

Ethnic Identity Discourses of Recent Ukrainian Immigrants to
Canada:
Interactions between New Ukrainian-Canadians and the Established
Ukrainian-Canadian *Diaspora*

by

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ABSTRACT

Ukrainian-Canadians are a relatively well-established group in this country. This thesis focuses on an as yet unstudied segment of this community, namely the new, post-Soviet Ukrainian immigrants. As an interdisciplinary project, the thesis researches the ethnic identity discourses of recent immigrants to Canada by examining their interactions with the established Ukrainian *diaspora* in Edmonton, AB. The thesis focuses on interactions that shape their identities and integration.

I begin with a socio-historical overview of the first three waves of immigration; then I discuss events in Ukraine since its declaration of Independence in 1991. The analysis of interviews which I conducted with new and established members of the community reveals that both the ethnic identity discourses of both groups are negotiated, at least in part, in relationship to each other. It also exposes some of the similarities and differences between the two groups, highlighting the evolving nature of this community.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Susanna Mairin Lynn. The research project “ Identity Discourses of Recent Ukrainian Immigrants to Canada: Interactions between New Ukrainian-Canadians and the Established Ukrainian-Canadian *Diaspora*,” of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, under the ID “Pro00034327,” on December 18th, 2012.

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INTRODUCTION

Ukrainian Canadians have been a part of Canada's foundation since the 1890s, and have been the focus of a respectable amount of literature, especially concerning their early history. The experiences of Ukrainians in Canada are as diverse as they are vast, and even today, they constitute a noteworthy portion of the Canadian population. Ukrainians have been immigrating to Canada since the 1890s, and eventually established communities from coast to coast and especially in the West. While each of the four waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada experienced unique circumstances and experiences, certain similar trends span across one or more waves. Many academics and authors have written on one or more topics pertaining to the first three waves of Ukrainians in Canada; more recently, works have been published on Ukrainians since Independence, and also some on the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Most authors agree that Ukrainians were victims of social and political oppression, especially in the first two waves of immigration, and that they suffered for many years from a lack of educational and economic opportunities (Luciuk and Hryniuk 3). Among Bohdan Kordan's works, his writings on Ukrainian internment after WWI shed light on the unjust forced labour of thousands of Ukrainians and thousands of other "Austro-Hungarians aliens." David Marples, Heorhiy Kasyanov and others have written about the Ukrainian Famine-Genocide of 1932-33, and how the Ukrainian *diaspora* abroad, and especially in Canada, is connected to the relatively recent recognition, and dissemination of knowledge, of this genocide.

Academics such as John -Paul Himka, Paul Magocsi, Orest Subtelny, and Jars Balan have contributed significantly to comprehensive accounts of the history of Ukraine, and also on the social, cultural, literary, and historical connections between Ukraine and Canada and the questions these connections present.

More recent literature also continues to add to the breadth of the discourse of topics on Ukrainian Canadians. Among other topics, Serhiy Yekelchuk has written about modern Ukraine and its politics, contributing to a growing literature on post-independent Ukraine that is often linked, at least in part, to Ukrainians outside of Ukraine, including Canada. Compilations of presentations at conferences and anthologies of essays manifested themselves during and after 1991, and these compilations help their audiences understand what has happened to Canada's Ukrainians between approximately 1891 and 1991. Examples of such compilations are Luciuk's and Hryniuk's *Canada's Ukrainians* (1991), Hryniuk's and Luciuk's *Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians* (1993), and Hinthorpe and Mochoruk's *Re-Imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics and Identity* (2011).

It is relevant to note that it was only in the early 1990s that the Canadian academic establishment started embracing studies of Canada's Ukrainians that were not "descriptive or filiopietistic accounts[...] of selected individuals or groups within the community"(Luciuk and Hryniuk xix). Luciuk and Hryniuk also point out that until the early 1990s, the few non-Ukrainian commentators who were "addressing" Ukrainian-Canadian themes tended to focus on 'Old World' issues and were of the opinion that attitudes oriented toward the homeland

had a “retarding effect” on the assimilation of Ukrainians and their families into the larger Canadian society (xix). Ukrainian Canadian Studies (and Ukrainian Studies in general) only truly became recognized with the founding of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, and the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies at the University of Manitoba (xix). Research into primary sources and archives, as well as funding, has grown and developed, and a new generation of students, from both Canada and Ukraine, now study Ukrainian Canadians in various degrees and capacities across different disciplines (xix).

The profile of Ukrainian-Canadians is well established in Canada largely on the basis of folklore, history, dance, Ukrainian-bilingual schools, religion, festivals, and through the works of various Ukrainian-Canadian authors and painters, e.g., Janice Kulyk-Keefer and William Kurelek. As Hinthoruk and Mochoruk illustrate, questions of identity and what it *means* to be a Ukrainian are complicated in most, if not all, areas of study (21). While the Kule Centre for Ukrainian and Canadian Folklore is advancing knowledge in the areas of the ordinary, everyday lives of Ukrainian people, there is a gap in the studies of urban Ukrainians, a group Hinthoruk and Mochoruk believe to be understudied (467). Little is known about the character of the new, post-Soviet Ukrainian immigrants and how they are constructing their Ukrainian-Canadian identity. Since they arrived in Canada from an entirely different political and cultural context, i.e., from an independent Ukrainian state (for details see Dyczok 378), their established identity and the forms of integration into the Ukrainian *diaspora*, as

well as into the larger Canadian community, are radically different from the majority of Canadian-Ukrainians. These new immigrants bring an experience to Canada that is different linguistically, socially, and culturally. As mentioned, there are publications that incorporate aspects of identity into their repertoire, such as Hinthorpe and Mochoruk's *Re-Imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics and Identity* (2011) and Hryniuk and Luciuk's *Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians: identity, homeland ties, and the community's future* (1993). Publications such as these are beneficial in addressing identity in a framework of historical and political issues which characterize the first three waves of Ukrainian-Canadian immigrant experience (and are less beneficial in characterizing the fourth, most recent, wave). Recent events in Ukraine such as the Orange Revolution, as well as developments in literature, music, language and culture, have changed not only the identity discourse that Ukrainian immigrants bring to Canada, but also the ways in which they negotiate their identity with the established *diaspora*. There is very little scholarship that considers contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian identity in the post-Soviet context in relation to these new developments in Ukraine, and their ramifications for interactions with the *diaspora* in Canada.

The goal of this project is to explore questions of identity formation and its relation to group dynamics and integration, and more specifically, as this question relates to the Ukrainian community in Edmonton, Alberta, which will henceforth be referred to as the "*diaspora*." While the interviews analyzed in this thesis only represent those community members who currently reside in

Edmonton, the premise, and perhaps even results, of this thesis could represent interactions and experiences within Ukrainian communities across Canada. This project is a first step in identifying and outlining a methodology which could later be applied to larger questions and/or to other ethnic communities. My exploration attempts to discuss the identity discourses of recent Ukrainian immigrants to Canada by examining their interactions with the established Ukrainian *diaspora* and how these interactions shape their respective identities. Some of the questions I deal with include: What is the relative importance for identity of modern-day Ukrainian culture (i.e., literature, music, art, language, politics, etc.)? How do they “imagine” themselves (to borrow a phrase from Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*) in Canada, and how are they constructing their Ukrainian-Canadian identity? How do they interact with the Ukrainian *diaspora*? I focus on Ukrainian immigrants who came to Canada, specifically Edmonton, after August 24th, 1991, because this was the year Ukraine became independent (following the earlier dissolution of the Soviet Union). Furthermore, twenty years is considered a meaningfully long-range perspective for examining questions related to identity and a new wave of immigration (Luciuk and Hryniuk 254).

I hope to suggest ways of looking for an answer to these questions by organizing my research into the following major sections: (1) an introduction to the context and significance of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and brief socio-historical overview of the first three waves of Ukrainian immigration; (2) a summary and discussion on events since 1991 in Ukraine and why these events warrant analysis in the context of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to

Canada and questions of identity; (3) a discussion of the theoretical concepts and interdisciplinary methodology used in this case-study of Ukrainians in Edmonton and Alberta, and ; (4) an analysis and discussion of the results of this research, and conclusion.

CHAPTER 1:**“The First Three Waves: A Socio-Historical Overview of Pre-1991 Ukrainian Immigration to Canada”****The First Wave of Ukrainian Immigration (1891-1914)**

The first Ukrainians came to Canada in the early 1890s and started what was to become decades of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The Ukrainians in the first wave were not always called ‘Ukrainians,’ however, as those who immigrated between 1891 and 1914 were primarily citizens of the Austrian Empire; they lived in villages in two of the westernmost regions of Ukraine known as Halychyna (Galicia) and Bukovyna (Luciuk and Hryniuk 4). Specifically between 1892 and 1914, over 170,000 Ukrainians, sometimes called ‘Austro-Hungarians,’ came to Canada with the goal of securing a homestead (81). While the majority of these immigrants hailed from Galicia and Bukovyna, 5% came from Hungarian Transcarpathia and less than 1% came from Greater Ukraine, which at the time was under the dominion of the Russian tsarist regime (31).

During the first wave, the peasant society of what is now known as Western Ukraine was attracted by the offer of land in Canada, with almost seventy hectares of land available for ten dollars (15). This attraction to the offer of land was fueled by the feelings of exploitation experienced by these peasants from large landowners many of them worked for at seeding and harvest times (12). In addition, the peasants in Galicia, and to a lesser extent Bukovyna,

sometimes experienced random acts of intimidation from authorities during elections, as well as systematic discrimination in education (13).

The reasons for immigrating to Canada during the first wave were not composed of only one motivating factor, however. The offer of land was indeed a strong motivator, but the reasons behind immigrating to Canada included multiple motivating factors which manifested themselves in varying degrees in different people. While some reports indicated that people were leaving for Canada because of a desire to have ‘a better future for their children,’ this was not necessarily always because they were impoverished or oppressed. Just as often, people felt comfortable uprooting themselves because conditions had improved, increasing people’s expectations for themselves and their children. Some people were ‘pretty-well-to-do’ in the ‘old country,’ but because Canada offered even more than they had, immigration was an attractive prospect. Not only was the land itself in Canada a primary motivator for immigration by itself, but especially when compared to the lack of land available in Ukraine. The amount of land available for ownership was far vaster in Canada than in Ukraine, where the amount of village land was definitely finite, was costly, and was in high demand (14). So even though Ukrainian peasants did sometimes have an opportunity to buy small amounts of land, it is obvious why looking for more land on which to grow crops and raise more animals, and thereby augment income, was seen as more lucrative and beneficial, even if it was overseas.

The momentum of the mass migration of Western Ukrainians to Canada was, at least in part, affected by the negative experiences of Ukrainian immigrants

in Brazil. In the mid-1890s, immigrants were enticed by propaganda and agents of the Brazilian government—it was so anxious to settle ‘empty’ lands that it covered the expense of the voyage from an Italian port to Brazil. But reports of negative experiences of a number of Ukrainians who went to Brazil cast a shadow on continued mass emigration there, and these reports further emboldened the mass migration from Western Ukraine to Canada (14). Although the steamship companies had been legally operating on behalf of Canada in eastern and central Europe for decades, these governments were actively opposed to emigration, and so many emigrants from Western Ukraine may not have even seen the literature on Canadian immigration due to its poor distribution (14). There was a continual stream of information back to Ukraine that basically beckoned to more migrants with positive impressions about conditions, which were sometimes overstated or exaggerated (15). Besides the obvious differences such as climate, the main difference between emigration to Brazil and Canada was that the latter required Ukrainians to pay the fares of themselves and their families, and consequently the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada were generally owners of land who were free of debt, moderately wealthy, and possessing some cash (15).

This first wave of Ukrainian immigrants who came over largely during the Laurier-Sifton years (1896-1914) were partially facilitated by the Laurier administration and Clifford Sifton, minister of the Department of the Interior between 1896 and 1905 (17). Sifton created a policy that met the economic requirements of the prairies by encouraging immigrants to come to Canada, immigrants who until then had only been considered ‘marginally accepted’ (17).

He did not dwell on the often negative social and cultural considerations the public entertained about Ukrainians at the time; rather, he argued that these ‘stalwart peasants’ were apt and agreeable settlers, focusing on their economic value, a comparatively progressive and forward-thinking move for that period (17). It is, after all, during Sifton’s term as minister of the interior that the migration of Ukrainians took on unprecedented numbers, and Sifton is often cited as encouraging the activities of a Ukrainian professor of agriculture called Osyp Oleskiv, the man who first proposed funnelling a mass migration of Ukrainians to Canada (17).

Although Sifton may be regarded as one of the government officials who was less hostile towards Ukrainians (and who held a more pragmatic viewpoint less connected to social and cultural prejudices and biases of that time), he was not the main impetus behind the success and size of the first wave. There were times when the government put restrictions on Ukrainians that curtailed aspects of immigration or immigration itself, such as in 1899, and although officials such as Sifton were not actively hostile towards Ukrainians, holding a somewhat neutral attitude did not actively support Ukrainian immigration (22). It was the Ukrainian immigrants themselves who were one of the main drivers behind the first wave. Oleskiv’s agreement with the North Atlantic Trading Company, or NATC, in 1899 (which helped to recruit many Ukrainians and eastern European peasants en masse to Canada) did not thrive because of any sort of genuine commitment from NATC or the Department of the Interior to Ukrainian immigration— the interest from NATC was based on the pursuit of profiting from a Ukrainian movement to

Canada that was already in motion, was already dynamic, and which was basically independently driven (18).

After Ukrainian immigration starting taking on larger numbers than the Canadian government anticipated, the government started to become more concerned with matters of assimilation and the apparent financial burden that the government's bonus system for steamship agents was posing (21). W.F. McCreary, the commissioner of immigration, wrote Sifton in April 1899 to express his concern of how there were presently about 20,000 Galicians, and that the "natural increase" should only be about 2000 per year for reasons of assimilation and finances (21). On June 1, 1899, the government stopped the system of bonuses to steamship agents, and a money standard was imposed that basically demanded that those Galicians and Bukovynians who did come had to have a specified sum of money (21). If they did not possess this money upon arrival, the steamship company that brought the immigrant to Canada would have to take him/her back to Ukraine, even though the Austro-Hungarian Empire was not necessarily eager to take back "excess peasants" to overpopulated areas such as Galicia (22). The Austrian government was not impressed in the slightest that Canada would take any measures to prevent these Galicians, who they called "good, law-abiding citizens" from emigrating, and even threatened to stop all movement from Austrian-Hungary to Canada if Ottawa continued with such strict limitations on emigration (22). Soon thereafter, the Department of the Interior reconsidered and reinstated the bonus system, also retracting the demands for money restrictions on Galicians and Bukovynians (22). These immigrants would

soon discover, however, that even though they were “good, law-abiding citizens,” many would face more than the basic cultural and social discrimination that was accepted at the time. A number of Ukrainians in Canada would be victims of what Bohdan Kordan calls a “bare and impolitic right” (Kordan 1). This refers to the unjustified internment of thousands of Ukrainians and other former members of the Austro-Hungarian Empire who had emigrated to Canada since the early 1890s.

Ukrainian Internment (1914-1920)

The Dominion of Canada, or as we refer to it today, the Canadian government, regularly used its ability to intervene into Ukrainian-Canadian affairs for reasons of large-scale assimilation and in order to make decisions and act on recommendations of “players centred outside the community, individuals who were sometimes indifferent, ignorant, or even hostile to Canada’s Ukrainians” (Luciuk and Hryniuk xviii). The consequences of these interventions were sometimes traumatic, as exemplified in certain early immigration policies, the covert surveillance of the inter-war period, and most especially in the internment operations of Ukrainians during the First World War (xviii). Since the late 1980s, and more recently in the 2000s, authors including Marsha Forchuk-Skrypuch, Lubomyr Luciuk, and Bohdan Kordan have shed light on the injustice that was the internment of Ukrainians and other Austro-Hungarians who came to Canada. The National Film Board of Canada worked with director Yuriy Luhovy’s to produce his 1994 film called *Freedom Had a Price: 1914-1920, Canada's first*

internment operation, and The Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko recently published a curriculum booklet for Edmonton Public Schools for Grade 11 Social Studies on the subject called *Prisoners of Prejudice* (2011). While more information is accessible today than before, this internment is still not well known by the general Canadian public, and in some cases, is not known about at all. For example, in Banff National park, which housed the Castle Mountain internment camp, there is indeed a monument dedicated to this cause that was put up by the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association, but this monument has yet to be mentioned, noted, or even marked on any park maps or tourist information pamphlets that are handed out to the general public upon entry to the park or upon request for such information or directions. A tourist in Banff National Park would not easily come upon this monument, and there are little to no signs indicating its whereabouts or directions in finding its location. It is only recently that any type of formal interpretive exhibit about this particular First World War Internment location was created for the general public. After decades of persistence by several groups in pushing for this information to be made available to the public in an exhibit at Banff National Park, there is finally such an exhibit. On June 20th, 2013, the Cave and Basin interpretive exhibit on Canada's First World War Internment of Ukrainians and other ethnic groups was opened (UCC-APC). Regardless of its somewhat low profile in the current realm of general Canadian public awareness, the internment is an integral part of the development and experience of Ukrainians in Canada, and in this way Ukrainian internment serves to provide background on Ukrainian immigrants in general.

In August of 1914, Canada found itself involved in conflict as Britain declared war and hostilities ensued on the European continent (Kordan 11). After a long year of creating, and adding many sections, proclamations, and additional orders to the War Measures Act that were increasingly restrictive and frankly, xenophobic, the government responded to the rising labour shortage, nativist sentiments, and war-time hostilities with a stark measure; on June 26, 1915 the government announced its intention to apprehend and intern “aliens of enemy nationality,” which included, among others, many Ukrainians who had settled in Canada (11-14). Large numbers of enemy aliens were interned in camps in the Canadian hinterland, with the large numbers being a result of the wide application of the security legislation of the War Measures Act and its flexible interpretation (22). Thousands of internees laboured under harsh conditions, under the threat of punishment, and followed a strict regime that included an unyielding schedule (22). By the end of 1917, there were 7762 internees (23). Even though the Japanese-Canadian internment is a unique situation as well, the Ukrainian-Canadian and Japanese-Canadian internments have many strong parallels with each other, such as land that was taken away and never given back, issues of redress and the restorative process, and the pain and loss incurred during those events and times by a government which most people believe did not act responsibly or with integrity in enacting those decisions based largely, if now wholly, on discrimination and immoral self-interest at the expense of innocent and law-abiding citizens (67).

The Second Wave of Ukrainian Immigration (1919-1939)

The experience of Ukrainians coming to Canada between 1919 and 1939 differed from those in the first wave (1892-1914) because the Canadian and European contexts of immigration had shifted. While those who immigrated during the Laurier-Sifton years in the first wave were largely from the Habsburg-controlled regions of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, those who immigrated during the second wave were only from the regions in Western Ukraine that had been partitioned to Poland, Romania, and even Czechoslovakia, as Greater Ukraine fell under control of the Soviets (Luciuk and Hryniuk 81-82). The political map had been reconfigured after the First World War, and Ukraine attained a fragile independence during the revolutionary era in 1918-20 (81). Out of the 200,000 Ukrainians who left these newly partitioned regions of Ukraine, 68,000 came to Canada, a different Canada from that with which the first wave was acquainted (81-82). Unlike the first wave Ukrainians, the second wave Ukrainians were not coming to Canada to settle land in the literal sense as pioneers and settlers, but were coming to previously established areas, sometimes as agricultural labourers for those established areas, and also settling in cities and becoming part of industrial and non-agricultural labour pursuits (83). These immigrants were coming from areas where they were minorities due to the new political partitioning, and particularly in Poland and Romania, acute nationalist sentiments resulted in cultural and economic oppression directed at the Ukrainian population there (82). These Ukrainians were coming from, and going to, slightly changed places and circumstances.

Another difference between the first and second wave is that the second wave's migration from what was then known as Ukraine (in its partitions under various authorities) was very much a result of the awareness of their concept of Ukraine and being Ukrainian. Whether this awareness was directly or indirectly applied, it yielded Ukrainians who were sensitized to the need for political and cultural survival, and they thusly welcomed societies, groups and organizations that nurtured their patriotic and nationalistic ideology in Canada (83). The focus on political and cultural survival was an apt one. The first wave witnessed the 1910 Act prohibiting "immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climatic requirements of Canada," among other things (85). The second wave witnessed an even more restrictive clause that was added in 1919 which housed stipulations that excluded the following:

[I]mmigrants belonging to any nationality or race of immigrants of any unspecified class or occupation, by reason of any economic, industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour, or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry." (85)

It is not surprising that in the same year, 1919, special orders prevented the admission of subjects of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as well as Doukhobors, Hutterites and Mennonites because of being deemed

‘undesirable’ (85). Ukrainians were just one group of immigrants who were deemed “non-preferred” people during this time, and this type of attitude from the government rippled throughout society, the social and cultural climate resigned to being often less than receptive. While the term “non-preferred” was never actually used in immigration legislation, this terminology was common in correspondence between officials and was a focus of the conduct of immigration up to, during, and after the Second World War (86). Those who joined the Ukrainians in their “non-preferred” category were nationals from Austria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Baltic States, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and even Germany for a time (86). Those “better suited” and “preferred” included people from the British Isles, the United States, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and eventually, Germany (86).

Ukrainians did experience less restrictions in immigration than the last category, however, which consisted of “special permit” immigrants who required special permission to enter Canada; this category included people from Albania, Arabia, Armenia, Bulgaria, India, Greece, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Spain, Syria, Turkey, and those who were “Hebrew,” “Negro,” or “Spanish-American” (86). Governor-General Lord Tweedsmuir’s famous 1936 exclamation that Ukrainians in Canada would all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians seemed to be ahead of his time on all levels, and it is understandable given the attitudes of the day why this became a much-repeated and much-loved quote for Ukrainians in Canada (xix, 172, 318). Rather than assuming that any nationalistic or patriotic tendencies were an impediment to Canadianization, a view that many Canadian

officials submitted to, Lord Tweedsmuir suggested that Ukrainian cultural identity maintained in Canada was neither more worrisome nor less valuable than those of the Irish and Scottish people in Canada (318). This was a decently progressive parallel which was suggestive of a slow evolution in tolerance towards Ukrainians that would slowly allow more space for Ukrainian culture in Canada, a space that would create the third wave of Ukrainian immigration, one as diverse as it was vibrant.

The Third Wave of Ukrainian Immigration (1946-1961)

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada was unique from the previous two waves in a myriad of ways. Firstly, they were mostly post-war immigrants with a range of professions as opposed to the earlier pre-war and economic immigrants (who were largely peasants and farmers); secondly, the geographic areas and political situations from which they were immigrating were starkly different from the previous two waves, to the point that their political outlook sometimes clashed with that of the Ukrainian-Canadians from the first two waves who were already in Canada (Luciuk and Hryniuk 123-124). Instead of emigrating from Western Ukraine under Austro-Hungarian rule before the First World War like the first wave, and from Romania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia between the wars like the second wave, the third wave of immigration to Canada was composed of a part of the large group of 2.5 to 3 million Ukrainians from all areas of Ukraine who had found themselves in war-torn Germany in 1945 (123).

At least in the beginning, the third wave was looking for a refuge where they could endeavour to liberate Ukraine from Communist oppression from outside of its borders, with the intention of eventually returning back to Ukraine (124). This basic outlook is very different from, say, the first wave, which was more so looking to settle and work on homesteads, to own land, and to cultivate that land with the intention of staying in Canada indefinitely.

Although the third wave was the smallest yet (approx. 35,000 as opposed to 170,000 from the first wave and 68,000 in the second wave), it is clear it had a significant impact on the Ukrainian-Canadian community (144). These post-war immigrants impacted the population and community in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes the most, although the community in the Maritimes was still too small to flourish, unlike in Saskatchewan and British Columbia (144). Although less went to Saskatchewan and British Columbia during this wave, these communities were still strengthened as they already had a formation of community to work with, however small (144). The demographic characteristics of the third wave, however different from the first two waves, were still favourable for emigrating and establishing a life because the male/female ratio was reasonably well balanced, the refugees represented a wide range of professions, and many were part of the intelligentsia (124, 129).

This third wave contributed and made an impact on the established community in several ways. Firstly, as mentioned, the occupational and urban profile of the Ukrainian-Canadian community was restructured with this third wave, as many professionals, businessmen, intelligentsia, and politically-oriented

and skilled workers constituted the bulk of the post-war immigration (124, 144). The third wave brought with them a particular inclination towards education, and professional education at that. Upgrading professional skills, seeking what they considered good jobs and prestigious positions, and educating their children about their selected professions created a generation of immigration youth who pursued higher education (152). By the early 1970s it was clear that these youths' endeavours had become successful and a generation of engineers, doctors, dentists, scientist, lawyers, teachers and university professors emerged which added to their parents' generation of skilled workers (152).

The second way the third wave impacted their community was through language. These immigrants not only added to the number of Ukrainians in Canada and strengthened the community in terms of population and occupational diversity, but also brought a "linguistic rejuvenation" to the Ukrainian population (144). As few of these immigrants spoke fluent English or French, they actively looked for places where they could communicate in Ukrainian, resulting in larger concentrations of Ukrainians and of the Ukrainian language and giving Ukrainian language a higher external profile (145). Another factor in the active desire to speak Ukrainian in Canada was that this wave of immigrants hoped to preserve and develop their language because it was being suppressed in favour of Russian in Ukraine (145). This linguistic rejuvenation especially helped the youth develop their Ukrainian language as many English words were being appropriated into Ukrainian in Canada, and strong English accents were being accrued due to the English-dominated surroundings (146).

While this rejuvenation was temporary and only strongly affected the larger Ukrainian concentrations, the influx of standard Ukrainian from the intelligentsia and youth who had recently been educated in Ukraine is still noteworthy (154). Thus, there were multiple reasons this particular wave used Ukrainian language more than the previous two waves: a few decades of immigration and the beginnings of higher tolerance and acceptance from Canadians made speaking Ukrainian outside of the home a possible reality with less social and economic discrimination; Ukrainian was a practical way to communicate with the Ukrainian-Canadians these Ukrainians encountered as their English and French language skills were often either non-existent or not fluent enough; the social reason of community and “feeling at home” was prevalent since the community was growing, developing, and these immigrants often sought residence, work and extra-curricular activities with other Ukrainian-Canadians; and there were political and nationalistic reasons for using Ukrainian as these immigrants came from a Ukraine where Russian language was dominating in an oppressive and deliberate manner under the reign of a repressive regime.

The third main way this wave impacted the Ukrainian community was through the many organizations created and developed largely by this wave. Because many immigrants in the third wave were refugees from Communist oppression who had also previously experienced persecution from Nazi Germany and pre-war Romania and Poland, their perspective was often one of a nationalistic and anti-Communist nature (147). A common goal among them was aiding in the independence of Ukraine, and this fueled the building of a network

of political organizations that basically reproduced the ones they had established in Europe (147). Youth organizations played a substantial role in activating the political socialization of Ukrainian youth in Canada, and just ten years after their arrival, this wave had fostered organizations that came to lead and influence most, if not all, Ukrainian activities in Canada (148-149).

The third wave was both the most organized and most politicized group yet, and to this end, the refugees and established Ukrainian-Canadians did not always share all of the same views or sentiments (152). The refugees did not favour the use of English in the existing Catholic and Orthodox parishes and related associations, schools and so on, and regarded the heavy focus on social activities and folk dancing as being too carefree (148). On the other hand, the Ukrainian-Canadians sometimes viewed the newcomers' organizations with suspicions as they regarded the refugees as sometimes being overzealous in their political focus, disrupting their image as grateful citizens of the Dominion and their established way of life (148). However, as a whole, the third wave had a profound impact with positive implications for the Ukrainian-Canadian community, supporting and developing this community in many ways and making the profile of Ukrainian-Canadians more visible and respected throughout all of Canada (154).

Between approx. 1961 and 1991 there were three decades where immigration from Ukraine to Canada basically trickled to a stop, but the Ukrainians who were here continued to develop and engage in their organizations and cultural endeavours in several ways due in part to significant events which I

will summarize briefly. In 1953, Stalin died and there was a “thawing” of the Cold War which hailed an improvement in Canadian-Soviet relations [as Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union, Canada-Soviet relations are relevant to Ukrainian-Canadian interests] (Hinter and Mochoruk 241). Diplomatic relations normalized the following year with an exchange of ambassador and the re-installment of a Soviet trade mission in Ottawa, with the 1960s and 70s continuing the trend of cultural, scientific, and technological exchanges, as well as cooperation on some international matters (241).

Beginning in the 1960s Ukrainians in Canada started to shift focus from as many politically and ideologically focused endeavours to those that focused more on pragmatic matters of culture, academics, family reunification, Soviet human rights violations (especially in regards to Ukrainian dissidents), and areas where they could carry more weight in the government’s decisions on foreign policy (242). This shift in activity was largely due to the rise of Quebec separatism and the controversy this politically and ethnically driven independence caused, but was also influenced by the realization that their desired independence for Ukraine would not be achieved in the near future (242). These factors caused a re-evaluation of goals and strategies of attainment of those goals. The recent immigrants and Canadian-born Ukrainians began to work together more effectively to press for humane government and democratic methods in Ukraine, if a free and independent Ukraine was not possible at that time (242). Eventually, their shared desire for the dissolution of the Soviet Union and an independent

Ukraine would become a reality, giving impetus to the next wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

CHAPTER 2:**“The Transformation of Ukraine and the Fourth Wave of Immigration to Canada: What Happened, What Effects It Has, and Why It Matters (1991-2012)”**

The first three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred under very different conditions than the fourth. The defining characteristic of the fourth wave is that Ukrainians were now emigrating from an Independent Ukraine. Ukraine's Independence is of great importance and significance to the fourth wave of immigration and for Ukrainians in Canada; it had, and has, meaningful, influential and far-reaching effects and implications for politics, culture, and the relationship between Ukraine and its *diaspora* here. All of a sudden, Ukrainian immigrants were coming to Canada from a vastly different Ukraine, and this transformation of Ukraine would mean a transformation of its people. The events from 1991-2012 in Ukraine have raised new considerations for questions of identity-construction and discourse of post-Soviet Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. This is why these events warrant summary and discussion; it's important to understand these events, how they affected/affect Ukrainians, and what sort of new socio-political environment these recent immigrants were coming from when they came to Canada. It is inevitable that these events affect the ongoing interactions of these immigrants with the Ukrainian-Canadian *diaspora*, and thus, they affect the identity discourses of recent Ukrainian immigrants in Canada (those who immigrated from 1991-2012). The purpose of this chapter is to outline these events and bring attention to, and discuss, their implications for the identity

discourses of recent Ukrainian immigrants in Canada and the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

1991: An Extraordinary Year for Ukraine and the Beginning of a Unique Decade

1991 was an incredibly important year for Ukrainians and Ukrainians in Canada. It not only marked the year Ukraine gained its independence, but was also the centennial of the arrival of the first Ukrainians in Canada (Hryniuk and Luciuk 1). On December 1st, 1991, 84.2% of eligible Ukrainian citizens turned out to vote, and 90.3% of these Ukrainians were in favour of independence (Yekelchuk 191). Every province of Ukraine registered a majority, including the overwhelmingly Russian Crimea (54.1%), and Kravchuk easily defeated the other five candidates in the first round of presidential elections with 61.5% of the vote. Poland, Ukraine's neighbour, was the first foreign country to recognize Ukraine's independence, and Canada followed suit as the first G-7 country to do the same (Yekelchuk 191). December 8th, 1991 marked the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States (192).

The 1991 independence of Ukraine was followed by the Presidency of Leonid Kravchuk from 1991-1994, and the Presidency of Leonid Kuchma from 1994-2004 (Yekelchuk xvi). While Ukraine's independence was seen as, and indeed was, a great achievement and momentous event in Ukraine's history, the period that followed was uncharted territory that was as treacherous and

difficult to navigate as it was exciting and hopeful. In general, the standard of life plummeted in Ukraine in the early 1990s; salaries did not rise at the same rate as prices; many goods were not available to purchase, and savings were wiped out by hyperinflation. As a result, three quarters of Ukrainians lived below the poverty level in the early to mid-1990s, the life expectancy and birth rate decreased, and the country's population declined from 52 million in 1989 to 48.5 million in 2001, according to the 2001 census. Much of the population was left with little choice but to participate in a subsistence economy where a primitive barter system of goods and services, as well as the keeping of small garden plots in the countryside, were quite literally the only things that ensured survival in Ukraine. In addition, emigration from Ukraine increased, with many Ukrainian Jews leaving to Israel, the USA and Germany, and many ethnic Ukrainians leaving for North America and western Europe in the hopes of gaining prosperity and more opportunities for themselves and their families. Basically, the only social group who enjoyed the economic situation after Independence was the new rich, who, according to Yekelchuk, are "a mixture of high government officials moonlighting as big-league traders and private businesspeople, who were often former Soviet industrial managers, Komsomol functionaries, or black marketers" (Yekelchuk 198). The unpleasant and dysfunctional aspects of Ukraine's early economic transformation was a reflection of the lack of a strong democratic, reformist political force in the country (199). It is these economic and social issues that set the stage for a multitude of challenges and specific discourses in Ukraine during the 1990s and early 2000s that would shape not only Ukrainians'

experiences in Ukraine (including those who were, or would, immigrate), but also those of Ukrainians who were already abroad and/or in *diaspora* communities.

The economic and social decline in independent Ukraine was a contributing factor to many Ukrainians' disenchantment, a growing tendency towards political apathy, and some very real, although somewhat misplaced, nostalgia for the stability they remembered from the Soviet system. While the Communist party had been banned in August 1991, the Socialist Party of Ukraine became the largest political party in the country, attracting more than 60,000 members, even though many Ukrainians had developed a revulsion against politics (Yekelchuk 1999). The Socialists were generally supportive of independence and some economic reform, but the Communist Party, which was resurrected in 1993 in the city of Donetsk, did not share these views with the Socialist Party of Ukraine. Instead, they called for a restoration of the Soviet system (and in the long run, the re-establishment of the Soviet Union), as well as the establishment of Russian as the second official language of Ukraine (1999). During the early 1990s, the east and south of Ukraine continued to be largely Russian-speaking, in contrast to western Ukraine, which was, as always, largely Ukrainian-speaking amongst other languages (2002). Identity, nation, and sovereignty became intertwined issues that developed together against the backdrop of economic and political upheaval.

During the 1990s, identity polarization and the accompanying politics and issues began to play a critical role in Ukrainian society. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 was a catalyst for the strong support for Ukrainian

sovereignty (63% support for independence in September 1991 increased to 71% at the end of October, and skyrocketed to 90% at the time of the actual referendum on December 1st) (D'Anieri 141). The overwhelming vote for independence, and also for Kravchuk, was quite clear. As the Ukrainian economy collapsed, however, there was a significant drop in support for Ukrainian independence, starting in 1993 (142). One of the main reasons for this drop is that a large part of the support for independence had been built on economic expectations. Consequently, by 1994, a large portion of the population looked favourably on closer ties to the Commonwealth of Independent States and to Russia, and the support for independence that had once been at 90% in 1991 now sat at a lowly 50% (142). Divisions created a pro-European orientation in the West and a pro-Russian one in the East (141). This situation helped to set the stage for polarization which played a key role in the 1994 presidential elections. Former Prime Minister Kuchma used these divisions to his full advantage in the competition against Kravchuk, and the themes they each highlighted in their campaigns almost seamlessly lined up with the divide that was growing between Ukrainians (142). While Kravchuk warned against threats to Ukraine's independence and underscored his role as the founder of Ukrainian independent statehood, Kuchma accentuated his relatively strong pro-Russian position (142). Kuchma implored Ukrainians to "end the reign of Galician [Western Ukrainian] nationalism," and ultimately, it was not economic issues that decided the outcome of the presidential contest; it was ethnolinguistic and geopolitical factors (142).

Popular support for Ukrainian independence underwent a setback and faced many challenges in the early 90s, but it never disappeared; over the next few years, it would slowly, but surely, increase and regain strongholds in Ukrainian society amidst and among the chaos that was Ukraine's post-Soviet transformation. Despite the fact that reforms were announced in 1994, the government continued to overspend, and by 1995, support for independence was up to 60% (D'Anieri 143). The *hryvnia*, a new and stable currency, was introduced in 1996 (Yekelchuk 205). However, this did not necessarily signal a rapid improvement in the economy or how Ukrainians perceived economic reform. Much of Ukrainian society had become even more disenchanted with politics by the end of Kuchma's first term, and the 1998 elections witnessed the Communists gaining 27% of the seats in the *Rada* (206). Kuchma's second term (1999-2004) showcased corruption against the backdrop of a modest economic revival (206). Support for independence was once again gaining strength in the face of government corruption, authoritarianism, and the illegal activities of Ukraine's oligarchs. Even though many Ukrainians approved of the idea of trying to maintain friendly relations with Russia, a strong majority also upheld and defended Ukrainian sovereignty (D'Anieri 143). These two paths were not as strictly separated as they appeared in 1993, and the general population was developing discourses where Independence and ties with Russia did not necessarily have to be mutually exclusive. The early 2000s exhibited popular support for independence at 75%, a noteworthy increase since the drop in 1993 (143). Reforms began to show more promise in 1999 when Yushchenko was

appointed Prime Minister by Kuchma. This was an event that was to set the stage for a hopeful start to the 2000s in Ukraine.

In 2000, Yushchenko combined forces with Yulia Tymoshenko and took strict measures to correct the illegally-granted tax exemptions given to oligarchs, and lowered income and profit taxes for Ukraine's developing middle class (Yekelchuk 207-208). During Yushchenko's term as Prime Minister, he was credited with helping Ukraine emerge from the economic and financial crisis ("Viktor Yushchenko"). A shift in the government's relations with Russia, as well as the generally-held perception that the "threat" of Ukrainian nationalism had been reduced, were additional significant developments in the politics of the early 2000s (D'Anieri 145). In the face of the positive economic change Yushchenko helped instigate, it seems unfortunate that he was only Prime Minister until 2001 (Yekelchuk 210). Analysts say it was Kuchma's fear of Yushchenko's growing popularity, as least in part, that caused him to suddenly dismiss Yushchenko in 2001 ("Viktor Yushchenko"). So, after a decade of incredible difficulty following Independence, Ukraine had not progressed in the way that the democratic opposition in Ukraine had expected (not to mention Western observers in general, and especially the *diaspora*); namely, Ukraine had not yet made the "transition" from Soviet socialism to political democracy and a market economy (Yekelchuk 193). After his dismissal by Kuchma, however, Yushchenko did quite the opposite of retreating from the public eye. Instead, he formed a broad-based democratic coalition called "Our Ukraine," which was successful in parliamentary elections later that year ("Viktor Yushchenko"). Yushchenko's popularity,

success in beginning to improve Ukraine's economy and finances, and his victorious democratic coalition all gave Yushchenko the platform from which to launch a credible challenge to Kuchma ("Viktor Yushchenko). Kuchma, who was President for two terms, had been accused of blindly overseeing, and by extension allowing, an increasingly corrupt administration and government, one which also favoured former Soviet elites and oligarchs ("Viktor Yushchenko"). The man Kuchma had dismissed, Yushchenko, would soon run for President in the 2004 elections also known as "The Orange Revolution," one of the most monumental events in Ukraine's history since Independence.

The Orange Revolution of 2004 and the Events That Followed

The Orange Revolution was a decisive, and crucial, turning point for Ukraine. While all of its positive effects may not have necessarily lasted as long or as effectively as most Ukrainians had hoped, it mobilized a nation and changed Ukraine's political "track record" forever. It overthrew the established political regime in Kyiv, Ukraine's capital, and altered the course of the study of post-Soviet politics. (D'Anieri 1). As the 1990s came to a close and the 2000s began, Ukraine's citizens appeared to be apathetic and resigned (albeit also frustrated) on account of their increasingly corrupt and authoritarian form of government. The notion that Ukraine had a weak civil society that was resigned to its seemingly bleak fate had started to become a generally uncontested conclusion, both inside and outside of Ukraine (1). It soon became evident that this conclusion was actually somewhat premature, over-generalized, and misinterpreted when

thousands of protesters filled the streets of Kyiv during the Orange Revolution (1). The events from 2004-2012 affected, and impacted, an entire nation, and were a tumultuous, yet inspiring, start to the millennium.

During the early 2000s, Ukraine was starting to slowly recover from its economic crisis, and this recovery had strengthened the middle class (i.e. largely small business owners and professionals who desired democracy and a free market for Ukraine, and who did not look favourably on oligarchs and the corrupt government) [Yekelchuk 214]. The 2004 Presidential elections presented different options than previous elections from which the middle class and general population could choose. According to Yekelchuk, Yushchenko, (i.e. the opposition candidate to Viktor Yanukovich who was backed by Kuchma), was not a “scary orthodox Communist,” but a “center-right performer with a good economic record, who spoke only Ukrainian but carefully de-emphasized linguistic Ukrainization” (214). It was not only the Ukrainian-speaking middle class who “pinned their hopes” on Viktor Yushchenko, but also the Russian-speaking middle class and Ukrainians from other social strata who approved of democracy (214). He had steadily led in the polls since the 2002 elections, continuing to keep some distance from the comparatively radical Yulia Tymoshenko, but in the summer of 2004, he promised her the position of Prime Minister, creating an alliance that was to highlight the Orange Revolution (214).

As the two main players in the elections that intertwined with the Orange Revolution, Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich presented interesting alternatives and “upgrades” from Kravchuk and Kuchma in previous elections.

Born and raised in the Russian-speaking Donbas, Yanukovych was a long-time governor of the Donetsk province (Yekelchik 204). Yanukovych followed Yushchenko closely in the polls in 2004, and briefly surged ahead in September when he promised to make Russian the second state language and allow dual citizenship with Russia (Ukraine does not allow dual citizenship) [215]. His temporary lead in the polls did not last long, however, as it was soon overshadowed by Yushchenko's mysterious poisoning on September 5th (215). An apparent assassination attempt using the poison dioxin had made Yushchenko ill, and left his face permanently scarred with pockmarks ("Viktor Yushchenko"). Yanukovych had experienced a rough adolescence, and his convictions had been overturned, but Yushchenko's dioxin poisoning stirred rumours of Yanukovych's criminal methods and made them seem more plausible (213-215). This event may have added to the outrage that would follow the first round of presidential elections on October 31st, 2004. The majority of the votes went to Yanukovych and Yushchenko, but Yanukovych's team had tampered with the data and pushed him into the win column. Election observers filed numerous reports of manipulation, and protests ensued immediately (216-217). Thus the Orange Revolution began.

On December 3rd, 2004, the Supreme Court made an unexpected decision to invalidate the results of the previous round of voting, and order a second runoff to be held between Yanukovych and Yushchenko on December 26th. This decision was atypical of the Ukrainian courts until this point. The repeat runoff was one of the most highly-monitored elections in history, and boasted the

presence of over 300,000 Ukrainian observers, as well as 12,000 foreign observers. Yushchenko was officially confirmed as the winner the following month with 51.99% of the votes, and 44.19% for Yanukovych. Yushchenko's success in western Ukraine was not surprising due to his positive attitudes towards Europe and the fact that he spoke Ukrainian (many politicians spoke only Russian and/or very limited Ukrainian). It was his victory in central Ukraine that distinguished the 2004 elections from those in the 1990s, because central Ukraine was a Ukrainian-speaking region that is not closely connected to the nationalistic western Ukraine by way of religious or historical tradition. Some scholars have argued that central Ukrainians felt like members of a Ukrainian political nation for the first time in history in this election. They also posit that even though the force that gave impetus to the mobilization of this population may not have been nationalism per se, their ethnic identity was important and caused them to fight for the defense of an open society (and therefore largely vote for Yushchenko). Yanukovych's attempt to challenge the results of the second runoff were in vain and unsuccessful, and on January 10th, 2005, the Central Electoral Commission officially named Yushchenko the winner. Sworn in on January 23rd, 2005, Yushchenko now faced the monumental challenge of reforming Ukraine (Yekelchuk 218-219).

Upon becoming President, Yushchenko was immediately met with a long list of issues and difficulties. May 2005 presented a fuel crisis, and in September, he replaced his entire cabinet because of incompetence. The competition between Yanukovych and Yushchenko had not disappeared with Yushchenko's victory,

and in the 2006 parliamentary elections, Yushchenko's party finished third ("Viktor Yushchenko"). This was a blow to Yushchenko in the ongoing power struggle, and in 2006, he had no choice but to approve the nomination of Yanukovych as Prime Minister (Yekelchuk 224). His first year of Presidency yielded disappointing results, his leadership in internal affairs was waning, and his coalition was unorganized and ineffective (222). The downward spiral continued for Yushchenko when parliament passed laws in 2007 that severely restricted his authority, such as the one that ended the President's right to reject the parliament's choice of Prime Minister ("Viktor Yushchenko"). Political tension spurred yet another general election (September 2007), and "Our Ukraine" finished third behind Yanukovych's "Party of Regions," as well as Yulia Tymoshenko's bloc (BYuT). Having briefly served as Prime Minister in 2005, Tymoshenko was an Orange Revolution ally to Yushchenko. Together, they created an alliance between "Our Ukraine" and "BYuT" that gave them enough of a majority to form a government with Tymoshenko in the position as Prime Minister once again in 2007.

In the years to follow, dissent, mismanagement, and chaos grew, both in the government and between former Orange allies, as Yushchenko and Tymoshenko struggled with balancing positive relations with Russia and trying to get into the European Union. By the time the next Presidential election came in January 2010, Yushchenko popularity had dwindled, and he attained a measly 5% of the vote. In February, a runoff poll between Yanukovych and Tymoshenko, the top two candidates, ended with Yanukovych replacing Yushchenko as President

(“Viktor Yushchenko”). In a span of only five years, Yanukovych, who had been looked upon unfavourably the Orange Revolution, had gone from “corrupt candidate” to “President.” By 2010, the gains of the 2004-2005 Orange Revolution that had once seemed so tangible now appeared intangible and elusive. Ukrainians, as well as everyone observing the Orange Revolution, had begun to entertain the notion that Ukrainian society was capable of organizing itself to influence government behaviour, but events since 2005 cast doubt on the role of civil society in Ukrainian politics once again (D’Anieri 1).

The roller coaster of events that had occurred since 2004 put Ukraine into a state of complex confusion and chaos that almost rivaled that of post-1991 when it became Independent. Just as Independence hailed a new era of post-Soviet studies about Ukraine, so too did the Orange Revolution. It provides impetus to an ongoing, and renewed, scholarly interest in Ukraine, and scholarly studies help shed some light on finding, and understanding, meaning in the Orange Revolution and the events that occurred thereafter.

Interpreting the Orange Revolution and Beyond: What Does It All Mean, and Why Does It Matter?

The Orange Revolution has been the subject of a respectable amount of research in the past decade by various scholars in Ukraine and around the world. I have chosen to draw primarily upon the research and works of Anna Fournier and Paul D’Anieri in my present attempt to examine this time period critically. Thus,

while my assessment and opinions on this topic are my own both in terms of possible insight and flaws, they are heavily informed and influenced by both Fournier's and D'Anieri's research and respective approaches.

The Orange Revolution was somewhat of a sudden and miraculous democratic breakthrough for Ukraine (D'Anieri 110). To summarize: in its most basic form, Ukraine's civil society seemed to have been left resigned and apathetic from the turmoil of the 1990s, and then experience a widespread revitalization in 2004, only to be followed by rampant disillusionment soon thereafter. Student groups were prominent during the revolution, but their aspiration to turn themselves into lasting political parties did not succeed. They failed to continue exerting their influence, political parties in Ukraine returned to being elite-driven, rather than mass-driven, and governmental corruption thrived once again. The prediction that the progress Ukraine had made in regards to democratization would result in an abundance of civil society groups did not become a reality. Instead, Ukraine saw a re-emergence of apathy as the once-discredited Yanukovich pushed Tymoshenko and Yushchenko aside on the Presidential stage in 2010 (2). This "reversal of fortune," as D'Anieri aptly refers to it, does not leave Ukraine empty-handed, however, even though the desired "concrete" or "tangible" results may not have been sustained (2). This chaotic and multi-faceted period in Ukraine's recent history has resulted in not only increased scholarly attention to Ukraine, but also resulted in a nation that has made strides in redefining, reasserting, and reclaiming itself.

Two areas in which Ukraine has developed meaningful and thoughtful discourse and reflection since the Orange Revolution are: 1) the transformation of post-Soviet Ukraine and the constant engagement and negotiation between Western and Soviet modernities, and; 2) the reconfiguration of meanings around nation and identity. In the past twenty years, Ukraine celebrated, amongst other things, the two major successes of Independence and the Orange Revolution. While each event appears to have brought about its own accompanying reversal back into corruption and apathy, I firmly believe these events and their related developments contain more progress, civic awareness, and intrinsic change than is immediately apparent to both Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians. Specifically, these events have been vital in shaping the identity discourses of not only Ukrainians, but those of recent Ukrainian immigrants to Canada (and other countries) and the *diaspora* with which they interact. This is precisely the reason why the two aforementioned areas are important and matter to Ukraine, its *diaspora*, and this study.

1) The Transformation of Post-Soviet Ukraine

The collapse of the Soviet Union caused many shifts in Ukraine that were, and are, complex and difficult to define. There was a shift from thinking about Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as an “area,” to thinking about it as a “time,” and a transition from socialism to capitalism. This exciting possibility for change also presented the challenge that Ukraine was perceived by other countries as being “in between.” By extension, this meant that the changes which came out

of this transition were viewed as impermanent and lacking legitimacy (Fournier 21-22). While it is difficult to settle on an all-encompassing term that describes what Ukraine was after 1991, some have argued that calling this period and process a “transformation” is accurate. This is because the term “transformation” accounts for the multi-directional, complex, and indeterminate nature of this process. In her book called *Forging Rights in a New Democracy*, Anna Fournier articulates part of what made this transformation so multi-directional, complex and indeterminate in nature. She asserts that post-Soviet Ukraine selects, and reconfigures, elements of both Western and Soviet modernities, and that young people, especially, play a key role in this selection and reconfiguration (22).

Common perception of the transformation that the Orange Revolution brought seems to rest on the assumptions that Ukrainians’ desire for a “Western” model of democracy would mean an instant break with the “Soviet past,” or eventually, a replacement of Soviet modernity by that of a Western one. Fournier explains that this was not the case, however, because it was a process of engagement, not replacement (22). Additionally, she means to clarify that keeping certain Soviet elements while pursuing Western democracy does not constitute being “stuck in the Soviet past.” This is because certain elements are being *selected* and then *reconstituted* in order to be relevant to the challenges at hand (133). She thinks that in furtherance of seeing the entire span of reach of the revolution, we must look at those things that showed *continuity* with Soviet political culture, and investigate how these things were re-imagined (“Ukraine’s Orange Revolution” 126). This does not mean that there was not any departure

from the Soviet “way,” however; the Orange Revolution was contained many “un-Soviet” (i.e. Western-oriented) elements, such as the fact that young people were the group who initiated the pro-democracy demonstrations and partook in mass protest over rigged elections, and that there was a clear demand for freedom of speech, governmental accountability, and freedom to protest peacefully (Fournier 132-133).

An interesting observation made by Fournier suggests that not only is there a “Western becoming of former Soviet practices,” but also a “Soviet becoming of Western practices” (23). In other words, Ukrainian civil society selected certain features of an imagined Western modernity, as well as reconstituted features of Soviet modernity, and these features engaged with each other to negotiate a symbiotic co-existence in which each shaped the other. For example, many people articulated that restoring order was important to them, in the way of an accountable government (that was not too overbearing), and closing the gap of economic disparity between the poor and the rich. But the concrete examples of how this would transpire were a mix of features from both Soviet and Western realms (140-141). Yushchenko’s supporters from 2004 were of all ages, and had strong convictions about democracy, the fact that the leader should be chosen by the people, and the right to protest and demand change. Influence from Ukraine’s Soviet past manifested in their desire for a *strong* leader (while still democratic), more than anything, and this perhaps explains why people were willing to consider Yanukovich after Yushchenko eventually failed to take any real control of the government (“Ukraine’s Orange Revolution” 126). Their

articulations about living standards, care, and welfare, also presented a mix of Soviet and Western ideals, among both the elderly *and* the young. Western living standards had permeated Ukrainians' idea of "living like a person," as one Ukrainian in Fournier's study put it, and yet some of the things that shaped this ideal were present during the Soviet period. Many pensioners in Ukraine live on the equivalent of about \$60.00/month, and many of those who are employed full-time still struggle, so things such as a reasonable and stable price for bread, job security, and a yearly vacation on the seashore were standards that people presented as giving a decent quality of life. It's interesting to note that many of these existed during the Soviet period in the form of entitlements, or things that "deserving citizens" were given. In regards to economic rights, there was also a conscious desire for Western practices such as private property, the free market, and "conspicuous consumption" (Fournier 23, 150- 154). Some people, especially the younger population, believed that it was the people themselves who were responsible for their economic well-being, and this too, does not follow the Soviet model. Western values of initiative, independence (from the government and in regards to solving their own problems), and individualism are increasingly valued. Views on what constitutes a "better life" are inspired by Western standards, and while some aspects of this ideal show foundations in a type of Soviet tradition, there is not a desire to return to a Soviet way of life (156-160).

The Orange Revolution allowed active space to develop discourses that were flexible enough to imagine a new political vision that was neither Soviet nor Western, but a transformative, as well as ongoing, negotiation of both (Fournier

159-160). Fournier very aptly investigates how Ukrainians have actively transformed and localized the concepts shaping them. She questions whether the seemingly contradictory things Ukrainians want and need (such as democracy and a strong, benevolent state) are actually contradictory, or if creating this type of flexible discursive space will one day meet the needs of an unpredictable country (Fournier 183). In a discussion of the future that is neither wholly West-centric or Soviet-nostalgic, it seems fitting that along with transformations of political imaginaries, there are changing conceptions of the social definitions of “nation” and “identity.”

2) The Reconfiguration of Meanings around Nation and Identity

The Orange Revolution was an impetus for a myriad of changes in discursive space, including meanings around the conceptions of nation and how it relates to identity. Ukraine found itself in a complex situation after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, because it had just become Independent and was now simultaneously a nation and a state. Even though socialist ideology was technically a thing of the past, Ukrainian authorities continued to view nationalism as a threat to the stability of the state (Fournier 32). For example, during the presidential campaign that preceded the Orange Revolution, President Kuchma and his government used the term “nationalists” with a negative and accusatory connotation, to refer to people who were not only nationally conscious, but who were willing to act on it in forms of political action. Yanukovich also carried this view of “nationalists,” and in the Orange

Revolution, his supporters referred to participants of PORA¹ as “nationalists” and “terrorists” who “wish to destroy the country and lead us to civil war” (32).

Nationalists were seen as the opposite of the patriot, who was “for” and “within” the state (32). This however, is complicated by how these relative groups viewed what the state was, and what it should be.

The way in which Ukrainians thought about nation and identity during and after the Orange Revolution was, and is, very much connected to their relationship with Russia. During this time, many Ukrainians expressed the desire for a “European” Ukraine rather than a “Russian” Ukraine (Way 147). In other words, they wanted to cultivate the past and present connections to Europe more than those with Russia. The legacy of involvement with Europe and Russia is shown all over Ukraine in things such as the changed names of cities, the spelling of street signs that trace the various occupations by other countries, and the fact that some prominent Ukrainian writers, such as Nikolai Gogol, wrote in Russian (Yekelchuk 5). Catherine Wanner has noted that nation-building in Ukraine requires a compromise between what is considered Ukrainian and Soviet and/or Russian elements (Fournier 36). This can be tricky, and sensitive, however, as many historical events and cultural phenomena which took place in what is now Ukraine are often “claimed” and in a way, usurped, by Russian and/or Soviet history (Yekelchuk 5). It is not surprising, then, that the 2004 protests were partially driven by a pro-European vision of Ukraine (Way 146). It is also not surprising that Yanukovich and his supporters viewed “nationalists” negatively,

¹ PORA (“It’s Time”) is the group that initiated the demonstrations leading to the 2004 Orange Revolution (Fournier 32).

as often, nationalism meant a desire for independence from, and less ties, with Russia, which contradicted his platform and political outlook. Not wanting to be pegged as “radicals” or endanger their jobs, it is understandable why some Ukrainians during this time were uncertain about what their stance on nationalism “should be,” and shared the same attitude as one participant in Fournier’s study who said “I’m not a nationalist, but I’m for my country” (44). When a large portion of the Ukrainian citizenry came out and supported the protests, it was a clear message that they wanted a future under democracy, not Russia’s thumb. This is exactly the change in stance on “nation” that the government feared. Reclaiming Ukraine to be their own, and not under the influence of Russia, was becoming a very strong sentiment-turned-action.

Although Ukraine had become “Independent” in 1991, its independence became more mature in 2004 because there was persistence in presenting new meanings of nation and identity that did not revert back to what those concepts meant during Soviet times. Challenging existing discourses on “patriot” and “nationalist,” and creating the discursive space to speak about the changing identities of Ukrainians and identity was a call for political mobilization. Ordinarily, democracy and protest would not immediately show a relationship with identity and nation, especially since national colours, demands, and slogans were not the primary visual aids involved in the protests (for example, the Ukrainian flag is blue and yellow, and of course, the colour of the orange Revolution was orange). However, the pro-European (and anti-Russian) vision that was so supported during the Orange Revolution speaks directly to the type of

identity Ukrainians wanted to have as a nation (Way 146). Europe was a main theme in the revolution, and the battle for a Ukraine that was not “Russian,” or under Russian influence, was aptly summarized in one large sign that appeared along the central avenue in Kyiv that said “Putin: Kyiv is not Moscow!” (147). Russian intervention in domestic politics was being challenged, and so was Russia’s interference in debates on national identity. To borrow Anderson’s term, Ukrainians were “imagining a community,” a nation, that had more European ties than Russian, and they were asserting their right for change (Fournier 32). Ukrainians immigrating to Canada were imagining themselves and their nation differently than before 1991, and this would change their interactions with other Ukrainians, namely Ukrainians in the *diaspora*.

CHAPTER 3:**“Interdisciplinary Methodology and Principles of Analysis”**

This chapter is devoted to the theoretical concepts and interdisciplinary methodology central to my project. My approach draws on methods from the complementary areas of Applied Linguistics (analyzing interviews), Sociology, Cultural Studies (especially Literary Studies and History), as well as Fieldwork (conducting interviews). The over-arching goal of this project is to explore questions of ethnic identity formation and its relation to group dynamics and integration within an ethnic community. For this reason, it is useful to identify, define, and discuss the main categories, theoretical concepts and terminology as currently used by scholars and theoreticians. It is also necessary to explain the interview process, as well as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which was used in analysing the interviews. While Chapter 3 highlights the theories and thinking that informed the research, analysis, and writing of Chapter 4, it is not used as a template for the latter.

Theoretical Concepts and Terminology*The place of essentialism within a constructionist view of ethnic identity*

I recognize that identity is an expansive and complicated topic, much debated by essentialists and constructionists, “humanists” and poststructuralists,

among others (cf. Bertens). This thesis accepts the constructionist perspective of ethnic identity, which affirms that an individual is subject to discourses and power within society and is never completely free or autonomous to ‘choose’ an identity. However, this thesis simultaneously accepts the notion of “strategic essentialism,” popularized by theorists who try to account for social change and human agency. Strategic essentialism acknowledges that some level of essentialism is needed for cultural empowerment and political mobilization of an ethnic group (Verkuyten 126). Scholars such as Verkuyten point out that strategic essentialism has been proposed as a solution to the question of how essentialism can be reclaimed in the face of the logic of anti-essentialism (145).

I agree with Verkuyten’s assertion that essentialism is not by definition oppressive, and that anti-essentialism is not by definition progressive (126). Some scholars in the humanities have observed the dangers of essentialist group thinking, when it is used to justify segregation or when it does not envision culture and ethnic identity as fluid categories that experience change over time (145,148). While an excessively high level of cultural essentialism can have a negative impact on a group, at least a minimal level of cultural essentialism is useful, and sometimes necessary for challenging assimilationist ideas, legitimizing an ethnic group’s identity, and allowing for ethnic groups and minorities to argue for accommodation of their uniqueness and culturally distinct practices and beliefs.

Multiculturalism is highly relevant in this context because it deals with groups and group identities. It is a “social-intellectual movement that promotes

the value of diversity as a core principle and insists that all cultural groups be treated with respect and as equals” (125). It can also prioritize group identity and require the notion of groups as internally homogenous and bounded (125). Moreover, it is an ever-present policy in Canada (146), associated with positive social features.

