

THE CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MANITOBA'S
ENGLISH-UKRAINIAN BILINGUAL PROGRAM
(1976-93)

BY
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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

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University of Manitoba
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ABSTRACT

The Creation and Development of Manitoba's

English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program

(1976-93)

by

Patricia Ann Schur

This study is an historical analysis of the creation and development of Manitoba's English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program (EUBP or Program). The historical analysis is twofold: (1) to examine how the socio-historical context, inside and outside the Ukrainian Canadian community, and Ukrainian language education in Manitoba, during the four eras of Ukrainian Canadian history (Pioneer, World War I (WWI) and Interwar, Post World War II (WWII) and Multicultural), influenced the establishment of the EUBP; and (2) to analyze the creation and development of the EUBP from 1976-93, with specific emphasis on the role and influence of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Winnipeg, Inc. (UPBC).

The data and research in this study are derived from primary and secondary sources including original documents located in historical archives, and the writer's personal experiences from 1979-87, as a teacher in the EUBP and a member of various curriculum committees and organizations associated with the Program. The concepts of hegemony, assimilation and Anglo-conformity, resistance, culture, cultural identity, multiculturalism, as well as, the multicultural and multicultural education policies provided the conceptual

framework for the historical analysis.

The study supports the view that Manitoba's EUBP was created and developed due to the following reasons: (1) the Ukrainian Canadian community's effective resistance to assimilation and Anglo-conformity by the hegemonic host society in order to preserve the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian Canadian cultural identity; (2) the work of the UPBC, who not only successfully lobbied the provincial government to change legislation to re-establish a bilingual system of education and create the EUBP in Manitoba, but also together with Ukrainian Canadian organizations, such as, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation (UCPBF), the Ukrainian Bilingual Program Committee (UBPC), the Manitoba Parents of Ukrainian Education Inc. (MPUE), the Osvita Foundation Inc. (Osvita Foundation), and Dzvin Publishers Inc. (Dzvin Publishers) maintained its influence with the federal, provincial and municipal governments for continuous financial and moral support throughout the development of the Program; and (3) the federal and provincial multicultural and multicultural education policies.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Agassiz	Agassiz School Division No. 13
AUTC	Association of Ukrainian Teachers of Canada
AUUC	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
B & B Commission	Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
BEF	Bureau de L'Education Française
Boundary	Boundary School Division No. 16
BUC	Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics
BUK	Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics
CASLT	Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCCM	Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism
CCF	Cooperative Commonwealth Federation
CFUS	Canadian Foundation of Ukrainian Studies
CIUS	Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
CKJS	Call letters of the radio station
CLLU	Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, or Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, or Ukrainian League for Ukraine's Liberation
CNR	Canadian National Railway
CPF	Canadian Parents for French
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CUCS	Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies
Dauphin-Ochre	Dauphin-Ochre School Division No. 33

DP's	"displaced persons"
Dzvin Publishers	Dzvin Publishers Inc.
EGPB	English-German Bilingual Program
EHBP	English-Hebrew Bilingual Program
ESL	English Second Language
EUBCC	English-Ukrainian Bilingual Curriculum Committee
EUBP	English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program
Evergreen	Evergreen School Division No. 22
Fort Garry	Fort Garry School Division No. 5
HUG	Annual Inter-cultural exchange program with students from the Hebrew, Ukrainian, and German bilingual programs in Manitoba
Intermountain	Intermountain School Division No. 36
IRO	International Relief Organization
KUK	Ukrainian Canadian Committee 1940-1988; Ukrainian Canadian Congress 1989 onwards
KY58	Call letters of the radio station
Lord Selkirk	Lord Selkirk School Division No. 11
LVU	Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, or Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, or Ukrainian League for Ukraine's Liberation
MABE	Manitoba Association for Bilingual Education
MAPAL	Manitoba Association for the Promotion of Ancestral Languages
MGAC	Multicultural Grants Advisory Council
MIC	Manitoba Intercultural Council

MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
MMLA	Manitoba Modern Language Association
MMRC	Manitoba Multicultural Resource Centre
MP	Member of Parliament
MPAL	Manitoba Parents for Ancestral Languages
MPGE	Manitoba Parents for German Education
MPHE	Manitoba Parents for Hebrew Education
MPUE	Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education Inc.
MTS	Manitoba Teachers' Society
MUN	Young Ukrainian Nationalists
NCUEC	Ukrainian National Centre for Ukrainian Educational Councils
NDP	New Democratic Party
NTS	Shevchenko Scientific Society
NTSh	Shevchenko Scientific Society
Obnova	Canadian Ukrainian Catholic Students' Organization Gamma Rho Kappa
ODUM	Ukrainian National Democratic League
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
OSBM	Sisters of St. Basil the Great
Oseredok	Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre
Osvita Foundation	The Osvita Foundation Inc.
OUK	Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada

OUN	Ukrainian Nationalists Organization, or Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
PAUK	Pan-American Ukrainian Conference
Plast	Ukrainian Youth Association
Program	English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program
River East	River East School Division No. 9
Rukh	Popular movement of Ukraine, known as the "Movement"
RZT	Workingmen's Benevolent Association, or Workers Benevolent Association
Sadok Veselka	Sadok Veselka Daycare Inc.
SAG	Special Area Group
Seven Oaks	Seven Oaks School Division No. 10
SKVU	World Congress of Free Ukrainians
Sobor	Ruling body of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church
SSMI	Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate
SUK	Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada
SUM	Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada
SUMK	Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association
SUS	Ukrainian Self-Reliance League ("Samostiynky")
SUSK	Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union
SVU	Union for the Liberation of Ukraine
Synod	Synodical Government of the Catholic Church
Transcona-Springfield	Transcona-Springfield School Division No. 12

TOUK	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
UAAS	Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada
UAOC	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
UBA	Ukrainian Bilingual Association (Alberta)
UBPC	Ukrainian Bilingual Program Committee
UCAMA	Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta
UCC	Ukrainian Canadian Committee 1940-1988 Ukrainian Canadian Congress 1989 onwards
UCCC	Ukrainian Co-operative Council of Canada
UCDC	Ukrainian Community Development Committee
UCPBF	Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation
UCRF	Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund
UCVA	Ukrainian Canadian Veteran's Association
UCY	Ukrainian Catholic Youth
UCWL	Ukrainian Catholic Women's League
UEA	Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance
UGOC	Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church
UHO	United Hetman Organization
ULFTA	Ukrainian Labour Farmers Temple Association
ULTA	Ukrainian Labour Temple Association
UMMAM	Ukrainian Mohylo-Mazepan Academy
UNF	Ukrainian National Federation
UNO	Ukrainian National Federation

UNR	Ukrainian Canadian Council of Learned Societies
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Army
UNWL	Ukrainian National Women's League Women's Association Souiz Ukrainok
UPA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
UPBC	Ukrainian Professional Business Club of Winnipeg, Inc.
UPBF	Ukrainian Professional and Business Foundation Inc.
UPWO	Ukrainian Patriarchal World Organization
URA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
URO	Ukrainian Worker's League
USA	United States of America
USC	Ukrainian Students' Club
USH	Ukrainian War Veteran's Association ("Striltsi")
USOM	Ukrainian Association of Creative Artists
USRL	Ukrainian Self-Reliance League ("Samostiynky")
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republic
UTNS	Society of Ukrainian Native School Teachers in Canada
UVAN	Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences
UWAC	Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada
UWCC	Ukrainian World Co-operative Council
UWL	Ukrainian Worker's League
WBA	Workingmen's Benevolent Association, or Workers Benevolent Association
WCFU	World Congress of Free Ukrainians

WFUMA	World Federation of Ukrainian Medical Associations
Winnipeg 1	Winnipeg School Division No. 1
WWI	The First World War; World War One
WWII	The Second World War; World War Two

PREFACE

Throughout most of the 20th Century, Ukrainian Canadians have been one of the largest and most visible ethnocultural groups in Canada. Since the early 1890s when Ukrainians began to immigrate and settle in Western Canada, their population growth and achievements have been an important aspect of Canadian history. Today, there are over 600,000 Ukrainians in Canada. Their numbers are most significant in the Prairie provinces with the largest percentage of the total population in Manitoba at 11.5 percent, followed by Saskatchewan at 9.2 percent, and Alberta at 8.3 percent. The Province of British Columbia includes less than 3 percent Ukrainians, Ontario slightly over 2 percent, and Quebec at .3 percent, with smaller percentages in other parts of Canada. Despite three successive waves of immigration to Canada, the latter occurring after World War II, 80 percent of Canada's current Ukrainian population are born in Canada.¹ As a people from poverty stricken eastern Europe, Ukrainians persevered innumerable hardships including discrimination, prejudice, alienation, and assimilation to create for themselves and their future generations a better life in Canada. Notwithstanding preventative external and internal forces, successive waves of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada developed a prosperous and vital community life while achieving recognition as respected, valuable, and contributing members of the host society. They created various cultural, educational, religious, and political community organizations including a pan-Canadian structure, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, formerly known as the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and a superstructure, the World Congress of

Free Ukrainians. In addition, Canadians of Ukrainian descent have, and currently occupy, many leading positions both inside and outside the Ukrainian community in areas of scholarship, the arts, culture, politics, and business.²

Ukrainian immigrants differed from other ethnocultural groups by language, religion, culture, and the fact that they did not have an independent country until the end of 1991. This sense of statelessness is fundamental in understanding the history of Ukrainians in Canada. For Canadians of Ukrainian descent, the issue of foreign domination in Ukraine was the underlying factor for almost every aspect of their lives including immigration and cultural/linguistic preservation. Ukrainian Canadians feared they would lose their cultural identity not only through the physical separation from Ukraine but also through the perennial uncertainty of Ukraine's political and cultural survival, and assimilation and Anglo-conformity by the host society. As a result leaders within the Ukrainian Canadian community continually sought to foster national consciousness and cultural identity by insisting upon correct collective identification as Ukrainians, promoting Ukraine's independence, contributing to Ukrainian causes, working through religious differences, creating cultural and educational organizations, electing Ukrainian Canadians to political office, ensuring the teaching of Ukrainian language education in public, private, and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, and establishing English-Ukrainian bilingual programs.³

During their history in Canada, the Ukrainian Canadians assumed an active role in the education of its community. Although several statutes were

enacted in the early part of the 20th Century to assimilate foreigners, Ukrainian Canadians were determined to ensure that their community preserve their language and culture. As a result education and language have always been critical issues with Ukrainian Canadians as retaining the Ukrainian language is viewed as a means of fostering the national and cultural identity of the Ukrainian community.⁴ In fact, the decline of the Ukrainian language in the second and later generations is the most important single influence in the cultural and educational development of Ukrainians in Canada. Therefore, the educational impetus of the Ukrainian community in Canada has been directed at programs wherein the primary goal is to achieve Ukrainian language maintenance and retention.⁵ The crucial issue in the education of Ukrainian Canadians in the public school system has been either teaching the Ukrainian language as a subject of study in core and heritage language programs or as a language of instruction in English-Ukrainian bilingual programs.

NOTES

1. M. R. Lupul, "Introduction," in A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 1.

2. Jaroslav Rozumnyj, "Introduction," in New Soil--Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada, ed. Jaroslav Rozumnyj with the assistance of Oleh W. Gerus and Mykhailo H. Marunchak (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada (UAAS), 1983), xi-xii.

3. Lupul, op. cit., 3.

4. J. Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools: With Reference to Government, French Canadian, and Ukrainian Missionary Influences 1891-1921 (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1959), 87.

5. Rozumnyj, op. cit., x.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Study

This thesis is an historical analysis of the creation and development of the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program (EUBP or Program) in the Province of Manitoba from 1976-93. The study focuses on the role and influence of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Winnipeg, Inc. (UPBC), in creating and developing the EUBP in the Manitoba public and private school system. The UPBC were instrumental in lobbying the provincial government to reintroduce the study of Ukrainian into the public school system in 1979, as a language of instruction in the EUBP. The study specifically examines the UPBC in the creation of the EUBP Steering Committee, the Ukrainian Bilingual Program Committee (UBCC), the Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education Inc. (MPUE), the Osvita Foundation Inc. (Osvita Foundation) and Dzvin Publishers Inc. (Dzvin Publishers) as significant organizations that contributed to the development and implementation of the EUBP from Grades K-12.

The study also examines the socio-historical context, inside and outside the Ukrainian Canadian community and Ukrainian language education in Manitoba that led to the establishment of the EUBP. The historical background of Ukrainian language education in Manitoba and the analysis of the EUBP is examined according to the concepts of hegemony, assimilation, and Anglo-conformity, resistance, culture, cultural identity and citizenship, and multiculturalism, multicultural policy, and multicultural education.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to write an historical analysis of the origins and development of Manitoba's EUBP. The historical analysis addresses two issues. First, the analysis will attempt to investigate and examine how various socio-historical elements including social, religious, economic, cultural, and political elements, inside and outside the history of Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainian language education in Manitoba (1896-1976) influenced the establishment of the EUBP. Secondly, is an attempt to investigate and analyze the role and influence of the Ukrainian Canadian community and specifically the UPBC in the creation, development and implementation of the EUBP from 1976-93. The analysis will examine how the UPBC were able to resist assimilation and Anglo-conformity by the hegemonic host society in order to maintain cultural and linguistic retention through EUBP in the public school system.

Main Research Questions

The study will focus on the following questions:

1. What were the various external and internal socio-historical elements throughout the history of Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainian language education in Manitoba that led to the creation of the EUBP?
2. What was the role and influence of the UPBC of Manitoba in the creation development of the EUBP?
 - (a) Who and what is the history of the UPBC in relation to Ukrainian language education in Manitoba?
 - (b) Why were the UPBC interested in bilingual education and in

the EUBP?

(c) How did the UPBC lobby Manitoba's provincial government to reintroduce bilingual education and, more specifically, the EUBP into the public school system?

(d) What was the role of the UPBC in the English Ukrainian Program Steering Committee, MPUE, Osvita Foundation and Dzvin Publishers?

(e) What is the EUBP and how was it implemented into the Manitoba public school system?

3. How do the concepts of hegemony, assimilation and Anglo-conformity, resistance, culture, cultural identity and citizenship, and multiculturalism, multicultural policy and multicultural education, assist in explaining the development of Ukrainian language education in Manitoba, and the role of the UPBC in the creation of the EUBP?

Limitations of the Study

The study relates to the period of 1976-93. The 1970s and 1980s are characterized as the origins and development of Canadian multiculturalism. During this time the federal policy of multiculturalism gave impetus to federal and provincial governments to develop multicultural education programs within the public school system. In some cases, multicultural education initiatives included establishing heritage language programs, such as the EUBP. The time period of 1976-1993 is selected for analysis as it includes both the creation of Manitoba's EUBP in 1979 and the development of the Program from Grades K-12.

In April of 1971, the National Executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation (UCPBF), located in Edmonton, were successful in convincing the Alberta government to change the School Act in order to permit the use of any language as a language of instruction in the public school system. As a result, in 1974, Alberta was the first Canadian province to introduce the EUBP. The UPBC took initiative from the UCBPF and in 1976 began lobbying Manitoba's provincial government to make similar changes to The Public Schools Act of Manitoba for an EUBP. In 1978 their efforts were realized in amendments to The Public Schools Act to permit languages of instruction for not more than 50 percent of the regular school hours and in pilot courses determined by the Minister of Education. Consequently, the EUBP was piloted in Grades K-3 from 1979-82, and in Grades 4-6 from 1982-85. From 1985-88 the EUBP was extended into Grades 7-9. The EUBP pilot status was removed from The Public Schools Act in 1987 enabling it to be an approved education program. As a result the EUBP progressed into Grades 10-12 from 1988-93 and remains a Grade K-12 Program to this day.

The specific period selected for the thesis also allows for historical analysis of Ukrainian language education in Manitoba from the abolishment of the bilingual program in 1916 to the reintroduction of the bilingual program into the public school system in 1979.

Data Sources for the Study

The data sources in this study are derived from both primary and secondary historical sources. The primary sources used in writing the history

and historical analysis of the EUBP include original documents located in historical archives. The MPUE archives at The Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) were examined including, the annual general meeting minutes, board and executive minutes, briefs, reports, newsletters, brochures, and the publications of MPUE, Osvita Foundation, Dzvin Publishers, and Sadok Veselka Inc. (Sadok Veselka). Information acquired from Manitoba Education included annual reports, information booklets on the teaching of Heritage Languages in Manitoba, a report of a Heritage Language Seminar, the minutes from the EUBP Curriculum Committee (EUBCC), curriculum guides, evaluations, and other primary/supplementary resources. Various other journals and newspaper articles were also researched including statements from UPBC and MPUE members involved in developing Ukrainian language education and the EUBP in Manitoba. In addition, the writer's personal experiences from 1979-87, as a teacher in Manitoba's EUBP and as a member serving on various curriculum committees and organizations association with Manitoba's EUBP during that time, are included.

Secondary sources, such as historical and educational journals, articles, books, and other literature regarding the history of education in Manitoba, the history of Ukrainian Canadians, and the history of the Ukrainian language and multicultural education in Canada and Manitoba, were also used in the study.

Socio-historical Context of the Study

Many historians attest to the fact that educational history is incomplete until it includes the socio-historical context of its subject. An analysis of the

EUBP is insufficient without considering the compelling socio-historical context including, social, economic, cultural and political elements within which the Program and Ukrainian language education in general was pursued by Ukrainian Canadians throughout the 20th Century. Derkatz states that “in general, the ‘Ukrainian-cultural-experience-as-text’ has not been static or isolated but ‘as a product of a people in a history, has been developed in relation to other texts, agendas, intentions and wills.’^{10»1}

The socio-historical perspective in the study is developed by describing social, economic, cultural, political, and educational experiences of Ukrainian Canadians and their educational commitment and aspiration for their children to learn the Ukrainian language at home, in public, private, and “Ridna Shkla” Ukrainian schools. The study not only provides historical documentation of Ukrainian schooling in Manitoba but also, through evidence, analysis and interpretation, provides socio-political responses and resistances engendered by Ukrainian immigrants (first, second and third generation Ukrainian Canadians) during their Canadian educational experiences. Therefore, the particular quest and insistence by Ukrainian Canadians to retain their Ukrainian language for the preservation of their cultural identity evolves as the predominant theme throughout the study. As Rochet indicates:

No one would deny the importance of language in preserving and developing one’s ethnic identity, and the growing number of heritage language classes and bilingual or immersion programs must be viewed as a very positive development in that direction.^{1 2}

In this study the socio-historical context of Ukrainian language education

is examined in four distinct eras: The Pioneer Era, the First World War (WWI) and Interwar Era, the Post World War II (WWII) Era, and the Multicultural Era. The Pioneer Era (1897-1916) represented the first wave of mass Ukrainian immigration (150,000-180,000)³ to Canada and the establishment of an initial bilingual public school system. During the Pioneer Era, Ukrainian language retention was relatively easy by the nature of bloc settlements and the educational provisions of the prairie provinces that allowed use of the Ukrainian language in rural public schools. However, in 1916, assimilative pressures and Anglo-conformist views by the host society resulted in the elimination of the bilingual program.

A second wave of rural and urban Ukrainian immigrants (68,000-70,000)⁴ occurred during WWI and Interwar Era (1917-39). This era was characterized by rapid assimilation and Anglo-conformity that became the norm in public and school life. At this time, Derkatz states that “most things ‘ethnic’, including things ‘Ukrainian’, were considered irrelevant and of little value.”⁵ It was especially during the Depression that most Ukrainian Canadians and other ethnocultural groups experienced much antagonism, discrimination, and prejudice directed at them as “foreigners”. In education, the Manitoba School Question became an issue in that “during the hysteria associated with WWI, languages other than English were perceived to be unacceptable in the school system because they were believed to be a hindrance in being a ‘good’ Canadian.”⁶ In addition to the turmoil engendered by the host society, Ukrainian Canadians experienced internal religious and political discord within their community that prevented them

from presenting a powerful and unified voice in social and educational issues. Nevertheless, Ukrainian language education continued in the private and vernacular schools.

The Post WW II Era produced a new era in world history and a change in global thinking. The era signified international recognition of global interdependence, elimination of racism, support of human rights, and ethnocultural acknowledgment and acceptance. This thinking corresponded with a relaxation of Canadian immigration policies in the 1950s. As a result, during the Post WWII Era (1945-70), a third wave of Ukrainian refugees, displaced persons (DPs), and intelligentsia status immigrants (32,000-37,000)⁷ arrived in Canada. This was also a time when Canada was acquiring its own separate identity and Canadian ethnocultural groups were receiving positive recognition and consideration of their cultural and linguistic maintenance. This era of rejuvenation stimulated a reassessment of the value of Ukrainian and other ethnocultural languages by Canadian society. As a result, powerful momentum lobby groups within the Ukrainian Canadian community were struck to reinstate the Ukrainian language into the public school system. In 1962, due to the persistent efforts of organized sectors in the Ukrainian community, Manitoba's first heritage language programs, including Ukrainian language education, were instituted into the public school system.

The Post WWII Era led to the Multicultural Era (1970 onwards), an evolutionary and transitional period in Canadian history. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, 8,000 Ukrainians immigrated to Canada.⁸ During this time, first,

second and third generation Ukrainian Canadians struggled to define their identity in Canada and their link with Ukraine. The Ukrainian community became involved in the B & B Commission and by representing the “Third Element or Third Force” of the Canadian population who were neither English nor French, advocated that the concept of multiculturalism was the principle of Canadian identity. Ukrainian Canadians not only had an impact on the B & B Commission, but also greatly influenced the Federal Policy on Multiculturalism that in 1970 guaranteed every ethnocultural group the right to preserve its own culture, language, and values within the Canadian context. Derkatz states that:

This outward evidence of the move against the hegemonic, monocultural Anglo-conformist view of Canadian life ushered in a potentially new era of social, political, and educational thought. Publicly and theoretically, as part of this proposed transformation embraced in the Multiculturalism Policy (1982), the Multiculturalism Act (1988) and the Manitoba Multicultural Policy (1990), the eradication of “foreign cultures” and languages was to give way to enhancing their preservation through the concept of multiculturalism.⁹

During the Multicultural Era the efforts of powerful lobby groups within the Ukrainian community, such as, the UCC, UCPBF and UPBC, ensured the maintenance of heritage language programs and in 1979, the reintroduction of the EUBP into the Manitoba public school system.

Significance of the Study

Several books and articles have been written on the history of education in the Province of Manitoba. However, there is a limited amount of research available on second language education programs in Manitoba’s public school system. While there are research studies available on French Immersion

programs, very little has been written either on the history and implementation of other heritage language programs or, more specifically, on Ukrainian language education programs in Manitoba.

Although there is some literature regarding the history of Ukrainian language education in Manitoba, there is only a limited body of research addressing Manitoba's EUBP. This study is significant in that it will not only provide unique and original historical documentation regarding Manitoba's EUBP, but also an historical analysis to assist in understanding the development of the EUBP and nearly one hundred years of Ukrainian language education in Manitoba (1896-1993).

The findings in this study may be useful for either continued research in the EUBP or for comparison purposes in further research related to the role of other ethnocultural groups in creation, development and implementation of heritage language programs. The study, therefore, will contribute to the currently limited resources available on the history of education in Manitoba.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into a preface and seven chapters. The study is introduced by a brief preface regarding the history of Ukrainian Canadians and the importance and value attributed to the preservation of their cultural identity and Ukrainian language education. Chapter 1 provides the introduction to the study. This chapter outlines the nature, purpose, main research questions, limitations, data sources, significance, and organization of the study. It also provides a cursory introduction to the socio-historical context of the study.

Chapter 2, presents the historical methodology and conceptual framework of the study. This chapter explains that the historical methodology applied to this study is a style of qualitative inquiry that uses historical analysis to examine, criticize, interpret, and find causal explanations in document research. Although the historical analysis incorporates descriptive narrative, interpretative, comparative, and universal types of analysis, it is a conceptual analysis that provides the framework for the study. The historical background of Ukrainian language education in Manitoba and analysis of the role of the UPBC in the creation and development of the EUBP is written in a conceptual framework that includes a descriptive narration and analysis of historical events with the concepts of hegemony, assimilation and Anglo-conformity, resistance, culture, cultural identity and citizenship, and multiculturalism, multicultural policy and multicultural education. The second chapter defines these concepts and describes how they will be conceptualized in the historical analysis of the study.

Chapter 3 provides the historical background and literature review of the study. The historical background is presented according to the following four distinct historical eras:

1. Pioneer Era (1896-1916): The First Wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and Ukrainian bilingual education in the public school system;
2. WWI and Interwar Era (1917-39): The Second Wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and Anglo-conformity in the public school system;
3. Post WW II Era (1945-70): The Third Wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and re-establishment of Ukrainian education in the public

school system;

4. Multicultural Era (1970 onwards): Ukrainian Canadian community lobbies the Canadian government for ethnocultural rights, heritage language programming and the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the public school system.

The historical background is supported through a literature review that provides a descriptive narrative and interpretative analysis of the four historical eras according to the history of the Ukrainian Canadian community and Ukrainian language education in the Province of Manitoba from 1891-1976. The specific historical background of the UCC and UPBC, who were significant organizations in the development of Ukrainian language education in the public school system are introduced in the third and fourth eras of this chapter. This chapter also presents the socio-historical context of the study by examining the social, cultural, economic, religious, political, and organizational elements both within and outside of the Ukrainian Canadian community that influenced the development of Ukrainian education in Manitoba and the creation of the EUBP. In order to provide continuity within the study, the historical background is also analyzed according to the concepts of hegemony, resistance, assimilation, Anglo-conformity, culture, cultural identity, citizenship, and multiculturalism.

Chapter 4 includes the primary research of the study. This chapter focuses on the history as well as the role and influence of the UPBC in the creation and development of Manitoba's EUBP and provides an historical review of the Program from 1976-93. The history of the EUBP will be examined

according to the following historical time periods:

1. Alberta's EUBP (1971-76);
2. Origins of Manitoba's EUBP (1976-79);
3. Manitoba's EUBP Grades K-3 Pilot (1979-82);
4. Manitoba's EUBP Grades K-3 and Grades 4-6 Pilot (1982-85);
5. Manitoba's EUBP Grades K-6 and Grades 7-9 (1985-88); and
6. Manitoba's EUBP Grades K-9 and Grades 10-12 (1988-93).

The chapter provides a description of Manitoba's EUBP, the school divisional Parents' Committees (Parents' Committees) involved with the EUBP, MPUE, Osvita Foundation, Dzvin Publishers, and Sadok Veselka and the history of the UPBC. It particularly examines the origins of the EUBP from 1976-79, that includes the influence of Alberta's EUBP, and the role of the UPBC and Ukrainian Canadian community in creating and developing the EUBP. The chapter also provides an in depth discussion involving development of the Grades K-3 pilot from 1979-82. the Grades 4-6 pilot from 1982-85, the Grades 7-9 Program including Grades K-6 from 1985-88, and the Grades 10-12 Program including Grades K-9 from 1989-93. Although the chapter focuses on the specific role or influence of the UPBC in creating the EUBP into Manitoba's public and private school system, it will also examine its history during the development of the EUBP, as well as, the involvement of the federal and provincial governments, Manitoba Education, school divisions, school boards, administrators, teachers, students, parents, parent organizations, and the general Ukrainian Canadian community in the development of the EUBP.

Chapter 5 provides the historical analysis of the study. The historical analysis will examine the role of the UPBC in creating and developing the EUBP, the socio-historical context both inside and outside the one hundred year history of Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainian language education that influenced the establishment of the EUBP, and the implementation of the EUBP into Manitoba's public and private school systems. The historical analysis will be written using interpretative, comparative, universal and conceptual types of analysis, and the concepts of hegemony, assimilation and Anglo-conformity, resistance, culture, cultural identity and citizenship, and multiculturalism, multicultural policy and multicultural education. The chapter will also include benefits and concerns regarding the EUBP.

Chapter 6 will present the benefits, concerns, and future directions of the EUBP, and Chapter 7 will provide the conclusion of the study and recommendations for further research.

NOTES

1. Marcella Derkatz, "Ukrainian Language Education in Manitoba Public Schools: Reflections on a Centenary," in Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba: From the Construction of the Common School to the Politics of Voices, ed. Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofré (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 161.

2. Bernard Rochet, "Psycholinguistic Implications of Teaching Heritage Languages at Home and at School," in Central and East European Ethnicity in Canada: Adaptation and Preservation, ed. T. Yedlin (Edmonton: Central and East European Studies Society of Alberta, 1985), 35.

3. Oleh W. Gerus, "Forward," in The Ukrainian Experience in Canada: Reflections (Життєвий Досвід Українців у Канаді: Рефлексії), eds. Oleh W. Gerus, Iraida Gerus-Tarnawecka and Stephan Jarmus (Winnipeg: UAAS: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1994), 12.

4. Ibid.; Derkatz, op. cit., 162.

5. Derkatz, op. cit., 157.

6. Derkatz, op. cit., 158.

7. Gerus, loc. cit.; Derkatz, op. cit., 162.

8. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "The Changing Community," in Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity, eds. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1991), 265.

9. Derkatz, op. cit., 159.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Historical Methodology

E. H. Carr defines history as "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, as unending dialogue between the present and the past."¹ According to Benjamin:

Historians . . . make a serious and systematic study of the past and attempt to use the knowledge they gain to help explain human nature and contemporary affairs. Professional historians spend their lives pursuing the meaning of the past for the present.²

Historians often view their discipline as both science and art. Kaestle states that, as science,

historians follow certain common procedures of investigation and argument, a fact which allows them to agree on some generalizations about the past even though individual historians' values and their understanding of human nature may differ. In many cases they can agree simply because the evidence is ample and clear, and because they can agree on the ground rules.³

In examining history as an art, Kaestle claims that

the rules of investigation and analysis help us less as we attempt to make broader generalizations about the past, or make judgements about its relation to the present. . . . Generalization remains an act of creative interpretation, involving the historian's values, interests, and training. Although the evidence establishes some limits writing history remains subjective to a considerable degree.⁴

History, also a social process in that dialogue, is not restricted between abstract and isolated individuals but rather between the society of today and the society of yesterday.⁵ Carr sites Burkhart, who states that history is "the record of what one age finds worthy of note in another"¹.⁶ Carr explains that

the past is intelligible to us only in the light of the present; and we can fully understand the present only in the light of the past. To enable man to understand the society of the past, and to increase his mastery over the society of the present, is the dual function of history.⁷

Therefore, Carr expands his aforementioned definition by stating that:

I should rather have called it a dialogue between the events of the past and progressively emerging future ends. The historian's interpretation of the past, his selection of the significant and the relevant, evolves with the progressive emergence of new goals.⁸

Carr's new goals refer to economic and social interpretations of the past.

Previous goals included interpretations of the past according to constitutional and political terms. However, Carr states that:

Since the preoccupation with economic and social ends represents a broader and more advanced stage in human development than the preoccupation with political and constitutional ends, so the economic and social interpretation of history may be said to represent a more advanced stage in history than the exclusively political interpretation.⁹

Thus the concept of history is revolutionalized to include a social, political and historical consciousness in its interpretation of the past. Carr states that:

Modern history begins when more and more people emerge into social and political consciousness, become aware of their respective group as historical entities having a past and a future, and enter fully into history. It is only within the last 200 years at most, even in a few advanced countries, that social, political, and historical consciousness has begun to spread to anything like a majority of the population. It is only today that it has become possible for the first time even to imagine a whole world consisting of peoples who have in the fullest sense entered into history and become the concern, no longer of the colonial administrator or of the anthropologist, but of the historian.¹⁰

The concept of history is examined through historical research. Cohen and Manion define historical research as

the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events.³ It is an act of reconstruction undertaken in a spirit of critical enquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of a previous age.¹¹

Cohen and Manion's idea of reconstruction refers to "a holistic perspective in that the method of enquiry characterising historical research attempts to 'encompass and then explain the whole realm of man's past in a perspective that greatly accents his social, cultural, economic and intellectual development'.^{5,12} Shulman cites Tyack, who claims that the most important stage of historical research

is not the collection of evidence but the offering of explanation. Historical facts become historical evidence only when placed in a framework of explanation, a way of seeing without which facts are mute, incapable of "speaking for themselves".¹³

History's dual and unique quality of employing the past to predict the future and using the present to explain the past enables it to be particularly useful for various scholarly studies and research.¹⁴ Historical research is valuable in the field of education for the following reasons:

1. It can yield insights into some educational problems that could not be achieved by any other means;
2. Historical study of an educational idea or institution can do much to help us understand how our present educational system has come about and this kind of understanding can in turn help to establish a sound basis for further progress;
3. It can show how and why educational theories and practices developed;
4. It enables educationalists to use former practices to evaluate newer, emerging ones;
5. Recurrent trends can be more easily identified and assessed from one historical standpoint; and
6. It contributes to a fuller understanding of the relationship between politics and education, between school and society, between local and central government, and between teacher and pupil.¹⁵

In this study the concept of history and historical research is used to provide a socio-historical/political interpretation of the history of Ukrainian language education in Manitoba in order to provide an explanation of the UPBC's efforts in creating the EUBP. In order to understand the efforts of the UPBC in creating the EUBP, a detailed historical background from 1896-1976 has been written regarding Ukrainian Canadians and their struggle to preserve their cultural identity through Ukrainian language education in both private and public school systems in Manitoba. Examining the struggle and reasons why Ukrainian Canadians were determined in achieving Ukrainian language education in the public school system since the turn of the century is necessary for interpreting the creation of the EUBP. Carr states that:

History is a process of struggle, in which results, whether we judge them good or bad, are achieved by some groups directly or indirectly--and more often directly than indirectly--at the expense of others. The losers pay. Suffering is indigenous in history. Every great period of history has its casualties as well as its victories.¹⁶

In adhering to historical discipline of examining and explaining the past, historians often use ideas and methods of analyzing evidence from other fields.

Kaestle states that:

Since history involves all human experience and thought, historians have constantly raided other disciplines for new techniques of analysis and for new insights into society and human nature. This helps explain why there is no single methodology in history, and why historians love their craft so much: because it is so complex and so all-encompassing.¹⁷

The diverse eclectic methodology in historical research is particularly evident in educational history. Recently historians of education have explored

work in the fields of economics, politics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and statistics as contexts for educational development and for new techniques and helpful theories in analysis. Shulman states that

educational research must necessarily draw upon multiple disciplinary perspectives in its efforts to understand and improve educational practice.

. . . History, more than most other disciplines, is a hybrid, a methodological home for a wide variety of approaches, techniques, and modes of inquiry. Among all the disciplines it has resisted categorization. . . . Most able historians do some of each, counting and describing, measuring and interpreting. We find in history, as we do in educational research, a methodological mosaic.¹⁸

The social, religious, economic, political, cultural and intellectual aspects of Ukrainian life in Canada greatly impacted the development of Ukrainian language education in the public school system. Consequently, the historical background of the thesis, as well as the study itself, has been written by combining and interpreting these disciplines into an historical analysis. According to Benjamin, "historians may focus on personal, social, political, intellectual, economic, cultural, diplomatic, ethnic, psychological, or economic aspects of their subject. Again, depending on which approach seems most helpful, they may also combine several of these research directions, and often do."¹⁹ Therefore, the methodology used in analyzing historical research in this study is multi-disciplinary in that it uses ideas and evidence from other fields for interpretative analysis.

Historical researchers also argue for the insufficiency of any one perspective in providing analysis and explanations for historical data. Shulman quotes Tyack, who states that

“it seems useful to entertain alternative modes of explanation as a way of avoiding the reductionism that selects evidence to fit a particular thesis. Using different lenses to view the same phenomenon may seem irresponsibly playful to a true believer in any one interpretation, but at least it offers the possibility of self correction. . . .”²⁰

Tyack claims that units of analysis and universe of discourse are essential elements in an attempt to use educational research as the basis for description, explanation, planning or prediction.²¹ Furthermore, historians differ over the units of inquiry and forms of explanation. Once again Shulman quotes Tyack, who claims that:

Each interpretation, in turn, directs attention to certain kinds of evidence which can confirm or disprove its assertions of causation.

. . .

The models deal with social reality on quite different levels: the individual or the family, the ethnocultural group, the large organization, and the structure of political or economic power in the society as a whole.²²

The field of sociology and social change in education have been used as a unit of analysis in historical research. In an attempt to view education and educational research as a social reality and social change, Kaestle claims that:

Recent trends in the history of American [Canadian] education--the effort to see education as broader than schooling, the effort to see school systems in the context of social and economic development, and the effort to study popular attitudes and behaviour as well as the history of elite intentions and actions--these trends have greatly accelerated the borrowing process in this historical subfield.²³

Moreover, education has been defined not just as schooling but as an “entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations.”²⁴ Kaestle cites Bailyn, who made an important contribution to educational history with his concept of education as a “configuration of educational processes . . . and that

. . . in the face of social change people gradually transferred educational functions from one institution to another."²⁵ Kaestle states that according to Bailyn's model of social change in education:

People make unintended and temporary changes in traditional institutions and assumptions when they are confronted with a changed environment or a new set of social relations (the central educational roles of the family, the church, and the apprenticeship); only later do these temporary adjustments become rationalized and worked into new institutional configurations.²⁶

Bailyn's explanation of education moves educational history into a new direction by broadening the analytical framework into the field of sociology and social change for understanding schooling and society. The field of sociology in historical research is supported by many researchers. Carr states that:

Sociology is concerned with historical societies, every one of which is unique and moulded by specific historical antecedents and conditions. . . . the more sociological history becomes, and more historical sociology becomes, the better for both. Let the frontier between them be kept wide open for two-way traffic.²⁷

In this study the field of sociology and social change in education whether in a socio-economic, socio-political or socio-cultural context has made a significant contribution to analyzing the historical background of Ukrainian language education in the Province of Manitoba. The historical background in this study is divided into four eras of Ukrainian Canadian immigration and education. Each era is unique yet complementary in the goal of Ukrainian Canadians to achieve linguistic maintenance and cultural identity. Carr states that, "the division of history into periods is not a fact, but a necessary hypothesis or tool of thought, valid in so far as it is illuminating, and dependent for its validity

on interpretation.”²⁸

Most historical research studies are analytical and follow a qualitative methodology that requires an analysis of an historical topic through collecting, classifying, ordering, synthesizing, evaluating, and interpreting selected sources.

