holy Eucharist	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
St. George's	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
St. Nicholas	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
St. Vladmir	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
Protection of the BVN Church	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
Exaltation of the Holy Cross	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐
Jasper Place	Never ☐	Rarely ☐	Sometimes ☐	Often ☐

18. To what denomination or parish does your Father belong? ....
    OR
    If deceased, to what denomination or parish did your Father belong? ....
19. To what denomination or parish does your Mother belong? ....
    OR
    If deceased, to what denomination or parish did your Mother belong? ....

PARISH SURVEY p. 2

Parish and non-parish activities:

1. Do you belong to any parish clubs, associations or organisations?
   Yes ☐ No ☐

   If so, please name them..

   ....

   If you do belong to parish clubs are you, or have you ever been an officer, a committee chairperson or leader of any kind of these organisations?

   I have never been a leader ☐ I am, or I was a leader within the last five years ☐
   I was a leader over five years ago ☐

2. Do you belong to any non-parish Ukrainian clubs, associations or organisations?
   Yes ☐ No ☐

   If so, please name them..

   ....

   If you do belong to parish clubs are you, or have you ever been an officer, a committee chairperson or leader of any kind of these organisations?

   I have never been a leader ☐ I am, or I was a leader within the last five years ☐
   I was a leader over five years ago ☐

3. Do you belong to any non-Ukrainian clubs, associations or organisations?
   Yes ☐ No ☐

   If so, please name them..

   ....

   If you do belong to Ukrainian clubs are you, or have you ever been an officer, a committee chairperson or leader of any kind of these organisations?

   I have never been a leader ☐ I am, or I was a leader within the last five years ☐
   I was a leader over five years ago ☐

Ukrainian and Religious Identity

The following list of names are to be classified as ethnic or religious symbols. Please indicate your ranking:

1. Ukrainian flag					
2. Trident					
3. Taras Shevchenko					
4. Cupola					
5. Knights of Columbus					
6. Statues of Saints					
7 Rosary					
8. Children of Mary					
9. Three-barred Cross					
10. Recited Divine Liturgy					
11. Choirs Singing the Divine Liturgy					
12. Congregation Singing the Divine Liturgy					
13. The Confessional					
14. Embroidered Vestments					
15. Cardinal Slipyj					
16. Icons					
17. Icons on Church Walls					
18. Iconostasis					
		R	#	E	#
	Don't Know	Religious		Ethnic	

Having classified them please rank the items within your ranking, e.g. 1 - 5.

Appendix C: Parish Survey Form (Ukrainian)

ПАРАФІЯЛЬНИЙ ОПИТ

I. Чи Ви чоловік ☐ Чи жінка? ☐
2. Чи Ви одружені? Так ☐ Ні ☐
3. Скільки Вам років? Менше I8 ☐ I8 - 24 ☐ 25 - 34 ☐
35 - 44 ☐ 45 - 54 ☐ 55 - 64 ☐ 65 або більше ☐
4. Де Ви народилися? В Алберті ☐ В Канаді, але не в Алберті ☐
На Україні ☐ В Західні Європі ☐ В Єполученах Штатах ☐
Де інакше ☐
5. Якщо Вм не народилися в Канаді вкотрім році Ви сюди приїхали?

6. У котрій країні Ваш батько народилися? ______
7. У котрій країні Ваша мати народилися? ______
8. У котрій країні (якщо знаєте) Ваші дід і баба народилися?
Матерниа мати ______ Не знаю ☐
Материна батько ______ Не знаю ☐
Батькова мати ______ Не знаю ☐
Батьків батько ______ Не знаю ☐
9. Приблизно в котрім році Ваші предки приїхали до Канади?
Родина Вашої матері ______
Родина Вашого батька ______
I0. Яка у Вас освіта? ______
II. Котра мова вживається у Вашій хаті?
З дружиною: Українська ☐ Англійська ☐ Інша ☐
З батьками: Українська ☐ Англійська ☐ Інша ☐
З дітьми: Українська ☐ Англійська ☐ Інша ☐
I2. Якій Ваш фах? (Ваша професія) ______
I3. Як довго Ви член цієї парафії? ______
I4. У релійному життю чи Ви себе вважаєте
Дуже релігійними? ☐
Релегійними? ☐
Не дуже релігійними? ☐
I5. Як часто ходити до церкви?
Більше чим раз в тиждень ☐
Раз на тиждень ☐
Два або три рази місячно ☐
Раз на місяць або рідше ☐
I6. Чи Ви колись змінили своє віросповідування або парафію?
Так ☐ Ні ☐
Якщо так: Коли останній раз змінили? (Прошу подати рік)
______
Чому Ви змінили своє віросповідування або парафію останній раз? ______

До котрого віросповідування або парафії Ви належили перед останною зміною? ______
I7. Чи Ви ходили на відправи до таких парафії: Прошу також подати як щасто ходите)

Св. Йософата	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Св. Василія	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Євгаристіє	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Св. Юра	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Св. Миколи	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Христо Возвеженський	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Покрови	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Успіння	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐
Св. Володимира	Ніколи ☐	Рідко ☐	Часами ☐	Часто ☐

I8. До котрої парафії або церкви належить Ваш батько? ______
Або Коли покійнім до котрої парафії або церкви належав Ваш батько? ______
I9. До котрої парафії до котрої або церкви належить Ваша мати?
Або Коли покійнім ло котрої парафії або церкви належила Ваша мати? ______

I. Чи Ви тепер належите до будь яких парафіяльних клюбах або організацій? Так ☐ Ні ☐
Якщо так прошу подати до яких ви належите ______________

____

В тих парафіялбних клюбах або організацій чи Ви колись були в проводі?
Я ніколи не був/була у проводі ☐
Тепер я є, або в останніх пйтьох роках я був/була у проводі ☐
Я був/була у проводі більше ніж пйть років тому ☐

2. Чи Ви тепер належите до будь яких не парафіяльних українських клюбах або організацій? Так ☐ Ні ☐
Якщо так прошу подати до яких Ви належите ______________

____

В тих не-парафіяльних українських клюбів чи Ви колись були в прводі?
Я ніколи не був/була у проводі ☐
Тепер я є, або в останніх пйтьох роках я був/була у проводі ☐
Я був/була у проводі більше ніж пйть років тому ☐

3. Чи Ви тепер належите до будь яких не-українських клюбах або організацій? Так ☐ Ні ☐
Якщо так прошу подати до яких Ви належите ______________

____

В тих не-українських клюбів чи Ви колись були в проводі?
Я ніколи не був/була у проводі ☐
Тепер я є, або в останніх пйтьох роках я був/була у проводі ☐
Я був/була у проводі більше ніж пйть років тому ☐

Українські та Релігійні Символи.
Нижчеподані назви символами українськости або католицтва.
Прошу скажіть чи символ є для Вас або українськости або католицтва
I.

	Католицтва	#	Українськости	#
I. Украаїнський прапор				
2. Тризуб				
3. Тарас Шевченко				
4. Бання				
5. Лецарі Колюмба				
6. Статуї Святих				
7. Вервиця				
8. Діти Марії				
9. Трипаменний Хрест				
IO. Рецитованв Служба Божа				
II. Громада співає до Служби Божої				
I2. Хор співає у парафії				
I3. Сповідальниця				
I4. Вишавані Ризи				
I5. Їх Блаженство Кардинал Йосиф Сліпій				
I6. Ікони				
I7. Ікони на стінах церкви				
I8. Іконостас				

Тепер прошу вичисліть в кожній частині від найголовнішого до найменшого символа для Вас.