As mentioned, I deal largely with one facet or one type of identity: ethnic identity. Ethnicity, hybridity, diaspora, and ideologies are primary concepts used, directly and indirectly, in the analysis of my interviews. While these terms bring many scholars and authors to mind, I draw heavily on the works and interpretations of Miri Song, Ruthellen Josselson and

Michele Harway, and Maykel Verkuyten to summarize and define the uses of these critical terms. I have chosen these scholars because they offer an informed middle ground between fully accepting or dismissing constructionism and essentialism which, in my opinion, is a helpful strategy in contemporary analyses of ethnic identity. These scholars also address questions concerning individual agency in a manner that is balanced and most relevant to the question of ethnic identity in the specific context of Canada, a unique context that produces questions no other country has faced in quite the same way in regards to groups and individuals. Many of Canada’s immigrants and their *diasporas* are no longer experiencing their first or second wave of immigration; it is logical that new situations create new conversations about old topics.

Ethnicity and ethnic identity

Ethnicity and ethnic identity are interconnected theoretical concepts for scholars and community members alike. I aim to summarize here various views on ethnic identity, as well as my understanding of what it is, and how it works. In *Choosing Ethnic Identity*, Miri Song investigates questions related to the importance of ethnic identity to people's sense of themselves and to what extent people can "choose" their ethnic identities in contemporary multiethnic societies (1). Josselson and Harway examine identity as it relates to social location. By extension, they view it as a product of the social and historical period in which it is formed and evolves (Josselson 7). They recognize that while people themselves are often responsible for part of their identity formation, they must often include or reject certain labels in their identity definition that are assigned to them from the outside (7). Consequently, identity formation does not result merely from being defined and declared by an Other. It involves interdependency and reciprocity between a person's meaning to one's self and a person's meaning to others, cognitively, and emotionally (40).

Identities are defined, constructed, and negotiated *both by the self and by others* through ongoing social relationships [my emphasis]. This is a subjective psychological process, and constantly open to change and renegotiation (5). So how do people choose and develop their identities? Scholars say that it depends upon the context and the audience, as well as factors that constrain and conversely allow choice (17). For my study, it is important to point out that the *diaspora* is one of the *main factors* in identity construction. It is a context, an audience, a

constraint, something in which people usually *choose* to participate, and something that is also connected to the larger society through social location. This connection between the *diaspora* and identity construction for the participants in my study affirms why *ethnic* identity is a main focus as opposed to other “types” of identity (e.g., gender). The ethnic identity construction of the participants in this study is directly connected to the *diaspora*.

Since ethnic identities are at least partially constructed by social relationships, as well as historical contexts that change over time, these identities very much embody the values and currents of thought from a particular time, place, and social context (167). Chapter 2 looked at the social, historical, and political context of the post-Soviet Ukraine that is informing the identity discourse of Ukrainians. This context is very different from that provided by Soviet Ukraine and must be considered when examining the identity formation of Ukrainian immigrants who have come to Canada after 1991, as well as the established diaspora’s perception and integration of these new immigrants.

Ukrainians in Canada have the right and the opportunity to “exercise their ethnic options” (Song 15). During the 1960s and 1970s, it was common practice to view ethnicity as something predetermined by birth and blood ties, a position that essentialized culture and treated the characteristics of ethnic groups as static (7). Since the 1980s, many anthropologists have written that it is not so much “real” blood ties that determine ethnicity, but a reference to, and a belief in, a common origin that make a group “ethnic” in nature (Verkuyten 74). Anderson posits that ethnic groups are distinguished by the way in which they are imagined.

Like Weber, he points out that this *belief* is a central aspect of ethnicity (74). A (partly) made up common descent, origin and history is of less importance than the subjective belief of the plausibility therein (75). This, in part, is what distinguishes ethnic identity from other social identities. However, the belief in common origins, etc., is always subject to reinterpretations and adjustments; this is why ethnicity is, in fact, not static, even though some sort of continuity with the past remains central. More recent analysis of ethnicity underscores its social construction, and also its politicized, dynamic, and variable nature (Song 7,16). “Situational” theorists of ethnicity posit that ethnic ties fluctuate over time, can be activated by material and other interests during particular times, and are actively asserted and shaped by people (7, 16).

Even though what it means to *be* of a particular ethnicity cannot be defined with complete certainty, ethnic groups can sometimes still impose on their members prescriptive behaviour or viewpoints that draw on moralistic expectations to encourage their desired type of unity and beliefs (Song 142). Meanings of ethnicity and culture are definitely not fixed, but some members of ethnic groups believe that their group’s ethnic identity and cultural practices are clearly defined, distinctive, and permanent in their present form (48). Song believes this treatment of ethnicity is harmful for both the ethnic group and society as a whole because it reflects vestiges of 1960s view of ethnicity as something primordial. A more helpful treatment of ethnicity, and one that contributes to the future development of an ethnic group, is to view ethnicity and its resulting identities as an open question subject to rejuvenation, renegotiation,

in a word, a type of Andersonian “re-imagination” (Song 48, 142-143). For example, Verkuyten points out that culture is not always a useful basis for the definition of ethnicity because it can lead to an invariable, and sometimes stalled, development of culture (76). Culture emphasizes the differences *between* groups while neglecting their commonalities, and, inversely, it exaggerates the similarities *within* groups while ignoring their differences. A large number of researchers have shown that there are significant cultural differences within ethnic groups, and *it is only by paying attention to these in-group differences that cultural change, mixture, and renewal are possible* [my emphasis] (76). Also, using *only* a cultural definition of ethnicity implies that each group that distinguishes itself culturally should be considered an ethnic group, but ethnicity is about more than similar patterns of normative behaviour (76).

While the process of ethnic identity construction includes a noteworthy amount of personal agency, it can be manipulated and influenced by an ethnic group, though certainly not only in a negative way through prescription, for example (Song 57). In other words, there is a wide spectrum of possibilities available regarding a person’s ethnic identity stance in relation to their ethnic group and the wider society (58). An individual can claim partial identification with the majority culture and society and/or ethnic community, opt in or out of a group to a desired degree, or customize a personalized stance towards ethnic group membership (58).

Because ethnicity changes according to situation, the individual possesses a “portfolio” of ethnic identities that are used in variable combinations, depending

on the context and audience (Song 17). The varying and changeable criterion that forms ethnic identity has important consequences (Verkuyten 75). There is the potential for tension in the individual and collective assertions of ethnic identity. On the one hand, individualized conception, selection, and maintenance of ethnic identity demonstrates a wide scope of agency; on the other hand, justification of the criteria of ethnic identity is often necessary for both in-group members and outsiders. This results in ethnic claims that sometimes need to be “proven” in order to become accepted and meaningful to the group members and outsiders, because while ethnic identity is malleable, it cannot be a complete fabrication (Song 60, Verkuyten 75). Ethnic identity is multi-dimensional, and most certainly not one-dimensional.

After the discrediting of primordial views of ethnicity, which led to the serious consideration of the various dimensions that gave ethnic identity meaning in the 1980s, ethnic identity has often been conceptualized, as well as experienced, using one or more verbs (Verkuyten 197). The sociologist Fishman discusses ethnicity in three terms: ‘being,’ ‘doing’ and ‘knowing’. While his notion of ‘being’ is often tied to kinship phenomenon, the ‘doing’ is more negotiable (and creates more opportunities) than ‘being,’ because behaviour is more subject to change. ‘Knowing’ is the part of ethnicity that is experienced as beliefs, ideas, histories, and ideologies of an ethnic group. Social psychologists maintain that adding ‘feeling’ to the way ethnicity is discussed is vital, because what it feels like for individuals to be part of an ethnic group is directly related to their commitment, evaluation, and level of importance of that group in their lives,

hence in their ethnic identity as well (197,198). Phinney, in reviewing much of this theory and research, concluded that these four terms relate to what she calls the *state* of ethnic identity, which is “a person’s identification at a given time.” Building on the works of Phinney and Fishman, Verkuyten expands this conceptualization into what he calls ‘The Four Dimensions of Ethnic Identity,’ a multi-dimensional conceptualization which outlines how ethnic identity can be distinguished, and the different ways in which an individual and group find, as well as “prove,” meaning in their ethnic identity.

The Four Dimensions of Ethnic Identity

Verkuyten’s four dimensions helped shape the critical discourse analysis of the interviews conducted for this study, influencing my interpretation. A brief description of these four dimensions and their ramifications follow.

Being is the first dimension of ethnic identity (e.g., homeland, natural parents, visible characteristics), and it refers to ethnic self-labelling or self-definition (Verkuyten 198). While these labels can also be imposed or assigned (imposed labels are often seen as inaccurate for studies), the self-defined labels are usually considered in categorical terms, or as a “zero-sum choice” (and is the only zero-sum dimension) (198). This dimension describes what one is, or the ethnic identity one has, not what one feels, does, and knows, and can be difficult to assess. For example, someone could be asked what their parents *are*, what that individual *actually is*, or what someone else would *say* they *are* on the basis of observable characteristics, which can affect the answers given and also the results.

The second dimension is *feeling* (e.g., importance, evaluation, commitment), and refers to how individuals feel about their ethnic identity (198-199). Individuals belonging to the same ethnic group can feel different degrees of commitment and belonging, and assign different levels of importance to their identity. And, depending on how much a person accepts their ethnic identity, they can feel either very positively about it or otherwise. The satisfaction and emotional meanings of ethnic identity are part of this dimension; they are, of course, subjective and subject to change (199).

The third dimension is the most widely used indicator of ethnic identity: *doing* (e.g., participation in group activities, friendships, music, traditional food and clothes associated with that ethnicity). It is also the most problematic (Verkuyten 198-199), because the focus—i.e., ethnic activities and practices—can be very specific and different for each group, carrying different levels of importance (199). An individual's involvement can be assessed by factors such as language use, celebrations, cultural traditions and symbols, participation in politics, religion, organizations, and even friendship patterns. The complication here is that participation in these activities may be assumed to demonstrate a strong ethnic identity, but it is possible that other factors, processes, or motivations underpin this participation. As Verkuyten points out, “a sense of ethnic identity does not [necessarily] have to underlie ethnic cultural practices” (199).

While the third dimension is heavily based on activities and participation, the fourth dimension, *knowing*, is based on group beliefs, culture and history

(Verkuyten 198-199). The focus in this dimension is on the extent to which people are interested in, and knowledgeable about, their ethnic group's culture and history (198-199). This knowledge and interest allows for exploration of meanings and experiences involved in culture and history, and offers further understanding of social location, that is, where one is, and where one is from (199). It also concerns ideological notions about experiences, entitlements, and how the group thinks they themselves should live and interact with society and other ethnic groups (199).

It should be understood that the interrelationships between these dimensions are not necessarily equally valued and enacted by an individual; there are complex relationships between these dimensions that can combine in many different ways to form unexpected and unique profiles. For example, the relationship between what people do does not necessarily have to correspond to what they feel, know and actually do, and vice versa (Verkuyten 200). These four dimensions merely provide a guide to major areas which are, in and of themselves, multidimensional in nature.

Hybridity, diaspora, and the possible simultaneous ideologies of multiculturalism and assimilation

In my research, the words “hybridity,” “diaspora,” and “ideology” informed the creation of the interview questions, and served as undercurrents in the discussion during the interviews. At times, these concepts were used in a general way without explicitly being defined; at other times, they were discussed

very consciously with an informed awareness of their theoretical and scholarly background. These concepts affected and were meaningful in the ethnic identity discourses of recent Ukrainian immigrants, as well as the interaction between them and the established Ukrainian community (i.e., the *diaspora*). Here I attempt to briefly touch on each concept to establish how they are used in scholarly works, and how they informed my understanding and that of the participants.

Scholars understand hybridity in slightly different ways, but certain themes permeate most discussions on this concept. Although the term ‘hybridity’ is originally from the 19th century and was used to refer largely to the physiological aspect of racial mixture, since the 1980s, understandings of hybridity in the social sciences largely pertain to identity, social psychology, and terms stemming from postcolonial studies (Verkuyten 152). A large amount of the more recent social literature in the social sciences claims that the fragmentation, or hybridization, of identities is a result of globalization (151). Normatively, theories on hybridity often highlight the fusion and combination of meanings, forms, and elements, rejecting notions of homogenous identities, and even positing that hybridity is an argument against homogeneity, absolutism, and essentialism (151-152). A second view is that it is a process of subversion and intervention where a “space of discontinuities” is built through dialogue (152). In a similar vein, Verkuyten suggests an additional perspective, and refers to it as “a third space which enables other positions to emerge”; rooted in Bhaba’s theoretical works, this position is built on the notion that it is from this liminal

space that dominant discourses and categorical constructions can be interrupted and challenged (152).

Hybridity is often used to criticize ethnic essentialisms and boundaries, valorizing mixture. This has led some scholars to argue that its only use is as a critique of essentialism (Verkuyten 153). Other scholars criticize hybridity because they believe it is not compatible with multiculturalism, which solidifies certain cultural differences, as hybridity tends to assert cultural syncretism. Moreover, hybridity is seen as an elite position promoted by privileged diasporic and postcolonial intellectuals in the West (153). It has been pointed out that theories of hybridity draw on the apparently unlimited sources of identity (religion, gender, etc.), but does not provide enough clues as to how these sources are actually negotiated and how these positions are taken (153). To make matters more complicated, different terms are used in empirical analysis, such as ‘hyphenated,’ ‘hybrid identities,’ ‘dual,’ and ‘multiple identities’ (153).

In my opinion, hybridity—as an over-arching theoretical concept—can be a useful point of departure. But I assign greater relevance to the sub-area of multiple identities and additive identities. I draw attention to these in my interviews. Additionally, this sub-area directly relates to the previously discussed social category of ethnic identities. I am only interested in hybridity as it is related to *ethnic* identity, and do not draw on unlimited sources of identity.

The subareas of hybridity which concern ethnic identity

Within the literature on hybridity, there is talk of ‘multiple identities’ and by extension, ‘additive identities,’ which refer to the fact that social identities exist “among other identities” (Verkuyten 153-154). Similarly, one of the areas Josselson examines is how immigrants often “have a foot in more than one culture,” are bilingual, and are usually at least bicultural (208, 228). She considers this as being within the realm of hybridity, and discusses its relation to multiple identities; she says that the creation and assessment of multiple identities of immigrants are as connected to momentary interactions as they are to broader societal discourses on the topic (208). Every individual belongs to many social categories and can therefore be categorized flexibly in a myriad of ways, meaning that the ongoing acquisition or renegotiation of identities does not necessarily have to contradict or interfere with each other simply because they are different kinds of abstraction and may operate on different levels (Verkuyten 153-154). This multiplicity of reference and renegotiation of identities is especially relevant for immigrants and diasporic communities, where different frames of reference and the use of hyphenated identification (e.g., Ukrainian-Canadian), are a reality that permeates most aspects of an individual’s everyday life (Josselson 229).

Immigration and contact between ethnic groups often leads to an exchange of cultural characteristics and mutual adjustments, and can simultaneously lead to stronger group differentiation and ethnic consciousness (Verkuyten 77). Ethnicity can play a large part in one’s identity and sense of belonging, which can sometimes be experienced as fragmented, multifaceted, conditional, and partial

(Song 59). People regularly retain a connection to their ethnic group identity because of a feeling of continuity with the past, and they also want to be a part of larger society (Verkuyten 77). Both of these experiences can resonate even more for immigrants, and this is why they have a tendency to form two self-conceptualized “cultural frames” that differentiate and associate with either majority (larger society) and minority (ethnic) groups, or with culture-of-residence and culture-of-origin, respectively (Josselson 14). A person can feel like they belong in two places at once in different ways and for different reasons (Christiansen 10). This point is especially salient for recent immigrants, who can have ‘additive identities.’

The idea of being able to acquire and maintain multiple identities is summarized well in the notion ‘additive identities,’ that is, “retaining a previous cultural membership while acquiring a new one,” a thought that of late is becoming more commonplace (Verkuyten 154). This notion recognizes that it may be difficult to mix different identities (blending something into a new form), but that multiple identifications can indeed be compatible, and exist at overlapping times. In Canada, hyphenated identities are common, and are not just a civic or racial conception, which is how they seem to function in some countries (e.g., a Turkish man living in Germany who defines himself as a Turkish-German, while the German component has little or no connection to him beyond his civic life). They attach an ethnic conception to nationality, where the notion of national identity (i.e., ‘Canadian’), is combined with that of a distinctive ethnic identity (e.g., ‘Ukrainian’), where one is not an alternative to the other, but where the

“ethnic” part of the hyphenated identity emphasizes a different way of “being Canadian” (154). In Canada, I posit that “Ukrainian-Canadian” can be an additive identity, where the different ways of being ‘Ukrainian’ and ‘Canadian’ create multiple possibilities of overlapping, yet slightly different, ethnic identities. Thus, while the ‘Ukrainian-Canadian *diaspora*’ is one ethnic group, there are multiple possibilities of identification combinations therein, with certain clusters of people within the group having more “overlap” with each other than others, but always having something in common with everyone at some point.

The term ‘*diaspora*’ has broadened in meaning and use over the years. ‘*Diaspora*’ was first used to describe the historical dispersal of the Jews from Palestine and the associated notion of a group dispersing from “the original homeland” to which some ties of allegiance are maintained. This term has expanded from its traditional use to its more recent use which typically refers to many different large-scale *diasporas* across the world (Verkuyten 117). A few examples of some rather large *diasporas* are the Chinese, Greek and Ukrainian ones in Canada, and the Italian, Cuban, and Jewish ones in the U.S.A (although these are not mutually exclusive groups in either country). The very concept of *diaspora* centers around three elements: identities spanning borders, instrumental social relationships, and ethnic relations at more than just a local or national level (117). These types of communities often underscore unity, connectedness, tradition, historical continuity and ties with the “homeland,” and can sometimes tend to be essentialist and/or prioritize a specific idea of ethnic identity (118). However, there are unavoidable, and undeniable, changes that come as a result of

spatial scattering and migrations (118). In Canada, multiculturalism is a central point in the way people conceptualize integration.

Two of the main contemporary policies, processes, and it could be said, ideologies that are used to legitimize change in a society are multiculturalism and assimilation (Verkuyten 185). Multiculturalism attempts to foster appreciation, recognition, and understanding of ethnic diversity and promote positive interethnic relations. Assimilation, on the other hand, aims to encourage ethnic minority groups to adopt the mainstream society's way of life and, to a degree, abandon their heritage culture (185). The chosen framework is dependent on which ideology is more significant to particular aspects of a country and/or situation (185). While it is evident that multiculturalism is the explicit choice for Canada, I must still discuss assimilation. This is because, as I argue in Chapter 4, the phenomenon of immigrants "assimilating," or feeling the pressure to assimilate, into the dominant cultural ideologies of a *diaspora*. Two important terms I used implicitly in relation to this concept, and that of ethnic identity, are *cultural distance* and *cultural conflict* (Josselson 230).

According to the scholars studying bicultural identity integration, cultural distance refers to the overlap or separateness between cultures that a person perceives, whereas cultural conflict pertains to the degree of incompatibility or harmony between cultures as perceived by the individual (230). Intergroup and intragroup comparisons are important and recurrent when defining and locating one's self in society, and describing or identifying one's identity (Verkuyten 179). I argue that the ongoing process of identity construction that immigrants and

diasporas experience is partially influenced and affected by cultural distance and cultural conflict not only between them and “the rest of Canadians,” but also among each other. The events and developments which occurred in Ukraine after 1991 created Ukrainian immigrants that differed from their predecessors, who had come in earlier waves. While there is much overlap between recent immigrants and the *diaspora*, one of the points I will make is that there is a negotiation of ethnic identity occurring between these immigrants and the *diaspora*. As Josselson points out, investigations related to multiplicity of identity, ethnic identity and culture are “best addressed through qualitative studies where people are invited to define for us their social locations” (4). Thus, the explanation of my interdisciplinary methodology begins with a discussion of the interviews I conducted with recent Ukrainian immigrants and members of the Ukrainian *diaspora* in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

The Interview Process

For my research, I conducted ten semi-structured interviews with a diverse array of female and male adults of all ages (none younger than 18), of all walks of life and professions, all of whom are members of the Ukrainian-Canadian *diaspora* community in Edmonton and/or who immigrated to Canada from Ukraine after August 24th, 1991. The semi-structured interviews were conducted one-on-one, and were audio-recorded so that I could transcribe them and then conduct Critical Discourse Analysis on these transcriptions. Each interview

ranged in length from approximately 45 minutes to almost 2 hours, depending on the answers of each participant. Participants were given the option to use a pseudonym for all transcription, analysis, publication, and presentation purposes, and some names of places and other identifiers were also changed to protect their privacy. While the interview questions were in English, and answers were primarily in English, there were times when participants switched to Ukrainian for certain questions, parts of questions, or comments; sometimes I translated a question into Ukrainian for the benefit of the participant. All translations throughout this thesis and the transcribed interviews, as well as any errors, are entirely my own. The following is the list of questions asked of participants for the semi-structured interviews; it reveals both the scope and depth of my study:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>1. Surname of Participant OR Pseudonym</i> | <i>7. What can you tell me about your immigration to Canada/your family's immigration to Canada?</i> |
| <i>2. First Name of Participant OR Pseudonym</i> | <i>8. What is/was your profession?</i> |
| <i>3. Year of Birth</i> | <i>9. [If participant is studying, I asked:] What is your area of study and/or what do you hope to do in the future?</i> |
| <i>4. Age at time of Interview</i> | |
| <i>5. Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?</i> | <i>10. What would you say is your cultural background?</i> |
| <i>6. When did you immigrate to Canada?/When did your family immigrate to Canada?</i> | |

11. *Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian? Why/why not? How else would you identify yourself?*
12. *Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?*
13. *In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/why not?*
14. *What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian/member of the Ukrainian community?*
15. *Do you feel “at home” in the Ukrainian community here? Why/why not?*
16. *In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community? (If they do not consider themselves part of the diaspora, why?)*
17. *Is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you? Why/why not?*
18. *What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?*
19. *In which language(s) do you read? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?*
20. *Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?*
21. *Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature? Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?*
22. *Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?*
23. *Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is*

an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to (?) Ukraine's culture? Why or why not?

24. What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

25. (a) Please identify in descending order the aspects of Ukrainian culture you deem the most important:

cinema

classical literature

contemporary literature

classical music

contemporary music

traditional music

classical theatre

contemporary theatre

fine arts

folklore

pop culture

25.(b) Are all of these equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity?

26. Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

27. What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants?

28. What do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

29. What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

30. What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in "being" Ukrainian?

31. Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

32. Do you follow Ukrainian politics?

33. How do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow?

34. What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

35. Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

36. Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came

since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

37. Do you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions?

This fieldwork and its materials were approved by the Human Ethics Research Online (HERO) system at the University of Alberta, which is now called the Research & Ethics Management Online (REMO).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a field of critical discourse studies that analyses all types of discourses, narrow and broad, such as texts, verbal interactions, as well as issues such as the social context of discourse and the role of discourse in social practices (Bloor 2). CDA refers to the specific branch of applied linguistics associated with researchers such as Roger Fowler, Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak (Hart 3). CDA is not a single theory, and is composed of several identifiable strands which may sometimes differ methodologically, but which are united through a common conceptual framework and critical perspective (3). Since discourse-analytical research studies the relationships between language and society, particularly those pertaining to identity and ideology in social and political contexts, this methodology is well matched to the needs of my study (13). CDA recognizes that there is no single, authorized way of undertaking a critical conversational analysis, but offers its methods as one possibility among others (Locke 77).

It is important to note that discourse analysts are themselves linked to the discourse group they are investigating, either as its members and/or observers, and can therefore sometimes share similar attitudes to the participants in the

discourse that is being analyzed (Bloor 4). Bloor recommends that discourse analysts attempt to be highly critical of their own roles in the social structure, and be prepared to clarify and differentiate their own positions and opinions with respect to the topic of research (4). Thus, while my interviews were semi-structured, i.e., left many answers open for participants to respond in the way they saw fit, there were certain necessary biases to my research. One bias was that the questions (listed above) led participants, albeit in an open-ended way, to speak on certain topics. Participants were free to refrain from answering a question if they wanted to, and two participants refrained from answering question No. 25 in full. Thus, this data has slightly less input than the other questions. Additionally, while pseudonyms allowed for increased frankness and honesty in many situations, there is the possibility that my social relationship and/or acquaintance with some of the participants influenced some or all of their responses. While some participants felt comfortable disclosing their real names to the public, others chose pseudonyms, and for their protection, continuity's sake, and that of organizing data, I chose to assign a coded pseudonym for every participant for all documents and materials accessible to the public.

In order to conduct discourse analysis, it is essential to first identify what type of discourse is being analysed, and what type of analysis is being done to the type(s) of discourse. In contemporary discussions on discourse, there is a general consensus that 'discourse' denotes all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation (Bloor 6). It includes not only text and talk that can be

reduced to a linguistic form (e.g., paragraphs, utterances and genres), but also a way of thinking, signifying, and a unity of both form and meaning; it is conceived as a construction of meaning of the world that represents and acts upon reality through linguistic means in concrete situations (Shi-xu 1). Inextricably tied to culture, discourse is political, whether it means to be or not, can involve motivations and consequences that are culturally relevant, and has the potential to generate cultural transformation (67). It is this broader conception of discourse to which I subscribe in this analysis, recognizing that discourse not only operates on a word and textual level, but also creates a continued network of thought and ideas outside of the text in societies and communities.

The type of discourse that was analyzed is directly linked to identity (ethnic identity in particular) and the interaction between immigrants and the established community. In relation to identity and *diasporas*, critical discourse analysis, cultural studies, and other areas stand by the argument that both individual and collective identities cannot be isolated from the cultural and social context through which they are constructed, displayed, mobilized, negotiated and so on (Shi-xu 167). Identity discourse is an excellent example of a situation where discourse is a unity of form and meaning. This means that while identities are variable and constantly renegotiated, they must be realized through specific contextual means (168). Shi-xu points out that identity discourse is a culture-specific process, as not all cultures have the same concerns, if at all, about identity (168). He establishes some implications for discourse research on identity, some of which are very relevant to my research. He advocates beginning analysis of

identity discourse with social, cultural, and/or political issues, and only then following it with the analytical categories such as textual, warning against the use of a single or fixed prescription of categories (169). Chapters 1 and 2 served to outline these essential social, cultural, and political experiences and contexts relevant to the identity discourses of recent Ukrainian immigrants in Edmonton. Shi-xu also points out that since identity is a form of self-consciousness in relation to social others, part of studying identity means understanding and assessing the building of relationships (170). Thus, many of the questions in the interviews were designed to investigate the relationship and interactions between immigrants and the *diaspora* in regards to identity and the culturally specific context of this investigation.

Having established the type of discourse being analyzed, and the implications for analysis of this discourse, I will now outline the categories that were used to analyze the transcribed interviews. The results of this analysis make up Chapter 4, which is a summary and synthesis of the major themes, issues, patterns, exceptions, tendencies, and ideas that were extracted by carefully studying and analyzing the categories and “tools” below. The selection of these particular categories is justified because of their inclusion and relevance within CDA. These categories function at various levels (general, text, utterance, and word/phrase level) to provide a relatively comprehensive analysis of the interviews (Bhatia et al. 201-203). These interconnected CDA categories include *pronouns in the construction of identity, presupposition and implicature, ideology, mutual knowledge, metaphor, and context.*

Pronouns in the construction of identity

The pronouns used by a speaker in an interview are important indicators of the identity process, giving information about the construction and representation of the identity of that individual. Bloor points out that the use of pronouns is actually a part of identity construction, as this usage shows the way in which people see themselves in relation to others in a community and society at large (20-21). To that end, the critical discourse analyst is usually concerned with the perceived identity of the speaker, and should recognize where the participant situates himself/herself as a member of the social group, as well as where others position him or her (22). For example, looking at how a person uses “us,” “them,” “we,” “they,” can often be a subconscious, yet explicit, demonstration of the participant’s social location, where they situate themselves, and where they situate others. Thus, how a participant spoke about the *diaspora* and/or recent immigrants in the interviews was an important part of analysis, and an appropriate indicator of how they see themselves in relation to this community (inside, outside, or in between the community).

Presupposition and Implicature

Presupposition is an important area of analysis because it exposes underpinnings of language and meaning on a sentence level, and correspondingly, on a textual level. Presupposition is a special type of implicit information that means “assuming beforehand,” a term which originates in the philosophy of logic

(Renkema 133). *Explicit* information is referred to as “claim” or “assertion”; on the other hand, ‘presupposition’ denotes *implicit* information which must itself be true for the sentence in question to be true or false (133). Presuppositions show assumptions that the speaker makes about what the hearer is likely to accept without challenge (Hart 66). Renkema offers an example that helps illustrate presupposition by offering the sentence: “I have stopped smoking.” This can only be true or false if that person in fact used to smoke (133). Presuppositions are helpful in unearthing the vast array of assumed truths implicitly embedded in verbal, textual, and other discourses, and they can be crucial in clarifying fact from opinion. They can also point to networks of thoughts and opinions that the participants may/may not be part of, as well as shared knowledge and opinions that the extended reading community may/may not have (c.f. section on Mutual Knowledge).

Implicature is also important for unearthing meaning in communication. It is what people refer to informally as ‘reading between the lines,’ and refers to meanings that are evident, suggested, or hinted, but not explicitly stated (Bloor 23, 174). CDA generally uses the term implicature, following H. Paul Grice’s Conversational Maxims, instead of ‘implication,’ because the latter term has a distinct meaning in philosophical logic (23).

Ideology and CDA

A trademark component of CDA's process is explicitly showing the aspects of ideology that underpin social relations and interaction (Bloor 11). As a set of beliefs and attitudes shared by members of a group, ideology can be consciously and unconsciously held by individuals; sometimes ideology can be so deeply ingrained in thought patterns that it goes unnoticed or is self-evident (Bloor 10). CDA-ists are aware that the majority of discourse used by members of a group tends to be ideologically based, and that the analyst should be on the lookout for such positions by paying attention to the choice of words to reveal undercurrents of association and implication (11). It is essential to examine language used, because language is paramount in shaping subjectivity, and discourse cannot be removed from its context of "ideological inscription (Locke 25). While ideology cannot be "read off" from a text (in this case, a transcription of an interview), it can most certainly be interpreted by using approaches such as CDA that consider factors in the text, such as context, which unearth meanings between what was said and the context (Fairclough 57).

Mutual Knowledge

Language can only truly and effectively construct meaning when it is part of a wider social event, such as mutual knowledge, the socially shared knowledge used by participants in a communicative act (Bloor 17). Bloor specifies the types of knowledge a social group can have, and they include knowledge of the following aspects: cultural activities and practices (religion, ethical customs,

morals of the group, celebratory festivals); certain facts relating to subject matter; behaviour expected with respect to social roles and social hierarchies; institutional practices of specialist discourse communities such as clubs/societies, the workplace, schools and government; context; and the individuals involved in the discursive event (18). It is significant to point out that these aspects all contribute to the value systems of a social group, which compose its ideology (18).

Metaphor

Metaphor is not easily defined in discourse and within CDA, as no single lexical item can be described as metaphor because it is made up of a combination of lexical items in a certain context (Hart 129). It is realized through whole phrases and expressions, and while a word can be used in a metaphorical sense, it is only such due to the other referents in the phrase/expression in which it occurs (129). Although metaphor is often thought of in relation to literary texts, it is in fact a very active part of everyday conversation, permeating discourse across genres and domains (126). Metaphor was an important feature in the analysis of the interviews because metaphor can harbour ideological inferences. As Fairclough explains, various metaphors can have different ideological attachments, and aspects of experience can be represented through this feature (125). Metaphor is *understanding and experiencing* one thing in terms of another, and according to CDA experts on metaphor, is an optimal cognitive resource for conceptualizing complex social realities and situations and communicating about them (126-127). Reisigl and Wodak additionally acknowledge that metaphor is

central in “referentially and predicationally constructing ingroups and outgroups,” and this is connected to belonging, self-identification, and interaction within an ethnic group (125). The aforementioned aspects formulate the conception of metaphor used in my analysis.

Context

Context is dynamic, inextricably bound together with language in the production of meaning, and a crucial category of analysis in CDA (Bloor 26). Within CDA, context is usually studied under the two distinctions of ‘context of culture’ and ‘context of situation’ (27). The context of culture is made up of the traditions, institutions, historical context, discourse communities and knowledge base of the participants (27). Since culture is ever-changing, the particular context of culture of texts also changes and needs to be taken into account, along with the identity of the participants (27).

In conjunction with the context of culture, the context of situation addresses matters directly involved in the production of meanings in a particular instance of communication (Bloor 27). The context of situation looks at “who is talking to whom about what,” and considers factors such as geographical origins, social classes, status, ages, wealth, professions, gender, and membership of discourse communities (27). One limitation of the context of situation is that it does not always look at the force of institutions, which some people feel should be the starting point of context (28). It is important to take into consideration the possible networks that were involved in the identity discourses analyzed, and

realize that the influence of politics, culture, and geography might be at play within this network.

The theoretical concepts and selected aspects of CDA outlined in this chapter delineate the “toolkit” that influenced, informed, and was used in the analysis of my interviews with members of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. The synthesis of the major themes, issues, patterns, exceptions, tendencies, and ideas that were extracted through this analysis constitute the next, and last, chapter.

CHAPTER 4:

“The Interviews”

In this chapter, I will discuss the responses to selected interview questions, organizing them into clusters of related topics. The last section of the thesis consists of ten Appendices, which contain the full-length interviews conducted with each of the ten participants. This repository will allow scholars, including myself, to return to issues I have not considered here.

There are five sections in this chapter. In the first section, I make observations concerning the answers I obtained to Questions 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15 and 36. In the second section, I comment on the digressions that were elicited by Questions 27, 28 and 35. In the third section I consider the beliefs implicit in the answers to Questions 23, 25, 26, 32, and 33, as well as the prescriptive cultural attitudes and values revealed in them. In the fourth I address the four dimensions of ethnic identity as articulated in the answers to Questions 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22 and 24. In the last section, I discuss the role of language in the ethnic identity discourses of my respondents, by considering their answers to Questions 12, 19, 30, 31 and 34.

At the outset, I should note that in order to preserve the anonymity of the ten participants, I created a special code for each one. Its first three letters identify whether the individual is a *New Ukrainian-Canadian (Recent Immigrant Since 1991)* or an *Established Ukrainian-Canadian (Part of the Established Diaspora)*.²

² I use the term “Ukrainian-Canadian”—either “new” or “established”—to simplify and clarify the reporting process and indicate who was born in Canada, and who is a recent immigrant. I do not endeavour to limit the manner in which the participants conceptualize their own identity and that of those around them.

The acronym for the former is NUC and for the latter is EUC. In fourth position of the code will be a digit, with the numbers *1-5* reserved for NUCs, and the numbers *6-10* for the EUCs. Among my respondents five were NUCs and five were EUCs. Each code ends in either an M or an F, which identifies the gender of the individual. Thus, for example, the code EUC8F stands for the eighth participant in my project, and she is an *Established Ukrainian-Canadian*. Finally, I should note that the letter *I* stands for me, the *Interviewer*.

Section 1: Commentary on Selected Interview Questions

This section provides relevant background information on the participants, as elicited by Questions 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15 and 36. The responses to these questions were not as extensive as the digressions, which I report on in the second section. These questions do not elegantly, or wholly, fit into other sections of this chapter, but they cover an important array of topics, providing interesting threads that deserve to be noted and discussed as a separate category.

Questions 6 and 7

Questions 6 and 7 asked participants “When did you immigrate to Canada?/When did your family immigrate to Canada?” and “What can you tell me about your immigration to Canada/your family’s immigration to Canada?”

As expected, the reasons that the NUCs and EUCs cited for their—or their families’—immigration to Canada differed. All of the NUCs came to Canada in order to gain employment; to pursue higher education; or to participate in an

educational exchange. They did not fully commit to a future of becoming a Canadian citizen (i.e., for a time they kept open the option of moving back to Ukraine or elsewhere). At some point they all either decided to extend their stay or live here permanently. Based on comments made later in the interviews by the NUCs, it is clear that the diaspora was a large factor in their decision to stay in Canada. The NUCs' stories and reasons for coming to Canada are precise, succinct, and can clearly be traced to easily defined moments, places and times. For example, all of the NUCs were immediately able to provide an exact year of immigration, the city or town from which they immigrated, and they shared details on the circumstances of, and reasons for, the immigration without hesitation or doubt.

On the other hand, the EUCs' background stories are long, for the most part, vague, uncertain, and do not contain exact places, times, and moments that explain the precise "where," "when" and "how" of their families' immigration. EUCs could not easily trace their predecessors to a confirmed place or time. Reasons for immigration centered more on wartime displacement and political circumstances, as well as the *Holodomor*.³ Economic reasons for immigration were the only ones that the EUCs had in common with the NUCs. These centered on having "a better life." However, for the EUCs, this was mostly in connection with the aforementioned reasons, i.e., war or politics; it had nothing to do with attending university or finding a particular job, as it was for the NUCs. The term "a better life" has different contexts and meanings for the NUCs and EUCs. While

³ The word "Holodomor" literally means "death by famine," and refers to the 1932-1933 famine-genocide in Ukraine.

this term may give an initial impression of similar motivations, it actually demonstrates the stark difference among respondents, despite basic, initial commonalities.

There are differences also in how both groups relate to, and identify with, Ukraine and the memories they have about the country. EUCs associate strongly with their Ukrainian identity even though Ukraine is far away for them both geographically and temporally. A young, male member of the EUC group summarizes this well when he speaks about how his father was born in England, his mother in Edmonton, his mother's side in France, but how "down the road they were all born in Ukraine" (EUC10M). His relatives moved from Ukraine because of the war, but they "don't associate with an identity that [they're] French or British, because it was a few specific instances when the family moved away from Ukraine." He doesn't have any direct relatives in Ukraine, and insists that even though "it's kind of far away, we're still associated with a Ukrainian identity." The NUCs, on the other hand, speak about immigration very factually, this being their direct, recent, and personal experience; questions of identity and family history do not come up in their responses as directly and vividly as it did with the EUCs. This point highlights the distinct difference in how the EUCs and NUCs immediately conceptualize their connection to Ukraine and Canada when asked about immigration. It also demonstrates that even though Ukraine is far away in space and time for many EUCs, they identify and associate with it very strongly.

Questions 8 and 9

Questions 8 and 9 asked participants “What is/was your profession” and “What is your area of study and/or what do you hope to do in the future?”

Regardless of their present profession, the schooling of all my NUC respondents involved languages, literature and/or translation. The EUCs had varied professions, but all of them involved working with people directly, such as programming, medicine, social services, and communications. Both the NUCs and EUCs were educated—or else in the process of getting a secondary education. Anyone who was not yet a professional communicated the ambition to become one. Knowledge of multiple languages (many were more than bilingual), of literature, and of translation was predominant among the NUCs. But both groups valued education and professional careers highly.

Question 13

Question 13 asked participants “What is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/why not?”

Many participants commented that they thought this question was very interesting and slightly provocative. One participant immediately said, smiling, “Oh, I saw this coming” (NUC1M), which might suggest the topic is an issue in the community, and/or that it is implicit community “knowledge.” Instead of immediately answering the question, he expressed regret that he did not participate more in the community earlier when he came to Canada; he felt he

missed out on opportunities to make friends, and mentioned that what small involvement he did have, he really enjoyed. This was in part because EUCs were always very curious about him, and wanted to learn about Ukraine from him. He was not the only NUC who was hesitant, at first, to participate in the *diaspora* community. This resulted from the fact that they perceived a slight difference between the Ukrainian culture they knew from Ukraine and the Ukrainian culture they encountered in Canada.

The majority of participants said it is important to participate in *both* communities to maintain a balance. Three participants said it is more important to participate in the ethnic community. Four participants, without any knowledge of each other's responses, all said that participating in the ethnic community leads to participating in the larger community. In short, both are important, but it is beneficial to start with the ethnic community as it serves the larger one eventually. A few EUCs remarked that they don't see the ethnic community and the larger Canadian community as two separate things, and that, in a way, Ukrainian culture *is* a part of Canadian culture. Thus participating in the former is tantamount to participating in the latter. EUC9M phrased this thought in the following way:

I believe very firmly that the Ukrainian community is important and for cultural reasons we have made an effort to belong to the Ukrainian community in Canada, but by the same token, I feel very strongly that the Ukrainian culture is a part of the Canadian culture, so that there is no divide, that this is Ukrainian and this is Canadian. The Ukrainian culture is part of the Canadian culture. It's an integral part so that *varenyky* and *gazpacho* and *ravioli* and *borshch* are Canadian foods and the *Shumka* dancers are as much a part of the Canadian culture as Winnipeg Ballet.

So I, although I have always worked in the Ukrainian-Canadian organizations, and the organized community, and the organized Ukrainian community, it is just part of the Canadian community, so for instance, that we really don't need Ukrainian archives; the material that is collected in the Ukrainian community belongs to the Alberta archives and should be retained by the Alberta archives and the Alberta taxpayer in the same way as the museum and the Ukrainian village is part of the tourism, Alberta tourism. (EUC9M)

A common opinion was that even if one is extremely involved in the Ukrainian community, a person also has to keep Canada as a whole in mind. Recent immigrant NUC4F remarked:

...[A]s a Ukrainian who came from Ukraine, not a Ukrainian-Canadian, I feel like when you come to this country as a foreigner, like me, I wasn't born here, you have to contribute to like a bigger picture, like a Canadian picture, not just the Ukrainian community. Right, so...me, personally, I would try to be part of the larger Canadian[...]rather than just the Ukrainian one. I do take part in it, I volunteer a lot in Ukrainian organizations, I attend Ukrainian events, and do my best, I go to a Ukrainian church, but I would, that wouldn't be just my, the only focus. Because I feel like I came from another country, and I have to--, and then you have to respect another country and you know the country's laws too, and traditions, so...(NUC4F)

Participating in the ethnic community was also seen as beneficial by many participants, because it "maintained [their] own sense of identity" (EUC10M), and a few people even pointed to professional benefits: many community service activities can go on a resume and can even lead to a career.

Question 15

When asked if they feel “at home” in the Ukrainian community here, there was an overwhelming general response, from both groups with answers like “Yes,” “Of course,” and “Absolutely.” Two NUCs hesitated saying they felt one hundred percent “at home” because they felt they were in a bit of a “transitional state” between Ukraine and Canada, and were still discovering exactly where they “belonged”; however, later they both said they feel comfortable in the community, and that the *diaspora* was definitely a factor in their positive “shifting” and “evolving” concept of “home” (NUC1M, NUC5F). NUC2M frankly quipped that the exact reason he felt at home in Canada was precisely because of the welcoming Ukrainian community in Edmonton, which helped him a lot, gave him a lot of attention, ‘babysitting’ him the first few weeks. A negative comment from one participant noted that, although the community can be very welcoming and helpful, it had the potential of making a person feel “narrowed down to this community” (NUC3M). He laughed, pointing out that the *diaspora* is a sort of extended family and “so if you do something wrong, everyone [will] know about it.” NUC5F said she is still attached to Ukrainian culture, but likes some “Canadian aspects better.” The *diaspora* is “nice” because “it creates this illusion... [that] you still have your *small Ukraine* here” [my emphasis]. The Ukrainian community appeared to be predominantly a positive factor for recent immigrants moving to Edmonton, even if they had some minor criticisms.

The EUCs felt “at home” not only because they grew up in this community, but also because their contributions (at work, while volunteering, at

cultural events, etc.) were *valued* by its members. Their cultural self-identification was a source of *pride*, because they all *worked together* to build their community. The italicized words are “buzzwords” prevalent throughout the EUCs’ answers. EUC8F did articulate that it was a challenge at times to switch from a “small-town” Ukrainian community to one like Edmonton. Fitting in when she moved from a small Alberta town to Edmonton took a conscious effort because the community here was very established, sometimes political in nature, and a person could be judged for how “in” she was, i.e., in which (*diaspora*) groups she was involved. With some groups being “cliquey,” a person had to navigate among them, recognizing their status or lack thereof. Her small town in comparison represented everything that was “natural” and “engrained.”

Question 36

“Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?”

Responses to this question showcase the *diaspora* as an important factor in creating opportunities for easing the transition of immigrants. While many of the essential tasks remain the same—finding a job, finding a place to live, settling in, social integration and so on—the relationship between Ukraine and Canada, between the fourth wave of immigrants and the *diaspora*, has decreased the difficulties of immigration to some extent.

The memories that many EUCs' relatives have of being "dropped off in a field" to begin their life anew, as well as the high level of discrimination and other, similar barriers, are not salient challenges faced by NUCs. The experience, highly-developed resources, and earnestness of the *diaspora* are advantages from which NUCs can benefit if they take the initiative to simply let the *diaspora* help and have realistic expectations. Aside from the benefits of modern-day technology, EUC8F explained that "there [are] networks of people all over the place that are itching to help Ukrainian immigrants," and many participants cited the established nature of the *diaspora* as a powerful tool for immigrants. Both NUCs and EUCs commented on the vast array of resources and support available for those seeking it, and both groups commented on the need for appropriate expectations. The support and resources of the EUCs do not replace the need for NUCs to take the initiative in performing any of the steps necessary for integration and the attainment of further successes, economic or otherwise. Their support and resources shorten the time required to seek out resources, and possibly assist in decreasing the time needed to get through those steps, simultaneously providing a community in which NUCs can choose to foster friendships and become socially involved.

NUCs and EUCs agree that most NUCs are very hard working. However, a NUC and a EUC criticized the attitudes of some NUCs who, in their opinion, take the *diaspora*, and/or the perceived material wealth of some EUCs, for granted. EUC10M criticized NUCs who felt they needed to "have these fancy clothes [and] drive these nice cars" immediately in order to successfully integrate

into [Ukrainian-] Canadian culture. He was of the opinion that these NUCs “went too far” in what he considered to be their overzealous pursuit of material goods to demonstrate social status. He contrasted such NUCs to earlier immigrants whose start was more humble (i.e., farming and homesteads), indicating that some of the more recent immigrants were remiss in not focusing more on those immaterial things which he considered to be more important, such as becoming involved in Ukrainian organizations. NUC2M believed that there are so many Ukrainian organizations that in order to receive help, “you just have to not be lazy and do something[...] and [that the] Ukrainian diaspora will help you if you’re doing something [and] not just waiting [for] when someone will do something for you.” He seemed to share a similar criticism, expressed EUC10M, arguing that some NUCs desire immediate material success, without exerting the necessary effort and devoting the required time, as other had done. He described a situation in which a very recent immigrant had complained that the *diaspora* did not want to help him. This impression resulted from the fact that *diaspora* members were helping him gain employment at a job that “only” paid \$16.00/hour and not \$30.00/hour, “like his godfather,” who had already been living in Canada for many years. Thus, many participants believe that the challenges NUCs face today are definitely not more difficult than those faced by previous waves. They should not take EUCs for granted and align their material expectations with the work necessary for their attainment, seeking out the support and resources available to them.

Most participants felt that the relative ease with which NUCs today can come to Canada and integrate was attributed to (1) the aforementioned network of organizations and support, (2) the fact discrimination had already been “faced” and “fought” by Ukrainians in Canada, and (3) the fact that Ukrainians are more “mainstream” than many other ethnic communities, thanks to their longstanding immigration and noteworthy contributions to society. Aside from support with logistics (employment, housing, etc.) and the relative lack of discrimination recent Ukrainian immigrants encounter today, the fact that Canada is a relatively young and multicultural country was also seen as a factor that diminishes the challenges new immigrants face. Canada’s perceived lack of “its own rich culture” was perceived by a couple of respondents as sometimes being a slight drawback “in the bigger scheme of things,” because it makes some people wish to identify as something “more than just Canadian.” However, many EUCs and NUCs actually saw this as a positive attribute. NUC4F said: “it’s easy to be Ukrainian in Canada...compared to other countries [...] because everyone else is something else [in Canada].” In contrast, she reported that her relatives in Italy have to “blend in,” because “they have their own culture and their own ways.” She even said that in many ways, “it’s easier to be [Ukrainian] in Canada than in Ukraine nowadays [thanks to the] speaking of the Russian and all the repressions that people have to [...] go through in Ukraine.” In comparison to other countries, the relatively friendly environment immigrants encounter in Canada helps to ease the transition process even further.

Section 2: Digressions in Interview Questions

This section focuses on three questions that triggered a similar pattern of digressions among many, but not all, participants. These digressions considered discrete topics at great length. My goal is to look at points of agreement and disagreement among the participants.

Questions 27 and 28: Perceived similarities and differences between NUCs and EUCs

Question 27 asked participants' opinions on what they thought the biggest similarities between the *diaspora* and new immigrants were, and Question 28 asked their thoughts about the biggest differences. Their responses illustrate meaningful conceptions in the construction(s) of their ethnic identities. Interpretations of the ways in which an individual could be 'Ukrainian' and 'Canadian' revealed overlapping, dynamic and multiple forms of identification within the Ukrainian-Canadian *diaspora*. It was evident through participants' comments that NUCs and EUCs at least partially construct their respective identity through interactions with each other.

One of the biggest perceived similarities between NUCs and EUCs are shared political values: democracy, civic society, human rights and a general "pro-Ukrainian" orientation. Community, working together to achieve goals, faith, traditions and religious holidays, a common language, and certain social events such as *zabavy* (parties), were other preeminent, shared topics. NUC3M said "the connection to things Ukrainian" was probably the biggest similarity between the two groups, "even though they [EUCs] may understand that

Ukrainian-ness in different terms [...] they still want to preserve it as *something* important.” One of the implicit similarities shared by EUCs and NUCs is that the longer a NUC stays in the community and/or participates, the closer they move to being identified as being more on the EUC end of the spectrum by other NUCs. For example, NUC1M explained that when he came to Canada, he partially viewed the *diaspora* as “these old folks that immigrated,” and said it would likely take more time for him to see himself as part of the *diaspora*. However, when he was asked if he considers himself part of the *diaspora*, given that he has been here for six years, he pointed out that the newest immigrants would probably consider him a member of the *diaspora*. In this sense, “it’s kind of true” that he is more of an established Ukrainian-Canadian now.

“Certainly, the *diaspora* has its own identity.” This was a sentiment expressed by a recent immigrant (NUC3M) about the established community. But, despite the similarities between NUCs and EUCs, and the fact that many recent immigrants appreciate, respect, and even admire the *diaspora* for its strong sense of community, hard work, values and achievements, there are many differences between the two groups. When asked to speak about similarities, some participants immediately opted to address the differences or hoped that a subsequent question would solicit their opinion on the subject. A few people, both NUCs and EUCs, even said that there is “more to say” about differences than similarities. Some differences already pointed out in the “similarities” question included: worldview and language, i.e., the particular type of Ukrainian spoken by the *diaspora*. EUCs were generally seen as more socially active in terms of

volunteering, taking action to fight for and support causes, and taking initiative in the community to start such activities. NUC2M provided a hypothesis for this: during the Soviet period much of the *intelligentsia* in Ukraine was deported, killed, or emigrated to places like Canada, the U.S.A, Argentina, Brazil, and Australia. In this way, he says there was a “brain-drain” that negatively affected several generations of Ukrainian citizens and their ability to organize politically with the same efficiency, inspiration, and knowledge as the EUCs. He mentioned “*vlasnist*” (property, ownership) from before the time of the Soviet Union; he felt that much civic awareness was lost when the government “told people what to do [...] and took care of them,” and that some independence was lost when people didn’t have to work, or think, for themselves. EUC6F and EUC9M echoed the opinion that the *diaspora* was more “well-versed” than NUCs at “getting things done,” and said the reason behind this expertise derived from having to look inward for over 100 years to develop their own resources.

In regard to differences, NUC1M felt EUCs were less materialistic and judgemental about clothing, appearances, and one’s economic status. He provided the example that in Canada, paying off your mortgage was considered to be a more impressive indicator of financial success than “what i-Phone or car you have.” The implication was that in Ukraine, material goods often make more of an impression than, say, paying off one’s mortgage (NUC1M). Without being able to pinpoint exactly what made it so, a few participants asserted that you can tell the difference between “a Ukrainian-Ukrainian” and “a Ukrainian-Canadian,” but could only elaborate by saying it had something to do with how they were

socialized: EUCs were seen as more independent, NUCs were more “family-oriented”; EUCs were more feminist and “progressive”, NUCs were more traditional in their worldview, with women being expected to have children in their early 20s. Both NUC3M and EUC8F maintained that there are differences in how NUCs and EUCs *understand* and *interpret* “what Ukrainian is,” that is, their worldviews do not completely synchronize and reveal some dissonance (although their views are not completely disparate either). EUC8F explained that both groups are “looking towards the same thing but from a totally different perspective [...] because they [NUCs] have a totally different background..., kind of.” EUC10M saw a difference in how issues were addressed. For example, NUCs are surprised at the effort of EUCs on the issues and awareness concerning the *Holodomor*. He also pointed to the changing demographic of some organizations, mostly due to the influx of recent immigrants into particular organizations over others: “[T]here are still places where immigrants are separated from the Ukrainian-Canadians [...] Ukrainian National Federation in Edmonton (UNO) [...] that’s where the immigrants go.” Furthermore, EUC9M saw a disparity in the views on how churches and choirs, etc., should be funded, as many of the Ukrainian churches, choirs, operas, and various academic societies in Canada are funded “out of pocket” or through fundraisers, unlike many state-funded equivalents in Ukraine. He thought “the new arrivals feel a lack of high culture [;] they come from urban areas where there is opera and literary societies,” and they viewed the *diaspora* as a significant departure from the conception of “Ukrainian culture” held by many NUCs. While none of the participants

expressed the belief that these differences were insurmountable or detrimental to the community, they readily admitted their existence: “[NUCs] have their own identity from Ukraine, but these people that have been living in Canada and associate themselves with the Ukrainian community, they are very different people” (EUC10M).

Question 35: Opinions on the importance of cultivating Ukrainian culture in Ukraine and Canada

Participants responded extensively to Question 35, which asked whether participants think it is more important for the Ukrainian *diaspora* to develop and cultivate the culture brought to Canada and preserved by their predecessors, or whether the Ukrainian community (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that transpire in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc. The sub-questions asked why, and whether the respondent thinks both have an equal place in Canada. The majority of participants felt that both have an equal place, but two NUCs were unsure if a truly proportionate balance between them could be attained. One NUC and one EUC expressed that, in theory, the cultures held proportional roles, but that in their own personal lives, one was more dominant than the other. As expected, in the lives of NUCs, Ukraine’s culture was more important, whereas for the EUCs it was the culture of the *diaspora*. There was only one anomaly in the responses. The youngest participant, EUC10M, emphasized that it is more important for the *diaspora* to cultivate the culture brought here by ancestors. His justification came

from what he perceived was the need for recent immigrants to “respect the amount of effort and energy and love that the [...] established Ukrainian community has put into everything associated with Ukrainian here already.” He cited the many organizations and the approaching 125th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada as examples of what deserves respect. At the same time, he appreciated that recent immigrants do bring “different aspects of folklore, of traditions that maybe we in Canada don’t know about.” He saw this as a positive addition to the cultural repertoire of the *diaspora*.

Participants expressed several reasons for upholding the idea that *both* Ukraine’s contemporary cultural phenomena *and* the Ukrainian *diaspora* culture have an equal place in Canada and need to “work together.” It was generally agreed that “the past” (i.e., Ukrainian culture that was brought over by previous waves and which turned into the “traditional” *diaspora* Ukrainian culture) must be honoured, remembered, “preserved,” and used as a foundation for any cultural evolution in the community. It was also generally agreed that progress and growth is vital for the future of the entire community, and that this involves being open to “the new,” keeping updated with events and phenomena in Ukraine, allowing this culture to evolve, and recognizing that recent immigrants are part of the future of the *diaspora*, and therefore must also be included in the present. NUC3M said: “[T]here’s no progress if there’s nothing new.” NUC5F elaborated that too much fixation on “older traditions” can present “an unquestionable standard” that hinders development because of its rigidity. She criticized the way some of her Ukrainian-Canadian friends only “have a piece” of old Ukrainian culture, such as

folk music or dancing, and don't make it "go anywhere" or develop it, explaining that "Ukraine is so much more than that." At the same time, EUC6F mentioned that while EUCs can learn about Ukraine, and that it's often beneficial to go to Ukraine to experience "their roots" and "new culture," she expressed the frustration that "[W]e [EUCs] don't have any ability to perpetuate and help culture in Ukraine because we don't live there." This question of the past, present, and future components of culture—what to keep, adapt, let go, and let in, and its connection to Ukraine—appears to be sensitive in nature. The word "preserve" came up frequently in responses to Question 35 and in reference to Ukrainian culture in general. NUC5F offered some possible insight as to the origin of the use of this word and the sensitivity around it:

"[T]here was this part in Ukrainian history [...] it was painful, we're still doing that, we're still in pain [even after *perestroika*]. Those immigrants came to Canada, I think they were so concerned with preserving their own culture that it was only about preserving, not developing further [...]. You start searching for your identity and it's easier to refer to some past things [...] like poppies, whatever, and it's easier because you can relate to that and it's comforting [...] I'm not saying we gotta completely demolish those past things, but um... I would love to see Ukrainian-Canadian diaspora moving forward and doing something new, something different from poppies and dancing shoes. (NUC5F)

The progress of culture is a concern shared by NUCs and EUC alike. Several people said that the *diaspora* was "living in the past," "becoming a 'museum'," becoming "obsolete" or "stagnant." There was a sense that the

diaspora might experience a disconnect from the present and future if cultivation and growth do not occur more readily and steadily; they also worried that this stagnation could exacerbate “cultural differences” within the *diaspora* to the point that it could potentially have a damaging effect on the community. NUC3M stated that the “fear of something new” sometimes creates separation between what he called the “different groups within the *diaspora*” (i.e., those who take the “traditional approach” vs. those who bring, and/or accept, ideas from contemporary Ukraine). A solution proposed to prevent the deterioration and stagnation of the community was the injection of “new culture” by recent immigrants, along with respect for the “old culture” already in Canada. EUC6F was sympathetic to young EUCs and recent immigrants when it came to feeling pressured to “preserve” the “old” culture, because she realized that to some, the older culture is not part of their current experience, except as items of folklore or history. She understands that there needs to be contemporary relevance in the personal connection to this culture in order to really engage both new and/or young members. She admits the “old culture” has “shaped who we are, but it isn’t who we are [as a community], because we’ve evolved, we’ve moved on,” and she thinks this is part of what makes Ukrainian-Canadians interesting. Like others, EUC7F advocates the “injection of new stuff [culture]” from recent immigrants, even if it might be a little bit different from what we [EUCs] know.” She thinks it is essential for the maintenance of language and certain elements that otherwise might “get lost [...] because of generations and people not maintaining those things.” Basically, learning about each other and integrating parts of each other’s

“versions” of culture is seen as aiding in fostering a healthy revitalization of the *diaspora*, and also a healthy integration of immigrants.

Section 3: Implicit Beliefs and Prescriptive Cultural Attitudes and Values

Questions 23, 25, 26, 32 and 33 invited respondents to share their opinion(s) on a particular cultural topic. Opinions, naturally, include evaluations, and evaluations often harbour ideological inferences that are steeped in unspoken thought-processes and cultural patterns or norms. Answers to these questions revealed pervasive undercurrents of implicit beliefs and prescriptive cultural attitudes and values. Albeit unspoken, they saturated the topics related to literature, the subtopics of reading in Ukrainian, the issue of translations, the 2012 state-language law, and politics. Gaps in prescriptive cultural values between NUCs and EUCs were apparent in the two separate “ranking questions,” where participants were asked to rank the 11 aspects of culture presented to them in a list, and then were later asked who they thought was the most famous Ukrainian of all time. While there were only 10 respondents, their diversity allows me to posit that their responses and ideas represent rather accurately the many implicit and prescriptive attitudes, beliefs, values, and interests (individual and group) within the *diaspora*. This third section addresses topics that illustrate the sense of unspoken values to which some participants feel they need to adhere (or, justify their own lack of adherence), and the prescriptive attitudes by which some people are influenced.

Reading Literature and Translations

The topic of literature, the subtopics of reading in Ukrainian, and the issue of translations were broached by Question 23: “Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine’s culture? Why or why not?”