Cohen and Manion stated that:

By far the greater part of research in historical studies is qualitative in nature. This is so because the proper subject-matter of historical research consists to a great extent of verbal and other symbolic material emanating from a society's or a culture's past. The basic skills required of the researcher to analyze this kind of qualitative or symbolic material involves collecting, classifying, ordering, synthesizing, evaluating and interpreting. At the basis of all these acts lies sound personal judgment.²⁹

Furthermore, Cohen and Manion state that historical research shares both a normative approach to research by sharing “the quest for objectivity and desire to minimise bias and distortion,”³⁰ and an interpretative approach to research by setting out “to describe all aspects of the particular situation under study, or as many as are accessible, in its search for the whole truth.”³¹ Carr suggests that “the Historian is engaged in a continuous process of moulding his facts to his interpretation and his interpretation to his facts. It is impossible to assign primacy to one over the other.”³² Moreover, Tyack states that:

To argue that one should not mix interpretations promiscuously does not mean that it is unwise to confront alternative conceptualisations or to attempt to integrate them into a more complex understanding of social reality. This, in turn, may make historians more conscious of the ways in which theories and empirical research interact with one another, so that an anomalous piece of evidence may call a theory into question and a new mode of explanation may be generated.⁸⁵ . . . Entertaining explicit alternative models and probing their value assumptions may help historians to gain a more complex and accurate perception of the

past and a greater awareness of the ambiguous relationship between outcome and intent--both of the actors in history and of the historian who attempt to recreate their lives.^{86 33}

Since historical research is analytical, it employs common methodological characteristics that distinguishes it from other educational research. The methodological characteristics include a research topic related to past events, primary and secondary sources as data, techniques of criticism, both external and internal, used in searching for facts, interpretative explanations, and types of analysis.³⁴ McMillan and Schumacher state that "because these characteristics are general, they may be applied in different ways within a particular study."³⁵

Historical research in education may concern itself with an individual, a group, a movement, an institution, a concept, or, as in this study, a combination of these historical topics. Cohen and Manion cite Best, who claims that:

No one of these objects of historical interest and observation can be considered in isolation. No one person can be subjected to historical investigation without some consideration of his contribution to the ideas, movements or institutions of a particular time of place. Then elements are always interrelated. The focus merely determines the point of emphasis towards which the historical researcher directs his attention.³⁶

In selecting a research topic, the historical past may be a time as recent as the previous year or the previous century. The research topic related to past events in this study is the creation and development of the EUBP in the Province of Manitoba (1976-93). In particular, the study focuses on the role of the UPBC who were instrumental in creating the EUBP, as well as the organizations that were responsible for its development, such as, the English-Ukrainian Program Steering Committee, the MPUE, the Osvita Foundation, and Dzvin Publishers.

Although the historical background in the study examines Ukrainian education in the public school since the turn of the century, the study's prime focus is in the Multicultural Era and multicultural education (1970s and 1980s), a period in Canadian history that gave ethnocultural groups, including Ukrainian Canadians, increased social acceptance, and opportunity for the preserving of cultural identity and progress in areas of employment, law, politics, government, civil service, media, education, and schooling.

The data used in historical research studies are written sources that have been preserved in archives, manuscript collection repositories, or libraries. Sources may be documents, oral testimonies, and relics and researchers may use one or a combination of sources. McMillan and Schumacher state that "all of these sources are generally classified as documents. A study may require one or several types of sources."³⁷

Documentation in historical research is classified into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are documents or testimonies of eye witnesses or participants of an event or of someone who received information from participants of an event.³⁸ Cohen and Manion state that:

Primary sources of data have been described as those items that are original to the problem under study and may be thought of as being in two categories, thus:

1. The remains or relics of a given period. Although such remains and artefacts as skeletons, fossils, weapons, tools, utensils, buildings, pictures, furniture, coins and *objects d'art* [italics in original] were not meant to transmit information to subsequent areas, nevertheless they may be useful sources providing sound evidence about the past.
2. Those items that have had a direct physical relationship with the events being reconstructed. This category would include not

only the written and oral testimony provided by actual participants in, or witnesses of, an event, but also the participants themselves. Documents considered as primary sources include manuscripts, charters, laws; archives of official minutes or records, files, letters, memoranda, memoirs, biography, official publications, wills, newspapers and magazines, maps, diagrams, catalogues, films, paintings, inscriptions, recordings, transcriptions, log books and research reports. All these are, intentionally or unintentionally, capable of transmitting a first-hand account of an event and are therefore considered as sources of primary data. Historical research in education draws chiefly on the kind of sources identified in this second category.³⁹

Secondary sources are documents or testimonies of individuals who did not observe or participate in an event but who obtained descriptions from another person or source who may or may not have been a primary source.⁴⁰ Cohen and Manion state that “other instances of secondary sources used in historical research include: quoted material, textbooks, encyclopaedias, other reproductions of material, prints of paintings or replicas of art objects.”⁴¹ Most history books and articles are also used as secondary sources.⁴²

Historical researchers use analytical research as a technique or style to describe and interpret the past from primary and secondary sources or documents. They use logical induction to analyze the past qualitatively through documents preserved in collections and/or participants’ oral testimonies. McMillan and Schumacher state that “analytical research, as a style of qualitative inquiry, draws from the disciplines of philosophy (the meaning of concepts), history, and biography . . . analytical research is primarily noninteractive document research.”⁴³ They also emphasize that “the credibility of an analytical study lies in the procedures inherent in the methodology, which includes the

search for and criticism of sources, and the interpretation of facts for causal explanations."⁴⁴

The data used in this study includes both primary and secondary sources of documentation. Primary sources include documentation collected from the MPUE archives located at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok). Contained within the archives are reports, journals, and newspaper articles relating specifically to the creation of the EUBP. The archives also include minutes from meetings of the UPBC and MPUE, as well as, statements of UPBC members involved in the creation and development of the EUBP. A list of primary and secondary sources used in the study include:

1. Primary Sources
 - Archives of MPUE, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok), 1978-93, Winnipeg
 - Briefs, Government Documents, Letters, Minutes, Papers, Press Releases and Reports
 - Conference/Convention Proceedings and Reports
2. Secondary Sources
 - Articles in Edited Editions
 - Books
 - Books: Multivolume Works and Sources
 - Curriculum Guide
 - Journals
 - Newsletters
 - Newspaper Articles
 - Reference Works
 - Theses

Analytical research studies may also suggest generalizations that are interpretations of the facts. As logical induction is applied to generalizations about the past, causal explanations are suggested about the specific event or legal principle. Generalizations and causal explanations are particularly important

tools for conceptual analysis. Scriven states that:

There are other tricks of the trade in conceptual analysis which are of great importance to educational research--for example, training in making the most plausible generalizations from particular instances of a phenomenon, and in seeing loopholes or counter-examples in generalizations that have been proposed to do just that. . . .

. . . causation is a notion that is central in all methodologies in educational research and requires serious and difficult conceptual analysis. Causation is also a key concept within historiography--the study of the methodology of historical studies.⁴⁵

Thus analytical research in history is a selective process of facts, causal explanations, interpretation, and historical significance. Carr states that:

Just as from the infinite ocean of facts the historian selects those which are significant for his purpose, so from the multiplicity of sequences of cause and effect he extracts those, and only those, which are historically significant; and the standard of historical significance is his ability to fit them into his pattern of rational explanation and interpretation.⁴⁶

Carr adds that "interpretation in history . . . always bound up with value judgments, and causality is bound up with interpretation."⁴⁷ The relationship of an historian to his causes is similar to the dual and reciprocal relationship of this historian to his facts. According to Carr:

The causes determine his interpretation of the historical process, and his interpretation determines his selection and marshalling of the causes. The hierarchy of causes, the relative significance of one cause or set of causes or of another, is the essence of his interpretation.⁴⁸

Carr clarifies this idea by stating that

the historian distils from the experience of the past, or from so much of the experience of the past as is accessible to him, that part which he recognizes as amenable to rational explanation and interpretation, and from it draws conclusions which may serve as a guide to action.⁴⁹

However, the growth of economic, social, cultural, legal and political history, as well as, new techniques of psychology and statistics have increased the range and number of causal explanations compelling the historian to simplify and subordinate the multiplicity of answers and introduce order and unity into the "chaos of happenings and the chaos of specific causes."⁵⁰ In addition, due to the fact that historians in their analytical research work through simplification and multiplication of causes, there is no absolute causal explanations of the past. McMillan and Schumacher suggest that "analysts write at different levels of abstraction, at different chronological distances from the past event, for different purposes, in different contexts, and from different points of view."⁵¹ Furthermore, various studies can suggest contradictory yet valid causal explanations of the past.⁵² McMillan and Schumacher propose the validity of analytical explanations in the following ways:

1. An analytical generalization summarizes separate facts that assert that an event took place. . . .
2. Explanations suggest multiple causes for any single event. . .
3. When analytical explanations are justified or supported by the facts stated in the study, the explanations are considered valid . . .
4. Analytical explanations are made from different points of view.⁵³

The causal explanations of this study regarding the creation and development of the EUBP are provided through a conceptual and interpretative analysis of document sources, both primary and secondary, that relate to the history of Ukrainian education in Canada from 1896 to the creation and development of the EUBP from 1979-93.

The type of analysis used in a study indicates its research purpose. A

study may be a conceptual analysis of an educational concept, an edition or compilation of documents, a descriptive narration of an event, an interpretative or comparative analysis of several periods, or a universal theory or philosophy.

While each type of analysis differs in scope and level of generalizations, they are all useful in educational research.⁵⁴ McMillan and Schumacher describe each type of analysis as follows:

Conceptual analysis clarifies educational concepts by describing the essential or generic meaning of the concept, specifying the different meanings of the concept, or describing the appropriate usage for the concept in a variety of instances. The analysis of an educational concept like professionalism may be the focus of an entire study.

Edition or compilation of documents preserves and publishes documents placed in chronological order. For a compilation, the editor restores the document to its original text, with annotations for contextual meanings.

Descriptive narration of an event tells the story from the beginning to an end in chronological order. Limited generalizations are intended to be confined strictly to the subject matter under study.

Interpretative analysis relates the educational event to other events of the period. The analysis includes economic, social and political events that occurred simultaneously. The event is studied not in isolation but rather in its broader context.

Comparative analysis qualitatively compares similarities and differences in educational events to those of other historical periods. The analysis may indicate a consistent trend, a series of unique situations, or the beginning of a new direction.

Universal analysis, that is, a theoretical or philosophical analysis, presents universal interpretations. In it, historical parallels, regularities or past trends, and sequences of events suggest explanations for the course of educational events, past and future. Philosophies of cyclical progression and the linear progression of education are examples of universal generalizations.⁵⁵

Since historical writing is selective and interpretative, it is guided by historical significance, meaning, social change and human motivation, and partial induction. Consequently, although causal explanations are located in

documents, they are also found in an historian's temperament, convictions, hunches, and explicit or implicit theories. For example, in universal analysis, historical researchers can identify their informed or personal theories and gain an understanding of human experience through theoretical work in related disciplines. Conversely, historical writing can significantly reflect back on social theories, confirming, refuting, or modifying various theoretical statements.⁵⁶

Kaestle states that, "theories may influence what sort of evidence we look for, what sort of evidence we will accept, and what sort of arguments we will make from the evidence."⁵⁷ Most historians use theory incidentally and selectively and, therefore, do not necessarily adopt an entire theoretical system in order to benefit from theoretical work in other disciplines. According to Kaestle:

Whether a historian accepts a large theoretical system, uses theory incidentally, or resists the mixing of theory and historical writing, each should be conversant with major theoretical positions in related disciplines and self-conscious about their possible relevance for historical methodology.⁵⁸

This study incorporates five of the six types of analysis proposed by McMillan and Schumacher. It uses descriptive analysis in the historical background to provide information regarding Ukrainian education in Manitoba since 1897 and to describe the events in chronological order in the creation and development of the EUBP. It also uses interpretative, comparative, and universal analysis in the historical background and the study by relating Ukrainian education in Manitoba to religious, economic, social, political, and cultural life of Ukrainian Canadians and by comparing similarities and differences in Ukrainian education to four different eras in Ukrainian Canadian history. However, most of

the study is focused on conceptual analysis.

Conceptual Framework

Conceptual analysis can be applied to every kind of educational research. However, it is particularly applicable to historical and policy studies in that concepts of causation and explanation, intention, meaning and valuing become crucial and require sophisticated analysis.⁵⁹ In utilizing conceptual analysis, the historian assumes a neutral position while analyzing a concept before taking a value position or collecting factual information. McMillan and Schumacher state that, "by presenting an analysis of the concept, the study helps us understand the way people think about education.³ The focus is on the meaning of the concept, not the researcher's personal values or on factual information."⁶⁰ Although researchers have claimed that two doctrines, namely operational definitions and linguistic arbitrations, were thought by researchers to be the key components of conceptual analysis, the method of examples and contrasts is preferred in that it is a better approach to clarifying important distinctions that are appropriate for a particular application while avoiding the risks of oversimplification inherent in operational or arbitrary definitions.⁶¹ According to Scriven, the researcher

should nearly always use what I have called the "method of examples and contrasts," and not the method of explicit definition. That is, you should try to clarify a notion by giving paradigmatic examples; examples which illustrate the core meaning, the most typical use of the term, and examples which illustrate what it is not, when it should not be applied.⁶²

McMillan and Schumacher also state that:

Critical to the analysis of educational concepts is the selection of the typical uses of the concept and counterexamples. The analyst

uses purposeful sampling by choosing examples that demonstrate implicit meanings in the language, which are then analyzed logically. Examples may be drawn from generally accepted common uses of the concepts. Because different sets of examples are used frequently, the analysis of educational concepts may lead to reanalysis and further conceptual clarity.⁶³

The theories and related concepts used in this study are hegemony, assimilation and Anglo-Conformity, resistance, culture, cultural identity, and citizenship, as well as, multiculturalism, multicultural policy, and multicultural education.

Hegemony

Bennett, Martin, Mercer and Woollacott state that “quite literally, and according to the Oxford English Dictionary, hegemony means ‘leadership’ or ‘preponderance’. More frequently it is used by political commentators to designate, quite simply, domination.”⁶⁴ However, theorists, such as, Antonio Gramsci, present a much more complex notion of hegemony. Bennett, Martin, Mercer and Woollacott cite Gramsci, who claims that, “history is a process of conflicts and compromises where one fundamental class will emerge as both dominant and directive not only in economic but also in moral and intellectual terms.”⁶⁵ According to Mouffe, Gramsci defines hegemony as

a complete fusion of economic, political, intellectual and moral objectives which will be brought about by one fundamental group and groups allied to it through the intermediary of ideology when an ideology manages to “spread throughout the whole society determining not only united economic and political objectives but also intellectual and moral unity.” [PN, pp. 180-5]⁶⁶

Reimer states that:

Hegemony--most succinctly the "intellectual and moral leadership" exercised by a fundamental class within society--is a "compromise equilibrium" effected through negotiation and accommodation between the leading (hegemonic) and subordinate or oppositional classes. Through this process, the former attempts to have its corporate-economic interests understood to represent the broader national interest. This universalizing impulse succeeds when the sacrifices of the leading group--its accommodation of competing claims and interests--manage to hold the "spontaneous consent" of the mass population.⁶⁷

In addition, Weiler claims that "hegemony can be defined as an organizing principle or world view that is diffused by agencies of ideological control or socialization into every area of daily life."⁶⁸

In historical analysis the theory of hegemony is conceptualized as a process. According to Osborne, Gramsci used hegemony to "describe the processes which people come to accept a given state of affairs as natural and inevitable and even for the best, even though in some objective sense they are disadvantaged by it."⁶⁹ Within the hegemonic process only a fundamental class can become hegemonic.⁷⁰ Mouffe states that a hegemonic class is:

A class which has been able to articulate the interests of other social groups to its own by means of ideological struggle. This, according to Gramsci, is only possible if this class renounces a strictly corporatist conception, since in order to exercise leadership it must genuinely concern itself with the interests of those social groups over which it wishes to exercise hegemony--"obviously the fact of hegemony presupposes that one takes into account the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony will be exercised, and it also presupposes a certain equilibrium, that is to say that the hegemonic groups will make some sacrifices of a corporate nature. [Quaderni, vol. 1, p. 461]⁷¹

Mouffe claims that, according to Gramsci, hegemony consists of the fundamental class exercising a political, intellectual and moral role of leadership

within a hegemonic system that is bound by a common world-view or organic ideology. Moreover, democracy between the ruling group and the ruled group must exist in a hegemonic system. Ideologically, this implies that the common world-view unifying the hegemonic bloc is the organic expression of the whole bloc. Although the common world-view includes ideological elements from varying sources, it is unified by an articulating principle provided by the hegemonic class, entitled the hegemonic principle.⁷² Mouffe cites Gramsci, who suggests that hegemonic principle involves

a system of values the realization of which depends on the central role played by the fundamental class at the level of the relations of production. Thus the intellectual and moral direction exercised by a fundamental class in a hegemonic system consists in providing the articulating principle of the common world-view, the value system to which the ideological elements coming from the other groups will be articulated in order to form a unified ideological system, that is to say an organic ideology.⁷³

The concept of ideology is an important aspect of the Gramscian theory of hegemony. According to Mouffe, Gramsci defines ideology as

the terrain "on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle?" [PN, p. 377] Ideology, he declares, must be seen as the battle field, as a continuous struggle, since men's acquisition of consciousness through ideology will not come individually but always through the intermediary of the ideological terrain where two "hegemonic principles" confront each other. [Quaderni, vol. 2, p. 1236]⁷⁴

Consequently, ideology not only implies explicit political beliefs but also material force. Ideology has a material existence in that "the subjects are not originally given but are always produced by ideology through a socially determined ideological field, so that subjectivity is always the product of social practice."⁷⁵ In

addition, ideologies are distinguished as either “organic” or “arbitrary” in that “the former represent the ideological core of society while the latter are, in varying degrees, its ‘fringe benefits’. The general social structure and the individual are brought together in this formulation in a complex relationship of dominance and subordination.”⁷⁶

Ideology is disseminated through intellectuals who are responsible for elaborating and spreading organic ideologies and realizing moral and intellectual reform. Intellectuals are classified into “organic” or “traditional” categories. “Organic intellectuals” are linked to one of the two fundamental classes, such as, managers, technicians, and policy-makers. “Traditional intellectuals” are classes expressing previous modes of production and all represented by more “academic” functions of philosophers, critics, writers, and clergy.⁷⁷ Moreover, in different cultures and at different times there may be a considerable overlap of these two groups. Bennett, Martin, Mercer and Woollacott claims that:

What is important is that the nature of the relationship between these groups will affect the very nature of hegemony: whether there is conflict or stability between them or whether there are effective political and cultural links between them and the mass of the people.⁷⁸

In addition to “intellectuals”, Gramsci emphasizes the importance of material and institutional structures defined as hegemonic apparatuses for the elaboration and spreading of ideology. Hegemonic apparatuses include schools, churches, media, architecture, and names of streets. Together, these hegemonic apparatuses form the “ideological structure” of a dominant class and the level of the superstructure where ideology is produced and diffused is

identified at the "state" or civil society.⁷⁹ Mouffe states that according to Gramsci, two realms, civil society and political society, occur within the state. He claims that "by 'State' should be understood not only the apparatus of government, but also the 'private' apparatus of 'hegemony' or civil society (SPN p. 261)"⁸⁰ and that "the State is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rubs (SPN p. 244)."⁸¹

Thus, Mouffe claims that the conception of ideology developed in Gramsci's theory of hegemony is understood in the following ways:

1. The unifying principle of an ideological system is constituted by the hegemonic principle which serves to articulate all the other ideological elements. It is always the expression of fundamental class.
2. The class character of an ideology or of an ideological element stems from the hegemonic principle which serves as its articulating centre.⁸²

In addition, Mouffe asserts that a successful hegemony is one that

manages to create a "collective national-popular will", and for this to happen the dominant class must have been capable of articulating to its hegemonic principle all the national-popular ideological elements, since it is only if this happens that it (the class) appears as the representative of the general interest. This is why the ideological elements expressing the "national-popular" are often at stake in the fierce struggle between classes fighting for hegemony.⁸³

In this study, the hegemonic process will be used to analyze how the fundamental group in Canada, the Anglo-Saxons/Anglo-Celtics attempted to use the hegemonic principle or organic ideology of Anglo-conformity to assimilate Ukrainian Canadians into the ideal of Canadian society through ideological

structures, such as, churches, the media and, in particular, the public school system.

Assimilation and Anglo-conformity

Assimilation and Anglo-conformity are related concepts to hegemony. Taylor defines assimilation as “the belief that cultural groups should give up their ‘heritage’ cultures and take on the host society’s way of life.”⁸⁴ Assimilation is not a neutral or an apolitical process. It is as Murphy suggests, “as essential part of maintaining social control and order.”⁸⁵

The classical assimilation theory as defined by Taylor dominated theory and research until the 1960s. Taylor cites Park and Burgess who, at that time, “introduced the ‘contact hypothesis’, which held that, ‘as social contact initiates interaction, assimilation is its final perfect product’ (Park & Burgess, 1969, p. 361).”⁸⁶ During this time, another assimilationist perspective developed known as the fundamental meritocracy ideology that, according to Taylor, emphasized “individual performance as a basis for advancement, and thus racial or cultural affiliation [were] explicitly discounted as either an advantage or disadvantage for getting ahead in society.”⁸⁷

A more sophisticated view of assimilation was provided by Gordon in the late 1960s who claimed that there are several types of assimilation and that they do not necessarily proceed at the same pace. Taylor cites Gordon, who claimed that there are seven types of assimilation: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional (prejudice), behavioural receptional (discrimination), and civic.⁸⁸ Hirschman, in the early 1980s, also supported the

multidimensional nature of assimilation by focusing his review of empirical evidence on four aspects of assimilation: socio-economic, residential segregation, intermarriage, and attitudes.⁸⁹ Taylor cites Hirschman, who, in his review, indicated that “newcomers do assimilate to the dominant, host culture.”⁹⁰ However, where the evidence is contrary to assimilation, Taylor states that “theorists in this tradition can claim that the assimilation process is ongoing but as yet incomplete. With more time, they argue, the assimilation process will be completed.”⁹¹

Classical assimilation theory often suggests that knowledge of an ethnic language, religious affiliation, and marriages within the ethnocultural group will decline, economic adjustment will improve with time and increasing generations, and that assimilation can occur within generations. Kalbach and Richard provide the following example:

Immigrants can make adjustments, such as acquiring the English language and/or moving away from their traditional ethnic church, which will facilitate economic assimilation. In other words, immigrants can become less “ethnic”. Second-and-third generation individuals may also choose to make a lateral move away from their ethnic ties if it seems advantageous to do so.⁹²

Linguistic assimilation is characteristic of classical assimilation theory. Kalbach and Richard cite Stanley Lieberman, who argues that “the surrender of distinctive mother tongues is a necessary step in the assimilation of ethnic groups in contact.”⁹³ Marunchak emphasizes that “language assimilation is a serious problem as it takes away the basic key to the rich store-house of national culture.”⁹⁴

The B & B Commission defines assimilation as the "giving up of cultural identity by an 'almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group' (RCBB, IV, p. 5)."⁹⁵ O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplaska explain that:

An assimilated member of a non-British, non-French ethnic group is one who is culturally indistinguishable from the larger Canadian society. Obviously such a person has abandoned the use of his ethnic language. He may **know** the language, but never **use** it, and is ambivalent to its retention and use by anyone else in Canada (Gordon, 1964).

On the other hand, an unassimilated member--that is, one who has not lost his ethnic identity--may vary in his orientation to language retention. He may retain its use. Since few would retain the use of an ethnic language without some other form of cultural retention, language retention then implies at least some cultural retention as well, while the reverse is not necessarily true. The question of whether non-retention of the ethnic language implies the beginning of an inevitable process of assimilation is an empirical one.⁹⁶

In addition to linguistic assimilation, transfer in religious affiliation is also part of the classical assimilation process of removing oneself from one's ethnic group in order to become upwardly mobile and economically successful. Kalbach and Richard state that "since religion also retards assimilation, becoming less ethnic could also involve a transfer to the religious affiliation of those in positions of economic power."⁹⁷ According to Clement and Porter, the denominations associated with upward mobility and economic success in Canadian society were the Anglican or United churches.⁹⁸

In addition to linguistic and religious assimilation, another category of the classical assimilation theory is assimilation through mixed or intermarriages. According to Darcovich:

Intermarriage is considered to be the ultimate in assimilation;

maintaining a separate identity by a group does not presuppose that intermarriage will not occur, but only that it will be kept back to a level which the group can absorb and still remain identifiable.⁹⁹

The classical assimilation theory suggests that assimilation of an ethnocultural group occurs over time and with successive generations. Bilash states that:

Assimilation is the process by which differences are made to disappear.⁵ The process of assimilation is slow and unconscious.⁶ It is improbable that any person by learning the language of the group can be spontaneously assimilated into the group. The newcomer must see worthwhile aspects of the new culture. He must agree in his own mind to accept the new culture,⁷ but he must be helped by a sympathetic understanding of himself by the group into which he is trying to fit. . . .

Rapid assimilation creates social disorganization.¹¹ Even in the normal course of events, it is not the immigrant who becomes assimilated into a culture--it is his grandchild. The immigrant's child has the unfortunate position of "marginal man".¹² He is a part of two cultures but does not fully belong to either and is in a state of limited social disorganization. The people who transgress the law are these marginal men who draft between two cultures, and those immigrants who attempt to cross the culture barrier too quickly.¹⁰⁰

Kalbach and Richard cite researchers, such as, Newman who have found that "members of second generation ethnic groups often moved away from their ethnic neighbourhoods and some even changed their names or anglicized them."^{12,101} They also cite Hansen, who concluded that "the second generation solved the problem of inhabiting two worlds simultaneously by escaping from their ethnic group ties as soon as they were free economically."^{13,102} Hansen also argued that "the third generation, now essentially free of its ethnic ties, was motivated to learn and participate in the salient ethnic activities of their group."¹⁰³ Thus, Kalbach and Richard conclude that "the generational concept suggests

that upward mobility is likely to occur to a greater extent as successive immigrant generations emerge.”¹⁰⁴

In addition to classical assimilation researchers, such as, Yuzyk, claim that there are four theories that can be applied to the assimilation of various ethnocultural groups in Canada. According to Yuzyk, the first theory disregards the basic principles of democracy and implies obliteration of all foreign characteristics in order to make all “foreigners” into Englishmen. The second, is the melting-pot theory that suggests that “all cultures be quickly melted down so that the dross might be removed, and the pure gold secured.”¹⁰⁵ However, the disadvantage of this theory is that when it is applied practically, the final result is unknown in that “it might mean the lowering of present, known standards.”¹⁰⁶ The third theory suggests preserving various cultural heritages but not the political loyalties or aiming at “unity not uniformity, or unity through diversity.”¹⁰⁷ However, Yuzyk claims that in recent years the fourth theory of gradual accommodation is supported by most sociologists. This theory implies the following:

Assimilation is effected with a minimum of friction and personal demoralization when it is group-wise. That is, the very institutions believed by natives to prevent assimilation, may act as a media for the interpretation of the dominant culture to the migrants. They no doubt operate in the adjustment of the individual to the surrounding group at least in those matters held to be most important by the latter. Without this protection of his own group, the individual is lost and suffers serious personal demoralization.²¹⁰⁸

Yuzyk’s four theories of assimilation are reiterated and placed in an historical framework by Palmer. Palmer suggests that the assimilation theory

can be organized into three theories according to various periods in Canadian history. These are the Anglo-conformity theory from 1867-1920, the melting pot theory from 1920-45, and the "cultural pluralism" or "multiculturalism" theory after 1945.¹⁰⁹

The Anglo-conformity theory that occurred prior to WWI demanded that "immigrants renounce their ancestral culture and traditions in favour of the behaviour and values of Anglo-Canadians."¹¹⁰ During this time there was strong assimilation based on the assumption of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, culture and institutions, and open discrimination based on presumed undesirability.¹¹¹ The process of assimilation was implemented through schools and the church. Anglo-conformity implied a restriction on the use of languages other than English as languages of instruction in the public school system that led to the abolition of bilingual education in 1916. In 1906 a Manitoba inspector of schools wrote:

The great work of the public school in Canada is the formation and development of a high type of national life. This is particularly true in Western Canada, with its heterogeneous population. Here are to be found people of all countries, from the keen, clever American, with highly developed national ideals, equal to but perhaps somewhat antagonistic to our own, to the ignorant peasantry of central and eastern Europe and Asia. These incongruous elements have to be assimilated, have to be welded into one harmonious whole if Canada is to attain the position that we, who belong here by right of birth and blood, claim for her. The chief instrument in this process of assimilation is the public school.¹¹²

However, language was not the only issue in the struggle for cultural hegemony. Immigrant children were also to acquire a common culture and cultural values of the society through the schools. According to Bruno-Jofré:

In English Canada Anglo-conformity was an encompassing, although not unchallenged, principle permeating public educational aims and objectives and hence citizenship education. The aim was to create a homogeneous nation based on a common language, a common culture, identification with the Empire, and an appreciation of British institutions. The British Empire and its values and institutions were seen as an indispensable support for a distinctive Canadianism.¹¹³

In 1913, a Saskatchewan inspector explained that:

Teach the children to speak, to read and to write English--this is our first and great educational commandment. Our second commandment is like unto the first--through a common medium of English, within our schools build up a national character.^{3 114}

Palmer suggests that the "melting-pot" theory of assimilation came into existence after WWI. This ideology envisaged "a biological merging of settled communities with new immigrant groups and a blending of their cultures into a new Canadian type."¹¹⁵ O'Bryan, Leitz and Kuplowska suggest that:

The conventional wisdom of the "melting pot" in North America has been that ethnic assimilation is inevitable within one or two generations after immigration. Immigrants themselves more or less quickly replace "Old World" ways with North American ways; their children are exposed to socializing influences which drown out those of their ethnic past; and their grandchildren are virtually indistinguishable from the grandchildren of the native-born North Americans. Under these conditions, language abandonment is also inevitable after a few generations. These ideas are more current in the United States than in Canada, but they are far from absent on the Canadian scene.¹¹⁶

The "melting pot" ideology began in the 1920s as a means of defending immigrants against Anglo-Saxon attacks from people, such as, George Exton Lloyd, an Anglican bishop and one of the founders of the Barr colony at Lloydminster. At that time, a new generation of Anglo-Canadians argued that contrary to the fears of some Anglo-Saxons, assimilation was not occurring. It

was in fact evident in a new type of "Canadianization" that envisaged the emergence of a new society which would contain contributions from the various immigrant groups.¹¹⁷ Kostash states that:

When the generation was growing up, 1920-1940, "Canadianization" and "Anglicization" were interchangeable notions, the first being a more liberal and covert version of the second. Since one of the characteristics of being a Canadian was the expressed admiration for what was then called British civilization and positive identification with the mission of spreading it around among those deprived of its benefits, it followed that "Canadianizing" the Ukrainian-Canadians meant making them British patriots. Through the schools, the newspapers, the radio, the public meeting, the Veterans' Day parade, the commemoration, jubilee and civic holiday, the Ukrainian-Canadians were educated in the symbols, self-image and content of British patriotism and learned to think of it as their own, voluntary-adopted inheritance.¹¹⁸

During the 1930s, assimilation of immigrants remained a priority, however, the Depression resulted in most Anglo-Canadians being more concerned about protecting their jobs. Nevertheless, the melting-pot ideology continued and was supplemented by intense discrimination and prejudice of immigrants. Palmer states that:

The vicious circle of discrimination became perhaps even more vicious during the 1930s as non-Anglo-Saxons' political response to the depression further poisoned attitudes toward them. The discrimination and unemployment which non-Anglo-Saxons faced was an important factor in promoting the support of many for radical political solutions to the depression, in either communist or fascist movements . . . the depression gave further support to the notion of non-Anglo-Saxons being unstable politically; one more proof along with immigrant drinking, garlic eating and the legendary violence at Slavic weddings, that non-Anglo-Saxons were in dire need of baptism by assimilation. Deporting immigrant radicals was seen as one alternative to assimilation and the federal government did not hesitate to use this weapon.^{46 119}

In addition, during the late 1920s and 1930s many second generation non-Anglo-

Saxons, who were anxious to improve their socio-economic status, avoided the general public's perception of the relationship between ethnicity, lower social class origins and political unsoundness, by attempting to hide their ethnicity through the changing of their names. Palmer suggests that "ethnic ties were clearly disadvantageous for those non-Anglo-Saxons seeking economic security or social acceptance."¹²⁰

The "melting pot" ideology of assimilation continued until after WWII. In addition, the Anglo-conformity ideology continued to influence the social dimension of school throughout the 1940s.¹²¹ Kostash claims that "the lost battle over bilingual schooling and the introduction of unilingual Anglo-Canadian teachers into the schools had institutionalised the English language as the crucial instrument of assimilation."¹²²

Palmer's third theory of assimilation, that of cultural pluralism began in the 1930s with pluralist ideas generated from John Murray Gibbon's book, The Canadian Mosaic, and the writings of Watson Kirkconnell, an English professor at the University of Manitoba. Both writers were influenced by a liberalism that rejected assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority.¹²³ Palmer states that Gibbon

was concerned with the preservation of folk arts and music, he also went out of his way to alleviate fears of unassimilarity by discussing individuals' assimilation as well as the "cement" of common institutions which bound the Canadian mosaic together.¹²⁴

However, Kirkconnell's writings differed from Gibbon in that he was critical of the assumptions of Anglo-conformity and advocated a multicultural society and not a complete separation of ethnic groups. According to Palmer, Kirkconnell

“believed that assimilation needed to occur in the realm of political and economic values and institutions but he hoped that some of the conservative values and folk culture of immigrants could be preserved.”¹²⁵ Thus advocates of cultural pluralism believed that

ethnic diversity was not incompatible with national unity. Unity need not mean uniformity. They believed that recognition of the cultural contributions of non-Anglo-Saxon groups would heighten the groups’ feelings that they belong to Canada and thus strengthen Canadian unity.¹²⁶

Although the Post WWII periods of the late 1940s and 1950s raised renewed hostility towards enemy aliens and pre-war prejudices towards ethnic groups due to a variety of intellectual, social and demographic reasons, the ideology of cultural pluralism became increasingly accepted by Anglo-Saxons. However, even though most political leaders in English-speaking Canada have during the 1960s and 1970s accepted this new ideology that proclaims the desirability of Canada’s ethnic diversity, Palmer claims that “the Canadian public has not given unanimous support to pluralism.”¹²⁷

In discussing the assimilation theory, it should be noted that the concepts of “integration” and “acculturation” do not imply assimilation. According to O’Byrne, Reitz and Kuplowska, “integration entails that minority group members have begun to participate in most aspects of native social life, while acculturation implies that minority group members are able to adapt to and find meaning in the culture of a wider society.”¹²⁸ According to Yuzyk:

Acculturation, the recognition of cultural dualism and its value in contributing the finer elements of a different culture to the general Canadian pattern of culture, provides the key to the problem.

Assimilation in the long run is inevitable. The problem is to control the assimilation to such a degree that persons of a different cultural background will be given time to become fully adjusted to Canadian life and at the same time to make significant cultural contributions. Even if little is transmitted from one culture to the other, the fact that the two exist side by side, thereby creating a conflict, causes discussion of cultural values and this tends to bring about changes for the better in both cultures, which otherwise might never have taken place.¹²⁹

However, there are some researchers, such as Kostash, who argue that:

To be "integrated" then, was to be successfully and contentedly assimilated into Anglo-Canadian society. More than that, it meant unambivalent acceptance of Anglo-Canadian myths and mystifications. To be assimilated was to believe that hard work and frugality led to economic success, that abilities would be recognized and rewarded, that it was within the individual's control to make a better life; assimilation was socializing with Anglo-Canadians, admiring and emulating their culture and working within their institutions; assimilation was repudiating Ukrainianism, discarding ethnic traits and rejecting ethnic community. Assimilation was integration into the Anglo-Canadian political machine, consenting to its order, its function, its control and its perpetuation. The ultimate ingestion of that unknown quantity, the outsider.

Alienation, however, was the condition of the majority of the generation by these terms.¹³⁰

Nevertheless, Marunchak clarifies the difference between integration and assimilation by stating that:

If we look upon integration as a social process, or as the result of social process in which the different parts unite to form a single whole, then assimilation may be described as that process in which persons or groups of people adopt the social-psychological characteristics of other persons and at the same time lose their own specifically inherent values or, in other words, they consciously invalidate their natural traits and adapt themselves to other social and psychological patterns. In their political aspects such processes are known as "brain washing" and in the cultural and psychological sphere they are called assimilation.¹³¹

Furthermore, in their non-official languages study on multiculturalism, O'Bryan,

Reitz and Kuplowska suggest the idea of a multicultural society is that integration and acculturation may occur without assimilation. They state that in a multicultural society

Language and cultural retention remain possible but not inevitable. It may be unlikely, depending on whether or not the conditions exist under which it is possible to be meaningfully oriented to more than one culture over an extended period of time.¹³²

This study will use the assimilation theory to discuss how the hegemonic Anglo-Saxon or English Canadian class attempted since the beginning of the twentieth century to assimilate Ukrainian Canadians into their concept of Canadian Society. For the Anglo-Saxons, assimilation meant that Ukrainian immigrants would become Canadians by adopting the language, cultural patterns, and institutions of English Canada. This assimilation would be achieved through the organic ideology and process of Anglo-conformity and accomplished in practice through the church and the school.¹³³ In relation to the Ukrainian Canadian experience, Kostash explains that assimilation

was a process that interfered, without exception, with every inheritance of the first Canadian-born generation, from language and religious practices to clothing styles and eating habits. Assimilating, one learned not only how to behave like a Canadian. One also learned how Canadian society was structured and stratified, how economic rewards were distributed, and how the individual psyche was shaped to fit it. One learned, in other words, that the process of assimilation was the sweep of the long arm of Anglo-Canadian political power.¹³⁴

The study will discuss how Anglo-Saxons attempted to assimilate Ukrainian immigrants and their generations throughout four eras of Canadian history: Pioneer Era, Post WWI Era, Interwar and Post WWII Era, and the Era of

Multiculturalism. The discussion of assimilation and Anglo-conformity will be presented in each era according to the historical periods of Palmer's assimilation theory and will also include classical and generational ideological perspectives. Specific emphasis will be given to linguistic, religious, and intermarriage assimilation that was particularly experienced by Ukrainian Canadians.

Resistance

The concept of resistance is related to the theories of assimilation and Anglo-conformity and the concept of hegemony. According to Mallea, "resistance to dominant cultural values and institutions by minority racial and ethnic groups is a well documented aspect of intergroup relations in Canadian history."¹³⁵ Canadian historians have frequently documented the efforts of subordinate ethnocultural groups to resist the dominant Anglo-Saxon hegemonic class' attempt to eradicate racial, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity and promote Anglo-conformity.

Theories of resistance are significant in that they "provide a study of the way in which class and culture combine to offer outlines for a cultural politics."¹³⁶

Giroux claims that:

Central to such a politics is a semiotic reading of the style, rituals, language, and systems of meaning that constitute the cultural field of the oppressed. Through this process, it becomes possible to analyze what counter-hegemonic elements such cultural fields contain, and how they tend to get incorporated into the dominant culture to be stripped of their political possibilities.¹³⁷

In addition, theories of resistance make a theoretical contribution to research by encouraging political analysis that "study and transform the radical themes and

social practices that make up the class-based cultural fields and details of every life [and] deepen our understanding of the notion of relative autonomy.”¹³⁸

Giroux explains that:

The notion of relative autonomy is developed through a number of analysis that point to those non-reproductive “moments” that constitute and support the critical notion of human agency. . . Furthermore there is the recognition that different spheres or cultural sites, e.g., schools, families, trade unions, mass media, etc., are governed by complex ideological properties that often generate contradictions both within and between them.¹³⁹

Historical research studies of resistance concentrate on social or cultural sites in which the dominant culture is encountered and challenged by subordinate groups. In education, researchers have focused attention on public schooling as a site of resistance where conflicts and struggles over race, religion, and language occur. Dossa states that “it is important to recognize that while schooling is seen as part of a larger pattern of institutions, structures, and processes, it also provides a site where resistance to dominant cultural values and institutions are staged (for example, Willis, 1983; Mallea, 1984).”¹⁴⁰ In addition, resistance theories in education reinforce the fact that what goes on in schools and school classrooms is not reduced to a reflex of certain groups. Rather, as Mallea suggests, they can be seen for what they are: “the products of dynamic, historical forces in which forms of authority, belief systems and languages of instruction (as well as patterns of organization and control) are concrete outcomes of a contested set of relationships between dominant and subordinate groups.”¹⁴¹

The education work of Henry Giroux provides an understanding of the

theory of resistance. In his work, Giroux criticizes traditional, neo-Marxist and reproductive theories of schooling that view schools as instructional sites rather than contested cultural and political sites. He also criticizes reproduction theorists for ignoring theories of resistance in their analysis of schools and for interpreting domination and its effects in static and unchanging terms.¹⁴² Dossa, cites Giroux, and states that:

We need to look at cultural production and reproduction of subordinate groups in order to understand the complex relationship between schooling, culture, and resistance. Such a perspective underlies the importance of lived experiences, drawing attention to the ways in which minorities “[sic] can find a voice and maintain and extend the positive dimensions of their own cultures and histories. (Giroux, 1983; Mallea, 1984, p. 55)¹⁴³

Giroux goes beyond theories of social and cultural production by focusing on the concept of resistance and its potential for initiating change. He has reviewed recent studies in education that integrate social theory with ethnographic research to produce a more political analysis of schooling. These studies have taken the concepts of conflict and resistance as an attempt to “ . . . redefine the importance of power, ideology and culture as central constructs for understanding the complex relations between schooling and the dominant society’ (1983:98).”¹⁴⁴ Aronowitz and Bologh state that:

Giroux’s thesis is that resistance is more than response to the authoritarian curriculum--which, in recent times, no longer even invokes a democratic purpose. Resistance is a symptom of an incipient alternative agenda, an agenda which, in many cases, is not evident to the actors themselves. Students do not merely refuse the compulsory ideologies and their practices, they form a separate culture and public sphere within which a different set of practices is reproduced. . . . What Giroux wants to show is that while these variants of ideological and social reproduction are going

on, something else is also happening in the interminable struggle for students against school authority . . . he argues that the “surplus” resistance presented by students opens up tiny but significant spaces for new forms of power.¹⁴⁵

Although Giroux recognizes the strengths of research studies by power-conflict theorists, he is critical of them in that they have failed to take in factors of race and ethnicity, elevated every resistance of oppositional behaviour to the level of organized resistance, and romanticized modes of resistance. Giroux suggests an eradication of these weaknesses and a development of a theory of resistance that:

- (a) clarifies the theoretical basis of schooling as it relates to the actors involved; and,
- (b) “that points to a new framework and problematic for examining schools as social sites with particular references to the experience of subordinate groups.” (Giroux, 1983:107)¹⁴⁶

Therefore, according to Giroux, the concept of resistance would represent “a problematic governed by assumptions that shift the analysis of oppositional behaviour from the theoretical terrains of functionalism and mainstream educational psychology to those of political analysis.”¹⁴⁷ Consequently, Giroux defines the theory of resistance as:

A valuable theoretical and ideological construct that provides an important focus for analyzing the relationship between school and the wider society. More importantly, it provides new theoretical leverage for understanding the complex ways in which subordinate groups experience educational failure, and directs attention to new ways of thinking about and restructuring modes of critical pedagogy.¹⁴⁸

In examining various acts of resistance Giroux states that “some acts of resistance reveal quite visibly their radical potential, while others are rather

ambiguous; still others may reveal nothing more than an affinity to the logic of domination and destruction."¹⁴⁹ Giroux suggests that the most important aspect in analyzing any act of resistance is:

A concern with uncovering the degree to which it speaks to a form of refusal that highlights, either implicitly or explicitly, the need to struggle against the social nexus of domination and submission. In other words, resistance must have a revealing function, one that contains a critique of domination and provides theoretical opportunities for self-reflection and for struggle in the interest of self-emancipation and social emancipation. . . . The value of the resistance construct lies in its critical function, in its potential to speak to the radical possibilities embedded in its own logic and to the interests contained in the object of its expression.¹⁵⁰

Historically, subordinate-minority group resistance is a recurring element in the conflicts that have characterized the struggle over cultural reproduction in Canadian schools. For example, Mallea states that:

In a number of provinces, non-official language groups have resisted the assimilative language policies and practices of local school boards. These groups are continuing to obtain a place for their languages (both as a subject of study and a medium of instruction) in the school curriculum (Mallea, 1985a). In doing so, they reaffirm their belief that the tax-supported public school system has a responsibility to reflect their perspective on education as well as that of the dominant group.¹⁵¹

In this study the concept of resistance will be analyzed in terms of how Ukrainian Canadian immigrants resisted assimilation, Anglo-conformity, discrimination, and prejudice of the dominant Anglo-Saxon class by maintaining and preserving their culture and language education in their communities and in the public and private school systems. In particular the study will examine the resistance of the Ukrainian Canadian community to the abolishment of bilingual education in 1916, and the Anglo-conformity model in second language

education that existed in the public school system from 1916 until the reintroduction of Ukrainian as a second language of study in 1962, and the EUBP in 1979. The study will especially focus on the role of UPBC as they resisted the Anglo-conformity model in public schools and became instrumental in ensuring that Ukrainian be taught as a language of instruction in the EUBP.

Culture

Research indicates that there are as many as three hundred different definitions for the concept of culture.¹⁵² In this study the concept of culture will be defined as a product of human agency and as a cultural site within the public school system where “dominant and subordinate and oppositional values compete and intermingle, and are then accommodated around a hegemonic principle to form an historically specific incarnation of hegemony.”¹⁵³ This conceptualizing of culture as a site is connected to the aforementioned concept of hegemony wherein Gramsci formulates ideology and culture as a relatively autonomous terrain of struggle. Reimer states that “Gramsci demonstrated the importance and relative autonomy of the cultural realm in the operation of power relations in society.”¹⁵⁴

The American Heritage Dictionary (Second College Edition, 1985) defines culture as the “totality of socially transmitted behaviour patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought characteristic of a community or population.”¹⁵⁵ This definition is supported by many researchers, such as McCarty, who defines culture as “a complex picture of an existing or previously existing society. This picture contains key elements of the belief

structures, arts, rules and laws, customs and practices, values and morals, and productive contributions made and adhered to by the members of a given society.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, Young cites Banks, who defines culture as “the behaviour patterns, symbols, institutions, values and other human-made components of society . . . the unique achievements of a human group that distinguishes it from other human groups.”¹⁵⁷ In addition, Petryshyn states that:

1. Culture is commonly defined as a dynamic value system of learned elements, with assumptions, conventions, beliefs and rules permitting members of a group to relate to each other and to the world, to communicate and to develop their creative potential. The definition includes the entire sphere of meaningful human activity that embodies values and used learned symbols for communication.¹⁵⁸

Isajiw believes that the essence of culture is symbolizing and that culture is “the symbolic pattern of a way of life of a community of people.”¹⁵⁹ The community’s way of life is idealized through symbolizing that provides meaning and value to their concrete experiences. The symbols in culture are both external or visible and internal or invisible. Isajiw claims that:

External symbols refer to behaviour patterns or products of behaviour patterns that are intended for others to perceive. Among them are dances, community gatherings, pictorial presentations, linguistic presentations (books or drama), art objects and the like. Although internal symbols are usually communicated by means of external symbols, they are intended to be intellectually or intuitively understood and appreciated rather than simply observed. They include beliefs, values, feelings and ideas, for example, religious beliefs; political or social values such as the value of democracy; legends, mythology or the history of a specific group and the feelings of group commitment.¹⁶⁰

The concept of culture as a product of human agency is defined as “the set of practices through which men and women actively respond to the conditions of

their social existence, creatively fashioning experienced social relationships into diverse and structured patterns of living, thinking and feeling.¹⁶¹ Culture as a product of human agency can be understood as a network of shared meanings or patterns that are assumed as reality by those interacting within the network. In this view a community of people construct a common model or map of the world from their shared experiences and use this as a background for interpreting new experiences. In the absence of such a model or map, people would experience the world as chaotic and unpredictable.¹⁶² Giroux cites Hall and Jefferson, who clearly express this theory of culture as follows:

Culture is the distinctive shapes in which the material and social organization of life expresses itself. A culture includes the "maps of meaning" which make things intelligible to its members. These "maps of meaning" are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organizations and relationships which the individual becomes a social individual. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped, but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood, and interpreted. [Hall & Jefferson 1976]¹⁶³

Furthermore, Zapf states that "in addition to traditional behaviours and customs, culture then includes a conceptual style which 'reflects more a manner of organizing things, of putting things in a certain way, of looking at the world in a distinct fashion' (Prince-Williams, 1980, p. 157)."¹⁶⁴ Zapf cites Gutierrez (1973), who supports this theory of culture by stating culture as

a way fully characteristic of organizing life, of thinking and of conceiving the underlying postulates of the principal human institutions, of relating to and interacting with other intelligent human beings . . . providing a combination of intermediate patterns which channel our feelings and thoughts, making us react in a particular way, different from those who have been submerged in different patterns. (p. 17)¹⁶⁵

In examining these definitions of culture it is important to distinguish culture from social structure. Young and Mallea cite R. A. Schermerhorn, who makes this important distinction. According to Schermerhorn, culture is “a pattern of fundamental belief and values differentiating right from wrong, defining rules for interactions, setting priorities, expectations, and goals.”¹⁶⁶ He also believes that culture “signifies the ways of action learned through socialization based on norms and values that serve as guides or standards for behaviour.”¹⁶⁷ Conversely, both Mallea and Young cite Schermerhorn, who refers to social structure as:

the set of crystallized social relationships which its [the society's] members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganised and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government and recreation.^{15 168}

Therefore, culture implies standards or “designs for living” while social structure refers to the clustering of men in patterned ways.^{16,169}

Giroux provides important clarification of interpreting and analyzing the concept of culture according to “culturalist” and “structuralist” perspectives. Both perspectives contribute to the understanding of the concept and its processes and provide insight on how cultures produce and reproduce themselves. His explanation also delivers some understanding of culture as it relates to dominant and subordinate groups in society. According to Giroux, the “culturalist” and “structuralist” perspectives are summarized as follows:

The “culturalist” perspective is opposed to all forms of reductionism and views culture as a set of ideas and practices within which specific ways of life are integrated. Therefore, analyses of culture employing this perspective necessarily involve the study of relationships and are grounded in the activities of everyday life. For example, the “culturalist” approach would not only take into account how dominant groups produce and reproduce culture, it would also examine the same process within subordinate groups, while paying attention to the relations between the various groups. In addition, the importance of locale and historical context would be emphasized as would the significance of human agency, struggle, and conflict.

The “structuralist” perspective, on the other hand, emphasizes the primary importance of economic and political structures in producing and reproducing specific cultures. The regulatory and mediating role of the state is considered crucial and notions of class and class-conflict are central and informing ideas. Structuralists believe ideologies to be a fundamental source of cohesion as well as conflict and that they are deeply embedded in such social organizations and practices as the school. Like their counterparts, the “culturalists”, they also recognize the role of competition and struggle in the formation of culture.¹⁷⁰

These perspectives on culture portray it as a dialectical process “in that it is a “contested arena in which dominant and subordinate groups compete for control (cultural hegemony) over cultural institutions such as the school.”¹⁷¹

Nevertheless some researchers criticize the notion of cultural hegemony and the cultural reproduction of a dominant culture through schools and suggest that culture and education be understood as ideological hegemony since ideology is part of culture.¹⁷²

The definition of culture provided by the Report, in Book IV, of the B & B Commission, is an example of the “culturalist” perspective with connotations of culture as a site of struggle between dominant and subordinate groups in Canada. The Report defines culture as

a way of being, thinking and feeling . . . a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same customs, habits and experiences This definition is applied essentially to the two dominant cultures . . . (and) to a certain degree it also fits the other cultures.¹⁷³

Arnold suggests that “the B. and B. approach contains the implication of second class status for the other cultural groups because many of these groups also share a common tongue, customs, habits and experiences.”¹⁷⁴

Nevertheless, culture is not only reduced to an overly-determined static analysis of dominant culture capital. Instead, culture is also viewed as

a system of practices, a way of life that constitutes and is constituted by a dialectical interplay between the class-specific behavior and circumstances of a particular social group and the powerful ideological and structural determinants of the wider society.¹⁷⁵

Thus, culture is a social process that both embodies and reproduces lived antagonistic social relationships (Willis 1977, Bennett 1980a; Giroux 1981).¹⁷⁶

Consequently, it is important to not only understand culture as a product of human agency but also as a site where dominant and subordinate groups struggle over values and political agendas.¹⁷⁷

In the field of education, Giroux stresses the importance of “studying schools as social sites that contain levels of determination of unique specificity, social sites that do not reflect the wider society but only have a particular relationship to it.”¹⁷⁸ In analyzing culture as a site, historians have viewed education not only as a schooling but also as “the total process by which a culture is transmitted to the new generations of a society.”¹⁷⁹ Osborne explains that

this meant that the history of education became more than the record of legislation, the growth of institutions, and the ideas of so-called philosophers. Education was seen for what it was: the manifestation of a culture. Thus its study involved the study of values, ideas, ideologies and cultural practices of all kinds.¹⁸⁰

An integral part of the concept of culture are cultural values. Although culture is a social process within which a community interprets their experiences and finds meaning in their lives, it is the creation of symbols and artefacts, the acting out of ideas and the living out of values that provide what is meaningful and important in the concept of culture.¹⁸¹ Corriveau states that:

To my way of thinking "culture" refers to the entire social heritage of a people, of an ethnic group--the artefacts and mentifacts--the knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, modes of communication, etc., of a people, including the folkways, the group habits, customs and mores of these people; while "cultural values" are those thoughts, actions, words or objects which are considered just, desirable, fair, or worthwhile.¹⁸²

Bowles and Davenport state that "a value is a choice of an individual or a social system as to what is worthy of effort, devotion, and allegiance."¹⁸³ Since different cultural groups have different values, the dilemma in education is choosing whose culture or cultural values should be the focus of attention in schools.

Osborne states that:

It is obvious that in any given society that approaches any degree of complexity (and that includes most societies that have ever existed), culture is not one homogenous, monolithic bloc, accepted without question by all concerned. Typically, a culture contains many cross-currents, not all of them flowing in the same direction. Values compete; sub-cultures jockey for space; opinions differ as to what is important and what is not; different groups embody differing values. Culture, in short, is not a pipeline along which flow straightforward, uncontested messages; it is rather an arena of competing values and definitions, in which power can be as important as truth.¹⁸⁴

One of the most significant cultural values of a community or social system is language. Research and educational cultural studies emphasize the study of language and power wherein language is used to create social identities and secure specific forms of authority by privileging representations that exclude subordinate groups.¹⁸⁵ Giroux claims that “in this instance, language is studied not as a technical and expressive device, but as historical and contingent practices actively engaged in the production, organization, and circulation of texts and institutional powers.”¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, Giroux states that cultural studies in language and power can demonstrate that “critical value of language is not based merely on its possibilities for expanding the range of textual literacy, but on understanding how language is actually used by people and social groups as a way of mobilizing resistance, cultural authority, and empowering social relationships.”¹⁸⁷ The cultural value of language is a central issue in the discussion of culture of a community as it is both an artefact and part of the social process itself. The concepts of culture, language and community are interrelated and it is often impossible to speak of one without referring to the other. All three concepts are in a state of constant change and interaction among themselves. According to Corriveau, “language, it is said, partly shapes the culture.”¹⁸⁸ Zerebecky claims that:

Without language a superficial kind of culture emerges, one confined to such aspects as folk dancing, native costumes, special foods, decorative art, or folk songs which few can understand. Not knowing the language (at least at some level) makes it rather difficult to really understand the way of living, thinking, and feeling of a particular group.¹⁸⁹

Muir states that:

Without its own language, a culture evolves into a caricature. Its soul and distinctiveness vanish, leaving behind only a loose collection of superficial trappings. It becomes as mute as a violin without strings, and the only value remaining lies in the commercial distribution of ornaments.¹⁹⁰

Language is the most recognizable aspect of a culture and also the conveyer of a culture. Language Education Policy for Alberta states that:

It is important to recognize that language is the primary form of human communication. Language is essential to the intellectual development and socialization of children and basic to all learning. Language contributes to personal growth and cultural enrichment. It represents a major means of interpreting reality and expressing the unique experiences of individuals and of different cultural groups. In addition to serving as a source of individual group and cultural identity language is the major medium for transmitting knowledge and past achievements and ensuring contact between generations. Languages share many universal features which make all humans similar to each other and distinct from other living things. Skilled and proficient use of language also contributes to economic and social success. (Language Education Policy for Alberta, p. 1)¹⁹¹

Cultural differences and identity are reflected in the languages spoken and written by different communities or ethno-cultural groups. Lambert states that:

To the extent that cultural or national differences are more apparent than real, the language associated with particular ethnic groups take on all the more social significance, as though the language differences are used in people's thinking to verify the belief in cultural differences. The tendency to reify the link between a culture and a particular use of language is as characteristic of those who judge speakers of a foreign language as it is of those so judged. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why linguistic minority groups often demand and fight for the right to use their own language as a working or learning language instead of a national or international language that might well be of more practical or utilitarian value. In my view this becomes a powerful emotional issue because the group's identity is associated with its distinctive language, and this linguistic distinctiveness becomes an

enormously precious personal characteristic that dominates that group's system of beliefs. Because culture and language become linked in people's thinking, the more one questions the reality of differences in culture, the more important the distinctiveness of language becomes.¹⁹²

In Canada, the question of language and culture are central to the very concept of the nation. Since the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, language and culture have become central issues in maintaining national unity. The integration of ethno-cultural groups other than French or Anglo-Saxon origin has also become an issue of the national unity debate. New provisions for the extension of the use of the French language and safeguards for other languages were initiated by the B & B Commission, as well as, by the federal government's policy of multiculturalism.

The B & B Commission consistently noted that language is key to culture and readily distinguishes one ethnocultural group from another. Thus, in terms of the B & B Commission's mandate, the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism are inseparately linked. However, as Marunchak states, "the language problem in Canada remains a cornerstone of cultural existence. It is generally accepted that with the loss of language in a cultural community there follows loss of the entire culture and gradual assimilation of the community itself."¹⁹³ Consequently, in the national debate bilingualism and multiculturalism, and not biculturalism, have become interrelated and both are now seen to be core values central to the concept of the Canadian nation.¹⁹⁴

The cultural value of language is extremely important to Ukrainian Canadians. Although traditions, customs, arts, drama, press, and literature are

also included in their cultural value, the knowledge, teaching, and use of language is essential to the maintenance of Ukrainian cultural identity.¹⁹⁵

Derkatz cites Nadya Kostyshyn Baily, who explains that:

An overriding principle within the Ukrainian community, as in the lot of immigrant communities, is the importance of the heritage language. I think that many groups and communities have a real fear that if language is lost so is their culture, so is their being, so is their identity. In the Ukrainian community, the emphasis on language has always been quite foremost.¹⁹⁶

In a 1976 survey of ten ethnic groups in five Canadian cities entitled, "Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism", O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska found that Ukrainian Canadians were one of the ethnic groups who favoured language retention as a major component and means toward cultural retention.¹⁹⁷ Respondents in the survey gave the following reasons for stressing language: "First, the general value of a second language; second, the practical aspect of communication; and third, its importance in maintaining traditional culture."¹⁹⁸ Reitz states that:

Among Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, and Italians, language learning had a very marked effect on the retention of ethnic identity and ethnic community ties in the native-born generation, even after taking other socialization experiences into account (Reitz 1974). That is, for these groups, language maintenance is a central element in cultural maintenance. The same may not be true in other groups where economic pressures or other external forces can be more important. But processes internal to the ethnic communities can be significant in affecting their survival, and it appears that language learning may be one very important aspect.¹⁹⁹

However, each group in the study considered the trend toward language loss as one, if not the most important problem confronting a community.

Generally, survival rates of ethnic languages across generations are very low. Reitz states that "the non-official languages are an important, in some cases vital, element in the lives of immigrants, but they become much less important and in fact often disappear from the lives of the subsequent generations."²⁰⁰ However, in citing the same study with respect to Ukrainian Canadians, Kuplowska states that:

Generation is the principal correlate for knowledge of Ukrainian, although other factors such as income, education and ethnicity of spouse contribute to the overall result. While generational status also affects language use, decrease in language use is not primarily due to language loss from generation to generation but occurs because of other facilitating and motivating conditions . . . the highest frequencies of use were not always located where there were high fluency rates. The emphasis should be on social conditions which facilitate and encourage the use of Ukrainian. Otherwise, the language falls into disuse just as surely as if it were not known at all. Support for retention, in turn, is primarily determined by ethnic identification, generation and language knowledge.²⁰¹

The Ukrainian Canadians have been keenly interested in the preservation of the Ukrainian language since the arrival of the first immigrants to Canada. Various factors are responsible for language preservation in the Ukrainian community, however, the role of the family is considered the primary factor of language retention. Secondary factors include the church, school, the press, and community organizations.²⁰²

Rudnyckyj states that "in general it might be stated that the role of the family is very often stressed as the most important in language preservation of individuals by all groups concerned."^{7,203} The preservation of language among the first Ukrainian immigrants was greatly facilitated by family ties and native

lingual traditions. Language retention presented no problems for the first generation of immigrants. When the second generation were of school age, they began to acquire the knowledge of one of the official languages of Canada, primarily English. Thus, the second generation became and remain bilingual. However, concern with the loss of the language arose with the third generation of immigrant children, who developed passive bilingualism in that they actively spoke English and understood the Ukrainian language. The fourth and subsequent (passive) bilingual generations were raised in the same manner as the third generation.²⁰⁴

The role of the church was also important in preserving the Ukrainian language. The church used the vernacular languages in church practices including the liturgy, in heritage language schools, and in parish organizations, religious voluntary clubs, and associations. The importance of language retention is emphasized by the plea of Metropolitan Hermaniuk, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, in a work entitled, "Ridna mova--Boz'j nakaz" (Native language--God's order), published in Word on Guard 4.6-7 (Winnipeg, 1967):

Language--it is the soul of people, and the soul--it is God himself in every person. The creator of the world gave us a Ukrainian soul, that is the Ukrainian language. We have no right to disobey the will of God by not following his laws. We have no right to change our soul. We have the right to use all possible languages, but we have no right to forget, underestimate, to be ashamed, not to know our own native language, for that is the will and order of God. He who abandons his own language, deserts himself, his fathers and his people.²⁰⁵

In a similar manner, the Head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of

Canada, Metropolitan Ilarion made the following strong plea in the same issue of Word on Guard (4.3-5) as follows:

Language--is the soul of people. Whose language you use, whose soul you hear. Bound with language is native culture, age-old traditions, all native life. Who does not use the Ukrainian language, does not possess a Ukrainian soul. He who speaks English, not knowing the native language of his fathers, will never be a true Ukrainian--he may be only a friend of the Ukraine, but not her faithful son, he may respect the Ukraine, but he will never love her ardently.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, with recent developments in religious life and subsequent generations of Ukrainian immigrants, bilingualism of parish life in both Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Canada has developed despite ardent appeals to the contrary from their leaders and the majority of older generations.

The maintenance of the Ukrainian language is also preserved through "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools that are sponsored and maintained by religious and cultural organizations and institutions in Canada. The number of "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools increased after 1916, the year of the abolition of bilingual schools in Western Canada. The press and many voluntary associations such as cultural, literary, educational, charitable, and youth organizations have also contributed to the preservation of Ukrainian culture and language. In addition, the preservation and study of the Ukrainian language in Canada has been initiated in higher institutions and universities, as well as, in the public school system in the form of "Core Language Programs" and the EUBP.

The Ukrainian language has been a uniting and unifying factor in the social and cultural life of Ukrainian Canadians. For generations of Ukrainian

people, the struggle for cultural maintenance and linguistic retention is personified in Taras Shevchenko, a revered and talented Ukrainian poet. Taras Shevchenko is an external visible symbol and an internal mindset that “stands for the persecution of Ukraine, for attempts to free its culture from foreign domination, and for teaching and learning Ukrainian.”²⁰⁷ He appealed for universal justice, freedom, emancipation and liberty. The following are the immortalized words of Shevchenko that serve as a “modus operandi” for Ukrainians to value in importance in preserving their culture and language:

Oochitysya, bratty moyi:	(translated as)
Doomayte, chytayte,	Study, discern, read,
I chuzhoho naochaytesh	And to your neighbour’s gifts
Svoho ne tsoraytesh	pay heed
	But do not your own disdain ^{3 208}

In this study the concept of culture as a product of human agency will be analyzed according to Ukrainian Canadian immigrants’ shared belief in preserving cultural values, such as, traditions, customs, arts, drama, press, and literature throughout many generations of Ukrainian Canadians. Particular emphasis will be given on the significant place and value of language retention in Ukrainian social relationships and community life as the essential factor in cultural maintenance and identity.

The concept of culture as a site will be analyzed as the struggle between the dominant Anglo-Saxon hegemonic ideology of Anglo-conformity and immersion in the English language in the public school system and the subordinate Ukrainian Canadian value of preserving language and cultural identity through the study and instruction of the Ukrainian language in the public

school system. More specifically, this concept will address the importance and meaning of language to the UPBC and why this organization was keenly interested in ensuring that Ukrainian be taught in a EUBP.

Cultural Identity and Citizenship

The concept of cultural identity and citizenship are two of the most prevalent research themes among social historians. According to Tilly, "social history gives us the means to think through how, why, and with what effects citizenship formed, and more generally how struggles over identity have occurred in the past."²⁰⁹ In particular, social historians concentrate their research on changing identities and their political contexts. Tilly states that :

The challenges of idealism and postmodern scepticism have led realist social historians to investigate more seriously than before the political processes that intervene between the routine formation of social relations and interests, on the one hand, and the public articulation of identities and programs, on the other.^{4 210}

Consequently, an increasingly relational, cultural, historical and contingent conception of public identities that includes the identity of citizenship has emerged in social historical research. Tilly explains, as follows:

The emerging view is relational in the sense that it locates identities in connections among individuals and groups rather than in the minds of particular persons or of whole populations . . . cultural in insisting that social identities rest on shared understandings and their representations. It is historical in calling attention to the path-dependent accretion of memories, understandings and means of action within particular identities. The emerging view, finally is contingent in that it regards each assertion of identity as a strategic interaction liable to failure or misfiring rather than as a straightforward expression of an actor's attributes.²¹¹

From this emerging view of public identities researchers have determined

citizenship as “a set of mutual, contested claims between agents of states and members of socially-constructed categories: genders, race, nationalities and others.”²¹² Thus there is a significant interplay between the concepts of identity and citizenship in social history and historical analysis. In order to understand the relationship of these two concepts and how they relate to this study, it is necessary to provide a discussion of both concepts and their application to the history of education through the Canadian and Ukrainian Canadian experiences.

Tilly defines the concept of identity as “an actor’s experience of a category, tie, role, network, group or organization, coupled with a public representation of that experience; the public representation often takes the form of a shared story, a narrative.”²¹³ Jaenen suggests that an identity is “something unique, it is an evolved and sophisticated culture, it is self-reliant and self-perpetuating. It has developed in time and through historical experience a character which readily identifies it as dynamic and activist.”²¹⁴

In the field of social history the concept of identity is significant and complex in that it is not private and individual but public and relational. It can relate specifically to one category or to an entire organization. In addition any actor, either a group or a single individual, may deploy multiple identities (race, gender, class, job, religious affiliation, national origin, etc.), at least one per category, tie, role, network, group, and organization to which the actor is attached. Language also provides a medium for the establishment and renegotiation of identities, seen as an actor’s experience of a category, tie, role, network, group or organization, together with a public representation of that

experience.²¹⁵

The concept of ethnic or cultural identity is related to the concept of culture and is defined by Isajiw as “a socio-psychological process through which individuals subjectively include themselves in a community of alleged ancestors or predecessors who share a distinct culture.”²¹⁶ Isajiw explains that:

What makes the process specifically ethnic is: 1) relationship to an ancestral past and 2) relationship to a distinct culture. The first gives a time dimension to the self-definition. It provides the idea and feeling of roots which helps psychologically to overcome the temporariness of existence. It provides a legacy for self-definition--the feeling of inheriting something valuable and of a mission to transmit it to future generations. Psychologically, the feeling contributes to one's sense of personal importance and helps one to rise above the everyday threat of individual insignificance.

The relation to a distinct culture is to an experience of a community which has become objectified and institutionalized into a way of life which is (or was) typical to the members of the community, but is distinct from any non-ancestral community and is therefore unique. Psychologically, the result is simultaneously a feeling of belonging and of social uniqueness.²¹⁷

The concept of cultural identity is complex in that it contains external and internal aspects (overt-covert; objective-subjective) that may change over time.

According to Isajiw:

The external aspects (external identity) are the observable behaviour patterns of a cultural and/or ancestral group. These include customs, language, personal networks, participation in ethnic organizations and institutions, and participation in ethnic functions. The internal aspects (internal identity) refer to identity as a social-psychological phenomenon. It can be defined in the Lewinian sense as the way in which individuals, as members of an ethnic group, perceive their position within, and their relationship to, the dominant social system, and in which they perceive others to locate and relate to them within the system.¹ These perceptions may include values, self-image, image of one's group, knowledge related to one's group, feelings of obligation to the group, feelings of attachment to the group, expectations of support from the group.

In other words, there are at least four basic dimensions to ethnic identity as social-psychological phenomenon: cognitive, moral, affective and fiducial.²¹⁸

Furthermore, Palmer states that "the relationship between the external and internal aspects of identity is extremely complex: the feelings of ethnic identity of individuals may or may not be in line with objective criteria defining ethnicity."²¹⁹ According to Petryshyn:

Ethnicity is a sub-population of people grouped around actual or assumed social-cultural criteria such as nationality, religion, and, most important, a sense of common ancestry or peoplehood. This latter notion, common ancestry, is complex, and has at least three features: it has a biological descent feature--you cannot choose your parents; secondly, there is a sense of ancestral heritage in various cultural and social institutions--you cannot control the language you are born into, you cannot control the language you are first socialized into; and thirdly, ancestral heritage means attachment to an ancestral homeland or possession of a national consciousness. . . . Ethnicity is the social reproduction of a collective identity from generation to generation. . . . This is not to say that people individually cannot leave or join an ethnic group. People do leave, but the social and historical fact is not the product of an individual's will or individual decision.²²⁰

Cultural identities are historical products identifiable by the greater frequency and reproduction that occurs under the influence of internal and external conditions which are mediated by people and therefore in a state of constant flux.²²¹

Driedger cites Barth (1969), Gazer and Moynihan (1970), who believe in "the ability of groups to change and still retain an identity of their own, without assimilation into the larger society."²²² In particular, Glazer and Moynihan maintain that traumatic experiences, such as conflict, encourage the development of a sense of identity among ethno-cultural groups. They contend that

all groups change, but those which are able to shift from traditional cultural identities to new interest foci maintain their distinctive identities while they change. This formulation recognizes change; maintains that identification can be shifted; suggests that some groups may change more than others; and infers that the outcome may be a pluralist mixture with a non-anglo-conformity target.²²³

Researchers claim that generation is considered to be the predominant factor affecting cultural identity particularly among immigrant populations. Over time, and generations, both the content and the meaning of the immigrants' cultural identities change. Ethnic self-identification is viewed as the survival of an ethnocultural group or community and a change in their cultural identity is perceived as a loss to the community. Upon their arrival to Canada, immigrants became ethnically conscious and aware of their cultural identity by their association with others who shared their language, culture, physical traits and by the common label or treatment given to them by the host society. However, in some cases, the immigrants' conception of cultural identity changed with successive generations. Palmer states that:

Whether they continue to consider themselves in the same way or begin to couple the word "Canadian" with the old label, or to call themselves simply "Canadian", the ethnic aspect of their selves and their lives is transformed. Their children and their children's children have a different sense of ethnic identity and manifest it in different ways.²²⁴

Palmer explains further, by stating that:

First-generation immigrants often have cultural and linguistic badges they cannot shed even if they wish to; second-generation immigrants may still have, or feel they have, distinctive marks, but even more commonly have a feeling of being divided or being in transition; members of the third and later generations, unless they have visible characteristics linking them to their ancestral group,

have a choice of identifying themselves with that group or simply being Canadian.²²⁵

Breton, Burnet, Hartmann, Isajiw and Lennards suggest that:

Scrupulously preserving the culture of the ancestral group seems to be the pattern prevalent among the first immigrant generation. For the second generation identity may be linked with rebellion against ethnic ancestry, to which, nevertheless, because of the early socialization process it remains inexorably tied. To resolve this doubleness a person may overidentify with society at large, becoming, in a sense, more Canadian than the Canadians. Or he may strongly identify with movements which stand for such goals as universal justice or love. Then again, the culturally assimilated person may "rediscover" his ethnic origin, not in the sense of returning to the old culture, but in finding aspects of it meaningful to his present pattern of life. Whether or not these patterns of identity maintenance correspond to specific ethnic generations, distinction between some such patterns is necessary if ethnicity is to be understood as a phenomenon involving several generations.²²⁶

In addition to generation, other factors, such as questions in the Canadian census, surnames, discrimination based on name, appearance or accent, and a policy of multiculturalism have not only heightened ethnic consciousness, but also affected either the loss or retention of cultural identity in Canada.

The concept of cultural identity is significantly related to the concept of citizenship. Citizenship can refer to a category, a tie, a role, or to an identity built on one or more of these concepts. Tilly states that:

As a category, citizenship designates a set of actors--citizens--distinguished by their shares privileged position vis-à-vis some particular state. As a tie, citizenship identifies an enforceable mutual relation between an actor and state agents. As a role, citizenship includes all of an actor's relations to others that depend on the actor's relation to a particular state. And as an identity, citizenship can refer to the experience and public representation of category, tie or role.²²⁷

However, Tilly suggests that the concept of citizenship can be confined to a tie,

and defines it as

a continuing series of transactions between persons and agents of a given state in which each has enforceable rights and obligations uniquely by virtue of (1) the person's membership in an exclusive category, the native-born plus the naturalized and (2) the agent's relation to the state rather than any other authority the agent may enjoy.²²⁸

Tilly clarifies this definition by stating that "a tie qualifies as citizenship insofar as it entails enforceable rights and obligations based on persons' categorical membership and agents' relation to the state."²²⁹

The concept of citizenship may also include multiple categories and forms of citizenship within the jurisdiction of the same state and provides the opportunity to trace the effects of citizenship on categories, roles and identities. For example, states may use previously existing ties such as gender, ethnicity, nationality, descent and residence as bases for qualification or exclusion from citizenship. In addition to kinship, descent, cultural attachment, and labour force position, ties to former colonies, religious sects, political parties, and military organizations may also affect the granting or refusal of citizenship.²³⁰

In the field of education, Osborne explains that the concept of citizenship is "an amalgam of national identity and patriotism; political literacy; a balanced awareness of rights; and the fulfilment of duties."²³¹ In the Canadian context, these four aspects of citizenship depended on the knowledge of Canadian history and the relationship between Canadians and Great Britain. Osborne states that:

Only by understanding how Canada's present was shaped by its past (which included Britain's past also), and only through an appreciation of what today's men and women owed to the sacrifices

of their predecessors, could citizens fully understand the obligations of citizenship.²³²

The concept of citizenship may fluctuate and acquire diverse forms depending on its context within the same state. This is particularly evident in three periods of Canadian history. Osborne suggests that before WWI, “the educationists’ language of citizenship had an obvious assimilationist thrust”²³³ and that

the need to Canadianize the new immigrants, to turn them into good citizens, speaking English, politically literate, and imbued with British and Canadian patriotism, presented Manitoba’s school promoters with what they saw as a cast-iron argument for the value of schooling.²³⁴

By the end of WWI, Osborne explains that the emphasis of citizenship was on “character” and “service” and by the mid-1920s citizenship became an international reality stressing international understanding and peace.²³⁵ Bruno-Jofré also explains changes and development in Canadian citizenship according to the same periods of Canadian history. Bruno-Jofré states that by 1918, “Anglo-conformity was the central principle permeating the dominant notion of citizenship that sought to make proper members of the national polity.”²³⁶ During that time the public school’s primary function was to shape Canadian citizenship. Bruno-Jofré explains that:

The aim of public schools in English Canada was to create a homogeneous nation based on a common English language, a common culture, identification with the British Empire, and an acceptance of British institutions and practices. The British Empire and its values and institutions were seen as an indispensable support for a distinctive Canadianism because of Canada’s place in North-America.²³⁷

For example, in 1918, Manitoba's Minister of Education, Dr. R. S. Thornton, contributed to the idea of assimilating new immigrants into the Canadian way of life by repealing the section of the Public Schools Act that permitted bilingual instruction in schools supported by public funds, including the EUBP, and initiated the School Attendance Act that resulted in compulsory school attendance and unilingual English instruction.²³⁸

Bruno-Jofré claims that by 1920 Canadian citizenship changed and was based on "service to the community, duties, responsibilities, and social integration, while by the end of the decade the dominant discourse was beginning to be influenced by progressive education notions of education and democracy."²³⁹ This period of Canadian citizenship was represented by moral character formation, patriotism, and progressive ideas. Once again the public school, including teachers, textbooks, history books, and British/Canadian special days and occasions, played a prominent role assisting the state in the process of Canadianization, morality, character building, nation building, and good citizenship.