Four participants (two NUCs and two EUCs) said translations are sufficient, and incredibly important not only for the reading and learning experience of the *diaspora*, but also for “non-Ukrainians” and the larger community who might wish to explore Ukrainian literature. They were accepting and non-judgemental of those who used or only wished to use translations, sympathetic to those born in Canada who couldn’t read Ukrainian, applauded those who “despite being born in Canada” could read fluently, but did not prescribe this goal for everyone. They were aware of the spectrum of Ukrainian-language competence in the community, and the potential loss of some of the cultural and literary nuances from the original, but saw reading both original texts and their translation together as a good solution for those with even basic Ukrainian skills. Additionally, it was pointed out that translations are good for both NUCs and EUCs for two reasons: (1) it is often the NUCs and fluent EUCs who carry out the translations and research, and so they can contribute and be valuable to the community in this way, sometimes even working within a network of *diaspora* translators across Canada, the U.S.A, Australia, and Ukraine to complete this endeavour. (2) It is not necessarily only the EUCs and non-

Ukrainians who might benefit from the translations, as postmodern texts and the evolution of language (e.g., slang) can present a challenge for even native speakers of Ukrainian, who could benefit from seeing how it is translated into English. NUC1M said he would “not judge” people who wanted to read Ukrainian literature in translation. This statement presupposes that judging someone in this regard is indeed an option. His statement implicitly acknowledges the existence of a prescriptive attitude held by some members of the community: namely, that Ukrainian literature should be read in the original, and that translations may be used only as the last resort.

Three NUCs and one EUC expressed the implicit belief that—while translations are beneficial and can be a way to “stay connected”—the original is always better and reading in Ukrainian should be a priority for members of the community: one always “gets more out of it in your mother tongue [Ukrainian].” They stressed the role of language as a core connection to culture, and that while words can be translated, “cultural notions” are often lost in translation. NUC2M pointed to the importance of language as a cornerstone of mutual knowledge within the community. He said that while it is not “compulsory,” speaking/reading Ukrainian language “is where everything else comes from,” and thus creates a stronger link to culture. EUC8F said it was “direly important” that she read Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian, but that she doesn’t do it as much as she “should,” and was disappointed that Ukrainian-Canadians [EUCs] can “get stuck reading the historical Ukrainian things like Shevchenko.” She felt EUCs should make a conscious effort to not only read in Ukrainian, but read works in

contemporary Ukrainian “*actually* coming out of Ukraine now.” She echoed the thoughts of a few others when she “agreed” that translations are useful for those who can’t read in Ukrainian, and that “any link you can have” (i.e., a translation) is better than the alternative of no link at all to Ukrainian literature. The opinions of these four participants revealed the implicit belief, and prescriptive attitude, that reading in Ukrainian was “better” not only in and of itself, but also because of the connections it fostered between contemporary Ukraine and the “contribution” this connection made to maintaining Ukrainian language in Canada.

The responses of EUC6F and EUC10M represent the opinion of those who opt out of fully enacting their beliefs. The former responded that reading in the original was a gateway to translations, and that while she “philosophically” thinks language and literature are important, she has not personally pursued that avenue and “[doesn’t] have that facility [herself].” Without being prompted, she suddenly started talking in the middle of her response about “the language barrier between the immigrant community and the Canadian community.” This reveals the presupposition, at least in her mind, that there is indeed a language barrier. She explains that “if you don’t speak the right kind [of Ukrainian], whether it’s contemporary or archaic, from the right area in Ukraine, you’re not perceived to be the *real* thing.” She was defensive, which begs the question: “Why?” Fortunately, she also immediately provided an answer: “I don’t think that’s any reason to discount the contributions that people can make, regardless of how far back their connection goes or what their fluency.”

Apparently, some people in the *diaspora* do feel judged by members of their own community and perceive this as taking something away from their contributions to the community if they don't "speak the language." Conversely, if a person *does* speak Ukrainian, this may indicate it could "add" to the positive perception of an individual's contributions.

EUC10M was not apologetic for his personal lack of interest in literature even though he admitted, "there's some really incredible stuff out there," and diplomatically commented on people's prerogative to pursue, or not pursue, aspects of their Ukrainian identity in the way they see fit. He was pessimistic about the younger generation's interest in literature, but applauded the people who research and enjoy literature, saying they add value to those areas of study. He was unknowingly commenting on the individual's agency to modify the script of perceived prescriptive attitudes on this topic, attitudes which evidently have the propensity to affect some members of the community very acutely.

Politics and the Ukrainian state-language law of 2012

Questions 32 and 33 asked participants if they follow Ukrainian politics and, if so, what; and how they find out about politics.

From the responses, it was clear that in general, NUCs monitored politics much more closely than EUCs, but in each the NUC and EUC groups there was one participant who was completely apathetic about politics. As NUC5F explained, she stopped caring "because it's so screwed." The constant barrage of issues and problems with no reprieve gave both respondents the feeling that they

couldn't make a difference, indicating that at one point they had cared about politics, but now found them too overwhelming.

NUCs learn about politics mainly through an array of online Ukrainian- and Russian-language sources; they also consider *Facebook* a good source for sharing news articles and learning about politics. Interestingly, they did not mention hard copies of newspapers and the radio. NUCs also avoid news sources from Russia, which they believe are never accurate. According to them, *Vkontakte* (= "In contact," the Russian social medium) is not reliable, since it is not for the politically active but "more for kids, listening to music [...] and playing games" (NUC2M).

EUCs also used online sources, in Ukrainian and English mostly, and also newspapers and radio. Word-of-mouth was also important for EUCs from people they deemed to be "well-informed." The distrust of news sources from Russia was shared by the EUCs as well. It was apparent that some participants were strongly influenced by the implicit belief that being politically active and/or aware was a duty because it is seen as a linchpin of democracy—and democracy was viewed as a common value for Ukrainians and Canadians. EUC8F in particular spoke about the importance of politically active Ukrainian-Canadians going over to Ukraine to monitor the elections so that Ukrainians have the support and information they need.

The opinions participants shared about the Ukrainian 2012 state-language law evoked strong, negative responses from all participants, including those who described themselves as "apathetic" later in the interview. NUCs and EUCs in this

case believed that the “ridiculous” law was a political manoeuvre implemented by Viktor Yanukovich and his “stupid *Partiya rehioniv*” in order to further divide Ukrainian society and distract the Ukrainian people from the more serious issues in Ukraine (NUC4F). People cited what they considered to be the “unfortunate” situation in Belarus, where a similar law created an environment where Belarusian is now “like one of those endangered species” (NUC5F). The law is seen as a huge step backward for the Ukrainian language, and there was indignation over the irony that it was the Ukrainian language that was disadvantaged in Ukraine (NUC1M). The all too familiar feeling that this is another attempt to “undermine [the] Ukrainian language” elicited discussion on events in Ukrainian history, both recent and past; the political divide in Ukraine (“pro-West” and “pro-East”); the work being done in the *diaspora* with Ukrainian-bilingual schools; and even the challenges recent immigrants who only speak Russian might face when they come to Alberta. A question about a specific law in a specific year caused participants to recall a complex web of related struggles, issues, and frustrations, pointing to an intricate shared network of beliefs, values and opinions about language steeped in history, politics, and culture.

Differences in Prescriptive Cultural Values and Attitudes; Implicit Beliefs in the “Ranking” Questions

While some shared beliefs, values, and attitudes are undeclared but implicitly known or felt, not all elicit unanimous agreement. The ranking questions uncovered some of the similar prescriptive cultural values and attitudes

that exist within the *diaspora*, but they also divulged some differences in implicit beliefs, and discord about inferred prescriptive values and attitudes. Question 25 asked participants to rank aspects of Ukrainian culture by level of importance and then followed up by asking whether all of the aspects presented are equally important for Ukrainian culture and cultural identity.

On average, out of the 11 aspects of culture presented, NUCs ranked “Classical Literature” first; “Contemporary Literature” second; and “Folklore” third. The lowest ranked aspect was “Pop Culture.” EUCs ranked “Traditional Music” first; “Folklore” second; and “Fine Arts” third. “Contemporary Literature” ranked lowest. Both groups ranked “Cinema” and “Contemporary music” in the middle of their lists. “Folklore” was the only item that made it into the “Top Three” for both NUCs and EUCs. There was a converse relation for NUCs and EUCs in their evaluation of the fine arts and contemporary literature: these two items were simultaneously one of the highest and lowest values for the two groups. The emphasis on visual culture by the EUCs is a common theme; Ukrainian dance and the fine arts were mentioned multiple times by EUCs in the interviews as being very important to the *diaspora*. EUCs are more likely to participate in Ukrainian dance and fine arts than contemporary literature, which is not to say that NUCs do not participate at all, but that it is not dominant in their lives. Linguistic ability seems to be a key factor in EUCs’ low ranking of contemporary literature. It is also the reason the fine arts (i.e., visual culture) is so important for them; they can participate in visual culture without needing linguistic fluency. The converse relationship EUCs and NUCs show between

visual arts and contemporary literature does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest in the other form of culture; instead, it appears to demonstrate complementary expertise in areas of mutual interest, albeit interest of varying degrees.

While there is a discrepancy between some of the cultural values espoused by the NUCs and the EUCs, both groups equally esteem folklore. At various points in the interviews, participants remarked on how [Ukrainian] folklore in Ukraine and Canada holds a universal fascination for EUCs and NUCs. They cited one or more of the following reasons for this mutual fascination: some of the elements of folklore present remarkable similarities; some of the same elements present “variations on a theme” where the same element has developed slightly differently as a result of geographic location and/or integrated local elements over time; and some elements present new and interesting traditions or practices previously unknown to one group. NUC1M also commented on how the identical artifact can *mean* something different and/or have different associations for NUCs and EUCs. An important point to remember is that even the word “folklore” can mean different things to members of the community, because as EUC6F explained, many aspects of culture are intertwined, and you cannot definitively separate literature from music, traditional songs from folklore, and so on and so forth. EUC10M reiterated the thoughts of several participants when he remarked on the difference in what can be important for the individual versus the collective community. He explained that on an individual level, the influence and importance of a particular aspect can vary greatly, and some aspects can be

“interesting” to an individual but not be “a part of [his/her] identity, or [...] *crucial* to [his/her] identity.” However, he also believed that the lack of resonance an aspect might have with an individual does not necessarily mean the development of, and participation in, this aspect is not important for the benefit of the community as a whole.

While certain aspects of culture may not be personally practiced or be part of the individual’s knowledge base, implicit beliefs still appeared to create a “cultural conscience” that influenced what, and whom, EUCs and NUCs felt they “should” still value on principle. When asked who is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why (Question 26), Taras Shevchenko was the main choice for the majority of participants. Some participants struggled with the question, but it remained clear that the 19th c. poet is one of the dominant figures in Ukrainian culture and history for both NUCs and EUCs. Explanations for the selection of Shevchenko revealed similar convictions regarding the values he evoked in people, and the legacy of contributions they believe he made to Ukraine and the world. It is significant that even when participants chose more than one figure, or chose a different figure than Shevchenko, he was still mentioned, and participants also instantly defended their answers if he was not their only contender for this “position.” Interestingly, even those who questioned their own election of Shevchenko out loud resolved to keep him as their first choice in the end, as if they felt the obligation to name him as such.

Participants who chose Shevchenko had similar reasons for considering him the most famous Ukrainian. NUC1M said “Shevchenko is the Ukrainian

everything”; he was essential in shaping the Ukrainian nation beyond his role as a poet, artist and writer; and he “articulated what it is to be Ukrainian and was the first to [...] envision the Ukrainian nation as different.” Others mentioned reasons that extended beyond his perceived contributions to nationalism, specifically: his unceasing fight for Ukraine’s rights and human rights; the breadth of his works; his influence and fame that extended to non-Ukrainian audiences; the fact that there are countless organizations named after him; and his literary genius. EUC8F named Shevchenko without hesitation and said he was the “father of Ukraine in all aspects,” a “symbol of where Ukraine has been [...] and where it can go,” and that he symbolizes what Ukrainians aspire to be: strong, independent, and standing up to oppressors. She made a noteworthy point in her evaluation of the symbolic and seemingly all-encompassing prominence of Shevchenko in the ethnic identity discourses of Ukrainian-Canadians:

[H]e very much is a symbol of, not only preserving our tie to Ukraine, but kind of living vicariously through that idea. When we think about Ukraine, we all, you know,[...] I’m not actually talking, Ukraine isn’t my country, but we speak about her in this way as if she *is* ours , and we hope the best for her , and so when we look at Shevchenko, that’s everything that he was, was fighting for the greater Ukraine, so I mean. For me, he is the symbol of that. (EUC8F)

For her, Shevchenko is a symbol of her support and love of Ukraine, regardless of the fact that she lives in Canada; he transcends time and geography.

While it appears the first instinct of many participants was to name Shevchenko, two momentarily hesitated and struggled to justify their second

choice in their attempt to “trump” Shevchenko. NUC1M and NUC2M mentioned the writers Mykhail' Semenko and Lina Kostenko. NUC1M said that because Shevchenko had been so over-used for different purposes that sometimes he felt like rebelling against this obvious choice. He criticized science and scholarship as being driven by what he felt was sometimes a nationalistic approach, but after a struggle to make a decision, he kept Shevchenko as his first choice. NUC2M thought Lina Kostenko was of greater importance, and a stronger influence, in his personal life than Shevchenko, but believed Shevchenko did more to further the image of Ukraine, and therefore better contributed to the “wider community.”

It is worth noting that three participants did not choose Shevchenko. EUC7F prioritized religion, choosing St. Andrew, St. Ol'ha, or St. Volodymyr for their contributions in bringing Christianity to Ukraine. NUC5F and EUC6F speculated that if you asked a Ukrainian-Canadian, the most common answer would be Ruslana [Lyzychko] and Wayne Gretzky, respectively. Personally, NUC5F chose Oksana Zabuzhko and then Vira Aheieva, because she admired them as scholars who created a new path from the Soviet era to “something modern and something new.” EUC6F chose Serhiy Bubka as “the most famous Ukrainian from Ukraine,” or, as she also phrased it, “a Ukrainian-Ukrainian” [a Ukrainian from Ukraine], due to his prominence as a sports figure. It may or may not be significant that only female participants diverged from what was the mainstream answer “Taras Shevchenko,” an answer that all five males in the study gave unanimously. Regardless of whether Shevchenko was the ultimate choice, the implicit beliefs and prescriptive values that framed and guided the

discourse about Shevchenko in relation to ethnic identity was nearly universal in the responses to this question.

Section 4: The Four Dimensions of Ethnic Identity

I have referred to the “the four dimensions” of ethnic identity to illustrate the various ways in which people simultaneously and constantly negotiate, display, and account for their ethnic identities. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the four dimensions include ‘being’ (e.g., homeland, natural parents, visible characteristics); ‘feeling’ (e.g., importance, evaluation, commitment); ‘doing’ (e.g., participation in group activities, friendships, music, traditional clothes and food), and ‘knowing’ (e.g., group beliefs, culture, history) (Verkuyten 198). While these dimensions are relatively independent in a psychological sense (i.e., an individual does not necessarily have to possess or develop all dimensions simultaneously in order to possess one dimension or more), they are used in relation to each other discursively in terms of ethnic identity (i.e., the more dimensions an individual “possesses,” and the further that individual engages with that dimension, the stronger his/her tie is to his/her ethnic identity) (199). The degree of importance, or amount of weight, a dimension holds in a person’s life is one of the variables that creates commonalities and differences between people within the same ethnic community. I acknowledge that in practice, these dimensions can overlap in individuals’ identities. However, for the purpose of organization in this section, I maintain the clear delineation of the four

dimensions in illustrating how they were present in participants' discourses in the interviews.

'Being': Self-identification and ethnic labelling

Questions 10 and 11 are related to the 'being' dimension of ethnic identity, asking participants "What would you say is your cultural background?" and "Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian? Why/why not? How else would you identify yourself?"

All the NUCs wanted further clarification or contextualization for Question 10. This did not result from lack of comprehension, but because they all had multiple answers, and most were looking for additional details to help them narrow down a response. NUC3M was the sole respondent in his group who answered "Ukrainian-Canadian," even before I asked Question 11, which explicitly asked about that term. But even he wanted clarification whether cultural background implied "national terms" (i.e., a civic conception, a country of residence) or the "content" of the culture (an ethnic conception, a chosen ethnic affiliation). NUC1M said: "Well I'm Ukrainian, but again...I'm not that big on culture," implying that "being" Ukrainian is more than citizenship or country of residence. The reference to how "big" you are on culture foreshadows the "doing" dimension of ethnic identity, i.e., participation. In response to the question, NUC2M asked: "Right now?" Implicitly, this suggested that his cultural background could/had/will change depending on factors that he didn't feel need explanation —signifying that these factors were common knowledge or self-

evident. NUC3M explained that even though he technically has Canadian citizenship, he is still attached to Ukraine, and believed that “there is some difference between myself and people who were born in Canada.” NUC4F and NUC5F answered “Ukrainian,” and gave immediate justification for their answers. They said they were “brought up there,” that their parents were born there, and they both were raised “as a Ukrainian.” Culture was not immediately foregrounded in their answers about their geographical origins and homeland. The EUCs, on the other hand, almost all immediately answered “Ukrainian-Canadian.” One said “Ukrainian,” and EUC6F pointedly said that she was Ukrainian-Canadian “in terms of ethnic heritage.” Many EUCs had ready answers, in contrast to the NUCs, which could indicate they have had a longer history of being asked about their cultural background. This is a relatively common question in Canada.

There was a clear contrast in how the two groups answered Question 11 (“Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian? Why/why not? How else would you identify yourself?”) All of the EUCs accepted the term “Ukrainian-Canadian” without much hesitation or second-guessing, gave immediate justification for their responses, and identified with the term “Ukrainian-Canadian,” using variants of the verb “to be.” For example, EUC6F said she identifies herself as “Ukrainian-Canadian” giving the following justification: “I am a Canadian, but the type of Canadian I am, is a Ukrainian one.” She added that she “had a choice to *be* someone else, but that’s who [she] always was.” EUC7F said “...it’s who I am, it’s my roots, it’s my culture, it’s my faith, it’s the

upbringing.” EUC8F pointed out that her family both strongly identifies with being *Ukrainian* and is extremely proud to *be in Canada*, because “that’s something that they fought for,” thus addressing both parts of the self-identification. The context of situation was very relevant for her. She mentioned that through extensive travel, she has found that when she is asked “what she is,” she answers differently depending on her location. She says “generally speaking [...] I’m Canadian when I’m out of Canada, and I’m Ukrainian when I’m in Canada.” EUC10M explained that his background “is from Ukraine,” even though the direct connection to Ukraine spans a few generations from the past. He asserted that his upbringing, which was entrenched in the Ukrainian community, solidifies this background. His first words were in Ukrainian, he learned to sing “O Canada” in Ukrainian before English, and the beginning of his “real association” with an “English group of people” was in junior high. Non-Ukrainian-Canadians used to be “them” to him, and when he started joining “other” types of organizations and sports teams later in life, he started having more “non-Ukrainian” friends. Although many generations mediate his connection with Ukraine, he seemed to more deeply identify with the “Ukrainian” aspect of his identity than the “Canadian,” especially during his childhood and adolescence.

Official recognition of citizenship was one of the main factors in the difference between EUC and NUC responses to Question 11. All of the EUCs were Canadian citizens by birth, and thus, a lack of citizenship was not a consideration in their responses. Some NUCs had only recently become official

and full-fledged “citizens,” while others were “only” permanent residents, and this difference in the interpretation and acceptance of the term “Ukrainian-Canadian” affected their self-labelling. For example, some individuals felt they could not fully “claim” the “Canadian” aspect of the term “Ukrainian-Canadian” until they became citizens. NUC1M responded to this question with the explanation that he doesn’t identify himself via nationality unless people specifically ask about his cultural background, in which case, he said, “I would say ‘I’m Ukrainian but I live in Canada now. I’m not a Canadian citizen yet, so I do not identify myself as Canadian, and it’ll probably be a while before I start doing that.’” He first came to Canada in 2006; his interview was conducted in 2013, and yet, even seven years after coming to Canada, he did not feel that he was “Canadian.” He also very clearly stated that “this immigration experience has changed a few things in terms of how [he] perceives [his] own identity and the place where [he] belongs,” saying he might possibly have more than one home. Not being a citizen yet, he does not regard himself as a “Ukrainian-Canadian,” but as a Ukrainian living in Canada, which are different things to him. The implication is that *being* a Ukrainian-Canadian is more than just being a Ukrainian in Canada.

While not all of the NUCs had precisely the same answer to Question 11, hesitation, uncertainty, second-guessing, and/or a struggle to interpret this term in a precise way was a common feature. NUC2M responded with “I guess yes,” and NUC4F said: “I would love to but I can’t” [regard myself as a Ukrainian-Canadian]. She went on to explain that she thinks a person either has to “be part

of the *diaspora* or [be] born here” to be a Ukrainian-*Canadian*. She points out that—because she is a Ukrainian born in Ukraine and is not yet a Canadian citizen—she is not a Ukrainian-*Canadian*. NUC4F also says that identifying with this term refers to a specific way upbringing in Canada. She said that “people here are very focused on Ukrainianism, if you want to call it that,” and that “people in Ukraine, because they live in Ukraine, don’t *have* to be focused on it, they live it, so they pursue other things.” NUC5F betrayed a similar view of the double titular, pointing out that citizenship and the country in which you were socialized affects the interpretation of, and identification with, the concept “Ukrainian-Canadian.” She admitted this term is very fluid and that there is a difference in the way “Ukrainian-Ukrainians” and “Ukrainian-Canadians” interpret it. In her opinion, “Ukrainian-Ukrainians” are the Ukrainian immigrants who come from Ukraine. She noted, “some people say that you can be Ukrainian-Canadian if you have *perogies* for Christmas and if you do the Ukrainian dancing when you barely speak a language, and you just know just several words [of Ukrainian].”

In short, there are multiple factors why NUCs or EUCs would or would not refer to themselves as “Ukrainian-Canadian.” These factors included citizenship, birth place, level of engagement with the *diaspora* (as opposed to the larger Canadian community), and socialization.

‘Feeling’: Evaluation and importance of, and commitment to, an ethnic identity

Three interview questions—14, 17 and 18—covered topics which were directly related to the ‘feeling’ dimension of ethnic. They addressed related topics: Question 14 asked participants to identify what was personally important

to them as Ukrainian-Canadians; Question 17 inquired if the Ukrainian *diaspora* was important to them (and why/why not); and Question 18 asked participants what they thought characterizes the Ukrainian *diaspora*.

The maintenance and continuation of the *diaspora* was one of the main issues that was personally important to participants. People “keeping” their identity was seen as inextricably tied to the future of the community, attracting youth, and creating a place for youth to grow “so that they’re not lost,” as EUC6F phrased it. Language, culture, maintaining a “bridge” to Ukraine through “fresh blood,” i.e., recent immigrants, was seen as important to the continued growth and prosperous future of the community. But at the same time, it was pointed out that the elements of Ukrainian culture, which are integrated into “Canadian” culture are also important. The uniqueness of the situation of Ukrainians in Canada was seen as something to be kept and treasured. Although NUC1M did not feel he was very entrenched in the community, and therefore felt he may not be able to fully answer this question as a *bona fide* member of the community, he commented on the contributions the *diaspora* made to maintaining and promoting Ukrainian culture in general, sometimes more than people who live in Ukraine. He seemed to admire the notable way the *diaspora* has made their presence known over the years to the point that they are part of a common Canadian vocabulary. He said Canada is probably the only country where the Julian calendar’s Christmas dates are referred to commonly as “Ukrainian Christmas” on the radio and so on, especially in Alberta. EUC8F spoke to the uniqueness of the *diaspora*, saying that “we have very much created our own genre of Ukrainian-Canadian-isms when it

comes to music and dance for sure [...] We try to preserve our culture by making it new and interesting, but yet narrating and telling old stories.” Lastly, participants considered the importance of keeping relations with other *diasporas* as meaningful for the future of not only their community in Canada, but also the *diasporas* everywhere outside Ukraine. They saw these connections as supporting mutual preservation, learning, and culture. For example, EUC7F commented on her trip to Brazil and Argentina, noting that meeting Ukrainians there “broadened how [she] feel[s] about people living outside of Ukraine [...] how similar we are, and how important [she] think[s] it is that we do have these pockets of people living outside of Ukraine preserving culture.”

Questions 17 and 18 yielded much agreement among individuals. All participants felt that the Ukrainian *diaspora* was important in their lives to some degree. One participant pointed out that even though the *diaspora* is not as essential in her life as it is for others, she recognized that it is important for the Ukrainian community and for immigrants. It helps with the integration of newcomers (NUC5F). Several participants mentioned the importance of associating with the *diaspora* to attain a sense of community, as well as sharing the values generally held by the community, along with a shared cultural identity, as marked through elements such as a common heritage language, traditions, and celebrations. It was interesting that there was a large overlap in the reasons why the diaspora was important to participants (Question 17), and what they thought characterized this community (Question 18). All of these reasons were related to one central theme: pride. Participants mentioned that honouring the past,

“remembering where you came from” (NUC4F), and the sense of pride they have in the power, influence and strength of the *diaspora* is part of what makes it important to them. Furthermore, pride was the over-arching, and dominating response to what individuals thought characterized this community. This pride revolved around three major components: Ukrainian heritage in Canada, as well as the status attained through being an example for other immigrant groups; the visibility of the *diaspora* within the larger community; and the self-sufficiency the community had attained through their own means.

Participants said that the *diaspora* is characterized by the pride it has in its own Ukrainian descent and heritage, individually and as a community—a pride that partially came from overcoming “many unfortunate events in Ukrainian history” and “the inferiority complex” (NUC1M). A few recent immigrants also pointed out that sometimes, Ukrainians from Ukraine are reluctant to recognize, or admit, that they are Ukrainian, and that the *diaspora*’s ready admittance of its identity was something that some of the immigrants admired about the EUCs. The pride extends into helping other ethnicities who experience(d) some of the similar struggles Ukrainians did in the past. More than one participant mentioned how the *diaspora* helped to develop multiculturalism in the 1960s and 1970s. They elaborated to say that Ukrainians in Canada also helped voice positions of many other ethnic groups during the 1970s that were not as influential, and that they helped develop the language of multiculturalism, and even “helped other groups in understanding what multiculturalism should be as a political force” (EUC9M). EUC6F echoed another participant’s response when she articulated that the

diaspora is an example for other ethnic communities today that seek advice and experience of how to develop, become organized, and “to get where it is that they perceive they need to be as an ethnic community” (EUC6F). There is pride in the fact that:

[E]verybody likes to be an honorary Ukrainian [...] [and] pull out any potential connection with their *baba*'s uncle so-and-so back on the arm or in Ukraine or whatever, and everybody from all walks of life seems to have a Ukrainian connection somewhere when you ask them about it, and they're proud of that [...] they are enlightened and enriched in participating [in cultural activities] and they think it's very cool to be part of an ethnic community's traditions and activities.(EUC6F)

Finally, there is pride that many Ukrainians, or Canadians of Ukrainian descent, have become prominent in society and/or hold important positions, and that this community has earned and garnered social respect, despite much discrimination in the early waves of immigration.

Most participants commented on the pride they have in the visibility of the Ukrainian *diaspora*. The larger community could *see* these elements and instantly identify as being Ukrainian. Cited examples of such elements included churches, traditional cuisine, the bilingual schools, and Ukrainian dance (e.g., the fact that Edmonton is known for having an exceptionally large number of Ukrainian dance groups, and even has a professional Ukrainian dance school, *Shumka*). Respondents repeatedly pointed out the various museums as contributions to the visibility and presence of Ukrainians in the larger community. The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village was cited, with

participants pointing out there is some government funding for this museum, which bolstered their opinion that it had successfully become part of the wider community. Many participants remarked that the *diaspora* has a strong cultural presence at multicultural festivals, such as Edmonton's *Heritage Days*, and that there are statues or commemorations of Ukrainian people and Ukrainian themes throughout Edmonton and Alberta (e.g., the "Ukrainian Centennial Pioneer Monument" at the Edmonton Legislature, the *Holodomor* memorial at City Hall in Edmonton, and the Vegreville *Pysanka*). A few people used the word "mainstream" to describe what characterizes the *diaspora*, and while at first, this may seem counterintuitive to making a group notable, it actually speaks to the unique situation of Ukrainians in Edmonton and Alberta. Participants used the qualifier "mainstream" proudly to designate an immigrant group that initially faced much discrimination from Canadian society, but which is now generally accepted. In a word, they have "made it" (EUC7F). This "mainstream-ness" was also seen as something specific to Ukrainians in Alberta:

I find Alberta to be very different from what I experienced in Ontario, where the communities seem to be much more "ghetto-ized" and for me it was a big shock that there were *varenyky* in the grocery stores when I came to Alberta. That was like "wow." And so it was an amazing thing to see that this is actually a *part of* mainstream ideas opposed to just a very trivial part of somebody's own individual culture back home. (EUC6F)

The visibility factor has a direct tie to what the participants felt is special about their community, and in the words of NUC3M, is “the essence of the Ukrainian *diaspora*.”

Lastly, participants were proud of the relative self-sufficiency of the *diaspora*. The number of organizations it has created and sustained, as well as the ability to organize and mobilize itself, is viewed as a characteristic feature of the community. With 125 years of history, the *diaspora* has not only created a visible profile within the larger society, it has also created a strong sense of community internally. The organizations they founded and developed try to help sustain, aid, and grow that community in Alberta, as well as assist Ukraine. The self-sufficient nature of the *diaspora* is summarized well in NUC4F’s observation that the Ukrainian community is “like a little country in another country.”

‘Doing’: Participation in group activities, music etc.

According to scholars the third dimension of ethnic identity—‘doing,’ which involves participation in group activities, friendships, music, traditional food, clothes, etc.— is the most widely used indicator of ethnic identity (Verkuyten 199). People can select in which areas of culture to participate, and can practice their “Ukrainian-ness” only at certain times of the year, or through certain activities, if they choose. This agency is best illustrated and epitomized in the participation of traditions, most especially those tied to holidays, to the Eastern rite, and the Julian calendar. EUC9M astutely summarized one such scenario when he explained, in response to Question 25 (the “ranking” question),

that traditions in which people can *participate* are extremely important for the *diaspora*:

EUC9M: When you think of it, even people with no religion at all, at Easter they come to get their baskets blessed. So really, they may not be Ukrainian at all, they may be an intermarried couple, they may not go to church at all, but it is so implicated in their culture that come Easter, they bring their basket to be blessed [...] they may not speak Ukrainian, they may not read Ukrainian, but the Easter basket is to them the most important tie to the Ukrainian culture.

I: So [what's important is] symbols they can actively engage with and have a physical presence with, today? Because they don't need to speak Ukrainian necessarily to go get a basket blessed and to participate in buying and preparing the things that go into a basket. Is that sort of what you mean?

EUC9M: Yes [...] the blessing of the basket is more important to them than "*Khrystos Voskres.*"

I: Right, okay.

EUC9M: If it weren't for the basket, would they really come to church?

I: That's a good question.

EUC9M: If the priest said, "No blessing of the basket this year," would they come to church for Easter?

I: That's a very good question. I don't know [laughs].

EUC9M: Well, I think the traditions are overwhelmingly important. The food, the specific dishes are really tied to their grandmother and their mother and their great-grandmother [...] Because probably the traditional music, the folklore, and the

traditional music are probably one and two of this list, but really none of these are as important as the religious tradition, and grandma's food. (EUC9M)

Some people *choose* to assert their Ukrainian identity only sometimes, while others associate their high level of participation in activities as evidence that everything in their lives is “Ukrainian.” EUC10M recalled being involved in all things “Ukrainian-oriented” since “he was born”: “[I] went to Ukrainian church, did Ukrainian scouts, Ukrainian dancing, Ukrainian choirs [...] Ukrainian-bilingual program [...] my first words were Ukrainian [...] although I live in Canada.” He recounted the “transition” he underwent in junior high when his socialization began to more seriously incorporate a group of “English” people. He chose to only participate in “non-Ukrainian” activities through sports or through organizations, and so the importance of his Ukrainian ethnicity influenced almost all of the activities in his life until he diversified his connections in university for professional development. It is *both* the community and the individual that creates, maintains, and decides how to carry out and represent Ukrainian culture for themselves and others.

While some individuals choose to participate in the *diaspora* and Ukrainian activities at only certain times of the year, others engage more frequently or continually. In answering Question 17—whether the Ukrainian *diaspora* was important to her—EUC6F stated plainly: “I’m a professional Ukrainian. I’ve been able to take my background and the things that are valuable about having grown up in that community, and turned them into a career. So without that, I’m not sure exactly what I would be doing.” A few other

participants, when responding to the same question, mentioned that outreach projects in Ukraine arranged by organizations in Canada, as well as the *diaspora's* heavy participation in electoral missions, are important to them. They viewed the opportunities for business collaboration between Ukraine and Canada, and many other, mutually beneficial work/volunteer/project relationships as having been made possible because of the *diaspora* and its heavy participation in matters related to Ukraine. A few people considered the *diaspora* to be a good place in which to network and seek employment, and it sometimes became a large part of some people's livelihood. Networking and volunteer opportunities initiated within this community were mentioned as providing a potential to branch out even beyond the Ukrainian community. In fact, "volunteering" was the top response to Question 16: "In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?" Volunteering was followed by "attending events," "being on boards," and/or being a part of an organization (or multiple organizations). The popularity of Ukrainian dance in Canada, in contrast to Ukraine, was brought up, and this high level of participation led NUC4F to comment that he saw EUCs as "caretakers of Ukrainian dance," given the vast amount of preservation of Ukrainian dance, as well as its new creation in Canada. Additionally, participants were "involved" through their job, a church, through their children's participation in summer camps and church schools, social gatherings, i.e., casual events or activities where the audience was predominantly from the Ukrainian community, but which took place beyond organizations, churches, etc. And last, but certainly not least, through a choir or a musical group.

As mentioned, music falls within the ‘doing’ dimension of ethnic identity, and it was a topic of much interest, eliciting strong responses from participants. Question 24 asked to what kind of music the participant listens, and whether the selection includes any Ukrainian groups or singers. While EUCs listen to a range of music, their responses indicated that they listen more to Ukrainian folk, ethno-pop, fusion, choral and liturgical music than do NUCs. They also identified what could be categorized as the “genre of *zabava* music,” a term that was used by more than one EUC to describe the mix of upbeat Ukrainian folk songs, polkas, and English and Ukrainian party songs, played specifically at Ukrainian-Canadian weddings and events where there was a dance. EUC8F used the term “*zabava*-style music” to articulate both the previously described style of music *and* what she called as “the strange contemporary mix that we kind of have created in Canada of Ukrainian music that’s either old folk music with a new twist to it, or just music that they’ve produced that’s *in* Ukrainian.” Both EUCs and NUCs cited Sofia Rotaru, *Okean Elzy*, Ruslana, *Haidamaky*, *Mandry*, and Madheads. Only EUCs mentioned Iryna Bilyk, and Ron Cahute and his collections such as *Barabolya*. Only NUCs mentioned Taisia Povaliy, *Tartak*, *Skryabyn*, Boombox, *Burdon*, and *Shokolad*.

While some NUCs said they do listen to some Ukrainian folk and pop music, they equally enjoyed, and in two cases, preferred non-Ukrainian music, especially classical, jazz, and French and Brazilian music, pointing to a strong interest in “international” music. Some reasons and justifications were given for these preferences. Among them, NUC1M mentioned that he did not prefer

Ukrainian music when he lived in Ukraine, because, in his words, it was “quotidian,” influenced by Soviet heritage, and in the “shadow” of the Russian music industry and Soviet legacy. He uses the term “Soviet legacy” suggested a negative connotation. NUC1M admitted that he thinks this perception is changing for both himself and others thanks to an emerging generation of 20-something-year olds who are not as influenced by Soviet music, and the “cheesy [...], simplistic [...] *sharavarshchyna*” of the early 1990s. He also attributes the growing popularity of Ukrainian music world wide to events like Eurovision, where Ukrainian pop-singer Ruslana Lyzychko won first prize. There is a sense that Ukrainian musical talent is slowly changing its approach, “trying to do something creative and innovative.” NUC3M echoed NUC1M’s initial criticism of Ukrainian music, saying that because Ukrainian music is “kind of self-centred” and not quite as “multicultural” as Brazilian music mixed with jazz, this makes traditional Ukrainian music “backward [...] to some extent.” He did attribute this “self-centredness” to the “encapsulation” Ukrainian culture experienced during Soviet times. Clearly, the Soviet legacy was viewed as having had a detrimental impact on the development of Ukrainian music and arts, but that the more Ukrainian music developed and branched out on its own, the “better” it became in quality. This also influenced how people perceived its innovation and essential worth.

Such negative connotations did not seem to resonate with EUCs, who did not view Ukrainian music as being tied to the Soviet legacy in any manner that propelled them to view this music as “cheesy” or “backward.” But, when this

issue was considered at all, the Soviet legacy was viewed as an overbearing, unjust and damaging influence that needed to be rectified, seemingly fuelling the EUCs' passion for Ukrainian music even further. Not only do EUCs enjoy the new musical "blends" that are coming directly out of Ukraine, but they are also part of the innovation of "blends" in Ukrainian music which are occurring by extension in Canada, as part of the specific "music-scene" fostered largely by the established community. Participants spoke of what they believed to be the unique traits of *diaspora* music, which some called "diasporisms," to refer to the specific combinations, blends and interpretations of Ukrainian music that have developed in Canada. These continue to evolve and are cultivated by performers, participants, and fans of this music. The genre "*zabava*-music" combine traditional Ukrainian music with norms and trends of Canadian and English music. It is not uncommon for members of the EUC to either sing or play an instrument themselves in groups or bands, or know someone who does. EUC10M is an example of a young "diasporan" who is part of such a fusion musical group. According to his description, they play "70%" Ukrainian music," as well as waltzes, "English music," and modern twists on Ukrainian folk songs; he says their instrument panel includes traditional folk instruments in addition to the "non-traditional." He provided "saxophone" as an example of a "non-traditional" instrument as he does not consider it to be a Ukrainian instrument. He inadvertently sums up some of the "cultural" challenges that can occur within the *diaspora* at certain events when he describes how he gauges and selects a musical repertoire during his performances around Alberta:

We play some new age stuff, like Sofia Rotaru “*Odna Kalyna*” and that stuff as well, and waltzes and also English music, because, you know, there’s so many people at these events that we play at, you know, sometimes it’s half-Ukrainian, sometimes it’s only a little segment of Ukrainians, and the rest are English people who can only associate with, you know, line dances and country music and those rock songs that you hear at weddings and things like that. So it’s a variety dance band and, but of course most of it is traditional and the reason we’re able to play so much is because of the Ukrainian community hiring the band or, you know, a Ukrainian wedding that want to keep Ukrainian roots somewhere in the wedding, so they hire a Ukrainian band, and really, ***if it wasn’t for the Ukrainian community, the band, like it is now, wouldn’t exist*** [my emphasis]. (EUC10M)

Thus, while the *diaspora*’s connection to Ukrainian music is rooted in Ukraine and partially fuelled by it, the music also depends on the community in Alberta and Canada.

‘Knowing’: Culture, history etc.

The fourth dimension, ‘knowing’ emphasizes the degree to which people are interested in, and are knowledgeable about, the culture, history, and experiences of their ethnic group. Ukrainian literature, both traditional and contemporary, is saturated with Ukrainian culture, history, and the experiences of this ethnic group. This was clear in the thoughts and opinions participants had in regards to their discussions on Taras Shevchenko and other authors, whom they brought up in response to the question “Who would you say is the most famous

Ukrainian figure of all time and why?” I have brought up, when discussing questions in other sections, some of the commonalities in the knowledge and culture of the NUCs and EUCs in the *diaspora*. However, it is the disparities in ‘knowing’ which were especially revealing. Literature, contemporary authors, and reading in Ukrainian were areas where divisions in ‘knowing’ were very prominent. Question 20 —“Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?”— showed a clear divide in the responses from NUCs and EUCs. All of the NUCs responded emphatically with one or more of the following: “yes”; “yeah”; “obviously” and “of course.” This response was always followed by a slight laugh from all three participants who replied this way. In contrast, the EUCs all had non-committal responses to whether they read Ukrainian authors, some of which were “Umm, yes in a marginal way,” “Not really voluntarily,” “I probably haven’t finished a whole Ukrainian book.” One even asked “What are Ukrainian authors? People who write in Ukrainian or people who have Ukrainian names, or people who belong to the community. You have to define.” The EUCs’ answers convey the generally minor role that Ukrainian literature plays in their daily lives, and also demonstrates that they were exposed to Ukrainian authors differently from the NUCs. The EUCs cited children’s books, Shevchenko’s poetry or short excerpts of poetry in newsletters from organizations such as the Ukrainian Women’s Association, short stories, texts from *ridna shkola* (Ukrainian school) to which they were exposed in childhood, and/or some university courses in adulthood. When EUCs read Ukrainian authors, it is typically not “something [they] do regularly” (EUC8F).

Questions 21 and 22 also illustrated a clear divide between NUCs and EUCs on the topic of Ukrainian literature and contemporary authors. Question 21 asked, “Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature? Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?” All people in the NUC group read in Ukrainian; they also read some Ukrainian authors who write in Russian (e.g., Andrij Kurkov). Although most NUCs did not explicitly state a *need* for English translations, some read them because it was part of their literary studies to compare the English translation with the original text. In contrast, some EUCs plainly stated “No,” they had not read any recent Ukrainian literature. Others had been exposed to limited amounts of contemporary Ukrainian poetry. EUC9M said he had not read literature written by people in Ukraine, but had read literature in English written by Canadians who are “part of the Ukrainian culture.” The EUCs did not elaborate whether or not they used translations in response to this particular question.

In response to Question 22 — have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers — NUCs and EUCs provided starkly different answers. This observation is best illustrated by simply quoting the entire thread:

NUC1M: Sure.

NUC2M: Of course. uh... Serhiy Zhadan, Lina Kostenko...

NUC3M: Yes, yes, sure, I read them, especially when I was a student I read a lot of Ukrainian literature.

NUC4F: Yup, yup, yeah I have a couple of their books, they're really good. Like I studied in L'viv so I read lots. It's pretty much local.

I: Right.

NUC4F: Can't be any more local....

I: No...[laughs]

NUC4F: ...than that...[laughs]

NUC5F: Oh there is a Zabuzhko book lying right here, so yeah [laughs], I have heard of all of them.

Compare the EUC group:

EUC6F: None of those.

EUC7F: No.

EUC8F: I have not.

EUC9M: Yes, I've heard but I haven't...

EUC10M: I've heard of Oksana Zabuzhko. But I don't know anything other than that. I've just heard her name.

For NUCs, Ukrainian literature is something accessible, “local” as one participant phrased it, not inconvenient and, seemingly, a regular part of their life. On the other hand, EUCs did not have as much exposure to Ukrainian literature in general or contemporary Ukrainian authors in particular. This difference could be situational in the sense that physical copies of Ukrainian literature can be easier to acquire in Ukraine, and reading in Ukrainian is generally not as much a problem for NUCs. Ukrainian literature is also not typically commonplace in the school curriculum in Canada, unlike in Ukraine, unless the class, program, or school, is explicitly bilingual in nature. These responses may indicate that literature may not

be as salient a part of the ‘knowing’ dimension in the everyday lives of EUCs, whereas it could be for the NUCs.

Section 5: The Role of Language in Ethnic Identity Discourses

Four questions dealt very explicitly with language: (12) “Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?”; (19) “In which language(s) do you read? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?”; (30) “What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in “being” Ukrainian?”, and (31) “Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?”

Some participants spoke about language while answering Question 34: “What kinds of culture are important to you?” For this reason, I also include in this section some of the points raised in responses to this question, even though it was not explicitly about language.

I have grouped these questions together in this last section in order to address the unique position language holds within the ethnic identity discourses of this community.

Questions 12 and 19 dealt with the languages in which participants speak and read. All of the NUCs are multilingual and speak Ukrainian, Russian and English, and, in addition, most also speak one or more of the following: German, French, Polish, and Czech. All of the EUCs are bilingual and speak English and Ukrainian, with English being slightly more dominant in their lives in all realms. The exception being when they make a specific effort to speak Ukrainian in the

home and/or with family. Some also had a beginner's knowledge of French or Spanish. Both groups used English predominantly at work. Ukrainian was used at home to varying degrees, but both groups used Ukrainian at work if they were part of a Ukrainian organization, and/or worked with immigrants.

In this regard, there were two main differences between the groups: the EUCs who spoke Ukrainian with family “made a point” of speaking Ukrainian, whereas, in general, NUCs did not have to “make a point.” In addition to Ukrainian, a few NUCs spoke Russian with family and/or friends. None of the EUCs reported speaking Russian with either family or friends. French was the only language, other than Ukrainian and English, that NUCs and EUCs had in common. It is interesting to note that the reason the NUCs were multilingual—aside from the geopolitical situation in Ukraine—was because they were involved, in the past or in the present, with literature as part of their university education.

All immigrants read Ukrainian, English, and Russian, most can also read Polish, and some know Belarusian and German. EUCs read primarily English, along with basic Ukrainian; some have a basic level of French. When I asked: “In which languages do you read? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?” most of the EUCs immediately perceived this question to mean “read *literature*.” This was an interesting assumption, betraying a level of defensiveness in what appeared to be, in general, a lack of a *literary* reading ability in Ukrainian, except for those who took some Ukrainian language and/or literature classes in university. EUCs do recreational reading primarily in English, and most shared the following

sentiment, expressed by EUC7F: “I read in Ukrainian when I have to, but it’s not my choice for reading a novel or even news items unless I have to.” EUCs are exposed to Ukrainian literature through poetry and prose, primarily when they were presented at an event or by an organization. When reading materials are available in English, there is generally not a desire to “go out of one’s way” to read in Ukrainian, unless it is done deliberately for practice. One concern EUCs shared about reading in Ukrainian was that they might only get the “general message” and not “the whole message,” as EUC10M explained. Translations of literature and other reading materials into English are very important for the *diaspora* in Edmonton, as it is, no doubt, for the *diaspora* elsewhere.

Question 30 invoked strong opinions about the role language plays in “being” Ukrainian. Evidently, language does indeed play a main role in Ukrainian identity, and it has more of an influence than people recognize. Participants spoke relatively extensively on a phenomenon that has arisen in the Ukrainian language situation in the *diaspora*. Multiple people cited historical circumstances [in Ukraine] in which Ukrainian language was oppressed, and mentioned that one of the contributions of the *diaspora* is that they helped ensure that the language did not disappear, cultivating it through schools, producing resources through academic institutions, and maintaining it beyond the borders of Ukraine. However, this “preserved” Ukrainian differs from the contemporary Ukrainian EUCs encounter through both recent immigrants and “updated” academic courses in Ukrainian. According to participants, diasporic Ukrainian can be quite different from contemporary Ukrainian because it contains vocabulary from 100 years ago.

NUC5F said her first encounter with diasporic Ukrainian was odd because her comprehension was hindered; she joked that “[they] were not speaking the same language [...] which [was] weird because it is the same language, but you have this era in between.” On the one hand, she was frustrated with EUCs who claimed to “be Ukrainian” but had never been to Ukraine, did not speak any Ukrainian, did not know anything about the culture but “just did some Ukrainian dancing,” and had a Ukrainian grandparent who came here “in 1907.” She held the belief that if an individual possessed at least “some knowledge of [the language], it would be enough.” NUC1M also pointed to the different influences on the Ukrainian language in the last 100 years, and how those who immigrated here at that time were speaking a Ukrainian slightly different than say those who immigrated a few decades later, or those who are immigrating now, and that in some ways, one could say the diasporic Ukrainian language is “more authentic.” He said some of contemporary Ukrainian is partially influenced by Russian, but that English and all languages evolve, and that “bickering about whose language is correct [is something] we have to be really careful about because language is a living thing [and] it evolves.” He joked that we can’t go back to speaking British or Shakespearean English either, and that “as long as you can communicate [and] enjoy literature as a work of art,” he doesn’t think it “makes any sense” to argue about whose Ukrainian is “better.” EUC8F explained that part of the issue is that EUCs have “created our own Ukrainian-Canadian language of Ukrainian, that is [...] stuck from when we immigrated here.”

While the differences between diasporic Ukrainian and contemporary Ukrainian were foremost in the minds of some, other participants focused on mitigating that difficulty through finding commonalities. EUC7F held a more neutral stance on the topic of those who speak/do not speak Ukrainian, saying one can miss out on opportunities to have relationships if a person does not know Ukrainian. On the other hand, faith was so important to her that it made speaking the language less important. She felt a person could “make up for” not speaking and that it was not “completely mandatory” to know Ukrainian if one was involved in other ways. NUC3M made the point that there are Ukrainians in Ukraine who speak Russian who consider themselves Ukrainian. EUC8F touched on the fact that very few Ukrainian-Canadians speak Russian because they are “trying so hard to preserve [Ukrainian]” and that it comes down to status. She said, “[H]ere in Canada, Russian is viewed as negative, and Ukrainian as a language is viewed [with] pride, a sense of identity, an identifier with the Ukrainian community. In Ukraine it’s a mixed bag of tricks.” She was sympathetic to those Ukrainians in Ukraine who had Russian “forced upon them” throughout history. While she expressed a wish that Ukrainian would be proudly spoken by every Ukrainian in Ukraine, she “[did not] mind learning another language to navigate” interpersonal relationships. Unlike the more neutral stance of EUC7F, she asserted that “[being] Ukrainian for us [EUCs] means to speak Ukrainian. In Ukraine it’s not the same.”

Two participants questioned whether or not someone had to speak Ukrainian to belong to this ethnic group, even though they both spoke the

language themselves. EUC9M believed that if you “feel the traditions, then in fact you are Ukrainian even if you don’t speak Ukrainian.” EUC10M mentioned that although there are fewer people speaking Ukrainian in the *diaspora*, they are still associating with the community. He spoke about those people who are very involved in Ukrainian organizations, those taking an active role in the community, and those taking Ukrainian dance, but who speak English. He said that “you can’t say that without the Ukrainian language you’re not Ukrainian,” but said it would be a different community if people altogether stopped speaking Ukrainian. He asked the question, “Why are we so active in the Ukrainian community if we don’t even speak the language?”

There was also a wide spectrum of perspectives on the language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community. Six participants (EUCs and NUCs) said that there was definitely a language barrier between NUCs and EUCs, with one NUC saying it is not an issue at all, and three participants (two NUCs and one EUC) saying it is not “really” an issue, as long as what both groups are saying is intelligible. The two NUCs who said it is not really an issue said that if there were an issue, it would be an individual case, not applicable to everyone.

NUC5F said part of the language barrier between NUCs and EUCs is the result of some recent immigrants not speaking English well, and/or speaking more Russian and less Ukrainian. EUC7F said language can be a barrier “if your Russian isn’t up to snuff,” and that some EUCs who think they speak Ukrainian really well actually have a very difficult time understanding the Ukrainian of

recent immigrants. NUC2M said when Ukrainians who speak Russian, or both Russian and Ukrainian, immigrate to Canada, they often start speaking Ukrainian more and participating in Ukrainian events because they sometimes have more reasons, and opportunities, to use Ukrainian instead of Russian. He viewed this as a positive change for those immigrants.

While many people said that there *is* a language barrier and it certainly can be an issue for communication, they were optimistic at the same time about the institutional support within the diaspora to “regenerate” the Ukrainian language, as well as assist recent immigrants with ESL. NUC3M believed that this institutional support was the reason behind some fifth generation EUCs whom he knows, and who speak Ukrainian today in Canada. He also praised the bilingual schools and the popularity and support of trips to Ukraine as assisting in the maintenance of Ukrainian language in Canada. A few people cited Ukrainian Canadian Social Services and other such organizations, as helpful to recent immigrants looking to find resources to improve their English-language skills. EUC9M said that some NUCs actually do not want to speak Ukrainian or Russian, but only want to practice English so that they can more easily assimilate into the larger Canadian community. EUC10M pointed out that sometimes, the communication issue is as simple as a combination of the following: someone’s choice of words in English is not clear enough; someone is speaking too quickly in Ukrainian or English; and/or someone has a very strong Ukrainian accent. He felt these were small issues that could easily be remedied by seeking assistance from one of the many venues whose mission is to help in such situations. NUC3M

elaborated on this point, saying that since the Ukrainian community is dominant in Edmonton, many mixed families choose Ukrainian as a second language, and that many EUCs are eager to learn Ukrainian, even if it is later in life through university, or through other language classes in the community. While NUC4F was the only participant who definitively said there is no issue, she did observe that NUCs struggle with English, while EUCs struggle with Ukrainian. She strongly felt, however, that there is usually an effort from both sides to communicate and learn, and that they both know “this is important.” She did not think there was an issue because the desire to communicate trumps everything: “Ukrainians know how to do it [...] half will be in English, half will be in Ukrainian, they’ll find their way and they will understand each other. So I don’t think it’s an issue.”

Thus, while the dominant view was that there is indeed a language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, both sides felt that the desire to communicate, and the benefits each group achieves by learning English and Ukrainian, overrides and outweighs any deficiencies may occur as a result of this barrier.

All of the previous questions dealt explicitly with language; while Question 34 (“What kinds of culture are important to you?”) did not. For some participants, the latter morphed into a conversation about the role language plays in identity and in the different types of culture that are important to the community. While speaking about some points of tension between intellectual culture and visual culture in the relationship between EUCs and NUCs, EUC8F

brought up some interesting points. Commenting on the importance and *prestige* of knowing the Ukrainian language, she maintained that literature was important, though not to her *personally*. She spoke frankly about why visual art is so popular for EUCs:

Language I think is a massive one because it is such a big part of identity. A lot of people say, “Yes, I’m Ukrainian.” “Can you speak Ukrainian?” “No.” Well in some ways, you know, it almost seems like they’re *less* Ukrainian because they don’t speak the language. They’re not passing that language on. They’re not active members in preserving that. So I think language is a huge thing. Art, art, I’m, when I think art, I mean, what I typically first think of is, you know, paintings and visual art, but visual art’s a *huge* thing that I think actually plays a gigantic role in Ukrainian-Canadian identity. I mean, the artist Larissa Cheladyn, I mean, I don’t know any Canadian household, Canadian-Ukrainian household that doesn’t have a ‘Larissa’ print in their home, and that in itself is kind of the brand of “Yes, I’m a real Ukrainian. I support the Ukrainian artists. I want something cultural and beautiful and representative of both Ukrainian-Canadian culture, and of Ukraine, Ukrainian culture.” So I think visual art, I mean, my home personally and my parents’ home, and my grandparents’ home is full of Ukrainian artists, Ukrainian-Canadian artists, so visual art’s a huge thing. (EUC8F)

Her statements touch on a sensitive topic in the *diaspora*: the relationship between Ukrainian-language fluency and whether one can be a “*real*” *Ukrainian* without it. The utilization of Ukrainian on a regular basis can be important for some EUCs: “We like to sometimes talk in Ukrainian, and throw some Ukrainian words in, because that’s what we identify ourselves with” (EUC10M). While

there are many EUCs who speak Ukrainian fluently (or, at least, well), there are many who only have a basic knowledge or none at all. In the case of EUCs, it is often their grandparents or distant relatives who spoke or speak Ukrainian. While many EUCs attend bilingual schools and/or university level Ukrainian language classes, or even take advantage of various language courses available in Ukraine, knowledge of Ukrainian, obviously, is not universal among EUCs. Thus, as EUC8F explained, some EUCs are finding new ways to feel they are supporting Ukrainian culture and cultivating their own ethnic identity, even though they do not speak Ukrainian.

This chapter endeavoured to demonstrate some of the ways in which ethnic identities are subjectively constructed and negotiated by both the self and others through ongoing social relationships. It outlines some of the constrictions, limitations or prescriptive attitudes that can be imposed on individuals. It also examined several topics of importance within the ethnic identity discourses of members of this community. The *diaspora* is a crucial part of the participants' ethnic identity, whether they are fully entrenched in it or not. Even a lack of participation or absence of certain factors at particular times, can be an indicator of how individuals do or do *not* define themselves. By critically examining the interview responses of participants, I believe I have illuminated some of the nuances and influential forces in the ethnic identities particular to this community and its members.

CONCLUSION

The main goal of this study was to explore ethnic identity discourses of recent immigrants to Canada, largely by investigating the interactions between new Ukrainian-Canadians and the established Ukrainian-Canadian *diaspora*. When I set out to pursue this project, there was no existing framework with which to approach this specific type of question. I created a methodological roadmap by integrating and adapting relevant theories and “tools” to address the unique needs of this exploration. After much consideration of the limitations and possibilities of the theoretical concepts and interdisciplinary methodology in which I was interested, my resulting approach included methods from the complementary areas of Applied Linguistics (analyzing interviews), Sociology, Cultural Studies (especially Literary Studies and History), as well as Fieldwork (conducting interviews). I personally interviewed a diverse panel of ten participants who represented both established community members and recent immigrants, and proceeded to transcribe and analyze these interviews. In this way, my scholarly contribution not only includes this study, but also the raw data I collected from the interviews, which is available to be read by others in the appendices to this thesis.

The main discoveries of this study, which were elucidated in Chapter 4, included the following topics: core values; interpretations of culture; implicit beliefs; prescriptive cultural attitudes; perceived similarities and differences between recent immigrants and established members of the *diaspora*; and divergences and convergences between both groups in their respective identity

discourses. These aforementioned topics play a major role not only in ethnic identity formation, but also group dynamics and integration. A community with relatively established ways of conceptualizing Ukrainian culture is showing signs of both new interactions with recent immigrants—and tensions as a result. There is indeed a symbiosis between the recent immigrants and established community members in which their similarities, and complementary differences, thrive in tandem and/or benefit one another. There are also gaps between members and strains in some areas. The changing nature of this community becomes apparent in the “growing pains” felt in the spaces between “where they were,” “where they are,” and “where they are going.”

While no one can predict the future of this community, the feelings of transition are prompting some to speculate on what they feel could be less than positive prospects if the community is not rejuvenated soon. Due to the regular influx of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, this community is transforming. While the future of the *diaspora* was not an explicit question in the interviews, some participants implicitly commented on concerns and observations that surround this very point near the end of the interview. EUC10M, who voiced his unease about the future of Ukrainian organizations; he asked who would “take over” when the founders and “upholders” of these groups could no longer be involved to the same extent. He explained that he considers these organizations (their activities, scope, and the causes they support) to be a cornerstone of the *diaspora*, and worried that if recent immigrants and youth did not “step up” and become involved, a significant number of these organizations could disappear. NUC4F

was slightly pessimistic about the whole-hearted participation of new immigrants in the established community, and at the same time, she pointed to “new” culture and the involvement of youth as the key to the potential resurgence of the community:

[W]hat new people bring...there's no progress in anything if nothing new is brought into it [...] that's something the Ukrainian *diaspora* will face, and I think it's already facing, but I don't really want to admit it. [...]

Most people I know who came here [...] in 2000, they all try to blend in. They don't care about Ukrainian *diaspora*. [...] I think eventually Ukrainian diaspora will kind of...fall apart.[...] [N]ew people won't contribute much because they just want to blend in [...] and young people, younger generation of *diaspora*, like the fifth generation or whatever [...] they're not as passionate about keeping the community going.[...] They don't go to church. It's all old people, Ukrainian church. The young and new people don't really want to do that, so. And then like, all those organizations, it's the old volunteers, old people, same old people over and over again because young people don't care. That's why. And it's sad. I think I feel like, you know, they worked so hard to keep it going and, but it's like anything. There's a point of... what's when things go down and then maybe eventually in twenty years of fifty years it's going to go back up again, but hey — lifespan of things, you know it has the end, it's like a cycle. (NUC4F)

My study has opened up avenues of research to be considered—and there is much left to be done. I believe the next step in this research should follow up on the degree to which some NUCs are prepared to integrate into the structure of the

diaspora, while others prefer the larger Canadian society. For example, an area which was not examined in detail in my study, but which could illuminate important underpinnings of integration, is the manner in which the NUCs and EUCs socialize; it is obvious that their entertainment and parties/celebrations are radically different. There are many such questions which remain open. For instance, it was curious that some interview participants in my study expressed the view that the *diaspora* needs to develop in its own right in conjunction with, but not reliant on, Ukraine's culture. What is the *raison-d'être* of the *diaspora* as it approaches almost 125 years of Ukrainian immigration to Canada? Since Ukraine's independence, the interdependence between new, and established, community members has become just that: an *interdependence*. As a highly-developed *diaspora* community, which is encountering new challenges in its shifting cultural and political landscapes, members must work together toward innovation. Independence forever changed the Ukrainian-Canadian *diaspora*: interdependence may well evolve it.

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APPENDIX A: Interview with Participant “NUC1M”

Date of Interview: January 19, 2013

Length of Interview: 1h : 25m : 51s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1981

Age at time of Interview: 31 years

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

NUC1M: Ukraine

I: When did you immigrate to Canada?/ When did your family immigrate to Canada?

NUC1M: First came to Canada in 2006.