By the end of WWII, Canadian citizenship was redefined and incorporated a new international reality. Bruno-Jofré explains that "the war also led to questioning of racist and ethnocentric ideas, and theories of cultural relativism emerged which along with internal developments made it imperative to reconstruct the understanding of citizenship formation and its principles."²⁴⁰ On January 1, 1947, the Canadian Citizenship Act was formed and in 1951, Empire Day was changed to Citizenship Day.²⁴¹ At that time, the sponsoring minister,

Secretary of State Paul Martin, of the post-war Mackenzie King government, noted that a Canadian citizenship bill would finally provide a definition of citizenship that would be recognized internationally and domestically unify Canadians. Ferguson states that:

When Martin came to define the basis of this new common citizenship, removing the differences between the Canadian-born, British subjects, and naturalized Canadians, he argued that the only criterion was that the individual had "proved to be good citizen material" by life and work in Canada. He stated that knowledge in French or English was not a criterion and, referring to European nationalism, denied that the bill was designed to encourage the "selfish introversion" of "nationalism".⁸¹ In short, Canadian citizenship was a legal definition of status that was based on political rights and political and economic participation in Canadian life.²⁴²

It is interesting to note that during the declaration ceremony of the Canadian Citizenship Act in Ottawa, Certificate No. 1 was awarded to Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, and Certificate No. 2, was awarded to Wasyl Eneniak, one of the first two Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. According to Ferguson, this suggests that "after fifty years, it can only be seen as appropriate that the new citizenship based on working in Canada embraced a representative of one group (Ukrainian) that had never fitted the old citizenship based on cultural conformity."²⁴³

At the end of WWII, Canada's identity and the perception of its role in the international context was influenced by the collapse of the British Empire, and the presence of the United States of America (USA) as a leading world power in the United Nations. As a result, Bruno-Jofrè explains that "people often developed a sense of being Canadians in their own terms in an often-contested process of resistance and negotiation."²⁴⁴ Therefore, a high degree of disagreement and

ambiguity regarding Canadian citizenship and national identity occurred after WWII. Ferguson cites Cook, who claims that:

Canadians have continually debated the distinctive purposes of and unifying factors in Canadian society. Unlike such "predetermined" nations as France or the United States, assured about their mission and identity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of nationalism, Canada is a "self-determined" country that has been involved since 1867 in awkward debates about its purposes and identity.²⁴⁵

In discussing Canadian identity Jaenen states that "a Canadian identity cannot just be willed into existence--it must be based on a healthy nationalism which in turn is fed by past traditions, present necessities, and future aspirations."²⁴⁶ In addition, Elliott suggests that "inasmuch as some of the core aspects of life may relate to ethnicity and Canada is not ethnically homogeneous, it may be more accurate to speak of Canadian identities rather than identity."²⁴⁷ This is due to the fact that Canada is comprised of two dominant English and French ethnocultural groups, as well as, a variety of people from other ethnocultural backgrounds, religions, and races. Jaenen explains that

the problem in Canada . . . is that there have grown up two identities--the one English-Canadian based generally on British institutions and American habits of thought, the other French-Canadian based on Franco-American institutions and habits of thought. To weld these into a single Canadian identity will require much time and, among other things, a broad concept of Canadianism.²⁴⁸

In addition, throughout its history and particularly after WWII, Canada was developing into a multicultural, multi-religious, and multi-racial country because of its people, all of whom, even the native peoples, came to Canada as immigrants. Minority groups in Canada, who were led to believe that they should retain their

own cultures and individualism and thereby enrich the entire Canadian community, pressed for the concept of cultural pluralism or multiculturalism as a new and comprehensive Canadian identity. Jaenen states that:

If this is the kind of Canada they define and work towards then I can see that Canada is [sic] a proto-type and model of the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-constitutional regional groupings which are expected to replace the present nation-states. Canadians have an opportunity to forge in the bosom of a single state many groups co-operating in the realization of an identity that may be the identity of one world.²⁴⁹

Yuzyk states that "if genuine Canadianization is to be achieved, it will be achieved through a policy of conscious integration rather than deliberate or forced assimilation."²⁵⁰

The concept of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism as a basis for a unique Canadian identity began to develop in the 1960s and 1970s. A resolution passed at the 2nd seminar of the Citizenship Council of Manitoba, on March 30, 1962, illustrated the concept of pluralism as a basis for a unique Canadian identity. The resolution read as follows:

That the following be accepted as guiding principles in the evolution of the Canadian Identity. Our official bilingualism in Canada is a national asset. Language studies are cultural assets and the study of a second or more languages should be encouraged. Canada is a multi-cultural country, a unity with variety, which will enrich our distinctive Canadian identity.²⁵¹

As a result, in 1971, a new Canadian identity was officially established and was defined as multicultural within a bilingual, French-and-English-speaking framework. As explained in the House of Commons, on October 8, 1971:

We believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop

its own culture and values within the Canadian context. To say we have two official languages, is not to say we have two official cultures, and no particular culture is more official than another. A policy of multiculturalism must be a policy for all Canadians.²⁵²

Each of the three elements in the Canadian population: English-British Canadians, French-Canadians, and various ethnocultural groups have contributed to this new Canadian identity. Yuzyk states that:

The great permanent British gift to Canadian way of life is the parliamentary system of government, an evolutionary democracy under the Crown, which has continually adjusted itself to the new situations, while upholding the authority of and equality before the law, liberty, justice, fair play, equal opportunity for all and the dignity of the individual. Under the British Crown through the Quebec Act, the Constitutional Act, the British North America Act, and the Statute of Westminster, Canada has evolved from colonial status to an independent state and a leader among the middle nations of the world. . . .

The great French contribution to the Canadian way of life is of a conservative character, the preservation and perpetuation of the culture of a people. Their love of Canada, their pride in their language and their traditions, and their devotion to their religion give depth to the meaning of life. These qualities of the French-Canadian character have built up their resistance to the pressure of the United States and have made possible the development of Canada to independence and greatness. . . .

The joint contribution of the various ethnic groups of the Third Element to the Canadian way of life is like that of the French, in the cultural sphere with political and constitutional implications. By their perpetuation of the best in their cultural heritages, these groups have made Canadians more conscious of cultural values, out of which there has emerged the principle of "unity in diversity", or, stated in another way, "unity with variety", as a rule of governance. This principle, in keeping with the democratic way, encourages citizens of all ethnic origins to make their contributions to the development of a general Canadian culture as essential ingredients in the nation-building process.²⁵³

Therefore, as Dr. Charles Hobart, of California, a sociology professor at the University of Alberta, stated in 1972 at the Sixth Conference of the Canadian

Council of Christians and Jews, in Winnipeg:

Search of identity? You are almost THE multicultural society of the world and this is your identity. It is the contribution you as Canadians have to make to the world. This system of multiculturalism has now worked for almost 100 years and you should be missionaries in this type of cause.²⁵⁴

Although Ukrainian Canadians were one of the ethnocultural groups who supported the understanding of a Canadian identity through the policy of multiculturalism within English/French bilingualism, they were a unique case complicating the quest for a Canadian identity. Unlike other ethnocultural groups at that time, they lacked an independent country and therefore deemed it their responsibility to preserve the Ukrainian culture and language in the diaspora. Swyripa cites Wangenheim, who states that Ukrainian Canadians were “an extreme example of the effects which ‘nationalism without autonomy’ can have upon the integration of immigrants into a society such as Canada’s.”^{47,255}

For most of its history, Ukraine has only achieved brief periods of political independence and rarely has it constituted a single unified state, free from foreign occupants. This sense of statelessness is fundamental in understanding why Ukrainian Canadians believe it is crucial and necessary to preserve their cultural identity in Canada. Lupul explains that:

The importance attached to it divides the organized community, alienates others who might otherwise join, and differentiates the majority of ethnically conscious Ukrainians from most other ethnocultural groups and from the wider Canadian society. For the Canadian of Ukrainian origin, the fact of foreign domination underlies almost everything--from the need to emigrate in the first instance to subsequent decades of preoccupation with linguistic and cultural survival. Others in Canada have shared similar concerns but seldom of urgency as the Ukrainians. For Ukrainians,

the fear of losing their ethnic identity through physical separation from the ancestral homeland has been greatly intensified by the perennial uncertainty of Ukraine's political and cultural survival.²⁵⁶

The history of Ukrainians in Canada demonstrates continuous evidence of a strong will and struggle to preserve their cultural identity. This is evident in the Ukrainian community's endeavours to retain its religious traditions, language, folk customs, art, and drama through such media as the family, church, public, private and vernacular schools, secular organizations, the press, literature, and publications. Marunchak states that:

In this field of cultural identification and activities they found themselves and this was the framework in which they displayed their national genius. This, as a last resort, gave them the strength to safeguard their national identity. Without these inner forms which provide rational and determinant stimuli, the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada would cease to exist.²⁵⁷

During the Pioneer Era, the growing awareness of cultural identity among Ukrainian Canadian immigrants was motivated first by a desire and opportunity to assert themselves as a distinct ethnocultural group that had a language, culture and tradition of its own and secondly, by the desire of Ukrainians to participate in Canadian life. As Darcovich explains:

The two motives have been complimentary and not contradictory: developing an identity helped them gain the necessary self-esteem and respect outside the group and gave them the confidence to partake in Canadian activities: in turn, achievement outside their group contributed to the growth of a more distinct identity.²⁵⁸

The first Ukrainian Canadian immigrants provided a dual religious foundation: from Galicia, Greek Catholic, and from Bukovina, Greek Orthodox, upon which their cultural identity was to grow and flourish in Canada. At this time the

emerging intelligentsia, most of whom were teachers and professionals, also contributed to the development of ethnic consciousness and cultural identity in Canada. According to Kordan:

Both the leadership positions occupied by the intelligentsia in the ethnic community and the social status that accompanied such roles forced the intelligentsia, as an ethnic social elite, to reinforce the collective identity of the group. . . .

Existing in an essentially hostile environment, the ethnic Ukrainian sought refuge in the collective strength of the community. As primary exponents of group solidarity, the intelligentsia became an element upon which the group alternatively depended and ultimately trusted.²⁵⁹

The Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia particularly regarded the retention of the native language as the key to the preservation of cultural identity. Therefore, the Ukrainian Canadian community, together with the intelligentsia, vigorously adopted the concept of bilingual education and demanded the right to have their language taught in the public school system. Although initially successful, their efforts and aspirations were inevitably halted with the abolition of bilingual education in 1916 by those Canadians who saw the public schools as instruments of Anglo-conformity and assimilation.

Throughout the Pioneer Era the efforts of the first Ukrainian Canadian immigrants to retain their ethnic identity and be recognized by Canadian society became the heart of their struggle for acceptance as full Canadian citizens.

Rozumnyj states that:

Ukrainian immigrants met with disparagement at every turn, including the editorial pages of respected daily newspapers. Ironically the "Canadianism" which the immigrants were urged to embrace did not exist as a clearly defined political or cultural concept; it was merely a euphemism for "Anglo-Saxon" or "British".

But its potential for causing harm was great, for it gave use to two opposing sorts of complexes--that of inferiority and that of superiority. Ukrainians found this experience particularly painful, for they had fled prejudice and national persecution at home, only to be confronted with the same in their new country. Visions of a rosy future were dimmed by the gloomy reality from which there was no escape.

The circumstances outlined above, together with the harshness of the physical environment, economic difficulties, nonexistent medical care, and the almost complete indifference of government authorities help us to comprehend the often tragic tone and content of the folklore Ukrainian pioneers created in Canada.²⁶⁰

Ukrainian pioneers came to the understanding that they could never fully realize themselves as Canadians until they were accepted for who they were:

descendants of a proud and ancient people with their own inspiring history and enlightened heritage . . . (who) paid a high price for their right to freely express and enjoy these values (of their ethnic origin) within the larger meaning of their contribution to Canadian life and progress.²⁶¹

After WWI, the second generation Ukrainian Canadians emerged with a radically different psychological perspective and settled on a compromise for an identity. According to Isajiw:

The prevalent sociological theory is that the second generation rebels against its ethnic group and has a strong desire to become part of the society at large. Yet it is also indebted to its ethnic group for much of its socialization. That is, typically, the second generation goes through a process of double socialization, within its community and within the society at large. It often feels itself to be a natural part of both. This, of course, produces problems of cognitive inconsistencies and dissonance and divided feelings, desires, and loyalties.²⁶²

The compromise for an identity was between a Ukrainian and a Canadian identity. Kostash states that "Canadian identity was their birthright, Ukrainian loyalty a learned response . . . loyalty to one's Ukrainian origins was an ideal of

the following generation as much as was the concept of Canadian membership.²⁶³ This compromise for an identity was the only alternative to the ideal of Ukrainianism and trauma of Anglicization. It was a survival tactic employed during a time when the host society was still hostile, suspicious, confused, and mercurial.²⁶⁴ Bruno-Jofré indicates that during the Interwar Era:

People often became Canadians in their own terms deploying various identities following attachments and identifications.⁶⁵ In many cases Franco-Manitobans, Jews, Ukrainians, Mennonites, and other minority groups ended up through a process of resistance, contestation, and negotiation, with a combination of ethnic and Canadian identity, the balance of which is difficult to determine. It may be arguable that a sort of proto-multiculturalism was a work but not necessarily one cultivating a cosmopolitan world view.²⁶⁵

Following WWII, the legitimisation of the Ukrainian Canadian community through the suppression of the Communist Party, the formation of the UCC, and post-war optimism regarding national unity in an international reality, resulted in the third generation of Ukrainian Canadians' need to rediscover its cultural identity. Isajiw cites Alexander Roman, who attempted to apply the theory of third generation rediscovery to the Ukrainian community by offering "fascinating insights into small groups of Ukrainian young people whose mother tongue is English and who strongly identify with Canada as their own country but who have developed a great interest in their Ukrainian heritage."^{5 266}

By the 1960s and well into the 1970s and the 1980s, Ukrainian Canadians, through their interest and struggle in retaining their cultural identity while supporting and maintaining their Canadian identity and citizenship, began finding their equal place in Canadian society. As one of the ethnocultural groups

who contributed extensively to the development of Canada as a nation and to the recognition of multiculturalism in Canadian society, Isajiw states that the "Canadian-born generations of Ukrainians show in their attitudes a decided attempt to integrate their Ukrainian and Canadian identities as complementary to each other. Being Canadian does not exclude being at least to some extent Ukrainian."²⁶⁷

In order to comprehend the importance of cultural identity to the Ukrainian people, it is essential to understand how and why it is retained from one generation of Ukrainian Canadians to another. The issue of ethnic identity retention involves how much has been retained or lost by each generation and how much each generation has become assimilated. Isajiw explains:

Retention of ethnic identity refers to the prevalence in the second or consecutive generation of attributes--personal or institutional--that can be identified as characteristic of the specific ethnic group. These attributes may or may not be the same as those found in the first generation.

"Loss" of identity is a relative designation. Its point of reference is the previous generation, in that it refers to the extent of retention of ethnic attributes in relation to the extent that is retained by the previous and by the first generations. . . . To determine "loss", therefore, it is necessary to look at each ethnic attribute separately and compare it with the extent of its retention in the previous generation.

The question of assimilation is of a different order. By assimilation, I mean the adoption of the behavioural patterns, values and attitudes of the dominant society. It should never be assumed that a high degree of loss of ethnicity means a high degree of assimilation into the surrounding society and culture; that is, loss of ethnic attributes should not be used as an indication of assimilation.²⁶⁸

In addition, retention of ethnicity from one generation to another does not mean retention of all its aspects. Cultural identity in the second, third, and succeeding

generations is often retained without retaining all of its components.²⁶⁹

The retention of ethnic identity among second and third generation Ukrainian Canadians has influenced to what extent Ukrainian Canadians maintain a separate and distinct cultural identity in Canada today. Research indicates that during the first generation of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, bloc settlements on the prairies provided the concentrated population required for building Ukrainian communities. Consequently, due to the fact that Ukrainians maintained almost exclusive ethnic boundaries and institutions in their rural communities, they were able to perpetuate and maintain their ethnic identity through their language, religious and endogamous practices.²⁷⁰

After WWII, many Ukrainians migrated to the "Big Three" Ukrainian Metropolitan Axis of Winnipeg, Toronto, and Edmonton.²⁷¹ By 1971, 75 percent of all Ukrainian Canadians resided in cities including one-third of that population that lived in Winnipeg, Toronto, and Edmonton. Research indicates that in these cities many first generation Ukrainian Canadians have maintained their culture and institutions. In addition, some studies suggest that Ukrainian endogamy and church attendance in the Rural Aspen Belt is high. Driedger suggests that "rural segregation, endogamy, religious commitment and ethnic language use seem to reinforce each other, so that Ukrainian identity is still fairly strong and will likely remain alive despite urban influences for some time to come."²⁷²

However, there is a decline in language use and endogamy particularly among the third generation outside of the Ukrainian rural aspen belt and the "Big Three" Metropolitan Axis. According to Driedger:

By 1971, only about one-half of Ukrainians know their language. The decline of Ukrainian-language use in the home is even more pronounced among Canadian-born Ukrainians. Ethnic language knowledge and use seems to have remained fairly high among Ukrainians in the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt, although third-generation Ukrainians use it less. Foreign-born Ukrainians in the metropolitan areas are still fluent in the language and use it often, however, a majority of the Canadian-born Ukrainians no longer know their language and very few use it at home. If Ukrainian identity depends on ethnic language use, then the future for metropolitan Ukrainian identity is not encouraging.²⁷³

In a 1981 summary regarding generational retention of ethnic symbols, Isajiw found that Ukrainian food, artistic articles (pysanky, embroidery, paintings) and teaching the Ukrainian language to children were the three types of visible symbols of identity that were retained the longest and most often by successive generations of Ukrainians in Canada.²⁷⁴ Of the three symbols, the teaching of Ukrainian language to children is one of the most important attributes that distinguishes Ukrainian Canadians and their identity from other Canadians. Lambert states that "linguistic distinctiveness is a basic component of personal identity for members of an ethnic group; ethnicity and language become associated in the thinking of those outside a particular ethnic group as well as those within the group."²⁷⁵ In addition, Reitz and Ashton claim that "there is a crucial link between language and other features of ethnic survival, in the sense that language retention or loss affects, and is affected by, other features of ethnic communities."²⁷⁶

The Ukrainian language was a means of fostering the cultural identity of Ukrainians since the arrival of the first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. According to Skwarok, "it was a bridge for continuing the culture they had

brought with them from Europe, and it was intimately linked with a church rite which for centuries was an external expression of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox faiths."²⁷⁷ Although the Ukrainian Canadian community experienced a decline in the use of the Ukrainian language in the second and third generations, it is still regarded by these generations as an important focus of cultural identity.²⁷⁸ On March 1, 1972, the "Ukrainian Voice" published an article entitled, "Language Is The Soul Of A People". An excerpt of the article reads as follows:

It has been said that language is the soul of a people. The Ukrainian language is the soul of the Ukrainian Canadian community, and a key to its identity. The climate for the preservation and development of the Ukrainian language, and thus the identity of the Ukrainian Canadian community, is at the present time somewhat more hospitable than in the past. Now is the time to make a concerted effort to entrench more firmly the use of the Ukrainian language in our homes, in our churches, in our community centers and in every facet of our community life. We may well recall the words of the Holy Writ: "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"²⁷⁹

Thus in the words of Rochet, "no one would deny the importance of language in preserving and developing one's ethnic identity, and the growing number of heritage language classes and bilingual or immersion programs must be viewed as a very positive development in that direction."²⁸⁰

In this study the concept of cultural identity and citizenship will be used to demonstrate how throughout their history, Ukrainian Canadians, particularly the UPBC, many of whom are second and third generation Ukrainian Canadians, attempted to preserve their cultural identity and rights as Canadian citizens in a multicultural society through the retention and teaching of the Ukrainian language as a language of study in the public school system and a language of instruction

in the EUBP.

Multiculturalism, Multicultural Policy and Multicultural Education

Researchers claim that the concept of multiculturalism is complex, ambiguous and is characterized by currency rather than consensus.²⁸¹ In addition, there has been no agreement on the definition of the word “multiculturalism”. Magsino states that “part of the reason for this could be that the word has not been around long enough for its standard usage to emerge and to identify the concept for which it stands.”²⁸² Multiculturalism has been associated with pluralism, a relatively new concept introduced in 1948, as well as, related concepts of cultural pluralism and cultural identity.

In defining multiculturalism, researchers have compared it to pluralism in that the concept has both descriptive and normative connotations. According to Magsino, “descriptively, ‘multiculturalism’ characterizes society as culturally or ethnically heterogeneous; normatively, it implies valuing the co-existence of many cultures within society, whether in terms of generalized attitudes and behaviour or of governmental policy.”²⁸³ In a descriptive sense, the concept of multiculturalism requires at least more than two cultural groups within a society. In conceptualising the descriptive model of multiculturalism, Magsino inquires as to “what sort of, and how many, differences are required for groups to be taken as culturally different and thus for society to be regarded as multicultural. Also, empirical matters need to be investigated.”²⁸⁴ Young cites Schermerhorn, who also explains the descriptive model of multiculturalism by distinguishing between the two related concepts of cultural and structural pluralism. Young states that:

Cultural pluralism is used to refer to a society in which one or more ethnic group has a language, religion, kinship form, tribal affiliation, and/or other traditional norms and values which are embodied in patterns and which set them off from other groups. Structural pluralism, on the other hand, is used to refer to societies in which the different cultures are segmented into "analogous, parallel, non-complementary, but distinguishable sets of institutions, at least in their most pronounced forms". (Schermerhorn, p. 124)²⁸⁵

Young continues to explain that "the extent to which the two concepts are in reality separated would seem to be a critical issue in the nature of inter-group relations"²⁸⁶ and that according to Schermerhorn, "cultural differences need to find expression in structural forms."²⁸⁷

Magsino states that as a normative model, multiculturalism indicates a "preference for and devotion or commitment to many cultures in society."²⁸⁸ Magsino adds that "the value of cultural retention is literally a central element in this conception."²⁸⁹ Although this conception of retention preference may be viewed as insufficient for conceiving national unity and further institutionalization of political and economic inequalities of ethnocultural groups, it is a necessary element of the multicultural ideology. Young states that "in translating the ideology of 'normative multiculturalism' into practice a critical issue becomes the way in which access to societal rewards and resources is determined."²⁹⁰ Young cites Gordon, who distinguishes between the concept of liberal and corporate pluralism and explains the implementation of normative multiculturalism as follows:

Liberal pluralism is characterized by the absence, even prohibition, of any legal or governmental recognition of racial, religious, language or national origin group as corporate entities with standing in the legal or governmental process, and the prohibition

of the use of ethnic criteria for any type of discrimination, or conversely any favoured treatment. In such a situation structural pluralism would exist only as an unofficial reality in communal life, as would some measure of cultural pluralism "at the will of the ethnic group members, and subject to the pressures towards conformity to general societal norms implicit in whatever degree of industrialization and urbanization was present in the society." (p. 106).

Corporate pluralism, on the other hand, implies that racial and ethnic groups are recognized as legally constituted entities with official standing in society. Economic and political rewards are allocated on a quota system based on some measure of the numerical strength of the group in the society. Structural pluralism is officially encouraged, and, indeed, becomes the necessary setting for individual action, and cultural pluralism tends to be reinforced even in the urban, industrial setting.²⁹¹

In addition to defining multiculturalism according to descriptive and normative models, Friesen cites Magsino, who states that "the fundamental tenet of multiculturalism is a recognition of human value."²⁹² According to Friesen:

Multiculturalists believe that humans are members of a single species, with no biologically meaningful subspecies. The concept of race is a social construct without biological basis. Differences between human populations are smaller than those within them, and such differences as exist (for example, in intelligence) are largely, if not entirely, products of social environment. (van de Berghe 1981, 2-3)²⁹³

Friesen also states that:

Because people are also part of culture(s), if respect for humans is basic, a case for equal respect for each culture can also be argued or assumed, because it is through culture that individual identity is rendered and that personal needs, psychological well-being and a sense of security are satisfied. Using this logical premise, all cultures are equally valid.²⁹⁴

Researchers who support multiculturalism accept that it is based on a series of western humanist suppositions and that the essence of multiculturalism is a positive, supportive commitment to diversity. The basic agenda of "good"

multiculturalism is to progress beyond tolerance of others into promoting deeper levels of interaction, supporting cultural understanding, and acceptance.²⁹⁵

Multiculturalism is also connected to the larger struggle for a fuller recognition of human rights. Friesen explains that "in a generic sense, multiculturalism is part of the human rights phenomenon because it makes a plea for equal rights regardless of cultural differences."²⁹⁶ Therefore, multiculturalism becomes a social philosophy or ideology that is built on the foundations of human rights, community aspirations, and group understanding while recognizing the value of cultural pluralism, multilingualism, and equality and opportunity for all ethnocultural groups.

The concept of multiculturalism in Canada developed slowly and progressed significantly after WWII. According to Friesen, "Canadian multiculturalism is basically home grown with some imported elements incorporated through immigration, diffusion and choice. Multiculturalism is a constantly changing and flexible policy, reflective of underlying, emerging Canadian values."²⁹⁷ According to Bociurkiw, Canadian multiculturalism involves three interrelated phenomena.²⁹⁸ First, multiculturalism denotes Canada's demographic reality that includes many ethnocultural groups, both large (Anglo-Celtic and French) and small (Ukrainian, German, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Jewish, etc.) and from other parts of the world who interact and integrate to varying degrees in Canadian society. Secondly, multiculturalism has developed into an ideology that supports the relative stability of Canada's demographic mosaic. Bociurkiw claims that:

It is based on the twin assumptions that the country's ethnocultural minorities may be rendered essentially "unmeltable" through conscious social engineering, and that Canada's national identity, unity, and cultural wealth can only benefit from the moral and material public support of ethnocultural pluralism.²⁹⁹

Thirdly, multiculturalism denotes federal and provincial policies and programs that are designed to

allay the . . . fears on the part of "third groups", and . . . to reapportion symbolic and material policy reactions in response to the felt or assumed political power of ethnocultural minorities, particularly in terms of public support for the maintenance and development of the groups' cultural and, in part, linguistic heritages.^{4 300}

Similarly, Dossa also suggests that the concept of "multiculturalism" in the current Canadian context may be understood at two major levels: "(1) The federal government policy which favours retention of ethnic distinctiveness and (2) the social reality of ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism, constituting the experience of 'otherness'."³⁰¹

Researchers claim that there are several factors that led to the evolution of a Canadian federal policy of multiculturalism. For example, McAndrew cites Anderson and Frideres (1981) who suggest that the Canadian government's new interest in ethnocultural relations resulted from "the growth of federal revenue and of state intervention in society in general; the political development in Quebec; and the growing assertiveness of the more influential and powerful of the 'other ethnic groups' (p. 134)."³⁰² Other researchers have emphasized that the federal policy of multiculturalism was a result of ethnocultural groups striving for recognition of their cultural status in a society already struggling with the

question of its national identity. McAndrew also cites Berry, Kalin and Taylor, who claim that:

In Canada, conflict over the cultural status of the "other" ethnic groups in the 1960s and 1970s has been greatly affected by the French-English conflict and the legitimacy given to new cultural claims of French Canadians . . . increased French cultural and linguistic presence has raised the expectations of "other" ethnic groups for improved cultural status and recognition. (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1981, p. 379).³⁰³

Bociurkiw cites Dr. Mark MacGuigan, past parliamentary secretary to the minister responsible for multiculturalism, who identifies the following factors in the creation and acceptance of a federal multicultural policy: setting up of the B & B Commission; the establishment, of the Canadian Folk Arts Council that concerned itself with the cultural, social, community, and political aspects of multiculturalism in Manitoba in 1964; the celebration of Canada's Centennial in 1967, including Expo 67, in Montreal, that gave Canadians a new perspective of each other's cultures; the "Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights, held in Toronto, in December 1968, that contributed significantly towards the development and ultimate formulation of a multiculturalism policy by rejecting the concept of biculturalism as incompatible with the idea of a "just society" and calling for the government's official recognition of the multicultural character of Canada and a corresponding reorientation of the media and public funding of culture and education; and the initiatives taken by some provincial governments in Western Canada to support federal adoption of a multicultural policy.³⁰⁴

Nevertheless, most researchers agree that the principal single factor in creating the federal government's multicultural policy was the B & B Commission.

The B & B Commission was originally created to concentrate on issues related to Anglo-French relations and solve the enormous problems of re-affirming the dual Anglo-Francophone Canadian state.

The concept of multiculturalism or cultural pluralism in Canada is an outgrowth of the ideal of bilingualism and biculturalism that legitimated the constitutional separation of the English and the French. This ideal was based on the assumption that non-charted immigrant collectivities would eventually assimilate into the dominant British model. Nevertheless, due to the Civil Right's movements of the 1960s that led to increased sensibility towards all people who occupy a marginal position in society and the resurgence of ethnicity throughout the world, the concept of multiculturalism began to have serious policy implications.³⁰⁵

Minority ethnocultural group leaders began to advocate an official policy of "multiculturalism" rather than "biculturalism" that would give equal status to anyone regardless of ethnic origin, and imply no pressure toward assimilation into either English or French-Canadian culture. In addition, the group leaders wanted the government to give active support to ethnocultural groups wishing to develop their cultural heritage. Consequently, the B & B Commission was confronted with other ethnocultural groups who "successfully petitioned for a widening of its terms of reference to include the concerns of 'other ethnic groups'."³⁰⁶ The B & B Commission recognized and validated the aspirations of Canada's ethnocultural minorities. Burnet states that "ethnicity, culture and language were central concepts in the work of the Royal Commission, and the

way in which they were employed greatly influenced the formation of the policy of multiculturalism.³⁰⁷ As a result, the B & B Commission agreed that measures should be taken not only to safeguard the important contribution of other ethnocultural groups to Canada's cultural enrichment but also ensure their cultural, political and economic amelioration in Canada. Therefore, Book IV: The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups was included in B & B Commission's 1970 Report and "paved the way for the federal government's policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework announced by the Prime Minister in 1971."³⁰⁸ Mallea and Young state that:

In this policy statement Mr. Trudeau declared that the time was overdue for Canadians to become more aware of their rich tradition of cultural diversity, that his new policy aimed at ensuring the continuation of that tradition, and that it sought to enhance the appreciation of the contribution of the many ethno-cultural groups in Canadian society. In the words of Gérard Pelletier, then Secretary of State, the policy called into being a new vision of society: one which refused to sacrifice diversity in the name of unity, and which placed the cultures of Canada's many groups on an equal footing.³⁰⁹

The introduction of the federal government's policy of multiculturalism in 1971 gave public recognition to ethnocultural diversity and adopted the ideal of "one nation--many cultures" as a national goal.³¹⁰ The government was prepared to guarantee every ethnocultural group the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. Bruno-Jofré states that:

Multiculturalism was conceived as the practical articulating principle that offered an avenue to deal with issues of identity, allegiances and with the place of Canada in the world. The principle was established as a policy by Trudeau's assertion that Canada is a multicultural country within a bilingual context and that the federal government would take steps to give public recognition to ethnic

diversity through the introduction of a policy of multiculturalism (Whitaker, 1992). Multiculturalism became the core of the new educational discourse of citizenship.³¹¹

The federal government initiated programs to promote official multiculturalism in accordance with the following four principles:

1. The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance;
2. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society;
3. The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity; and
4. The Government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society. (Canada 1971, 8545-86)³¹²

In analyzing the government's principles in the federal multicultural policy, Magsino states that:

In the absence of consensus on a conception or definition for "multiculturalism", no definitional legislation is available to rule out a stipulative definition or conception for one's purposes. . . . Thus, there is no reason why policy makers may not stipulate a conception of multiculturalism as a programmatic basis of governmental activities in response to cultural diversity in Canada.³¹³

Therefore, although the 1971 federal government multicultural policy statement did not expressly define or elaborate on the stipulated conception of multiculturalism it did reveal some elements that might serve as a conception of multiculturalism in Canadian society. In revisiting the government's four principles in the multicultural policy Magsino reveals the following conception of

Canadian multiculturalism:

1. Cultural retention and development: The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to society. . . . The government will . . . assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop . . . [and] a capacity to grow . . .
2. Cultural sharing and respect to promote unity and richer life for all: They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for us all . . . The government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.
3. Full participation in Canadian society: . . . The government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society . . . The government will . . . assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.
4. Individual freedom: . . . A policy of multiculturalism is basically the conscious support of individual freedom of choice. The individual's freedom would be hampered if he were locked for life within a particular cultural compartment by the accident of birth of language.³¹⁴

Furthermore, McLeod states that "multiculturalism fosters a society and a Canadian identity in which people and groups of all cultures are accepted.

Multiculturalism promotes human and group relations in which ethnic, racial, religious, and linguistic similarities and differences are valued and respected."³¹⁵

Therefore, according to McLeod, the following seven principles or tenets also assist in conceptualising and clarifying the inclusive, comprehensive, and dynamic nature of Canadian multiculturalism:

1. Equality of status of all cultural and ethnic groups within the framework of our official bilingual country.
2. The freedom of all individuals and groups to the retention and development of their cultures as part of the Canadian identity.
3. Equality of access by all individuals and groups to employment

- and promotion, services, and support.
4. A commitment to sharing our cultures within the mainstream of Canadian society.
 5. An undertaking to participate in Canadian citizenship and the democratic process in terms of both rights and responsibilities.
 6. A belief that individuals have the freedom to choose the particular cultural attributes they prefer within the framework of our democratic principles.
 7. Respect for and observance of human rights and civil liberties are exemplified in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the common law, and human rights codes.³¹⁶

In addition to conceptualizing multiculturalism, there are also many interpretations and variations regarding the goals of multiculturalism and the federal government's policy of multiculturalism. Mallea suggests that "the policy embraces a variety of goals. It seeks to preserve basic human rights, increase citizen participation, develop Canadian identity, reinforce Canadian unity, encourage cultural diversity and eliminate discrimination."³¹⁷ Moreover, Lupul views multiculturalism as a "social philosophy . . . whose central tenant was equality, and whose ultimate goal was a greater sharing of power and opportunity in all social areas, in workplace, education, the media, the civil services, and of course in politics, law, and government."³¹⁸ Friesen suggests that the real goal of multiculturalism is "the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity (Buchignani 1983; Lupul 1983; Buyniak 1990)."³¹⁹ Samuda, Berry and Lefferrière support Friesen by stating that the intent of multiculturalism is

to encourage the retention of characteristic cultural features by those groups that desired to do so and to encourage the sharing of these cultural features with other members of the larger Canadian society. The policy was based upon the assumption that an individual who is to be open in ethnic attitudes and have respect for other groups must have confidence in his or her own cultural foundations. Given this assumption, the policy was also designed

to "help break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies." In essence the policy asserted that in Canada, "although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other." Further, the policy asserted that the other cultural communities "are essential elements in Canada and deserve government assistance in order to contribute to regional and national life in ways that derive from their heritages, yet are distinctively Canadian."³²⁰

In addition, McAndrew suggests that the policy's first aim is "to foster national unity by giving ethnic groups a sense of belonging to Canada, which is defined as a multicultural, tolerant, and equalitarian society."³²¹ Bibby agrees with the aforementioned researchers and states that the main objectives of the federal government's policy of multiculturalism are:

First, to permit Canadians who so desired to retain the features of their culture that they value; second, to assist all Canadians in overcoming the cultural barriers including language, to a full participation in the life of this country, and third to promote creative interaction among all cultural groups in the interest of national unity.³²²

The proclamation of multiculturalism and multilingualism, as well as the endorsement of a federal policy of multiculturalism by all political parties was not necessarily understood or accepted by the general public. Consequently, many theoretical observations and criticisms have occurred regarding the new social ideology of multiculturalism. For example, some scholars and critiques of multiculturalism and its policy, viewed it as a "genuinely radical social vision that was soon to constitute a threat to the hierarchical status quo in Canada."³²³

These researchers claim that multiculturalism became a threat to Anglo-conformity, particularly in the area of socio-economic and political rewards and

privileges held by the dominant Anglo-Saxon majority. Friesen states that:

In fact, the late John Porter, one of Canada's leading sociologists saw it as a fraud perpetuated by the British upon all other Canadians in order to maintain the social order which he referred to as "vertical mosaic". He therefore argued that recognition should not be given to cultural differences. Other scholars saw the policy as a hoax designed by the federal Liberal government for the purposes of retaining power or forcing ethnic groups to continue their struggle for a recognition of rights.¹² Still others contended that by recognizing the unique situations of the various cultural groups via a special educational or economic arrangement, the country could become so fragmented that any truly national policy or identity would become meaningless.³²⁴

The implication of this criticism is that the Anglophone community created the multicultural policy for political means that would appease the French and ethnic minorities and retain their power, dominance, and influence. Burnet and Palmer state that:

Some of the leading intellectuals of Quebec decried it (multiculturalism) as destructive to the hard-won status of French Canadians as a charter-member group in the Canadian federation. Other cities saw it as backward-looking, or as designed to preserve the privileges of those of British origin by emphasizing cultural differences within the population. Still others, and perhaps the majority, regarded the policy as a cynical attempt to buy the chimerical ethnic vote.³²⁵

In addition, Mazurek states that:

The process of such "domination" of ethnic groups--from this theoretical perspective--is seen to be managed through the control of funding for multiculturalism. . . . The dominant group is able politically to control the ethnic community through the skillful puppetry of pulling financial strings via a plethora of granting agencies.³²⁶

Kallen, also states the following:

Multiculturalism . . . was originally intended to buy off the compliance of a potential Third Force of immigrants while

bilingualism was intended to appease a revitalized Quebec and to contain its claim to political power. As a whole . . . the policy served as a technique of domination which legitimated the entrenched powers of the ruling Anglo elite when its super-ordinate national position was threatened by Quebec's claim to political power, on the one hand, and by the growing numerical and economic strength and increasing cultural vitality of immigrant ethnic collectives, on the other hand.³²⁷

Another criticism regarding the policy of multiculturalism is that it has contradictory effects. Burnet and Palmer state that the policy

has been interpreted as encouraging retention of ancestral ethnic identity, culture, and language, and has been criticized either for attempting to do so or for doing so inadequately. . . Critics of the policy of multiculturalism accuse it of ignoring issues of economic and political power in favour of cultural issues. They assume that the two kinds of issues can be separated.³²⁸

Friesen states that there are five recurring criticisms of the multicultural policy and its practical function. The first criticism is that multiculturalism either fosters or hinders national identity. Friesen states that "if multiculturalism supporters did not celebrate national identity, the critics argued, the nation would be splintered into little islands of varying European cultures."³²⁹ The second criticism is the government's selective process in distributing multicultural funding. Friesen explains that:

In essence, then, government is accused of paying some Canadians for their ethnic backgrounds just to gain votes. They may also inadvertently have contributed to creating a new class of political power brokers within each ethnic group . . . (Globe and Mail 1988). At its worst, government policy may also contribute to disintegration within ethnic communities by encouraging intergroup fighting for funds or for a place in the country's power class. In such cases, country's third national force (besides English and French) will be rendered politically impotent. (Spicer 1988)³³⁰

The third criticism of the multicultural policy is that multiculturalism magnifies

differences in that it fosters separation, cultural isolation, and ethnocentrism.

Friesen states that:

The complaint goes, "If you encourage multiculturalism, you threaten national unity. . . . Measuring attitudes of school children can only provoke negative attitudes from them" (Kehoe 1984, 5). . . . A further concern goes, "If different ethnic groups are encouraged to retain their distinctive cultures, they will ultimately be denied equality of opportunity in the larger society" (Kehoe 1984, 5). . . . Either you promote multiculturalism, or you promote national unity. If you teach about differences, you foster conflict. If ethnic minorities keep their cultures, they will lose economically.³³¹

The fourth criticism is that the multicultural policy has been perceived by the French Canadians as preferred treatment of ethnocultural groups and a loss of their hard-won charter nation status and privileges as one of the founding races in Canada. Friesen suggests that "the French see multiculturalism as a threat, because any admission of the legitimacy of Canadian cultures other than English or their own is an admission of equality which they prefer not to make."³³² The fifth criticism cited by Friesen is that academics have charged the concept of multiculturalism as an inadequate theory that lacks a disciplinary base and thus does not qualify to be offered as a course at the graduate level. Friesen argues that "as multiculturalism literature has grown during the past two decades, its labels have been diverse, appearing as ethnic or intercultural studies, minority or cultural studies or studies of cultural pluralism and even racism."³³³

Mallea also states six similar yet slightly different criticisms of the multicultural policy. They are as follows:

The first, made mainly, although by no means exclusively, by francophones in Quebec, claims that the policy distorts historical and sociological realities because Canada possesses two main

cultures as well as two official languages. Culture and language, these critics protest, are indivisible. . . . The second is that made by the native peoples who, while roundly rejecting the "foundation nations" interpretation of Canadian society, also found scant comfort in a policy that scarcely seemed to recognize their existence and made no mention of aboriginal rights.

A third criticism suggests that the policy erroneously reinforces the belief that Canada's non-official language groups represent a homogeneous element in the population. . . . The fourth of the six criticisms centres around the argument that the policy represents a conflicting and often contradictory response to poorly defined issues. The fifth is related. It is based on the view that ethnic and social stratification are closely related in Canada and that the policy stresses group maintenance (as opposed to individual development) and therefore helps preserve values which are inimicable to the socio-economic mobility of minority group members. The sixth and final criticism is the most general and perhaps the most telling. The present policy, it is argued, emphasizes style over substance and thus enables the government to praise the values of individualism and pluralism simultaneously.³³⁴

In addition to these criticisms, Young cites Porter, who claims that

the pluralist vision of society contained in the policy which stressed group maintenance rather than individual self-development is regressive. It is a policy, he asserts, that serves to perpetuate in Canada a "vertical mosaic" in which class lines coincide with ethnic lines by preserving conservative values which he regards as detrimental to the social and economic mobility of individuals from minority groups. Rather he advances a position that he calls "liberal assimilation" in which ethnicity is acknowledged as a potentially valuable, temporary "staging post" or "psychic shelter" for recent immigrants, but is given no long-term formal or institutional recognition.³³⁵

Despite the aforementioned criticisms, the federal government initiated the multicultural policy and established multicultural programs at provincial and local levels across Canada. However, implementation of multicultural programs at the federal level has not been extensive. Lupul states that:

Unfortunately, however, once announced, the government gave the

policy scant attention. Evidence of this can be seen in its failure to explain the nature of the compromise at the heart of the policy: namely, if all Canadians accepted English and French as the languages of communication . . . , all other languages would be important for cultural purposes. The compromise appeared clear enough on the surface, but what languages would Canadians from coast to coast be encouraged to learn? Some have embraced multiculturalism as a natural corollary;⁶ others have rejected the policy for the same implied multilingualism.⁷ Today confusion reigns as some in the government would use multiculturalism to help hold the nation together and others see it as one of the country's most divisive factors.⁸ ³³⁶

Breton, Reitz and Valentine suggest that

the federal government took the lead in establishing multicultural policies in Canada. Provincial and local governments followed later. The federal lead reflects the fact that the issue of multiculturalism and the problem of recognition for ethnic cultures other than British and French arose in the context of the linguistic conflict taking place at the federal level.³³⁷

Therefore, a number of researchers such as Reitz, claim that the lack of a larger federal multiculturalism program is due in some cases to "apathy on the part of ethnic minorities themselves. . . . [and that] in federal institutions the very linguistic conflict that sparked the multiculturalism issue has constituted an obstacle to more complete implementation."³³⁸ In addition, the concept and direction of multiculturalism policy also changed from year to year depending on the minister for multiculturalism. This also contributed to difficulties of implementing multicultural program at the federal level. Rudnycky suggests that:

The reason for this vacillating state of affairs is that the guidelines originally laid down by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971 are only guidelines and nothing more. They may be followed or they may be changed to suit the concept in the mind of a particular Minister responsible for multiculturalism.³³⁹

However, the implementation of multicultural programs achieved greater success

with provincial governments. This was primarily due to the greater influence of ethnocultural groups at that level.

Implementation of a federal multicultural policy included the establishment of multicultural education programs. Social institutions, particularly schools, were expected by federal and provincial governments to make their contribution toward the achievement of Canadian multiculturalism by playing a significant role in promoting multicultural education. However, the fate of multicultural education as a permanent component of Canadian education and its uniform implementation in schools remains undetermined to this day. Magsino states that:

They will depend, to a significant degree, on a consensus among educators, the public, and political leaders not only that multicultural education is an effective, appropriate instrument but also that multiculturalism is a desirable societal goal for which multicultural education may be enlisted. Assuming that multicultural education can be an effective instrument, given resources, ability, and commitment on the part of educators, the central issue is whether multiculturalism should guide efforts of educational systems. Ultimately, multicultural education will flourish in the Canadian landscape only if multiculturalism is widely accepted as an important societal value for which to aim. The case for multicultural education, in the final analysis, depends on the justification of multiculturalism.³⁴⁰

The implementation of multicultural education into Canadian schools is a matter of contention for the reason that the concept and term "multicultural education" has no universal acceptable meaning. Young cites Carlsen, who observes that:

Multicultural education (MCE), as described by many of its advocates, is a labyrinth of assertions and assumptions which need to be examined. To those who make the largest contributions to education--namely, individual teachers and students in specific

communities--the assertions and assumptions often make little sense. (p. 26)³⁴¹

Nevertheless, multicultural programs have been implemented into the public education system since after WWII.

Initially multicultural programs in the Post WWII Era period were often based on assimilation. Mallea and Young state that:

The public educational system in the postwar period has generally remained as dedicated to the Anglo-conformist model as it had been before the war, although socialization was increasingly tempered with large doses of democratic liberalism. (Palmer and Troper, 1973, p. 21). Society's leaders deliberately charged the school with direct responsibility for the systematic transmission of mainstream (some would say anglophone) culture from one generation to the next.³⁴²

Multicultural programs in the 1960s had similar assimilative goals. Friesen states that:

Multicultural education programs in the sixties were often based on quite erroneous assumptions which even a peripheral analysis could show to be assimilative in intent. . . .

Many of the programs . . . if attached to the assimilationist orientation . . . may deprive minority group individuals of the opportunity to choose their cultural destiny.³⁴³

The onset of a multicultural policy in the 1970s resulted in a change in multicultural education and the role of teachers and schools. Cummins states that:

The aims of the multicultural policy as it affects education are to find effective ways of realizing the educational potential of culturally and linguistically diverse children and to develop social cohesion by promoting appreciation among all children of the varied contributions of different ethnic groups to the Canadian mosaic.³⁴⁴

Historically, McLeod states that multicultural policy and programs were

implemented in three phases. The first phase occurred in the years immediately following 1971 and was based on cultural retention. McLeod claims that:

In education, established ethnic groups that had arrived in the nineteenth and earlier years of the twentieth centuries saw multiculturalism as a means of securing public for language retention. On the other hand, mainstream Canadians tended to view multiculturalism as support for folkloric dancing and singing and as a means of working with immigrants.³⁴⁵

The second phase occurred in the late 1970s and was marked by the development of intergroup relations and cultural sharing aspects of the policy.

According to McLeod:

In education, attempts were made to address the problems connected with a pluralistic society; understanding diversity and differences and exploring similarities and sharing. A concerted effort was made to encourage all to understand that they had an ethnic and cultural background and that multiculturalism included all.³⁴⁶

By the 1980s, multiculturalism entered a third phase of race relations and a dominant idea or theme emerged that life chances of "visible minorities" had not improved in Canada to the extent expected. McLeod explains that:

The response in the educational sphere was a growth in emphasizing racial issues and addressing racism. The more ardent advocates suggested reinforcing multicultural education with "anti-racist" education. The most extreme advocates of the stress on racism and anti-racism would have discarded multiculturalism as irrelevant, detached racism from the rubric of multiculturalism, and even replaced it by terminology denoting anti-racist education. School boards and other educationalists tended to compromise and adopt policies and programs on multiculturalism and race relations.³⁴⁷

Educators in the Multicultural Era claim that the first goal of multicultural education was

to develop skills for functioning within multiple cultures and to provide members of all cultural groups with equal opportunity (Bennett 1990). The mandate is to assist student understanding of and appreciation for alternative life-styles and cultural options, including personal backgrounds. (Pasternak 1979)³⁴⁸

However, the challenge is implementing multicultural education into the public school system. Young suggests "issues in multicultural education inevitably pose questions of purpose in the wider society and that different images of Canadian society demand different responses from the school system."³⁴⁹ Young adds that "it is possible to recognize different interpretations of the concept each of which carries with it an explicit or implicit vision of Canadian Society."³⁵⁰ In addition, Samuda claims that the principal challenge for educators implementing multicultural education is twofold: "(1) how to accommodate ethnic and linguistic minorities in a school system that was principally geared for Anglo-Celtic-and French-Canadian students and (2) how to help teachers reorient themselves to this new student population."³⁵¹ Friesen responds to these challenges facing educators by stating that "to complete multiculturally inspired education, diversity must be encouraged."³⁵² Friesen also states that "if the school is viewed as a microcosm of society, developing a pluralist atmosphere in the classroom becomes important."³⁵³

Canadian faculties of education and school boards have recognized the need for professional and in-service education to assist teachers in developing strategies to meet the challenges and implications of cultural diversity and multicultural education in the schools. Preparing teachers for multicultural education includes

understanding the theoretical concepts and ideologies of ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism, studying the philosophical assumptions of multicultural education, studying the characteristics and sociopolitical experiences of cultural groups and learning skills and techniques for teaching ethnically diverse students. (Gay 1986, 173)³⁵⁴

With this knowledge educators may create a workable multicultural philosophy and implement an effective multicultural educational program. Some researchers and educators have created theories and approaches to multicultural education in the school system. For example, Young cites Margaret Gibson, who adopts one of the most frequently discussed theories related to multicultural education. Gibson suggests four different approaches to multicultural education. Each approach has different objectives that interrelate and overlap to give understanding to the meaning and implementation of the concept of multicultural education. The approaches are: Education of the Culturally Different, Education about Cultural Differences or Cultural Understanding, Education for Cultural Pluralism, and Bicultural Education:

1. Education of the Culturally Different
The purpose of this approach is to equalize educational opportunities for culturally-different students. Usually originating as a response to continuing academic failure, this approach attempts to reduce disparity in school achievement between minority youth and their majority counterparts. It suggests that multicultural education programs are needed to make home and school more culturally compatible and assumes that such programs will increase the academic success of such students. Thus it is a compensatory approach.
2. Education about Cultural Differences or Cultural Understanding
Aimed at all students, this approach values cultural differences and the rights of others to be different. It assumes that everyone needs to learn about cultural differences and similarities. This approach stems from the efforts of various ethnic groups to preserve their identities and their demands that

schools respond more effectively to their concerns. The objective of this approach is the cultural enrichment of all students provided by multicultural programs that foster acceptance of cultural differences, thereby reducing discrimination and increasing social justice.

3. Education for Cultural Pluralism

This approach is sometimes seen as a special type of structural arrangement which multicultural education should try to foster, preserve and extend. This approach rejects the "melting pot" concept (i.e., majority-imposed acculturation and assimilation) because such a concept leads to Anglo-Celtic domination in Canada. Education to maintain cultural diversity assumes that schools should strive to preserve and expand cultural pluralism in order to maintain cultural diversity and increase the power of minority groups. It primarily seeks to increase equality of rewards among all cultural groups by reducing the power differential between majority and minority, resulting in peaceful co-existence between groups.

4. Bicultural Education

This approach emphasizes the individual rather than the ethnic or cultural group and attempts to produce learners who have competencies in two or more languages. While programs using this approach may contain elements of the approaches already mentioned, a main distinguishing aspect is its concern with fostering a knowledge of more than one language as a general educational goal. Competence in another language does not require rejection or loss of the language already acquired.³⁵⁵

McLeod also cites three approaches to multicultural education. They are ethnic-specific, problem-oriented, and cultural/intercultural. The purpose of the ethnic-specific approach is "to counteract assimilative forces, extend the familiar socialization, or generally broaden the child's or adult's knowledge of involvement in, or acquaintance with the ethnic heritage."³⁵⁶ Examples of this approach are ethnic schools and ethnocultural programs that include language courses. McLeod states that "in a very real sense this type of ethnocultural education antedates the adoption of the policy of multiculturalism."³⁵⁷

McLeod's second approach to multicultural education is problem-oriented. According to this approach, "specific programmes are developed to answer particular perceived needs or demands associated with schooling and the assimilation or integration of people of diverse backgrounds."³⁵⁸ Examples of this approach include English as a second language or as a second dialect courses, compensatory programs for the "disadvantaged", and anti-discrimination programs. The third major type of multicultural education is cultural/intercultural education. McLeod states that the focus of this approach is

developing capabilities that will enable people to live in a pluralistic society, producing individuals who will be capable of transcending the boundaries of their own ethnic cultures. Skills, knowledge, attitudes, and emotions are developed so that persons acquire a sense of security of their own being and group identity, a knowledge of other cultures and subcultures, and the facility to behave and act capably in more than one culture. The most significant aspect of this kind of multicultural education, in its ideal form, is that multiculturalism becomes an ethic that pervades the educational or school system. (Morrison, 1980; K. A. McLeod, 1979)³⁵⁹

Several provincial ministers of education support, to varying degrees, the approach of cultural/intercultural education. McLeod states that examples of this approach include "bilingual and bicultural programmes that are open to children of all backgrounds, the heritage language programmes that are part of publicly supported school systems and the schools that stress cultural understanding in their curricula and activities."³⁶⁰

Thus, language policies and programs are fundamental aspects of the federal policy of multiculturalism and contribute greatly to multicultural education. Majhanovich and Ray state that

the most recent constitutional protections of languages in Canada are confined to official languages and to a rather vague protection of aboriginal languages and multiculturalism and through the latter, of heritage languages. Most policies are based on ordinary legislation or regulations made by ministries of education.³⁶¹

At the federal level the Official Languages Act of 1969 declared that English and French were official languages in Canada thus requiring that all federal institutions provide services in both official languages in the federal bilingual districts wherever there was sufficient demand for bilingual service. As previously mentioned, in 1971 the federal government created a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. Lafferrière states that:

This policy was aimed at helping ethnic groups to grow and maintain their heritage, including languages of origin; at promoting interchanges between groups; at helping them to participate fully in Canadian society; and at assisting them to acquire at least one of the official languages.³⁶²

However, in the field of education, the policy of multiculturalism also includes the recognition and teaching of languages and cultures of different ethnocultural groups and in some provinces, the implementation of bilingual programs in which English and another official language, such as Ukrainian, German, or Hebrew, are used as languages of instruction in public school systems.

According to Reitz, federal government multicultural policies in education emphasize language as opposed to other aspects of culture. The policies can be divided into the following three aspects:

Public education for all students, options available within the public educational system of special interests to students from particular ethnic backgrounds, and special supplementary courses available outside the regular school system operated by ethnic group organizations.³⁶³

However, the federal multicultural policy does not deal with public educational systems under provincial jurisdiction. Although the federal government provides grants to ethnocultural organizations to operate supplementary cultural and linguistic courses outside the regular school system, and supports teacher training, course implementation, and the development and production of textbooks and other teaching aids and course implementation,³⁶⁴ it is the provincial governments in Canada who have jurisdiction over education.

In several provinces, multiculturalism has been adopted as an official policy and promoted in education. For example, in Ontario, there are optional guidelines for the introduction of historical materials on ethnic groups. Heritage language programs offer instruction and ancestral languages and a surcharge for enrolment has been imposed at the discretion of local school boards. Canada's three prairie provinces maintain a more linguistic view of multicultural education.³⁶⁵ Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba permit all languages to be languages of instruction equal to English and French. In these provinces, Ukrainian, Hebrew, and German bilingual programs are offered in the public school system. Some provinces are also funding third-language programs.³⁶⁶

However, similar to multiculturalism, multicultural education has not existed without criticism. Magsino criticizes some of Gibson's approach and offers the following conception of multicultural education that in his opinion matches the goal of Canadian multiculturalism:

1. Multicultural education, as education of the culturally different, satisfies the element of full participation. Nonetheless, it is an inadequate conception to the degree that it takes no account of

- cultural retention. Its assimilationist assumption presupposes the superiority of one culture. Moreover, it would effectively convert the notion of multicultural education into unicultural education.
2. Multicultural education, as education for cultural understanding, is an improvement over the first conception because it considers at least the need to tolerate and understand various cultures. It is equally inadequate, however, because by itself, it is not intended to promote the idea of cultural retention for minority students.
 3. Multicultural education, as education for cultural preservation, is to be rejected because it violates the principle of individual freedom, particularly for young people who are kept in ignorance and attain maturity unable to make decisions for themselves. It also involves a lack of respect for persons and their cultures because, in using group withdrawal from interaction with other cultural groups to insure cultural preservation, it implies the absence of worth or dignity in the other groups.
 4. Multicultural education, as education for an emergent society, does not hurdle the test of multiculturalism. In a way, it would amount to unicultural education, like the first conception. True enough, it ascribes some dignity to different cultures by admitting that each group has some valuable elements to contribute to a desired, amalgamated culture. However, this token respect is surely not good enough for genuine cultural retention.
 5. Multicultural education, as education for cultural accommodation, and multicultural education, as education for multicultural adaptation and choice, both appear to have merit as adequate conceptions of multicultural education. They are likely to require similar curricular content and classroom activities to a large degree. Further, if conducted effectively, either may well produce self-sufficient and contributing ethnocultural citizens in the country.³⁶⁷

According to Magsino:

Education for multicultural adaptation and choice will be preferable for those who do not have strong attachment to any cultural group.

On the other hand, education for cultural accommodation takes cultural identity retention seriously. It will thus prove attractive to parents and groups now striving for both cultural retention and equality of status in society. Considering that cultural retention is a

basic element in multiculturalism and that multicultural education, as cultural accommodation, may also promote full participation and cultural respect and sharing without compromising individual freedom, this conception may prove closest to the Canadian concept of multiculturalism.³⁶⁸

McAndrew also criticizes multicultural education by citing Pater, who claims that "ethnic differences in education could be misused to justify social inequalities, since the ideology of pluralism in the school can be seen as a way of maintaining the 'ethnic hegemony' of the dominant groups in a society."³⁶⁹

McAndrew adds

that well-intentioned policies may foster greater social inequality or lead to increased control by the state over minority groups is evident in the failure of uniformity in schooling (which was promoted for over a century in most western nations) to bring about a more ethnically equalitarian society.³⁷⁰

Similarly, Dossa states that:

Schooling organizes differences, and that educators are mostly agents (assimilationist supporters), reflecting and re-enforcing the ethos of the dominant group (in particular see Bullivant, 1979; Corrigan, 1984). While multicultural education programs may foster a tolerant attitude towards other ethnic collectivities, they do nothing to increase opportunities of minority ethnic students. Such an approach calls for a critical examination of the dominant culture of the school in order to appreciate "precisely the kind of educational principles which retard the development of an [sic] unique, pluralistic Canadian culture by discouraging educational recognition of living Canadian ethnocultures. (Kallen, 1983, p. 33)³⁷¹

Moreover, Mazurek provides the example of multiculturalism in the public schools as an example of a somewhat ineffective multicultural initiative in that despite the effort that multiculturalism will become part of every student's program, it should not be assumed that it will result in equality of educational opportunity or an

amelioration of socio-economic-political inequalities for disadvantaged

ethnocultural groups. Furthermore, Mazurek states that:

The sad reality is that the sociology of education has dramatically documented that, "despite its claims for 'democracy', 'objectivity', and 'equality of opportunity', schooling has continued to reinforce a social structure which is highly stratified along class, gender and racial lines."^{16 372}

In an attempt to diffuse the aforementioned criticisms of multicultural education, some researchers support a new ideology of multiculturalism in the schools that considers cultural pluralism. According to McAndrew:

Cultural pluralism . . . is a posture which maintains that there is more than one legitimate way of being human without paying the penalties of second class citizenship . . . social justice, alone means a fair share of the pie; as a goal . . . it has usually meant an assimilative attitude. Cultural pluralism . . . demands the same fair share plus the right not to assimilate. (Hazard & Stewart, 1973, p. 16)³⁷³

However, implementing pluralist expectations into education that involve issues of individual and collective rights, majority-minority relations, social cohesion and control, stresses the complexities of education in a Canadian multicultural society that results in a pluralist dilemma in education.³⁷⁴ Mallea provides the following summary of major challenges to be found at the national, provincial, and municipal levels in resolving the pluralist dilemma in Canadian multicultural education:

At the national level, for example, resolution of the dilemma will depend upon the development of a form of revised federalism that reconciles the historic principle of dualism with the contemporary realities of a multi-racial, multi-ethnic state.²³ At the provincial level, resolution of the dilemma will differ according to region, but will involve the challenge of creating legislation and policies enabling the legitimate educational aspirations of official and non-official

language groups to be reflected in institutional and structural as well as normative terms.²⁴ At the municipal level, school boards will face increasing demands for special interest groups seeking changes in the organization of schooling so as to provide greater responsiveness to minority requests for bilingual and bicultural programs and the appointment of well-qualified teachers and staff from the minority communities.³⁷⁵

Therefore, there are numerous ambiguities, contradictions and paradoxes involving the concept of multiculturalism and its implementation in education that in turn reflect the complexity of political socialization in a Canadian pluralistic society. Burnet and Palmer state that

the policy would not have been proclaimed if Canada had not been moving away from its Anglo-conformist and racist past into a more egalitarian pluralism, and the policy has given impetus to that shift. It has made symbolic ethnicity a matter of pride, and it has given victims of discrimination arms with which to fight.³⁷⁶

Nevertheless, researchers claim that the benefits of multiculturalism outweigh the costs due to the validity of certain elements of the policy and a process of continuing refinement of programs that have been developed to implement the policy. Berry supports this view with the following example:

The change in emphasis in the mid-1970s toward contact and participation, and away from group maintenance (sometimes called the shift from "cultural" to "social" activity), probably reduced the potential for increased ethnocentrism. And the more recent shift toward improving race relations as a key to managing Canada's diversity signals an awareness of the likely major source of social conflict. . . .

It appears that the only viable and realistic course is to pursue the integration option, guided by the policy of multiculturalism, in recognition of the psychological and social value of human diversity in Canada.³⁷⁷

Similarly, multicultural education has also experienced a fair amount of success.

McLeod states that:

Measured by the increased attention to human relations, group development, language teaching, teacher awareness and sensitivity, administration adjustments, student interests and concerns, and community involvement, there have been successes. If multiculturalism is a Canadian concept, why should there not be more attempts to implement multicultural education? Schools need not be part of the problem when they can be part of the solution.³⁷⁸

In summarizing the development and advancement of Canadian multicultural education since 1971, Friesen claims that:

Enactment in appropriate federal and provincial legislation, for example, has been swift, even though efforts to develop meaningful policies have been limited. This is particularly true for education in which too much of the emphasis has been on social programs such as heritage festivals and ethnic dinners. As the more rigorous emphasis of public consciousness--raising programs and confrontation with objectionable forms of behavior such as prejudice and racism emerge, it is possible that Canadian multiculturalism may finally become a reality.³⁷⁹

In addition, the success of multiculturalism in Canada depends on the combined efforts of Canadian citizens. According to Friesen:

These efforts must involve members of the human community of all ages in a kind of apprenticeship for living. By focusing on similarities between cultures a greater acceptance of cultural differences can be developed and ethnic prejudice reduced. Programs related to this objective need to be structured so as to develop a feeling of shared identity among all members of our multi-ethnic and multicultural society.^{44 380}

Furthermore, Berry states that:

Multiculturalism as a policy, and as a set of programmes, depends to a large extent on the goodwill of all Canadians. In one sense this statement is a truism, for multiculturalism is essentially a generalized tolerance for ethnic diversity in one's society. In another sense, a political one, it is true because there is no single source of power that drives or nourishes the multicultural vision of Canada, and more than other movements it requires mutual

cooperation and a set of positive attitudes if it is to be successful.
(Berry, 1977)³⁸¹

Moreover, implementing the ideology of multiculturalism, multicultural policy and multicultural education into Canadian society is an on-going development process. Friesen states that:

So long as there are regional differences, rapid social change and a constant discovery of new information, and so long as the concept of pluralism has any credence, the process must and, hopefully, will continue in an unpredictable direction.

The idea of multiculturalism as an unattainable objective may leave goal-orientated politicians and educators disillusioned. They need not be, however, because when viewed as a process, even a slow-moving process, multiculturalism delivers at least minimal results.³⁸²

The various responses of the provinces to the federal policy of multiculturalism reflects the ethnic composition and ethnic relations in different regions of Canada. At the federal level, the policy of multiculturalism demonstrated the growing political influence of the "other" ethnocultural groups. The multicultural policy contributed to the influence of ethnocultural groups, such as Ukrainian Canadians through government funding of ethnic activities that gave further political legitimacy to ethnic organizations and leaders.

Ukrainian Canadians who were among the strongest advocates of multiculturalism assisted in inspiring and creating the federal government's original multicultural policy. Lupul states that "Ukrainian Canadians have undoubtedly played the leading role in the development and dissemination of the ideas and policy demands that eventually crystallized into the policy of multiculturalism."³⁸³ In addition, Isajiw asserts that "the best briefs on the need

for this policy were written by Ukrainian students, scholars and politicians, and the pressure of the organized Ukrainian community can be credited to a significant degree for the enactment of the policy."³⁸⁴

There were many reasons why Ukrainian Canadians took the leading role in advocating a federal policy of multiculturalism. Lupul claims that:

This role was rooted undoubtedly in their historical aversion to assimilation, as well as in political causes underlying much of Ukrainian emigration from the Old Country, a strong sense of collective responsibility for the preservation of the group's ethnocultural values in Canada while these values were being suppressed by the alien rulers of Ukraine, the lasting commitment of Ukrainian churches to the preservation of the national cultural-linguistic heritage, the group's highly developed capacity for grass-roots organization, and the nature of Ukrainian settlement in the Prairie provinces.³⁸⁵

The Ukrainian Canadian role in developing a multicultural policy began in the 1960s and continued throughout the Multicultural Era with their participation in a multicultural movement that promoted increased status, recognition, and support for cultural and linguistic retention of other minority ethnocultural groups in Canada. Reitz states that:

The strength of this movement may be attributable to the improved economic status of some of the groups and their concentrations in particular communities in Canadian society, and to the improved cultural status of the French group as a result of its developing sense of identity. Both of these trends have increased expectations for acceptance and cultural tolerance. In addition, members of some groups, such as the Ukrainians and Jews, feel a special obligation to protect their cultural heritage when it is threatened elsewhere in the world. Partly because of the general significance of language as a component of culture in Canada, the small ethnic groups have stressed language retention. For these groups, language is important as a cultural symbol more than as a factor affecting access to economic or political institutions.³⁸⁶

In 1980-81 the Ukrainian Canadian community also lobbied successfully for the incorporation of the idea of multiculturalism into the Charter of Rights.³⁸⁷

Burnet and Palmer state that:

One sign that supporters of the concept and policy of multiculturalism had been able to establish their position was the insertion in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 of Article 27, which stated that the Charter "shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada."³⁸⁸

In addition to advocating multiculturalism the Ukrainian Canadian community viewed language policies and programs as significant aspects of multicultural education. Lupul states that:

To most Ukrainian-Canadians, the relationship between the two [language programs/policies and multicultural education] is practically self-evident. To some, language is the key to a cultural heritage that has shaped their being even in Canada; to many more, language has a high symbolic value usually rooted in a sense of tragedy derived from either one of two sources; from the hostility, prejudice, and discrimination experienced in Canada until well after the Second World War or from the political, social, and cultural oppression Ukrainians in the ancestral homeland endure today--and in some cases from both at once. As a result, language education for Ukrainian-Canadians is practically synonymous with multiculturalism, and as such is at the very heart of multicultural education.³⁸⁹

Therefore, in support of multiculturalism and multicultural education, Ukrainian Canadians have pursued their ethnocultural agenda of linguistic and cultural retention and development by lobbying provincial governments for the teaching of the Ukrainian language in the public school system. According to Mallea:

Ukrainians of Edmonton [and Manitoba], valuing their culture and determined to ensure its survival, organized and brought pressure to bear to achieve legislative and structural change in education. They formed committees; wrote briefs; elicited support from

interested parties; met with policymakers at the federal, provincial and municipal levels; lobbied legislators; engaged in political brokerage; and consistently applied pressure in pursuit of their goals.³⁹⁰

The language education goal of Ukrainian Canadians was to alter existing legislation in the Public Schools Act in order to establish a Ukrainian educational dimension within the province's school system. According to Lupul:

No one would maintain that languages such as German, Italian, or Ukrainian can be languages of communication in Canada. However, they and other are [italics in original] languages of culture or at least of cultural identity in Canada, and access to them in the state school systems where numbers warrant must be on the same basis as access to English and French, if multiculturalism is to have a living base and some guarantee against degenerating into superficial folk cultures.³⁹¹

The EUBP created by Ukrainian Canadians in the prairie provinces is an example of a language program that illustrates the dynamics of contemporary educational pluralism within the ideology of multiculturalism.³⁹² The EUBP builds on the federal principle of bilingualism made explicit through the Official Languages Act, while ensuring the linguistic and cultural aspirations of Ukrainian Canadians. The establishment of the EUBP also demonstrates the politics of educational change.

In this study the concept of multiculturalism and the federal multicultural policy will be analyzed to demonstrate how the ideology and the policy of multiculturalism enabled Ukrainian Canadians, with the assistance of the UPBC, not only to achieve recognition of their cultural identity but also, through the vehicle of multicultural education, retain their language and culture in the creation and development of the EUBP.

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CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to understand the role of UPBC in creating and developing the EUBP in Manitoba, it is necessary to provide an historical background of the Ukrainian Canadian community and Ukrainian education in the province from 1891-1976. The historical background is presented according to the following four distinct historical eras:

1. Pioneer Era (1896-1916): The First Wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and Ukrainian bilingual education in the public school system;
2. WWI and Interwar Era (1917-39): The Second Wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and Anglo-conformity in the public school system;
3. Post WWII Era (1945-70): The Third Wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and re-establishment of Ukrainian education in the public school system; and
4. Multicultural Era (1970 onwards): Ukrainian Canadian community lobbies the Canadian government for ethnocultural rights, heritage language programming, and the EUBP in the public school system.

The historical background is supported through a literature review that provides a descriptive narrative and interpretive analysis of the four historical eras as they relate to the history of Ukrainians in Canada and specifically, Ukrainian language education in the Province of Manitoba from 1891-1976. Cohen and Manion claim that:

The review of the literature which an empirical researcher is required to undertake is in itself a kind of historical study because he is reconstructing what was done in the past in a particular respect; so the principles of historical research have some bearing on part of his work at least.¹

In addition, they state that:

The review of the literature in other forms of educational research is regarded as a preparatory stage to gathering data and serves to acquaint the researcher with previous research on the topic he himself is studying. It thus enables him to continue in a tradition, to take his work in context, and to learn from earlier endeavours. The function of the review of literature in historical research, however, is different in that it provides the data for research; the researcher's acceptance or otherwise of his hypothesis will depend on his selection of information from the review and the interpretation he puts on it.²

The third and fourth eras of the historical background and literature review will also include the specific history of the UCC and UPBC, who were significant in the development of Ukrainian language education in the public school system. The historical background of Ukrainians in Canada and Manitoba will also be written in a socio-historical context that examines the social, cultural, economic, religious, political, and organizational elements both inside and outside of the Ukrainian Canadian community that were significant in influencing the development of Ukrainian education in Manitoba and in creating the EUBP. The development of Ukrainian education as it evolved through the history of Ukrainian Canadians will also be discussed by using the concepts of hegemony, assimilation, Anglo-conformity, resistance, culture, cultural identity, and multiculturalism.

Pioneer Era (1896-1916): The First Wave of Ukrainian
Immigration to Canada and Ukrainian Bilingual
Education in the Public School System

Immigration

Ukrainian immigration to Canada began in the 1890s. The initiative for immigration came from both Canada and Austrian Ukraine. Canadian authorities and railway companies, anxious to populate the prairies, solicited immigrants from Great Britain, the United States and northern Europe. At the same time, Galician and Bukovynian Ukrainian peasants were just as anxious to escape from centuries of political and social oppression and economic destitution in order to invest free land in western Canada.³

Ukrainian Canadian history officially dates 1891 as the beginning of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The question of the first Ukrainian immigrants to arrive in Canada is a contentious issue among researchers due to difficulties in obtaining precise evidence and ambiguities in Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak, and Russian surnames. However, the first Ukrainian immigrant, of whom there is a record, was Vassil Kochur and his wife, Anna, servants of a German colonist named Landetz, who came with him to Canada in 1888. Research also indicates that two Ukrainian students from Bessarabia came to Fort Saskatchewan, in Alberta, one of them named Koroliuk.⁴ However, the first Ukrainians to officially immigrate to Canada were Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiv (also Pylypiw, Pillipiw), from the village of Nebyliv, District of Kalush, in Ukraine.⁵ Lysenko states that:

It is recorded that on September 7, 1891, there were, on board the steamship Oregon, which docked at Montreal, two "Ruthenian workers" whose names were written down thus:

W. Illilik . . .

I. Pyliwsky . . .

Thus landed on Canadian soil the first "Men in Sheepskin Coats,"¹ two 30 yr-old family men, Ivan Pillipiw and Wasyl Eleniak, from the Carpathian mountain village of Nebilow in Galicia, leaders of a quarter-million immigrants to Canada's empty west.⁶

The Department of Immigration also records that other Ukrainians arrived in the same month of September. Pylypiv and Eleniak initially took up their homestead in Manitoba. A year later in 1892, Pylypiv returned to Ukraine for his and Eleniak's wife and children. Both families resettled themselves in Edna-Star and Chipman, Alberta.⁷ As a result of their enthusiastic report to friends and relatives of freedom, good farming conditions and opportunity, more Ukrainians began to immigrate to Canada.

Following the arrival of Pylypiv and Eleniak, Dr. Olip Oleskiw, a soil research expert, humanitarian and intellectual from Luiv, visited Canada and investigated its possibilities for immigration. As a result of his visit, he published two pamphlets entitled, O Emigratsiyi (On Emigration) and Pro Vilni Zemli (About Free Lands). The pamphlets were distributed in Western Ukraine to encourage immigration to Canada. In 1896, the Liberal Government of Wilfred Laurier appointed Clifford Sifton, lawyer, railway magnate, and Minister of Immigration to actively promote immigration from Ukraine. Sifton, who believed that capable farmers would be desirable immigrants, advertised for immigrants in Ukraine. Ukrainians responded by the thousands.⁸ They emigrated to Canada from two provinces in Western Ukraine, Galicia and Bukovyna. These provinces were

once on the eastern periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, however, after WWI they became part of Poland and Romania, respectively. As a result, it was difficult for Canadian authorities to identify the first Ukrainian immigrants.

According to Lupul:

The first Ukrainians were often mistaken for Austrians, Poles, Romanians, and Russians and were known by various names-- Galicians, Bukobynians, Ruthenians after Rutheni, the traditional name used in documents of the Roman Catholic curia when referring to Ukrainians or Belo-russians. Within the Austro-Hungarian Empire Ukrainians referred to themselves as rusyny, a term which led easily to further confusion of Ukrainians with Russians, for few among the first arrivals to Canada had sufficient knowledge of their own history to enlighten the host society equally uninformed about eastern Europe.⁹

The term "Ukrainian" used to identify Ukrainians, did not come into general use until after WWI. Prior to that time only the intelligentsia and the press used the term to designate Ukrainians.¹⁰

Settlement, Social Structure and Socio-economic Status

The Ukrainian immigrants settled in the prairie provinces between the cities of Winnipeg and Edmonton. Although they settled in rural and urban communities, they preferred to settle in close-knit communities referred to as "bloc settlements" that encouraged material and psychological support. Upon immigration most Ukrainians claimed their land and began to farm while those who preferred industrial occupations left for various manufacturing centres in town and cities in other provinces, such as, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia.¹¹

In 1896, Winnipeg became the gateway to the west through which successive waves of Ukrainian immigrants settled into the prairies. The largest group arrived in Winnipeg in July, 1896, from the steamship "Sicilia". Cyril Genik, who was the monitor, later became the first Ukrainian official civil servant in Canada. This group decided to settle in Stuartburn, Manitoba, and built a colony under the name of "Rus". Following their arrival, greater numbers of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in colonies, such as, Gardenton, Tolstoi (formerly Oleskiw), Shevchenko (now Vita), Rosa, Senkiw, Arbakka, Caliento, Sundown, Sandylands and Sirko.¹² Other rural settlements in Manitoba included Gonor, Brokenhead and Venlav, near Dauphin. Larger settlements were established in 1897 and 1898. In the Dauphin region new communities arose at Sifton, Ethelbert, Valley River, Fork River, Garland, Sclater, Cowan, Pine River, Gilbert Plains and Duck Mountain; in the Riding Mountain region at Riding Mountain, Sandy Lake, Menzie, Rossburn, Oakburn, Strathclair, and Shoal Lake; in the Interlake region at Teulon, Pleasant Home, Komarno, and Gimli; and, as previously mentioned, in southern Manitoba, near the Stuartburn area at Vita, Tolstoi, Caliento, Sundown, and Oleskiw. Ukrainian settlements also occurred in the Whitemouth district at Hadashville, Janow, and Melita, in the Roblin district at Shell River.¹³

Unlike North European or American immigrants, Ukrainian Canadian immigrants did not blend into the British and Protestant majority population. Unfortunately, Clifford Sifton did not realize the social implications of introducing a visibly "alien" element into the dominant culture. The British majority perceived Ukrainian and other Eastern European immigrants as a potential danger of the

new immigration. Due to the distinctiveness of their dress, culinary habits, language, and religion, they were both a threat and a challenge to the host society. Petryshyn describes the following ways the host society coped with the arrival of Ukrainian immigrants:

For some, the aversion dissipated quickly. They rationalized that the immigrants were facilitating economic growth, which was more important than the temporary "social stir" they caused. Others believed that the immigrants were detrimental to Canada; racially impure, they would blight the country's development both within the Empire and the world community nations. These people advocated segregation from foreign contamination and urged a cessation of "undesirable" immigration. Still others attempted to assimilate the East Europeans to their particular norms. The "Anglicizers", for example, endeavoured to mold the Ukrainians into British subjects by imbuing them with the language, ideas, and religion of Anglo-Saxondon. Both Protestants and Catholics, from their divergent perspectives, made up the front ranks of assimilation.¹⁴

However, aided by the compactness of their bloc settlements and the continuous stream of immigration, the growth of Ukrainian Canadian institutions resisted in part, Anglo-Saxon/Celtic Society's yearning for homogeneity, racial prejudice, and assimilation. Ukrainian pioneers also worked extremely hard to develop a solid socio-economic base for future generations of Ukrainian Canadians.