I: What can you tell me about your immigration to Canada/your family’s immigration to Canada?

NUC1M: Well I basically came to go to school, so it was not immigration per say, but after spending a couple years I decided that I liked the place, and I wanted to stay and get settled.

I: What is/was your profession?

NUC1M: I’m a graduate student studying languages and literatures basically in the humanities, narrower field of Slavic languages and literatures in translation studies. That’s pretty much it.

I: So obviously in your PhD...

NUC1M: It’s been a while, it’s taking me a while...

I: That’s just fine. And so your area of study is the Slavic Linguistics?

NUC1M: Actually languages and literatures, not linguistics. I, my previous background is linguistics, but I don't think it matters that much.

I: And what do you hope to do in the future?

NUC1M: Well I think the only sound reason that anybody would want to waste six years of their life is doing their PhD is to get a teaching job, so hopefully if the market doesn't look too bad I'm hoping to get a job.

I: Would you prefer that job to be in Edmonton or Canada, or would you like to go back...?

NUC1M: Oh, yeah definitely in Canada, I'm not sure about Edmonton because the market doesn't look that good these days, but you never know.

I: But preferably in Canada?

NUC1M: Oh yeah, definitely. Definitely in Canada. Well I'm considering the United States too, but I've found that the environment generally for me as a foreigner was much better, or is much better, in Canada than in the United States. I did my Master's degree in the US, so I found it a little bit more challenging for foreigners to be there.

I: What did you find challenging about it in the States?

NUC1M: You stand out a lot as a foreigner. Not just your English, not just your accent, pretty much everything. I couldn't work when I was a grad student there, so just supporting yourself is a little bit more challenging too. And also, though, they probably also kind of have this multiculturalism or something idea, I do, although these metaphors might be a little misleading, I do believe they are a melting pot and we are a mosaic after all. There are a lot more foreigners in Canada, and people don't judge you by your accent, or by where you come from. There, you kind of stand out immediately and everybody knows you're not from here.

I: And that's a negative feeling...that you're saying...

NUC1M: Oh, absolutely. Not that I felt bad there, like you know, as long as you make friends and you know...get to know people, everybody's kind of welcoming and nice to you, but just generally now that I can compare these two countries I think it's a little bit better here.

I: What would you say is your cultural background?

NUC1M: Well I'm Ukrainian, but again...I'm not that big on culture...

I: And why is that?

NUC1M: I don't know, not, like I'm not trying to assimilate or anything, but I'm not going to sport my Ukrainian identity on purpose, or like, you know, wear it, like you know when it comes to clothes or stuff like that. Like I could wear an embroidered shirt on a holiday, but not that often.

I: Fair enough. Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian? Why /why not? How else would you identify yourself?

NUC1M: Well I don't identify myself...via nationality, like you know, unless people ask me specifically like what's your background or what's your cultural background I would say I'm Ukrainian but I live in Canada now. I'm not a Canadian citizen yet, so I do not identify myself as Canadian, and it'll probably take a while before I start doing that.

I: Before you start identifying yourself as Canadian...

NUC1M: As Canadian, yeah. Again, I do not quite believe in that, you know concept of cosmopolitan citizen, but [0h: 5m: 0s] recently I noticed that it's a little bit difficult for me to figure out where home is anymore, so every now and then I'm going home, by that I mean I'm going to Ukraine, but then I'm in Ukraine, I will tell my parents I'm going home, so you know, this immigration experience has changed a few things in terms of how I perceive, um, my own identity and the place where I belong.

I: Would you say you have more than one home?

NUC1M: Possibly since all of my family members are at home in Ukraine, my former home country, um. When I go there apparently it still feels like home, but there are very many things that I am attached to in Canada, and I'm kind of looking forward to going back every time I go visit my parents.

I: Right. And where do you visit your parents in Ukraine?

NUC1M: Far western Ukraine is...my parents are originally from a small city near L'viv, but basically L'viv.

I: Basically L'viv...

NUC1M: Well I live there now, well I used to have an apartment there, and I still do.

I: Oh, okay, that's nice. Do you speak any languages other than English? I know you speak Ukrainian, obviously...But which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

NUC1M: Well I also speak Russian and...what's left of German. It used to be pretty decent, but it's been a while since I last used it, so, the slogan "You don't use it, you lose it" works there, so.

I: Right. And which languages do you use at work, school and with friends and family?

NUC1M: Well, primarily English at work...mostly Russian and Ukrainian with friends. Um...Ukrainian with my family of course.

I: With your friends would you say it's equally Russian and Ukrainian, or is there one predominant use of language?

NUC1M: I think it's pretty much equal. I have many Russian- speaking friends, some of them from Ukraine, from eastern Ukraine, some of them from Russia actually. So it kind of happens that I spend time with them, so normally I switch first, and some of them don't speak Ukrainian, so in that case I have to speak Russian.

I: Right. In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Are both important? Why/ why not?

NUC1M: Oh, I saw this question coming...

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: I don't, for some reason, and I'm trying to explain this to myself as well, I have not become very engaged or involved in any of the Ukrainian, or Canadian-Ukrainian communities or generally in what they do and the events that they hold. And I, now that I look back at it, I think that it's not a good thing, that I should have been a little more active in that respect, but on the other hand I don't want to blame myself too much for this because there are always things that keep you busy at school and at work, so. I've been to the Ukrainian village place a couple of times. I've...I've participated in some of the events, but I don't do the *zabavas*. I don't do the *Malankas*, I don't do any of that, you know, stuff, and uh...To be honest, when I first came here I kind of thought it was silly and I wanted to stay a little bit away from those Ukrainian things.

I: Why did you think they were silly?

NUC1M: Like not silly, like, for, like, you know...

I: Or trivial...

NUC1M: Yeah, trivial. Silly is a bit word. Let's...I retract if officially.

I: That's right...[laughs]

NUC1M: I thought it was kind of like I didn't need that. Like, I thought I was more mature or something or like, you know. Or I didn't feel the need to socialize with those people, and kind of, I regret it now, because I think I missed many opportunities to make friends. One thing I did, and this was my partial involvement in the community, was I volunteered as a Ukrainian instructor for St. *[name omitted]* Ukrainian courses for adults, and I actually looking back at this experience, I enjoyed it a lot.

I: St. Andrew's church, right?

NUC1M: And um...again, I met quite a few people of different ages, not necessarily my age. It was...generally a fairly rewarding experience for me, in all respects. Not just teaching and kind of being able to put it on my resume, or being involved in the community per say, but just socializing with people... **[0h: 10m: 0s]**who are Ukrainian, who could kind of appreciate, or at least they were always curious about *me* personally, and uh, my Ukrainian heritage and, what I know about Ukraine, and not just about language, but about culture in general, so.

I: And you said you regretted slightly, um, not being more involved because you could have made more friends. Is that the primary reason or the only reason, or...?

NUC1M: Well, another, well from the social perspective, yeah, that's probably the primary reason, yeah. Also, I think I might have contributed more in terms of like, what these people do, because in many cases, the diasporic community actually does a little bit more to support and maintain and uh, promote Ukrainian culture than those people who actually live in Ukraine. Most Ukrainians, or at least that I know, or keep in touch with, are fairly disillusioned with everything, so they don't care that much about like kind of maintaining their cultural heritage or making sure that these kind of these things don't gradually fade away or become obsolete, versus people here...some of them are losing the language because it's kind of difficult to make sure that your language is kind of alive when you don't have that many opportunities to use it. But, they do keep the traditions, especially dancing, and I've always been impressed with that. I think they've outgrown, and basically outperformed, the dance companies with any that are in

Ukraine, and um... another thing that I noticed that, whereas in Ukraine, Ukrainian folk dancing is kind of losing popularity, because people want to, I don't know, they want to be part of the global community and they want to dance hip hop, and, well not, well salsa even, or any like break-dance or whatever. Like modern ballet. The Ukrainian dancing here is actually flourishing and I think that's a good thing.

I: What would you say is important to you as either a member of the Ukrainian-Canadian or as a member of the Ukrainian community?

NUC1M: Well, see it's again, it will be very difficult for me to answer that, because I do not see myself as a member. Um... I think it's important to kind of... I don't know... contributing in a way that I could possibly contribute, like I don't know what exactly this exactly could be honestly, like maybe even just participating in those events that are held by the community or fundraising, or I don't know. Supporting Ukrainian arts, or... any other way, but also um... if I could do something professionally like language teaching or translation, which is something that I like to do, that would be good actually, but unfortunately I don't do that, so that's why it's difficult for me to envision myself as a community member.

I: So if you could envision yourself then as outside, perhaps, what would you say is important for that community then, if you can't, if you would prefer not to look from the inside, if you could look at it from the outside—

NUC1M: Because I just can't look at it from the inside. Um... from the outside I think it's important for these people to stick together, to make sure that it's not just the older generation, to make sure that they attract more young people who would carry on whatever they are doing, whatever their objectives are. Stick together, because I think that once these people kind of scattered around and everyone's kind of focused on their own thing, the way I'm doing it, there kind of, there's no community, there's just individuals, Get together every now and then, whenever these opportunities present themselves and do something cultural, but also do something to kind of, um..I don't know how to say that in good English, to make their presence kind of important, generally, because although we do say that this multiculturalism thing is important in Canada and everybody respects and tolerates each other, but I think that every ethnicity and cultural community tries to, it's not like a competition, but there is a little bit of like, you know, we want to kind of take pride in the fact that we are Ukrainian. **[0h:15m:00s]** Speaking of which, this reminds me of something... Canada's probably the only country, especially this part, Alberta, where the Julian calendar, Christmas, is publicly on the radio or on the street or wherever, is referred to as *Ukrainian*

Christmas, because if you go to Eastern Europe, well they don't say it's Russian Christmas either, but it's like not just Ukrainians or Russians, it's also the Greek or blablabla, but here it's like January 7th which is the Julian calendar, like officially, two weeks behind Christmas. It's commonly referred to as *Ukrainian* which always makes me kind of smile, and you know, it's a positive thing. So Ukrainians made their presence noticeable, and not just through food or clothes or, but like culturally and generally, you know.

I: You're saying they do a good job of promoting themselves and, and...

NUC1M: Yeah, I think, so just again an example just popped into my head, like I'm not sure that in any other city in the world, I haven't been to all the cities in the world of course, so it's a little bit of an exaggeration, but I still think it's kind of true, it'll be difficult to see a Ukrainian Bilingual program ad on the train, on the LRT thing. So when I see those things I'm kind of happy that there are people who are Canadian who are well established in society who have not only the social status but who are also occupied in important positions in the government, and stuff like that, you know, the former premier of Alberta was of Ukrainian descent, and you know, I think it's generally kind of makes you feel at home and makes you feel good in this country when this guy, like he doesn't speak a lot of Ukrainian, but he would show up at the... what was it...

I: You mean Stelmach?

NUC1M: Yeah, Ed, Ed Stelmach. I remember last year, not this year, last year, um, he was at the celebration of Ukrainian Independence day, at the Ukrainian village. So you know, it's just kind of, I've realized that he's not Ukrainian, that he is Canadian, but the fact that he kind of recognizes his origin and his cultural heritage, that's a good thing.

I: This question is sort of related, you might've answered it slightly. Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here in Canada? Why/ why not?

NUC1M: That's another difficult one for me to answer because normally, because again, because of the community kind of thing, um, and because I'm not sure whether I belong or not, but also because of the concept of home, so I'm no longer sure what home is, but one thing that I'll say definitely is that I feel very comfortable here. Very, very comfortable. In other words, like again, I don't even think that I would be able to say that I feel at home in Ukraine, so the definition of home and the concept of home is kind of shifting and kind of evolving in some respect. But I feel very comfortable here, so.

I: In terms of the wording of that, is there anything that would or could make you feel more at home here in the Ukrainian community, Ukrainian-Canadian community?

NUC1M: What do you mean by wording?

I: Well, you didn't, the wording "at home" sort of had some issues for you because the concept of home is not decided in your experience, so, is there anything that if they did anything differently would it make you feel more at home?

NUC1M: No, no, no, I think it's not their problem, it's my problem. So in other words if I wanted to participate a little more actively and take a slightly more active part in everything they do and maybe volunteer once in a while or come to any event and say hi to some people, um, I would feel at home, and it's, so it's just you know, the fact that I try to kind of stay away, or not be that involved.

I: Right, fair enough. You spoke to this a little bit before. The next question I would like to ask is in what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community? But if you don't consider yourself a part of the diaspora, then why not?

NUC1M: See, it's like again, a lot of that is like what these words mean, or what these concepts stand for. I've never thought of myself as Ukrainian diaspora here, and I think it depends a little bit on the kind of the waves that, you know, so, [0h: 20m: 00s] I'm still kind of thinking of myself as a student, which is a temporary status, and diaspora for me is like, oh, these old folks that immigrated, you know, in the early 20th century, so there's been four waves, now there's the fifth one or whatever, however they count it, but there are quite a few people immigrating now as well, people who are either totally disillusioned or totally upset about things going on in Ukraine, or people who just come to study but then see more opportunities and decide to stay. So, um, I think it'll probably take a bit more time for me to see myself as part of the diaspora. But now that you asked, you've asked, I've never been asked this before, now that you asked this question, it *is* kind of true, because people who are coming to Canada today or recently, I would probably be diaspora if, you know, I've been here for five years, it's my sixth year now, so.

I: What's true? You're saying it's true that you would be considered diaspora...?

NUC1M: Yeah, yeah, definitely, like from their perspective I would be part of the diaspora because I've been here awhile and I've kind of settled and I have a job,

or you know, even though it's a temporary job it's still , you know, I'm more or less established, versus them sort of trying to figure things out.

I: This fifth wave that you mentioned...that's uh...would you say that those are the people coming *now* from Ukraine?

NUC1M: I think I can't, I want to be careful about periods here because I'm not very knowledgeable about this...I don't want to be quoted on that, but uh...

I: [laughs] No, no...

NUC1M: Like I think, the fifth wave could probably be everything that happened after Ukraine regained independence, so everything post-1991. Yeah. Because again, we're looking like Ukraine's been independent for what, 22 years now? 21 ? 21 and a half ? So I think it's fair to consider that a period in itself.

I: Or the fourth wave and *now* is the fifth wave?

NUC1M: Yeah.

I: Yeah.

NUC1M: So this would be the fifth wave in my understanding. I'm not sure that many people were able to immigrate during the late Soviet times when you know, after the Thaw, like I'm talking 70's and 80's, but since I was born in the 80's...and again I think it's a peculiar kind of wave because many would've, like, were no longer kind of running away from political persecution per say. People primarily immigrate for other reasons being, I don't know like, to study, but hopefully get a job and stay. So it's slightly different I think, but yeah.

I: Is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you? Whether you're a part of it or not, why or why not?

NUC1M: Sure. I think it is important for me just because I know that somebody shares, even though I don't actively belong to it, I kind of, deep inside you realize there are other people who will celebrate similar holidays or have similar values, be those religious or generally cultural or social, or moral or I don't know. Also, just because Canada is this kind of multicultural country, in which people of different ethnicities and different backgrounds have a chance to kind of be proud of their legacies rather than just try to get assimilated and become one nation. I think it's good to know that, you know, you can do that here as well if you wanted to.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora in comparison to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language? Because the Ukrainian diaspora is technically part of Canada and Canadian, so what makes it different or characterizes it in comparison to the rest of Canada?

NUC1M: Do you mean to the rest of, like...

I: ...to other Canadians...

NUC1M: Canadians, or...?

I: ...who wouldn't consider themselves part of the diaspora, Ukrainian diaspora...

NUC1M: Oh, well I, geez...

I: You can think. Take your time.

NUC1M: Yeah, I'll have to think about that.

I: Would you like to come back to it, or...?

NUC1M: No, no, no, I'll take it now. First of all, I think that [0h: 25m:0s] ...again, the good thing is that they are not afraid to admit that they are of Ukrainian descent, and um, I think partially because like many unfortunate incidents in Ukrainian history, partially because of the inferiority complex, partially because of other reasons that I cannot think of at this moment. Very often, Ukrainians feel ashamed to kind of admit, or recognize, that they are Ukrainian.

I: Do you mean here Ukrainians in Ukraine?

NUC1M: No, yeah, yeah. Yeah, in, back in Ukraine, or, you know, when they go somewhere they would rather not be identified as, although it's fairly clear that they are eastern European I think that many of them would rather not, would rather kind of, you know, not publicize their origin. Versus here, it's like absolutely okay to say that you are Ukrainian, just because the community has made sure that, um, the community has authority basically on society, and this

kind of ranges from, you know, cultural presence going to this Heritage festival event, at Hawrelak park...

I: Right, Heritage Days.

NUC1M: Yeah. You see the pavilion, you see the crafts, you see the food. Of course there is like 60 other nations doing the same thing, which is fine, but you know, then they do the dancing and then you kind of feel that many other Canadians are interested in that. Just last year, I've been there a couple of years in a row, this last year I noticed that there was a huge line-up for the *varenyky*. I think it's a rip-off for six bucks, six *perogies*, but ...

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: But I mean, they, I think that they have social respect, which is a great thing. And again, part of that is maybe related to the fact that many Ukrainians have, have become... prominent in society, like they have important positions. There are so many of them too, like I remember the very first time we came to Edmonton, starting looking for an apartment, so when you looked at some of the buildings, at the tenants' lists, there were so many Ukrainian, or Ukrainian-looking last names. But also, I think to give credit to the Ukrainian community in Canada, if I'm not mistaken again, I'm not sure if I'm correct on this, but at some point in the past, maybe in the 70s or maybe even before that, there used to be a vote on the third official language, or the second official language or something in Canada. And I think the Ukrainian only lost by a very, very tiny margin. I forget which other languages were there, but, um...yeah. Considering that the population of Ukraine is not that great, like you know, if you compare it to other huge nations like china or India, I think the Ukrainians are doing fairly well in Canada. Also, something that strikes me as really, really impressive, Ukrainian churches here, and again, I'm not like, I used to be a little more religious in the past than I am now, so I don't regularly go to church, but the fact that there is about seven Ukrainian churches in Edmonton specifically, and one of them, like completely Ukrainian where the services are celebrated in Ukrainian, um, that kind of makes you, like you know, it's...you won't find that in many other places. Also, the bilingual programs for schools, and the *sadochok* or whatever they call it, like for little kids. Yeah, you know, sometimes you may like criticize it by saying oh, you know, language is still kind of being lost gradually, but of course there is a lot of pressure from English. If these kids want to kind of play with other kids there is peer pressure, stuff like that, and English is the language that they should know in the first place, but the very fact that their parents are kind of trying, and even if they realize that in the future language might be lost, they are

still trying to send their kids to these bilingual schools, because they think you know, if it's not going to make them better, it's definitely going to hurt them anymore, so that's a good thing.

I: Speaking of language, which languages do you read ? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?[0h:30m:0s]

NUC1M: Do I read in?...like I don't read, the only one that I don't know is French, like, [laughs] not the only one...

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: The foreign language that I would like to know is French but unfortunately I studied German. I also can read in Polish and Belarussian and like other languages, but...

I: So you can read in English, Ukrainian, Polish...

NUC1M: Russian, German, but I don't like see, reading is not that big of a skill, like it is a good skill, but unless you can communicate I don't really consider that knowing a language.

I: Now I know that you'll answer yes to this particular question: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

NUC1M: Yeah, definitely.

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: Still reading them, ugh.

I: And still reading them [laughs]. And the next question, the next couple questions as well, for you in particular: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature? Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?

NUC1M: Well see that's uh, right up my alley, like um, I work on postmodernist Ukrainian literature in translation, so this is kind of the topic of my dissertation, so I read this stuff for my...

I: ...in both, like in English and Ukrainian...

NUC1M: Yes, yeah...

I: ...or in something else...?

NUC1M: Well, I first read them in Ukrainian of course, but I also look at English, and then if I'm not happy with the English or if I have questions about, you know, translation, I would also look at Russian in the first place. And then sometimes Polish or German, especially in the case of Andrukhovych.

I: Right, so the languages that you're reading the literature in depends on what you're looking for in regards to the translation...

NUC1M: Absolutely, and I'm doing this for academic purposes.

I: Right, that does change it slightly...

NUC1M: But I also, like if you're more interested about like pleasure reading, then I still read contemporary literature, something that is not part of my thesis. I kind of try to stay updated and informed about what's happening there. Because things are happening quickly, and it's kind of easy to get stuck in this one period that you're researching, and then, overlook new developments.

I: Is your leisure reading in Ukrainian, English, or both?

NUC1M: I don't have a lot of leisure reading now. It's in both languages. I also like American literature very much, so I kind of try to read a little bit of that. And sometimes however strange this may sound, like my leisure reading would be still academic or theoretical, it's just not relevant to my dissertation, so.

I: Right, extraneous readings that are still academic...

NUC1M: Right.

I: Yeah. And you've obviously heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, you work Andrukhovych...

NUC1M: Sure.

I: And other contemporary Ukrainian writers.

NUC1M: Sure.

I: Do you have any favourite Ukrainian authors, or other authors...?

NUC1M: Ah, again, this may sound as a surprise, but one of my favourite writers is actually not the writer that I'm researching. Andrukhovych used to be one of them, but my favourite Ukrainian writer/poet is Vasyl Semonenko. But of course, like if I were to name contemporary Ukrainian writers that are more kind of relevant to what I do for my thesis, that would definitely be Andrukhovych, Izdryk, and Zabuzhko. Yup.

I: Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture? Why or why not? Just explain why...

NUC1M: That's a very good question. I think it all depends on, on the person's linguistic abilities. If, and there are quite a few families where despite the fact that the children were born in Canada and grew up in Canada, their linguistic skills are fairly, fairly strong, which means that they can read this in, in their original Ukrainian. There might be some problems, especially with postmodernist literature, in terms of like slang, and some of the expressions that are, that might be difficult even for native speakers, like it's not to say that all native speakers understand what they read.

I: Like Zabuzhko...

NUC1M: Well Zabuzhko or Zhadan or any other, you know, and language is constantly evolving anyways, so, maybe twenty years down the road, *I*, who still considers myself a native speaker would have a hard time, or would not be able to appreciate all the language play or, you know, slang, or obscene language that they are using in their novels. But so, to come back to the question, I think it depends on their linguistic ability, but I would not judge them if they wanted to read this in translation [0h:35m:0s]. In fact, I think that would be a good thing, because to me, personally, it would mean that the research that I do is not in vain. In other words, the translation does matter. I wish there were more translations of Ukrainian literature, not just contemporary, but generally into English and other language, so that people have more access, but unfortunately, this is not, it's really difficult to market it. It's like it's not going to sell, so whenever there are translations of Ukrainian novels into English, they're primarily done by university presses, which are non- for- profit organizations. Normally, they're done by academics most of the time if you look at the people who translate Ukrainian literature, almost exclusively academics who do it as their, kind of, part time leisure, day-off activity. I can name a few if you want to. These are like, basically you can kind of count them on one hand, maybe on two hands.

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: I don't think there are more than ten, well there are more than ten people who do translations into English, but—

I: In Canada?

NUC1M: Not in Canada, generally in America—

I: Just like Marco Carynnyk?

NUC1M: Well, Carynnyk is there in Toronto and did Kotsiubinsky and did a great job, but he's one of the few that are not, he's an extremely smart guy, but he is not a professor. Like he's not in academic. But Michael Naydan in the United States, Marco Pavlyshyn in Australia, Vitaliy Chernetsky in the United States, although he's Ukrainian originally, so he's not a native speaker of English but he does a very decent job. Myroslav Shkandriy in, I think he's in Manitoba, he's in Winnipeg.

I: Not too surprising.

NUC1M: Yeah, there is...who else...whom did I miss. So Naydan, Chernetsky, Pavlyshyn, Carynnyk, Shkandriy, that's about it. Well the folks here, like our supervisors, but I, you know, right now Oleh is working on, Oleh Ilnytzkyj is working on Hohol, so. And again, translation though is like this kind of, you know, other project that you never get to really [laughs], so, but yeah. Again, to return to the question because I get sidetracked all the time.

I: That's fine.

NUC1M: I think it would actually be great if they, like again, could possibly read this in the original that's awesome, but even if they have to read it in translation, that's still good. There are lots of problems, and I don't want to get started on this, and when you know, translation problems, but still, I mean, you are not going to get the same text, there's no way it's going to be equivalent in any sense, but it'll be, it's not going to be a transfer of the Ukrainian original, but it's going to be a transformation. But still, you might be able to appreciate a little bit of what was there.

I: I like that. It's not going to be a transfer, it'll be a transformation.

NUC1M: Yeah.

I: So it's still, you think it's still a sufficient connection to Ukraine's culture.

NUC1M: Oh yeah, absolutely, because like, you know, the translator can never, you know, it's still a derivative activity, if you feel like you're a writer yourself, which I think all translators should be, you can probably start writing fiction of your own, but since you've undertaken this translation project, although you can change and add and subtract and do whatever you want with the text, because now you are almost the author, even if the real author is still alive...at least that's my philosophy of translation. It's, there's still this original, and for people like myself, we can always go back and compare. This is not always a productive

activity, and...for the general public I think, when they have a translation into English, that should be enough.

I: Moving on from literature, we're going to talk a little bit about music and other aspects of culture. So I guess I'd ask you what kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers? So in general what do you listen to, and...

NUC1M: There's only two kinds of music that I really like. These are jazz and classical. I've never been a big fan of Ukrainian music. I don't know why. Back at home I used to think it's parochial or something or, not cool [laughs].

I: Parochial, or...?

NUC1M: Parochial. Like you know, who cares about Ukrainian music outside Ukraine. Mundane. Quotidien. But, like [0h:40m:00s] now I think it's changing a little bit after, again, Ruslana's not my favourite singer, but after she won the Eurovision thing, the Eurovision contest, I think Ukrainian music has been kind of gaining more popularity worldwide, not just in Ukraine or in the post-Soviet kind of space. Also, I think that, again, it's been like a couple generations if you think about it, like twenty years. If someone was born in 1991, they are in their early 20's now, which means that these people are no longer that influenced by the Soviet heritage, which was not necessarily good, so...I think that I'm getting older, which is natural, I'm getting older, so I think that the situation now had changed dramatically, and there are very, very many talented musicians who are willing to do something with the Ukrainian music that's no longer un-cool, or like this concept of *sharyvarshchyna* is, they used to have in the early 90s where it was kind of cheesy and um, simplistic and not popular. So of course there's still a very large influence of Western music, like you know, American music or, in Ukraine as well, but I think very many Ukrainian musicians are trying to do something creative and innovative in terms of like...I don't know, be it a conjunction of ethno or folk plus contemporary or jazz or, like one of the bands that I discovered for myself a couple of years ago, the band *Shokolad*, they're doing Ukrainian folk music but in this like jazzy arrangements. They are everywhere on YouTube. They are very, very big in Poland. Um...a group that visited here a couple years ago I think, it's probably it's been two years or three years since they came...*Burdon*, they're doing probably, you must've seen them, they're doing folk, but it's not again the cheesy folk that you would get every time in Ukraine, like on Independence Day or stuff like that when you would just get these people on the stage trying to play the cheesy songs that nobody can ever listen to again...

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: These guys are, you know, they're advancing music, and musical transit, again I'm not an expert on music but just some of these things, that again, I remember when, must've been two years ago, what's his name, *Haidamaky* came to Edmonton?

I: *Haidamaky.*

NUC1M: I think that was pretty big. Regarding Ukrainian music in Ukraine, I think it's fair, you know, it's sad 'cause, that part, do you want me to talk about that as well...?

I: Sure.

NUC1M: Yeah? Okay. I think it's sad 'cause music needs a lot of money, like you know, it's like everything needs a lot of money to work, and I'm not sure that, Russia still has a lot of influence, so many of these talented Ukrainian singers or musicians, they you know, decide to go to Russia where the money is, or even if they do stay in Ukraine, there is a lot of Russian influence. Like all these festivals and all these competitions that they have... there is a lot, a lot of Russian. There are some Ukrainian symbols by now, like *Skrypka*, or Vakarchuk, *Okean Elzy*, *Skryabin* whom I never liked, because he can't sing, he's just like "aaaaahhhhhh," like a recital or something in singing. But these guys are kind of trying to maintain their Ukrainian heritage at least on TV. They kind of *sing* Ukrainian and *act* Ukrainian if I can put it this way. But still, I think if you're thinking about this kind of bohemian... environment, in Kyiv, I think it's very Russian-dominated. Like for some reason Ukraine and Ukrainian music per say still kind of remain in the shadow of Russian or... I don't know why this inferiority complex still kind of persists a little bit I think, or maybe, maybe I'm wrong. I want to be wrong on this, because again it's been twenty years, so by now we might have had a new generation of people who are not even, they were not even born during the Soviet times [0h:45m:00s], so they are not, or should not, be affected that much, by this kind of Soviet legacy.

I: Well, speaking about the Soviet legacy and aspects of Ukrainian culture, the next question is sort of a ranking question. If you want to call it that. I'm going to turn this page around and get you to rank, there's eleven aspects you could call them, of Ukrainian culture. If you could please identify from one to eleven, with one being the most important, what you deem the most important. So I'll just pass this to you, here's the pen, and just read them all over first, and take your time.

NUC1M: So aspects of Ukrainian culture that you deem the most important just generally, or for me, or in Ukraine, or in Canada, or for me personally?

I: That's open to your interpretation.

NUC1M: Ohhhhh...okay.

I: [laughs] If you'd like you can provide a rationale, or whatever you'd like.

NUC1M: No I'll just do it from my own ranking, from my own perspective.

I: Sure.

NUC1M: It's kind of tricky, because all of them should technically be equal, but anyways...

NUC1M: But all of them are Ukrainian, so Ukrainian culture, right?

I: Yes.

NUC1M: It's kind of tricky: traditional, classical music, I'm not sure I can tell the difference, so I'll let you do the math and the statistics and what's significant and what's not, so...

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: So there's eleven, ey?

I: Yes.

NUC1M: Oh, Jesus, these people from the Kule center will learn about this, they're gonna kill me.

I: [laughs]. Noooo.....

NUC1M: Contemporary, classical, yeah, see I'm a literature major.

I: Everyone's entitled to their opinion.

NUC1M: There's very little classical theater.

cinema-3

classical literature-2

contemporary literature-1

classical music-7

contemporary music-4

traditional music-6

classical theatre-8

contemporary theatre -5

fine arts-9

folklore-10

pop culture-11

NUC1M: Got everything.

I: Okay, great, thank you very much. I know that's not the easiest task. But you do get a chance to answer whether all of these are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity.

NUC1M: Yes, yeah.

I: Yeah, you had mentioned that and I was smiling because that was going to be the next question. Now this one, this one's sort of related: Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

NUC1M: Hm...I'll need time to think about this. Again, the first thing that jumps to mind is Shevchenko, but this has been such a difficult like you know. On the one hand he's the *Kobzar* and like everything. Like Russian have a very interesting saying about Pushkin. They say "Пушкин это наше всё" which is like "Pushkin is our everything" and it's pretty, you know, exhaustive and self-explanatory. Shevchenko is the Ukrainian everything, but his image and what he's done for Ukraine has been so trivialized and so over-used for many different purposes that sometimes you want to, you kind of feel like you want to rebel against it and just not, like you know.

I: And that's fine too. [0h:50m:00s]

NUC1M: Yeah, like the...

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: No, no I'm not gonna do that. Like the Futurists, like Semenko or something like, you know, we've had enough, 'cause otherwise we're always in this kind of, sphere of influence, and you know, then when we think about Shevchenko then everything sort of takes this nationalistic, in the positive sense nationalistic, but everything that you do becomes kind of driven by this national identity which I think is sometimes hurting Ukrainians in other fields, like in

terms of like, I don't think that science or scholarship should be driven by , by this kind of nationalistic approach. So, what was, so the most important figure, Ukrainian figure of all time?

I: The most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why.

NUC1M: Oh man...

I: So your first instinct is to sort of say Taras Shevchenko, but you also hesitate to use him as well.

NUC1M: No, because like of all time, like again, he was, his role and his contribution was imperative in shaping the Ukrainian nation in the first place, so imagining what Ukraine could be as an independent, or well he did probably, did not think of it as independence, or not independence, but imagining the Ukrainian nation kind of expressing all the basic tenets, and values of what a Ukrainian nation could be, that was him. But again, see, like although you do not ask about a writer, I'm still thinking along the lines of literature and poets and writers, which again I think is kind of problematic. But the funny thing that I've, like there are many other people that you could mention, but if you start comparing them to Shevchenko or to some other writers like Ivan Franko, who are also extremely big, um...their contributions kind of pale in comparison, so, I don't know, can I take another minute to think about this?

I: Absolutely.

NUC1M: Okay.

I: [laughs] Would you prefer to just think about it, do you want to go onto another question?

NUC1M: Yeah, let's move on and maybe I can think of something, something else.

I: Okay, I'll star this so that we know to come back to this one.

NUC1M: Sure.

I: The next two questions are related. So, what, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants? And then the follow-up question to that is what do you think are the biggest differences, if any? So it's a compare and contrast...

NUC1M: Geez...

I: Just in your personal opinion.

NUC1M: It's getting worse and worse.

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: Um...

I: I'm making you work for it.

NUC1M: The biggest similarity is probably the fact that, can, like recent Ukrainian immigrants...are very much pro-Ukrainian. I don't know what exactly I mean by this, but like, it doesn't even matter where these people come from, like because primarily if you come from Western Ukraine, oh you have to be whatever they call it, patriot, whatever it means. Like you love your country and you speak Ukrainian and you have, you go to church, and you have Ukrainian values and you want Ukraine to be independent, and again, the number one nemesis is Russia. But now, so it used to be the case, but now I think even people who immigrated from Eastern Ukraine, all of us including the Ukrainian diaspora, are beginning to be united around more general concepts such as civic society, or rule of law, or um...concepts that are more indicative of like general democratic societies...

I: Like human rights...

NUC1M: Yeah, human rights, um...minority rights, even that, like you know, these are more open, open-minded people, people who cannot just be, or rather people who do not just have to be united around the fact that they are Ukrainian. SO I think that's the similarity. Another similarity is that recent immigrants and um, Ukrainian diaspora...together oppose the political regimes that are in Ukraine. Unfortunately, throughout the time that we have been independent, or Ukraine has been independent, we've never had a [0h:55m:0s] a really democratic government. Like, unfortunately it seems like we're always a step behind. And it can be explained and kind of, it's probably more complicated, but in simple terms it can be explained by the fact that the population in eastern Ukraine just outnumbers the population in western Ukraine. Some political Poli-Sci experts may disagree that Ukraine is divided into two by the Dnipro river, but I still think that if you, you can have different theories about that, but if you look at the map, and at the electoral college, it's not the United States, but if you look at the election results in Ukraine it's pretty clear that those parts, those people who live in eastern Ukraine are kind of more prone to voting against uh, democratic leaders and people on east and western Ukraine are voting for people who always lose the elections for different reasons. Part of that is like vote-

rigging, but I'm not going to go into that. So, I think um, in terms of like what we want for Ukraine there, uh, well we want for our country, former home country to happen, is something that we kind of both share, both diasporic community and recent immigrants. In terms of like political goals, um, and in terms of like building a civic society in Ukraine, we share pretty similar views.

I: And you mean, when you say Ukraine's never really been democratic, do you mean since 1991?

NUC1M: Yeah.

I: Yeah. Okay. And what about the biggest differences if any?

NUC1M: That's tricky. I don't know what the differences would be. I think there is a little bit of outlook, or worldview, but again...

I: Different outlooks...

NUC1M: Yeah, these concepts are so vague and, you know everybody thinks of it in a different way that I'm not really sure that it makes sense, but I think a bigger difference would be that the more time you spend here, but again, it may depend on the person, so it could be very personal too, but generally, again, maybe that's the wrong generalization, but I think the more time you spend here, the less materialistic you become. Like this is not to say that Canadians or Canadian-Ukrainians don't want to have their own houses or their own cars or all of that, you know the material wealth, but I noticed this about myself, the more time I spend here, and of course this is primarily because I had access to all of these things, the less materialistic I become in my attitudes. In Ukraine, I still feel when I go to visit, I still feel a lot of judgement, in terms of, people basically think of you, and their standards for this are, so they think of you by looking at what you have in terms of your material well-being, which is, do you have an i-Phone, do you have a car, and they're not even looking at houses. Like I always, I keep telling them that here it's a little bit more important if you don't have a mortgage any more [laughs], that means a little bit more than having an i-Phone or having a good car, because, you know, and i-Phone or any other phone is just a communicative tool, versus a car, it's like, it's hard to imagine your life without a car versus to them it's like a matter of prestige or a matter of social status, which I think is funny and ridiculous. Like, you know, some of my friends on Facebook would take pictures of themselves with the i-Phone in the mirror, which I always laugh at, I don't comment on anymore, and I don't do likes or dislikes, but I always find it like you know, this is ridiculous. SO that, I think that would be the difference, so. When these people first come here, and again, I don't judge them for this because I did the same thing, like the first thing you want to do, you want

to make a bit more money and buy a car or start thinking about your place to live, but even in terms of like clothes...um, you've been to Ukraine, right?

I: Yes.

NUC1M: You must've noticed how ladies dress, too, when they go to work or school, well, if you go to work that's your own problem because you're an adult and you make your own money, but how young ladies dress at school is just, it's just funny because it's a freakin' fashion show. It's like on the catwalk or something. And I think this is part of like, here people are a little bit more relaxed in that respect. Like your clothes do not necessarily identify you as poor or rich, smart or stupid, so. [1h:00m:00s]

I: What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

NUC1M: What...I think that this is done on purpose, again, I'm not gonna say things like "Oh, this is all *maska* or..." although I think it partially may be true, but I think this is all done to kind of divide the society even further. This division already existed, um, and still exists, but I think these kind of political manoeuvring is done for the sake of distracting attention from bigger problems. Like economic problems, problems with everything else, there has never been a problem in Ukraine for minority communities in terms of like, "oh we cannot go to school and speak Russian". In fact, if you look at the situation objectively, Russian is spoken everywhere beginning from Kyiv and farther on east. So, this has been done in a very tricky way, however, because they are trying to try, the Party of Regions, *Partiya rehioniv*, that initiated this, this bill, they are trying to present it in the framework of like the general European something right charter or something like that, Charter of Rights. But the irony is that it's the Ukrainian language that's disadvantaged in Ukraine. In fact, some of the television shows, or you know, things on the internet that I watched, the irony becomes so...blatant that like you know, they are trying, they are not even, they in fact some of them are giving Canada as an example, like you know, there is nothing wrong about having two official, or Switzerland for that matter, there is nothing wrong with having two official or more official languages in the country. But the truth of the fact is that, like *Ukrainian* is the language that's kind of underprivileged, that has to like, if you look at the publishing data, the books that are published in Ukrainian or Russian, or the mass media, if you look at the TV channels, um...or newspapers or stuff like that...it's just ridiculous, so. I don't know like what communities they're trying to protect, because people who live in the eastern parts and southern, like in the Crimea as well, in the country, they do not need protection from, or they do not need these rights, their rights to speak Russian to be protected, because they do speak Russian anyways. What bothers me,

however, is that people who have governmental positions don't speak Ukrainian and um, again, that's another part of the irony, is that you know, they're trying to protect something that does not need protection, but they themselves do not follow the Constitution by actually speaking Russian when they are civil servants. So. Of course I'm against it, but you know this language law is not such a big deal if you, it is a very big deal, but if you look at the more general picture in terms of what's happening in the country right now, what's happening in education specifically, what's happening in everything every other sphere, I think that the country is ready to collapse fairly soon if, if nothing changes, and there is no science that anything's gonna change. So I don't know. Yup.

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in “being” Ukrainian?

NUC1M: Hm, um, well national identity is a complicated, is a complicated concept, and um... political scientists are probably gonna argue about what's the most important thing, and again, if we go back to German philosophers like Herder, or whatever his name is, who did believe that it's kind of, you know, language that kind of defines you as a nation, I sort of agree with this [1h:5m:0s]. I do think that there are other important things that identify, that may identify you as a person, but when we talk about national identity I think language is very important. To me, it's probably the most important one, and that's why again... I think for this reason that you know, your nationality is sort of the same word as your language in most cases, not always, but in many cases. Um... so I think if language is lost, there is very little that can still unite people as a, as a group, not, I'm not saying as a nation anymore, but as a group, because if we think about other things that contribute to identity formation, these would be what... these would be religion, but I think when it comes to religion there could be even more divisions or more kind of splitting off and so I think making sure that Ukrainian does not disappear, which I hope it won't, because there are too many people who speak it, but things like this kind of language law, or what's happening in Ukrainian publishing and mass media is not helping Ukrainian at all. And again, I'm not sure that this is done on purpose by someone to kind of eradicate Ukrainian altogether which would be a very challenging task for them as well if they wanted to do that. But if this is the case, then it's very alarming, and it should be alarming to all of us. And again, to come back to the role of the diaspora in this, I think looking back at history, the contribution of the Ukrainian diaspora, especially in Canada and the United States, and also in other parts of the you know, of the Americas like Brazil and Argentina, has been particularly that, like you know, making sure that the language does not disappear. And they still do that. In fact, Edmonton has been the only place where you could run several

section of Ukrainian at the same time for undergraduate students. In most other countries, at least in most other universities that I've been to, or know about, this has never been the case. And again, I think this, the community deserves credit for this. Partially it's the administrative thing, because the U of A allows us to, allows students, rather to choose not just French as a general requirement, but again, whatever it is, let it be their administrative regulation, but still the fact that the Ukrainian sections are running and students can take Ukrainian courses, that's really, really huge.

I: Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

NUC1M: There might be some issues, but these are issues of like, sorry for saying this, stupid people.

I: [laughs] That's fine.

NUC1M: See, like yeah, again, even if you look at the Ukrainian literature that's being written, like Andrukhovych in particular likes to do that, and this is again part of my research so I'm kind of familiar with this. He pokes fun at the diasporic Ukrainian. On the other hand, people in the diaspora may poke fun at the, you know, language, the contemporary language spoken in Ukraine as kind of Russified or whatever it may be. But this kind of bickering about whose language is more correct, or, like you know, did these guys preserve the tradition, and in fact when you look at it... I think that you know, those people who immigrated before the Soviets came to Ukraine, well the Soviet Union was established in 1921, so they came to Ukraine, the first time they came to Western Ukraine was '39, then '41, then after the war it was all Soviet, so I think people who immigrated before that were trying to preserve a more authentic Ukrainian, there used to be Ukrainian before that, but we have to be really careful with this, because language is a living thing, it evolves. English evolves and all other languages evolve, so it's not about like, [1h:10m:0s] it's not about keeping it the same, and this is something that the diasporic kind of radical preservers [laughs] of Ukrainian need to keep in mind, because again, you can be a purist, but language does change. Sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse. But my response to those people who say "Oh, like contemporary Ukrainian is not the Ukrainian that we used to speak", you can pretty much say this about everything. Like older people, like grandma, would always tell us about anything at all, like you know "This is not the way we used to do it in the past." So yeah, this is not the language they used to speak in the past. What has been done to the Ukrainian language by the Soviets who were trying to approximate it to Russian was fairly

brutal. Metaphorically I call it “raping the language”, but is there, does it make sense to come back to this now, no, because in my opinion that would mean raping the language again. Maybe as like introducing these changes back that used to be better, or they used to make Ukrainian a better language, which is also very debatable, like who could agree on this, and like, what’s better. But yeah, well and again, they are trying to, and these trends are also kind of popular in Ukraine: debating the orthographic system, and introducing changes that are, that some people still use in the diaspora, like the Genitive “y” ,like not saying “lyubovi” but saying “lyubovy,” and so on and so forth. Again, looking at the farm words, like “efir,” rather than “eter,” which would make more sense. So again, there are many interesting and good things here, the things that have been preserved by the diaspora, but again, it’s like you know, maybe it’s not a good analogy because it’s different, the situation’s different, but it’s like saying, “Let’s forget about American English and North-American English and let’s all go back to British English because this is how Shakespeare wrote it, and this is the right English”. Like no, like you know, English has evolved, so Ukrainian is evolving too. But again, I think that only very naïve, or primitive people would argue about this. As long as I can understand what you are saying, and as long as I can communicate and, you know, even if it’s like for literature, as long as you can enjoy literature as a work of art, I don’t think it makes any sense to kind of argue about whose Ukrainian is better, whose Ukrainian is more correct, if that’s what you’re asking.

I: So you, you would say that as long as it’s intelligible, as long as the Ukrainian or the English is intelligible, language is not an issue in communication...

NUCIM: It shouldn’t be. It shouldn’t be. Again, I’ve heard about it, it never happened to me personally, but I’ve heard about a few things especially for advanced Ukrainian that some people were dissatisfied with the contemporary textbooks, or the way that Ukrainian has been taught because it’s contemporary Ukrainian and it’s taught by u—, like you know, by either graduate students or professors who have been born in Ukraine. Um...and here it’s kind of you know, I’m not, when I had to deal with those issues in my own teaching, I always tried to explain to people is that this fact that language evolves and that, you know, the dictionaries that are being produced currently in Ukraine are the ones that we sort of need to, to look at. Like you know, you cannot just, because if everybody starts inventing their own spelling, or following their own rules, it’s going to be a mess, so you need a system that works for everybody. So that could be a tricky thing, that could be a bone of contention, so to say, for ...

I: So sometimes they’re not synced up, so to speak.

NUC1M: Well they're not synced up at all. Like if you look at contemporary spelling, or contemporary grammar, many things are different from what they used to be. But I think the differences are not that big, or not that drastic, so.

I: Do you follow Ukrainian politics?

NUC1M: Oh, yeah, geez, too much.

I: [laughs]

NUC1M: It's like this browsing takes all of my time. It's even worse than Facebook because I've been trying to, how do you say, wean yourself off of Facebook...

I: Mhm, wean yourself off, yeah.[1h:15m:0s]

NUC1M: But, which has been easier than just, don't go there, but the urge to check the news especially, like what's happening in terms of like Tymoshenko's arrest and everything else, and the bad things in the government and the elections, ugh, it's just ridiculous.

I: How do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow? What mediums? What language?

NUC1M: Online mostly Ukrainian, so I would go to *Ukrayinska Pravda* or hazeta.gpu.ua, or *Zakhidnet*, or TVi, it used to be *5-yi kanal* but not anymore, because it's like I don't know who the owners are anymore, so if I want the kind of pro-western coverage I go to TVi, but again you can never be sure anymore who owns the media, and why they publish the things, or why they post the news stories that they post. So anyways. But yeah. I think I follow too much.

I: Is 5-yi kanal in Russian or Ukrainian?

NUC1M: It's in Ukrainian, but the owner is Poroshenko who's the guy who was Yushchenko's best buddy and was this kind of one of the orange Revolution people, and then he ended up in the current government. And then he's, now he's an MP, but he's no longer the minister of economy, they call it, whatever it is.

I: Right. Okay. What kinds of culture are important to you? And I just have some listed here: Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

NUC1M: Well, this is gonna be subjective like all of my answers, but I think literature and music and language would be probably the most important ones, followed by history of course, and folklore.

I: Then history and folklore?

NUC1M: Yep.

I: Here's a question you might need a moment to think about. Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

NUC1M: Yeah, I think, I was just gonna say, both need to be cultivated, so to stay alive, not to turn into "a museum" the Ukrainian diaspora needs to follow and be updated on what's happening in Ukraine, but at the same time what kind of makes it unique and different from things in Ukraine is that they, I already spoke extensively about dancing, and I think that's remarkable, that's phenomenal, because we lost it. Like I cannot dance for shit, like you know, the ho—I know the names, I know theoretically, I know the moves, but have I ever danced them? No. So I think it's a combination of both contemporary and traditional that the diasporic community needs to pursue.

I: And why do they need to pursue both? Is that so it doesn't stagnate and become a museum?

NUC1M: Yeah, because if they only stick to the old stuff, then they kind of become, sooner or later it's going to become obsolete. If they only follow the contemporary one then they lose their part of their identity which has been to kind of preserve this heritage and maintain, you know, what their grandparents did when they first came. And, you know, even like, does the Ukrainian village place, often compared to *Shevchenkivskiy hai* in L'viv, I'm not sure if you've been there...

I: I've been there, yeah.

NUC1M: But I think it's different, it's *totally* different. The surface may be similar, because yeah, these old huts, blablabla, and *poly* and I don't know, gardening, and churches, but, and the artifacts may be similar, but the stories behind them, and what it *meant* are totally different, and you know, when these people came to a new country and wanted to be established, it's no longer like *Shevchenkivskiy hai*, or no longer like anything that remained in Ukraine. So, yeah.

I: Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

NUC1M: I would never say that they are either easier or more difficult challenges, because we live in different epochs [1h:20m:0s] and different times and different challenges, respectively. But I think...

I: Or do they face any new kinds of challenges, or different ones, or are they pretty much the same challenges...?

NUC1M: Essentially they would be the same, like how do you start a family, how do you get established, how do you kind of get settled, how do you become socially integrated, how do you get a better job, how do you do this, how do you do that, but the, so if you look at the things that people do, I think that people still pretty much need the same things they needed 100 years ago, but because the world is generally different, because of technology... I think that currently Ukrainians have a little bit less trouble with language, or at least I'm going to hope so. Many of those people who come here are a little bit better in terms of English. I'm pretty sure just because, again, this may be Soviet English they continued to learn in Ukraine, but now you have access to YouTube, you have access to podcasts, you have access to television, you can watch CNN there at home, or like whatever, you know, Canadian, CBC, or whatever it is. So it's a little bit easier for contemporary immigrants to, not to feel the language barrier the newcomers 100 years ago probably faced, because those people were primarily farmers. I wanted to say, but I but my tongue, I wanted to say uneducated. They were not necessarily uneducated, it was just like who could teach them English back then? Nobody. So they came and they had to struggle. Now I think most of the immigrants who come here from Ukraine are more or less, and I'm not saying they're fluent, they will continue to have these gross accents, Slavic accents, which is fine, like sooner or later they will gradually get rid of them, maybe not, which is fine too. After all what you say is more important than how you say it, so. In terms of everything else, I think they face the same challenges as all the other immigrants, be it Chinese or Indian, or from any other country or ethnicity.

I: Okay. Now we were going to go back to number...

NUC1M: Are we finished? Like...

I: Um, well there's just one question after this. Basically I just ask if you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions, anything else to add, but I

wanted to make sure we went back to #26 about the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why...

NUC1M: I guess I'll stick with Shevchenko. I was trying to think of somebody who would do something for Ukraine internationally...um...but it's, but it's really tricky. Like, you know, there are people like Sheptytskyi who come to mind, but he, again, you know, how is it different from Shevchenko, Shevchenko was a literature, an artist generally. He painted and he wrote and whatnot. Well Sheptytskyi was also like, his field was very narrow, he was, you know, church, that's religion, so um, and I think you know, the calibres here are also not comparable...if you compare Sheptytskyi to Shevchenko. So again, just because Shevchenko articulated what it is to be Ukrainian and he was the first to kind of envision the Ukrainian nation as different, as distinct from Russian or any other Slavic nation, despite the fact that he had this idea of pan-Slavism, like all Slavic nations united, which was utopian and thank God never happened. So yeah, I'm gonna stick with him. Grabowicz calls him a "mythmaker" and many people in Ukraine are irritated by this because they think that by saying that Shevchenko was a "mythmaker" Grabowicz implies that Shevchenko created a myth in the sense of something that is not true, or something that is fake, or something's that's just an invention. But I think Grabowicz's, hopefully[laughs], Grabowicz's idea was slightly different. It was to say that Shevchenko created the myth of Ukraine more in the structural sense, more in the sense of like envisioning the country and articulating it's most important archetypes, like the *kozaks*, freedom, glory, the grave, be it as it may the *steppe*, the landscape, so yeah.

I: Alright, and do you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions?

NUC1M: No, I'm, I'm, now I guess I'm a little bit more curious about your study [laughs], but, no I think I've said too much, more than you probably needed or wanted me to. So, you'll have to cut it out.

I: You can look forward to reading the looooooong thesis after maybe. [laughs]

NUC1M: Sure. Is this your Master's thesis or PhD thesis?

I: Master's.

NUC1M: Oh my God, Susanna, you're killing—[laughs]—leave some ideas for your PhD, you're killing yourself already. By the time you're done with this you'll be like "I don't want to do this anymore."

I: [laughs] Well, thank you very much for your time for your interview, I really appreciate it.

[Total time: 1h : 25m : 51s]

APPENDIX B: Interview with Participant “NUC2M”

Date of Interview: March 24th, 2013

Length of Interview: 0h: 50m: 24s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1982

Age at time of Interview: 30

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

NUC2M: Ukraine

I: When did you immigrate to Canada?

NUC2M: Five years ago. It was 2008.

I: What can you tell me about your immigration to Canada? Were there any particular reasons why you came, or anything that drew you here...were you visiting?

NUC2M: I'm here for. I came here to work here, to make some money, and I thought I would just come for one year, but it is sixth year already [laughs], and my wife coming in two weeks [laughs].

I: Nice! What is or was your profession?

NUC2M: What was?

I: Yeah, what was and what is...?

NUC2M: Uh...I had carpenter's ticket back in Ukraine, and I had four years at university, Ukrainian Language and Literature.

I: Oh, very nice. So your area of study was Ukrainian Language and Literature and also a carpenter's ticket...?

NUC2M: Yeah.

I: So would that be like a diploma here? A ticket? A carpentry ticket?

NUC2M: Yeah, carpentry diploma. *V Ukrayini vony nazyvayetsya diploma, a tut "carpentry ticket", yup.*

I: Okay. And what would you say is your cultural background?

NUC2M: What's my cultural background?

I: Mhm.

NUC2M: I'm Ukrainian, and what means under that cultural background? What you mean?

I: Do you think of yourself as Canadian, as Ukrainian, as Russian...?

NUC2M: Right now?

I: Mhm.

NUC2M: I am Ukrainian, yes, so.

I: Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian?

NUC2M: I guess yes.

I: Yeah? Would you identify yourself some other way?

NUC2M: Mmm...no.

I: That pretty accurately describes...?

NUC2M: ...Yeah...

I: ...Ukrainian-Canadian. Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

NUC2M: With friends and family it's Ukrainian language, at work it's English, and what else was there...?

I: ...and which languages do you speak other than English?

NUC2M: Ukrainian, Russian, and a little bit Polish.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why?

NUC2M: In my...more Ukrainian ethnic community.

I: And why is that?

NUC2M: ...in my case. Because of my cultural background. So, and Canadian, general Canadian community as well because...

I: Would you say they're both important, or...?

NUC2M: Yeah. Both important, but I'm more with Ukrainian ethnic because...

I: What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian? What types of things are important to you? Is education, are politics...?

NUC2M: Like what's more important in general in Canada?

I: Just in general, what would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian? Is it the history of—?

NUC2M: Um, heritage and future of our Ukrainian community outside of Ukraine.

I: Do you feel “at home” in the Ukrainian community here?

NUC2M: Oh yeah.

I: Yeah?

NUC2M: That's a main reason why I still here. It doesn't feel like I'm just moved to some different country where I, between...I feel really, really at home when I moved to, when I came to Canada. [0h: 05m: 0s] And it's because of the Ukrainian community in Edmonton. They helped me a lot. They were babysitting me a lot the first few weeks [laughs]. Take me everywhere, show me everything. They took me wherever I need, so it was important.

I: So it's the help and the Ukrainian community that made you feel that—

NUC2M: It's help and *uvaha, yak skazaty uvaha...*

I: Attention.

NUC2M: Attention, and attention of Ukrainian community to me as a new Ukrainian who just came to Canada. Yeah, was like that, yeah.

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

NUC2M: I'm volunteering in many organizations. I'm Vice-President of UNO, Edmonton, Ukrainian National Federation of Edmonton Branch, and I'm Secretary of Ukrainian-Canadian Congress, Edmonton branch, and any, I participate in 80% of Ukrainian events in Edmonton [laughs] probably if not 100% [laughs].

I: Would you say the Ukrainian diaspora is important to you though?

NUC2M: Of course.

I: Yeah? And why exactly is it important to you?

NUC2M: Because that's uh, huh. Because that's an example how people have to live in community and support each other. Yeah, because, like, if you see on Ukrainian diaspora, like, in the world, how they deal, so it's important how Ukrainians doing outside of Ukraine.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

NUC2M: Everything you just said, you just say. Like everything actually.

I: [laughs]

NUC2M: Vse.

I: So in comparison to other Canadians, would you say that they don't have those sorts of things?

NUC2M: No, they have, but...mm...between ethnic Ukrainians is more stronger connection. They more, *yak skazaty, bil'she spil'noho svoho*.

I: More communal...

NUC2M: Yeah, *spil'nykh rechey yaki vony, kotri yikh obyednuetsya*.

I: Todi spilni rechi, tse kharakterezuye ukrayinsku diasporu?

NUC2M: *Tak, tak, i vidnoshennia do spil'nykh rechey, o ti sami ukrayinski tantsi, ukrayinska mova, shkola, sadochky*, all those.

I: *V porivnyanni do—*

NUC2M: *Tak, v porivnyanni do...*

I: *Do kanadskoyi...*

NUC2M: *...do kanadskoyi...*

I: *... v zahali...*

NUC2M: *...zahal'na kanads'ka, vony obyednyuyetsya navkolo inshikh tsinnostey, navkolo inshykh rechey.*

I: *Navkolo yakykh rechey?*

NUC2M: *Kanadtsi, nu, vony duzhe aktyvni yakukh takykh hromadskykh orhanizatsiy, jak inshikh nizh ukrayinski, tomu ya tobi ne duzhe mozhe skazaty pro ti. Yaksho by ya buv chlenu yakukh shos tam inshu asosiyatsiyu, whatever, to ya by tobi bil'she by skazaty, a tak ye. U vsyomu ukrayinskomu Alberti.*

I: *A v Alberti mayemo pryblyzno, dymayu, dvista orhanizatsiy ukrayinskykh...*

NUC2M: [laughs]

I: [laughs]

NUC2M: *Ta, duzhe, to ya vzhe znayu duzhe dobre [laughs as he says]. Ya ye chlenom tsyoho Ukrainian Canadian Congress, to znayu ti, tsi orhanizatsiy...*

I: *Ya dumayu, yakshcho ya vpevna pamyatayu, tse til'ky, tse ne rakhuye politychnykh orhanizatsiy, tse til'ky rakhuye ukrayinski, zahal'ni ukrayinski, tak yak osvitni, ya ne znayu, movni ...*

NUC2M: *Yaki tam kursy...*

I: *Tak, tak yak Taras Shevchenko, Fundatsiya Tarasa Shevchenka, ya ne znayu... [0h:10m:0s]*

NUC2M: *A vono bil'sh, no, vono ne politychni, tse non-government...*

I: To bil'sh natsionalne, a tse provyntsiya Al'berty, ale...Tak, my mayem bahato orhanizatsiy [laughs].In which language(s) do you read ? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?

NUC2M: Ukrainian, English, Russian, a little bit Polish.

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

NUC2M: Hm?

I: I'm guessing you have since you took literature...

NUC2M: Oh, of course [laughs].

I: Have you read any *recent* Ukrainian literature?

NUC2M: Uh, yeah.

I: Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?

NUC2M: Ukrainian.

I: Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko—

NUC2M: Of course.

I: —Yuri Andrukhovych—

NUC2M: Of course.

I: — and any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

NUC2M: Mhm. Serhiy Zhadan, Lina Kostenko...

I: Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature *in Ukrainian* is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture? Why or why not?

NUC2M: I think reading Ukrainian and speaking Ukrainian is important because it's the main, it's, *tse osnovneno kolo choho yak by obyednuyetsya. Tse ye osnovneno ...stezhen', sertse, community, to vsyo reshti. Tse ne obovyazkovo shcho vsi hovoryat' ukrayinsku, ale ukrayinska mova, spilkuvannia ukrayinske, vono, tse osnovne vid choho vshe vse reshte pokhodyt'. Choho yakraz bilshe*

lyudei ukrayinskykh...to yakykh ukrayinskykh hromadskykh orhanizatsiy, podiy, kul'tury, tradytsiyi, tai, tak, osnovne ye mova, todi tantsi i vsyo reshta.

I: Na vashu dumku, chy pereklady , anhliyski, chy ya ne znayu, chy tse dostatniy zvyazok do ukrayin—

NUC2M: *Pereklady z ukrayinskoyi na anhliysku?*

I: Tak.