By 1912, there were 70,000 Ukrainian farms in Western Canada; 52,000 Ukrainians, in Manitoba, were engaged in the farming industry. The value of the Ukrainian farming industry that included land, buildings, stock, and equipment amounted to \$270,000,000. In addition, as a result of economic necessity and business opportunity, the Ukrainian Canadian pioneers were active and demonstrated steady progress in the labour, business, and professional fields.¹⁵

During the Pioneer Era, Ukrainian Canadian teachers, in particular, became

leaders in the Ukrainian Canadian community, and Ukrainian Canadian businesses developed in every rural and urban settlement in Western Canada. Ukrainian Canadians managed food stores, "boarding-houses", shoe repair shops, hotels, restaurants, small apartment blocks, book stores, and a variety of stores. Although they represented a small proportion of the Ukrainian Canadian population, Ukrainian Canadian professionals and businessmen contributed a great deal to the development of the Ukrainian Canadian community in Canada. Marunchak states:

Coupled with this energetic stride, the Ukrainian community in Canada, with each passing year, expressed its own unique identity through ever richer forms. Farmers and labourers alike, along with businessmen and professionals, forged their inborn characters and strengthened their rugged backbones during this epochal era.¹⁶

By 1900, Manitoba recorded the largest Ukrainian Canadian population in Canada, of 12,536 immigrants. Overall, according to Cyril Genik's statistical records, in 1900, 27,036 Ukrainians immigrated to Canada.¹⁷ This figure increased to approximately 170,000-180,000 Ukrainian immigrants during the Pioneer Era. Marunchak states that:

The so-called exceeded figure of 170,000 Ukrainians who came to Canada prior to World War One, is also accepted by Charles H. Young in his work, "The Ukrainian Canadians, A Study in Assimilation", who is very careful in the use of statistical data. Mr. Young's data are accepted as sufficiently valid, therefore, 200,000 Ukrainians in Canada before the First World War is the figure nearer the truth.

More accurate data are given by William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk in their Statistical Compendium. According to their research 171,500 Ukrainians arrived to Canada before the First World War.¹⁸

Religion and Churches

Four churches dominated religious life of Ukrainian Canadian pioneers: the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church, the Independent Greek Church, and the Baptist Church.

Initially, religious care of Ukrainian Catholic immigrants was settled by Ukrainian bishops from Lviv and Peremyshyl, and later administered by the Metropolitan seat in Lviv under the authority of Cardinal Sembratovych. On April 1, 1897, The Holy Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, in Rome, issued church regulations for religious services to be performed by Ukrainian priests in America. This created a conflict between Ukrainian priests in America and Roman Catholic bishops. Since Ukrainian priests were now under the jurisdiction of Roman Catholic bishops, they were unable, according to canonical law, to be independent under their own Eastern Rite and superior authority. In addition, the Roman Catholic clergy were opposed to having Ukrainian married priests (Catholic and Orthodox priests in Ukraine can be married) in North America. This resulted in a shortage of Ukrainian priests to the United States of America and to Canada, as unmarried priests from Ukraine were usually monks and widowers.¹⁹

Dr. Joseph Oleskiw was concerned with the spiritual and cultural development of Ukrainians immigrants. Marunchak states that

“No doubt that even at the time of his visit to Canada, Dr. Oleskiw had discussed the religious question with the first settlers, and this question had been also taken up with the Canadian Immigration authorities. As documents by later correspondence, this discussion had been printed in the weekly “Svoboda “ (Freedom) published in

U.S.A., and that Dr. Oleskiw felt embittered about the Roman Catholics in Winnipeg having a different view on his question (religion) because they considered themselves the only ones called to administer to Greek Catholics in Canada.²⁰

Despite unsuccessful appeals to the Canadian government and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Winnipeg, Dr. Oleskiw was able to receive assistance from the United States of America (USA) in Father Iwan Kostankevich and Father Nestor Dmytriv of Mount Carmel. These priests had become leaders in the community and edited one of the first newspapers on the North American continent, "Svoboda". Through Dr. Oleskiw's efforts, the priests from the USA agreed to provide for the religious requirements of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants until a larger mission of Ukrainian priesthood arrived from Ukraine. As a result, Rev. Father Dmytriv came to Canada in 1897 to assist Ukrainian Canadians and became the first Ukrainian priest in Canada.

Father Dmytriv began his work in Winnipeg. He celebrated the first Ukrainian Holy Mass in Canada in Terebowla and on September 12, 1897, organized the first Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.²¹ In 1898, an official letter requesting the services of a priest and for material aid was sent to Cardinal S. Sembratovych, of Lviv, from the Edna-Star Colony of Alberta. As a result of this letter, more priests were sent to Canada from Ukraine, namely; Rev. Pavlo Tymkevych; Rev. Damaskyn Polivka, of the Basilian Fathers, and Rev. Ivan Zaklynsky.²² During his work in Canada, Rev. Dmytriv advocated the need under canonical law for an independent Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada to be governed by its own bishop and subordinated to Lviv-Rome. Meanwhile, in

order to free themselves from the Roman Catholic clergy, Ukrainian parishes placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Association of the Ruthenian Church Parishes of USA and Canada.²³ At this time, the Ukrainian Catholic Church's representative from Ukraine, Rev. Wasyl Zholdak, arrived in Canada with three missionary priests from the Basilian Order, and four sisters from the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate. As a result, these missionaries established two Ukrainian religious orders in Canada.²⁴ Rev. Zholdak remained in Manitoba and was appointed by Archbishop Langevin as the administrator of the Greek Catholic Church.

In 1907, Rev. Mykola Strutynsky arrived in Winnipeg and took over the "Small Church" of Sts. Vladimir and Olha. The "Small Church" was in support of bringing Ukrainian parishes in Canada under the jurisdiction of Bishop Ortynsky who, in 1908, became the first bishop from Rome for Ukrainian Catholics in the USA. The "Small Church" was in opposition to the "Big Church" operated by the Basilian Fathers who accepted the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.²⁵ In 1910, Metropolitan Shepticky visited Canada to assess the progress and concerns of the Ukrainian Catholics. Convinced that the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada was in dire need of a Ukrainian Catholic bishop, Metropolitan Shepticky wrote an appeal to all Roman Catholic bishops in Canada. As a result, on July 28, 1911, the Roman Catholic bishops of Northwestern Canada, wrote a letter and informed the apostolic delegate in Ottawa that they were in favour of a separate ecclesiastical province for Ukrainians in Canada, and supported the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop. This was achieved on December 6, 1912,

with the arrival of Rev. Nykyta Budka, the prefect of the Theological Seminary in Lviv, who became the first Canadian bishop and head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Canada. Upon his arrival, Bishop Budka named the Sts. Vladimir and Olga parish, in Winnipeg, the "Pro-cathedral of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church".²⁶ In addition, the Basilian, Redemptorist, and Sister Servants Orders, acknowledged Bishop Budka as having jurisdiction over them. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada flourished and expanded under the leadership of Bishop Budka.

The Russian Orthodox Mission assisted in the development of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada. At this time there had not yet been a separation of the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. The first Ukrainian Orthodox priest in Canada, was Rev. Ivan Malarevsky, of Minneapolis, who served the Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Stuartburn, from 1897-1898.²⁷

In 1908, the Orthodox Church expanded its activities in Canada with the arrival of Abbot Arseny Chechovcev, who administered to all of Western Canada. Winnipeg became the centre of the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada, with 27 congregations. In 1910, the Russian Orthodox Mission became the Russian Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of a Canadian bishop.²⁸

In 1917, the Russian Revolution resulted in a significant change in the Russian Orthodox Church including the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada. At that time a division in the Russian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, in Winnipeg, occurred, when Ukrainians from Bukovina, who no longer wanted to give their allegiance to the Russian Orthodox Church, separated and created

their own church. Ukrainian immigrants, who did not agree with Bishop Budka's church policies, formed the Independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The "Bursa of Petro Mohyla" re-named in 1917 as the "Institute of Petro Mohyla", located in Saskatoon, became the organizing centre for the Independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church.²⁹ A "National Committee", comprised of students and leaders of the Institute, was formed to initiate this endeavour.

The National Committee held the "first confidential meeting pertaining to church affairs" on July 18-19, 1918, in Saskatoon. The Committee felt there was dissention between the Catholic clergy and the lay intelligentsia. Marunchak states that at this meeting

They voiced their discontent at the way church property of the Greek Catholic parishes, was being incorporated under Bishop Budka's authority, and were further dissatisfied with the fact that members of other nationalities were in the ranks of priests in Ukrainian churches and that Bishop Budka, supposedly, was trying to take over cultural and educational organizations under his control.³⁰

The Committee also felt that the 1596 church union with Rome was forced upon Ukrainian Canadians. Therefore, the Committee resolved to organize a Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada that would include married priests, and bishops chosen by the "Sobor", and church congregations that would have the right to hire and fire priests, and also retain ownership of the church property.

In addition, a "Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Brotherhood of Canada" was created to incorporate the Independent Ukrainian Orthodox church.³¹ This organization consisted of 16 members, who were both Orthodox and former Catholic Ukrainian Canadians. Syrian Metropolitan Germanos, who was under the

jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch and living in the United States, became the first bishop of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada.³² In 1920, the Metropolitan ordained the first four priests of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada, who incorporated the first congregations of this Church. They were Rev. S. W. Sawchuk, Rev. Dmytro Shatiychuk, Rev. Petro Sametz, and Rev. Wasyl Kudryk, the former editor of the "Ukrainian Voice".³³

The Ukrainian Baptist Church and congregations were also organized in Winnipeg, Oleskiw (Overstone-Tolstoi) and two or three other districts in Canada. The leaders in this church were I. Shakotko and M. Kryvetsky. The first Ukrainian Baptist conference in Western Canada, that included the participation of nine congregations, was held in 1909, in Canora, Saskatchewan. The first Ukrainian Baptist newspaper was initiated at this conference and in that same year was published in Toronto, as the first Ukrainian newspaper in Eastern Canada.³⁴

In addition an "Independent Greek Church" with affiliation to the Presbyterian Church of Canada also occurred in the Ukrainian Canadian community during the Pioneer Era. In the spring of 1903, Bishop Serafym (Stefan Ustvolksy), with the agreement of the Presbyterian Church, began his work in creating a "Greek Independent Church" in Canada, popularly known as the "Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Independent Church, or "Independent Orthodox Church". Two Ukrainian bilingual teachers assisted Bishop Serafym in his work: Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrych, who, in 1898, were taking theological training at the Manitoba College, in Winnipeg. Ordained by Bishop Serafym, they, together

with officials from the Manitoba College, formulated the new statute of the Greek Independent Church. A consistorium of the Church was organized on July 27, 1903, and a "Sobor", a religious convention, of this Church was held in Winnipeg, at the Taras Shevchenko Hall, on January 26 and 27, 1904.³⁵ The Independent Greek Church was established in three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, and was responsible for organizing many community centres in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Unfortunately, the Independent Greek Church became increasingly financially dependent on the Presbyterian Church. As a result, in 1913, the Independent Greek Church ceased to exist and declared itself members of the Presbyterian Church.³⁶

Politics

Ukrainian Canadian immigrants in Manitoba entered the political field at the municipal level by raising concerns with the provincial government regarding their homesteads, roads, bridges, schools, and unjust division of taxes in their municipalities. As a result, all-Ukrainian municipalities were created and administered by Ukrainian Canadians. The first Ukrainian Canadian municipality was Stuartburn, in 1902, followed by Gimli, Dauphin, Broken Head, and Kreuzberg. The first Ukrainian Canadian reeve was John Storozuk, of Stuartburn.³⁷

Ukrainian Canadian success in municipal politics encouraged their participation in provincial and federal affairs. Unfortunately, the two political parties in Canada, the Conservatives and the Liberals, often manipulated Ukrainian Canadians and their votes against one another. Marunchak states that

“this induced the settlers all the more to depend upon themselves and to take greater interest in electoral affairs.”³⁸ Manitoba’s “Order-in-Council” established in 1897, required that in order to receive citizenship papers, an applicant had to be fluent in English, French, or German. Unfortunately, this did not include the Ukrainian language and, consequently, deprived the Ukrainian people the right to vote, prevented them from obtaining legal ownership of the farms, and limited them to remain as homesteaders. Nevertheless, elected committees persisted in the process of obtaining citizenship documents in order to obtain a Ukrainian vote.

During the Pioneer Era, Ukrainian Canadians began organizing political clubs according to party politics. In 1907, The Ruthenian Conservative Club was created in Winnipeg, followed in 1908, by the Ruthenian Liberal Club. In addition, Ukrainian socialist parties were also organized. The Canadian Socialist Federation was organized in Eastern Canada, and the “Socialist-Democratic Party of Canada” was organized in Winnipeg, which, in 1911, united all socialists in Canada.³⁹ In 1911, the first Ukrainian Canadian alderman elected in the City of Winnipeg was Theodore Stefanyk.. In 1915, T. D. Ferby became the first Ukrainian Canadian Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) to be elected to the provincial legislature.⁴⁰

Cultural and Educational Organizations

Ukrainian Canadian social and cultural development began with the establishment of cultural-educational centres and organizations that were either restricted or modelled after similar institutions in Ukraine. Marunchak states:

In their own villages back home from whence they came, there were churches, schools and social, cultural and educational organizations. But here, in Canada they wished to have them all. They wanted to display it for themselves and for (what they thought was) their new and friendly environment), for they knew with an innate self-assurance, that the strength of a nation lies in its organized life and in its culture.⁴¹

The Ukrainian Canadian immigrants organized cultural centres or reading associations, called "Chytalnia" association, "Chytalnia Prosvita", or National Home, and religious brotherhoods. The reading associations included libraries and a facility for Ukrainian Canadian organizations and recreation. The "Chytalnias" and brotherhoods differentiated the religious, political, and cultural life of Ukrainian Canadians.

The first Ukrainian Canadian organization in Canada was the St. Nicholas Brotherhood, organized by Anthony Sawka, in Edna-Star, Alberta.⁴² This was followed by the creation of the first Ukrainian cultural-educational association in Canada, "Chytalnia Prosvita", also in Edna-Star, organized by Rev. Pavlo Tymkevych.

In Winnipeg, the first urban reading association "Multi-National Chytalnia" was organized in 1899. In 1903, due to accusations of socialistic tendencies, it was re-named the "Shevchenko Reading Society". A second cultural-educational centre, the Ukrainian National Home was organized in 1905. Other Ukrainian Canadian cultural-educational organizations created at that time were: Ukrainian Free Thought Federation, Ukrainian Socialist Party in Canada (Winnipeg Branch), St. Nicholas Brotherhood, Holy Trinity Women's Association, and St. Olga's Girls Association, organized in 1901; Brotherhood Benefit of the Feast of

Transfiguration, organized in 1904 by the Independent Greek Church; Canadian Ruthenian National Association, organized in 1905; Taras Shevchenko Reading Association, Ivan Franko Ukrainian National Library, and Taras Shevchenko Educational Association, organized in 1906; a "Chytalnia"- The Ukrainian Star, organized in 1907 and re-named as "The Canadian Star" in 1908; Canadian Orthodox Mission, organized in 1908; Brotherhood of Holy Trinity, organized in 1908 by the Canadian Orthodox Mission and backed by the Russian Orthodox Mission in USA and by the Russian Orthodox Church in Canada in 1918; "Chytalnia Prosvita" that collaborated with the St. Nicholas and the Sts. Vladimir and Olga parishes, and M. Kropywnytsky Drama Club, organized in 1908, "Vidrodzenia" (drama association), and "Zaporozhska Seech", organized in 1910; "Vilna Shkola" (free school), "Tovarystvo Besida", and Benefit Fraternity of John the Merciful, organized in 1911; Students Club of Self-Education, "Tovarystvo of M. Sichynsky" (drama club) , "Boyan" (Dramatic Club of M. Zankovetska), and Committee to Aid Ukrainian School, organized in 1912, Ukrainian National Home, Educational Association of Ivan Franko, Independent Ukraine, Ukrainian Women's Educational Fraternity, organized in 1916; the "Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita", as well as a number of other organizations.⁴³ In addition, Winnipeg provided leadership in organizing similar Ukrainian Canadian cultural-educational organizations in other rural settlements in Manitoba.

The Ukrainians brought to Canada a rich, cultural educational heritage that for centuries had been suppressed in Ukraine. It was their birthright, and a mark of their cultural identity. They were determined to preserve it and promote

its development in a free Canada. For them, the promise of freedom and activity was just as important as gaining economic stability.

Education and Schooling

Education and schooling for Ukrainian immigrants in Canada developed at a slower pace than other institutions due to economic reasons and initial lack of knowledge in organizing schools. As a result, a whole generation of Ukrainian Canadian children missed formal schooling almost entirely. Keywan and Coles state that:

In the worst position were the ones who emigrated as youngsters of ten years or less. They were too young to have gone to school in their active villages, too old to go in Canada. By the time schools began to appear in their settlements, these children were in their teens. They were the opens parents singled out to stay behind on the farm to go out to work, while their luckier younger brothers and sisters were sent off to school to probe the mysteries of reading, writing and arithmetic.⁴⁴

Role of Churches in Education

An effort to fill the educational void in the new Ukrainian Canadian colonies was initiated by the French-Canadian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian-Catholic Church, and the various English Protestant Churches, who set up missions in the block settlements. They operated private schools in which a limited number of students boarded and received an education. The first schools, for Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, were established through the energetic efforts of the French-Canadian clergy, specifically, Archbishop Adelard Langevin, of St. Boniface, and his suffragan Bishops, Pascal and Legal.

In 1896, Archbishop Langevin appealed to Rome to obtain Ukrainian

priests and teaching sisters for the new immigrants. In 1900 he sent Father Albert Lacombe, as his representative to Rome, Lviv, and Vienna, to press the matter of Ukrainian missionaries to Canada. As a result of his efforts, the first Basilian missionaries and Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, arrived in Canada in 1902. They were welcomed by the Oblate Fathers and Sisters, Faithful Companions of Jesus, at 9906-110th Street, Edmonton, Alberta, and started schools in Beaver Lake, Mundare, and Edmonton.⁴⁵

Private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian Schools

For some, private schools offered a small number of Ukrainian Canadian immigrant children a chance at education. Initial steps in establishing private schools, in Winnipeg, were taken by Fr. D. Polivka, in co-operation with the newly established, First Ukrainian Church, congregation in 1899.⁴⁶ Subsequently, on June 16, 1905, Sisters Athanasia and Alexia, of Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, arrived in Winnipeg, where a small Ukrainian school had been established by Father M. Hura, O.S.B.M. and taught by a secular teacher. On August 28, 1905, the Sisters established a school at the corner of Selkirk Avenue and McGregor Street. In the winter of 1905, they moved their school to St. Nicholas Church. Through the endeavours of the Sisters, Rev. Matey Hura, V. Kudryk and M. Hladky, the first "Ridna Shkola" (Native School) in Winnipeg, began in 1905, in the St. Nicholas Parish.⁴⁷ By 1906, their school had an enrolment of 160 students. On October 24, 1911, the large enrolment at the parish resulted in the establishment of St. Nicholas School.⁴⁸

Private schools were the luxury of the urban minority and not the rural

majority. The reality of life for most rural Ukrainian immigrants was labouring on rocky farms, railway rights-of-way, and in work gangs. Loneliness and toil were usually the lot of women and children could expect an abbreviated education and early introduction into the lowest stratum of the labour force.⁴⁹ Private schools were funded by fees paid by parents and financial assistance from the Catholic Church. While some of these schools existed for several years, other had to liquidate themselves. Marunchak states that:

All experienced great hardships and survived the pioneer era only through the great devotion and determination shown by the organizers and teaching personnel. Also the devotion of the students to everything their parents and educators considered meaningful played more than a small role in this struggle.⁵⁰

Public Schools

Bilingual education in the public school system. Ukrainian Canadian bilingual education in the public school system began with the Manitoba School Question. Hryniuk and McDonald state that

their [Ukrainian immigrants] initial arrival, however, followed one of the most unsettling social and political periods in the post-Confederation era. The immediate cause of the friction was located in Manitoba and became known as the Manitoba School Question. This issue preoccupied Canadian political life from 1890 to 1897, and the negotiated compromise solution, however unanticipated, directly influenced the schooling experience of the early Ukrainian immigrants.⁵¹

In 1890, the Manitoba government had abolished the dual system of denominational schools and decreed that there would be one non-sectarian system for students in which the language of instruction would be English. The French-Canadians and Catholics, in Manitoba and Quebec, feared that this

system of education would deprive French-Canadian children from being educated in their ancestral language and appealed to the Privy Council in London against the legislation. As a result, in 1896, a compromise was reached between Prime Minister, Sir Wilfred Laurier, and the Premier of Manitoba, Sir Rodmond Palen Roblin, for an amendment to Section 258, of the 1890 Public Schools Act. In March 1897, the first language legislation in Manitoba's history declared that:

When 10 of the pupils in any school speaks the French language or any language other than English as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system.^{15 52}

The amended Manitoba Public Schools Act was favourably received by the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants since it provided their children with the opportunity of learning English without the risk of losing their Ukrainian language and culture. Furthermore a bilingual system with certified Ukrainian/English speaking teachers would alleviate Ukrainian parents' concerns of linguistic assimilation. Hryniuk and McDonald further state that according to the immigrant perspective on bilingual schools, "the children would grow up literate in both languages: learn what was useful to them in their Canadian context, and yet not forget their Ukrainian heritage."⁵³

Language retention was extremely important for the Ukrainian Canadian immigrant and for Ukrainian Canadian community's cultural identity and integrity. It served as a bond between the first generation, who had difficulty and few opportunities to learn English, and the second generation, who were quickly

exposed to the English culture and language. Due to the compact and insulated bloc settlements in the rural areas of the prairies, the threat to language was less direct than in urban centres. The Ukrainian Canadian immigrants resisted Anglo-Celtic intrusion and continued a way of life where Ukrainian was spoken at home, church, and community events. Ukrainian Canadian immigrants experienced more discrimination and assimilation in urban Winnipeg than in rural areas of Manitoba. The Ukrainian press in Winnipeg who stressed the importance of learning the English language and a trade, encouraged children to attend schools and adults to attend evening classes. However, Hryniuk and McDonald claim that many Ukrainian Canadian children did not attend school due to the fact that they "encountered discrimination which led parents to keep their children at home."⁵⁴

As a result, research indicates that some Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were antagonistic towards the public school system and opposed the establishment of schools and intrusion by English teachers. They feared that schools and English teachers were instruments of assimilation designed to eliminate the Ukrainian Canadian national identity, language, and culture.

According to Skwarok:

A further hindrance to the progress of education amongst Ukrainian settlers in Canada was a natural and instinctive resistance to anything which proposed or suggested assimilation. Their whole historical background was a struggle for the preservation of their national identity, and the public school, the greatest instrument of assimilation, was looked upon with distrust and suspicion.⁵⁵

Therefore, it was difficult, initially, to organize schools in Ukrainian Canadian immigrant communities. School attendance was problematic. According to Hryniuk and McDonald, it was an ongoing problem that was "not resolved by the introduction of compulsory education or by placing allegedly recalcitrant Ukrainian school districts under official trusteeship."⁵⁶ Absenteeism occurred for the following reasons: (1) children were needed for farm seasonal work when the heads of families worked away from homesteads, (2) there was an absence of roads and warm clothing needed by Ukrainian Canadian children to walk great distances to school, (3) young children often could not travel the distance to school due to weather conditions and difficult terrain (these were considered to be the largest obstacles to school attendance), (4) some parents were hostile and indifferent to schooling in that they were afraid that an education and knowledge of English would alienate their children from them, (5) English speaking teachers were looked upon with distrust as instruments of the government to assimilate Ukrainians, (6) some parents felt that teachers were unsuitable or inexperienced due to the fact that they could not speak the Ukrainian language, (7) trustees were unable to hire teachers and consequently schools remained closed for months at a time, and (8) it was difficult to find qualified English-speaking teachers for Ukrainian Canadian districts. Many teachers did not want to teach in Ukrainian Canadian settlements due to prejudices, sense of cultural superiority, promise of more lucrative positions elsewhere, absence of suitable accommodations (living with immigrant families) and feelings of loneliness and isolation in a district where immigrants spoke little

or no English. Nevertheless, attendance at schools improved as a result of bilingual teachers.

Contrary to some Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, the more forward looking Ukrainian immigrants refused to witness their children growing up in ignorance. They longed for educational opportunities denied to them in Ukraine. To them the benefits of a public school education, and of learning the Canadian language was paramount. Hryniuk and McDonald state that "others thought it very proper that the children should be taught knowledge appropriate to living in one of the Dominions of the British Empire, including Anglo-Saxon principles of democracy."⁵⁷ They had a respect for schooling that was inculcated in Ukraine and brought with them to Canada. Most Ukrainian Canadian immigrants believed that (1) education was a way of securing a better life for immigrant children, enabling them to avoid the hardships faced by their parents, (2) public schooling was the first step towards training immigrant children for various professions, such as, teaching, government, law, medicine and the church, (3) education in arithmetic was important in order for immigrant children to know the income and expense from their "husbandry", and (4) education would enable Ukrainian Canadian immigrants to achieve equal status with other nationalities thereby providing success and opportunity for all ethno-cultural groups to live together in harmony. Pinuita claims that:

Ukrainian immigrant parents were anxious to see their children enjoy a better life than they had themselves. Deprived of the benefits of education in their homeland, they wanted to give their children a good education and to have them learn English. But they also wished to take advantage of the freedoms that Canada

offered them to preserve their national identity and to develop their culture which had been suppressed by the foreign rulers of their native land. They desired their children to have Ukrainian as well as English.⁵⁸

During the Pioneer Era, the politics of church and education became intricately intertwined after the endorsement of the bilingual system of education. At that time, the rapid growth of cities created urban problems of poverty, overcrowding, ill health, social vice, and at times violence. Unfortunately the immigrant was seen as the cause of falling morality. Petryshyn states that "the Ukrainian Canadians, for example, were considered 'a dangerous element' in the cities.² Their depraved nature, explained by 'centuries of poverty and oppression', had 'animalized' them."^{3,59} Consequently, the Anglo-Celtics, particularly the Methodists and Presbyterians considered it their responsibility to assist immigrants by making them English-speaking Christian citizens who were clean, educated, and loyal to Canada and Great Britain. They viewed it as their duty, as an Anglo-Celtic and Protestant nation, "doing battle"⁶⁰ against non-Protestant denominational Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Greek Orthodox churches to which a majority of immigrants belonged. Even though bilingual education was approved by Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries, as well as other Anglo-Celtic educators, politicians, academics, and the press, regarded the elementary school as the primary vehicle of assimilation and Anglo-conformity. The public school was designated the guardian of Anglo-Celtic culture, linguistic homogeneity, and national unity. J. S. Woodworth, a prominent Methodist minister, wrote:

How are we to break down the walls which separate these foreigners from us? First of all comes the Public School. Too great [an] emphasis cannot be placed upon the work that has been accomplished and may--yes, must be accomplished by our national schools.^{11 61}

Woodworth's conviction was echoed in the reports of school inspectors, such as that of T. M. Maguire, of Manitoba:

The great work of the public school in Canada is the foundation and development of a high type of national life. This is particularly true in Western Canada, with its heterogeneous population . . . these incongruous elements have to be assimilated, have to be welded into one harmonious whole if Canada is to attain the position that we, who belong here by right of birth and blood, claim for her. The chief instrument in this process of assimilation is the public school.^{12 62}

Moreover, the following viewpoint was expressed by the Presbyterian, Reverend Thomas Hart, a professor at Manitoba College:

The education problem of Manitoba is both difficult and important . . . the task of unifying these diverse races, and making them intelligent citizens, English in speech, Canadian in sentiment, and British in loyalty to the empire, is one of no ordinary magnitude.^{21 63}

However, many Anglo-Celtic educators did not perceive the bilingual principle as a threat to "Canadianization" because they viewed bilingual schools and bilingual teachers as intermediaries, who would gradually "Anglicize" immigrant children until a totally English public school system emerged.

The French Catholic hierarchy also supported bilingual education and regarded Ukrainian Canadian immigrants as potential allies for French Catholic linguistic and religious rights in order to restore the confessional system that was revoked in 1890. For example, since 1884, Archbishop Langevin was a sustaining force for bilingual education and Canadian Ukrainian ethno-cultural

minority rights. He was not only determined to restore bilingual sectarian schools to their former status after the Laurier-Greenway agreement but also accused the Protestant clergy of attempting to convert the Ukrainian Canadians to Protestantism rather than to advance their education. Petryshyn states that

for Langevin, language and religion were inextricably connected;²² he was therefore greatly disturbed by Protestant endeavours to "evangelise" the Ukrainian because at the same time they undermined the bilingual principle. Langevin saw Catholic Slavs as potential allies in his struggle to promote French linguistic and religious rights.⁶⁴

Langevin hoped to counter the Anglo-Protestant agenda by promoting a multilingual, multicultural milieu in order to protect and expand French Catholic linguistic and religious rights. He approached the Conservative Premier, R. P. Roblin, for support. As a result, in exchange for French Catholic hierarchy support of certain Conservative candidates in elections, the Premier granted concessions to French Catholics in operating their schools and bilingual schools for Ukrainian, Polish, and German immigrants.⁶⁵

Bilingual teachers: Ruthenian training school. As Ukrainian Canadian immigrants became better established in building their own churches and community halls, they participated more actively in municipal governments and in creating and running school districts. As more schools were organized, the supply of bilingual teachers, who would not only be instructors but also counsellors, guides and interpreters for Ukrainian communities, became a priority. In 1899 and 1904, Archbishop Langevin appealed intensively to the Austrian government for Ukrainian teachers. Receiving no response, he

requested that Premier Roblin establish a Ukrainian seminary to educate bilingual teachers.⁶⁶ In 1904, the demand for bilingual teachers was also led by John Baderski, school organizer and inspector of schools, who recommended that the Manitoba government create a training institute for bilingual teachers. The Roblin government, preoccupied with soliciting votes from ethnocultural communities, agreed to establish a special training school for bilingual teachers. As a result, in February, 1905, the Conservative government opened the Ruthenian Training School, on Minto Street, in Winnipeg, under the principalship of J. T. Creassy.⁶⁷ In addition to the teachers who instructed in English at the school, two teachers, Jacob Makolin and P. D. Pyrch, instructed in Ukrainian language and literature.⁶⁸ The school was designed to prepare Ukrainian/English and Polish/English teachers. Courses were offered in pedagogy and theology and complemented those offered at Manitoba College. However, in 1970, due to difficulties between Polish and Ukrainian students, the Ukrainian section of the school was transferred to Brandon⁶⁹ where the staff of Ukrainian Canadian instructors increased to include Taras Ferley, Ivan Basarab, and Professor Peter Karmansky.⁷⁰

The students, young men in their teens and early 20's, who attended the Ruthenian Training School, encountered many frustrations. They were criticized for both their Ukrainian nationalism and pedagogical incompetence. Although some of them received a good education in Ukraine, their knowledge of the English language was limited, resulting in difficulties with courses and college entrance examinations. Nevertheless, over time, the students learned and/or

perfected the English language. In addition to taking courses, such as Grade 9 equivalent of Canadian and British history, English language and literature, geography, botany, mathematics, bookkeeping, and physical education, they passed examinations at the Grade 9 level, attended six months of special pedagogical training in Normal School curricula, and graduated with special certificates to teach in Ukrainian Canadian school districts.⁷¹ Between 1905 and 1911, only twenty-one of the ninety-two men at the Brandon Institute completed the course and received third-class non-professional certificates. Martynowych gives a detailed account of Ukrainian bilingual teacher graduates from the Ruthenian Training School:

In Manitoba about two-thirds of the seventy-five Ukrainian bilingual teachers surveyed in November 1915 held third-class (professional and non-professional) certificates while the rest taught on permits.³⁹

. . . .
Of thirty-five teachers in Manitoba in 1907, only fifteen were still teaching in 1912 and only nine in 1915.⁴² . . . Most former teachers entered business, the professions or public life. At least twenty-three of the young men who taught in Ukrainian districts before 1918 had earned university degrees by the early 1920s while five others had entered the priesthood, five were elected to provincial legislatures and one to Parliament during the twenties and thirties.⁴⁴

Bilingual teachers: Leadership role in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers had a great influence among Ukrainian Canadian immigrants. They became leaders in the Ukrainian Canadian community by educating both children and adults in Ukrainian and English languages. Syrnick states:

The graduates of the Ruthenian Training School, most of them, had a mission to perform. The object of that mission was the

advancement of Ukrainian people, their adaptation to the way of life of their adopted land, and their eventual participation in every phase of Canadian activity.⁷³

In addition to using and teaching the Ukrainian language during school hours, many Ukrainian Canadian teachers taught Ukrainian to students, and elementary English and other subjects to adults, after school hours. Ukrainian Canadian bilingual schools were connected into centres of general culture where teachers and other leading members of the community operated reading rooms, gave lectures, staged concerts, and presented theatrical productions. Although Ukrainian Canadian teachers were interested in educating children in the Ukrainian language, they understood the value and importance of mastering the English language for the general Ukrainian Canadian community. They felt that they were Ukrainian Canadians and that it was their duty to help their community and their children adjust to the Canadian way of life.⁷⁴ According to Marunchak:

The bilingual teachers were teaching the youthful settlers not only the official language of Canada but they also infused into the minds of pupils the Anglo-Saxon principles of democratic forms of government while endeavouring at the same time to contribute values of their own people: the concept of freedom and social justice, the subordination of individual interests to the higher ideals of a society [sic], an awareness of the need for improvement in the lot of the "little man", the struggle for the progress and happiness of people as a whole. The teachers were doing all this with a sense of responsibility for the destiny of their own people in a new country.⁷⁵

Bilingual teachers' conventions. Ukrainian Canadian teachers also displayed their leadership through annual Teachers' Conventions where they not only considered school issues such as advocating for bilingual textbooks, a School Act translation and compulsory attendance, but also Ukrainian Canadian

community issues and concerns. The conventions became a forum for all issues that concerned the lives of Ukrainian Canadians. The conventions also became a vehicle from which teachers petitioned their respective governments as to the needs they deemed necessary for their teaching courses and the Ukrainian Canadian community.

As a result of increased discrimination of Ukrainian Canadian teachers in non-Ukrainian districts and a growing sense of national consciousness and cultural identity, Ukrainian Canadian teachers planned their first convention in 1907. The convention was organized in Winnipeg with approximately forty teachers in attendance. At this convention, Ukrainian Canadian teachers formed the Ukrainian Teachers' Association, abandoning for the first time the term, "Ruthenian", and incorporating the motto, "Virtue, Industry, Education".⁷⁶ During this conference, the Ukrainian Canadian teachers discussed the need to establish an independent Ukrainian Canadian weekly newspaper free of political and denominational affiliations. On June 9, 1907, within three days of the convention, Ukrainian Canadian teachers forwarded a letter to the Department of Education advising the government on ways to identify the training of teachers and establish compulsory school attendance.⁷⁷

Following the first Teachers' Convention, in 1908, the Ukrainian Canadian teachers organized the first national Ukrainian Canadian mass meeting. At this meeting, Ukrainian Canadian teachers and delegates from various organizations discussed educational and community concerns. It was resolved that reading halls in farm districts and small towns form an organizational superstructure

under the name, "Canadian Prosvita", and that a convention of teachers be held at which all cultural and educational problems of the Ukrainian Canadians in Manitoba and Canada can be discussed.⁷⁸ In the same year, Ukrainian Canadian teachers appealed to the Ukrainian Canadian community to discontinue the use of all sorts of subordinate names for their nationality, and use only the term, "Ukrainian".⁷⁹ The third convention of Ukrainian Canadian teachers was held in Winnipeg in 1909, and at this convention a resolution was passed condemning any attempt to deprive Ukrainian Canadian teachers or students in the schools of the right to their own language as an instrument of education.⁸⁰

Bilingual teachers: Ukrainian intelligentsia. The first Ukrainian Canadian teachers became the nucleus of the future Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia-- young men influenced by the secular ideas of the Ukrainian national movement.⁸¹

According to Martynowych:

A handful of young and relatively well-educated immigrants had even belonged to the Radical, Social Democratic and National Democratic parties. It would be these young men ("the intelligentsia"), imbued with the radical ideology of the Ukrainian national movement, who, more than anyone else, would shape the Ukrainian-Canadian community during the formative years by espousing secularism, promoting and establishing educational and economic self-help institutions and mobilizing immigrants for political activity in pursuit of Ukrainian interests.⁸²

The intelligentsia were often referred to as nationalists, although they called themselves "narodovtsi" (populists). They were also referred to by other Ukrainians as "nezalezhnyky" (independents), or "samostinyky" (proponents of self-reliance). Although they were never identified as "natsionalisty" (nationalists)

in the Ukrainian Canadian community, Anglo-Canadians, particularly Protestant missionaries and newspaper editors, such as, J. W. Dafoe, of the Manitoba Free Press, described them as nationalists and found their efforts to preserve and cultivate a distinct Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada disturbing.⁸³ The goals of the nationalists included non-sectarianism, bilingual education, economic self-reliance, and political independence for the Ukrainian Canadian community.⁸⁴

The largest and most influential faction of the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia were school teachers, entrepreneurs, and professionals. The first members of the intelligentsia were young immigrant men with some education, the first graduates of the Ruthenian Training School, as well as high school and university students. These included Cyril (Kyrolo) Genik, Ivan Bodrug, and Ivan Negrych, and the first teachers: Ferley, Kudryk, Arsenych, Bachynsky, Stechishin, Sawchuk, Czumer, Hawryliuk, Bodnar, Prodan, Bohonos, Martsiniw, Ziubrak, among others.⁸⁵ The membership within the intelligentsia expanded by 1914 to include government and political party agents, university professors, small businessmen, newspaper editors, and labour organizers. By 1914, the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia included between two hundred and two hundred and fifty individuals.⁸⁶

Before the 1920s, the intelligentsia had established most Ukrainian Canadian secular institutions in Canada that later became infrastructures for nation-wide associations, such as, literary societies, reading clubs, drama circles, choirs, co-operative stores, and political organizations. The intelligentsia was also instrumental in the formation of two new churches: the Independent Greek

Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church.⁸⁷ However, the most important role of the intelligentsia was acting as intermediaries between Ukrainian Canadians and Anglo-Canadians by providing leadership for the Ukrainian Canadian urban and frontier labourers and the young generation of farmers, businessmen and professionals during and after WWI.