NUC2M: *Yakshcho, khtos'zvychaino, takshcho khtos' narodyvsya v Kanadi, vin ukrayinsku movu ne vyvchav, nastil'ky shchob chytaty, pysaty ne zdiysno rozumity, tut lyudy v chetvertomu, tretyomu pokolinni, to zvychaino pereklady na anhliysku movu—tse super. Vse odno. Tse ye uvaha do ukrayinskoyi movy, vse odno. Tse ye uvaha do literatury, do avtoriv ukrayinskykh, do...tse potribne i korysno. Tak samo, na takomu samomu rivni.*

I: Dobre. What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

NUC2M: Mm..huh...I like all kinds of music, like heavy music.

I: Like heavy metal music?

NUC2M: Oh, no, like, I just don't like that...

I: [laughs]

NUC2M: I just completely ...[laughs]

I: Do you have a favourite genre, or favourite...?

NUC2M: I like French music.

I: Yeah? French music?

NUC2M: I don't understand nothing, but I like that [laughs].

I: Well, sounds are musical, whether the sound is language or an instrument. You know...

NUC2M: Yeah. Classical music...

I: Uh huh, Oh yeah, classical. I'm going to turn this around and I'm going to get you to identify...there's 11 things, 11 aspects of Ukrainian culture, and if you could number them from 1-11, what you deem the most important, number 1 is the most important.

NUC2M: Uh-huh...Fine arts...*Shcho oznachaye* “fine arts”?

I: Painting—

NUC2M: *Zhyvopys?*

I: *Tak. Tak.*

NUC2M: Okay. *Tse zhyvopys.*

cinema-6

classical literature-1

contemporary literature-8

classical music-2

contemporary music-7

traditional music-3

classical theatre-5

contemporary theatre-9

fine arts-10

folklore-4

pop culture-11

[during the numbering was 0h: 15m:0s]

I: Do you think all of these 11 things are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity, or do you think that some of them are more important?

NUC2M: Mmm...*ya tam ne bachu tsi* “Ukrainian traditional dances” *i tse* “folklore”.

I: Mhm. That’ll come later, but that’s a good point.

NUC2M: Because, *tomu shcho tsyoho tut ne bulo, i...*um...it’s yeah, it’s important when it can be just like...without one of this, it’s, has to be, *vse razom*...everything equal actually.

I: Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

NUC2M: *Khto?*

I: *Naividomisha osoba...*

NUC2M: *Nu, dlya mene to by bil'she bulo Taras Shevchenko i mozhlyvo Lina Kostenko bilsh.*

I: *Taras Shevchenko i Lina Kostenko?*

NUC2M: *Yeah. To musyt' buty odna osoba, chy mozhe buty bil'sh? To, Lina Kostenko meni naibilsh, tak podo—, ni Taras Shevchenko. Tse...osnovne ye.*

I: *I chomu?*

NUC2M: *Chomu? Um [laughs]. Taras Shevchenko...chomu? Nu, tomu shcho tse velyka osobystist' vazhali v istoriyu Ukrayini. Osobystist kotra naybil'sh vidoma, naibil'sh zrobyla dlya imidzh Ukrayiny, ya znayu, tak, yak seredyni Ukrayiny pidneseni, pidnesla do Ukrayina, skazhimo, ta, ot, tse osoba kotra naibil'sha peredaye same sutnist' Ukrayini, tomu shcho mozhlyvo Taras Shevchenko, tak.*

I: What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants?

NUC2M: *Similarities, podibnist'?*

I: *Tak. Osnovni podibnosti, po-vashomu.*

NUC2M: *Shcho osnovni podibne...?*

I: *Tak.*

NUC2M: *Shcho mayetsya, ya troshky ne rozumiyu same pytannia. Yak osnovna podibnists' na chomu, na pryklad, v chomu ty mayesh na uvazi podibnist'?*

I: *Whatever—*

NUC2M: *V povedinsti, ne znayu, tam, v tomu shcho lyudy bil'she lyublyat' yisty, v tomu de krashche lyublyat' spaty [smiling]...*

I: [laughs]

NUC2M: *Shcho mayesh na uvazi "podibnist'", vyaki haluzi? In what, like...?*

I: As members of the same community, or just citizens in Canada, people in Canada. Diaspora, the established community who is already here, and the new immigrants who have come from Ukraine: what do you think they have most in common, similar?

NUC2M: *Chomu, nu, a tut mayetsya na uvazi podibnist'. Nu, tse, to pro shcho my hovoryly, shcho yikh obyednuye, shcho community, shcho vse, ale, same shcho, mhm, tut bil'she choho riznytsia mizh ukrayinstymy novymy i ukrayinstymy tymy shcho tut.*

I: Shchodo kul'tury, shchodo movy, shchodo polityky...

NUC2M: *Podibnist'...heh. Podibnist' tym shcho ye ti tam pereimayut'. Podibnist' v tomu shcho pytannamy kul'tury, polityky, movy, ekonomichnym stanamy, tak dali, peremaye tsi novi i ti shcho vzhe tut, khochha novi na bahato mensh. Novi na bahato bilsh pryzemleni holovne, po-yisty, po-spaty, shcho na robotu, pershoho za robotu, a vse reshta, tak, nu mensh tsikavyt'. To tut mozhe bil'she mozha skazaty po riznytsyu, a ne podibnist'. [0h:20m:0s]*

I: A tse nastupne pytannia [laughs].

NUC2M: Aha...

I: What do you think are the biggest differences, if any? It can be about anything from the way they think about things, the way they do things, the way they interact with the community...

NUC2M: So here's the, here I can tell you...but *podibnist'*, *podibnist'* just some other...*riznytsia v tomu shcho...* Ukrainian-Canadians are more, *bil'she orhanizovani*, and...more socially active, *sotsial'no-aktyvni*, than the newcomers from Ukraine, than people who immigrated recently. They were born in Canada, they learn the way they have to be in the community, they have to be a part of community, work in the community, volunteer there, have to take actions in Ukrainian community events and they have to feel as a part of community. Most of Ukrainians, recent Ukrainians or middle-age of Ukrainians in Ukraine, from Ukraine, they just don't care. They just care about, *yak tobi skazaty, nyzhchi potreby pyramida maslo...* [laughs].

I: Why do you think they don't seem to care as much?

NUC2M: Oh, that's a question for [laughs], discussion for a few hours [laughs].

I: [laughs].

NUC2M: This question can be really, really long [smiling].

I: K, I have 34 hours left on here [the audio recorder]...

NUC2M: 34 hours, wow...

I: ...in this one folder...and I have five folders [laughs]...

NUC2M: Okay, let's go back to the Soviet Union [laughing]...so, and why more... lots of Ukrainians here, intelligentsia, *rozumni lyudy, i tak dali*, why they are here. *Tomu shcho koly pryishla radyans'ka vlada, to rozumni lyudy z Ukrayiny potikaly, i ti khto buly hotovi do zmin, ti khto buly hotovi pochynaty vse z pochatku, ti khto ne khotily korytysia...*

I: I ti lyudy, vony zaraz v diaspori?

NUC2M: *Ti lyudy, vony zaraz v diaspori, bil'shist' tykh lyudei, ti lyudi kotri pereymalysia problem, kotri dbaly pro Ukrayinu ale vony ne mohly zminyty tomu shcho systema... todi nastupaly, okupatsiyna systema....radyans'ka, ot, vony ne mohly, ne khotily z neyi zmyrytysia, to bahato takykh lyudei zahynuly, abo v Sybiru, abo zahynuly v Ukrayini, abo yikh rozstrijaly, i nevelychka chastyna rozumnykh lyudei potikaly po svitu, to v Arhentyini, to v Brazyl'iyi, to v Kanadi, to v Avstraliyi, i tak dali. i ot, same otsi lyudy v Kanadi, vony obyednuly z hromady, i pratsyuvaly na koryst' hromady, i dbaly pro Ukrayinu, i dbaly pro to podiyi kotri vidbuvayetsia v Ukrayini. A v Ukrayini v toy chas lyshylysia to koho zlymaly systema dukhom, lyshylysia ti khto hotovi buty korytysia, I 70 rokiv radyans'ka systema movchyla shcho...lyudy ne povynni obyednulys', povynni maty yakis' svoyi tradytsiyni obyednovani rechi, radyans'ka systema vazhala tam de bil'she nizh troye zibrani znayesh, vony shos' dumayut' pro radyans'ka systema, znayesh, za nymy treba slidkuvaty i cherez tse ukrayintsi duzhe bahato strazhdaly radyans'ka systema, dyela... porozdilyai, i volodaryuye. Ot, tobtu, absolyutno pro pidtrymku yakykh os', orhanizatsiy ukrayins'ki tak tezh tut mova v zahalini v Ukrayini, todi duzhe syl'no rozdilyaly i radyans'ka systema navchyla shcho odyin odnogo povynni zdavaty koly toy khtos dumayut' pro radyans'ka soyuz, to susid mikh pity na tebe na hovoryty, potim tebe mohly areshtuvaty i tak dali. Cherez tsi chynnyky, otzhe lyudy radyans'koho pokolinnia dumayut' pro radyanske, vony ne mayut' vlasnosti. Vony pryvykly shcho [00:25:00] no private properties. Everything is government, vsyo ye derzhavne. So.*

I: Tobtu tse tak yak psykholohichnyi vplyv, yakyi vony berut' zi soboyu do Kanady...

NUC2M: *Tak, vony pryvykly shcho mayut' vlasnosti*, so when they get used to, they don't have any properties, they don't care about their properties.

I: What about the younger people immigrating from...?

NUC2M: And younger people, that's who was born...

I: In the early 90s, that were born...

NUC2M: Early 90s and were coming, who doesn't remember that Soviet Union or that regime... They know after Ukraine getting independent, they know to have something you have to work. In Soviet Union it was: you don't worry. The government is going take care of you. You have to nothing, just what we are telling you to do. So it's many aspects. It's aspects about freedom, aspects about, oh, [laughs] *tse duzhe bahato pro tse mozna hovoryty*.

I: So how would you explain someone such as yourself, who you know, was not born in the 90s, who came to Canada, and who seems to care about politics and be more civically aware, civically responsible, like civic responsibility, caring about politics, and being involved...how would you explain yourself? What influences you to participate and be an active member in the community?

NUC2M: Oh, that's another long story [laughs]. Um. I remember Soviet Union really, really a little bit, because I wasn't born at, when Ukraine was independent, but I was a kid and I don't really remember all of that Soviet Union stuff. So in my age where I, *koly ya vzhe sformuvavsia yak osobystist', to, Soviet Union vzhe ne bulo. To vzhe bulo tak*, and, that why I am involved? *Tse...* because of political situation in Ukraine, those years were really difficult, all those *ekomichni kryzy, politychni kryzy, vony zastavaly diyaty*. And Orange Revolution. It's a time when I became really political active in Ukraine, so in 2004 I was, before 2004 I had never taken any activities in non-government, government organization, in some community organization, political or non-political, but after 2004 I was *holova* civic campaign PORA... *hromadyanska merezha PORA*.

I: Uh-huh...head of the—

NUC2M: It was youth organization who, *yak by to tak skazaty...to...it was political because we were, my buly politychnym halozanom, my buly proty to shcho Yanukovych stav Prezydentom, shchob Ukrayina staly dyktatorskoyu krayinu z dyktatury, so that time, it was really, yak tse skazaty anhliyskoyu, todi buly duzhe bahato vyklykiv, i same todi buly, treba buly diyaty*.

I:... like a call for action...

NUC2M: Yeah. *Orhanizuvav chernivetsku kompaniyu...my pochaly stvoryuvaty sviy oseredok chernivetski des'*, um...end of July, 2004-u roku, end of lystopad, November.

I: De to bulo? V Chernivtsi?

NUC2M: *Chernivtsi, ta*. We have more than 250 active students.

I: Narodyvsia v Chernivtsi?

NUC2M: Yeah. [00:30:00]. *I my todi, buly sposterihachamy u vyborakh*, and we did street performance to activate ore people to get involved I that, to care about that, to wake them up and, *vse to reshti*. Oh it was really nice time. And I was in police, *yak tse*, ne jail, ale, *politsaiskykh tse vidilennia*, I was there almost every second week [laughs], sometimes two-three times a week [laughs], yeah so I was like arrested a few times. It was really interesting.

I: No charges, or...?

NUC2M: Um, that time I was, it really, really, really quick I became a public person because I had lots of interviews after our performance. We did lots of flash mobs. So when we did flash mobs on the streets, like nobody there, and then in twenty minutes many guys in like, *yak tse*, like prisoners had like with...

I: Oh, jailbird...

NUC2M: ...*ti shapochky, odyahayutsya* on the street...

I: Prison stripes.

NUC2M: Like nothing happens, 6 o'clock, then from everywhere, students, young people just came, *odyayutsya shapochky na holovu*, like prisoners, those hats, but their hands *nazad*, and start lining up and walk behind each other, just walking on the street, they going to one side of the street, going back, and then just disappear. People who most of them doesn't know each other, so it was organizer of that flash mob can be catched and put somewhere. So we did that performance, or we announce some performance, and when many of us come to city hall and doing some events over there, some flash mobs over there. They did lots of concerts for like, to support government Yanukovych, all that regime, and we just came to that concert and just completely destroyed their plans [laughs], all, gave all that, flyers, they give flags to hold for party *Rehiony*, and they pay money to students to do that. So we just have our students, our PORA members, we come into their office and say yeah, we want to support Yanukovych, and they give us all those packages with all those flyers and all those t-shirts and all that

stuff, so. And we just go to the square, main square, take all that stuff, say thank you, thank you, pile it up and burn it in front of everyone [laughs].

I: What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

NUC2M: It's really bad, and I did, we did with [name omitted] small, videoclip about Ukrainians who were born in Canada and speak Ukrainian in Canada, and we make sure, like 5 minutes. That videoclip and we send it to Ukraine to a few TV channels, a few websites, like in Chernivtsi area, in Kyiv, and it was on the TV actually, like it's really bad because government, which is in Ukraine right now, that's pro-Russian government and they are doing whatever Putin and Russia tell them to do, so it's really bad. And it happens because of those people in east Ukraine who don't care about what is happening there. But another long story about why we have those people there, who just don't care about Ukrainian language, Ukrainian heritage, everything, because [00:35:00] when Soviet Union came to Ukraine, most of those Ukrainians who cared about their country, who were ready to fight for that country, they were killed or sent to Siberia, or they just went outside of Ukraine. And instead of that, on that place, people from all over Russia came to *skhidna Ukrayina*, to east Ukraine. So those people, they just, *na chuzhi zemli, vony ne vidchuvayut' shcho tse yikhne zemlia, i tomu vony speaks Russian, i tomu vony take care about Russian*. They call themselves as Ukrainians, but they are not because they don't care about that. It's why we have that government which we have right now. And that's people with Soviet Union mentality. They just always waiting for somebody to have to do something for them, because they came to there because government gave them free land, free houses, job, you just come and live here. And they are still waiting, government has to give them something. It's another long story.

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in “being” Ukrainian?

NUC2M: What kind of role?

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in “being” Ukrainian?

NUC2M: The main role. *Tse osnovna role*. Because language, if you take a look historically on nations, language, it's the main thing that unites people to, *yak tse, dobshyn i na osnovi choho formuyetsia derzhavy i vse reshta*. Same, *ote shcho vony hovoryat' na pevni terytoriyi, pevna hrupa lyudei spilkuuyuchys' odniyi toyi samoyi movy, prozhyvannia na tiyi teritoriyi, i mova, tse osnovni oznaky derzhavnosti. I same tomu tse, vono vidihraye osnovnu rol', osnovnykh roley*.

I: Even in Canada?

NUC2M: In Canada it's a different story because in Canada, *dominyuchy natsiya v Kanadi, tse vzhe ne ye indiyantsi*. Well, *istorychno tse stalosia po-insham prychnam, i tomu v Kanadi tut vsi immihranty faktychno*. Nu, *yaksho vzyaty, Kanada moloda krayina. Vona ne ye tysyachu-litnya tam z tysyachu-litnu istoriyu Ukrayina. Vona des' kil'ky sto-shistdesyat' rokiv, ta?* A hundred and sixty some...

I: Officially, but it's older than that, but I guess the colonizers don't think of themselves as immigrants, but they technically are...

NUC2M: Yeah, *tekhnichno* [laughs], yeah.

I: [laughs] Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

NUC2M: I think it's not an issue. It's ah, how do you say, it just *odynochni personal'ni yakis tam vypadky*, I don't think it's an issue.

I: What about for people coming from Ukraine who don't speak Ukrainian and might not speak any English, if they only speak Russian?

NUC2M: Too bad. [laughs]

I: [laughs]

NUC2M: Too bad, and this is really important to know, those people who come from Ukraine and who speak mostly Russian in Ukraine, they start speaking Ukrainian in Canada, and lots of them, I can give you an example of *[name omitted]* here, you know her, she's from Dnipropetrovsk. Her life in Ukraine, she speaks only Russian, only Russian. She came to Canada, she was speaking Russian, or English. But she knows Ukrainian language. She learnt it at school, but with family, friends, at work, everywhere in Ukraine, she was speaking Russian. When she came to Canada, and she lived with Ukrainian community **[00:40:00]** in Canada, she start speaking Ukrainian. And she participate in Ukrainian events, she is a member of Ukrainian organizations, she is even singing in a Ukrainian choir, so [laughs]. And another one of my friends who works with me in Crawford Construction, *[name omitted]*, he came from Dnipropetrovsk, *[name omitted]* from Donetsk, sorry, *[name omitted]* from Dnipropetrovsk, same story. He spoke Ukrainian when he was kid until he was say five years old, and then only Russian. And now he is speaking Ukrainian here in Canada. And other guys, many guys, they know Ukrainian, but they prefer to speak Russian if

somebody speaks Russian as well, because Ukrainian language last 70 years was treated as a village-people language, as a not, *yak tse...*

I: Prestigious?

NUC2M: *Z neyi trokhy smiyalysya sho ty ye z yakis sela, shot y to ye kruto*, it's cool when you speak Russian, not Ukrainian, and Ukrainian language was treated badly during Soviet Union times. So Ukrainian language was saved only in small villages and mostly in the west Ukraine. It's why it happens.

I: Do you think that that attitude persists today in Ukraine? That Russian is cooler than Ukrainian?

NUC2M: Actually, if you take statistically, take a look statistically, it's divide Ukraine. Language problem just divides Ukraine by half, to the east of Ukraine and the west of Ukraine. And Russians politics know that really well. That's why they support that. It's like Ukrainian author who, *vona nadrukuvaty knyzhka* in Ukraine, it's twice cheaper when you do that in Russian. Russia supports all those, what's those, *vydavtsiv*, all those *drukovani*, *vsi dukrovani vydannia v Ukrayini, rosiyski drukovani, vony bahato deshevshe zrobyt'*.

I: They support the distribution...

NUC2M: Yes. Outside of Russia they make more money and they have pressure by that way. Another way is *moskovskiy patriakhat*, Orthodox Church, that's a KGB network from Soviet Union. It's same KGB network, because they distribute pro-Russian flyers in Ukraine, they support all those pro-Russian politics in Ukraine, they can do it and they do it only because they have, *yak tse, povnykh vplyvayut' na lyudei kotri khodyt' do yikhni tserkvy*.

I : They influence the people who are going to their church...

NUC2M: Yes. That's really, really political organization, and it's another story what makes me worry here, because Ukrainian church in Canada, they are pretty tight with Russian Orthodox church in Ukraine, *to ale to zovsim inshe* story.

I: [laughs] So you would say you follow Ukrainian politics, that you keep up to date with Ukrainian politics?

NUC2M: Yeah, yeah.

I: And how do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow? Do you read online, do you listen to the radio?

NUC2M: Online, read online through the Facebook because in 2005 after Orange Revolution, I moved to Kyiv, to capital of Ukraine, and I was press-secretary of PORA organization, of national PORA organization. So I have really good connection with Ukrainian journalists, TV channels, all that, so I have in my friends' list on my Facebook, I have 90% Ukrainian journalists, top of Ukrainian journalists, top of the news that I read from Facebook. So it's, *vono vzhe provsiyene, so, reshte te sho ne potribne, shtaty, to tam vshe nemaye* [laughs].

I: It's been handpicked for you...

NUC2M: Yes. So it's really good, that Facebook.

I: And so, you have Facebook, do you read the news in Ukrainian or in English? [00:45:00]

NUC2M: In Ukrainian because it's Ukrainian news, I read in Ukrainian.

I: And do you have *VKontakte* as well?

NUC2M: I have, but that's more, that network is more, how do you say, it's not that politically active [laughs], more politically active people on the Facebook. That's more for kids, for listening to music, to play games, to... more like that.

I: More leisurely...

NUC2M: Yeah.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

NUC2M: [laughs] Every part.

I: Every part?

NUC2M: Every part equally important for me. I'll tell you like that.

I: And do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.?

NUC2M: Mmm..*troshky*, second part a little bit more...

I: Do you think that it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora—

NUC2M: To keep like old culture, old uh...

I: Mhm, a lot of the Ukrainian diaspora, they're preserving culture that was brought here by their grandparents...

NUC2M: Yeah...?

I: Do you think that's more important than developing and cultivating the culture that goes on in Ukraine?

NUC2M: I wouldn't divide that. It's supposed to be equally be one another, it's supposed to be everything. We have to keep and save what we have and we have to develop and we have to go ahead, so...

I: Would you say they have an equal place here?

NUC2M: We can't live in the past. We have to look to the future as well. So, it's important, both of them are important. I wouldn't divide that, like what is more important or what is less important. It's important.

I: Equally important.

NUC2M: Yeah.

I: And why are they equally important?

NUC2M: Why? Because we have to have our heritage and we have to go into our future with that. It's what unites us, it's what unites our grandparents, what was part of their life, and that's what's going to help us to build together our future, it's like that.

I: Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

NUC2M: I think, it's my personal opinion, but other immigrants can think differently, I think it's way easier now, because they come here when, they have so many Ukrainian organizations here who support them, who help them, you just have to be not lazy and do something. And Ukrainian diaspora will help you if you're doing something, like not just waiting when someone will do something for you. Because most of people I know who new immigrants who came from Ukraine and "Oh, diaspora doesn't want to help me, they can't find me a good job." "What you mean?" "Yeah, but *miy kum Petro* has job for \$30.00/hour and they told me go work for \$16.00. I don't want to work for \$16.00, I want like *kum Petro*." "Oh, too bad." [laughs] You know some of them are like, it's mentality,

so, lots of them think somebody has to do something for them. But it doesn't work that way [laughs].

I: No... Okay, well do you have any closing remarks or anything else you wanted to touch on, anything I'm missing that you'd like to say...

NUC2M: Like, huh, for now no, if you will have more questions you can ask [laughs].

I: Okay [laughs].

NUC2M: *Shos tilky dodaty...*

I: Well sounds good.

NUC2M: *Ya mozhe do kintsya ne zrozumiv sho same ty shukayesh od tsyoho intervyu, what ...*

I: Chasom ya dumayu shcho ya navit' ne...znayu... [laughs]

NUC2M: *Sho tvoye osnovna ot tsya meta tvoho? Pro tsyoho doslidzhennia, osnovna meta same samoho, sho pobachyty ty khochesh, osnovne...?*

I: It's more, it's a better process not to search in culture and people with a conclusion already in mind, but to let the process lead you to the answers, and only come to a conclusion at the end after you've...

NUC2M: *Aha, zrozumiyu, zrozumiyu, ty tak na mayesh yakoyis konkretniy tsili, ty khochesh podyvytsya shos' to vyide...*

I: I have a map...

NUC2M: Aha...

I: But my destination is up to people and things on my way.

NUC2M: *Tse ye tsikavo, duzhe dobre [laughs].*

I: Thank you very much.

NUC2M: *Oh, to nema za sho!*

[Total time: 0h: 50m: 24s]

APPENDIX C: Interview with Participant “NUC3M”

Date of Interview: February 20, 2013

Length of Interview: 00h : 39m : 15s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1966

Age at time of Interview: 46

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

NUC3M: Ukraine

I: When did you immigrate to Canada?

NUC3M:2000

I: What can you tell me about your immigration to Canada?

NUC3M: I came to Canada simply with one purpose: to pursue my doctoral program.

I: What is/was your profession?

NUC3M: I was head of the department [*name of department and institute omitted*] which was a part of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. So I also had, I had some lectures of Ukrainian literature. So I taught some courses in Ukrainian literature.

I: What was your area of study?

NUC3M: Here? In Canada?

I: Mhm.

NUC3M: I came to the Department of Modern Language and Cultural Studies and the topic of my study, of my thesis was Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Ukrainian writer, but I wanted to study it from the perspective of what I call displacement,

that is basically immigration. So that was something of my personal journey to take a look at a writer who lived most of his life and for the majority of his works, actually, outside his homeland.

I: And what would you say is your cultural background?

NUC3M: You mean in national terms, or do you mean...?

I: Just whatever cultural background you regard as being your culture...

NUC3M: I mean it's not clear to me because culture, it's a very broad term, like do I like music, art, or you mean Ukrainian stuff?

I: As in Ukrainian, or do you look at yourself as Canadian...

NUC3M: Oh, okay. Well I would regard myself as a Ukrainian-Canadian. I mean, marked here as Ukrainian-Canadian.

I: And why would you regard yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian?

NUC3M: Even though I have formally Canadian citizenship, I'm still attached to my former homeland, and so there is some kind of difference between myself and people who were born in Canada I believe.

I: Would you identify yourself as any other way, other than Ukrainian-Canadian?

NUC3M: I mean, I can, I went as an observer on a mission from the Canadian government, so in that respect I identify myself as a Canadian. So I do have that Canadian identity as well. I'm proud of it, definitely. But still, as I mentioned, I have strong attachment to Ukrainian culture, so there is [laughs] maybe there is one *main*, or formal allegiance to Canada, and then within that, there is...it's difficult for many Canadians to be purely Canadian, so everyone came from somewhere, except maybe first immigrants, yeah.

I: Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

NUC3M: Mhm. I speak Ukrainian at home, and I have two children, [*ages omitted*], so the older one actually went to late French immersion from Grade 7 to 9 because we didn't manage, we didn't realize it, how it was important for him to study maybe from the beginning. But the younger one actually started from the Kindergarten his French, so it's kind of, sounds maybe funny, he is exposed to French at school, the younger one [0h:5m:0s], he speaks English with his

classmates, and he speaks Ukrainian at home, but when the kids are together, they usually switch to English and I have my obligation always to remind them: *mo va*.

I: [laughs]

NUC3M: So they would switch to Ukrainian and right now, my oldest son actually graduated from the Saturday school, and he has formal credit for that, and the younger one will go to that school in three years. So in order to start that program, right now we work on his Ukrainian, I mean formal Ukrainian, written, grammar, and so on.

I: And what about yourself? At work do you use primarily Ukrainian or English?

NUC3M: At work?

I: Mhm.

NUC3M: Since this is [*name of Ukrainian Institution*] at the University of Alberta, I use both. What proportion I don't know, it depends on the situation, yeah. Yeah, but this is the place when I can some days could be that I can speak only Ukrainian for instance, we have only a few people who can't speak, but sometimes you have to speak to other people, and you know, receiving phone calls and speaking to stuff at the U of A as well.

I: And do you speak any Russian or other languages?

NUC3M: Yes, I speak Russian fluently, certainly as I grew up in the Soviet Union, and sometimes I spoke Russian with my friends who came either from Soviet Republic, or even from Ukraine, in particular from eastern or southern parts of Ukraine, so those people feel more comfortable speaking in Russian, and for me it's kind of supporting my Russian as well. And I would say that I speak Russian more in Canada than I spoke it in Ukraine, because in Ukraine it was an issue of identity. You have, you had to speak Ukrainian to show that you are, you are for the Ukrainian culture, the issue of bilingualism in Ukraine. But in Canada it's a different situation, this would show the knowledge, you know, the knowledge of languages, so that's fine with me.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/ why not?

NUC3M: Well it's kind of provocative question. I wouldn't say you exactly, I mean, doesn't matter for me, but I would say only that because I am in Ukrainian

studies in the Ukrainian community. I really am more involved with Ukrainian stuff than with all Canadian, but again, this is because this is my, kind of profession to some extent.

I: What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian/member of the Ukrainian community?

NUC3M: Important? [laughs] I know it's kind of very broad question. What do you mean "important", any details?

I: What sort of things are important to you in the Ukrainian-Canadian community? Is it language, schools, organizations...?

NUC3M: Mhm. I think all these you mentioned are really important to me, and I know that even previous waves of immigration rely on so-called "fresh blood", so newcomers who would take over and continue the preservation of Ukrainian language and culture. And I think this is our kind of mission to some extent. Yeah, that's, this is something easy and comfortable for me to do, actually. So I see myself as a bridge between the new contemporary, modern Ukrainian culture in Ukraine, because I read you know, media in Ukraine, I know what's going on there, and the Ukrainian community in Canada.

I: Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here?

NUC3M: Yes, yes, I feel but on the other hand it brings you more challenges I would say, because you kind of, you feel [0h:10m:0s] narrowed down to this community. This kind of family, an extended family, so if you do something wrong, everyone would know about it [laughs].

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

NUC3M: Different ways, I mean, this is kind of my profession because I deal with fundraising, and I have a lot of contacts within the community, different organizations, individuals, I try to establish as many as possible connection with the community, and try to persuade that it's really important to support Ukrainian culture and education. So this is actually my job, so to speak. But other than that, like um, my kids participated in Ukrainian theaters for example, Ukrainian dances as well, so Ukrainian schools I mentioned. Now my youngest son went to the drawing class with the Ukrainian, a teacher from Ukraine, so um...and it was important, because in that studio he could speak in Ukrainian with someone else besides our family. Yeah.

I: Is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you?

NUC3M: Yes.

I: And why is it important to you?

NUC3M: I mean, I am a part of the diaspora, so that's why it's natural, it's intrinsic to me to support that diaspora, to preserve the traditions and understand the role which diaspora plays and beside cultural aspect there are also political and governmental maybe. I know that Canada supports different democratic initiatives in the world, and in that respect they have support of Ukrainian organizations in Canada. The best example would be the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, so kind of a lobby. And I know that through that lobby, CIDA, I don't know this, the abbreviation which supports international development of Canada, actually supports some projects in Ukraine by involving Canadian experts, and the best example would be participating in the electoral missions in Ukraine. The last was in October and November last year, but before there were a few of such missions as well. And also I would say business connections, since I am involved in fundraising, I try to find people in business, which, who would be interested in this business connection. And I know some success stories, and I know that some Canadian businessmen of Ukrainian origin actually have their businesses in Ukraine, and they organize in Canada different seminars and conferences inviting Ukrainian counterparts here to Canada.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it largely based on organizations, activities, community, culture, language? Or what is it that makes the Ukrainian diaspora, you know, different from the rest of Canadian society? What characterizes it the most?

NUC3M: I mean, we can compare the Ukrainian diaspora with *other* diasporas, and we can compare it with the Canadian society at large. So I believe the essence of the Ukrainian diaspora is that it's really visible, and everyone who deals with the multiculturalism in Canada knows that actually, Ukrainian politicians and educators were behind the initiation of that politics of multiculturalism. *[Name of a printing press]* actually published a book by our first director *[name omitted]* where he told about this process **[0h:15m:0s]** so in that respect, Ukrainian diaspora voiced, actually positions of many other ethnic groups, which were less influential. So in that respect I'm, I feel really proud for the Ukrainian diaspora and for their achievements, and on the other hand, it even helps me to integrate into the Canadian society much easier.

I: In which language(s) do you read ? In Ukrainian? In English? Or in any other languages?

NUC3M: I read Ukrainian, English and Russian on a regular basis. I can read Polish quite comfortably. Sometimes kids ask me to help with French [laughs] so I just, basic knowledge, basic knowledge.

I: So now for you, this is probably a bit of a loaded question: have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

NUC3M: Oh yes!

I: Obviously...[laughs]

NUC3M: Of course, yeah, all the time.

I: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature? Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?

NUC3M: Right now I am reading the Ukrainian author who is very specific, it's, his name is Andrij Kurkov, and he's a good example of maybe multiculturalism in Ukraine. He writes in Russian, but he considers himself Ukrainian writer, belonging to the Ukrainian culture. He is just a good writer, so I like to read him in Russian.

I: Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

NUC3M: Yes, yes, sure, I read them, especially when I was a student I read a lot of Ukrainian literature.

I: Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture? Why or why not?

NUC3M: I think both are important, so if you would like to preserve Ukrainian culture, we should definitely know and read maybe basic forms, I don't know how to preserve it, but Ukrainian language should be preserved in some respect. I know that it's problematic for some Canadians of Ukrainian origin to read in Ukrainian, so then the translation is good tool to preserve that identity and to read about things Ukrainian and not only Ukrainian, but I mean, some universal, maybe as well.

I: What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

NUC3M: It's a good question because I am a great fan of music, but paradoxically I... I don't really like Ukrainian music from Ukraine. So I do listen to Ukrainian groups as well, but not to the extent to which I listen to other music, so I prefer just good music, this is international language I would say. And I like more like jazz...and actually based on mixtures, speaking about multiculturalism, like Brazilian mixture with jazz, I mean this is great contribution to the world music as well. So something which is, everything new comes from mixture, from synthesis actually, and this is what interests me, and what is actually interesting.

I: And is there anything in particular that does not put certain types of Ukrainian music on the forefront of your musical preferences? Is it because of a lack of synthesis, or...?

NUC3M: Um, I would say that Ukrainian music to some extent is backward, I mean a lot of traditional music. [0h:20m:0s]I may find some good groups as well, like jazz groups, but that popular music, it appeals more to the younger generation. So it doesn't appeal to me, and um...yeah, the Ukrainian culture actually, I know it was closed during the Soviet time it was sort of encapsulated in itself, and even now even Ukraine is open to the world there is that sense of kind of self-centredness, to put it. This is the problem for Ukrainian arts in general, maybe.

I: I'm going to turn this around to you so that you can complete this list. There are 11 things here. They're all aspects of Ukrainian culture, and if you had to identify them according to what you deem most important, please do so numbering them from #1-11, #1 being most important and #11 being last.

cinema

classical literature

contemporary literature

classical music

contemporary music

traditional music

classical theatre

contemporary theatre

fine arts

folklore

pop culture

NUC3M: So it's kind of, to put it in order of preference...

I: In order, according to you, in your opinion.

NUC3M: You mean in Canada, Ukrainian culture in Canada, or in general?

I: In general, whichever you'd like. Starting here, and ending there [gesturing].

NUC3M: I don't like this type of question.

I: [laughs]

NUC3M: Um, no I would say that everything's important. I don't like this type of question.

I: And that's the next question, is whether you think all of them are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity.

NUC3M: Um...more or less, yes. I mean, contemporary and traditional music, both are important. Contemporary music is based on traditional music, so. It's kind of [laughs], children's question: do you like more candy or ice cream? [laughs]

I: [laughs] So ranking them, you don't think that any of them are of a higher value or have more importance in Ukrainian culture, and that ranking them is not, ranking them shows no value in Ukrainian culture?

NUC3M: I mean, more or less, they're all important. I wouldn't rank them. Someone should be very, very specific. Maybe some people would like something more, something less.

I: Okay. Alright. You can think about this if you need a moment. Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why? I know it's hard to pick just one [laughs].

NUC3M: Oh, I mean, speaking in terms of identity, of course Taras Shevchenko comes to my mind. I mean, this is what the Ukrainian identity is connected, yeah.

I: Okay, so Taras Shevchenko because of his connection to identity.

NUC3M: Yeah, I mean there are a lot of monuments in Ukraine, all over the world, in Canada, so that's why.

I: Okay. And what, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants? Those who come after 1991...

NUC3M: Um, the biggest similarity is the connection to things Ukrainian, even though they may understand that Ukrainian-ness in different terms, but still, they want to preserve it as *something* important. For example, the diaspora may speak English, but they understand that it's good that their children would study Ukrainian, they would go on a trip to Ukraine, [0h:25m:0s] so even in symbolical terms.

I: Okay, and what do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

NUC3M: I think the answer to this question would come from the previous question, this is how they *understand*, maybe *interpret* their understanding of what Ukrainian is, and this is, again, based on their tradition in which they grew up, their knowledge of language, of culture, of literature, and this knowledge is different in the diaspora and in this recent wave of Ukrainian immigration.

I: Alright... What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

NUC3M: I mean, I'm quite negative to that law. It allows, as far as I remember, because maybe I am not accurate, it allows the Russian and other languages in certain regions of Ukraine to be the official language. So, I know that it was directed to push the Ukrainian language a little bit, and to announce the Russian language as the one of the official languages in Ukraine. So I know the situation is really important for the Ukrainian identity, to preserve the Ukrainian language since it was banned for a lot of period, and it didn't come yet to the normal state of its existence. We know that still the majority of the books of the press are being published in Russian in Ukraine.

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in "being" Ukrainian?

NUC3M: In Canada, or in Ukraine?

I: In Canada. Or in Ukraine—you could definitely talk about that as well.

NUC3M: I mean, many people think that the language is the *main* marker of identity. It's a more traditional approach. I...it depends on historical circumstances. But the reality in Ukraine is different, so there are many Russian speakers who consider themselves Ukrainian as well. So I think there should be

some rules elaborated in Ukraine how to deal with this bilingualism, so there should be one maybe state language, but in everyday life people can speak whatever language they like. Maybe this would be the simple solution, the way as it is Canada, so we have two official languages, but then people have their schools, and they may speak whatever language they wish, but there are certain requirements.

I : Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

NUC3M: Oh, yes, certainly there is a barrier, and there are some people from the community who can speak more fluently, some people would speak with difficulties, and I mean this is problematic when you communicate, you like to feel yourself as comfortable as possible, and sometimes the language could be a barrier for this. But on the other hand, I'm happy that there are institutional support within the diaspora which manage to regenerate, actually, Ukrainian language and other features of Ukrainian culture. The best example would be Ukrainian-Canadians of the fifth generation, like *[name omitted]* for example, or *[name omitted]* as well. [0h:30m:0s] So I know people who come from mixed families, but because the Ukrainian community is kind of dominant in Edmonton, speaking about local situation, so many of those prefer to study Ukrainian.

I: Do you follow Ukrainian politics?

NUC3M: Yes.

I: How do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow, and in which languages?

NUC3M: I read all language, I just don't pay attention, I mean, Ukrainian, English, and Russian. Three main languages.

I: Do you follow it primarily online, or in actual newspapers, or how do you—?

NUC3M: Online, mainly online.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Would you say that folklore, dance, art, literature, music, history, Ukrainian language, which one of those, or what kinds of culture are most important to you and why?

NUC3M: Yeah, this is the same type of question, what is more important. I believe all are really important, but there are...for example, literature and

folklore, which are based on language, so maybe from that perspective they are more important to preserve the Ukrainian identity in Canada, but on the other hand, art can be preserved without the knowledge of language. So in that respect maybe those I first mentioned are more important, but technically speaking, but since, still the art can speak to other groups in Canada without any language barrier, so from the perspective of multiculturalist, maybe it's more important.

I: So the kinds of culture that are important are based not only on what is important to *you*, but what kinds of culture can be communicated to others?

NUC3M: Oh yes, sure.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

NUC3M: I'm not sure if they both have an equal place in Canada, I mean it's a matter of research. But I think that all those can be preserved and promoted, whatever is important for different groups of the diaspora. There's where it's a very complex phenomenon: there are different groups within the diaspora. I'm, what I don't like is the exclusive approach to this, because I know that some people would say, "oh, I don't like that idea, it brought from recent Ukraine, it must be kind of Soviet", so fear of something new, this is the problem of the traditional approach. But certainly, the Ukrainian diaspora has its own identity. Already some new forms were created, for example Ukrainian dance, this is perceived, I believe, not only as Ukrainian, but as a contribution to the Canadian culture, so as far as I know, in Edmonton there are more dancers on average than in Ukraine, as far as I know. Did I answer this question?

I: Mhm! Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

NUC3M: You mean, before 1991?

I: Mhm, the first three waves. Do you think that the fourth wave faces any new or different challenges that the first three may not have faced?

NUC3M: I think...it's much easier to be now, to adjust to the society much, much easier, [0h:35m:0s] and when we look back just few decades ago, like 1960's

and 70's I remember that kind of, um, discrimination regarding even Ukrainian *names*. Today, I myself, I don't remember that I felt, felt kind of discrimination, even though I knew that it was among early immigrants, I myself feel really comfortable, more or less comfortable, and I know that Canada may be the best country in that regard. This is my, also because, immigrants from other groups come to Canada and they all try to find a consensus within the larger Canadian community. So definitely we are *privileged*, this wave of immigration is *privileged*, and the other reason may lie in the fact that we live in the age of communication, you know, internet and travel, so I travel to Ukraine almost every year. Or to Europe, so it's not a matter to go just one time in your lifetime. So.

I: Why do you think it's easier for the recent immigrants? Do you think it's a matter of Canadian society at large being more accepting and having more resources, or do you think that part of the reason lies in the resources of the Ukrainian diaspora? Or both? Or why do you...?

NUC3M: Oh, yeah, both, definitely, both, yeah. Society, the Canadian society itself is a young society, recently formed only, so it, more or less accepts easily new immigrants, but certainly the support of the diaspora with its established organizations and other groups is really important. And actually those organizations relied heavily now on these new immigrants, and they would like that their cause would be, you know, carried on by newcomers. And it happens before when the inter-war generation came so they continued the first initiatives of pioneers, of Ukrainian pioneers.

I: Well, do you have any closing remarks, comments, any opinions or thoughts you'd like to share, or elaborate on any of the questions I asked?

NUC3M: Um...

I: This is your chance in case, you know, you have had more thoughts or you wanted to clarify something...

NUC3M: I think I said, very shortly, I answered, I tried to answer very shortly. It's really difficult to, you know, to answer fully to your question because you have to be concentrated all the time, and if you have questions maybe later, so. We can continue it. Other than that I think it's really important research, and this is what we within the Alberta Society for the Advance of Ukrainian Studies discussed the necessity of, and we would like to have, actually, and we look for people, actually, who would like to conduct such research.

I: Oh, great [laughs]

NUC3M: Maybe offer some kind of support for that.

I: Well, thank you very much for your time today, and your energy and your thoughts, and I look forward to transcribing this and sending it to you [laughs].

NUC3M: Mhm, *duzhe dyakuyu*.

I: *Proshu*.

[Total time: 0h:39m:15s]

APPENDIX D: Interview with Participant “NUC4F”

Date of Interview: January 19, 2013

Length of Interview: 00h : 52m : 23s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1988

Age at time of Interview: 25

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

NUC4F: Ukraine

I: When did you immigrate to Canada? Or when did your family immigrate to Canada?

NUC4F: Uh...should I say originally, or like, actually immigrating...’Cause I came to Canada first time in 2008 but I was kind of moving back and forth.

I: Okay...

NUC4F: And now I...well say 2008 for sure.

I: Okay...

NUC4F : But I decided to become a permanent resident two years ago, so... I don’t know if that matters at all.

I: And what can you tell me about your immigration to Canada, or your family’s immigration to Canada? I guess in this case it’s you...

NUC4F:What, what do you mean...like uh...about the legal part of it, or what part of telling me...what do you want me to...

I: Um, just maybe your reasons, or any impressions or background...

NUC4F:Uh, well like I originally came to Canada as a student, as an exchange student, but I was still studying in Ukraine, and I studied here for half a year, and

then I met my husband, so ultimately he was the reason why I moved here, I guess, and then I came again in 2009, I came back home, and then I came for another program, to study here for another program while I was still enrolled in my Master's in Ukraine, so I was kind of moving back and forth. And then after I finished my Master's in Ukraine, [*name omitted*] and I got married, and then I decided to stay in Canada for a while, so...that's about it.

I: And you plan to stay here for good?

NUC4F: Uhhh...well so far.

I: So far?

NUC4F: Maybe eventually move to Europe, but we'll see how that goes.

I: Alright...and what is or was your profession?

NUC4F: What is or was...well I don't really...it's not really like a profession...because I studied international relations and foreign policy so ultimately that would be like government employees or company who does some kind of international relations or has some kind of...whatever relation with like another company, another country, or the government of another country, so.

I: Right...

NUC4F: I would say ultimately the government, but...

I: And so you have a Master's...

NUC4F: Yeah, I have a Master's in International Relations and Foreign Policy, and Translation, but I have two majors...

I: Yes, and translation...

NUC4F: English and Czech... to be precise.

I: Okay...interesting...And what would *you* say is your cultural background?

NUC4F: Uh...cultural background? I don't know...what do, what do you mean...Ukrainian or...?

I: Mhm...would you say Ukrainian...Canadian...do you have any other heritage?

NUC4F: Ukrainian. I was raised as a Ukrainian. All of my family, well, well...yeah, like my parents were born in Ukraine, their parents were born in Ukraine. So, other than my great-grand-parents, they were, my great grandma was Po--, uh, Czech, well, actually German at that time because there was no Czech Republic, so she was German and my great grandpa was Polish, and then they moved to Ukraine during the war, so...

I: Oh, wow...

NUC4F: Yeah, so I was always proud that I'm Ukrainian, but I'm not, not that deep [laughs]. But I was raised in Ukrainian traditions, if that's what you want, want to know.

I: And where were you raised?

NUC4F :I was raised in Ternopil, which is Western Ukraine, and I lived there for 17 years, and then I moved to L'viv, where I pursued my education, well higher education... and first degree.

I: Awesome...and a related question:Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian? Why or why not?

N:Uhh...I would love to but I can't. Like I think you have to be either part of diaspora or be born here...at *least*, like...you have your parents who are Ukrainian, and then you were born here so you're Ukrainian-Canadian, then you were brought up as a Ukrainian living in Canada, I can't say that, 'cause I was brought up as a Ukrainian, so...

I: Uh-huh... A Ukrainian in Ukraine...

[00h:05m:00s]

NUC4F: A Ukrainian in Ukraine. They're a little different. Ukrainian, Ukrainians in Canada a little different than Ukrainians in Ukraine.

I: Because of citizenship, or...?

NUC4F: No, just because of the way they were brought up and they were raised. It still is Ukrainians, but just different, not like *I* was brought up...with the ideas and traditions and all that. People here are very, like Ukrainians here are very focused on Ukrainianism, if you want to call it that. People in Ukraine, because they live in Ukraine, don't *have* to be focused on it, they live in it, so they pursue other things, you know what I mean? Like, from like other cultures and try to get things from, well, implement some things from other countries and try to be more diverse, and whereas Canada if you were born here, you're trying to pursue

Ukrainianism to the , you know, very end or beginning or whatever you want to call it. So, that's why I can't call myself a Ukrainian-Canadian. Although, in, I mean I'm not even a citizen. I'm just a permanent resident here, so. Yeah. ... Was that good enough, or...?

I: Oh, yeah, any answer, every answer is a good answer. And do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? And which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

NUC4F: Uh, well I use mostly English with my friends here, because everyone speaks, well, sometimes Ukrainian with people who are from Ukraine, but like I said, which was part of my degree in Ukraine, I also learned Czech, German and French, and I also speak Russian, so...

I: Czech, German, French and Russian?

NUC4F: Yes. Well, and English.

I: And English...and Ukrainian.

NUC4F: And Ukrainian.

I: Wow...

NUC4F: And Ukrainian is my mother tongue, but...

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why or why not?

NUC4F: Um...[laughs]...see, and that's that would be like what I'm going to answer right now would be as a Ukrainian who came from Ukraine ,not a Ukrainian-Canadian, because I feel like when you come to this country as a foreigner, like me, I wasn't born here, you have to contribute to like a bigger picture, like a Canadian picture, not just the Ukrainian community. Right, so...me, personally, I would try to be part of the larger Canadian, whatever you call it, commu--...

I: Community. Mhm.

NUC4F:...rather than just the Ukrainian one. I do take part in it, I volunteer a lot in Ukrainian organizations, I attend Ukrainian events, and do my best, I go to a Ukrainian church, but I would, that wouldn't be just my, the only focus. Because I feel like I came from another country, and I have to--, and then you have to respect another country and you know the country's laws too, and traditions, so...

I: What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian or member of the Ukrainian community? I know you just said that you're part of both, not just--

NUC4F: What is important? It's important to uh, for of course to remember where you come from, and remember that I am Ukrainian, there is things that I have to do as a Ukrainian here, but it's important to remember that I came to Canada and I agreed to be part of this, you know, pretty much a citizen here, so to do everything that a citizen is required to do in this country. So, contribute to society.

I: And how would you contribute to society? By following the laws and more of the citizen role?

NUC4F: Oh, all of those things. Yeah, following the law, working, and then being able to do all these things like pay taxes, and you know, do everything that a responsible citizen does, not just come and live here and enjoy all the benefits and then you know, not contribute in any other way. Like volunteering for other organizations, like I take part in not just Ukrainian organizations but also Canadian one, so I feel like, there should be a balance between it. You know.

I: Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here?

NUC4F :I do, very much.

I: And why?

NUC4F: People are very friendly, and because at some point everyone was, like, everyone was an immigrant [00h: 10m: 00s], they try to make everyone at home, and then when the first time I, I guess took part in an event, the Ukrainian diaspora event, I felt like at home the first time. People are very welcoming and they want you to be a part of it and they're proud that their community is growing, so.

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

NUC4F: Like I said, mostly just volunteering for Ukrainian organizations and attending different events, so, fundraising.

I: And is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you?

NUC4F: It is. They're a big part of my Canadian life. Just because I made a lot of friends and people are very helpful when you come here and you're new and don't know anything they're a big source of information.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

NUC4F: Everything I think. The Ukrainian community is very self-sufficient and they almost, it's like a little country in another country.

I: It's like a little country in another country?

NUC4F: Yeah.

I: [laughs] I like that. And in which languages do you read? This is getting on a slightly different topic. But do you read in Ukrainian? In English? In other?

NUC4F :Both. Mostly in English here because everything is in English, and then you read in, you know, you go to the store and buy books and you read in English, and on the internet you read English, mostly English. Sometimes Ukrainian, but not as often. It's mostly like social websites that would be in Ukrainian.

I: Such as...

NUC4F: You know, *Vkontakte* it's like an alternative to Facebook, so that's the really only thing that is in Ukrainian that I still keep in Ukrainian, but other than that mostly in English. Newspapers, and, yeah...

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

NUC4F: Oh, yeah, I read, well, I used to read everything in Ukrainian when I lived in Ukraine, right, so. All the books and all the literature and um, work material and university, everything was in Ukrainian. Not here I read quite a bit like not as much of course. And I feel like I don't read enough of like, the local um, I don't know, authors, the Ukrainian ones. The Ukrainian diaspora language is a little different too I *must* say, and it's sometimes hard for me, because I came from a modern society like Ukrainian modern language, so [laughs], sometimes I have hard times reading the old Ukrainian language because it doesn't really make sense to me.

I: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature?

NUC4F: Uummm....Yes.

I: Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?

NUC4F: Yes, it was Ukrainian. It's nice to be able to like, I wish there was more in Ukrainian, but it kinda, it's kind of... I don't of, kind of debating because on one side I think it's unfair say there's a lot. Ok, I had to do my driver's license test and then there's like six different editions of like different languages, you know, and Mandarin and all that, and then there's none in Ukrainian. There's such a big Ukrainian community here, so I feel like why not in Ukrainian, not that I have any problem learning and studying, and then you know passing this test in English, I have no problem like that, but I feel like it's unfair. So that's on one hand, but the on the other hand when you come to this country you have to contribute and you have to be pretty much like a real citizen so you *have* to do it in English, like, you *have* to do it in English, so. It's kind of a confusion. Like some people think some of the, uh, maybe nationalities have it a little bit easier, it's like, we'll just do it and whatever language they have there. Not Ukrainian. Like Ukrainians will come and learn English, and they'll do it in English. They won't say "Hey-- we want this in Ukrainian because we can't learn English". That's what I kind of like about the Ukrainian community. They're proud they're Ukrainian but they're proud of their Canadian too.

I: And related to that question, have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

NUC4F: Yup, yup, yeah I have a couple of their books, they're really good. Like I studied in L'viv so I read lots. It's pretty much local.

I: Right.

NUC4F: Can't be any more local....

I: No...[laughs]

NUC4F: ...than that...[laughs]

I: So do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture?

NUC4F: It is a sufficient connection. [00h: 15m: 00s] I mean, I have an opportunity to read it in Ukrainian because I can get it, and I can get somebody to send it to me because I'm not able to buy it here, say in Ukrainian, a book in Ukrainian, but I think if it was in English, a translated version and I was able to buy it here in Canada, it would be just as good, and it would be a big contribution

to other people too who don't speak Ukrainian but would like to, you know, know more about it and be able to read Ukrainian, some Ukrainian authors.

I: So moving onto a related topic. What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

NUC4F: Yep. Mostly *Okean Elzy*, *Boombox*, *Skryabyn*, what else Ukrainian I listen to, um... a little bit of *Ruslana*, and then *Tartak*, uh, and some older Ukrainian ones, like um, what's her name... what's her name... like *Taisia Povaliy* some of her Ukrainian music she has some good ones. Lots of folk music too. So I don't really have any bands that, they don't really have band name, it's mostly just for fun, but a bunch of different singers who never parted and, it's like a mix of Ukrainian folk music.

I: For the next question I'm going to turn this little board around so you can see the list of things I'm going to ask you about. If you could please identify in descending order the aspects of Ukrainian culture you deem the most important:

cinema- 5

classical literature- 1

contemporary literature- 3

classical music- 2

contemporary music- 10

traditional music- 8

classical theatre- 4

contemporary theatre - 9

fine arts- 6

folklore- 7

pop culture-11

I: Perfect, thank you. Do you think these are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity?

NUC4F: It is.

I: So regardless of ranking them, you think they're still all equal...?

N: Yeah... of course... [nods yes]

I: Here's a very, here's a question that if you need a moment to think about it, that's fine. Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

NUC4F: That *is* a tough question...

I: [laughs]

NUC4F: That's hard to say because there's like I say, if you said, okay like in literature, like oh, in political life, oh in this, right, then it would be I think fair, but...um...Geez. I don't know if this is going to sound silly [laughs] or, uh, I would say probably Taras Shevchenko.

I: Okay...

NUC4F: Maybe not ideal answer, I don't know, but I just feel like he, and especially nowadays [00h: 20m: 00s] in Ukraine he, his work is very relevant, and the, his figure was always big in, for Ukrainians, and anytime in any period of life, so. Any time Ukrainians tried to get independence, you know, every single, every 50 years of the existence of, you know, Ukrainians or, pretty much from his, the time he was around everyone referred to Shevchenko and his work and that he like, he'd be somewhere out there. You want to be general I guess. There are lots of other people. Like I said, it would be fair if we said a person from like a political life, and then letters, sure, or like social, like contribution to like, uh, you can just social life, then there is a couple other people then, but I'll stick with Shevchenko.

I: Alright [laughs]. And what, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants?

NUC4F: Geez.

I: So just thinking about similarities and what they have the most in common...

NUC4F: I think most of Ukrainians who just came to Canada and Ukrainians who already lived here for many, many years is that they want to...like, how do you say like, establish their life here meaning having good job, having some kind of status, right, getting a, you know, having good place to live and, which all leads to... pretty much having a good job. I would say that all Ukrainians that came here or Ukrainians who already lived here for a while, they're pretty hard-

working people, like they work hard to achieve their goals, so, they don't slack I don't think.

I: What do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

NUC4F: Ukrainians, they, like I said, diaspora is really trying to stay connected with the Ukrainian community and new Ukrainians who come here, it's not as important for them. For them it's the life, the quality of life that they get is the most important because that's the reason why they moved ultimately.

I: So for immigrants it's more important for them, um, for a recent immigrant...you think it's more important for them to connect to the general culture, whereas...

NUC4F: Yeah, they try to be part of just the Canadian, not to be super-focused on the diaspora. That's the difference between new Ukrainians and Ukrainians who were here for a while, like a second or third or fourth generation. I think that's why they struggle a little bit.

I: What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

NUC4F: What do you mean...language what?

I: The new language law concerning Russian...

N:... in Ukraine?

I: Yeah...

NUC4F: Oh, geez, don't get me started on that. That's ridiculous.

I: [laughs] Why is it ridiculous?

NUC4F: Well because first of all, Russian has never been Uk—it's not our national language, like, every country, if people are lucky they have their own language they communicate in, and Ukrainians have their own language for years and years, and it is a separate Slavic language, and Ukrainians as a nation live in the country which obviously has its own territory, and by the territory, yes, there are Ukrainians who feel like they should speak Ukrainians. You know what, I don't care if you speak Russian at home, or if you speak French at home, the national language should be a pride of every country. It's an achievement. Not every country is proud to have their own language, like Austrians speak German, but they don't speak Austrian language, right? Czech people have their own language. Other people speak German there too but it's okay, like their language is Czech and they have to be able to...I mean I don't care if you speak it or not,

but it's okay to have another working language, talking about legal aspect of it, I have nothing against that, a big part of Ukrainians in Eastern Europe, in Eastern Ukraine speak Russian, and it's okay. There is a lot of Russian there who immigrated to Ukraine, or they were forced to immigrate to Ukraine, when Ukraine was part of USSR and you can't take that away, but there's lots of people in those villages, they speak exclusively Ukrainian [00h: 25m:00s]. And I feel like you're just taking that away by just generalizing like "oh everyone in Donetsk speaks Russian". I know a lot of people in Dnipropetrovsk who speak Ukrainian at home, but then they have to speak Russian when they go work somewhere, just because that's more common. And having a good government, a responsible government that is able to foresee things, they would've never let that happen. We were talking about Yanukovich and his stupid *Partiya Rehiioniv*, you can't change that. It was bound, it was bound to happen. I think eventually, and then another thing, people don't understand that. It's like a bone that they throw to people to talk about, so it's only to argue about. Because Ukrainians are very passionate about their point of view. It doesn't matter if they are Eastern Ukrainians or Western Ukrainians. So everyone's going to try to stick to their point, right? So they throw the language, and people are like "Yeah, why can't Russian..." like they don't care right? Well while they're fighting or trying to figure out what language is right, up there, they're doing other things, like trying to re-evaluate a whole government organizations, all the government enterprises and sell them, or companies that own all this natural resources, you know coal and all that, so they're trying to sell all that, privatize it, people don't see that. They never have time to pay attention to that because they're so focused on the language issues. It's like they would throw one of those... *Kateryna Druha*, Katherine the Second, the monument of her, well, they put Stepan Bandera in L'viv, so there you go, there's the big fight. What are they doing up there? Nobody cares, because they're so focused on the stupid monument. This is very classic Ukrainian, so.

I: [laughs]. You might have already covered this a little bit, but if you would like to elaborate a bit more specifically, I'd like to ask you what kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in "being" Ukrainian?

NUC4F: It's a big part of it, it's the *main* part of being Ukrainian is being able to speak the language. And so taking that away from people, you know, um... like and they say when the nation disappears first Lina Kostenko said they take the, they become, what do you call them, when they're not able to speak...

I: ...mute?

NUC4F: Yeah, like the language is taken away from them. That's how you first try to repress a nation by taking away their ability to speak, so.

I: Do you think that having Russian as another official language takes away...?

NUC4F: It does in a way. I feel like a lot of people feel like they lost the battle, and it's one of those things like you feel like you're losing one thing and then you don't care about the other. And then so many people in past, including Taras Shevchenko were fighting for this language, and for the rights of Ukrainian language, and then all of a sudden it's been taken away again. like we fought so long to have it, to have that standing above all the other languages. And now it's being taken away again. I mean not that it's been taken away, but *moved* to the side, and then Russian is going to sit on the same shelf with it. Like I don't agree with that. And that's why so many people are so disappointed. It's been you know, not decades, hundreds of years of this constant fighting, and then here we go, in our own Ukraine, in a sovereign country, and our own Ukrainian language is not just the main national language anymore. So.

I: Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

NUC4F: That's not, not at all.

I: And why is it fine? Is it because recent immigrants speak enough English, or...?

NUC4F: They do I think, they speak enough English and especially within the Ukrainian community a lot of these, you know, they speak Ukrainian, maybe younger people like you know, fifth generation or university students. They don't speak as good Ukrainian maybe, but they try, and then people, you know, if there is...like a desire to communicate there is other ways and I feel like, I feel like Ukrainians know how to do it, you know, they can half will be in English, half will be in Ukrainian, they'll find their way and they will understand each other, so, I don't think that's an issue [00h: 30m: 00s]. And a lot of new Ukrainians who come here they struggle but they learn new, they learn new English too because they know it's important.

I: So it sounds like you're saying it's kind of a joint effort from both sides

NUC4F: It is...

I: ... that results in...both of them trying to learn the other language...

NUC4F: For sure. And a lot of people from diaspora that I know personally they really want to learn Ukrainian better and they always ask me questions “oh how do you say this” and “how do you say that”, so they want to keep up, especially modern Ukrainian language, because it’s a little different... Yeah.

I: You obviously follow Ukrainian politics. The next question was asking do you follow Ukrainian politics?

NUC4F: Yes, for sure...

I: Yes, from your previous answer that’s quite clear. So my next question is how do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow?

NUC4F: Uh, I usually just read Ukrainian newspapers and Ukrainian, those political magazines.

I: Online, or...?

NUC4F: Online. Yeah, I don’t think we have access here to paper editions, so. Not that it really matters. I wish we had even more, like just being able to buy it, it’s, like, you know how I can buy any magazine on my tablet and just have it, you know I don’t need a paper edition... I wish I could do that more with Ukrainian magazines instead of just trying to read it online, but it doesn’t really matter. I read a lot in English too, Sometimes if I want to get a, if there’s some kind of issue that is debatable I’m not 100% sure about this, like I don’t trust this guy, like the author is very focused on one side, then I’ll try to see it in English because someone else might’ve covered it in English too, so just to get a better answer and sometimes it’s a little different, so that’s nice to be able to do that.

I: Do you ever read about Ukrainian politics in Russian?

NUC4F: No, not if I don’t have to I don’t. Because Russians are so biased, my God, those people are so ridiculous. And their news or media... *khoh*... they always discriminate Ukrainians. It’s never accurate. Their information is never accurate. It’s very Russian-oriented.

I: And what about Ukrainian newspapers from Ukraine that are in Russian?

NUC4F: It’s like I said, if I don’t have to I don’t. But a lot of them are, so, like they used to be all in Ukrainian, like *Korespondent*, and all those, they used to be all in Ukrainian and then slowly and slowly it’s being changed to Russian again. I don’t get it. Like we’re having less publications, like newspapers, daily publications in Ukrainian. Every half year pretty much, like that’s really unfair. And before, even Eastern Ukraine, they had to have their like, their newspapers

were in Ukrainian, you know daily newspaper in every city, because we have, you know it's like *Edmonton Journal* right...and now they don't care, they put it in Russian, so that's one of those things you know and you sort of when the media starts covering something in another language and that's how you know where you're losing it. But Western Ukrainian is still in Ukrainian, but you know. You know how they joke...my teacher, my professor at university he said "One day we're going to try to attack Poland and then surrender and say 'Take us back' [laughs]". At least we can do our things and have some kind of independence.

I: [laughs]

NUC4F: I didn't think it was funny at that time, but now I kind of think it's funny. I even think it might happen.

I: So you feel that Ukraine would have a better chance—

NUC4F: Probably.

I: ...with Poland...

NUC4F: Yeah. Well half of it at least [laughs].

I: Half of it...[laughs]

NUC4F: Before the one side of Dnipro, yeah probably Western Ukraine.

I: So that's actually a good lead-in for the next question: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

NUC4F :Uhhh...probably history is a big, probably the first one would be history. You can't really, you know, you don't know yourself, you don't know your country unless you know the history of your country. And I spent a lot of time studying it, so I think it's very important for every Ukrainian to know their history, and if they don't they don't appreciate what we have in the present. So that would be my first thing. Then literature, same thing, but it's also not just modern Ukrainian literature, but classy Ukrainian literature, then there's a big chunk of history in it. It's, it's all connected. The Ukrainian folksongs, same thing, you know, so. That would be I think for me that would a big, big part...and that's the problem in Ukraine: not many people know their history, and I think that's a problem in Canada [00h: 35m: 00s] something we can, you know also relate. People don't know their history...because Canada is so *young*, relatively, compared to Ukraine I mean, we had history since like 5th century B.C. so. And I'm sure a lot of Ukrainians don't know that [laughs], you know, but in Canada

people, like...when you know the history of your country and you know the struggles and all the, you know, troubles your country had to go through, that the people had to go through, you learn to appreciate it more. Like Canadians don't appreciate Canada enough, and I think that's something they could learn from Ukraine.

I: What do you think about Ukrainian dance? Is that an important part of...?

NUC4F:...of Ukrainian culture? It is. You know, it's like uh...you know people in Africa, or like Latin America, South America, they, that's how they express themselves. Ukrainians danced a lot. And because say in the old days, you know 17th century I'd say, and 18th century, people didn't have a lot of entertainment. That was their way of escaping the crude reality, so, and you can by one single dance you can tell the whole story. Right? So it's something. It's like literature, we have to preserve it. Like it's not something we can really contribute to anymore because it's pretty established, but I feel like we have to preserve it to be able to...it's like...which is *hard* because the literature, books, we can keep them, but it's not something you can put on the shelf and then refer again. And it's, that's, that would be a problem in Ukraine, but Ukrainian diaspora really is really looking after it, because they don't have anything *new* really..it's the *old* they're holding onto...

I: They're looking after the dance, you mean?

NUC4F: Yeah, so Ukrainian dance is a big part of it and it's not in Ukraine. I was pretty amazed at like, how many people dance, like do Ukrainian dances here, and they're like "you probably know Ukrainian dances", and honestly, no, I know like three moves. Just because we don't *do* that, like I took Latin dances in school, you know, and classic dances and waltz and all that, I didn't care for Ukrainian dances. Just because it's there, it's like anything. You know, you're always looking out for something else outside. You don't really want to keep what you have. But...

I: Why do you think Ukrainian dance is so vibrant and popular here?

NUC4F: It's fun. It's fun to dance. It's fun to watch. The costumes are pretty cool, like, you know the outfits. It's so rich, like the culture is in one costume, you don't really think about it, but it's very colourful, it's like every region in Ukraine has its own little outfit, and it's awesome. I wish we could...in Ukraine we treasure even more now, we try to wear *vyshyvankas* now, but it's only just that, not...it's not the whole outfit. I *wish* we did, but we know which part of Ukraine, where is what ...used to wear what kind of outfit, but it's same as dances. Each

little dance represents certain area in Ukraine, certain you know there is people in the mountains, there is *Hutsuly*, there is *Boyko*, and they have their own dances, and they have their own outfits for these dances, so. It's your heritage. You have to remember, you know, have to treasure it. When you know, *[name omitted]* gets uh, bigger, I want her to do Ukrainian dance. I wish my parents told me that it's important but because, you see, it was just a different generation. My parents were born in USSR, and then when Ukraine became independent they wanted to have everything Western, they wanted to do people, what other people did, they didn't want to just focus on just Ukrainian because that's all they had to do before. Well not just Ukrainian, just you know, USSR, because there was no Ukrainian, so. When we were kids we, you know, did other things and we did other dances, right. But like, now that I have a daughter and I would want her to learn, you know, to do Ukrainian dances instead of—or together if she wanted to do something else. So she can carry it on.

I: Can you elaborate on something you said...um...that there was no Ukrainian in the USSR and that your parents—

NUC4F :But it was all comm—it was all the common thing, everyone was the same, and it's kinda, you know it is the, uh...Communism right, everyone is the same and everything is the same. There's no 'Ukrainian' or 'Russian', or 'Polish' or there's no, uh, whatever the, all the other countries you know the Azerbaijan, oh, they have rich, rich history [00h: 40m: 00s] of their *own* and their *own* traditions, their own dances, their own whole language. That's, and it was all, and it was all like taken away. There's only *one*... *Sovyetskyi soyuz*, and what people are doing just one thing. Well then enter—people did dances and stuff, but it wasn't like 'Ukrainian', it was Russian, and Russian was the main language, doesn't matter if it's Ukraine or if it's Uzbekistan, you know, nobody cared. They had to speak Russian and then, so like my parents, they were brought up—it's such a *brainwash* thinking about from, like, until they were seven, started from when they were seven years old and there were *pionery*, and they had their little, their brainwashing those kids from the get go, I wish we learned how to do that, to try to do that for Ukrainians, not like USSR. Their parents were Ukrainian, because they were born in, you know, early 30's, and my great-grandparents, like they were born in 1900's, right? The beginning of 1900, so there was the old Ukrainian, they wanted, they *wanted* to keep the Ukrainian dances that, those were the people who *did* it, and Ukrainian singing and all that. And then their kids, like my parents, they were born during USSR, they were brainwashed, they were *new*, it's like a clean material right? So that's all they knew, and they, like they didn't try to do the Ukrainian. They did what they, they were told to do right. And it was okay. Like they didn't fight against it, so like my grandparents, and

after having so many, you know, *Holodomor* and all that, people just, people just gave up because you know, you're being kicked so many times, you just eventually like, just stop, and then you don't want your kids to suffer, so you don't tell them. So. Like. I was born technically still under USSR, but I was 3 when it collapsed, so it didn't really, like I wasn't really *raised* during USSR, so like I wanted different things. I wanted to *know* what's, I wanted to keep what's Ukrainian, I wanted to know Ukrainian history, not like my parents who didn't care. Like it was just USSR. They didn't want to know *why* and was there something before. So.

I: That's really interesting...Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents or parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here, everyone, both established and recently immigrated, should develop and cultivate basically all the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature and music?

NUC4F: I think both. Like a little bit of everything. You have to preserve what you had, but you also have to get something new because you can't develop, there's no progress if there's nothing new.

I: So you think that they have an equal place in Canada...

NUC4F: They do.

I: ...both, both what was brought here and preserved and also—

NUC4F:—what new people bring...

I: ...the new cultural phenomena going on in Ukraine.

NUC4F: Yeah. Definitely. Like I said, there's no progress in anything if there is nothing new brought into it. So. It, that's, like I think it could, like that's something, uh, the Ukrainian diaspora will face, and I think it's already facing, but I don't really want to admit it. The young people don't want to do just all same thing over and over and over again. That's when they go to Ukraine they have an opportunity to go, because it's easier than during the USSR, right. And they see all these things, and they bring it back here. They want to have all these other things, not just, not just, not that there is anything wrong with the old Ukrainian folk music, but there's nothing wrong with listening to *Okean Elzy*, right. So.

I: Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came, who have come since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

NUC4F: Um... It's hard to, like people who, I know that immigrants that Ukrainian immigrants who came here early, what they came early 1900's, 1950's they had different challenges because they couldn't really... they tried to blend in, and you know that was the main thing, and then now newer immigrants, it's kind of the same thing like us, we try to blend in instead of trying to stick out, so. It's, I don't know if you call that a challenge. It's easy to be Ukrainian in Canada... compared to like other countries. Like I have relatives who live in Italy, and I have relatives who live in Germany [00h: 45m: 00s] and they blend in because you can't be Ukrainian in Germany or in Italy. You have to be Italian, you know because they have such a like a rich culture and they have their own culture and their own ways, and in Canada it's easy to be Ukrainian because everyone else is something else. Which is part of problem for, like in a bigger scheme of things, like for Canada, because people want to identify themselves as something else, not just as a Canadian, so. But I do think most of people that I know who came here, well I don't really know anybody who came here in like 1990's, but in like 2000 they all try to blend in. They don't care about Ukrainian diaspora.

I: So they want to blend in with the larger Canadian community...

NUC4F: Yeah, just the Canadians, like they want to identify themselves as *Canadians*.

I: Even though it's easier to be Ukrainian in Canada than in other places...

NUC4F: It is. It's very easy. Yup. For sure. It's easier to be in Canada than in Ukraine nowadays.

I: [laughs]

NUC4F:[laughs]... speaking of the Russian and all the repressions that people have to go, you know, through in Ukraine. I know like I told my husband it's not, we'll wait for eight years, and then see how things go in Ukraine, 'cause it'll be more obvious what's going to happen...

I: Eight years, right?

NUC4F: Eight years. Because you have to see just when the new elections come who wins, that's four years, and you can't really expect any changes in four years, so then you have to wait another four years to see if the new president, or the old

president, what he implemented, what kind of laws he implemented, how the society will work after, so, give two terms and we'll see how that goes.

I: So you still have, you still have an idea in your head—

NUC4F: Of going back.

I: ...of going back.

NUC4F: I do, but not many Ukrainians do. I don't know a single Ukrainian who came here same time or from the year 2000 that would want to go back home. I think I'm the only person, so I'm probably just a bad exception [laughs].

I: [laughs] And what would you say, why do they *not* want to go back?

NUC4F: Because the reason, okay I'll tell you and that's the main thing. People who come here, people who decide to move to Canada for uh, the reason, like, having a better life, the reason of having a better life, won't go back home. People who come here for another reason, like me, they didn't *have* to, I didn't *have* to leave Ukraine. I was comfortable. I had good education, I had future.

I: So your reason for coming here was school?

NUC4F: My reason here was my husband. Like...

I: But initially...

NUC4F: Initially it was just school, but then, I never planned on staying here. I just, it was like, I was *made* I was *forced* to come here originally, like my dad wanted me to come and study in Canada. Just to see how it is, because maybe in his mind he would want me to move here, he would, he thought that I would have a better life, but when I came here, I did it, it was like, okay I served my duty now I can go back home and do my thing, you know? And then other people, and then I fell in love and all that and then, I felt like Anton is very supportive and he wouldn't mind in a lar--, in a larger picture moving one day to Ukraine in ten years or whatever, however many years, you know? But, and people like I said, and that's the big difference, people, all the people that I know, the people who came here for one reason, to have better life, I had decent life at home. Like I didn't really struggle, so. Like we didn't really struggle for money, and we were pretty comfortable. We, I had good education, you know I saw lots of things, like I travelled a lot, and but that's another thing, like, I don't know how in my family, my dad and my mom are not very like big patriots, and I'm very patriotic. And I don't know where it came from [laughs].

I: [laughs]

NUC4F: Honestly [laughs], because they would want me to live in Canada and be happy and I just want to be back home. It's not the money that made me come here, so it's not, it's not, that's not holding me here. Those are the things.

I: Interesting. Well, I guess the last question I have for you is if you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions?

NUC4F: Opinions about what...

I: About anything we've talked about in the whole interview or anything you want to add or elaborate on, or any, any closing comments you want to say about, about the topic of the interview and about the diaspora, recent immigrants...

NUC4F: Not really, like I mean I, well there's lots of things to talk about but I pretty much stated my main points [00h: 50m: 00s]. I feel like people who came here earlier, you know, fifty years ago, a hundred years ago, they, yeah, they faced different problems than people who came here ten years ago, but they're totally different. Like I said, new, new immigrants they, they will, like I think eventually Ukrainian diaspora will kind of...fall apart. I know it's probably not what you wanted to hear [laughs].

I: What do you mean "fall apart"?

NUC4F: That's just kind of my opinion, I feel like new people won't contribute much because they, like I said, want to blend in. They just want to be like everyone else. And young people, young generation of diaspora like the fifth generation or whatever, younger people, they're not as passionate about keeping the community going. I don't think so. They don't go to church. It's all old people, Ukrainian church. The young and new people don't really want to do that, so. And then like, all those organizations, it's the old volunteers, old people, same old people over and over again because young people don't care. That's why. And it's sad. I think I feel like, you know, they worked so hard to keep it going and, but it's like anything. There's a point of...what's when things go down and then maybe eventually in twenty years of fifty years it's going to go back up again, but hey — lifespan of things, you know it has the end, it's like a cycle.

I: So you're predicting a falling apart—

NUC4F: I think so.

I: ...and then potential resurgence—

NUC4F: Yeah.

I: ... of the Ukrainian diaspora?

NUC4F: Yeah.

I: The falling apart being, being, um, a result of the younger Ukrainian diaspora members not keeping what the old diaspora was doing—

NUC4F: Yeah.

I: —and also because of new immigrants wanting to be Canadian—

NUC4F: Yeah.

I:— and not, not just Ukrainian-Canadian.

NUC4F: No, yeah, exaaaactly.

I: Okay, well if that's a fair summary, that sounds good.

NUC4F: [laughs]

I: Anything else you'd like to add?

NUC4F: No...do you want me to talk about something else?

I: No, that's fine. Thank you very much!

NUC4F: Not a problem.

[Total time: 00h: 52m: 23s]

APPENDIX E: Interview with Participant “NUC5F”

Date of Interview: March 7th, 2013

Length of Interview: 00h : 34m : 40s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1988

Age at time of Interview: 24

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

NUC5F: Ukraine

I: When did you immigrate to Canada?

NUC5F: Well I came to Canada in August 2011, and this year it's going to be two years of me being here. It's going to be August 28th, 2013, that's going to be two years already, yeah. Well I've also been to Canada before, for a short period of time, for like three months, that was five years ago. I did a volunteer exchange program, so yeah. It's not my first time here.

I: What can you tell me about your immigration to Canada?

NUC5F: You know, I came here to study, so what can I tell you about immigration...well the process of getting a visa was a bit stressful. It took almost nine weeks...I had my tickets bought. I didn't really know whether or not I'm going to get my visa or not. I got it like two days before my departure. Yeah, it was crazy. It was crazy. That was pretty stressful. But that's like the usual procedure. It does involve a lot of red tape. Overall it was like you know, okay, it was good. That was like the only thing.

I: What is your profession and what is your area of study and what do you hope to do in the future?

NUC5F: Well I'm doing my graduate degree, my PhD in Slavic Languages and Literatures and I do hope that I will become a university prof one day and currently I am teaching Ukrainian 111/112 and I also work part time for [name of

Ukrainian organization omitted], so I try to stay involved with the Ukrainian community as much as possible here.

I: What would you say is your cultural background?

NUC5F: Definitely Ukrainian. I was brought up there, so.

I: Where were you brought up?

NUC5F: Well I was brought up in Dnipropetrovsk, that's eastern Ukraine. When I was 16 years old, my family moved to western Ukraine, we moved to L'viv some time, and that was really interesting because eastern Ukraine is really Russian-dominant, right, so Russian was my first language, and then we moved there and switched to Ukrainian, so the whole family switched to Ukrainian, you know, that was very interesting, you know.

I: Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian? Why/why not? How else would you identify yourself?

NUC5F: I would say that I am Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Canadian, I don't really have a Canadian citizenship yet. Possibly when I get one, yeah, but the notion of Ukrainian-Canadian is very fluid. It's you know, some people say that you can be Ukrainian-Canadian if you have *perogies* for Christmas and if you do the Ukrainian dancing and when you don't really when you barely speak a language, and you know just several words. It's quite an issue I would say here, so I do see a huge difference between Ukrainian-Ukrainians, the Ukrainian immigrants who come straight from Ukraine, and the Ukrainian-Canadians who were brought up and were socialized here, so yeah.

I: So you would identify yourself as Ukrainian, and if and when you get your Canadian citizenship, then you feel—?

NUC5F: Yeah, because in this case I can't really have a dual citizenship, so I'll have to give up my Ukrainian citizenship which is okay because I'll still have my culture, my language, my degree, I hope my family might, they will be Ukrainian, so, but I think it becomes more political.

I: Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

NUC5F: Well I do speak English, yeah, that's the first one, and then there will be Ukrainian because I teach it, so, and then there will be Russian as well because for my work at the Alberta Council for the Ukrainian Arts, sometimes it's funny,

like, sometimes I would use more Russian because I would be talking to Ukrainian artists, but they will talk in Russian, so. And I also speak Polish.

I: ...and the first language you learned was...?

NUC5F: That was Russian, that was Russian. But I was brought up bilingual, [0h:5m:0s] like Russian was definitely, I had a stronger command of Russian, but then when I moved to western Ukraine I acquired more of Ukrainian.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/why not?

NUC5F: It's, that's a very interesting question. By being a part of your ethnic community here, you definitely contribute to develop, you know, your own national identity, something that makes you different from a community at large. I really doubt that there is like, just like, just notion like of a Canadian, or of a Canadian culture, because it's very diverse and it's very multicultural. We have Heritage Days here in Edmonton right, where millions of those tents are presented different cultures and it's, it runs for three days, right, so you can either you know, go to one tent and contribute there, or this tent, like I know some of my friends of Ukrainian background, they were helping out at a Cuban pavilion, right, so it's a matter of choice here, right. Definitely like, it makes you feel a part of your own native community when you contribute to you know, like Ukrainian things, but it's a matter of choice and it's, I think it's of equal importance. But I would not alienate myself totally from the Canadian community, or Ukrainian community, yeah. I think it's about balance.

I: What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian or as a member of the Ukrainian community?

NUC5F: What is important... I really like all those events Ukrainian community has, all those *Malankas*, parties, Shevchenko poetry nights, yeah, they have a lot of poetry, they seem to be really into poetry here, all those dancing, you know, that is, that's nice. That is something that makes Ukrainian community different and definitely they stand out. I think what also is important is knowing the language, and teaching the language, because you can't really say that you belong to a culture, a particular culture, unless you speak the language.

I: Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here?

NUC5F: Um, you know, I don't really feel that I'm home anymore. I'd say it's more of this postcolonial unhomeliness, you know, when you're no longer

Ukrainian but you're not yet a Canadian and it's sort of this weird transitional state. You still have some Ukrainian culture that you're attached to, but you like Canadian aspects better. Yeah, you know, it's nice. It creates this nice illusion of you still have your small Ukraine here. It's nice.

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

NUC5F: Oh, I volunteer a lot. I attend those events. Well my part time job, that is a great way to stay connected with the Ukrainian community, even though I considered quitting this job because I've got to focus on my studies more [laughs].

I: Right. Is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you?

NUC5F: Somewhat. You know it's, when people come to Canada, let's say when someone decides to immigrate somewhere, and usually they have this thought in your mind like, "Oh, there are some Ukrainians there, they are my people", it's kind of like you're going there so you're not going to be on your own. You know you're going to be on your own, and yet you have this idea that you're going to meet some people of your own country, and sometimes we go to the pool on the north side, and there is like huge Russian/Ukrainian community there. I even ran into a guy from my native city, from Dnipropetrovsk, so it's interesting, I'd say that's important.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

NUC5F: Can you repeat that? I kind of lost track of thought, sorry... [0h:10m:0s]

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

NUC5F: I would say that would be dancing. I've never seen that much of dancing in my life. Ukrainian dancing. It's not even that big in Ukraine as it is in Canada. So that would be the first thing that came into your mind. Second, probably food. There's all those traditional things, even though there are some language things, you know, they're called *perogies* even though in Ukraine that's a different word, people don't know it, but it's fine, I think it's fine, yeah.

I: In which language(s) do you read ? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?

NUC5F: And in Russian and Polish.

I: Russian and Polish in addition to—?

NUC5F: Yeah, that's because of my thesis, because I'm doing comparative studies in those three languages, so that's a great asset. I also, I can try, I can also read in French, but my French is kind of, it's very limited, so.

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

NUC5F:[laughs] yeah, yeah, totally.

I: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature?

NUC5F:Yeah. All the time.

I: Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?

NUC5F:You know, it was a Ukrainian , it was Ukrainian, and it was in translation. I think it was a part of a class we took. We were kind of comparing the original and the translation.

I: Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

NUC5F: Oh there is a Zabuzhko book laying right here [gestures to a book of hers sitting on the table], so yeah [laughs], I have heard of all of them.

I: Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture? Why or why not?

NUC5F: You know what, I think that if you can read in the original this is wonderful, because translation is, it's always gonna be, it's not the same. It's gonna be so different from the original no matter what. It's a great way to stay connected, but it's not quite authentic as it would be if you read Zabuzhko in the original, so she's so hard to process sometimes. She's very postmodern, she has this stream of consciousness, and some of the cultural realias are really hard to translate, you know, because you're not translating a word, you're taking this big cultural notion and you're trying to convert it and you might substitute it with something else, and it's a challenge for a translator. SO in this case I would say the original is much better than the translation.

I: What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

NUC5F: Yeah, sometimes. Like I would use them for my lessons like as warm-ups. Yeah. Yeah, it's you know, they're becoming better nowadays. They used to be really Westernized.

I: So other than for teaching, what kind of music do you listen to?

NUC5F: I'd say like some classical rock, so...mostly for working out. I like some of the Ukrainian bands, but their old stuff. That would be like *Okean Elzy*, *Ruslana*, you know, so they used to be better, and now they become more commercialized, more Western, like even much of Ruslana, like she looks like Rihanna now, so, yeah.

I: Please identify in descending order the aspects of Ukrainian culture you deem the most important:

cinema-10

classical literature-2

contemporary literature-1

classical music-8

contemporary music-11

traditional music-9

classical theatre-7

contemporary theatre -6

fine arts-5

folklore-3

pop culture-4

NUC5F: Okay, so the first one...maybe contemporary literature, that's a biased opinion because I study some contemporary literature, and I do see why it's very important. Then I would put classical literature, because they sort of go hand-in-hand. You know, it's so, they're all united with this cultural umbrella [0h:15m:0s] so, it's...then...go for folklore, pop culture is very, it's very interesting, it's a very interesting subject for research because it has traces of folklore and classical stuff. Let's go...Okay, so took me a while. So the first one will be contemporary literature...do I say them all?

I: If you'd like to yeah, because if you have reasons, yeah, so.

NUC5F: Yeah, that's fine.

I: And part two to that question is whether all of these are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity or not?

NUC5F: Whether all of them? I'd say yeah, especially for young generation, yeah.

I: Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

NUC5F: The most famous Ukrainian figure? That would depend on, of course it would depend on the person you ask this question. Let's say you ask Canadian-Ukrainian, they would probably say Ruslana, because she won Eurovision and she's very famous, right? For me as a person who lives in academia, um, I would probably say some contemporary women scholars, but that's for me. You know, they will be Oksana Zabuzhko and Vira Aheieva. They are really, very, very educated women, and they're very strong scholars and I do admire them for that.

I: So you would say Oksana Zabuzhko?

NUC5F: Mhm.

I: And why would you say that? Is it because they—

NUC5F: Well they kind of point to this transition, they signal the transitional point from the old discourse, from the Soviet era to something modern and something new. And they do not necessarily follow the Western steps. They create a new path. Like Zabuzhko's fiction might be difficult to read, but I admire her essays. Aheieva's critical works are just wonderful, and what they do, they actually reconsider all this classical Ukrainian literature and re-interpret it, and this is like, that is something new, that is definitely a new development, a new page for Ukraine. Just moving from those stereotypes, and yeah. It's a new perspective.

I: What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants?

NUC5F: Um...well...you know, they both like to party [laughs]. They both like to drink, so [laughs]...

I: Anything else?

NUC5F :I don't think that their worldview is similar, like I found that Canadians, like Ukrainian-Canadians, they would not share, they don't really have this, like Ukrainian would share *everything*, like toilet-paper, [laughs], seriously, not kidding here [laughs], yeah they like to party. That's a hard question. That's kind of, yeah.

I: Would you say that they share language and culture at all?

NUC5F: Language is an interesting thing here, because the Ukrainian language diaspora speaks here, it's a bit different from modern Ukrainian. It's like from a century ago, and it's fun, you can still understand each other, but there is something that hinders your comprehension sometimes, and you know that this person is different from you, you don't speak the same language. Which is weird because it is the same language, but it's, you have this era in between.

I: Would you say they share religion at all?

NUC5F: You know, I'm not the right person to ask, I'm not religious at all.
[0h:20m:0s]

I: What do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

NUC5F: The biggest difference, well...there are a lot of differences. Maybe the main one is that Ukrainian-Canadians were socialized, and can, like within the Canadian culture, and you know, yeah, we gotta consider all those economical reasons and economical conditions, it all influences your perception. They might be more independent whereas Ukrainians would be more family-oriented. Modern Ukrainian-Canadians, they are more feminist, more feminist, you know, some of my girlfriends are like, "Yeah, I want to get married when I'm 30", and back in Ukraine almost all my girlfriends my age, I'm 24, they would be married, they would be having kids, and here it's like "No, no, no, I'm going to focus on my career". So, it, I would say they definitely share a more progressive, more contemporary views.

I: What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

NUC5F: Oh, that's horrible.

I: And why is that horrible?

NUC5F: Because language is a part of who you are. It's a part of your national identity, and you may understand Russian, but this points to very negative tendency. You know. Knowing the pro-Russian influences and all of those tendencies, I'm just afraid to make any predictions what it's going to be like in 20

or 30 years. There is a small country, not a small country, of Belarus and they have two state languages. One is Belarussian, the second one is Russian. And guess what? People speak Russian. Belarussian is like one of those endangered species. I'm just afraid it might happen there. Let's hope not.

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in “being” Ukrainian?

NUC5F: Ukrainian language? Um...I'd say it's a huge role. It is a huge role. Like, because, language sort of, it constructs your consciousness and your subconsciousness. It's sort of, it kind of makes you into who you are, and I'm not saying that you're a passive being here, but language definitely has more of an influence on you than people think, so. Sometimes, you know, sometimes, I don't get frustrated, but I would just smile at people who are like, “Yeah I'm Ukrainian. Never been to Ukraine, don't speak the language, don't know anything about the culture, we just did some Ukrainian dancing, and my *baba* came to Canada in like 1907. That makes me Ukrainian”. No, no, no it doesn't.

I: What about if they said “I'm Ukrainian-Canadian”?

NUC5F: It's, I'd say “I'm Canadian of Ukrainian descent”. “I'm Ukrainian-Canadian”, maybe this is just my biased point of view, but you've got to speak the language to call yourself, to consider yourself belonging to this particular culture.

I: So likewise, maybe you would think that if someone didn't speak English, they're not Canadian...would that be a fair comparison?

NUC5F: Well, um, I'm sort of thinking of Quebec there, right, and I know that French is dominant there, I'd say yeah, they'd at least have a basic command of English. So I'm not saying that you have to be fluent in Ukrainian. If you have some knowledge of it that would be enough.

I: Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

NUC5F: You know what, there is this issue that recent immigrants, they don't really speak English. Some of them right, I'm not saying all of them, but that definitely creates a big, big gap. So you know, they can't really get jobs, they just end up sitting home [0h:25m:0s]. I know several Ukrainian housewives like that. They don't speak English, they speak Ukrainian, and then they don't drive, so their existence is quite limited. Well, they're in Canada, so it makes them happy. As for Ukrainian...I know that in Edmonton they have Ukrainian Social Services

here. I never turned to them, but I heard that their services are delivered in Ukrainian, so that might be a good thing for like recent immigrants here.

I: Do you follow Ukrainian politics at all?

NUC5F: No.

I: Ever? Do you hear about anything that goes on?

NUC5F: There as this one point in my life, you know, I was like 16 or 17, you know, you just stopped caring because it's so screwed. It's just, me thinking about it, me caring, not going to make any difference. The word that describes my view the best would be apathy. I just don't care. I really don't

I: So you don't find out about Ukrainian politics online or anything...

NUC5F: No, no. it's a waste of time.

I: [laughs]

NUC5F:[laughs] It is.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

NUC5F: Oh definitely literature because I do my research in literature. Contemporary literature, folklore, folktales, fairy tales, they all contain like a very rich layer or past of Ukrainian culture, so definitely that, yeah.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

NUC5F: I don't think that there is like a point of having like two similar Ukraines. You gotta understand that Ukraine there in Europe, it's gonna, it's probably gonna have their own culture. Canadian-Ukrainian, Canadian diaspora, it's kind of gonna start taking you know, their own way as well. So what I dislike about it in particular is that it has this kind of unhealthy fixation on like some really old traditions, you know? Let's say like folk music and everything and maybe dancing you know, and Ukraine is so much more than that, you know? I have some Canadian-Ukrainian friends, they would not know about Zabuzhko, they would not know about Andrukhovych, about modern Ukrainian bands, right?

So they just kind of, they have this piece of old Ukrainian culture, and that's it, and this isn't quite right. I say that you gotta take it, okay, let's, develop it and make it go somewhere. And that's basically what I do in my research. I research contemporary Ukrainian writers. Whereas you would say Shevchenko, Ukrainka, any other famous Ukrainian names, they would know them, but they would not really know what's going on there, right?

I: So this unhealthy fixation with older tradition. Why do you think it's unhealthy?

NUC5F: Well it is unhealthy because it's not moving anywhere. They have those like sad cannons, and you know, you step to the right and you step to the back and it's not right because you have this standard, this unquestionable standard. It's, I think it limits any development, right? It kind of hinders it.

I: So is it fair to say that it's okay to have those traditions if you also include the further development of culture?

NUC5F: Exactly, exactly, yeah.

I: So an equal place, or do you think the new culture, or the developing culture rather, has a bigger place?

NUC5F: I would like to see new developing culture, like it's still going to be Ukrainian, but it's going to be different Ukraine. Ukraine itself has tons of traditions. We have different regions, Eastern Ukraine is so different from Carpathian mountains, and like *Hutsul* region, right? And yet they're both Ukrainian, [0h:30m:0s]right? So you don't really have to have this one standard normal Ukrainianism. Like I work for the Alberta Council for Ukrainian Arts as I mentioned before, and this concept of Ukrainians is ridiculous. Like you have a picture of a beautiful field. What makes it Ukrainian? Let's put there several poppies, dancing boots, embroidery. Here you go. That is Ukrainian, right away. Oh my gosh, this is like such, it's a jo—, it's not, it's not, it's so much more than that, you know? So. I know that it's like easily identifiable for general public, but what I'm saying, you just gotta go further than those poppies and dancing shoes and Shevchenko and icon.

I: Why do you think those notions of what is Ukrainian, what you just described, seem to hold more in Canada than they do in Ukraine?

NUC5F: Well, there was this part in Ukrainian history of you know, *perestroika*, and they moved from Soviet things, from Soviet culture, they started developing their own culture. It was painful, we're still doing that, we're still in pain. Those

immigrants came to Canada, I think they were so concerned with preserving their own culture that it was only about preserving, not developing further, you know. And I can understand that. You start searching for your identity and it's easier to refer to some past things, like dancing shoes, poppies, whatever, and it's easier because you can relate to that and it's very comforting. Whereas when you start searching for your new Ukrainian identity, it does require more effort and it does require making something new. I'm not saying we gotta completely demolish those past things, but um...I would love to see Ukrainian-Canadian diaspora moving forward and doing something new, something different from poppies and dancing shoes. I seem to use that a lot [laughs].

I: Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

NUC5F: Yeah, I think so. I think so. Well, when I did my volunteer exchange program in 2006, 2007, I worked, I volunteered at a senior's home, and part of my volunteering was to interview them, and some of them were Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants, like the first wave, and stories they were telling me, like they were amazing, like they were dropped off in the field. You know, so it was just like you start from scratch. Here it's different because, well, I'm going through those challenges, but they're different, right? You get accustomed to a new culture. I do my groceries different now, I clean my place in a different way now because my place is different and, my grocery stores are different now as well, so I'd say you sort of, you have to assimilate yourself to a new culture. Whereas back then you had some pieces of your culture and you started building a new culture based on that, yeah. But I think that was just one of the cases, right? They also, I remember, they faced challenges because Canadian community was not that accepting of them being Ukrainian, right? So, I don't think there is this challenge anymore.

I: Right. Do you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions?

NUC5F: No I enjoyed it. That was fun.

I: Anything else you'd like to add? If there's anything I missed that you want to add in that's fine too.

NUC5F: No, not really I enjoyed our conversation. Good luck with your project.

I: Thank you, thanks, thanks for your time.

[Total time: 0h:34m:04s]

APPENDIX F: Interview with Participant “EUC6F”

Date of Interview: March 29th, 2013

Length of Interview: 00h: 52m :54s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1972

Age at time of Interview: 40

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

EUC6F: Canada.

I: When did your family immigrate to Canada?

EUC6F: I don't know the exact dates, however, my father, who was born in 1939, came over to Canada from France, which is where his family had moved to from Ukraine, just before he turned 18. So I guess if we do the math [laughs] we'll know what year that was. And my mother's family, again, I don't know the exact years they arrived, but my mother herself was born in Toronto.

I: And what can you tell me about your family's immigration to Canada, or your father's immigration to Canada?

EUC6F: I can only tell you that he was the first of his family to come here directly, before he turned 18, so that he wouldn't be, he wouldn't have to be in the French army, and he immigrated to Toronto, and the rest of his family came afterwards and settled afterwards and settled in the same area in Toronto. And on my mother's side, her family, her father is from Lemkivshchyna, and her mother was born in Ontario, sorry in Saskatoon. I, actually think it says Ituna, Saskatchewan, was the name of the town. Uh, but my mom herself was born in Toronto, so I don't know too much about the circumstances of their arrival in Canada.

I: What was your area of study?

EUC6F: In university?

I: Mhm.

EUC6F: I did two things. I did political science when I was at the University of Waterloo, and I did sociology at University of Alberta.

I: And what is your profession presently?

EUC6F: Um, my title is Executive Director of [*name of institute omitted*], and I would say my profession is community development.

I: What would you say is your cultural background?

EUC6F: In terms of ethnic heritage, I would say my cultural background is Ukrainian-Canadian.

I: So you would identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian?

EUC6F: Yes.

I: Why would you identify yourself as such?

EUC6F: Because I'm a Canadian, but the type of Ukrainian I am, the type of Canadian I am is a Ukrainian one, and aspects of heritage, culture, tradition, has always been a key factor in how I grew up, the activities I did, my choice of the type of career, where I ended up living in Edmonton now, the fact that I chose to move from Toronto to Edmonton, it was always part of my being and I didn't, in a sense I had a choice to *be* someone else, but that was always who I was. It was sort of an infiltrating part of your personality [laughs].

I: Do you speak any languages other than English, and if so, which ones?

EUC6F: I speak some Ukrainian and I also speak French.

I: And which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

EUC6F: At work I use both Ukrainian and English, I'm not at school anymore, but with friends and family, both English and Ukrainian, and I rarely use French anymore, but I did speak French fluently at one point, because of my job, and also because my father was born there.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important?

EUC6F: Um, I would say that taking part in your ethnic community is the way in which you take part in the larger Ukrainian community, because I don't see them

as two separate things; I see them as one leading to the other, and I find that people with whom I interact, if they're aware of their ethnic heritage, they're in a better position and more able to take part in the cultural community of Canada.

I: What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian?

EUC6F: In what area?

I: In terms of the things in the Ukrainian community that are important to you, or valued, or...[00:05:00]

EUC6F: Um, I would say a community taking care of its young people so that they have a place to grow up, a community in which to grow up so that they're not lost, they're not kids who for lack of anything else to do hang out at the mall, [laughs] not that hanging out at the mall is prohibited but there's more to them than that. There's a richness of not just what they get from the community but what they can contribute to both their own Ukrainian community and their wider community, and to me that's a key thing, having children, knowing that there is a community in which they will grow up and are kind of protected I guess from the world, but protected and helped into the world. That gives them, I feel, an advantage, above people who don't necessarily identify with an ethnic heritage, it gives them a strength, it gives them opportunities that aren't available to people who don't have an ethnic identity, as well as a Canadian identity, and I think um, the, what we can give to other communities as a fairly well-developed cultural community in Canada is also very important. I think it's something that we can be really proud of, that if you don't come from that background you don't have that to share, you don't have that perspective on things, and you don't know how it can enrich either your own life or your children's lives.

I: Would you say you feel “at home” in the Ukrainian community here?

EUC6F: Absolutely.

I: And why do you feel at home?

EUC6F: Because my, my background and...thoroughly, absolutely, because of the simple fact of having that cultural self-identification is what seems to make someone valued within the community here. It doesn't matter what part of Canada you came from, what part of, well even I guess, Ukraine you came from, had I came from Ukraine, but it seemed to me I was instantly accepted and valued for any kind of contribution that I might make because of my Ukrainian background and because of the fact that I thought community was an important thing to build.

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

EUC6F: Uh, well I direct an arts and cultural venue, institution in Edmonton, I have been a member in highschool and through university, in a dance ensemble in Toronto, I mean Hamilton, I went to *ridna shkola* in Toronto, um, my uh, what else did I do...I was actually a founding board member of numerous organizations out here including, out here being Alberta, including um, *[name of foundation omitted]* was one of them. That was structured out of the Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre at Grant MacEwan *College*, at the time. I was also a founding board member of the *[name of organization omitted]*. We did numerous humanitarian assistance and educational development programs between Ukraine and Canada. I did, in, when I was at University of Waterloo, I arranged my work-practicum, I was in a co-op program, so I arranged that to be done through the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress, National Information Bureau, and through that organization I worked for *[name omitted]*, a politician from Edmonton, which is how I got introduced to Edmonton to begin with, um, and now my children go to *ridna shkola*, they also go, some of them go to St. *[name omitted] sadochok*, the Ukrainian-Bilingual program, and they are at Ukrainian-bilingual schools. We volunteer for numerous organizations, casinos, bingos, you name it, um, because *[name omitted]*, my husband, has, you know, delivers the Ukrainian radio-program, we're involved in lots and lots of organizations across the board, regardless of where they fall on the political spectrum, the religious spectrum, etcetera, um, we participate in, he MC's and DJ's lots and lots of events, and so by extension I usually end up participating in those in one way or another, and I'm also a new board member of the Alberta Society for the Advancement of Ukrainian Education [00:10:00].

I: Wow, okay.

EUC6F: And a representative to the Ukrainian-Canadian Council, no, Ukrainian-Canadian Congress- Alberta Provincial Council.

I: I'm glad that this is being recorded!

EUC6F:[laughs] Too many acronyms.

I: [laughs] ...So would you say the Ukrainian diaspora important to you?

EUC6F: Yes, absolutely.

I: Why is it important to you exactly?

EUC6F: Because in some senses, and to use the words of somebody who's very important to me, "I'm a professional Ukrainian". I've been able to take my background and the things that are valuable about having grown up in that community, and turned them into a career. So without that, I'm not sure exactly what I would be doing. I just think it would be less enriched by what I can bring to it because of the background that I've had, because of the fact that my parents *dragged* us to Ukrainian school, and we had to get up at 5 o'clock in the morning to get to Ukrainian school in Toronto, which was two and a quarter hours away, by the time school started, and the, at that point, the only benefit we could see, was that my *baba*, my grandmother on my father's side, had cable television, so we got to watch Saturday morning cartoons, and that was our reward for going to Ukrainian school [laughs], because there didn't seem to be a whole lot of other reward for it at that point, but it basically opened up a whole life and lifestyle and source of enrichment for my family, and it's a critical component, I would say, of our family-life. There isn't really anything much that doesn't involve some aspect of our heritage that we do.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

EUC6F: I think there's, em... song and dance, you know the *perogy* and *sharavary* culture is very visible, and it's what those in academia would call 'spectacular' in the sense that people watch that, people, it's very, it's a visual thing, it's a presentational dance, but it's spectacular dance, you do it *to show*, as opposed to, you know, Ukrainian village dances where you did it for your own social purposes. So I would think that, the um, the visual aspect of the culture and the food, stand out, and that characterizes the Ukrainian component of Alberta. Mind you, I find Alberta to be very different from what I experienced in Ontario, where the communities seem to be much more "ghetto-ized" and for me it was a big shock that there were *varenyky* in the grocery stores when I came to Alberta. That was like "wow". And so it was an amazing thing to see that this is actually a *part of* mainstream ideas opposed to just a very trivial part of somebody's own individual culture back home. The other thing is that I think that, especially in Alberta, the Ukrainian community is looked at being very highly-developed, very well-developed, compared to newer immigrant communities who have come here, and to a certain extent, those communities look to us for advice, and experience, and all of that other kind of stuff, to see where they need to go to get where it is that they perceive they need to be as an ethnic community. So it's, yeah, I think the way that society perceives the Ukrainian community, it's now a cherished

thing, in the sense that everybody likes to be an honorary Ukrainian, everybody likes to pull out any potential connection with their *baba*'s uncle so-and-so back on the farm or in Ukraine or whatever, and everybody from all walks of life seems to have a Ukrainian connection somewhere when you ask them about it, and they're proud of that, whether it's when they come in the doors at the Institute for *perogy* suppers, and we call them "*perogy* suppers" because in our district around the university, no one knows what "*pyrohy*" or "*varenyky*" are, uh, but at the same time they, they are enlightened and enriched in participating in this, and they think it's very cool to be part of an ethnic community's traditions and activities.

I: So, the organizations and the activities, the community, culture and language...you're speaking to the things that aren't just visible, but also the feeling of a sense of community...

EUC6F: Yes, and the feeling that there is some sort of a structure within which individuals and organizations can go to [00:15:00] for help, for development, whether it's something they need individually, like Ukrainian Canadian Social Services, so they need help, not just integrating, but finding basics, you know, basic, um, community or family supporting, sustaining systems, whether they need to find a source of education, like the Ukrainian- Bilingual program, those are all, I think, other cultures and just the mainstream community looks at us and says "Wow, that's something!", but I'm not sure if anybody knows how much it's taken to get where we are, and perhaps how much we've lost, I suspect, in terms of some of the impetus, because we *have* a lot of those resources now, we don't have to fight for them, but at the same time I think that's what slightly, not devalues them, but makes it less critical, like, as a, um, corollary, I guess. Before Ukraine was independent, every organization was working in some way or somehow, or even philosophically wishing and hoping and thinking with their money and their efforts that they would work towards Ukraine's independence. And then Ukraine became independent. Mind you, there's a long way to go with democracy and all that stuff. But at the same time, the Ukrainian community here, um, you know, we work to develop, we've got all of these educational systems, social organizations, students' clubs, we've got people in politics and law and religion and high-profile positions, and I think there may not be as much impetus now to push for those kinds of things because we got there and now, we kind of, you know, it's not as critical. It's similar to the voter turn-out in a really critical election. It increases when there's a really hot-button issue, and similarly, in the Ukrainian community, if there's nothing for us to fight for, or fight against, [laughs], participation sort of lessens, I think.

I: Alright. Moving onto a slightly different topic: In which languages do you read ? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?

EUC6F: I *can* read in English and Ukrainian [laughs]. English: I'm pretty good at [laughs]. Ukrainian: my Ukrainian, my level of Ukrainian reading, I probably wouldn't understand too much literary Ukrainian, so I don't do a whole lot of reading, but I can read and write Ukrainian.

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

EUC6F: Ummm, yes, in a marginal way when I was going to Ukrainian school and also when I took a Ukrainian course in university.

I: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature?

EUC6F: Nope.

I: Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

EUC6F: None of those.

I: Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture?

EUC6F: I think one is kind of a gateway to the other because I do realize that, just having a background with several languages in it, that there are things you can't get from an English translation of literature, that you can only get if you read it in its original language, and I guess to say I do think it's important. You can't judge that by my own background. I philosophically think it's important, but I haven't personally pursued that, but I do think it's important, not to the exclusion of any other aspect of your Ukrainian identity though, and one thing I have found, just in terms of the language, is that it is a barrier between the immigrant community and the Canadian diaspora because if you don't speak the right kind, whether it's contemporary or archaic, from the right area in Ukraine, you're not perceived to be the *real* thing, but I don't think that's any reason to discount the contributions that people can make, regardless of how far back their connection goes or what their fluency is, but I do think the language and literature is important. I just don't have that facility myself.

I: What kind of music do you listen to, and do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

EUC6F: I listen to lots of Ukrainian groups and singers [laughs], partly because of my husband's profession, as a broadcaster, and with the Ukrainian, with the Ukrainian-Canadian music scene and also I'm quite familiar with a lot of

contemporary music from Ukraine, which is, I find astonishingly good [00:20:00] compared to a lot of the *stuff* that North America puts out. It's extremely contemporary, it's, it's just excellent music, um...and...what was the rest of that question? Do I listen to it? And of course, Ukrainian-Canadian polka bands, and things like that, that was always part of my upbringing, and I still know all of those things, and my kids dance to those around the jukebox at home, and it's an ongoing part of life. CD's in the car are "*Barabolya*", which is Ron Cahute's kids' language learning tool [laughs] , but it's an ongoing and always present factor.

I: So what would you say are some of your favourite Ukrainian groups or singers?

EUC6F: *V.V.* is one, *Okean Elzy*, oh...there is um...what was her name, well Ruslana has a very...it's a very...addictive kind of sound because it's also very contemporary, and it's very produced, though. Um...that's who I can think of off the top of my head. Iryna Bilyk is...

I: Oh yeah, Iryna Bilyk.

Please identify in descending order the aspects of Ukrainian culture you deem the most important:

cinema-7

classical literature-3

contemporary literature-4

classical music-6

contemporary music-5

traditional music-2

classical theatre-11

contemporary theatre-10

fine arts-9

folklore-1

pop culture-8

I: Even though these are able to be ranked, do you think that all of these are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity, or do you think that some of them are more important than others?

EUC6F: I can't say I think they're all equally important, because I don't know an equal amount about each of them, and they haven't equally influenced things that I do, or activities that I participate in, so the things that are closest to, um, or the activities, those, what do you call those, what do you call that class of things?

I: Oh, the 'aspects'?

EUC6F: Yeah, aspects. Not all of them have informed my personal life, and I certainly couldn't tell you who's in contemporary theater in Ukraine now, um, but I can certainly sing you all the songs that I learned growing up, and those things don't ever really leave you. And I can also tell you certain things are what ends up getting passed down to your kids because, you know, some of the classical music I probably couldn't sing in the shower, but some of the traditional and cultural stuff, I know, my kids know, everybody's gonna know, so.

I: So you made a really good point that the importance can possibly be based on influence, so the degree of influence that something has had on your life, so I guess by which standard would someone evaluate that? Would it be, are there two standards, that there's a generic, external evaluation, or is it according to every person, do you think?

EUC6F: So we're evaluating what? Quality of life? Or what is it we're evaluating?

I: Whether those aspects are all equally important or not—

EUC6F: Oh.

I: Then...[00:25:00] like it's a subjective thing?

EUC6F: Um...it is subjective, but I would say to a large extent how much they resonate with each individual, because some people are more inclined to, you know, literature is their thing, or music is their thing, or dance is their thing, and I've, I haven't grown up with all of them being equal influences. But I guess, I'm not sure if I'm answering the question...

I: Mhm.

EUC6F: ...but it is fairly subjective, but I also think that emphasis in the school systems, and just in community life, focuses unequally on those things. So, um, while my two oldest know the name *Taras Shechenko* and can probably, you

know, quote some poetry and sing some songs, the school system, the bilingual school system anyways, hasn't focused on it, perhaps it's just their age-level, hasn't focused on some of aspects, like contemporary this, that or the other, they just don't get into that yet, so perhaps they might, I'm not sure. I think it is very subjective.

I: Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

EUC6F: The most famous Ukrainian figure, as in from Ukraine, or from Canada, or wide open...?

I: Whatever you like...

EUC6F: And famous to whom? [laughs] Famous to me?

I: Famous to Ukrainians, whether they live in...or anyone actually. You can interpret that however you'd like.

EUC6F: Most famous Ukrainian...uh...I guess I would say [laughs]...uh...I guess I would say Serhiy Bubka, which is kind of a bizarre thing, but I think, he's on a world stage, both politically and as a sports figure. I would say that probably as a Ukrainian-Ukrainian, he probably would be the most famous one that people could mention, but I think in Canada it would be Wayne Gretzky.

I: That was Serhiy *Bubka*?

EUC6F: Yes, he's a wrestler and he's also a politician now, and he's an Olympian [laughs], and obviously extraordinarily famous, considering...

I: And also Wayne Gretzky in Canada. What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants?

EUC6F: The biggest similarities? Um...I think a drive to protect what makes us special and unique and to, um, although I can't stand this word, *preserve* the culture, and the reason I say I can't stand it is preservation to me means it's already dead and gone, you just want to have an ability to recollect it, and that drives me crazy because I don't think anything should really be put in a box and kept to, you know, turn into dust, but um, yeah.

I: What do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

EUC6F: Um...I think the biggest difference would be the propensity for the immigrant community to look inward to itself for resources of all different kinds, as opposed to going out into the wider, the mainstream community, and

establishing connections, asking for help etcetera, I think the diaspora is a little bit more well-versed in ways and means of getting things done, and the fact that until you're important to somebody else, you're almost not important enough to your own internal community, but I think it's sort of the, it's a "church-basement" mentality, more with immigrant mentality, immigrant, yeah, organizations where you should only look, or you can only look within yourselves to find what you have to work with, as opposed to going outward, and I think that's a real shame, because it not only prevents Ukrainian immigrant organizations from getting help and resources [00:30:00] and perspectives from others, it also prevents the exchange of information and ideas that go the other way. And so I find, and I'm not sure where the perspective came from, but, you know, it probably has something to do with being self-sufficient, so I understand that and admire that, that you want to look within yourself and, you know, generate your own resources and you can kind of be a one-man show as a community, but I think it's a shame if we discount what other organizations, I mean, cultures, can give to us in terms of their perspectives and experiences.

I: What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine that's going on, where basically Russian is now a second official language, or where a certain percentage of the minority in Ukraine is speaking a certain language, that can become an official language in that region as well... ?

EUC6F:Um, I, having travelled in Ukraine in 1996, I understand that for a lot of the population there, they grew up with Russian being spoken all around them, mind you it was a forced language, which people of contemporary times, not that they weren't aware of, but it didn't, that didn't factor into them speaking it or not speaking it, it just was what you spoke, so to tell them, "No, that's the wrong language to speak in." that's, that's a difficult thing to get across, because if someone were to come in and tell me that it's not right that I speak in English, that I should speak in something else, that would be a very foreign kind of influence, but at the same time, I understand and I appreciate that the language itself is, it's somehow, and I'm not sure how, but it's somehow key to what informs and um, elevates the culture itself. There's something very specific and special about the Ukrainian language, but I don't know if I can articulate that, so efforts like that law to, I'm not sure whether it's meant to undermine Ukrainian language or whether it's meant to just dissolve it by diluting it with other languages, um, in a way it gives, again, it gives something for Ukrainian to fight against, so the efforts that are being made in Canada to teach the language, to bring it back, I mean, we saw when Ukrainian became independent, we actually took our language, took Ukrainian back to Ukraine, in areas where they no longer spoke it fluently or that wasn't their main language, but at the same time I

understand that in society you can't just go in and say, "From today forward, we're mandating that you speak in this other language" because they've always, in their memory, spoken in Russian. So I understand that it's a tough thing, but at the same time, it would be an absolute shame to actually not, um, not have the language as a resource, and by comparison, French in Canada, unfortunately all the regulations and laws that they're making in Quebec that say "You must use French here, you must use French there", in English Canada, that makes us perceive the French as weaker because they need to protect their language, and that's perceived as "That's the only thing they have going for them", and that's silly, that they have to put all these rules in place, and there's various perspectives on that, but you know, in terms of Russian being allowed in, I'm not sure that it necessarily has to detract from Ukrainian, but at the same time I'm thinking it will because of the political influences that are behind it.

I: Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

EUC6F: No, it's an issue. It's an issue. And I say that from the perspective of working with people in, well, having people work for our organization who are immigrants themselves and who have an excellent command of English, but without that command of English we probably wouldn't have quite the same relationship. Um, we appreciate and admire that they have beautiful, fluent Ukrainian, although sometimes when we hear it, it sounds, a lot of the words they use, sound Russified, so it's a little bit strange or harsh to hear [00:35:00] but at the same time, the fact that I can't speak that kind of Ukrainian, it doesn't prevent us from having a relationship, it just necessarily changes the nature of the relationship. So I think English-speakers, English-speaking Ukrainians, expect a lot more of Ukrainian immigrants than Ukrainian immigrants expect of Ukrainian-Canadians who don't necessarily speak really great Ukrainian. So I think there is a kind of barrier, and you can see that, I think, in the sense that some of the cultural organizations, like *Dzherelo*, which is a theater-group, um, I think they're trying to branch out, but there is this disconnect between kids who speak fluent Ukrainian because they speak it at home, and kids who, like mine, we have the capacity, my husband more so than myself, but we have the capacity to speak to them in Ukrainian, but because English is sort of the preferred language of everything else around them, it's very hard to continue to, not force that upon them, at a certain age they love it, and at a certain age it's not cool anymore, and then you come back to it being cool for various purposes, like the purpose of raising a family, but I think it is a barrier.

I: Do you follow Ukrainian politics?

EUC6F: To a certain extent.

I: How do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow?

EUC6F: I do read *Ukrainian News*, it's a Ukrainian newspaper, and I also listen to the Ukrainian radio program on occasion.

I: And the news and radio: is it in Ukrainian or in English?

EUC6F: It's bilingual actually. Both *Ukrainian News* and the *Radio-Zhurnal*, is the name of the program on 101.7 World FM, it's half and half, and they've got some reports that are directly from Ukraine in Ukrainian, and then they've got different satellite sources that do translations of reports in English. They also do, BBC has Ukrainian reports that are translated. So they start with the Ukrainian voice, and then the English translation comes, or voice-over comes.

I: And the newspaper, is that an online one, or a paper-copy?

EUC6F: No, it's a paper newspaper.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

EUC6F: I think they're all important, and I know I ranked them, but that basically reflects my knowledge of all the different forms. But I do think they're all important because all of those things have influenced and are factors in the whole life that we consider Ukrainian-community-life, like I mean, you can't just be, even if you just go to church, well you've also got choral there, you've got music, you've got all these things that are all part of the, you can't separate them, um...elements of Ukrainian literature you find throughout the music, there's all these connections, they're not separate things. Ukrainian music is made with Ukrainian language and made with the *feel* of the language, and the *passion* of the language in it, built in. It's not something you can extrapolate, you can't separate one piece from the other. So I think they're all important.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents (I know that's your favourite word)...

EUC6F:[quiet laugh]

I: ... or do you think the Ukrainian community here should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.?

EUC6F: I don't think they should do the latter, because they have no basis on which to do the latter. I think it's kind of like plucking someone out of Ukraine and dumping them here and saying, "Now you base [laughs] something that you're going to create, something that you know nothing about and that has no, that doesn't influence any aspect of your being, they just don't have the where-with-all to do that", so, just, can you repeat the question again? There was another element that I wanted to address.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents, or do you think the Ukrainian community here (that's the diaspora and the immigrants) should develop and cultivate, basically, what goes on in Ukraine, such as literature and music that's going on there right now, contemporary—?

EUC6F: I think it's [pauses] yeah, mostly the former [00:40:00], but I hesitate when I say that because... just preserving the culture that was brought here, that may have influenced and informed, but it's not what we *live* anymore. It's a historical fact, um, and it was the way it was because of things happening in Ukraine and in Canada at that certain point in time when it happened, and none of those things are factors today. I think that Ukrainians, contemporary Ukrainian-Canadians, whether they're immigrants or whether they're born in Canada, have their own set of things influencing them, their own set of, I mean, in social media, in, like, none of these things existed back then, so I don't know how it would be possible to simply work within the structures of the culture that was brought over at the time because it doesn't exist anymore, other than having shaped a part of who we are, but it isn't who we are, because we've evolved, we've moved on, and I think what's interesting is, for Ukrainian-Canadians, is to look at what's going on in Ukraine and to kind of understand why things are happening the way they are, but not to, I just don't think we have any, not just mandate, but we don't have any ability to perpetuate and help culture in Ukraine because we don't live there, we are not affected by all of the, I mean, we are not nearly as political as most Ukrainians of our ages, our relative ages. We don't gather in major protests for big things. I mean, we're not as politically involved, we can't possibly, um, we can understand I think, or we can attempt to understand, why Ukrainian music is so influenced by politics and what politics does directly to people there, but we don't have that experience here. We're quite removed I think, at least my generation and subsequent generations, we're quite removed from how politics

affects people directly, whereas in Ukraine that link is much, much stronger, and that's why the kind of culture that derives from that, especially in music, I mean, the influence of politics is everywhere in music there, and it makes some great music, and it's one of those things where you have to either be a starving artist or you have to go through personal strife in order to write really good music [laughs], well that's what they're experiencing. Well, we don't have that here. We, we're not, you know, yes, we're fighting the decline of language and stuff like that, but it's not as passionate, and it's not as integrally linked to our daily life as things happening in Ukraine right now. So I don't, don't think that we should really be doing either one of those things, but if I had to choose one I would say the former, but I would say more than preserve we have to allow it to evolve and we have to um, work on evolving it so that it's relevant to our contemporary lives in contemporary society.

I: Is it possible for them to have an equal place in Canada? If that contemporary Ukrainian culture was brought over here with Ukrainian immigrants?

EUC6F: An equal place with what stage? Like an equal place in importance in people's lives here?

I: Mhm. In cultivating it.

EUC6F :Is it important to? No, I don't think it's important. Um, I think it's important in the sense that...again, you can see how people's lives are affected by the, by their circumstances, by their country, you know. Everybody is, somehow, if you put a Ukrainian immigrant and a Ukrainian-Canadian side-by-side, you'd somehow be able to tell a difference as to who was whom, but you couldn't necessarily quantify or qualify what that difference is. But everybody knows there's a difference! What is that difference? And it stems from your circumstances, your environment, and definitely I think politics is a big part of that, much more in Ukraine than it is here, um. So.