In July 1910, the intelligentsia, or nationalists, organized their first society called, "Zaporizka Sich Association". This Association established a library, sponsored weekly and biweekly lectures and debates, and offered literacy classes, physical exercise, and gymnastics. Two of the most important initiatives of this Association that had an enormous impact on the Ukrainian Canadian community, were the organization of the first non-denominational Ukrainian Canadian student residence for the higher education called, "bursa", and the establishment of a non-denominational Ukrainian national home, "narodnyi dim", with an auditorium, stage, office space, and room for Ukrainian Canadian cultural and educational societies to hold meetings, lectures, concerts, plays, and store books and property.⁸⁸

The Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia were also the leading proponents of bilingual education. The intention and expansion of bilingual schools and second language learning were crucial issues to the intelligentsia. They believed that while English was very important, it was incumbent upon the public school to help maintain the Ukrainian language and culture. According to the intelligentsia, the issue was not how best to teach English, but how best to educate the immigrant child by cultivating respect and enthusiasm for schools and learning

that could only be accomplished in bilingual schools with bilingual teachers and textbooks. The Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia, together with the Ukrainian Teachers' Association and the Ukrainian press called for the introduction of compulsory education in Manitoba and, at the same time, demanded bilingual education and a non-anglicized curriculum. Hryniuk and McDonald stated that

they objected, for example, to the monarchist, imperialist and capitalist content of the stories used in the children's primers.⁸⁷ Other Ukrainians merely asked that Ukrainian books be used even if they had to be obtained from the homeland⁸⁸ Some Ukrainians resented portions of the curriculum because they believed that the children were deliberately being anglicized.^{90 89}

By 1913, in order to restrain the effort to anglicize Ukrainian Canadian immigrant children in schools, bilingual readers were published and used by teachers in Manitoba despite opposition from school inspectors. Derkatz states that "they [Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia] became an effective political lobby who by 1913 had succeeded in acquiring a Manitoba Government publication of the first readers which contained a page by page English text accompanied by a Ukrainian translation."⁹⁰ The persistence of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants for education and their concern about assimilation caused teachers to secretly use the readers and Ukrainian language primers even after the abolition of bilingual schools in 1916.

Bilingual teachers: Ukrainian press and literature. The Ukrainian Canadian teachers were also instrumental in establishing the Ukrainian Press and forming the Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada. On March 16, 1910, the first Ukrainian weekly, "Ukrainskij Holos" (Ukrainian Voice), was published.⁹¹

There were three other Ukrainian language newspapers at that time: Kanadiiskyi Farmer (Canadian Farmer) founded with the support of the Liberal Party in 1903, Ranok (Morning), supported by the Presbyterian Church and published in 1905, and Robochyi Narod (Working People), published by Ukrainian Canadian socialists in 1908.⁹² However, due to their limited political or religious agendas, these papers could not adequately defend the interests of the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants. As a result, the "Ukrainskyj Holos" weekly first used the name, "Ukrainian", that became the voice of Ukrainian Canadian teachers, farmers, labourers, and penetrated areas where it was impossible for the Ukrainian Canadian teachers and other Ukrainian Canadian immigrants to travel.

"Ukrainskyj Holos" was the first Ukrainian newspaper to champion the interests of the Ukrainian Canadians rather than a particular religious denomination, social class, or political party. According to Marunchak, the following three factors comprising the development and aspirations of the Ukrainian Canadian community were revealed in Ukrainian press and literature:

The first and the basic one was the desire of the society to mold itself by means of its own values as a separate cultural-national entity possessing its individual cultural characteristics and along with it its own national aims. . . .

Responsibility for the well-being of Canada, its development and future comprised the second component part. . . .

In addition to those two factors there was a third element that entered into the general sphere namely, the inborn desire for freedom, to feel like a human being, to be oneself.⁹³

Consequently, the Ukrainian press became the forum of the more nationally conscious sector of the Ukrainian Canadian community and attacked the attempts of outside political and religious groups to lead Ukrainian Canadians

astray and even criticized some Ukrainian Canadians for their willingness to abandon their community to service others.

The role of the pioneer Ukrainian Canadian teachers and "Ukrainskyi Holos" cannot be underestimated. Many articles and editorials appeared in the press stressing the value of education, enforcing the maintenance of bilingual schools, and appealing to parents to heed these opportunities. The appeals and wide publicity given to high school and college students were influential in guiding Ukrainian Canadians towards higher education in universities.

Stechishin states that:

Together with the teachers, Ukrainskyi Holos literally transferred the attitudes of Ukrainians in about four years. In every district, "National Homes" were built in which libraries were established, reading rooms organized, and various other cultural activities conducted. As a result of this transformation, the ethnic mass of "Rusyny" became informed Ukrainians, conscious of their heritage, who dared once more to resist the encroachments of Muscovite, Latin, and Protestant influences. In this effort, the creation of Ukrainskyi Holos was a memorable achievement which inaugurated a new significant period, filled with heroism and sacrifice, in the history of Canadian Ukrainians.⁹⁴

In addition to the Ukrainian press, it is important to note that Ukrainian literature, book stores, and publishing companies, also made steady progress during the Pioneer Era. Many writers became future editors of the Ukrainian press.

The Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers, through education, conventions and the press, advocated progressive ideas in general advancement and self-betterment in all aspects of Ukrainian and community life in Canada. They continually emphasized the desirability of preserving and fostering the

Ukrainian culture and language. In organizing Ukrainian Canadian community activities they were able to resist assimilation by the host society by awakening a sense of national consciousness through support of Ukrainian cultural-educational pursuits.

Public schools/districts. During the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, 97 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were illiterate peasants, who had very little opportunity for education in Ukraine.⁹⁵ Although some Ukrainian Canadians were literate in their own language, there were only a few individuals among those who arrived in Canada before 1900, who completed secondary school and were qualified teachers, namely; Cyril (Kyrylo) Genik, John (Ivan) Bodrug, John (Ivan) Negrych, Vasyl (Wasyl) Cichocky, John Danylchuk, and George (Yurko) Syrotiuk, who later departed for California.⁹⁶ Cyril Genik became an interpreter and civil servant with the immigration authorities for many years, from which position he was able to advise and assist Ukrainian Canadian immigrants in their settlements and with their education.

Manitoba was the first of the three prairie provinces to organize schools in Ukrainian Canadian settlements.⁹⁷ In 1898, Vasyl Cichocky became the first teacher of the first Manitoba public school formed by Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, and the first Ukrainian Canadian school district, "Galicia", in Northern Rockwood, occurred in 1899.⁹⁸ Negrych and Bodrug were also among the first teachers of Ukrainian descent in Canada, teaching at "Trembowla" school in Valley River and "Kosiw" school in Dauphin, respectively.⁹⁹ They later became important figures in the organization of the Ruthenian Independent Orthodox

Church, generally known as the "Seraphimite" Church, and today known as the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.¹⁰⁰

The earliest organizers of schools for Slavic (Ukrainian and Polish) immigrants in Manitoba, were John Baderski and M. Rudnicki, appointed in 1903 and 1904, respectively. However, they did not understand the concerns of the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants and, therefore, were not confident in organizing schools. As a result, in 1907, the government appointed Theodore Stefanyk to this position.¹⁰¹

For eleven years there was a consistent supply of bilingual teachers for school districts from the Brandon Institute. At this time, between 150 and two hundred bilingual teachers graduated from the Ruthenian Training School.¹⁰² The constant supply of teachers resulted in an increase of school districts in Manitoba. In 1910, Paul Gigeychuk was appointed to organize schools.¹⁰³ By 1910, thirty-three of the eighty-two schools in Manitoba were noted as having Ukrainian names, such as, "Swoboda", "Koroluwka", "Bukowina", "Czerwona", "Zielona", "Borshaw", "Halich", "Dolna", "Gorna", "Hranko", "Wolodimir", "Kolomyja" and "Trembowla".¹⁰⁴ By 1915, Ukrainian Canadian immigrants organized a large number of school districts. According to the Department of Education, by the middle of 1915, there were ninety-one school districts that offered bilingual instruction in English and Ukrainian and a handful which offered instruction in Polish.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Hryniuk and McDonald state that:

In January 1916, two months before the Manitoba Legislature voted to repeal the section of the Public Schools Act that permitted the bilingual schools, Charles K. Newcombe, superintendent of

schools, reported on the state of these schools: "One hundred and eleven districts operate Ruthenian, or Polish, bilingual schools, employing 114 teachers, with an enrolment of 6,513 pupils and an average attendance of 3,884."^{35 106}

As a result, the number of schools in Ukrainian Canadian settlements increased from approximately 40 in 1907 to 125 in 1926.¹⁰⁷

It is interesting to note that Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were unable to tax themselves to support and maintain their schools because they had limited capital when they immigrated to Manitoba. In addition, the potential tax base was reduced where adjacent lands were owned by non-resident speculators, who were exempt from paying taxes. Established municipalities in Manitoba also refused to financially assist Ukrainian Canadian immigrants in their educational needs. Hryniuk and McDonald cite Inspector Best who describes the immigrant perspective as follows: "This state of affairs is not only a hardship and a grave injustice to settlers . . . but also a formidable hindrance to education work."¹⁰⁸ As a result, Ukrainian Canadian immigrants had to form their own municipalities in order to build and organize schools for their children and Ukrainian bilingual teachers played a major role in this endeavour.

By 1916 the Ukrainian school experience in Manitoba was similar to other non-English speaking immigrants in that there were no public school systems in rural areas and the immigrants had to contend with increased bigotry and discrimination from the host society. Hryniuk and McDonald note that

although some of the school inspectors recognized both the difficulties they encountered and their achievements, city-bound administrators, politicians and editors knew and cared all too little about the long distances, bad roads and inadequate tax bases

which the Ukrainian settlers and their children confronted in their quest for schooling.¹⁰⁹

Despite the hardships experienced by Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, many went to extraordinary lengths and effort, such as physical exertion, discomfort and financial sacrifice to provide schooling opportunities for their children.

According to Hryniuk and McDonald

by 1916 an extensive network of "Ruthenian" schools covered the areas where the Ukrainian settlers lived. They had shown themselves to be seriously concerned about their children's education; and according to their means (and sometimes beyond) they had built schools and hired teachers, and thus provided for their children's elementary education.¹¹⁰

Schooling for all Ukrainian Canadian immigrant children became a reality when more schools and better roads were constructed. Most Ukrainian Canadian immigrant children attended elementary school. Although some children were unable to attend high school, some went on to higher education to become professionals. Others, who did not have this opportunity, completed grade school education and became the "backbone" of the community.

Abolition of bilingual education in the public school system. The role of the public school, from the Anglo-Canadian perspective, was to educate immigrant children exclusively from the perspective of nation building and national unity by developing an English-speaking nation founded on British (Anglo-Saxon) values and ideals. The first Canadian study on this subject was published in 1913, by Norman F. Black, a Saskatchewan School Inspector, entitled, English for the Non-English. In his report he contested that "English must be the dominant subject in all elementary schools" and "anything tending

towards the creation of racial separate schools" had to be avoided.¹¹¹

Most Anglo-Canadian educators agreed with Black. Martynowych cites W. J. Sisler, Principal of Strathcona School, in Winnipeg's North End, who insisted that

"no language but English should be allowed" in public schools attended by immigrant children. Anderson [James T. M. Anderson, Inspector of Yorkton] added that "the sooner we get rid of the subordinate European languages the sooner well be in a position to make citizens of the vast numbers that now, with their confused jargons, cover our province."¹¹²

Anderson was extremely critical of bilingual teachers. Martynowych cites Anderson, who in conversation with Black, states that "generally speaking a native teacher is the worst in my estimation."¹¹³ According to Anderson, not only were teachers of "foreign" origin deficient in English but also not representative of "Anglo-Saxon civilization" and thus unable to transmit the norms of Canadian society.¹¹⁴ In addition, even though the law delegated the Winnipeg public school system to provide bilingual education, discrimination and assimilation resulted due to the unitary school system and unilingual English instruction advocated by Daniel McIntyre, the superintendent of Winnipeg's public school system at the time.¹¹⁵

The Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia's efforts to cultivate Ukrainian language in public schools struck many Anglo-Canadians as a disloyal and subversive activity that only bred dissatisfaction and accentuated division(s) among Canadians. In addition, the attempt of the Ukrainian Canadian community to organize itself along secular lines and cultivate a sense of

Ukrainian cultural identity through the organization of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association, the publishing of "Ukrainskyi Holos", the proliferation of Ukrainian Canadian cultural institutions, and the entry of Ukrainian Canadians into municipal and provincial politics, was regarded with contempt and suspicion by the Anglo-Celtic society and was at cross-purposes with their ideal of assimilation, resulting in cultural and linguistic British homogeneity.

The struggle of the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants to maintain bilingual education in their schools was doomed to failure. Qualified bilingual teachers were scarce, school districts were slow to organize, attendance was not compulsory, illiteracy was rife, and, as aforementioned, there was a bitter and mounting opposition to the principle of bilingualism on the part of some government members, Protestant church groups, and the Anglophone press. Although Ukrainian Canadian teachers were aware of these concerns, they agreed that it was inadequate government action, and not bilingual schools, that was the source of the problem. Petryshyn states that:

Two letters in the Manitoba Free Press from Orest Zerebko, a Ukrainian school teacher and a graduate of the University of Manitoba, agreed, however, the viewpoint of the teachers, that . . . the absence of compulsory education, the shortage of qualified teachers, and the limited time (one hour) allotted for teaching Ukrainian were items that could only be corrected by changes in government policy.^{36 116}

The English press played an active role in the issue of bilingual education and the abolition of the bilingual public school system. Although the Winnipeg Telegram, a Conservative Party paper, supported the government, the greatest opponent of bilingualism among the Winnipeg newspapers was the Manitoba

Free Press, a Liberal daily newspaper owned by Clifford Sifton and edited by John Wesley Dafoe. The Winnipeg Evening Tribune also lent its support to the Free Press, by criticizing the Roblin government and bilingual schools. The Manitoba Free Press ran a long series of articles, (fifty-four articles published between January 1 and March 17, 1913), during the debate on bilingual schools in the Legislature. These articles were instrumental in turning public opinion and the Liberal Party, led by Tobias Crawford Norris, against the bilingual public school system.¹¹⁷

On February 2, 1913, the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia resisted the attack by the Manitoba Free Press on bilingual schools by organizing a public meeting in Winnipeg. Martynowych cites Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers Ferley and Zerebko, who, at the meeting, challenged the Liberal paper in a lengthy speech, by stating that:

They denied there was widespread animosity between bilingual teachers and trustees; insisted that dismissed English-speaking teachers were drunks who had slept in class; complained that children taught by unilingual English-speaking teachers could not answer simple questions in English; maintained that attendance and "general progress" were best in schools taught by bilingual teachers; and questioned the wisdom of teaching immigrants the duties of citizenship by appointing official trustees to run their schools.¹¹⁸

In addition, in July 1913, the Ukrainian Teachers' Association passed resolutions condemning the Free Press articles and commending G. R. Coldwell, Minister of Education, for supporting the bilingual school system. On September 2, 1913, the Conservatives also resisted the Free Press by publishing a Ukrainian weekly "Kanada" (Canada) that expressed support of Manitoba

Conservatives for bilingual education and condemned the Liberals to, as Martynowych indicates, "make our children 'good Canadians', that is, to spit on their parents and their language and to use only the language of the 'civilized [Anglo-Canadian] nation'."^{85 119} However, the Ukrainian weekly, Kanada, generated widespread opposition to bilingual schools. According to Martynowych:

In October 1913 the powerful provincial Loyal Orange Lodge (already incensed by the Coldwell amendments to provide relief from school taxes for urban Catholics) withdrew its support from the Conservatives and began pledging candidates in the province's upcoming election to abolish the Laurier-Greenway agreement, hoping thereby to rid Manitoba of the Coldwell amendments, bilingual schools and Catholic teachers in a single stroke.^{88 120}

At the centre of the Liberal opposition to bilingual education was Dafoe, a passionate Canadian nationalist committed to transforming western Canada's polyethnic and multilingual population into a new English-speaking Canadian nation. Dafoe attributed the Ukrainian Canadian position to a "nationalist-clerical movement" opposed to compulsory education and efficient English instruction that, as Martynowych indicates in the words of Dafoe, aimed at "nothing less than the establishment in Western Canada of a distinct Ruthenian nationality, which with its language, institutions, customs and ideas shall persist forever as a nation within a nation."¹²¹ Dafoe, through the Free Press warned the host society that the Manitoba school system was at the mercy of a "Roblin-Langevin-nationalist-Ruthenian combination". Martynowych states that:

The war's outbreak confirmed Dafoe's apprehensions about the loyalty and objectives of Ukrainian nationalists and Ukrainian Catholics. He saw Bishop Budka's first pastoral letter as a "failure

to recognize that the first duty of allegiance is to Canada and to the Empire of which Canada forms a part." The bishop's appeal demonstrated the absolute need to use the schools to make "all who come to this country into Canadians." During the 1914 Winnipeg municipal election, Dafoe referred to the candidates of the German-Polish-Ruthenian citizens' committee as representatives of "racial and religious factions" who hoped to smash the national school system. And, for the first time, a Free Press editorial declared "that as far as Manitoba cities and towns are concerned, the bilingual clause of the Public School Act should at once be repealed."¹²²

In defence of bilingual education, "Ukrainskyi Holos" (Ukrainian Voice), the voice of the Ukrainian Canadians, continually published articles condemning the Free Press. In early 1915, it rejected Dafoe and Rev. J. S. Woodworth's appeal to merge Canada's people into one nation. Martynowych states that the "Ukrainian Holos" insisted that Ukrainian Canadians would never agree "to their own destruction and transformation into another nationality. . . . In a free Canada we should enjoy complete liberty to develop our national soul in accordance with its national capacity for growth."¹²³ Martynowych cites Dafoe, who reacted to the "Ukrainskyi Holos" by stating, "will the Ruthenian children in the public schools of Manitoba either urban or rural become Canadians or Ruthenians?"¹²⁴ The Ukrainian Voice responded, "Ukrainian Canadians" and, according to Martynowych, stressed that "bilingual schools were no menace, they were sanctioned by the law; [and] rather than attacking them the Free Press should demand better training facilities for bilingual teachers".¹²⁵ Martynowych indicates that Dafoe responded in November 1915 by stating that "in the opinion of the Free Press the time is ripe and more than ripe for the abolition of the bilingual clause."¹²⁶

In May 1915, Roblin's Conservative administration resigned and in August of that year the Liberals, under L. C. Norris, became the new government of Manitoba.¹²⁷ R. S. Thornton, became the new Minister of Education. Thornton requested C. K. Newcombe, Superintendent of Schools, to conduct an investigation into bilingual schools. Newcombe released a special report in January, 1916, indicating that the absence of compulsory education, not the existence of bilingual schools, was the main problem in the public school system and that the potential for administrative chaos in bilingual provisions (clause 258) was also not in evidence.¹²⁸ Martynowych states that:

The only evidence of "chaos" was in the fact that up to one-quarter of the 298 bilingual schools had French, German, Polish or Ukrainian children receiving instruction in English and a language other than their own. The report said nothing about attendance in bilingual schools being low because all bilingual schools were rural, or about progress in acquiring English being affected by half of the Ukrainian and Polish schools being only three or four years old. Ukrainian and Polish pupils who had reached the higher grades had a good command of English.^{97 129}

However, Thornton supported the prevailing theory of assimilation and Anglo-conformity of immigrants to British, Canadian or Imperial norms and this was apparent in the presentation of Newcombe's findings in the Legislature on January 12, 1916. According to Lupul, "he saw in assimilation to the British ideal the development of a Canadian nationality which was, by design, unilingual."¹³⁰ The Manitoba Free Press also suggested that abolition of the bilingual system was not sufficient. Martynowych states that:

An enthusiastic Free Press now added that abolition of the bilingual system was not enough; even the clause permitting the teachers of non-English language for one hour each day had to be repealed to

free English-speaking settlers from "foreigners" eager to hire inferior teachers to teach their language.^{98 131}

At a public meeting on December 26, 1915, Ukrainian Canadians attempted to resist the government and the press from abolishing the bilingual system of education by electing, a Ukrainian Committee for the Defence of Bilingual Schools. On January 7, 1916, a nine-man delegation led by Petrushevich, editor of the Catholic "Kanadyiski Rusyn", and Arsenych, who became the first judge of Ukrainian origin in Canada, appeared before Norris and Thorton on the issue of bilingual schools. Thorton did not respond favourably and the Committee then held mass public meetings of protest to sign petitions in order to send them with a representative of the Ukrainian people to the government.¹³²

On January 30, 1916, one thousand Ukrainian Canadians gathered at the Grand Opera House and passed resolutions that supported the bilingual program and condemned the English press. Two days later, on February 1, 150 delegates from all parts of Manitoba, including six of the seventeen members of the Legislature, assembled for a special meeting on the bilingual issue. On February 3, a delegation of twenty-eight men led by Ferby, teacher and Manitoba's first Ukrainian MLA, Arsenych, Petrushevich, and Hryhorczuk, presented a petition with 6,000 signatures to four cabinet ministers, including Norris and Thorton. The petition stressed reform rather than abolition of bilingual schools and that, if bilingual schools were terminated, the Ukrainian people would establish private bilingual schools under the control of the clergy.

Nevertheless, Premier Norris was unmoved by the petition and according to Lupul, stated that "the multiplicity of nationalities within the province makes the present law impossible."¹³³ In other words, all would benefit from the system of education enjoyed by English speaking Canadians.

On February 18, 1916, Thorton introduced a bill to repeal the bilingual clause 258, in the Public Schools Act. On February 28, 1916, Martynowych cites Ferby, who countered with an amendment proposing

to retain bilingual education in grades one and two where more than 75 percent of the pupils spoke a language other than English; thereafter, only English would be used with the second language, all instruction would be in English with the second language a subject of study during the last hour.¹³⁴

However, the amendment was not supported. Consequently, on March 8, 1916, the government's bill passed second reading with a vote of 36-8 and received assent two days later despite opposition from Ferby, Newton, Roblin, French-speaking MLA's and Icelanders. In addition, when the bilingual school system was abolished, Premier J. C. Norris ordered that all textbooks used by school children and adults be burned in a public bonfire near the statue of Queen Victoria on the Manitoba Legislative grounds.¹³⁵ Support for the abolition of the bilingual program in Manitoba came from Anglicans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Orangemen, members of the Canadian Club, the Manitoba School Trustees' Association, the Manitoba Home Economic Society, and other organizations aroused by the coming of WWI.¹³⁶ During this time, bilingual education was also abolished in Alberta in 1913, and in Saskatchewan in 1918.¹³⁷

The abolition of bilingual schools was little concerned with the immigrant

child's welfare or the rights of Eastern Europeans. While compulsory education for children between 7 and 14 was introduced the provision for official trustees and special school organizers maintained that public schools in "foreign" districts would be agencies of indoctrination and Anglo-conformity. Martynowych states that "besides providing qualified English-speaking teachers, Ira Straton, as 'Special School Organizer and Official Trustee' saw to it that the schools instilled Canadian patriotism by purging all traces of bilingualism and 'alien' culture from the classroom."¹³⁸

At the termination of the bilingual school system there were 1,450 public schools in Manitoba. More than one-fifth of them were bilingual, while out of 2,950 teachers, almost one in seven were bilingual or multi-lingual.¹³⁹ A modified form of bilingualism existed in most Ukrainian Canadian districts after 1916. Ukrainian bilingual teachers were hired in Ukrainian Canadian districts but seldom in English districts. In addition to their regular duties, they taught the Ukrainian language and courses after school hours at 4:00 p.m. However, Marunchak states that:

In many a case the Ukrainian instruction was given in a surreptitious manner because certain school inspectors looked askance upon this.³²⁾ The bilingual teachers also conducted evening courses for children. But all this was being done for the most part in a most unsystematic manner and for this reason the effort failed to produce the desirable and anticipated results.¹⁴⁰

Thus, except for one private bilingual elementary school established in 1905 (St. Nicholas School, run by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate), the Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg resisted the absence of bilingual education and

organized supplementary evening and Sunday schools to educate their children in the Ukrainian language.

On the eve of WWI, Ukrainian Canadian education in Manitoba entered into a new era. Bilingualism was such a sensitive issue that no legal provision for any second language instruction in Manitoba existed for almost 40 years.¹⁴¹ Anglo-conformity became the norm and for many years Ukrainian Canadians harboured bitter feelings that they had been discriminated against by the host society.¹⁴²

Cultural Identity in the Pioneer Era

Prior to the WWI, Anglo-Protestants led by Presbyterians and Methodist clergy, French-speaking Catholic priests with the assistance of some Ukrainian Catholic missionaries and the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia, comprising of Protestants, nationalists and socialists, all competed to transform the Ukrainian Canadian immigrant to their ideals. The strains and social dislocations created by their efforts hastened the confrontation that was to take place in the second era between the Ukrainian Canadians and the Anglo-Canadian advocates of rapid assimilation, the Ukrainian nationalists and Bishop Budka, and the Ukrainian socialists and the Canadian economic and political establishment.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, Ukrainian Canadian immigrants during the Pioneer Era, persisted in building a foundation for the maintenance of a cultural identity that would assist future generations in resisting assimilation and Anglo-conformity. This was particularly evident in the creation and leadership of two organizations that became the voice of Ukrainian Canadians and addressed the government

regarding issues and injustices experienced by the Ukrainian Canadians. The first, the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens Committee was established in 1917 by various lay and parish organizations to render aid to complaints in Ukraine and Canada.¹⁴⁴ The second, the Ukrainian National Council (UNC), was established in 1919, primarily by Ukrainian Catholics to assume direction of Ukrainian affairs in Canada.¹⁴⁵ Through these two organizations and the great perseverance of the Ukrainian pioneers, Ukrainian Canadians began to develop their life in Canada, identifying themselves according to their own cultural heritage and the overall Canadian community.

In addition, Ukrainian Canadian immigrants made significant progress in agriculture, religion, industry, business, cultural-educational organizations and literature. They also became interested and participated in municipal and political affairs of their district, province and Canada. Professionals and businessmen showed a steady growth in all aspects of community life. From them evolved the intelligentsia, the third social class that filled in and eliminated the gap between the farmer and the labourer in the social structure of the Ukrainian Canadian community in Canada. Together, all three social classes within the Ukrainian Canadian community became unified in their struggle to resist assimilation of the host society and retain their national and cultural identity. Marunchak states that:

The masses of Ukrainian settlers of the pioneer era viewed the so-called assimilation as outright denial of their cultural birthright, and a "degeneration". A slogan was raised that "assimilation was demoralization and degeneration". From the standpoint of their

national rights, Ukrainians [resisted assimilation] set out to building their life in Canada.¹⁴⁶

Furthermore, Marunchak claims that:

The Ukrainian community in Canada, with each passing year, expressed its own unique identity through ever richer forms. Farmers and labourers alike, along with businessmen and professionals, forged their inborn characters and strengthened their rugged backbones during this epochal era.¹⁴⁷

In addition, a steady contact of Ukrainian immigrants with Ukraine brought them identification and hope to maintain their cultural life, traditions, values, and aspirations. The liberation process in Ukraine that included unification of Eastern and Western Ukraine, and the recognition of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian State by the Allies at the close of WWI, particularly on January 22, 1918, in Kiev, November 1, 1918, in Lviv, and on January 22, 1919, had a powerful influence on the development of a distinct cultural identity, citizenship, integration, and fulfilment of the Ukrainian community in Canada.

The First World War and Interwar Era (1917-39): The Second Wave of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada and Anglo-conformity in the Public School System

Internment of Ukrainian Canadians

The First World War had a profound effect on the Ukrainian Canadian community. During this time Ukrainian Canadians were looked upon with hostility, suspicion, and disloyalty by the Anglo-Canadian society. As Austria and Serbia went to war, Bishop Nykyta Budka issued his celebrated pastoral letter on July 27, 1911, calling upon his parishioners who were eligible for military service to fight for Ukraine.¹⁴⁸ Within a few days, when Britain and Canada were at war

with Austria, Bishop Budka also encouraged Ukrainian Canadian immigrants to assist Canadians. Gerus and Rea state that in a second pastoral letter Bishop Budka urged Ukrainian Canadians, "to come to the defence of Canada . . . which . . . has given us protection under the banner of liberty of the British Empire."¹⁴⁹ In spite of Bishop Budka's second pastoral letter, the Anglo-Canadian community viewed the first appeal of the Bishop as traitorous and continually tormented the Bishop until 1919, when the Great War Veterans Association forced a court inquiry that finally exonerated him.¹⁵⁰

As a result of the Bishop's first pastoral letter the Canadian government classified all Austro-Hungarian citizens, including Ukrainians from Galicia, as "enemy aliens". Consequently, in August 1914, the Canadian Parliament passed the War Measures Act that led to the interment of 8,579 individuals in concentration camps, almost 6,000 of Austro-Hungarian citizenship, of whom 1,192 of them were German residents of Canada, and the majority, 5,954 of whom were Ukrainians.¹⁵¹

Due to the costs in maintaining the camps and increased labour shortages on the farms, the end to the internment of Ukrainian Canadians came in late 1916. According to Gerus and Rea, "nearly 6,000 "Austrian" internees were paroled within a year".¹⁵² In addition, in order to ensure its re-election, on September 1917, the federal government introduced the War Time Elections Act, that disenfranchised all citizens born in enemy countries and naturalized after 1902, thus removing their political right to vote. The Ukrainian Canadian community in particular, was threatened with land seizure and deportation. The

internment of Ukrainian Canadians was followed by the designation of the Ukrainian language as an enemy language. As a result, in 1918, the government invoked censorship of the Ukrainian press that restricted publication to one column in Ukrainian, the other in English.¹⁵³

At the end of WWI, unemployment and inadequate housing gave little relief for Ukrainian Canadian immigrants. Gerus and Rea state that the General Strike, in Winnipeg, that began in mid-May 1919,”

spawned a wave of xenophobia, as government and business leaders sought scapegoats. The radicalism of western labour, grounded in economic exploitation, was branded alien and un-British, despite the uniformity by British leadership of the movement. The irresponsible charges of the business elite did much to poison ethnic relations for years in Western Canada. In the countryside, only the most hesitant and tentative overtures were made to Slavic farmers to join the cooperative movement and the political revolt which swept the prairies as wheat prices tumbled after the war.¹⁵⁴

Yet despite the war's unfortunate consequences, over 10,000 Ukrainian Canadians served in the Canadian armed forces and one soldier, Philip Konowal, was awarded the Victoria Cross for bravery.¹⁵⁵ George Kowalchuk remembers that:

During the war all “aliens” had to register for a card. When they were asked, people would have to show their cards. If they had no card--off to the work camps to cut bush. But the government didn't bother us here on the farm. Later on, they took “Austrians” into the army as volunteers. You'd be surprised how many went. They felt they were Canadians.¹⁵⁶

Immigration

The First World War disrupted immigration from Ukraine. Between 1914 and 1921 the Ukrainian Canadian population increased by less than six

hundred.¹⁵⁷ During that time Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine were prevented from immigrating to Canada due to wars that lasted until 1921. In Western Ukraine food shortages, famine, epidemics, high taxes, devaluation of Polish currency, and destruction of institutions and learned societies in order to “Polonize” Galicia, made life extremely difficult for Ukrainians. As a result, war-impooverished peasants and persecuted nationalistic intelligentsia were eager to immigrate to Canada. Between 1920 and 1924, 503 immigrants, primarily war refugees and sponsored relatives of Canadian citizens arrived in Canada.¹⁵⁸ However, it was not until 1926 that the majority of Interwar Ukrainian immigrants arrived to Canada. In 1925, due to the demand for labourers to expand railway lines into the northern prairies, the federal government permitted the Canadian National Railway (CNR) and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) to recruit immigrants from Eastern Europe. As a result, during the next decade (1925-34), 59,891 Ukrainians, the majority coming from Western Ukraine, immigrated to Canada. The Depression also drastically cut the influx of immigrants to Canada. By 1931, there were about 225,000 Ukrainians in Canada (approximately 2.1 percent of its total population) 85 percent of whom continued to live in the prairie provinces that constituted 8.2 percent of the population.¹⁵⁹

In 1941, the decimal census indicated that Manitoba had the largest Ukrainian population in Canada with nearly 30 percent of 305,929 claiming to be of Ukrainian ethnic origin and 313,273 who spoke Ukrainian as their mother tongue.¹⁶⁰

The arrival of the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants after WWI and in the

Interwar Era was different from the Pioneer Era. It took place in a Ukrainian Canadian community atmosphere of an established and organized life that gave moral and material assistance to immigrants. Ukrainians Canadians connected with the CNR, CPR, and St. Raphael's Ukrainian Immigrant Welfare Association of Canada, created in 1924 after the Polish government, began granting exit visas,¹⁶¹ and gave moral and material aid to Ukrainian Canadian immigrants settling near pioneer communities. The immigrant agencies focused on the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants arriving in family groups that proved to be the best stabilizing element in every settlement. As a result, the settled family group was able to lead a self-sufficient social and economic life.¹⁶² This gave the new Ukrainian Canadian immigrant a great sense of security. Since these new immigrants were able to establish almost immediately a standard of living very close to their neighbours, they did not suffer the hardship or contend with the severe problems of adjustment as the earlier Ukrainian Canadian immigrants.

Settlement and Social Structure

Immigration from Ukraine in the post WWI years was also of a different character than the early Ukrainian Canadian immigration. The majority of Interwar Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were political refugees and national leaders who had participated in the Ukrainian struggle for an Independent Ukraine at the end of WWI. Many of the new Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were better educated and more politically and nationally conscious than their predecessors. The morale of the existing Ukrainian Canadian community was strengthened by the new Ukrainian Canadian immigrants from the Ukrainian

liberation wars, that is, wars fought for Ukraine's brief period of independence from 1917-19.¹⁶³ The new Ukrainian Canadian immigrants had a great love for Ukraine and respect for the principles of freedom. Marunchak states that

The Great War and national revolution of the Ukrainian people gave birth to a new human being endowed with dignity and higher consciousness. The new immigrant showed a higher degree of progress with more general knowledge and with greater immunity to the surrounding world around him. This enabled him to find more convenient roads to integration and to the conquest of the new world. . . .In every instance it was shown that the new immigration spread its influence far and wide and that it gradually projected itself onto the screen of organized activities and adapted itself fully to the way of Canadian community life.¹⁶⁴

The settlement and social structure of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants after WWI and during the Interwar Era underwent a gradual change with continuous migration from rural to urban centres. Canadian statistics indicates that in 1911, 85 percent of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were engaged in agriculture and lived on farms. By 1921, 20 percent of them lived in the cities and according to the 1931 census, the number increased to 30 percent. In 1941, 34 percent of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants lived in urban centres.¹⁶⁵ Winnipeg became the centre of Ukrainian Canadian cultural and religious life in Canada. By 1914, Ukrainian Canadian immigrants settled in four major areas in Winnipeg: Point Douglas, North End proper, Brooklands, and Fort Rouge.¹⁶⁶

During their settlement in urban centres, the Ukrainian Canadian community gradually acquired a respectable and lawful claim to Canadian citizenship. Despite difficult social and economic circumstances, in particular, a new level of Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia emerged. This was largely due to

the established second generation of the first Ukrainian Canadian immigrants who had been raised and educated in Canada and emerged into their own in every aspect of Canadian community life. As a result, there was a marked increase in the number of Ukrainian Canadian professionals and university graduates, as well as, provincial and federal politicians.

The urban environment was further strengthened by the post WWI and Interwar immigrants from Ukraine. During the Great Depression, a significant percentage of professionals and intelligentsia, who initially lived and worked on farms, went into farming but later settled in cities and opened up businesses and professional establishments. As a result, Ukrainian Canadians strengthened their influence economically and politically in urban centres and simultaneously revitalized their cultural identity and community life. Woycenko effectively describes the social structure and cultural identity of the second wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada:

Although the reasons for their coming to Canada were basically the same as those of the first settlers (economic and political), they had the advantage of some form of schooling, and many had high school or more advanced education. The war and technological progress had equipped them with more knowledge and skills. Many of them had served with Ukrainian armies. The rise and fall of the independent Ukrainian State (1917-1921) had developed in them a deep national consciousness; they were well versed in the historical past of their country. Nor were they confused as to their identity, a state of mind not shared by earlier immigrants. They were inclined to urban living, and only a small number settled permanently on farms. Many looked on agricultural work as a temporary occupation for the transitional period until jobs in cities were available. Others, as soon as some capital had been accumulated, opened their own business establishments.¹⁶⁷

After WWI and the Interwar Era, Ukrainian Canadian community work was dominated by religious and ideological-political affiliations and/or organizations. Although Ukrainian Canadians were united in their work to preserve their cultural identity and national consciousness, divisions occurred in the fields of religion, economy and politics.

Religion and Churches

During WWI and the Interwar Era, religion played a significant role in defining and developing the cultural identity of Ukrainian Canadians. Marunchak states that:

In classifying cultural identity traditional church and religious practices stand very high. In many instances they are to a certain degree connected with national traditions of the people. At the same time they hold an important position in the field of cultural psychology of the nation.¹⁶⁸

The religious dissention that was apparent among Ukrainian Canadian immigrants towards the end of the Pioneer Era not only continued through into WWI and Interwar Eras, but also throughout the development of church life among the Ukrainians in Canada. The spiritual life of Ukrainian Canadians was divided among four religious affiliations: Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church, Ukrainian Presbyterian Church, and Ukrainian Baptist Church.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church (at that time known as the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Church) was headed by Bishop Nykyta Budka, and later, in 1919, by Bishop W. Ladyka. The Ukrainian Catholic Church that included 350 parishes in Canada (110 in Manitoba) was responsible to the Vatican in Rome. The

Basilian Fathers, Redemptorist Fathers, Sister Servants, and Oblate Fathers continued to work in the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese. The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC or BUK) organization was active during this Era. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was supported by such newspapers as, "The Canadian Ukrainian" and "The Ukrainian News". By 1931 there were 186,587 Ukrainian Catholics in Canada.