I: Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

EUC6F:Ye-e-es, I think that they are less likely to encounter some of the forms of discrimination that our earlier generations faced. I think they are more, um, not more welcomed by our government, but more welcomed by those who came before them because they know of the challenges that were faced by their ancestors coming over there, or at least they've heard tell of them, so we're more equipped to facilitate integration [00:45:00] and, you know, all the necessary

things in life, finding furnishings for your house, recommending a school for your children to go to. But I think that for Ukrainian immigrants today, and I'm guessing, because I'm not one of them, but I'm seeing through my interactions with some of them that making headway and advancing towards a career, getting a mortgage, solidifying sort of your family unit here, that's more dependent on your educational prospects, your career prospects, than it may have been before, because um, in, in, very early generations, it was simply your physical strength and well-being and your resourcefulness, as to, you know, your ability to homestead and create those social structures. Now I think there's more, the challenge is more, can you fit into mainstream society, without being too *odd* to be segregated. So there's more of a challenge that way, but I mean, in the sense that, Ukrainian immigrants today are so much fluent in technology than we are here. I don't necessarily think that their skills and their knowledge are being used to their full advantage, because we think, we as Canadian-born Ukrainians, think we're so much more advanced, but we're really not. Like when we see some of the ways in which Ukrainians from Ukraine move in society, move through social media, move through all these different technological means, they're so much more fluent in that than we are, and it's, it's something that I think we should be looking into a little bit more to see how we can benefit from that, because I think that the perspective of a developed community sometimes closes you off from the possibilities of the things that you can learn from more recent immigrant communities. And I don't think that there's enough activity between the two to help grow that resource.

I: That's interesting. So I guess the last question is just: do you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions, or if there's anything that I've missed, any points that I've missed or any aspects you think I didn't ask about and should?

EUC6F:Um, I think, well just having come from this meeting with the Ukrainian Students' Society across Canada, I think that it's really great that people in their early 20s, from the Ukrainian-Canadian diaspora, and they were asking similar questions to what you're asking just in regards to the conference that they're setting up, don't perceive there to be as big a barrier between themselves and forms of authority and power in the Canadian political structure. For example, Ukrainian Students' Society has invited the Alberta Premier to come and speak at their session. That's completely their initiative. You know, it's, they don't perceive themselves as a lesser group, they are as strong, if not stronger, because of their Ukrainian cultural upbringing, and they realize that because of the size and the magnitude of the Ukrainian community here, that comes with a certain influence, or power, or like, why would her office even consider, they've told

them that she's available. They haven't confirmed that she will do it, but that kind of a signal means something in terms of the relative strengths of the different communities and what, what they have to contribute to society. So I think, I just think it's marvelous that they're actually corralling their strength as students, for whom their common unifying factor is their Ukrainian-ness, in all shapes and forms, whether it's the *pyrohy* and the *sharavary*, or whether it's the *zabava* music, or whether it's the lore of having grown up in the Ukrainian community. I think they're much further ahead than we are, and they're not insensitive to what they could be learning or acquiring from more recent immigrants, but that we just have to find a better mechanism to get us together somehow and overcome the language barrier, the very different cultural guidelines that we grew up with. For example, there was a group, a musical group, I think it was an orchestra, that came here, and the promoters, the people who were bringing them in, circulated this document that was, I mean it could've been entitled "The Care and Feeding of the Ukrainian", and it was so, um, it was so pedantic and, I would think dehumanizing of Ukrainians from Ukraine [00:50:00], because it would say things like "Ukrainians have a sensitivity to cold air blowing on them and feel that if cold air is blowing on them that then they will get very sick, so please, if you're going to be hosting one of these *Ukrainians*, do not keep your windows open." Like stuff like that. Like saying "Ukrainians do not appreciate such-and-such" and generalizing this as, I don't know.

I: And which document was this?

EUC6F: Um, it was, I have a copy of it actually, but it was just really, I thought insulting, and of course Ukrainian immigrants here who saw that document were floored by the assumptions being made almost as if new Ukrainians, Ukrainians new to Canada needed to be educated in how to use toilet-paper, like I mean, that's an exaggeration, but that's, some of the stuff in there was really ludicrous.

I: This was a recent document?

EUC6F: This is, yeah, this was from within the last twelve months.

I: From government agencies?

EUC6F: No, it was from, uh, I think it was from a promoter or a presenter who was bringing this musical organization over to perform in Canada, and they were looking for people to billet these performers.

I: Oh, okay.

EUC6F: And so this was the document that guided you on “How to properly look after the Ukrainian”, because “the Ukrainian” sounded more like as if they were like circus animals or something, there was a proper structure within which you had to look after them, and it was just, a terribly written thing. I know from just work that I did with Ukrainian students coming from Ukraine: yup, there are things that are very new to the culture, very new to them when they come here, same as there were when I went to Ukraine. For example, bank machines were a really wild phenomenon to them where you could stick in a card and money would come out, because they didn’t, at their age, they also didn’t practise that, but there wasn’t a whole lot of bank machines in Ukraine in 1996 [laughs] , so it was just a different thing that we use regularly that they don’t. But it wasn’t reason to kind of belittle their development as a people, and that’s what this document was just unbelievably, remarkable for.

I: Wow, that would definitely be interesting to read.

EUC6F: It’s great, it’s great [laughs], it’s very, it makes for great reading.

I: Maybe they need to change it from a real document to a satire-joke.

EUC6F: Uh, it’s largely that, because people who are in the immigrant community here who were interested in hosting, some of those immigrants, everybody got a copy of this saying, “Here’s the proper way to look after these Ukrainians, and here”, you know, there was so much, there was so much crazy stuff in there, it was amazing.

I: Wow, well I’ll certainly have to look into that [laughs]. Okay, well if you don’t have any further comments...

EUC6F: I’m good.

I: Thank you very much for your time...

EUC6F: You’re welcome! Thank you very much for asking me.

[Total time: 0h:52m:54s]

APPENDIX G: Interview with Participant “EUC7F”

Date of Interview: February 25, 2013

Length of Interview: 00h : 33m : 03s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1967

Age at time of Interview: 45

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

EUC7F: Canada

I: When did your family immigrate to Canada?

EUC7F:1949

I: What can you tell me about your family’s immigration to Canada?

EUC7F: My parents came separately, so they were, my mom was 7 at the time and my dad was 14. They had left Ukraine with their families in 1944 and then had gone to, my dad went to Germany and my mom went to Austria, and they were in displaced persons camps there, yeah, from 1944 to 1949 when they came to Canada.

I: What is/was your profession?

EUC7F: I am a career and employment consultant right now with the provincial government.

I: What was your area of study?

EUC7F: I studied home economics at the University of Alberta, Bachelors of Science in the family studies program. Which is now currently human ecology. They changed it. It’s no longer Home Ec, it’s the department of Home Ec.

I: Oh, I didn’t know that, that’s interesting. What would you say is your cultural background?

EUC7F: Ukrainian. Ukrainian-Canadian.

I: Why would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian? Or how else would you identify yourself?

EUC7F: It's just been, it's who I am, it's my roots, it's my culture, it's my faith, it's the upbringing that I had in my household. Both of my parents being from Ukraine, being first generation I would say, yeah, strong identification with being Ukrainian.

I: Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

EUC7F: Ukrainian. At work primarily English, but on occasion I have used Ukrainian for any clients that may need to speak to someone in Ukrainian. And I've done that in my previous job working at Ukrainian Canadian Social Services. I predominantly did most of my work in Ukrainian. At home, it's probably mostly English, but there is, I don't know if you want percentages of that, a breakdown of what's used at home...

I: If you can, if not, a general...

EUC7F: Yeah, I would probably say 65% English, 35% Ukrainian, and with friends it depends on who they are. Predominantly English, but I mean, there are times there are certain friends you are with, that may be newcomers from Ukraine that our evenings are spent speaking Ukrainian with them, so depends on the group of people.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/why not?

EUC7F: Can you repeat the question?

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/why not?

EUC7F: Yeah...today, I would say that they're equally important. I think at one time I might've thought differently, but I think it's because we're just seeing so many different ethnic groups entering Canada, and to stay in the silos and that kind of thing is I think is probably not the best way to do it so I'm thinking that it's got to be equal. Maintaining and also integrating the Canadian as well.

I: What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian?

EUC7F: What's important to me?

I: Mhm. Are the organizations the most important, or the schools?

EUC7F: For me actually it's the faith group. The church is definitely predominant for me, and that's even I would say even above culture in the sense that my faith comes first. Community organizations, yeah definitely for keeping the groups together, associations, and then, yeah, just even for my children, now that I have children, just that whole aspect of having something that's organized [0h:5m:0s] for them to partake, and Ukrainians have been here for over 100 years, so we've had that opportunity to really have something developed here that is established, not so much really growing pains in some areas, so yeah. Community groups, the faith is number one.

I: Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here?

EUC7F: Oh, 100%.

I: And why is that?

EUC7F:Um...I think it probably stems from the fact that when I graduated from university I was very fortunate to work in a Ukrainian organizations, Ukrainian Canadian Social Services, where I had the opportunity to meet so many key people in the Ukrainian community, from both Catholic and Orthodox backgrounds, and having that opportunity to work with people in the community with those groups, I'm an outgoing person, I like to meet people, and go to different events, social events and things like that, so I guess it's my own initiative that I've wanted to be part of a community, and I've taken the steps to do that, and then even today still taking part in those things. Yeah, definitely feel comfortable whether they're newcomers to Canada, whether they're long-time Canadians, seniors, youth, whatever, it's all good [laughs].

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

EUC7F: The choir that I sing in, *Viter*, is one way, and of course we have different events that we perform at. Then the church is a Ukrainian based, Ukrainian Orthodox church, so that also has ways of being involved in the community. I'm a member of the Ukrainian Women's Association at my church. My children go to Ukrainian-bilingual school, so even within that there's opportunity for community events and things like that. What else do I do Ukrainian? Those are probably primarily how I participate in the community?

I: Is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you?

EUC7F: So I guess just basically anything outside of Ukraine, right? Is that, how broad, or what are you thinking?

I: If that's how you think of the diaspora, or the diaspora here in Canada...

EUC7F: Well, after going to Brazil and Argentina and meeting the Ukrainians there, that just really broadened how I feel about people living outside of Ukraine and just how similar we are. It's very interesting, and how important I think it is that we do have these pockets of people living outside of Ukraine preserving culture. Just from what we were understanding about what's happening with culture in Ukraine, and just having that opportunity to have it out in other parts of the world, yeah, I think it's important.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

EUC7F: Well being here in Edmonton, just because there is such a large pocket of Ukrainians here, it seems that we're almost mainstream in a sense, and very well accepted. Because we are really an older immigrant group compared to say, the Somalis or whoever are coming here and are still struggling with that identity and getting accepted. We've come a long way. It's 100 years of being here and I think it's a positive aspect, and then already having political figures, the premier and things like that that have, you know, parks or whatever named after prominent Ukrainians, it's just proved to be that we're well respected people, I would think, so in Edmonton I can speak to that. Did I, I can't really speak outside Edmonton, really.

I: In which language(s) do you read? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?

EUC7F: I read in Ukrainian when I have to, but it's not my choice for reading a novel or even news items unless I have to.

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

EUC7F: Not really voluntarily. Certainly things that might've been studied for Osvida, but I guess as, and even just through the choir, even, any pieces of Shevchenko's works and things like that that we might be interpreting or singing, and then through Ukrainian Women's Association, the *Promin*, [0h:10m:0s], they sometimes have little excerpts of poetry from different authors that I've read. If they're short I will, and if it's there in a magazine form, I will, I have.

I: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature? Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?

EUC7F: I was exposed to Ukrainian poetry just a couple months ago. It was a presentation at our church, so not that I, well I read I guess what was shown on the screen, and then just heard the audio of the poetry being read. So that was a contemporary writer.

I: Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

EUC7F: No.

I: Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture? Why or why not?

EUC7F: For me, the translation just because I wouldn't get the context of trying to read it in Ukrainian. They can, I probably need them both hand in hand. I try reading it in Ukrainian, but the transliteration, so just reading it, or the translation, yeah, definitely. Just because maybe the nuances, and especially if it's contemporary, like when I think about contemporary English stuff, how that can be open to so many translations for even us native speakers, so, yeah. And then even like in social media, seeing some things in Ukrainian, I don't get it. So yeah, translations would definitely be helpful and just as valuable as just reading it in Ukrainian.

I: So translations are pretty important...

EUC7F: Yes, yes.

I: What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

EUC7F: Yeah. Well, folk music of course, *Volyn*, and then the contemporary stuff like the *Madheads*, the *Haidamaky*, *Mandry*, then there might be stuff like *[name omitted]* would have on his iPod, and I'll say "who is that?" and he'll introduce me to that or whatever. And *Okean Elzy*, so there's just different, and then even just looking for internet radio stations and things like that, but I do better when I hear it from somebody else and then find out who it is, and then yeah, folk music.

I: Would you be able to identify in descending order the aspects of Ukrainian culture you deem the most important:

EUC7F: Most important...for what though? Like to me personally, or...

I: That's subjective. You can provide a rationale if you want. You can say "this is just for me, or this is for the diaspora here", or...

EUC7F:Just because I'm a musical person...

cinema-9

classical literature-4

contemporary literature-10

classical music-11

contemporary music-6

traditional music-1

classical theatre-5

contemporary theatre -8

fine arts-3

folklore-2

pop culture-7

[0h:15m:0s]

EUC7F: That was hard [laughs].

I: I know...you do get a chance to answer the next question though, which is whether you think all of these are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity or not?

EUC7F: Hm, all those 11, ey? If I think they are important for Ukrainian culture here in Canada?

I: Yes.

EUC7F :I think I'm an old soul. I think for us here in Canada, the pieces that are deeply rooted in the older stuff, to me I think are more important, because I'm just going to guess, but I'm thinking that more contemporary stuff is probably closer to North American stuff that we have here, which we've got maybe a lot of things that are similar compared to when you look at traditional Ukrainian pieces, it's

gonna be different than what we've got, so that's why I think I place more importance on classical, traditional kind of pieces compared to the contemporary, because I think yeah, the contemporary is getting to be a little bit more mainstream like in North America, so.

I: Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

EUC7F: Um...I don't know if I can just pinpoint it to one. It's going to be like St. Andrew, it's going to be Vladimir, the ones that brought Christianity to Ukraine. Those are to me, pieces...

I: So would you pick one of those above the other?

EUC7F: Volodymyr.

I: Volodymyr. Okay. And that's because of his connection to bringing Christianity to Ukraine?

EUC7F: Yeah.

I: So in that same vein you'd probably also say St. Ol'ha...

EUC7F: Yeah...

I: Or not as much?

EUC7F: Somehow I don't know, to me Volodymyr is the one that I might know more about and that's why, but yeah, they are equals in that respect, yes.

I: Okay, so St. Volodymyr, and moving on a little bit from that...What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants?

EUC7F: New immigrants from Ukraine?

I: Yeah, new immigrants from Ukraine, after 1991.

EUC7F: After 1991?

I: Yeah, not the ones from the third wave. Recent ones.

EUC7F: Okay, so what are the similarities?

I: Mhm. What would you say are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the recent immigrants who have come to us from Ukraine?

EUC7F: Um...the language. It's...if they're coming from Western Ukraine...and the faith, whether they're Orthodox or Catholic, that's going to be things we still have in common. Definitely keeping of those holidays, *Pascha*, *Rizdvo*, *Vodosvyacha*, all those things. Focus on family and just making sure you're getting together for those holidays, like those holidays are just key, and keeping those traditions and those pieces. Yeah.

I: What do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

EUC7F: Okay, um...well, I think here in Canada we've, the diaspora, we've had the opportunity to really experience a multicultural kind of existence for the last little while. Whereas I imagine Ukraine not so much in the sense of [0h:20m:0s] maybe being accepting to all groups and things like that, so that aspect. Attitude towards work I find is different for the ones, the newer immigrants I've worked with just on a professional level through my job.

I: In that they don't have the same expectations or the same, the same routine?

EUC7F: Yeah, it's, in Ukraine, from what I'm understanding, you finish school, you go directly to work. There's none of this you gotta compete for a job, you gotta seek a job, you gotta get a resume together, you gotta do all of these things, it's just getting the employment and things like that. You know, you go to school to be an engineer, and that's just...it's, and it's just difficult for them to integrate immediately into what it is like here to find a job, and those soft skills, those soft skills are maybe not there, dealing with people, and teamwork, and all those key pieces that are valued here in the Canadian workplace. So Canadian workplace culture. Huge difference between, yup.

I: What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine? The language law where if 10% or more of an area speaks Russian or another language that that becomes the official language of that region? Basically placing Russian on an equal, sort of like French and English in Canada, but not obviously...

EUC7F: Yeah. So I know a little about it. I mean we were in Ukraine in the summer and we saw those demonstrations and so forth and talked to people, but I've been open and hearing some of the rationale behind it. I guess I really don't have a strong opinion either way, because I don't live in the country, and yeah. I don't know. Not enough to really make a, have an opinion one way or another...

I: Neutral, maybe neutral...

EUC7F: Yeah, exactly.

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in “being” Ukrainian?

EUC7F: It’s easy for me to say because I speak the language, right? But then I’ve met people on both sides. I’ve met people that don’t speak any Ukrainian at all, but yet, because faith is such a big thing to me, but yet they’re so strong in their faith, so then I think, okay, maybe it’s not so important, but then to relate to newcomers that come to Canada that language becomes all of a sudden an important piece, and then you miss out on those opportunities to have those relationships, and then I feel, oh it’s an important thing. So I guess I’m almost neutral on that one as well, because I’m understanding of people that have been here for generations but still identify so strongly with being Ukrainian but don’t speak the language, and like I say, identify with many of the cultural things, the faith things and so forth, so. So yeah, neutral, although for me personally I find it very important and that’s why I choose to get my kids to do certain things and be involved and learn the language.

I: So it’s not completely, I guess, mandatory to speak Ukrainian to be a part of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, especially if you are involved in other ways...

EUC7F: Exactly.

I: Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

EUC7F: Well certainly we’ve met a number of people that have immigrated from Ukraine that don’t speak Ukrainian, so that does become a language barrier if your Russian isn’t up to snuff. So, yeah, that’s where the barrier could be, depending on their level of understanding of Ukrainian, compared to the diaspora, but then there’s people here in the diaspora who feel that they speak Ukrainian really well, but yet they wouldn’t even be able to speak to someone from Western Ukraine because it’s dialectal they might have from generations before, so. Yeah, those barriers definitely can exist, again, depending on the regions, where people come from, what language they were taught at home, that kind of thing.

I: Do you follow Ukrainian politics?

EUC7F: No [laughs].

I: So you don't find out about them through newspapers or online?

[0h:25m:0s]

EUC7F: If it's something big, then the people I have connections with may tell me about it. So I'm at choir sitting next to *[name omitted]*, she brings something up, or it comes up at certain events, or my *kumy* are from Ukraine, so something might come up there. I don't take a vested interest to go seek it out, but definitely if it's something big and people are talking about it, yeah, I'm going to listen, ask questions about it, that kind of thing. So.

I: Fair enough.

EUC7F: Yes.

I: So you don't seek it out but you're receptive to it if it's from, in a kind of a social setting...

EUC7F: Absolutely, absolutely.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

EUC7F: Music. Definitely, just because of being part of a choir and always sang at a church choir that kind of thing, and just, I love that form of art. I like to watch Ukrainian dance. I never did that myself personally, but absolutely enjoy watching that. Even contemporary Ukrainian music, I have an interest in that. And what are my other choices, here?

I: You can elaborate on it, but literature, history, folklore, Ukrainian language...

EUC7F: Folklore, yeah, a bit, just because I think there's pieces that my parents and my *baba* and stuff would mention, and it's interesting then to hear what's actually been researched and what's been found out and so maybe some connection I can make with some differences and things like that. But yeah, that would be the extent of it I would think.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

EUC7F: That's a tough question [laughs].

I: It is, it is.

EUC7F: Well I guess I'm just gonna go on what I know the most is just what my grandparents have taught me. I just recently experienced contemporary Ukrainian culture by my first trip to Ukraine, not even a year ago, and still so many similarities, so I think still a lot of even what my grandparents, I think it's still rooted there. There are gonna be some differences. K one more time, let's just hear this again.

I: Here, actually I can turn it around ...kind of a long...[laughs]

EUC7F: Yeah...Um, then it brings to mind though, when we do have the recent immigrants who come here to the diaspora, it's an injection of new stuff. Preservation of language happens, and preservation of certain things that might get, that might've been lost already, because of generations and people not maintaining those things, so yeah, that's where I can see the importance of that injection, even if it might be even a little bit different from what we know, I think there's room to kind of discuss that and you know, see maybe where those differences come from, but yeah, it's gonna bring life for sure, I think, by having those new immigrants come and be part of the culture and share their experience with us for sure.

I: So perhaps that it's an equal place...

EUC7F: Yeah, absolutely...

I: ...based on a mutual discussion of learning about each other...?

EUC7F: Yes, yes, I'm very much for that. Let's get along [laughs], and yeah. Yeah, as long as the faith isn't compromised, that for me is key, [0h:30m:0s] then that for me personally is what I would value.

I: And faith meaning in the community in general, whether that be Catholic or Orthodox?

EUC7F: Well for me, the Orthodox faith. Any pieces that are wanting to be brought into the church that may be counter to what the church teaches, then yeah, that's not something I'm gonna agree with, so.

I: Fair enough. Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced? Is it pretty much the same story, or is it easier, or more difficult?

EUC7F: I think it might be slightly easier in the sense that there are so many social programs that are built into helping new Canadians. I firsthand know about what's available for them if they're wanting to take that and embrace it and integrate, which they didn't have years ago. You were left alone. There was no social programming at all. You were dropped off and that's it. So in that sense that's where I see it's a little bit easier for immigrants today. And just knowing the immigration system and how it works, you have to be at a certain income level to get here, so you come with something already, compared to say my grandparents who came as refugees coming with nothing.

I: So the challenges are less and more easily remedied because of the abundance of services? Is that a fair...?

EUC7F: Yes, yes, and the existing diaspora for any of that kind of support if they're wanting to take advantage of community support that is available here. Finding out "how did you manage when you came?", whatever, ten years ago, similar stories I'm sure within the last half-century of how people have survived, their immigration stories, there's lots to learn with what they've done and a lot of good things to take from that if they want to, so.

I: True.

EUC7F: Yeah.

I: Do you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions or anything else you would like to share?

EUC7F: No. I just think it's very interesting the questions that you asked and what it made me think about stuff, so.

I: Cool, that's awesome., Well thank you very much for your time and energy and your efforts and coming out today and assisting in participating in your study.

EUC7F: Oh, you're welcome!

I: I really appreciate it.

[Total time: 0h:33m:03s]

APPENDIX H: Interview with Participant “EUC8F”

Date of Interview: January 22, 2013

Length of Interview: 1h : 13m : 34s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1989

Age at time of Interview: 23

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

EUC8F: Canada.

I: So when did your family immigrate to Canada, if you know that information?

EUC8F: Well, both of my parents were born in Canada, but my father’s side immigrated in, I believe, the early 50s, and my mother’s side: one of her parents was born in Canada, and her father immigrated, actually I believe quite close to the same time in the, actually a little bit earlier, in the early 40s I think. Something along that timeline.

I: Can you tell me anything about your family’s immigration to Canada?

EUC8F: I know that my father’s side, they spent summer in the range of about five years in DP camps in Austria and Hungary, and my grandmother had her kids, each one, in a different country, my dad being the first Canadian-born, and then he had one brother who was born in Canada as well. And that was for the purpose of leaving Ukraine because of political reasons and freedom. And my mother’s side, uh...I could be wrong on the dates actually, because her father left because of the *Holodomor*, left right after the *Holodomor*, and came to Canada, yeah. He was one of the few that remained, that survived the *Holodomor*, so he came over and was working in the lumber camps here or whatever he had to do. Be a lumberjack for a year or two or something to be able to be Canadian.

I: Oh, wow. And what is or was your profession?

EUC8F: I've had a number of professions, so starting with I guess, uh, well I guess I worked in news broadcasting, and then moved to, yeah, I guess like camp directing, so cultural programming for children, and my current profession is in political communications. So I, yeah, I work in politics.

I: And what was your area of study?

EUC8F: I studied um, radio and television broadcasting at a technical institute, at NAIT in Edmonton, and then I studied for one year at the university of Alberta taking general Arts.

I: What would you say is your cultural background?

EUC8F: I would say I'm Canadian-Ukrainian, or Ukrainian-Canadian, I guess, depending on how you look at it. I think the term is Canadian-Ukrainian, but I've always said Ukrainian-Canadian.

I: So you would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian then?

EUC8F: Yeah, I would say so.

I: Why do you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian, or how else would you identify yourself?

EUC8F: Um, well I think I would say the Ukrainian-Canadian part is, in the sense that my first language was Ukrainian, our family strongly identifies with being Ukrainian, but has always been extremely proud to *be* in Canada and to be Canadian, because that's something that they fought for. Interestingly enough, one of the things I have found through extensive travel is the fact that while in Canada I actually, when someone asks me "what are you?", I say I'm Ukrainian, whereas when I'm travelling, I say I'm Canadian, and it eventually probably comes out that I'm of Ukrainian background or Ukrainian origin at some point, that's the motherland I guess. But generally speaking, yeah I'm, I'm Ukrainian when I'm, I'm Canadian when I'm out of Canada, and I'm Ukrainian when I'm in Canada.

I: Right.

EUC8F: ...which is bizarre, but...

I: It's just showing relativity.

EUC8F: I guess.

I: Yeah.

EUC8F: It's in context too.

I: Exactly, yeah. Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones? Which languages do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family?

EUC8F: Um, so I would say my primary language is English, my first language was Ukrainian. I learned English when I was I think three and a half or four. So in my work I use English, primarily. Occasionally we do some work with French, but it's pretty much English. At home it's a solid mix of Ukrainian and English. And I speak a very little bit of Spanish as well [0h:5m:0s].

I: What about with friends?

EUC8F: With friends, I guess I speak primarily English, but when I'm in the Ukrainian community I do use Ukrainian quite a bit. So if I'm at a Ukrainian even, or I have a few friends that are Ukrainian, I'll use Ukrainian, yeah. Or a Ukrainian-English blend.

I: Right, half-*na-piv*.

EUC8F: Half-*na-piv*, yeah. Exactly.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/why not?

EUC8F: Oh they're definitely both important. I mean, I've made a conscious effort to stay active in the Ukrainian community, both for my own personal reasons, kind of maintaining my own sense of identity I guess, and then also I mean, in terms of career and resume-wise, it's excellent to stay active in an ethnic community, and to kind of have that identity in both ways. But I mean, given the nature of my work, and just the way I generally live my life, I think it's really important to be active in the greater Canadian community, and I guess, more specifically Edmonton. Yeah, I mean I'm active with all kinds of things, and, you know, activist groups and I mean, politics in general. But yeah, I have dedicated a large portion of my life to being active in the Ukrainian community in Canada as well.

I: Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here? Why/why not?

EUC8F: That's an interesting question I guess...I never really, I always did growing up. I never, ever questioned it and it was really natural, it came to me, we spent a lot of time in the Ukrainian community. Um, and then actually

transitioning into moving into Edmonton was a totally different experience, trying to fit into the, it was actually, I found, it's a conscious effort to fit into the Edmonton community because it's so established.

I: ...as opposed to in a small town...

EUC8F: Right, from a small town it's kind of engrained, it's in everything that you do, you don't question it, it's just a part of your everyday life. Whereas in Edmonton, it's...I mean, to put it flatly, it's very cliquey. So it's very inclusive, or exclusive rather, um, so you have to kind of know the right people, and you're kind of judged for how *in* you are, and with which crowds within that community you are in, kind of thing, and which ones you're involved with. So being here and having to integrate into the Edmonton community was far more conscious, and then once you're in it, even navigating through it is, can be quite a challenge, yeah.

I: So, you felt more at home growing up in the Ukrainian community and now it takes a bit more of a kind of navigation skill?

EUC8F: Absolutely. I mean, I think generally the Ukrainian community in Edmonton is extremely political. So I mean, not only is it segregated by um, religion, so I mean the Catholics and the Orthodox, but it's also very much about status in this community, so it does take a conscious effort to navigate it and to...yeah, I mean it's about status is what it is, I think. It's not easy to do. Yeah. If you didn't grow up in it.

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

EUC8F: Um, for the last three years, this one being my first *not* being involved in it, I sang in a Ukrainian Orthodox choir, so that was the folk choir *Viter*, so that was both, you know, for the choir portion and for the social aspect. Um, I was directing Ukrainian Orthodox summer camps, *[name omitted]* that I had gone to, you know, grown up being in. I used to be a *CYMKivka*, I am no longer, but I'm still, I guess friends with *CYMKivtsi*, and every now and again I will attend *CYMK* events. Um, I used to work for *[name of institute omitted]* and I still maintain quite strong ties with that community, so I go to events at that center, I volunteer for that organization quite a bit. I attend, I'm a member of *[name of institute omitted]*, so I attend AGM's for that. I actually went as a delegate for *[name of institute omitted]* to the um...I guess UCC...Alberta...

I: UCC-APC?

EUC8F: Yeah, UCC-APC AGM. As a delegate for...

I: U-C-C-A-P-C-A-G-M...

EUC8F: A-G-M, on behalf of [*name of institute omitted*], yeah exactly [laughs]. Um, so I did, I do things like that. I'm trying to think of what else I do [0h:10m:0s]. I'll often kind of casually carol with either the Ukrainian Orthodox church that I'm a member of in [*name of small Alberta town omitted*], so I do that every year. And I do carol with a group in Edmonton as well. Um...I'm trying to think of what else, yeah I mean, I think that's the majority of it that I can think of. I do go to church every now and again I guess too, so that's part of being in the community.

I: So your involvement, sounds like it's very much based on organizations, casual social, you know, meeting I guess you can call them that are based around activities, and also the church aspect.

EUC8F: Yeah. Yeah, I guess that would be the way I see it. And then on the more informal side I have, you know, what I call my Ukrainian friends, so that's just a peer group that is just strictly Ukrainian people that I've met through, whether it's going to camp, through church, through that greater community, and that's just on an informal, peer setting kind of thing. With the occasional chitter-chatter about different organizations that we're all a part of and do things with.

I: Right. Is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you? Why/ why not?

EUC8F: Oh, definitely. I mean...yeah, I mean, a large part of *why* I'm involved in that community and *why* I feel it's important to *stay* involved in that community is because it's about maintaining that culture here, and the language, you know, advocating for bilingual programs, even things like that that come and start to relate to work. So it has to do with kind of maintaining it? Which is I think why we kind of cling onto the diaspora a lot. Um, but yeah, I mean, it's a sense of identity to be a part of that community, so it's something that you kind of strive to *continue* to do, and build, and, I mean if we, if our generation doesn't do it, then who does, right? So at some point you have to feel that sense of responsibility of, if I don't join this organization, if I don't sit on that committee or that board, or vote on behalf of that organization, when our parents, I don't know that those organizations will be around, that those grants and those funds, and bursaries, and dona—, you know, anything along those lines will exist unless we kind of hold up those organizations. So part of it actually is, kind of, I guess, obligatory, yeah I

have to be involved, because if I don't it dies with our generation, and it's pretty apparent that our generation is a lot smaller than the one before ours, and to put it frankly, less dedicated as well, so there's a few *main*, key people in that community who are trying to hold it up, and then people like me who aren't necessarily the *trailblazers*, but who still try to contribute.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language, anything else?

EUC8F: Um, I think it's a little bit of all of them, I mean, language certainly, I mean, people that aren't in the Ukrainian community can recognize how many bilingual programs run across the province, or more specifically in our city, and especially there's such a heavy influence of that in Edmonton, and you know, tons of schools that are maintaining or even increasing their enrollment in bilingual programs. Um...sorry, can you repeat the question. Now I lost my train of thought.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians?

EUC8F: To other Canadians. Yeah, so I think looking outside of it, it is, language is a big thing. Organizations are the most recognizable I think. When people see large groups of people putting on events and kind of holding it up. But then there's things like the Ukrainian Village, which again is partly run by government funding but is also a volunteer organization, but is, you know, an open air museum, so in that sense it's very much a cultural thing. I think the Ukrainian Village is a huge hub and a draw for people who are outside the community to better understand it, and when they come in they see how it's held up. And then of course there's things like the Heritage Festival, where people outside of it get to see the diaspora, you know, putting up all kinds of different venues, and they're exposed to the dance and the language and the...I guess actually Ukrainian dance is also a massive part of what is an identifier for Edmonton and Alberta in general. I know on a Canadian scale, Edmonton is known for having the most dance groups, I guess, per capita kind of, in Canada? So I think a lot of people, when they immediately think of Ukrainians, they think of *perogy* dinners in basements that they go to even though they're not Ukrainian. So kind of church-based-food-gatherings. The Ukrainian Village and Ukrainian dancing. That's kind of the cliché, outsider perspective, and bilingual programs, yeah [0h:15m:0s].

I: Yeah, I would have to...

EUC8F: I would say, yeah [laughs].

I: That's really interesting. In which language(s) do you read? In Ukrainian? In English? Other? In only English?

EUC8F: Recreationally only in English. I *can* read in Ukrainian and occasionally I will read poetry or prose, you know, reports from different organizations I've been involved with in Ukrainian, but I am able to read in Spanish a bit too, and for fun sometimes I do that, but um, yeah. I mean primarily in English.

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

EUC8F: Uh...yeah. I mean, I guess actually growing up as a kid pretty much the only children's books I was exposed to were Ukrainian authors, and children's stories, that sort of thing. *Now*, I mean, Shevchenko's probably the most influential one that I've read. Yeah, I've read various things in Ukrainian, and different authors. It's not something that I do regularly.

I: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature?

EUC8F: No, actually. Now that I think about it, you know, I haven't been exposed to really any new or contemporary kind of Ukrainian stuff that's come out.

I: Have you heard of people such as Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

EUC8F: I have not.

I: And do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture?

EUC8F: Oh I think it's direly important that I read Ukrainian, in Ukrainian and Ukrainian literature. I mean, I don't do it as much as I should, but I think, um, we easily get stuck, especially, we Cana—, Canadian-Ukrainians get stuck reading the historical Ukrainian things like Shevchenko, but we don't actually make that conscious effort to read things that are coming out of Ukraine *now*. We're kind of stuck in that bubble of when we immigrated, and we don't actually kind of extend to what is *actually* coming out of Ukraine now. I would like to read more: I don't. Um, and, what was the second part of that question?

I: Do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture?

EUC8F: Mmm...

I: So if you can't read it in the Ukrainian, the translations...

EUC8F: I, I mean I, I agree with it for people who can't read Ukrainian, yeah I think so. Kind of any link that you can have to it will contribute. I personally would prefer to read it in Ukrainian, because I think you're getting more out of it in your mother tongue. I mean when you translate there are some things that are lost, and the sentiment I think, the sentiment of it is sometimes lost if it's in another language. But at the end of the day, if you're trying to educate yourself about Ukrainian literature, or Ukrainian authors, and you don't have the capacity to do it in Ukrainian, then yeah, I think translations will do.

I: And moving on from literature to music a little bit: What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

EUC8F: I listen to a *very*, very wide range of music. Um, I do listen to a lot of folk music, English folk, so folk, Indie, a lot of electronic music as well, um... and yeah, I do listen to quite a few Ukrainian artists. I'm not sure, I guess a strange mix of... kind of old folk music produced by Canadians. Um, kind of your typical bands that play at a *zabava*-style-music, as well as the strange contemporary mix that we kind of have created in Canada of Ukrainian music that's either old folk music with a new twist to it, or just music that they've produced that's *in* Ukrainian. I do listen to your typical old folk kind of stuff from Ukraine, and the old choirs, that kind of stuff, and I do listen to a little bit of *new* stuff that comes out of Ukraine, both instrumental and lyrical stuff.

I: I'm gonna turn this board around so that you can see a list of 11 aspects of Ukrainian culture, and what I would ask you to do is identify them in descending order, so from 1-11, down the page, of what you deem the most important. So just start with number one. Take a look at them first, number 1 until number 11, and just number them what you would deem ...

EUC8F: ...the most important...

I: ...kind of ranking them...

EUC8F: Okay... [0h:20m:0s]

I: ...if you had to...

EUC8F: Okay. Sure. Uh, yeah. Oh that's tough. Okay. [she ranks them]

I: You can take your time.

EUC8F: I would do traditional music first, for sure. Closely, very, very closely followed by folklore. Probably would be fine arts is third. Classic literature: fourth. Contemporary, uh..these are all hard...these are all really important...contemporary theatre, uh...classical music: sixth. Contemporary music: seventh. This is tough. I guess classic theatre: eighth. Pop culture: ninth. Contemporary literature: tenth, and cinema: eleventh.

cinema-11

classical literature-4

contemporary literature-10

classical music-6

contemporary music-7

traditional music-1

classical theatre-8

contemporary theatre -5

fine arts-3

folklore-2

pop culture-9

I: Okay, thank you. And the follow-up question to that is whether you think all of these are equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity.

EUC8F: Um, you know, I wouldn't say that all are equally as important. Maybe that's just personal opinion and interest. And maybe it's just my exposure to them, but I mean, I would think that folk—I mean, folklore to me is a huge part of it, and traditional music is, I mean, that to me is how things are passed, and so yeah, I think cinema is important, and an interesting medium, but I don't think that that's necessarily a part of my identity, or kind of *crucial* to my identity. It's an interesting aspect of it, and it can be useful, but I would not say it's that *important*. You know, I mean, contemporary theatre or dance or art, I think is a gigantic part of what we do here because we're so involved in trying to preserve, but make things new, so especially in my idea, I guess, I'm really thinking about Ukrainian-Canadian bands and dance groups, specifically that, I mean, because

they're so popular, but really we try to preserve it. We try to preserve our culture by making it new and interesting, but yet narrating and telling old stories, and old technique from Ukraine. So it's kind of that weird blend, that fusion of Canadian *and* Ukrainian, and then trying to make it our own. I mean, we very much have created our own genre of Ukrainian-Canadian-isms when it comes to music and dance for sure. So for me, I mean, that becomes really important. So it's as much as preservation, but creating our own identity here. Yeah.

I: Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

EUC8F: Oh my gosh, Shevchenko. I mean, for me personally, I mean, he's kind of the father of Ukraine in all aspects. He not only is, I guess, a symbol, I guess, more than a literary genius and many others. I mean, I think for at least, for me, personally, and the way I view things, Shevchenko's really, yeah, a symbol of where Ukraine can go, and where Ukraine has, where it has been and where it can go. So, although I'm not, you know, a professional in the arts of Shevchenko, I think that he symbolizes kind of, the greater, the greater force of what Ukrainians want to be and aspire to be, and this strong, independent, you know, fighting anybody who, not fighting, but standing up against anybody who is trying to oppress us as a people. And so I mean that applies to Ukrainian-Canadians not so much in Canada, but, no, I mean as a part of our identity, yeah I guess, we are so proud to *be* Canadian, to be Ukrainian rather, and he very much is a symbol of, not only preserving our tie to Ukraine, but kind of living vicariously through that idea. When we think about Ukraine, we all, you know, I always say you know, and blablabla, I mean in my country, but I mean, I'm not actually talking, Ukraine isn't my country, but we speak about her in this way as if she *is* ours [0h:25m:0s], and we hope the best for her, and so when we look at Shevchenko, that's everything that he was, was fighting for the greater Ukraine, so I mean. For me, he is the symbol of that.

I: What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants?

EUC8F: Um, I mean fundamentally it comes down to Ukrainians are Ukrainians. Doesn't really matter that they were born there, or that we were born here. We're all kind of in it together. We're all, in my opinion, kind of trying to do the same thing, which is trying to preserve our culture. Although it is very different in the sense that we've created a bit of our own, just through being here for so long, but, you know, at least in my opinion, yeah I want to have my children that have Ukrainian names and speak Ukrainian, and that's what they want too. I mean we all want a better life, but realistically, when it comes to Ukrainian-isms, I mean,

we're all really doing the same thing, we want to have the same holidays, and we want to go to the same church and hear it in Ukrainian and preserve everything that it is. That sense of Ukrainian identity, at the root of it, is the same, so I think we're all kind of looking at the same thing, which is, you know, community, so we all come together, we all go to the same churches, we're all part of the same organizations, not all of them, but many of them, we're all working towards that same goal of preservation, and so you kind of put your differences aside, and the difference of, you know, well, we're preserving Canadian-Ukrainian identity, well yeah, but no, we're all at the end of the day, we want Ukrainian-named children, and we want to speak our own language and have our culture and... In fifty years we want Edmonton and Alberta and whatever, Canada, to look the same as it did today, so I think at the end of the day they're working at the same thing that we are.

I: What do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

EUC8F: Oh, man there's a lot of differences. Um, I mean there's differences in the sense that... I think it's almost kind of backwards sometimes. Of course, yes, we're all looking to maintain our Ukrainian identity, but I find, I don't know, it's almost kind of backwards. The immigrant community is looking to fit into the Canadian community, and they're proud, you know, "I am officially a Canadian citizen," and they're so proud of the Canadian aspect of it. And yeah, they want to preserve their own culture, but they're very proud of the Canadian side of it. Whereas I think we're a bit jaded as Canadians; we don't even think about that. We're... kind of more proud to be Ukrainian. I don't know, does that sound—? That sounds strange, but, I mean, we're very different in the sense that we're looking towards the same thing but from a totally different perspective. You know? And because Ukrainian-Canadians have really created their own identity in my opinion, it's kind of sometimes hard to see eye-to-eye because, you know, a lot of the organizations that we've built kind of have two functions. One is to improve ties and improve situations in Ukraine, and a lot of it is strictly about only benefitting the Ukrainian-Canadian community, whereas I think the immigrants will focus probably more in the preservation of the Ukrainian side and what's going on in Ukraine. But they also, I mean, naturally they have a stronger tie to it, they just came from there. Um, so I mean, we're similar and we're different. I think that we, we all hang out together, we all are still friends and communicate on a similar level, and at the end of the day we have the same goal, but they just, we're looking through two different looking-glasses. Because they just have a totally different background from it, kind of.

I: What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

EUC8F: I think it's a huge shame to be honest. I think it's a massive step back in the movement of trying to, I hate using the word pro-West, but in being more independent as a nation, I think Ukraine has worked very hard and the people of Ukraine specifically have worked very hard to re-establish their own identity and their own independence, uh...to some avail. And it's always a battle between feeling that on the ground and the grassroots movement from the people and being able to actually represent that in the government, because of so much corruption in the government [0h:30m:0s], and so much influence from Russia and the east, um. I'm not sure we've made as much progress as we want to, and this was I think a huge step back for the people of Ukraine and for the, for the *Verkhovna Rada*, for the parliament.

I: When you say “pro-West”, do you mean “pro-West” as in western Europe, or do you mean “pro-West” as in “the West” , sort of Canada and...

EUC8F: I think pro-western-Europe, in terms of joining the European Union, you know, having more extensive trade with other countries, having more free flow, encouraging other people to travel to Ukraine, you know, a lot of other countries are very much working towards that, whereas I'm not sure Ukraine is. And yeah, I mean, I feel like it was a really big step back in the sense that that independent thought and that movement toward having our own identity was very much infringed upon, and going back to, quite frankly, Soviet times, is what it was. So it's a bit of a slap in the face. I recognize that Russian has become an integral part of Ukrainian society because of our history, and I don't think that, I mean it's a tough thing really I guess, because the language is sometimes a symbol of eastern mentality moving over the country, and it's sometimes it's just a language. But in this situation I think it was a political move, a specific political move to have influence. I think that was seen by the way that the government responded, or that the Ukrainian-speaking members of parliament did not approve of that, and a large portion of Ukrainians, and Ukrainian-Canadians reacted to that, so. Yeah. It's a big step back.

I: Related to that, but also could be not related at all: what kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in “being” Ukrainian?

EUC8F: Uh, in Canada? In general...I think, that's a really difficult question I think. In Canada it's, it comes back down to status a little bit, but it also comes down to preservation. I think it's a huge thing here because we're trying so hard to preserve it. And I mean in Canada you don't know any Ukrainian-Canadians who speak Russian, that just doesn't really happen. Yes, immigrants who come over speak Russian and we understand that, but I think, like I said, I think a lot of Ukrainian-Canadians are stuck in that mentality of where we immigrated, so

we're stuck in that wave of whichever one of our family when they came, that's the mentality we're stuck in. So anti-Soviet, anti-Russian, language, everything. So here in Canada, Russian is viewed as negative, and Ukrainian as a language is viewed as a pride, an identity, a sense of identity, an identifier with the Ukrainian community. In Ukraine it's a bit of a mixed bag of tricks. I don't know necessarily how I feel about it. I mean, I feel like Ukrainian language in Ukraine, um, I mean, when you're in the west, they're very proud that they speak Ukrainian, and that is a sense of identity for them, and is a large part of their identity. Whereas when you start to move east, and Russian becomes more prevalent, you start to see a mix in opinion, I think, with people about, some people don't think it's really relevant at all what language they're speaking. Either they want to move into a more independent Ukraine and they just happen to speak Russian, and it doesn't really matter, and then in the further, you know...I've met Ukrainian nationalists in the farthest east who don't speak Ukrainian, but are pro-Ukrainian, Ukrainian identity and nationalism, and they do wish that they were, had been brought up in a setting where Ukrainian language was prevalent. So I mean, do I wish that all people in Ukraine spoke Ukrainian? Yeah, I do. I think if you live in that country and you are proud to be Ukrainian, I would hope that they have some exposure to Ukrainian. Um...but given how much Russian has been forced upon them, I don't know if that is even possible. So for me, Ukrainian language is extremely important in Canada [0h:35m:0s], and when I go to Ukraine it's also very important for me. For Ukrainians, I don't know. I think it's a mixed bag of tricks. Yeah, I think it really depends regionally where you're from. But, yeah, generally I think Ukrainian is important for a sense of identity, but I just don't think, I don't know what the future for Ukrainian language is anymore because of this new language law and how quickly it seems everyone has accepted that Russian will be spoken. So I think that kind of enhances our Ukrainian-Canadian's obligation to maintain it here, and really foster the language here, and when we go back to Ukraine it's that much more important to speak Ukrainian there, and to show that that is the only language that we bring, and that when we identify with being Ukrainian, we are only speaking Ukrainian, we are not speaking Russian. You know, we could learn Russian, and I don't mind learning another language to navigate, but to be Ukrainian for us means to speak Ukrainian. In Ukraine it's not the same. But that comes down to the difference between Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants who grew up in Ukraine and were in that setting, so.

I: Right. Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

EUC8F: I think some people view it as a barrier, or an obstacle sometimes. I mean, generally speaking I think the immigrants have stronger language skills simply because they grew up, that's their native tongue. So when they come to Canada they're trying to speak to us, there is a bit of a language barrier just because of the nature that they're speaking, and the nature of the Ukrainian that we're speaking. We've created our own Ukrainian-Canadian language of Ukrainian that is, like I said, same thing, stuck from when we immigrated here. Depending on how much influence you have from being in Ukraine, you do have some, you know, modern Ukrainian in your language, but I think that does become a barrier. Sometimes simply because my language isn't, my ability to speak Ukrainian isn't as good as it is in English, and theirs obviously is, I mean they're just more fluent in Ukrainian. But, yeah, I mean, sometimes, and really it comes down to me just being bashful about my own level of Ukrainian. It's not that I feel inferior, I just feel like, yeah, my language isn't up to par with some, I guess with people who don't speak Ukrainian quite as well it's probably a bit of a barrier. I mean, I know more than any other immigrant from any other country who comes to Canada that can't, you know, I can't understand them because of their accent or whatever, I mean. I'm not sure that it's so much about which language they're speaking so much as the *level* of the language that we're speaking. And because I said, like, they're two different dialects. So I mean yeah, there's a barrier because they're speaking *modern* Ukrainian, and we aren't exposed to that as much here. So it just comes down to trying to understand that dialect. But, I don't know. I don't have a problem with it because I'm kind of forced through and keep going, and think it's important to speak with them, so it doesn't really matter if it's hard, you do it anyways. But I can see how it would be a deterrent for some other people if their language skills aren't up to par, or if they're ashamed of their own Ukrainian, you know, in comparison to the immigrants, then I could see how that would be a bit of a barrier. Not really the case for me, but that's just because of where my language skills, or my shamelessness...I don't know.

I: Do you follow Ukrainian politics?

EUC8F: Uh, yes.

I: How do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow?

EUC8F: I follow, I follow Ukrainian politics quite closely, and I think that's just because of my political background. But that's also, it was very important, my grandparents made sure it was very important., They always followed Ukrainian news very, very, very closely, and were politically active both in Ukraine and when they came to Canada. So they, my grandparents watched Ukrainian news

and Canadian news constantly, and then of course, it passed down, so my parents follow Ukrainian news closely and Canadian news, [0h:40m:0s] and I guess I've obviously developed a knack for it since I work in politics. So I mean I read the *Kyiv Post*, which is a bit of a pro-Western rag, I guess if you say.

I: Is *Kyiv Post* in English?

EUC8F: *Kyiv Post* is in English yup, and it's, I believe it's written by...I think it's a weird mix of Ukrainians and Canadians living in Ukraine that work within the, kind of, that community.

I: is it online, or...?

EUC8F: I read it online. You can get it in print when you're in Ukraine, so then in Ukraine I'll read it in print, but when I'm here I read it online. Yeah, I mean, I'm a news-hound already, but I follow it for my own purposes, just to kind of know what's going on. I find news travels pretty fast, even in social media in Canada about relevant political Ukrainian events in Ukraine. When any kind of major law is passed, or there's some kind of uprising or protests, or you know, in more recent times, fistfights in parliament for example, those are the kinds of things that actually hit social media and are circulated quite quickly through the Ukrainian community here. So it's pretty hard not to have a general idea of what's going on, but I make a conscious effort of being involved in it, and, both as an observer and as, I mean, going to Ukraine to be involved in elections, I've done that, once, during the federal run-off election in Ukraine, and I was in Kharkiv in the east. So I mean, that was, you know, encouraged by my parents, but it was something that I really wanted to do as well, and felt it was a duty as a Ukrainian-Canadian who cares a lot about what's going on in Ukraine, and someone who's politically active in Canada and very much interested in the electoral process here, I felt completely obligated as a person, and completely determined to go, and not only understand their electoral process, but try to better it. I mean, if they're moving towards democracy, and they want to speak to people who have a background in democracy, or, you know, political activism or really anything having to do with democracy, um, for someone who's personally interested in it, and active in the Ukrainian community, I was extremely eager to go and share everything that I do with them. So in terms of staying up-to-date, I mean, I'm not sure how much more up-to-date you can be other than being in the middle of their election, and saying "Yeah, okay, what's going on?", and learning first-hand, and witnessing it first-hand, and really being involved in it, and coming back and being even that much more interested and keeping up that much more because of that sparked interest and um, that strange, like I said before, that strange um...mentality that we kind of take, or a lot of Ukrainian-Canadians take, where

we talk about, you almost speak about Ukraine like it's your country and it's not. You know, I was, I hold a Canadian passport, I am Canadian in terms, on paper. But I very much talk about the progress of Ukraine as something that I'm proud of, almost in a way that it's my own and I'm fighting for Ukraine even though I'm not technically a resident or citizen of that, I still feel very much connected and a citizen of that global community, kind of that global-citizen thing where yeah, I'm fighting for Ukraine, I'm fighting for Ukrainian independence from Canada, and when I can, from the ground in Ukraine as well. So I think that's massively important for Ukrainian-Canadians to *be* in the know about what's going on in Ukraine, and it's not only about preserving what we have built here, but it's very much about understanding what's going on, you know, where can we help in preserving Ukrainian identity in Ukraine. Yeah.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

EUC8F: Um, wow, I mean a lot of those are very important to me, and of course it's personal opinion. Literature I think is very important. It's not necessarily a huge interest of mine, so I wouldn't really put it on my radar as something that I'm... "It's incredibly important!"...No. Language I think is a massive one because it is such a big part of identity. A lot of people say, "Yes, I'm Ukrainian". "Can you speak Ukrainian?", "No". [0h:45m:00s] Well in some ways, you know, it almost seems like they're *less* Ukrainian because they don't speak the language. They're not passing that language on. They're not active members in preserving that. So I think language is a huge thing. Art, art, I'm, when I think art, I mean, what I typically first think of is, you know, paintings and visual art, but visual art's a *huge* thing that I think actually plays a gigantic role in Ukrainian-Canadian identity. I mean the artist Larissa Cheladyn, I mean, I don't know any Canadian household, Canadian-Ukrainian household that doesn't have a Larissa print in their home, and that in itself is kind of the brand of "Yes, I'm a real Ukrainian. I support the Ukrainian artists. I want something cultural and beautiful and representative of both Ukrainian-Canadian culture, and of Ukraine, Ukrainian culture". So I think visual art, I mean, my home personally and my parents' home, and my grandparents' home is full of Ukrainian artists, Ukrainian-Canadian artists, so visual art's a huge thing. The performing arts, like is aid again, I think is a huge thing. It's a way of preserving Ukrainian culture in Canada and also a really beautiful form of how we make it a contemporary thing. It's a great, it's our outlet for creating Ukrainian-Canadian identity. So, yeah, I mean, I guess I think the same with Ukrainian dance. I think that's massively important because it sort of spreads the word. I know a *million* people that Ukrainian dance that aren't Ukrainian. It's become so *popular* that people that aren't even Ukrainian do it,

and automatically feel a sense of identity and a connection to Ukrainian culture through dance, and I mean, they're not even Ukrainian. So for me as a Ukrainian, I grew up Ukrainian dancing, I watch Ukrainian dancing, I go to Ukrainian competitions and shows, I mean it's very much something that we as a community boast as something that we're proud of and something that we've preserved and add our own through, you know, contemporary means, and changing dance to become this, you know, *Shumka*-style ballet, you know a thing where we integrate celebrities. It's become this thing that our community has been built on and has become very proud of. So I think for me, visual art, dance, language and organization.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

EUC8F: Um, I think, they both have an equal place in Canada. Um, I think typically the more common thing to do is to preserve what has been brought. I think there are some aspects of that that are really beautiful in the sense that when I go back to Ukraine I'm told that I speak poetically and in old, archaic Ukrainian, and they're like "Oh, wow", like they're just mystified by the way that we speak, because we're speaking, you know, realistically at this point I guess, sixty, almost seventy year old Ukrainian. And I don't use the new words because I don't even know them. So I mean, I think there's something actually quite beautiful about preserving what we've brought, but I think it is important to continue to move forward, and to update, and to integrate what has come over into what we're doing now. Otherwise, I mean, really, what you've become is a stagnant culture, I mean, there's nothing beautiful about that. The whole point of culture, in any country and any place, is that it is growing and changing and being manipulated. But no, I mean, I think that a huge part of what's benefitting our community right now is how many new immigrants are coming and contributing what they are contributing to our community and changing that, changing our language. You know, bringing new music or, you know, old folk songs that we've never heard before that are either, *Chervvona ruta*, you know, [0h:50m:0s]these *newer* things that are very much a part of Ukrainian identity in Ukraine that *should* be integrated into what we're doing now. Um, and slowly are, you know, over time, these new waves of immigration are bringing these new things that are kind of slowly digging their claws into what we've already identified as Ukrainian and kind of changing and molding it. And I mean I can't ever imagine us preserving

something so much so without letting anything else new in. I mean, that's not growth. So if we actually want to be realistic about it, I think the immigrants are actually benefitting our community. We're preserving it *better* now that they're here. They're bringing the language, they're bringing the culture, they're making it new and fresh, and teaching us and letting us evolve, involve that culture here. So I think they're both really, really important, and I mean, yeah, they each play their role. I think there is some importance in remembering where we came from and remembering you know, *our* ancestors, issues and problems, having to get to Canada, *why* they came here, and preserving certain parts of that, but it is important for immigrants to do that as well. There is a bit of a disconnect though, when you start to look at things like holidays. And I've only found that with my experience with, actually it was my university professors that were from Ukraine, who were teaching my Ukrainian class and were teaching in our class the traditions on Ukrainian Christmas, you know, on *Sviat vechir* and *Rizdvo* and what you do, and I realized that we as Ukrainian-Canadians know more about the traditional things to do on holidays, traditional Ukrainian things to do on holidays. Then some of the people coming from Ukraine, because we've preserved that so well, they've created this contemporary like "Ah, yeah, there's 12 dishes, I don't really know what they are, you know, I can name maybe five or six", and everyone in the class was laughing at our teachers. We're all pounding out those 12 like it's, you know, that's your bread and butter, everybody knows that here. It seemed outrageous that they wouldn't know that. So in some sense we have really preserved certain aspects of the Ukrainian culture almost better than the people in Ukraine have, and they're *fascinated* when they see that here. It's this bizarre notion that we've come and, we're in this little *bubble*, this little *time-capsule* of, you know, our language is sitting there, and our traditions, and we're still putting the *didukh* in the corner, and we're putting the *pshenytsia* under the table cloth, and like these are things that they're dumbfounded that we're doing, or that I actually, you know, the spirit of *koliada* is still something that's very prevalent in Canada, and very much a part of the holiday season for us, you know. And I explain to my Ukrainian professors, you know, "I'm not going to be in school on the 7th", not going to go to university on the 7th because that is a holy day, that is a huge family event. You know, we put on a massive meal, it is the spirit of the holiday, I will be going to church, I will be carolling, you know, with my church, you know I'm going with the membership and we're going out to sing to the seniors, and they thought this was outrageous. So I think it's really interesting to have both,. Because they're bringing the language and the *new*, but in some respects, we're the ones holding the *old*. So it's kind of this odd balance where they're the modern Ukrainian, and we're the old, we're almost, even though I'm 23, I'm representing 90-year old values of language, and the intense preservation

of kind of that old, almost really old, Soviet kind of, I don't know, it's bizarre, but it's extremely important for both of us to coincide in the community because we're both bringing very, very different sides to it. So I think it's a happy medium, but I do think that we do somewhat represent the older traditionalist side of things.

I: You spoke of a fascination that the recent immigrants had with some of the aspects of diasporans. Would you say that it's a one-way fascination, or a mutual fascination, or could you speak a little bit more to that fascination?

EUC8F: Oh I think it's very much a two-sided fascination, or at least in my opinion it, in my case it was. I mean, we were both tickled pink, to put it lightly. I mean, my prof actually came out after class and probably spoke to me for thirty or forty minutes about, "Okay, come on, give it to me, what's your identity then? I mean, you're talking about these 12 dishes, and *koliada*, and what you do on *Rizdvo*, [0h:55m:0s]and what your family does, and you know, what makes a Ukrainian? What's your deal? Come on, give it to me", because they really didn't understand. And I thought it was really funny that they didn't understand. And it came down to, well I said, "Well, you know, yeah, in my ideal world I'd marry a good Ukrainian-Orthodox boy, and have little Ukrainian, you know, kids running around with their Ukrainian names, and you know, and I'd be *mama*, and my husband would be *tato*, and you know, and we would do *Rizdvo* the same way I've always done *Rizdvo* in my family, and we'd mock the English Christmas on the 25th, and make jokes about the Easter bunny, and continue to have *Svyatyi Mykolai* come on when *Svyatyi Mykolai*'s supposed to come, and they thought this was hilarious, because they had no idea that we were doing this, and they themselves don't even necessarily want traditional Ukrainian names for their children, you know, so.

I: And when is *Svyatyi Mykolai* supposed to come?

EUC8F: Oh, geez, I don't know, September 17th or 16th or something like that, I don't know. I know he does come on the right day of the year, I just can't remember what one it is [laughs].

I: Do you mean on the, do you mean that he comes on the Julian calendar instead of on the Gregorian one?

EUC8F: Yeah, yeah. And then, well, and then, the *anhel* comes to our family on the 6th, right. But, I think this fascination was just, I mean they were tickled pink and were completely, I think it really caught them off-guard and kind of side-swiped them, because they weren't expecting for a class of 25 half-quarter-eighth Canadians to correct them on their Ukrainian tradition and culture. I think it really

took them aback just how much we knew, and how much they didn't know, and then it turned into this big Google-session, we pulled out Google, and they're laughing because we're right, and we're taking bets, "No, it's this", and "No, you can't have dairy, are you crazy?", and they're like "But everyone has dairy!", "Traditionally you're not supposed to. It's supposed to be Lenten!", and they're like "What? Lenten!", and it's this crazy, this was just outrageous for them to think of, that you know, we're really proving them wrong when you put it lightly I guess. It was, I guess it was a fun experience, and they were fascinated by it, and it continued through the rest of the year, I think we kind of broke the ice at that moment where they really realized like "What the hell is going on here?", and it kind of continued, and that narrative continued for the rest of that class, where we'd talk about well, you know, "Do you guys do that in your family?", and it became this kind of open discussion in our class about how much of this tradition that they do, or what's typical in Ukraine, and how un-typical that was here during the holidays here or whatever. Um, so I thought that was interesting, and I mean, yeah, they just were completely dumbfounded that they names for my children that I've already, you know, somewhat thought about, are in their opinion, really old, really, really traditional names, and not names that are being used now, or, you know English names, or whatever names are popular here in Canada. Then I was really thinking about, no, no I want them Ukrainian. It got down to the specifics of the spelling, and I was talking about how specifically my parents spelled my name so it was pronounced properly in Ukrainian and not Anglicized, and how "Well yeah, I want my son's name to be this, but I want to spell it with a this instead of a this because I want them to pronounce it this way", and they're thinking, "My God, you guys micro-manage every aspect of things to make sure it's preserved", and they just thought it was ridiculous. SO it was hilarious, it was great.

I: [laughs]

EUC8F: [laughs] Yeah.

I: Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

EUC8F: Absolutely. Um...I could be wrong, but I mean, in my opinion, I mean, even my dad, who was the first in his family to be born in Canada, did not learn English until he was in school, so he and his brothers and sister did not speak English, Their parents did not speak English.

I: Like when they came to Canada, they didn't speak English?

EUC8F: No. And when they went to school they didn't either. So they were trying to learn English in school, and were really, really badly bullied, beaten up, both by their teachers and by their peers for being these, you know, stupid "Bohunks", and you know, "You can't speak English, you're just a bunch of peasant farm-workers, you're just a bunch of tomato-farmers in Tillbury", I mean whatever. They were really, [1h:0m:0s] really made fun of for a long time, and I think that went into even their teens and even into their early adulthood. That became...My parents even talk about that and it's still quite sore, you can see it's a sore spot for them. And they went through a lot, both my grandparents and my parents, went through a lot of kind of torture and turmoil growing up being Ukrainian, and being chastised for that in the communities they were in. Whereas I don't think that people who come now deal with the same kind of racism that was acceptable in society at the time. So now, I think there's an established Ukrainian community that they're coming to. I think that's the major difference. I mean, they were the trailblazers. They had to come and be the first, and then, you know, accommodate the new waves coming afterwards, whereas people coming after 1991 are coming into a full-fledged, fully- functioning, gigantic Ukrainian community where, you know, the mayor of our city was able to say a few simple Ukrainian phrases, and will eat his *perogies*, and show up at the Ukrainian booth and advocates for Ukrainians. You know, we live in a city and we have such an established community that these immigrants aren't having to do a lot of the groundwork that the immigrant-waves did before. They're coming to Edmonton where there's Ukrainian Social Services, where there's, you know, organizations like St. John's Institute that has housing, that has cultural programming, that has people who speak Ukrainian in the building, who, you know, there's networks of people all over the place that are itching to help Ukrainian immigrants, you know, "Come to my church, come meet the congregation, come meet the priest, come meet my daughter[laughs], come to the Ukrainian camp". I mean, really, it's like you know, oh good Ukrainian boy, all the mothers and grandmas are just lining up to set their daughters and sons up here with the new immigrants, you know? SO it's a very different attitude that they're coming into. I mean, I'm sure that they go through a lot of struggle, and I'm sure racism definitely still exists, but they're coming into a community that's so healthy and growing and is flourishing, so I mean, we kind of get excited when a new one comes in, we're like, "Oh, yeah, okay, we got another one, yeah! What can we do, what can we set them up with? Send them to the CYM hall, send them to this!" There's so much for them to come to, and a community that's already established, whereas that just simply wasn't the case before.

I: And the mayor you spoke of...was that Stelmach or the current mayor?

EUC8F: No that's Stephen, mayor Stephen Mandel of Edmonton.

I: So even Mandel.

EUC8F: Yes. I think, well I think Mandel is very culture-focused. He is very culture and arts focused. But I mean, very many, I mean I work in politics as well. So politicians of all walks of life, of all political parties, recognize the influence of the Ukrainian community on politics in Canada. A lot of extremely influential politicians, and the movers and shakers in politics in Alberta, are or were, of Ukrainian descent. So I mean, from a different angle, really, when you look at it from that way, I think a lot of people recognize how much weight the Ukrainian community has in general, and yeah, I don't know.

I: So just the last question here is asking if you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions, or if there's anything you'd like to go back to, if you have anything you'd like to elaborate more on...?

EUC8F: Um, to be honest I think I actually kind of underplayed the influence of the church in all of this, because obviously the church was the hub when everything started and when everyone immigrated here, but um...but I think the church has become a massive part of preservation as well in terms of community. So, well I mean, and in culture and in language, but um...a lot of the politics that occur within the Ukrainian-Canadian community in Edmonton revolve around the church, they always have been, I mean, everywhere that's the case, but, you know, it's about what church you belong to, how often you go, do you go to the Ukrainian-Orthodox church that has services in English, or do they go in Ukrainian? That in itself is a segregator. You know, that's a massive battle. With every church that I've been a member of, which I think is two or three at this point, is fighting to preserve [1h:5m:0s] the language within the church, and that's a massive battle that is somewhat generational, and I think when the immigrants come they're more likely to want it to be in Ukrainian. I personally want it in Ukrainian. I know a lot of people that do. I think it's great that there are some churches that are established in English, but I think that's also a big battle of how much can we preserve within the church, I mean, that's, it's the hub. The church has always kind of been the hub of preservation of culture in, you know, both Ukraine and Canada, but Canada more specifically. I think I kind of underplayed that and the role that the church plays in all aspects of maintaining, preserving and being that community hub, and a great way to integrate immigrants. I mean, that's the first place we take them, "Are you Orthodox or are you Catholic?", "Okay, let's get you into the church, let's introduce you to the church community", and then from that moment on, that's where all the other organizations come from. You know, being Ukrainian is synonymous with being

religious because of how closely intertwined I guess they are, but yeah, I think I underplayed that connection and where I think most of the interactions, the initial interactions I think between the diaspora and the immigrants community happen are at church, and then everything else kind of networks out, but yeah, I think a large part of our identity does come from how active we are in the church, and how much we support or not support the church, and how churches are actually the membership are, you know, is dwindling across the board if you look at any community, really. You know, it's fighting to keep membership up and to keep youth involved, because like I said, once our parents are gone, who's gonna keep the church alive. So a lot of it, you know, I personally don't consider myself extremely religious. I, like many people of my generation, feel that we're very much spiritual, but in being Ukrainian you almost have this obligation to be religious because they are synonymous because all of our holidays are around the church, are based around the church, and about religious values, and fundamentally my parents and my grandparents, there was no question about me being baptized, but same thing with church growing up. It was no question whether I was going to, it was how often you missed one, you'd better go to confession, you have to go to church. As an adult, I've chosen to somewhat stray away from the church in terms of the values of the church, because of how conservative they are, but I also feel an obligation to be a part of the church because of, if I want to be Ukrainian and I want to preserve that Ukrainian, you kind of *have* to be a part of the church. So I know that, you know, some of, my sibling feels the same way. I'm not sure whether I'm in the minority or the majority on that, but I don't think that's something necessarily that the immigrant community has to deal with because they're still so close to it. You know, in Ukraine, everyone is kind of that Ukrainian and religious mix. That's just kind of part of everyday. Whereas in Canada, we have this very progressive view of the world, and you know, when it comes to social issues and you know, equality for *everybody* and *everything*, it makes a lot of our generation question it, yet we feel this obligation to be a part of the church, because that is part of Ukrainian identity, and that creates a big gap. So I think that's something that quite definitely splits views with diaspora and with immigrant communities, because immigrant communities, not immigrant communities, but immigrants, I don't think are faced with as many of those, kind of, massive moral questions of "Oh my God, should I...?", you know, they don't question the church as much as the diaspora does because we've been in Canada so long and we recognize a lot of the views of the church are actually archaic. But we're so closely engrained and kind of *stuck* in having to be a part of the church because of how much we're trying to preserve, and that becomes a very uncomfortable relationship, almost kind of unhealthy relationship, where you attend out of guilt and not actually because

you want to [laughs]. You know, but because, well that's where the community is, that's the hub [1h:10m:0s]. So I think that's something that actually really, really separates things that the immigrants have to deal with in comparison to our generation, my generation specifically.

I: Religion, you mean?

EUC8F: Religions, religion yeah, and its *role* in Ukrainian identity.

I: Religion and its *role*.

EUC8F: Yeah. Religion and its *role* in Ukrainian identity, you know? It creates that, I think, at least in my generation being in my 20's, I feel that massive split down the middle of my body of "Yeah, I want to be Ukrainian, but, you know, I also don't agree with a lot of the church", but heaven forbid I ever say anything like that because then that means I'm questioning my identity almost, like it becomes that identity crisis, right? So, I think that's an interesting aspect of it that we all kind of have to deal with, and it's not something that will go away, because the church will never go away, and it will always be the community hub. But I can recognize that that would be a massive kind of catalyst for why our generation would fall away from the church and fall away from building the Ukrainian community in the church, because of that. So maybe it's not that good that we rely so heavily on the church being a hub for the preservation of our culture because I don't see that that's something that is growing or even staying stagnant in terms of numbers. So maybe all the more so it's important to preserve and put our resources and time into preserving you know, contemporary art, or art in general, or the arts, or theater, or language as a form of identity and harbouring identity, because really, I don't see a huge future for the church. It will always be there, but it will never be what it was, or even what it is now. It's dwindling as we speak, so. Yeah, I think that's something that majorly draws a line between the diaspora and the immigrant community, and that's a one place where we won't see the same, we won't see eye-to-eye on that issue. And when it comes really to communicating with immigrants on certain levels, I think, or you know, I guess I'm looking at it from the perspective of immigrants actually partnering and marrying or becoming involved with Ukrainian-Canadians and the established diaspora, I think that's where a bit of a segregation comes, in that they're very traditionalist in their values because they're coming from Ukraine which is considerably more conservative, and from a more religion-based background. Whereas our community's quite established here, but we don't necessarily have the conservative background. We have the church background, but secretly we all defy a lot of parts of the church, because we have a progressive view by nature of being Canadian. So I think that may cause some segregation and a little bit of uh,

you know, you asked me earlier whether immigrants and the diaspora do ever have kind of, you know, issues relating to one another, and maybe not related to language, but in terms of culture and identity, I think that religion plays a huge part in that. Yeah. It's kind of the only thing I think I needed to add that I realized at the end, holy man, that's a huge part, that's a huge part of what we do. Yeah. That's it.

I: Okay, well if you don't have anything further to add, then thank you very much...

EUC8F: You're welcome.

I:...for your time.

[Total time: 1h : 13m : 34s]

APPENDIX I: Interview with Participant “EUC9M”

Date of Interview: February 28, 2013

Length of Interview: 00h : 51m : 18s (two files; 19:15 and 32:03)

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1940

Age at time of Interview: 73

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

EUC9EUC9M: Canada

I: When did you immigrate to Canada or when did your family immigrate to Canada?

EUC9M: The people came in, actually came in from Pennsylvania. They had come to Pennsylvania in the 1880’s and then after 12 or 15 years in Shamokin, Pennsylvania they were persuaded by the Canadian government to come to Canada and so they came in 1898.

I: 1898, okay, that’s pretty specific.

EUC9M: To Manitoba. Curiously enough, the Canadian government was advertising for settlers not only in eastern and central Europe, but they had advertisements in Svoboda which was being published in United States. They had, the Canadian government published in Ukrainian in the Ukrainian newspaper, trying to persuade the Lemkans to come to Canada right from the United States. So when they came, they were a bit of a, they had an advantage because they spoke English and had been in the United States for some time. Actually quite a few came from Pennsylvania to Canada.

I: What can you tell me about your family’s immigration to Canada?

EUC9M: They came for economic reasons. They wanted, they were tired of the strife and lawlessness in the coalmining areas of Pennsylvania and there were five

siblings that left Pennsylvania to come to Canada, and my grandfather was one of them.

I: What is/was your profession?

EUC9M: Mine?

I: Mhm.

EUC9M: I was a medical doctor.

I: What was your area of study?

EUC9M: I have a BA in Biology and Psychology and M.D. and six or seven years of postdoctoral training as well.

I: What would you say is your cultural background?

EUC9M: Ukrainian.

I: Would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian?

EUC9M: Yes.

I: Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones?

EUC9M: Ukrainian. Our family made a point of Ukrainian as the first language. My father was a teacher, but we spoke Ukrainian in the home and my wife and I spoke Ukrainian in the home, and our children, many of them, speak Ukrainian in the home.

I: And so the languages you used at work, and with friends and family, it sounds like it was more Ukrainian-based, and work was probably more English centered?

EUC9M: Yes.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/ why not?

EUC9M: I believe very firmly that [0h:5m:0s] the Ukrainian community is important and for cultural reasons we have made an effort to belong to the Ukrainian community in Canada, but by the same token, I feel very strongly that the Ukrainian culture is a part of the Canadian culture, so that there is no divide, that this is Ukrainian and this is Canadian. The Ukrainian culture is part of the

Canadian culture. It's an integral part so that *varenyky* and gazpacho and ravioli and *borshch* are Canadian foods and the *Shumka* dancers are as much a part of the Canadian culture as Winnipeg Ballet. So I, although I have always worked in the Ukrainian- Canadian organizations, and the organized community, and the organized Ukrainian community, it is just part of the Canadian community, so for instance, that we really don't need Ukrainian archives; the material that is collected in the Ukrainian community belongs to the Alberta archives and should be retained by the Alberta archives and the Alberta taxpayer in the same way as the museum and the Ukrainian village is part of the tourism, Alberta tourism.

I: I see. What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian?

EUC9M: What is important is the elements of Ukrainian culture integrated into the Canadian culture so that there is no Ukrainian culture and Canadian culture. Ukrainian culture is just *part* of...

I: Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here?

EUC9M: Yes, of course.

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

EUC9M: I've always sat on the executives of several organizations and contributed in that way, and members of the church sung in the choirs.

I: Would you say the Ukrainian diaspora important to you?

EUC9M: Yes.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

EUC9M: The diaspora, Canadian diaspora... was quite strong in the [19]60s and 70s when I was most active in the community it was the Ukrainian community that actually was strongest in developing multiculturalism [0h:10m:0s] and the Ukrainians invented the language of multiculturalism, invented the organized system and led the other groups in understanding what multiculturalism should be as a political force. I have a feeling that it was diluted and it became less of an important issue mostly because the governments downplayed its importance over the years, but I think our main contribution was in terms of the understanding of multiculturalism.

I: That's very interesting. It's such an integral part of Canada today, but we don't always hear the exact details of how it came about in everyday conversation now. In which language(s) do you read ? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?

EUC9M: Read primarily in English of course, but I do read and speak Ukrainian of course.

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

EUC9M: What are Ukrainian authors? People who write in Ukrainian or people who have Ukrainian names, or people who belong to the community. You have to define...

I: I suppose you could define it and then let me know if you've read any of them.

EUC9M: Well, this is the eternal debate, this is the eternal debate. You know, is Myrna Kostash a Ukrainian author or is she a Canadian author or is someone whose cultural allegiance or name or...this really depends on, really have to define your terms. My son is a musician, a composer, he has a doctorate in music. Now what he writes, is it Ukrainian music?

I: That would depend on how he would like to categorize it or not categorize it, if he is the creator or originator of that. Typically people would think of a Ukrainian author as someone from Ukraine or writing in Ukrainian, but I think that those terms are subjective and somebody can identify "Ukrainian author" how they would like and then explain that. Like if there's a rational, if they have a reason, it's usually acceptable [laughs]. I guess another way to ask it is have you read any recent Ukrainian literature?

EUC9M: Not written by people in Ukraine, but written by Canadians and others in the English language, [0h:15m:0s] but who are part of the Ukrainian culture, because Ukrainian culture again, this is...what is ethnicity? You have to define ethnicity and people can be Polish for instance, but if they over the years feel that they have , follow the Ukrainian tradition and the Ukrainian language, and their neighbours are Ukrainian, just because they have a Polish name, they live in Ukrainian milieu and accepted the culture, so really their ethnicity then becomes Ukrainian. The ethnicity depends on a person's allegiance to certain culture.

I: Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

EUC9M: Yes, I've heard but I haven't...

I: Right, heard but not looked into their writings. Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture? Why or why not?

EUC9M: Oh, reading the translations is fine.

I: And why is that?

EUC9M: Well as long as people are aware of what's happening there, that's good enough, but really our, what we do here in Canada is part of the Canadian mosaic and part of the Canadian culture.

I: What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

EUC9M: Yes.

I: And what sort of groups or singers? Anyone in particular or any particular genre?

EUC9M: I feel closest to Ukrainian liturgical music and over the decades, there have been Canadian choirs and groups that performed important liturgical music, *Dnipro* did that and Maestro Kolysnyk recorded Bortnyanski's concerts and these appeal to me the most. Although I have listened to a lot of the popular groups.

I: From Canada or Ukraine?

EUC9M: From Canada and Ukraine.

I: Please identify in descending order the aspects of Ukrainian culture you deem the most important:

EUC9M: Now, important to me, or important generally, or important to Canadian-Ukrainians?

I: You can choose. It's subjective.

EUC9M: Well, generally to me...I'm not sure that you have to me, the aspects of Ukrainian culture that are most important. I think as a, I think the traditions, the traditions of the people.

I: You can add it if you'd like.

EUC9M: I think the most important are the, what makes people feel a part of that ethnic group, are the ties to the traditions and it's not really folklore, it's the

traditional church, the traditional church, the Eastern rite, the culinary traditions, the traditions and I'm not sure...how you could ascribe that. Number 1 is the ties to the Eastern rite, the Eastern rite...

I: Do you mean the calendar, the holidays and the calendar?

EUC9M: Yes. When you think of it, even people with no religion at all, at Easter they come to get their baskets blessed. So really, they may not be Ukrainian at all, they may be an intermarried couple, they may not go to church at all, but it is so implicated in their culture that come Easter, they bring their basket to be blessed. So that...

I: Maybe activities centered around traditional holidays and the Julian calendar? Is that a fair summary?

EUC9M: Yes. To me, standing back and, they may not speak Ukrainian, they may not read Ukrainian, but the Easter basket is to them the most important tie to the Ukrainian culture.

I: Like symbols they can actively engage with and have a physical presence with, today? Because they don't need to speak Ukrainian necessarily to go get a basket blessed and to participate in buying and preparing the things that go into a basket. Is that sort of what you mean?

EUC9M: Yes.

I: Engagement, physical presence and engagement with the calendar holidays and...? [0h:5m:0s]

EUC9M: Yes, the blessing of the basket is more important to them than "*Khrystos Voskres*".

I: Right, okay.

EUC9M: If it weren't for the basket, would they really come to church?

I: That's a good question.

EUC9M: If the priest said, "No blessing of the basket this year", would they come to church for Easter?

I: That's a very good question. I don't know [laughs].

EUC9M: Well, I think the traditions are overwhelmingly important. The food, the specific dishes are really tied to their grandmother and their mother and their great-grandmother, and do you have it here?

I: No, but you will get a chance later to talk about different aspects of Ukrainian culture. In this particular question, you do get a chance to say whether or not you think these aspects are all equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and identity.

cinema

classical literature

contemporary literature

classical music

contemporary music

traditional music

classical theatre-2

contemporary theatre

fine arts

folklore-1

pop culture

EUC9M: Because probably the traditional music, the folklore, and the traditional music are probably one and two of this list, but really none of these are as important as the religious tradition, and grandma's food.

I: And of the aspects that are left and remaining, do you think they're all equal, all equal in a part of being Ukrainian culture, or do you think that some of them play a bigger role?

EUC9M: I think some of the fine arts, and especially dance is important.

I: Alright. Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

EUC9M: Well, everybody will say Taras Shevchenko because everybody knows of his work whether they have read anything of his or not, but that's what everybody says, and in Ukraine it's surprising how many streets and monuments there are to him, even though few people know actually what he wrote.

I: Would you agree with Taras Shevchenko?

EUC9M: Probably, yes.

I: What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants? That's immigrants who have come from Ukraine 10-20 years after independence...

EUC9M: The biggest differences...

I: Similarities...biggest similarities...

EUC9M: Similarities... They're...I think the ties to the tradition is similar, but I think there are more differences than similarities.

I: What do you think are the biggest differences?

EUC9M: Oh, the differences are the new immigrants are...primarily interested in getting ahead in life whereas the diaspora here [0h:10m:0s] is comfortable and has integrated completely. The new arrivals feel a lack of high culture that they come from urban areas where there is opera and literary societies whereas here they feel a great lack of high culture.

I: That's interesting. Would you say that's the biggest difference? Anything else you'd like to add?

EUC9M: Yes, the other difference is the established, organized Ukrainian community in Canada has for over 100 years created a community with their own resources. They built the churches, they built the organizations because there was a need, they met the needs with their own resources. They met their needs with their own resources, whereas the people who have come in the post-Communist era have difficult understanding that you actually have to pay membership to belong to a church. To them the church is something in Ukraine, the churches are there very often funded by the state or funded by the Moscow Patriarch, and they didn't have to contribute. Whereas here, they don't understand that they actually have to finance their own cultural activities and their own, rather than the state providing it.

I: Probably based on that there are probably so many more different kinds of churches and things in Canada than in Ukraine, although they do have different kinds of churches, there are way more here in Canada, so it ends up being dependent a bit more on the communities, is that...?

EUC9M: Well in Ukraine where they came from they never really had to get together and fund the church or fund the choir or fund the opera. The opera was established by the state, whereas here you have to have an opera society with a

foundation and actually fund it out of your own pocket. Like the big choirs here, like *Dnipro*, they have to volunteer, they have to raise funds on their own, they have to raise funds through casinos, and this is something that is foreign to the newcomer. The state provided everything, they didn't have, they just participated if they wanted to, and they didn't have to work to belong.

I: Yes, and some of those churches, those Ukrainian churches, the immigrants paid for them out of their pockets, and it was the first thing they focused on generally, so. [0h:15m:0s] Yeah, that's an interesting difference I haven't thought about before in detail, so. Moving onto some politics in Ukraine, what do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine, where Russian is basically upgraded to a similar status as Ukrainian and they are both official languages, or where if a region has more than 10% of the people who speak a minority language, or Russian, that becomes the official language of that region, instead of Ukrainian being the general language of everything, the national language, the only language, officially of Ukraine?

EUC9M: In general I'm very hostile to anything that the present government is attempting and the language issue that he has established is just wrong, it's just wrong in Ukraine. Ukrainian should be the official language, period.

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in "being" Ukrainian?

EUC9M: In which?

I: What kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in "being" Ukrainian? To be Ukrainian...

EUC9M: It's quite important, but you can define ethnicity in many ways, and if you feel the traditions then in fact you are Ukrainian even if you don't speak Ukrainian, you can belong to this ethnic group.

I: Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

EUC9M: Oh I think it is an issue. I do think it is an issue. Most of the established community, English is the lingua franca and that's the way it is, whereas, mind you, I found that a lot of the newcomers, although they use Ukrainian or Russian in their own communications, they have an overwhelming need to use English to the point that sometimes they, especially a lot of the urban, and for instance, a lot

of the Jewish, a lot of the Jews that came from Kyiv and Kharkiv and Odessa in the last fifteen, ten, fifteen years, they, and many even from western Ukraine, they often use English as soon as possible to forget Ukrainian and Russian and use and try very hard to become assimilated into the linguistic society here as soon as possible, and that surprised me when I saw that in my practice when people came to me as patients. I was surprised how quickly they wanted to forget the language and use English even if it was broken and difficult for them.

I: I wonder why that is.

EUC9M: I felt that they had psychologically escaped [0h:20m:0s] the miseries and the futility there and were sort of tea-kettle in a hurry to become part of the Canadian society, forgetting that Ukrainian is a Canadian language. Ukrainian is a Canadian language.

I: That's a nice, I like that, to think about it that way, Ukrainian is a Canadian language.

EUC9M: But it is.

I: It's been here so long.

EUC9M: If 100,000 people speak Ukrainian it is a Canadian language. If 100,000 or 500,000 Canadians speak Chinese, Chinese is a Canadian language.

I: Yes, that would be true [laughs]. Do you follow Ukrainian politics at all?

EUC9M: Yes.

I: How do you find out about Ukrainian politics? What do you follow? Is it an online venture, do you read it in Ukrainian or English, is it mostly from newspapers?

EUC9M: All of the above. I subscribe to a couple of publications that routinely come out of the online publications that keep in touch with Ukrainian politics and from the newspapers here.

I: So it's a mix of online newspapers from Ukraine and Ukrainian-Canadian printed newspapers?

EUC9M: And there's some online newspapers that come out of the United States ,Rutger's University especially.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

EUC9M: I initiated this discussion because of the culinary tradition, and the liturgical and church tradition. I think that is the most important.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

EUC9M: They both have an equal place. The tradition that they brought over was a village culture, and a lot of the recent arrivals are urbanites for which *pysanky* and the old, 100-year old tradition that was brought over is quite foreign to them, that *Sviat Vechir*, the way we have developed it in Canada, *Sviat Vechir* was a rural phenomenon, and the urbanites of 20 years ago and 50 years ago really didn't follow the traditions that we had established here, so I think it's quite important for us to continue the old, old traditions that were brought over 100 years ago, because that is what is [0h:25m:0s] most important to the retaining the culture of that ethnic group in Canada, but it is refreshing to see the modern film, the modern literature, the modern art that is being brought over by the *novoprybuli* of the last 20 years. It's refreshing to see that there's something new and modern, that new music for instance that is the rap, the hiphop that is prevalent all over the world ...it's refreshing to see in the Ukrainian language now so that we don't have to be still defined and living in something that is 100 years ago, that there can be Ukrainian jazz and Ukrainian hiphop.

I: So both have an equal place...

EUC9M: Yes.

I:... and they kind of work in symbiosis with each other...

EUC9M: I believe that.

I: Okay, wonderful. Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced? There's been three waves, and the most recent one is generally called the fourth wave, sometimes the fifth [laughs], depends on your outlook, but do you think these most recent immigrants face any different challenges or different issues?

EUC9M: I'm not sure that they do. It's always difficult for new arrivals, but I think really their integration is just as difficult and the challenges really are the same.

I: So just a different time, but same situation basically? [he nods] Alright. so the last question is if you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions? If there's anything you want to elaborate some more on something else, up to you. If there's anything you feel I've missed or...[laughs]

EUC9M: Well, you did express surprise that, when we talked about the Easter baskets, that's just Easter baskets are sort of one example, but there are many things that are similar. The other thing, I think it's important that people understand more of who they are and the history of how it came to be, so that if it could be taught in school, ethnicity somehow, multiculturalism, so that what is happening in Quebec is really amusing to me, where they find it difficult to understand that ravioli and pasta are terms that are used all over the world, and *varenyky* and torte and [0h:30m:0s] wonton soup are world words, and when the world becomes smaller, people have to understand more about who they are and why they came to be this way.

I: Understanding your history and your country's history so that you can find your roots and know who you are...is that sort of what...?

EUC9M: Yeah, yeah, people have rootedness when they belong to, when they understand that they belong to an ethnic community, that they didn't *znaishlysysya pid kapustoyu*, that they know who their grandparents are, that they have a rootedness in a community and an ethnic group and an ethnic group isn't something un-Canadian. Every ethnic group is Canadian, so that I said, when 500,000 people speak Chinese, that is a Canadian language, because these half a million Canadians speak that, therefore...

I: Mmm...yes, I see the rationale behind that for sure. Well, is there anything else you'd like to add?

EUC9M: No, no that's fine.

I: Alright, well thank you very much for your time today, and thanks for the interview and your energy and your thoughts and everything, so thank you very much!

[Total time: 0h:51m:18s]

APPENDIX J: Interview with Participant “EUC10M”

Date of Interview: February 19, 2013

Length of Interview: 00h : 59m : 17s

Interviewer= I

**Time-stamps denoting cumulative intervals of every five minutes from the audio recordings are placed throughout the transcriptions for reference.*

Year of Birth: 1992

Age at time of Interview: 20 years

I: Were you born in Canada or Ukraine?

EUC10M: Canada

I: When did your family immigrate to Canada?

EUC10M: Well, my parents were, my mom was born in Edmonton, so also in Canada. My dad was born in England, and so my *dido* on my dad’s side was born in Ukraine, and on my mom’s side born in France. So, but down the road they were all born in Ukraine. So when my dad was seventeen, or fourteen, his family moved to Canada, so he’s fifty-five now, so. I’m not going to do the math, but...

I: Maybe sometime in the 60s...I’d have to think about that [laughs]

EUC10M: So yeah [laughs]. So it was quite a long time ago, so my roots in Ukraine are far, but you know, the reasons for my grandma being born in France and my *dido* being, my dad being born in England was because they moved away from Ukraine during the war. So that’s kind of the reason, and I don’t know if I answered the question, or what you needed.

I: Well, you sort of answered the next one a bit [laughs]. I was going to ask what can you tell me about your family’s immigration to Canada?

EUC10M: Yeah, it’s...I don’t have direct relatives that, extremely direct relatives that are living in Ukraine right now, and so that’s why it’s kind of mixed around, but my family always associates ourselves as Ukrainians, not from England, not from France, because really the reasons for them moving away from Ukraine were because of the war, or because of different things. So we don’t really have

an identity of, we don't associate with an identity that we're French or British, because it was a few specific instances when the family moved away from Ukraine. Last summer, or two summers ago, when I was in Ukraine, I met with very distant relatives in Ukraine that I met for the first time, and so they were on my dad's side, dido's sisters' cousins' nephews or something like that. So very, very far. And those were the really directly related relatives that we know in Ukraine. It's kind of far away, but we're still associated with a Ukrainian identity.

I: What is your profession, or if you're still studying , what is your area of study and what do you hope to become in the future?

EUC10M: So I'm in the school of Business at the U of A right now, and I'm studying International business and as a major, and marketing minor. I'm also in the inaugural year of the Leadership Certificate program. It's just been implemented as part of the BCom program, so I'm really enjoying that, and hopefully once I graduate in 2014, I'll be able to hopefully get a job in a company that does international work. I'm not exactly sure what that means yet, and I'm just researching that now, and in either, it'd be nice to work in another country, or in a company that has international capabilities. But, you know, there's too many options to decide right now.

I: Well that's a good thing I suppose [laughs].

EUC10M: Yeah, better more than less, yeah [laughs].

I: What would you say is your cultural background?

EUC10M: I identify myself as Ukrainian-Canadian. Yeah.

I: So why would you identify yourself as Ukrainian-Canadian?

EUC10M: Well, as I said, my background, although far away, is from Ukraine, and I was raised in a community that was very Ukrainian oriented. Went to Ukrainian church, did Ukrainian scouts, Ukrainian dancing, Ukrainian choirs. [0h:5m:0s] So ever since I was born I was, and went to a Ukrainian-bilingual program school, so from the, you know, from the first time that I met my friends, they were Ukrainian. My first words, I believe were Ukrainian, you know, so although I live in Canada, my first community feeling was with Ukrainian people. The first time that I really associated with an English group of people was in junior high, when I did not attend a Ukrainian, the Ukrainian bilingual program and went into an English school. So that was really when I first realized, oh, you don't sing "O Canada" in Ukrainian, and you don't sing, you know pray in Ukrainian, you know. So it was a really, really weird transition for me [laughs],

and outside of that, maybe through some sports or other organizations, but really, it was mostly Ukrainian.

I: And do you speak, well you said you speak Ukrainian, so you speak Ukrainian and English. Do you speak any other languages?

EUC10M: I speak very little and limited French. Again, my grandparents on my mom's side, who were born in France, speak French a lot, and it's neat because our family table at *Sviat Vechir* or on Easter is French, English, and Ukrainian. So.

I: Cool.

EUC10M: So, you get the tri-lingual, but I don't speak very much. I can understand a little bit of it, but it's mostly Ukrainian, fluent, and English.

I: So you're very intuitive with my questions, because the next question was which language do you use at work, at school, and with friends and family? Is it mostly English, or...?

EUC10M: At work, of course English, but I have had the opportunity to work at the International center on campus and it was neat because there were some Ukrainian students, and I was able to speak Ukrainian with them and actually be of use with my Ukrainian language skills, so that was neat. But you know, usually it's English at work, right. With friends, it's always an interesting conversation because you know, usually speak English with your friends. That's the first language that comes out, but you know, now that we're getting associated with the Ukrainian community, we like to sometimes talk in Ukrainian, and throw some Ukrainian words in, because that's what we identify ourselves with, and it's kind of a balance of okay, we want to continue that language and be able to speak it, but when we're older, but again, everything else is in English in Edmonton, really, so it's kind of a balance of that, and yeah. And with family, Ukrainian and English. With grandparents Ukrainian of course, and originally when I was growing up in my immediate family, my parents would speak Ukrainian with me and encourage me to speak Ukrainian. But now, you know, as families get busy bringing on English friends, then you kind of adapt into more of an English-based communication, so, but again, we always tried to speak Ukrainian when we can.

I: Do you mind me asking where you work?

EUC10M: Right now I don't work really anywhere. I have a band, a Ukrainian band, so that brings some income.

I: That's work [laughs].

EUC10M: That's okay, that's kind of work, but it's fun work. And part of a hobby. But last summer and this fall I was working at the International center on campus at the U of A, and my job title was communications and event-planning assistant there.

I: Right, that makes sense to do that in English [laughs].

EUC10M: Right [laughs], exactly. Yeah, but it was neat because it definitely opened up my world, because you get all these different cultural variances from students and you have to respect this or that, and I learned a lot of neat things that I did not know before. Just in a cultural sense, right?

I: Right.

EUC10M: Of course there's the work stuff that I learned too, but it was a benefit that I did not perceive that I was going to get from that job.

I: Oh, nice.

EUC10M: Yeah, it was very cool.

I: In your opinion, what is more important: to take part in your ethnic community or the larger Canadian community? Why? Are both important? Why/why not?

EUC10M: Well, I'll tell you what I am involved in right now. Mostly Ukrainian community, and I think that's important because the way I was brought up, that's how people were involved. People were involved in the Ukrainian community and I became involved in the Ukrainian community because of that. **[0h:10m:0s]** If the next generation doesn't become involved in the Ukrainian community like I am, and like we were, and their parents were, then I see the Ukrainian community as a whole being less strong. You know, not having the same power as we do, and we do have a lot of power as a Ukrainian community. You know, we have leaders in government, we have leaders high up in businesses, and they are still associated with their Ukrainian community, so if we don't get involved and don't continue to be involved, we're going to lose that identity as a whole. But it's also important to be involved in the Canadian community because we live in Canada, and that's what we are. So it's a balance of both, but I think that the two identities can be mixed together, like you can be in Canada and be involved in the Ukrainian community and participate in Canadian, English events, with a Ukrainian cultural component. You could, like at a festival, there could be a Ukrainian component. Like what I'm saying is that they can be inter-mixed.

I: What would you say is important to you as a Ukrainian-Canadian or member of the Ukrainian community?

EUC10M: What is important?

I: Mhm.

EUC10M: Well I think the organizations that the generation before us have built up, I think we need to be really proud of that and really harness that as, you know, what we have done, like there's our incredible things that we've done, like the Taras Shevchenko foundation, a huge, important strength in the community that gives money to important causes in the Ukrainian-Canadian community, so again, the both, not just Ukrainians, but it benefits I would say, the Canadian community as a whole, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, that huge organization that represents all the Ukrainians in government and in other spheres. So I think we need to be proud of that, those organizations that have been built up and I think that you know, it's important to associate yourself as a Ukrainian, and I do, and I don't think there's anything wrong with that. A lot of people ask me "Why are you so involved in the Ukrainian community?" Well, it's because again, like I was brought up like that, my parents were involved in the Ukrainian community, so I think that's really important, just continuing to be involved and giving back whenever you can.

I: Do you feel "at home" in the Ukrainian community here?

EUC10M: I would say so. But perhaps I'm biased because I've, my home is Ukrainian, a Ukrainian family, my friends are mostly Ukrainian, that I've met through school or *zabavas* or through my organization, so I feel definitely a sense of home and community through the Ukrainian community, yeah.

I: In what ways do you participate in the Ukrainian community?

EUC10M: Well, I guess recently I was the president of the Ukrainian Students' Society, and I am still an active contributor to that, to that group. I have now kind of transitioned into the CYCK, which is the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union across Canada, so I'm on the Executive of that, and I'm chairing the congress, which is going to be held in Edmonton here in May, and I have a Ukrainian band that I founded and lead, I play keyboards and vocals, and I was involved in PLAST, Ukrainian scouting organization, you know, still involved but not as much, and did Ukrainian dancing a long time ago, but as of now what I'm still active in is those few things.

I: Is the Ukrainian diaspora important to you? Why/why not?

EUC10M: It is. I guess because of the group of people that have made it so strong you want to keep on, you want to keep it on that momentum, and that's one reason, and the other reason is because of the issues that are going on in Ukraine. The Ukrainian diaspora has a lot of power and strength [0h:15m:0s] in influencing governments outside of Ukraine, but also in Ukraine, in trying to help out the situation and tell them that it's not right and those things, and I think the diaspora has a lot of power and that so, it is very important to me, yeah.

I: What do you think characterizes the Ukrainian diaspora to other Canadians? Is it organizations, activities, community, culture, language?

EUC10M: To non-Ukrainians in Canada?

I: Yes.

EUC10M: You know, it's a lot of the stereotypes that people assume us with, you know. I just read that, in an article or something, that Edmonton has a nickname that it's called *Edmontonchuk* because of all the Ukrainians [both laugh], it's the *pyrohy* and the Ukrainian churches and all the food that make the Ukrainians a stereotype in Canada, or that are Ukrainian stereotypes in Canada. And I think a lot of people associate us with that, and that's fine to an extent. They don't really know much about the Ukrainian community. Any people who know a little bit more, they see the organization that we've built. I don't know of any other community that has so many Ukrainian organizations that are doing, that have so many organizations that are doing all this good in the community. I mean, maybe there are, but it just seems to me that there are so many that are active and try to do all this and this and that, and so perhaps they see that, and there's a lot of events that target different individuals whether it's older people, whether it's younger people, whether it's new immigrants or you know, whether it's people that are trying to expose the Ukrainian community to new cultures. I think there's different perspectives that English people and Canada see the Ukrainian community, but whether it's unfortunate or fortunate, the Ukrainian stereotypes are huge for other people.

I: In which language(s) do you read? In Ukrainian? In English? Other?

EUC10M: I can read in both languages, Ukrainian and English. I can also read in French, but probably not, probably wouldn't get the whole, I would get the general message but not the whole message, you know?

I: Have you ever read any Ukrainian authors?

EUC10M: Um, I probably haven't finished a whole Ukrainian book, I would say, you know. Through like PLAST or *ridna shkola*, Saturday school I probably have read articles and this and that, and through Ukrainian studies at the U of A, I've read pieces of works, but I haven't probably read a whole book that I could tell you.

I: Have you read any recent Ukrainian literature? Was it in Ukrainian or was it a translation?

EUC10M: Um...I mean I've read some poetry I would say, that has come up through somebody that I've seen, I've read it a bit, and it was in Ukrainian. Other stuff that I read in Ukrainian is mostly just news from Ukraine. That's pretty much it.

I: Have you heard of Oksana Zabuzhko, Yuri Andrukhovych or any other contemporary Ukrainian writers?

EUC10M: I've heard of Oksana Zabuzhko. But I don't know anything other than that. I've just heard her name.

I: Fair enough. Do you think that reading Ukrainian literature in Ukrainian is an important part of the cultural connection with Ukraine, or do you think that reading translations is a sufficient connection to the Ukraine's culture? Why or why not?

EUC10M: Yeah, that's very interesting. I think the Ukrainian people in the Ukrainian community have different interests and ways they want to pursue their Ukrainian identity. And for some people it's Ukrainian literature, and the research and that. That's not for me. I don't have as much of an interest in that even though there's some really incredible stuff out there. And so for those people, if they can identify with the Ukrainian identity and if that's interesting to them, that keeps them interested and connected, then great, I think that's important. But unfortunately I see that the younger generation is not really interested in it. I'm not sure why. [0h:20m:0s]I've personally, it's, there's English books and I tend to go to English books. That may be, talk about success or what you have to do, things like that, and so you know, it's what interests that person, and it is important but unfortunately I see it dwindling down in terms of the people who are interested in this next generation. There's so many academics and people who really research this literature and really enjoy it, and that's great because that's, they learn a lot from that and they add a lot of value to the historical or...you know, different literature, different spheres, and so, I guess it just depends on the person and you know, what they're interested in. If they are interested in literature and Ukrainian literature, then that's fantastic.

I: What kind of music do you listen to? Do you listen to any Ukrainian groups or singers?

EUC10M: Yes, yeah, I do. I don't listen to much music like on my iPod because I just have music around me all the time, so, you know, just kind of whatever comes up. I listen to a lot of English music, but I also listen to a lot of Ukrainian music and I really enjoy it.

I: What are some examples of some of the Ukrainian music you listen to?

EUC10M: Um, you know the pop, the really pop new stuff from Ukraine, like MadHeads, *Haidamaky*, Sofia Rotaru, those big stars, but I also really enjoy some of the really, maybe cheesy, but techno Ukrainian music that you can find in a Ukrainian CD store in Ukraine, and I really like that kind of stuff. It's really neat, and I play a lot of those songs to my band and that's why I like that connection. I'm always researching, or not researching but trying to find out new songs that really aren't heard in Canada and always looking for some new material, so I use that.

I: What genre would you say your band is? Does it focus on, you know, more folk, more polka, more contemporary?

EUC10M: I guess it's traditional...

I: Is it fusion maybe...?

EUC10M: It's a little bit of fusion, because the way our band is set up, it's keyboards, guitar, drums, but also a saxophone, so that saxophone is not really a traditional, isn't a traditional Ukrainian instrument in music as what a *bandura* or a *tsymbaly* or even an accordion would be, those are the typical things you would hear in the traditional music. So I guess it is a fusion, but most of our, like 70% of our repertoire is polka music, you know, and that's what our clients are interested in. We play some new age stuff, like Sofia Rotaru "*Odna Kalyna*" and that stuff as well, and waltzes and also English music, because, you know, there's so many people at these events that we play at, you know, sometimes it's half-Ukrainian, sometimes it's only a little segment of Ukrainians, and the rest are English people who can only associate with, you know, line dances and country music and those rock songs that you hear at weddings and things like that. So it's a variety dance band and, but of course most of it is traditional and the reason we're able to play so much is because of the Ukrainian community hiring the band or, you know, a Ukrainian wedding that want to keep Ukrainian roots somewhere in the wedding, so they hire a Ukrainian band, and really, if it wasn't for the Ukrainian community, the band like it is now wouldn't exist.

I: Wow. And would it be fair to say that you gage your audience and adapt your repertoire accordingly?

EUC10M: Yeah, absolutely, that's huge. People are really liking the polkas we continue on with that, but you know, if nobody's dancing to the music that we're playing we're trying different things. If it's a two-step English song, or a waltz, or a slow song, for if it's an older audience, you know. So yeah, it's totally an ongoing thing. You're looking at the dance floor, so k what's the next song you can do to continue that vibe in the room, that energy, and it's a, it's tough, like it's you know, [0h:25m:0s] and that's what DJ's do, they continue that vibe in the room by picking new songs, and as a band you have to do that same thing because you want that energy and vibe to continue in the room and if you know, you play one bad song your dance floor is empty and you're working to get that vibe re-energized in the room, so, you know.

I: Making you work hard [laughs].

EUC10M: [laughs] Yeah.

I: Please identify in descending order the aspects of Ukrainian culture you deem the most important:

EUC10M: Ooh, that's tough.

I: It is.

EUC10M: And it's mostly, I see okay, it's mostly culture.

cinema-7

classical literature-8

contemporary literature-11

classical music-4

contemporary music-5

traditional music-1

classical theatre-9

contemporary theatre -10

fine arts-6

folklore-2

pop culture-3

EUC10M: I guess I'll put this in my opinion, but it definitely depends on the person.

I: It's a very subjective...

EUC10M: Yeah.

I: Do you think all of these aspects equally an important part of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity?

EUC10M: Yes, in different, for different people. Like as a whole, all those things make up I would say the Ukrainian cultural community, so yeah, they're all important to create that whole diversity of different options for people to express their cultural interests, so yeah, absolutely, they're all equally important for the benefit of the whole community.

I: Who would you say is the most famous Ukrainian figure of all time and why?

EUC10M: I'm gonna go with Taras Shevchenko. I mean I think just because of his works and how many people cite him in the Ukrainian community. Um, I would say he's a very, very influential topic that a lot of people identify with him, and also in the English community there's a lot of people who can know who Taras Shevchenko is even though they're not Ukrainian because of the work he has done and all of the, all his work has been transcribed and translated, so, yeah, I would say Taras, even though there's so many influential people. And again, there's a Taras Shevchenko foundation in Canada, and so that always raises the profile of that individual.

I: Alright. What, in your opinion, are the biggest similarities between the diaspora and the new immigrants? New immigrants being immigrants who came here after 1991, so not the first three waves, the ones who came after independence.

EUC10M: What's similar?

I: Yeah, what are the biggest similarities, if any, that you perceive?

EUC10M: Um, I hope the next question is differences [laughs].

I: Yes, it is! [laughs]

EUC10M: You know, there's, of course, similarities are that they speak Ukrainian [0h:30m:0s] , that they have something that they can associate with to different extents that's already happening in this community. It's , I think they see differences but you know, whether it's shows that we can put on, like say a poetry reading, they can associate with that. They know the songs that we play at *zabavas*, things like that I would say are the most, the things that I see that are the most similar between these people and us.

I: And as you guessed, what do you think are the biggest differences, if any?

EUC10M: I think there are some major differences that these new immigrants, when they come to Canada see. You know, they, they have their own Ukrainian identity from Ukraine, but these people that have been living in Canada and associate themselves with the Ukrainian community, they are very different people. You can see the difference, and it's you know, some of it's their accent, some of it's the way they address Ukrainian issues, other stuff is that the way that maybe us as a Ukrainian-Canadians see Ukrainian culture as different from what they see and what they have been doing in Ukraine. Some of them that I've talked to didn't realize that the Ukrainian community here was so strong and active because it totally isn't like that in Ukraine, and so I think there are a lot of differences, even though we're tied together by this cultural, by this you know, country of love or identity, or whatever. There are major differences between the communities and, you know, there are words and things that we use in Canada that these Ukrainian immigrants have never heard, and vice versa, you know, so it's , I think there's major, major differences. But somehow we're able to, you know, come together and become a community as a whole, even though there are still places where you see the immigrants are separated from the Ukrainian-Canadians, and whether that's you know, I think UNO, Ukrainian National Federation here in Edmonton, is an organization that I see that really supports new Ukrainian immigrants, among others, there's other organizations too, but you can tell that, and a lot of people in Edmonton can say, okay , UNO, that's where the immigrants go, you know, and that's fine, they have a place for themselves, but it's not a place that I would say the whole community is equally represented there, you know. My church, for example, there's so many new immigrants at my church, at *Sviatoho Yuria*, St. George's, and I don't even know anybody anymore, compared to a few years ago where I knew a lot of people. I think we're still on the differences question, but that's what I see, so there are some definitely major differences.

I: You mentioned that, you noticed a difference in the way that the recent immigrants and the established diaspora addressed different issues. Would you be able to elaborate a little bit on that? Do you mean issues in Canada, or

issues, do you mean issues such as the *Holodomor*, or what sort of issues and in which way do they sort of differ in the way they address or think about it or act on it?

EUC10M: Yeah...for example like big issues like the *Holodomor*, I think they don't realize in Ukraine, I don't know how big the involvement is with working about the recognition of the *Holodomor* compared to in Canada, and I think they see that and they're like "Oh, my", they're surprised at the amount of effort and work that's going into this issue of the *Holodomor* and all the issues around it. Some other pieces [0h:35m:0s] are they have different views or perhaps by the way us in Canada associate, or talk about politics in Ukraine because you know, we're totally distant and away, so, I met these at these sessions that perhaps somebody is talking about politics in Ukraine, you have these immigrants saying "this is wrong, this is not right, this is different", so I think there's some issues that they notice, and I think it's mostly political because in Canada, whether you do research in Ukraine and back and forth, but to be in Ukraine and then come here and hear all this from a different perspective kind of, I think that's where they can see differences.

I: Excellent, okay. What do you think of the most recent language law in Ukraine?

EUC10M: It's very unfortunate. But...

I: Why is it unfortunate?

EUC10M: Well because they, as a Canadian-Ukrainian, there's so much work being done in the diaspora community to uphold Ukrainian-bilingual education in schools in Alberta, to you know, maintain Ukrainian being spoken in organizations, and there's so much effort of, in expression here in Canada and then you see, you know, Russian kind of starting to take over in Ukraine, so that's why I think it's unfortunate. But in Ukraine the reason it's being taken over is because most people are now starting to talk Russian and associate, or just talk Russian between each other, and when I was in Ukraine a few years ago, I was in L'viv mostly, you could hear Ukrainian. It was very apparent. When I went to Kyiv, I didn't hear any Ukrainian, so it was totally Russian. SO for the benefit of those people who speak Russian to have an official language being Russian, it makes sense for those people, and a lot of those people are in, you know, government positions and able to make those decisions, and I don't know too much about this whole issue, but for these Russian people in Ukraine it makes sense for them. It's unfortunate for again, for this diaspora community and ...personally the Ukrainians who *do* speak Ukrainian may be less inclined to

pursue their Ukrainian identity because they see Russian taking a stronger influence, and so again, when they associate, when they don't associate themselves with a Ukrainian identity, it loses the, Ukrainian as a whole loses its strength, right. And so, yeah, I guess it's unfortunate, even for the people who speak Ukrainian, because when they leave Ukraine and come into Canada, they might already be displaced from that connection, so it's unfortunate, but what are we going to do here in Canada? Change the law?

I: What sort of situation do you think a Ukrainian immigrants will come into here in Canada if they speak Russian, if they're Russophone-Ukrainian coming into Canada?

EUC10M: Yeah, and I think that's, it's definitely starting, and you can kind of see it in these Ukrainian events. They're coming to these Ukrainian events, but they're speaking Russian, and they're immediately, people look at them and they're like, 'Oh, why is he speaking Russian?', you know? So I think that's a situation that they're going to face, is you know, there's a huge Ukrainian community. I don't know how strong the Russian community is, but you know, these um, these Russian-speakers that are from Ukraine start coming into Ukrainian events and being a part of the Ukrainian community but speaking Russian is kind of like a little ironic thing that we're all trying to support Ukrainian culture, language, you know, beliefs and values and everything like that, and then you have Russian coming in as well [0h:40m:0s] so I think they're going to see a little displacement between themselves and everybody else, but I think the reason that they're going to come into the Ukrainian community, because they still will feel a part of a whole because of the whole, they'll see people who have already come from Ukraine in this new wave, and there will be definitely similarities that they see from Ukraine, so. But it'll be, if they're in the Ukrainian community it'll be a shock, well it won't be a shock, it'll be, they'll just have a , they'll see that this Ukrainian community here speaks Ukrainian, whether it's good or not, whether they speak good Ukrainian or not so good, and they'll have to, you know deal with it. There's not that many Russian speakers compared to Ukrainian speakers in Edmonton I guess.

I: Right, okay. And an extended question: what kind of role do you think the Ukrainian language plays in "being" Ukrainian?

EUC10M: Yeah, that's an interesting question too, because there's less and less people who are speaking Ukrainian, but still being associated with the Ukrainian community. An example of that is the President of the Ukrainian Students' Society I had the opportunity of sitting on the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Alberta Provincial Council for the Executive, and kind of to my surprise at my

first meeting they spoke all English because most of the people there, they're older people, you know, well established in the community, but they would rather speak English because it's more, I don't know, maybe comfortable, it's easier to get the message across, so, but look they're Ukrainian, they're supporting Ukrainian organizations and they're taking an active role in the Ukrainian community, so you can't say that without the Ukrainian language you're not Ukrainian. But without the Ukrainian language, I would say it's just the, a different community, you know, if people stop talking Ukrainian, if there's no music that's a part of Ukrainian language, then it's a different type of Ukrainian community than what, well the question comes, well why are we so active in the Ukrainian community if we don't even speak the language? For example, my band played in grassland, Alberta, very small community, and we were playing Ukrainian music. They don't speak Ukrainian at all. They have a Ukrainian dance group, and you know, they're all in *vyshyvanky*, and but then they hear us play Ukrainian music and they're just like "What is this?". They don't hear it very often, and or ever, you know, so it's, they're still a small community, numbers are dwindling, but they're still, they still have that core Ukrainian group, like Ukrainian dance group, and I think these Ukrainian dance groups really uphold Ukrainian identity because everyone wants their children, you know, if they have a little string of Ukrainian heritage, they want their children to be in a Ukrainian dance group, so I think that really helps.

I: Alright. Do you think there is any kind of language barrier between recent immigrants and the established community, or is language not an issue in communication and integration?

EUC10M: Between the Ukrainian community and these recent immigrants, I wouldn't say it's too big of an issue. You can definitely tell an immigrant from a Ukrainian-Canadian because of their accent and their choice of words and the way they use their words, so, and a lot of the times, speaking with recent immigrants, the way they talk, they talk quite fast. I'm not able to get everything they're saying. So I guess that would be an issue, but generally I wouldn't say it's too bad, but for them, you know, associated with the Canadian culture, if they don't speak English, then there's an issue already [0h:45m:0s], but there's organizations that help out with that and can, they have translation services, and Ukrainian Canadian Social Services helps out with that, so there's avenues that they can reach out to to assist them with that if they have issues.

I: Right. Do you follow Ukrainian politics?

EUC10M: A little bit. I don't know too much about it, but I like to look at Ukrainian newspapers and media online once in a while to see what's going on.

I: So how do you find out about Ukrainian politics? Do you follow mostly online? Do you read any physical papers, or...?

EUC10M: No it's mostly online. Through my Ukrainian 211 class that Professor Pylypiuk teaches, we, an assignment was every week, or something like that, we'd have to go online and look at a news article and present on it or something like that. And I really enjoyed that because I didn't know these online newspapers existed. So ever since that I go on, you know, 5.ua or ZTV and see what's going on. I think it's nice to kind of keep in touch. I don't follow every story, but if I see something interesting or something like that I'll look at it.

I: And so do you mostly read in Ukrainian, or mostly in English?

EUC10M: You know, I don't read a lot in Ukrainian, so it's my opportunity to read in Ukrainian, so I do read it in Ukrainian. Sometimes there's a word I don't understand but I can get the gist of the whole sentence.

I: What kinds of culture are important to you? Folklore? Dance? Art? Literature? Music? History? Ukrainian language? Why?

EUC10M: To me, I'd say dance and music could be important to me. Music because I'm you know, very musical and come from a very musical family, and you know, really enjoy music. Dance because I really enjoy watching dance groups, and the music associated with the dances I think they're really neat and some of the stuff that they're coming up with, this new music, is really interesting because it's traditional yet modern. So I really enjoy those two aspects, but as a whole, they're all important, and I've definitely associated with some of them at some point in my life already, so without them I don't, I wouldn't say I would be the same person in the Ukrainian community without those different aspects and different points in my life. They're um...they're all quite important, but I associate most with music and I enjoy watching dance.

I: Do you think it's more important for the Ukrainian diaspora to develop and cultivate the culture brought here and preserved by their grandparents/parents or do you think the Ukrainian community here (both established and recently immigrated) should develop and cultivate the cultural phenomena that goes on in Ukraine, such as literature, music, etc.? Why? Or do you think that both have an equal place in Canada?

EUC10M: That's a good question. Um...

I: Would you like to see the question?

EUC10M: Yeah, it's kind of a long question. I think the people that have recently immigrated to Canada have to respect the amount of effort and energy and love that the Ukrainian, the established Ukrainian community has put into everything associated with Ukrainian here already, so. You know, they can't, I don't feel that it's right when they come in, they should start their own, they should *just* associate with their own what they know from Ukraine. It's a new country, it's a new way of life, and everything like that, but the Ukrainian community here has done a good job in creating these organizations and everything like that, that I think they should [0h:50m:0s] associate with maybe when they come in. And there's a lot of benefit to that because all these organizations are trying to help these individuals that are just, that just came. So I think it's very important to preserve what our grandparents have started and built up because they're really great organizations and a lot of other people admire that and say "Wow, this is incredible". I mean we're coming up to the 125th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, and these hundreds of organizations across the country are still active and strong. So you know, there's a respect that has to come up with that, but again, there are with changes and with the times changing, these individuals from Ukraine that have recently immigrated you know, they bring with them different aspects of folklore, of traditions that maybe we in Canada don't know about, and I think they're quite interesting. I mean, some of the wedding traditions that I thought were really incredible I've seen at Ukrainian immigrant weddings that are happening in Canada that don't happen in Ukrainian-Canadian weddings. So there's a lot of value that these immigrants bring, and I think that they can work together with institutions already in Canada to develop a stronger Ukrainian community in Canada. So it's...I wouldn't say that at the offset that they have an equal place because when you're in a new community you respect, when you're a person in a foreign country, you go off the values and the culture that is already established in that country. You don't bring your own culture and impose it on others, and I know there's a word for that because I learned that in my international business class, but I can't remember it right now. So, not originally they're not equal, but I think both the immigrants and the Ukrainian-Canadians have things of value that, if they join together, you know, in a harmonious way, that of course the Ukrainian community will be built up as a stronger identity, stronger community.

I: So when you talk about imposing your culture on others, or a certain culture on others, do you mean in general, or do you mean when you take it beyond your own home and your own circle of people, or do you mean in the circumstance such as this one where the recent immigrants might sort of impose their I guess, version, of what they consider to be Ukrainian culture

on the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Like to what extent is it imposing or...?

EUC10M: Right, yeah. And it's not just Ukrainian community, it's any culture.

I: Yeah, any culture in Canada...

EUC10M: And where, if you're trying to do the same thing that you did in your home back in Ukraine in your home, that's you know, that's your...

I: ...Prerogative...

EUC10M: Yeah, exactly. You can do whatever you want I say in that, in your immediate community. But you know, if there's an organization that you feel in Canada doesn't meet what you feel was like in Ukraine, as a recent immigrant, I don't think you have a right to start imposing your beliefs and values on that built, established organization, but hopefully the values and the differences aren't too, too apart because then you know, you have an issue, like why is this organization doing this if it has nothing to do with what they're doing in Ukraine. Of course there's going to be differences, but your inner circle, whatever you do, that's fine for when you come because you're trying to also have a sense of home and something you can associate with, so you know, doing, having your traditions that you did in Ukraine here in Canada is fine, [0h:55m:0s] but you also have to respect the whole community that whatever they're doing, that's what they have built up and grown up with, and there has to be a mutual respect for both, both from people from Canada, and people from Ukraine.

I: Do you think that recent Ukrainian immigrants, who came since 1991, today face any new or different kinds of challenges that differ from those that earlier immigrants faced?

EUC10M: Yeah. You know, in Ukraine economic issues and you know, they're not perhaps, they don't have the same opportunities that we have in Canada, and when they see all the stuff from Ukraine, all the success, they see from Ukraine into Canada all the success and all these good things that are coming out of Canada, so when they move to Canada, they're expecting the same things, these new immigrants, and once they come into Canada they see that, "Oh, it's not as easy as I thought it'd be", or "I can't afford a Mercedes-Benz right away when I thought I would be able to", and some of them I would say feel that they need to be associated in this Canadian culture, they need to have these fancy clothes, drive these nice cars, when they're just immigrants and they've arrived because they need to be assimilated into that culture, *they* feel that they need to be. And whether they want to or not, I feel that, well you know, starting up your base and

having you know, that important, those important things to you are fine but, you know, I don't think it's, some of them maybe go too, too much with that and trying to assimilate. So I think that's the difference, because from the people who immigrated from here a long time ago, they were trying to get their basics, they were building homesteads, they were farming, they were cutting down trees, you know, and yes, they were trying to assimilate as well, I guess on a different level, obviously on a different level, but I guess the way their, the situation and challenges are come facing them, they're dealing with them in a different manner, and yeah. It just depends on, these are new immigrants, they have new challenges and opportunities that they're facing, versus these older generations that had different challenges and opportunities to them, so. Yeah.

I: Do you have any closing remarks, comments, or opinions, or anything else you wanted to add or elaborate on or talk about? There were a lot of questions. I hope I didn't cut you off on any of them.

EUC10M: No I don't think so. I found the questions actually quite interesting. I enjoyed some of those questions where you were saying what Ukrainian immigrants are facing here when they're just arriving. Those are great questions because there are significant differences, and challenges that these people are coming to and perhaps the Ukrainian community in Canada doesn't realize it, you know, or it's different for them, but yeah, I don't know, very interesting questions. I quite enjoyed answering them [laughs]. I don't think I have any other...

I: I'm glad you enjoyed answering them. Thank you very much!

[Total time: 0h:59m:17s]