The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church was under the guidance of the Greek Metropolitan Germanos. Archbishop Ivan Teodorovich, of the United States, was elected bishop of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church. On June 18, 1920, Rev. S. Sawchuk celebrated the church's first divine liturgy in the Ukrainian language. In 1947, Mstyslaw Skrynyk was appointed head of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church, with headquarters in Canada. In 1935, there were 180 Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church congregations in Canada (43 in Manitoba). The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church was supported by two Ukrainian newspapers, "The Ukrainian Voice" and "The Canadian Farmer", as well as, two Ukrainian educational institutes, "The Peter Mohyla Institute" of Saskatoon, and "The Michael Hrushevsky Institute" of Edmonton. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League ("Samostiynky") (USRL or SUS) also supported the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church held five Sobors" during this era.

After WWI and the Interwar Era, the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church (formerly the Ukrainian Greek Independent Church) came under the leadership of the English Presbyterian or United Church. The Ukrainian members of this

church were supported by a bi-monthly newspaper entitled, "Canadian Morning". The Ukrainian Reformed Church also existed during this era and in order to unite all the Ukrainians of the Evangelical Reformed Religion, the "Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance (UEA) was established in 1922 at a Ukrainian Evangelical Conference, in Rochester, New York.

During WWI and the Interwar Era the Ukrainian Baptist Church was responsible to Ruthenian-Ukrainian Conferences under two separate federations in Eastern and Western Canada. Russian traditions and language influenced this church. Ministers and preachers received their training in the Bible College in Saskatoon. In 1935 there were twenty-eight [28] Ukrainian Presbyterian and Baptist communities in Canada (11 in each in Manitoba).¹⁶⁹

Throughout the Interwar Era, religious differences occurred predominantly between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the smaller Greek Orthodox Church, both of which held allegiance of two-thirds or 90 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian population.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile the Ukrainian and English Baptist and Presbyterian churches grew steadily and benefitted from rural missionary work and urban intermarriages. The Ukrainian Protestant Church advocated assimilation and therefore did not play a significant role in the cultural and political life of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Socio-economic Status

Due to dramatic socio-economic transformations that occurred during and after WWI, the Ukrainian Canadian community was also divided economically. During WWI, Ukrainian Canadian farmers, businessmen, and professionals

benefitted from higher agricultural prices and, therefore, enjoyed a period of unprecedented prosperity. However, this was not the case for labourers. At that time labourers encountered a period of unemployment or underemployment, dismissal from jobs, and in some cases, internment as “enemy aliens”.

Beginning in 1917, labourers also experienced harassment in the work place by war veterans and a rapidly rising living cost of living that always outpaced wages.¹⁷¹ Keywan and Coles cite George Miskey, a second era Ukrainian Canadian, who states:

If you didn't have a job during those war years you weren't safe. There were agents who would look for unemployed men all over the city. They would come and offer you coffee and say they could find you a job. Then they would send you to work camps. You weren't given any pay there.¹⁷²

Nevertheless, Ukrainian Canadians from different socio-economic backgrounds helped each other establish themselves in Canadian society by providing mutual assistance through the cooperative movement. Ukrainian Canadians were familiar with the cooperative stores in Canada. In 1929, the first cooperatives, the Vegreville Co-operative in Alberta, and the Fisher Branch Co-operative in Manitoba, were established in Canada. Ukrainian Canadian cooperatives began to significantly develop in the 1930s and 1940s.

Manitoba was the most active province in establishing cooperatives in Canada. In 1930, the Ukrainian War Veterans Association, (“Striltsi”) (USH), established the “Kalyna” Cooperative in Winnipeg. Other Winnipeg cooperatives followed, such as: North Winnipeg Cooperative (1931), Cooperative Union of St. Boniface (1936), National Consumers Cooperative of Winnipeg (1937), Western

Cooperative, Cooperative of Manitoba Producers of Grain and Vegetables, Cooperative of National Dairies, Cooperative Bakers, and other cooperatives in rural Ukrainian settlements. The leaders in Manitoba's cooperative movement were William Topolnycky, Danylo Budka, I. Hrushowy, I. Ferentz, M. Brelis, and S. Skoblak. The credit union movement followed cooperatives and was primarily organized by the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF or UNO). In Manitoba, "Carpathia" was organized in 1940 and "North Winnipeg Credit Union" in 1943.¹⁷³

Socio-political Dynamics and Organizational Life

Ideological-political orientation of the Ukrainian Canadian community brought in by the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants from the WWI and Interwar Era became more complicated due to the Russian Revolution in 1905, the inception of the Soviet/Bolshevik regime in 1918, and the armed struggle in 1921 in Ukraine that resulted in unsuccessful efforts to gain national freedom in Europe. According to Harasym, the attitude of Ukrainian Canadians towards politics and the government was influenced by the following factors:

(1) memories of discriminatory treatment during and immediately after World War I; (2) Ukraine's struggle for independence between 1917 and 1920 and the subsequent arrival of a second wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, including a large number of political refugees; (3) the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan in the late 1920's; (4) the Depression and the prairie drought during the 1930's; and (5) political events preceding World War II (and the war itself), especially developments that created an unstable situation in Europe and revived hopes for an independent Ukraine. The net effect heightened the political awareness of the Ukrainian group and reinforced feelings among Ukrainians that they were on the defensive in both Canada and Europe.¹⁷⁴

During this time, Ukrainian Canadians attempted to redefine their position towards the Russian Empire that led to a fundamental division in the Ukrainian community between the socialists (pro-communists) who favoured the Soviet regime in Ukraine, and the nationalists (Catholics and Protestants) who supported an independent Ukrainian nation state.¹⁷⁵ Momryk explains that:

The question of support for or opposition to Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet Union became the determining factor in the ideological orientation of Ukrainian individuals, organizations and institutions in Canada. This issue became the central theme in Ukrainian politics, literature and religion and continues today to dominate Ukrainian Canadian community life.¹⁷⁶

In addition, many of the post WWI Ukrainian immigrants believed that the established Ukrainian Canadian community was too concerned with preserving Ukrainian culture and not involved enough in the political issues in Soviet Ukraine and, therefore, established their own parishes, press, secular institutions, and political organizations. Consequently, numerous political and national organizations were formed in the 1920s and 1930s by various groups within the Ukrainian Canadian community. The Ukrainian Self Reliance League (USRL) became committed to Ukrainian Canadian nationalism and advocated support for Ukraine's independence. The United Hetman Organization (UHO), associated with Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, who briefly ruled Ukraine in 1918, was created by conservative-monarchist immigrants. After 1923-24 the "Sich" organization became monarchist and evolved into an ideological organization with more emphasis placed on militarism. UHO, the only ideological alternative to the leftists, emerged out of the "Sich" movement (the Ukrainian name for gymnastic

societies) and was the only Ukrainian Canadian organization in the 1920s that catered primarily to the youth. The Sich movement became UHO in 1934.¹⁷⁷ In 1931, the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada Incorporation (UNF) was founded by Ukrainian Nationalists most of whom were primarily Ukrainian Catholics. By 1939, UNF had 50 branches, 33 women and 38 youth organizations in Canada and attracted both the pioneer generation and Interwar immigrants.¹⁷⁸ Both of these organizations promoted a patriotic nationalist ideology. The Ukrainian Catholics organized BUC in 1932.

Ukrainian Canadian socialists, radicalized by social and economic conditions in Canada and unified in their support of a Soviet Ukraine, joined various protest movements and left-wing organizations. In 1917, the Ukrainian Social-Democrats in Canada adopted a pro-Bolshevik stance. In 1918, their membership rose to 1,500 and they began construction of the Labour Temple in Winnipeg.¹⁷⁹ In 1919, the communist scare led the government to ban Social-Democrats that led the socialists to form the non-political Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA).¹⁸⁰ By 1924 a nationwide cultural-educational labour organization was formed, called the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA). In 1921 delegates from ULFTA founded the Workers (later Communist) Party of Canada. ULFTA continually provided financial support to the Workers Party. One-third of the Party's 2,500-3,000 members were Ukrainian.¹⁸¹ In 1922, the Ukrainian leftists formed the fraternal society, Workers Benevolent Association (WBA) that operated an orphanage and retirement

home, and in 1931, the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine.

The socialists also established cooperative enterprises such as grocery stores, bakeries and dairies, produced a variety of Ukrainian-language publications with a circulation of approximately 25,000, and published many school texts, books on Marxism, history, economics and propaganda pamphlets.¹⁸² Subtelny writes that

The ULFTA was a "front" organization, that is, while seemingly emphasizing cultural-educational activity, it sought to encourage the spread of Communism among Ukrainians. Although its members were pro-Communist, they were not necessarily members of the party. From its base in Winnipeg it quickly spread out to the industrial, lumbering and railway centres. Because of their innate traditionalism and strong links to their churches, farmers were slow to join. None the less, by 1939 the organization had 113 Labour Temples, 201 branches, and approximately 10,000 members.¹⁸³

Due to political reasons, dominion-wide worker's organizations and anti-Communist Ukrainian organizations such as the Federation of Ukrainian Worker-Farmer Organization, Alliance of Ukrainian Organizations, and/or Ukrainian Worker's League (UWL) strongly opposed the ULFTA as the representative organization of the labouring class. In June 1940, during the Second World War (WWII), the Canadian government banned activities of the Canadian Communist Party that included ULFTA among others.¹⁸⁴ However, after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, ULFTA fully supported the Canadian War Effort that resulted in the re-opening of their organization. In 1948, ULFTA was

reconstituted as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC or TOUK) that is to this day the leading Ukrainian Canadian left-wing organization.

The establishment of various Ukrainian Canadian political and national organizations during WWI and the Interwar Era was due to the fact that the Ukrainian Canadian community was caught in a three-way struggle for allegiance by Ukrainian Catholic priests, nationalist proponents of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, and socialist/pro-communist leaders of the ULFTA. Moreover, Kozymyra summarizes five general groupings of the Ukrainian Canadian community during the Interwar Era:

The moderate students, products of the Ruthenian training schools, formed a new class of "semi-Canadianized" Ukrainian liberal professionals (proponents of Ukrainian Orthodoxy). A second group formed around Bishop Nykyta Budka, the Ukrainian Catholic emissary, and developed into the conservative-oriented right wing. The more radical socialists, reinforced by new members who had been affected by the events of 1905 revolution in Russia, became founders of several socialist parties in Canada.* (*These political parties became known as the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party, the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats, the Socialist Party of Canada, and the Social Democratic Party of Canada.) Ukrainian support also arose in favour of the Presbyterian Church in opposition to the ritualism, spiritualism and a lack of progressiveness in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. As well, under the influence of the Liberal Party a number of Ukrainians chose, perhaps also owing to patronage and indoctrination, the Canadian way of life.¹⁸⁵

Although the Ukrainian Canadians struggled during the Interwar Era with religious and political-ideological differences, there was a generally positive community development in cultural and educational activities and organizations. According to 1936 statistics, there were 227 such organizations across Canada primarily under the names of, "Prosvita", "Prosvita Associations" and "National

Homes". In addition, there were as many as 1,200 parishes, cultural and educational institutions, four sports clubs, and 14 student's clubs in Ukrainian Canadian communities during the Interwar Era. Winnipeg organizations included, among others, Ukrainian National Home, the Ukrainian-Canadian Educational Institute Prosvita, and "Ridna Shkola" Association.¹⁸⁶

The Ukrainian Canadian organizations were helped materially and spiritually with encouragement for national and cultural growth by approximately 200 benefit societies, the largest being, The Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas (Catholic). Other benefactors included the Ukrainian Fraternal Society of Winnipeg (Orthodox), the Ukrainian National Association, and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (non-denominational but connected with national organizations) of Toronto, as well as, the WBA, ULFTA and AUUC.¹⁸⁷ Each organization was located in its own establishment with a library. These organizations often subscribed to newspapers of the Ukrainian Press, established dramatic groups and choral ensembles and organized community lectures. The most important element of these organizations was the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, that were held on Saturdays or in the evenings for the purpose of instructing children in the Ukrainian language. Marunchak states that, "on the whole, in all of its activities, each organization strove to uphold and spread its national and cultural values among which the native language was the basic element."¹⁸⁸

Ukrainian Canadian Committee/Congress

As a result of urbanization, transformation of regional organizational structures into dominion associations, rapid growth of political and national organizations accented by intense political and religious rivalry and factionalism, Ukrainian Canadians sought to unify their community and coordinate their efforts for an independent Ukraine, as well as, produce effective measures to decrease discrimination and preserve their cultural identity through one national representative organization. Gerus states that:

Concerned with the preservation of their ethnic identity in an Anglo-Celtic environment that was both assimilatory and discriminatory, Ukrainian Canadians had always been sensitive to a need for a representative body that could present their views to provincial and federal government authorities.¹⁸⁹

The initial effort to create a Ukrainian Canadian national umbrella organization began on February 3, 1940, with UNF and BUC creating the Representative Committee of Ukrainians in Canada, and then on February 7, 1940, with UWL, UHO and USRL creating the Ukrainian Canadian Central Committee.¹⁹⁰ Marunchak states that:

Two separate representative committees came into being: The "Ukrainian Canadian Representative Committee" and the "Ukrainian Canadian Central Committee". This state of indecision lasted for half a year; and though both committees regarded themselves as being central and representative, they, in reality, were nothing of the sort--notwithstanding the fact that, in their long discussions and platform-policy formation, they had achieved the basic principles of mutual discourse.¹⁹¹

However, the creation of one representative national Ukrainian Canadian organization became a reality as a result of the Canadian government's appeal

for Ukrainians to consolidate and co-ordinate the activities of all non-Communist Ukrainian Canadian ideological and religious organizations for the purpose of establishing one representative organization that would mobilize Ukrainian Canadian support for the WWII effort. Consequently, on November 7, 1940, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, re-named the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC or KUK) in 1989, was formed in Ottawa,¹⁹² as the representative body of all Ukrainian Canadians. The UCC's presidium was composed of delegates from five organizations: UNF, BUC, USRL, UHO, and UWL, with Dr. W. Kushnir of BUC as president. Due to fundamental ideological differences, the ULFTA and other pro-Communist, pro-Soviet, anti-democratic and anti-Christian organizations that represented only a small fraction of the Ukrainian population in Canada did not join the UCC.¹⁹³

The two major objectives of the UCC were: (1) consolidation of Ukrainian opinion and co-ordination of the work of Ukrainians in Canada so as to provide help for Canada and Great Britain for the successful ending of WWII, and (2) presentation of the consolidated opinion and the carrying on of the co-ordinated work in general.¹⁹⁴ However, according to Yuzyk, the paramount aim of the UCC was:

to promote the positive participation of the Ukrainian group in Canadian politics, in the cultural evolution of this country and in all aspects of its economic and social life, as responsible partners with the British, the French and the other ethnic groups of our Canadian nation; emphasis is placed on the distinctive cultural identity of the Ukrainian Canadian community as a valuable component of the Canadian nation. Another general aim is humanitarian, rendering aid to victims of communist aggression, disasters and to needy Ukrainians in Canada.¹⁹⁵

The organization of the UCC was a major achievement for the highly individualistic and factious Ukrainian Canadian community, who by 1940 became the largest Slavic group and fourth largest minority (305,000) in Canada.¹⁹⁶ The organization of the UCC also stirred a renewed patriotism among Ukrainian Canadians towards Canada, WWII effort and to Ukraine. The UCC's influential authority co-ordinated the WWII effort by generating unconditional support and enthusiasm towards the Canadian government through military service, participation of Ukrainian women in the WWII effort, and the purchase of war bonds. As many as 35,000 Ukrainians (14.4 percent of the Ukrainian population) enlisted in the Canadian armed forces.¹⁹⁷ The WWII effort of Ukrainian Canadians was praised by the Canadian government and the English press that equated Ukrainian activism with Canadianism. According to Gerus:

The war effort transformed the image of Ukrainians from quaint peasants, fanatical nationalists and potential revolutionaries into normal people deeply involved in Canadian society. To Ukrainians, the war with its many sacrifices helped to instil greater self-confidence as full fledged citizens at a crucial time.¹⁹⁸

The First Congress of Ukrainians was organized by the UCC on July 22-24, 1943, with 600 delegates from across Canada in attendance. The teaching of the Ukrainian language in high schools and universities was one of the main themes of the Congress. Marunchak states that this issue was strongly advocated by

the five founding organizations representing 1,249 separate associations located throughout seven provinces. The voiced opinion of 405 National Homes and 705 parishes and mission stations, with 13 educational institutions; schools, colleges, 12

weekly newspapers and 10 monthly¹⁰ magazines. This was an impressive organized strength--not to be easily ignored.¹⁹⁹

The First Congress of UCC set the tone for the future development of Ukrainian Canadian national consciousness and cultural identity in Canada. In his introductory speech at the Congress, Rev. Dr. W. Kushnir stated that:

“This great event will surely leave its impression upon the future course of [the] Canadian nation in its specific social, political and cultural tendencies . . . Today we are guiding our people, in Canada,” . . .” toward the social efforts of the whole Canada and of its citizens and not in the direction of our narrow tribal interests. We have set the course of our people in Canada toward reaching the heights of an active, responsible community and so we have full rights to see that our investment of spiritual culture, physical labour and the sacrifice of wealth and blood should be received with equal measure and appropriation on the part of the responsible authorities . . . We stretch our hands to our fellow-Canadians for mutual cooperation and equal share in all public activities on the Canadian soil and among its people.”²⁰⁰

Politics

During WWI Ukrainian Canadians experienced difficulty in the field of politics. Anglo-conformity became prominent in legislative acts that referred to Ukrainians as a “hostile element”. However, Ukrainian Canadians resisted the injustices of the host society and entered the WWII effort thereby eventually changing the attitudes of Anglo-Canadians. Consequently, in the Interwar Era, Ukrainian Canadians re-appeared in municipal, provincial, and federal politics, thereby effectively integrating into Canadian society.

Federally, in 1926, the first Ukrainian Canadian representative, Michael Luchkovich, from Vegreville, Alberta, was elected to the British Commonwealth of Nations. This was a significant event in the history of Ukrainian Canadians as it

placed Ukrainians on the same level as other Canadians. Marunchak states that “primarily it appeared as a unique symbol of deepened integration, but on the other hand, it gave the masses a feeling of equality, certain definite prestige and at the same time a sense of civic responsibility.”²⁰¹ In 1940, Anthony Hlynka, a representative of the Social Credit Party, replaced Luchkovich in Parliament.

Provincially, Manitoba elected the most Ukrainian Canadian legislators. By 1941, there were ten Ukrainian Canadian MLAs elected to the provincial government. They included D. Yakimischak, N. V. Bachynsky, M. Royetsky, N. Hryhorczuk, W. Lisowsky, J. Wawrykow, W. Kardash, S. M. Krawchyk, M. Stryk, and I, Solomon.²⁰²

Ukrainian Canadians also had numerous representatives in various Canadian political parties, such as, Conservative, Liberal, Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF), Social Credit, and Union of Alberta Farmers. Marunchak states that:

In other words, the Ukrainian Canadians became sensitive and responsive to the national needs of the country.

In that political complex they not only became perceptive of their own particular environment but also that of their neighbors, and the entire Canadian community.²⁰³

Cultural Endeavours

The Ukrainian Canadian immigrants also had more opportunity in the Interwar Era to develop cultural pursuits in the creative and performing arts. Although church choirs, amateur theatrical groups, and various orchestras appeared during the Pioneer Era, it was not until the 1920s and 1930s that Ukrainian folk culture began to flourish in Canada. Theatre groups and choirs, in

particular, became larger, more sophisticated, and non-denominational. Choral repertoire included traditional folk and patriotic songs, of a political or historical content, that emerged as a result of the struggle for Ukraine's independence. "Akademii", serious gatherings to mark specific national events, were also created in during the Interwar Era. Subtelny states that "by means of choral and orchestral performances, poetic recitations, and long, often stultifying speeches, exuding patriotic pathos and rhetoric, these events commemorated national heroes . . . or important events."²⁰⁴

In addition, impressive achievements were accomplished in the area of Ukrainian music and dance. This was primarily due to the arrival of two exceptionally gifted "émigrés" from Ukraine: Oleksander Koshyts (Alexander Koshetz), composer-conductor, and Vasyl Avramenko, dance master.²⁰⁵ In 1920, the Ukrainian National Choir, led by Koshyts, was sent abroad to America by the Ukrainian People's Republic to popularize the Ukrainian cause through song. The choir settled in New York and in 1941, the UNF brought it and Koshyts to Winnipeg where the conductor continued his successful work until his death in 1944. In 1926, Avramenko arrived in New York and travelled throughout North America, establishing dance groups. He, together with Koshyts, staged large musical extravaganzas, involving choristers and dancers at the White House, in opera houses in New York and Chicago, and in Winnipeg.

Ukrainian Press and Literature

During WWI and throughout the Interwar Era the Ukrainian press continued to be informers, as well as, the voice of Ukrainian Canadians in

matters of social, political, and cultural concerns throughout Canada. Winnipeg remained the Ukrainian publishing centre of Canada. The two largest papers were the "Ukrainian Voice" (representative of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church, the Canadian Conservative Party and the Ukrainian National Republic) and the "Canadian Ukrainian", formerly Canadian Ruthenian (representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Canadian Liberal Party and Ukraine's Hetman-state movement). Due to religious and political differences, these two papers were often at odds with one another. However, in the 1930s, it was the serious political situation in Ukraine under Poland and the USSR that resulted in the closer co-operation of these two newspapers.²⁰⁶

The publishing activity in Winnipeg also included the "Canadian Farmer", "Ranok" (Morning), "Ukrainian Labour News" (Ukrainian Canadian left), "Novyi Shliakh" (military nationalists associated with UNF) and other smaller publications that gave specific features to the life and development of Ukrainian Canadians during the post WWI and Interwar Era.²⁰⁷ However, the "Ukrainian Voice" continued to be, as in the Pioneer Era, the most stable paper that conveyed the aspirations of Ukrainian Canadians. Marunchak writes:

When we stop to consider the stability factor of the various newspapers then we must admit that the paper which most revealed the steady purpose was the "Ukrainian Voice", edited by Myroslav Stechishin from 1921 to 1946, who not only was its editor, but also the ideologist of this organ as well as of all the elements that grouped themselves around this journal. It was through the initiative effort of M. Stechishin . . . that the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League along with its youth organization, the SUMK, and the women's organization, the SUK, was formed.²⁰⁸

Many talented Ukrainian Canadian writers came into existence during the Pioneer and the Interwar Eras. Ukrainian Canadian writers produced poetry and prose that assisted the Ukrainian Canadians, both in the Ukrainian and English languages, with their integration into Canadian society. Ukrainian Canadian literature also began to emerge in the 1920s with the works of such prolific poets and prose writers as, Teodor Fedyk, Ivan Danylchuk, Honore Ewach, Mykyta Mandryka, Myroslav Irchan, and Illia Kiriak. The most successful Ukrainian Canadian writer of the Pioneer Era was Illia Kiriak. Other notable writers of the Pioneer Era and the period before WWI, were John Pawchuk, John Novosad, Mary Adamoska, Anna Priska, Catherine Novosad, Michael Kumka (poet), Dmytro Hunkewych, Dmytro Solanych, Peter Chaykowsky, Wasyl Chumer, as well as the following fully bilingual writers: Omifriy Iwach, Stepan Woroschuk, Semen W. Sawchuk, John Danylchuk, Joseph Wizniuk, Michael Krepiakevych, Hryhoriy Skehar, Michael Petrowsky, Tetiana Shevchuk-Kroitor-Bishop, Maara Lazechko Haas, Vera Lysenko, William Paluk, Constatine H. Andrysyshen.

Significant Ukrainian Canadian writers of the Interwar Era were Andrew Gospodyn, Victor (Lysenko) Tulenitriw, Taras D. Volokhatiuk, I. E. Kmeta (Myroslav Ichniansky), Volodymyr Kupchenko, Alexander Luhowy (Alexander W. Owrucky-Schwabe), Hryhory Mazurek, Stephan Semczuk, Natalia Kohuska, and Mykyta Mandryka. In addition, there were Anglo-Saxon writers who contributed a better understanding of Ukrainian literature among Canadians. These included Dr. A. J. Hunter, Percival Cundy, Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, Edward W. Thompson, and Florence Randal Livesay.²⁰⁹

Education and Schooling

Private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian Schools

During WWI and the Interwar Era, Ukrainian private, native, "Ridna Shkola", "Evening", "Saturday", "Vernacular" or "Heritage Language Supplementary" schools, as they were called, were organized by Ukrainian Canadian secular or church organizations. Since the bilingual school system was abolished in 1916, Ukrainian Canadians not only continued to organize private schools but also established "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools. In addition to private schools, these schools were also created for the purpose of preserving Ukrainian cultural identity and language among their children. The schools offered courses in language, literature, history, geography, church liturgy, social traditions, music and dance. Cultural and recreational activities also supplemented the curricular program in these schools. "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools were operated after school hours in the evenings and on Saturdays, for the most part, and taught by volunteer Ukrainian Canadian teachers whose salaries were paid by the parents or the church. Classes in these schools were held in houses, church basements, parish halls, school rooms, library rooms, or national homes (narodni dim). Subtelny states that

among the pro-Communists, these classes were especially well-organized and numerous. Thus, in the 1930's there were about 1,500 children and 30 teachers among the non-Communists and over 2,000 pupils in 50 schools among the pro-Communists attending supplementary courses.²¹⁰

Although the private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools were necessary for the preservation of the Ukrainian language, they were deficient in

many respects to the public schools, as they were conducted under somewhat more primitive conditions particularly in the area of hygiene and in the teaching environment. Also, there were many other factors that contributed to the difficulty of organizing private "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools. These included insufficient enrolment, long distances and scattered communities that prevented a teacher from teaching at additional schools, inability of some families to support a teacher, and a shortage of qualified personnel. In addition, some Ukrainian Canadian immigrants failed to send their children to private schools because they thought such an endeavour as useless and a vehicle of Anglo-conformity or "Canadianization". These immigrants were criticized by Ukrainian Canadians in favour of the private schools who felt such indifferences were unpatriotic or even traitorous.

Although interest in private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools was more intense among the first generation than the second Ukrainian Canadians, the drive towards Ukrainian schooling was pronounced among all Ukrainian Canadians.²¹¹ Even though there was religious, economic and political strife within the Ukrainian Canadian community, all Ukrainian Canadians, both first and second generation, were united in their cultural values of education and preservation of the Ukrainian language. Marunchak states that:

If a graduation of cultural value were to be set up to which the Ukrainians of Canada in the past have devoted their attention, especially in the area between the two wars, the teaching of one's mother tongue would be foremost. To impart knowledge of the native language to the coming generation was the concern of the family, religious congregations and education establishment.²¹²

Subtelny cites the recollections of a second generation Ukrainian Canadian, as follows:

Preserving the Ancestral Language.
Our parents were such, you learn ten languages if you want but you must learn your own. It was a must in our home. There was never an English word spoken at meals. It was a rule. After supper, whether it was winter or summer, but not in harvest, we were all put behind the table like chickens and each one had to read and write. At that time I thought it was silly but now I thank them for it.²¹³

Due to the strong commitment to the preservation of Ukrainian language education, many sacrifices were made by the Ukrainian Canadian community in the development of these schools. Marunchak states that:

It is hard to believe that there might be a religious congregation or a parish of one or another denomination, which would not be concerned with its native educational problems. It is, therefore, with deep admiration that we do note some establishments which conducted native schools for several years under strenuous circumstances. Without doubt it created a great burden upon the communities, the parents, and the children. Religious or educational institutions had to provide for accommodations and the teaching staff. The parents were obliged to pay salaries of the teachers and the students had to attend their classes while their public school classmates played and took it easy.²¹⁴

Public School System

After the liquidation of the bilingual school system, public schools continued to be the primary vehicle of Anglo-Canadians to assimilate immigrant children by providing instruction in English and the basic principles of the Canadian way of life. This was due to the fact that Anglo-Canadians feared that Canadian citizenship would fail to reach the high level of intelligence that had been characterized by the Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world. A citizenship that, according to the Anglo-Saxons, would be threatened by the

primitivism, cultural impoverishment, defective morality of the less civilized and more ignorant alien immigrants, such as, Ukrainian Canadians.²¹⁵ According to Derkatz, Anglo-conformity's

designated guardians of national unity and linguistic and cultural homogeneity and hegemony was the public school . . . It served as the agency of assimilation, citizenship, and cultural transmission.⁹¹ Proponents of this mandate stated that "it is regarded by us, and rightly so, as the most important means of assimilating the foreign-born or the children of the foreign-born."^{92 216}

However, the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants did not readily accept changes to the public school system and continually pressured the government to revert back to the bilingual system of education. The determined Ukrainian Canadian resistance to the abolition of bilingual schools and demoralizing assimilation agenda stirred deep hostility among Anglo-Canadians. Education Minister Thornton, in particular, refused to accept or tolerate the appeal of the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants. Therefore, in order to assimilate the Ukrainian Canadian immigrant children, the Department of Education immediately initiated changes in the public school system through examinations, curricula, teacher training, and school supervision. Thornton especially expressed a strong hope that English teachers would "courageously" leave their social environment and work in Ukrainian Canadian settlements in order to achieve the goal of assimilation. Derkatz states that:

Teachers, it was believed, needed to be specially trained for their reform work because "the teacher is one of the most important--if not the most important--element in racial assimilation."⁹⁴ . . . Therefore, preference was given to the English teacher who "must himself be a true and loyal Canadian, and a lover of Canadian ideals" and who must be prepared for "missionary work" and be

imbued with a "missionary spirit" for laying a solid Canadian foundation in these "foreign settlements."^{95 217}

Nevertheless, although bilingual schools were abolished in the public school system, thousands of Ukrainian Canadian school children in approximately 400 Ukrainian Canadian school districts in the prairies had received primary education in the Ukrainian language.²¹⁸ Bilingualism continued during the Interwar Era in a modified format as a result of privately organized efforts. Ukrainian Canadians resisted Anglo-Canadian efforts at assimilation by teaching the Ukrainian language in private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, and in student residences called "Bursas".

Ukrainian Canadian Teachers

The two school systems, public and private, produced two categories of teachers in the Ukrainian Canadian community: bilingual teachers who were versed in the Ukrainian language and taught regular public school and Ukrainian to children after school hours, and teachers who taught Ukrainian exclusively in private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools and conducted cultural activities in the Ukrainian community or church organizations.

Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers. Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers continued to be the voice of Ukrainian Canadian national consciousness and cultural identity during the Interwar Era. Approximately 250 bilingual teachers were employed in all the English-language schools. They were on payrolls of the public school system and graduates of Canadian institutions. Subtelny states that "their familiarity with things Ukrainian balanced,

at least in part, the Anglo-Saxon teachers.”²¹⁹ In instances where there were not teachers available, then the priest had to act in both capacities, as priest and teacher. Marunchak states that “these priests and teachers enhanced the cultural standing in the church and school community.”²²⁰

Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers continued to hold annual conventions after the abolishment of the bilingual schools. Organizers and presenters at these conventions were such noted individuals as, I. Bobersky, Dr. M. Mihaychuk, N. Bilash, J. Yatchew, J. and M. Stechishin, P. Humeniuk, A. Danyleyko, A. Chorneyko and P. Nykorchuk.²²¹ The first convention was held on July 12-20, 1923, in Winnipeg.²²² Two important developments occurred at this convention that set the tone for the teaching of the Ukrainian language in public and private schools in all Canadian provinces. The first was to organize a Dominion Federation of Teachers, and the second was to create the “General Committee for Native Schools”, a national committee that would co-ordinate the teaching of the Ukrainian language in “Ridna Shkola” Ukrainian schools. The General Committee set as its goals and purposes the following six guidelines:

1. To coordinate all efforts in the direction of teaching Ukrainian language to the young generation.
2. To take necessary steps to effect the establishment of “Native Schools” in every locality in a manner that is best therein.
3. To maintain a record of such schools.
4. To inaugurate an information section in connection therewith, providing for a teacher, etc.
5. To make available a sufficient number of teachers to such schools, by conducting special courses in Ukrainian even through correspondence if necessary.
6. To keep proper statistics of these schools, their teachers and children, etc.²²³

The membership of the "General Committee for Native Schools" included qualified teachers and other professionals who not only adopted a very important centre of social and educational thought in the affairs of native teaching, but also who represented all active religious denominations and political affiliations.

Among the membership were such noted individuals as, J. W. Arsenych, Myroslaw Stechishin, J. Rudachek, J. Dyck, Z. Bychynsky, N. Bilash, Dmytro Rostocky, Maria Korecka, Peter Humeniuk, W. Swystun, Dr. M. Mihaychuk, Dr. H. Novak, P. Woycenko, Rev. M. Olenchuk, O. H. Hykawy, Dr. O. Nazaruk, Prof. I. Bobersky, Dr. I. Karach and T. D. Ferley.²²⁴

In addition to these initiatives, two important resolutions were passed at the 1923 convention: the changing of the teacher's association from the Ukrainian Teachers Organization to The Association of Ukrainian Teachers of Canada (AUTC) in 1924, and a proposal to offer a Ukrainian summer course of Ukrainianization that would include subjects such as history, geography, language, literature, music and physical education, and be taught at the university buildings on Broadway at Winnipeg.²²⁵

During the 1930s there was some decline in the work of the AUTC. However, in 1932, the organization became active again and in the following year a seminar created to teach all Ukrainian disciplines was organized in Winnipeg. In 1934, M. Ewanchuk, inspector of schools in Manitoba, became AUTC president, and continued for several years in that position. Among the leading teachers from AUTC were Stephen Krawchyk, M. Wawrykow, W. Kostiuk, Halia Hawryluk, W. Wall, W. Sarchuk, M. H. Hykawy and others. The AUTC worked in

close co-operation with similar teachers' organizations in Saskatchewan and Alberta.²²⁶

"Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian school teachers. The second group of teachers in the Interwar Era possessed European qualifications and were recruited primarily from second generation Ukrainian Canadians. These teachers taught in private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools located only in urban localities. The schools were predominantly in parochial communities or cultural organizations, and were financed exclusively by parishes and organizations. Due to their separate employment from the Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers, in 1932, the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian school teachers organized a separate organization from the AUTC called the "Society of Ukrainian Native School Teachers in Canada" (UTNS).

The UTNS was organized by A. Zaharychuk, school board member in Winnipeg, and the following teachers: G. Cukornyk, A. Gospodyn, M. Kumka, Euhenia Sytnyk, S. Shkromeda, I. Sawchuk, M. Borysyk, T. Kuz and others.²²⁷ The initiative to form this organization came from Winnipeg's "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools connected with the following cultural institutions: Ukrainian National Home, "Prosvita" Library, Institute "Prosvita", Institute of Shevchenko of Brooklands, "Kobzar" Society of Fort Rouge, Shevchenko Society of St. Boniface, "Ridna Shkola" of M. Shashkevych and others.²²⁸

According to UTNS, "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools in Canada needed one direction with uniform planning in studies and hourly sessions, as well as uniform textbooks and one method of teaching. Thus Marunchak states that the

UTNS prepared by-laws with the principal aim

to unite the Ukrainians in Canada, who are affiliated with the teaching professions and are now teaching in the native schools, in order that they may expand among the teaching elements, the knowledge of the present and of the past of the Ukrainian people, its language and literature and to consider the various methods of teaching in order to successfully carry on the educational work among the Ukrainian settlers in Canada.^{5 229}

According to Marunchak, the UTNS also included other aims in its by-laws, such as a mandatory duty "to acquaint the Ukrainian people in Canada and Europe with the English art, literature, economy, social and political processes, and conversely, to acquaint the English community with the Ukrainian literature, art and culture."^{6 230}

In 1933, the UTNS compiled and published statistics of "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools in the three prairie provinces. Altogether there were 29 teachers in "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools attended by 1,419 students with, on the average, 49 students per teacher.²³¹ Although the UTNS continued its work until WWII, it was unable to reach its goal of unifying all the Ukrainian Canadian schools in Canada.

It should be noted that, in general, one great obstacle to teaching Ukrainian in the private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, and the public schools, was the lack of proper textbooks. Not only were European textbooks impractical for Ukrainian Canadian students, but also the Ukrainian Canadian community lacked sufficient funds to publish textbooks that would be applicable for new Ukrainian language education in Canada. Therefore, an agreement was made with M. Matwiychuk's publishing company in Lviv, Ukraine, where the

UTNS in Winnipeg would re-issue and adapt M. Matwiychuk's textbooks to Canadian requirements. However, the outbreak of WWII interrupted this project.

Marunchak states that:

Up to the war period, the Society recommended the use of M. Matwiychuk's primer in the first four grades, and for the grades 5 to 8, the "reader" of Anthony Krushelnytsky was to be used, also the latter author's primer book and his first reader.

From the reference books recommended by the Society for the use in native schools it could be assumed that the teaching was conducted in accordance with the advanced methods and with the use of modern literary language. Through the efforts of the Society, there also appeared "An Aid to Learn Ukrainian Language for Beginners", authored by A. Zaharychuk.²³²

Bursas

In addition to teaching the Ukrainian language in private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia filled the void of Ukrainian language education in the public school system, by establishing student residences called, "bursas". Marunchak states that:

The Ukrainian press and public leaders saw Canada as a pattern of cultural mosaic in the process of political and economic integration. Seeing that the campaign of assimilation was aimed at their young generation, the Ukrainians raised a cry demanding that their children be taught the native language and culture in private night schools and that for the young people, studying in colleges and universities, a system of bursas and institutes be established in which they might receive not only room and board but also an upbringing in keeping with the traditions of their own people.²³³

The establishment of "bursas" was most significant in that they provided the Ukrainian Canadian community with a strong organizational base for educational, cultural and social development. They were created as non-denominational, non-partisan community institutions open to all students of Ukrainian Canadian

background. The “bursas” were established in urban centres to provide not only both urban, but also rural students with high school and university education beyond the one-room school. In operation, the “bursas” were similar to residential schools where students boarded and lodged at the institute. As residents, students received a general education similar to that taught in Canadian schools and an additional one in Ukrainian disciplines. Instruction was offered after regular school hours in Ukrainian language, history, literature, music, drama, folk dancing, crafts, etc. The “bursas” equipped students for employment in various occupational fields and for leadership in the Ukrainian Canadian community. The graduates of these institutes were successors to the Pioneer Era Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers. Upon graduation, these students not only attained responsible positions in Canadian life but also became leaders in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

In September 1915, the Ukrainian Teachers Association in Winnipeg established the first “bursa”. It was named the Adam Kostko Bursa, in honour of a Ukrainian student who, in 1910, was killed in the struggle for the establishment of a Ukrainian university in Lviv, Ukraine.²³⁴ The Adam Kostko Bursa had 16 students. However, it was forced to close in two years due to lack of funds.²³⁵ Original supporters of the Adam Kostko Bursa split on denominational lines and with the assistance of the French Archbishop, established in 1917, the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky Bursa. This “bursa” housed 40 students annually and closed in 1924.²³⁶ In 1917-1918, a third “bursa”, the Petro Mohyla

Ukrainian Institute, opened in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, followed, in the same year, by the Michael Hrushevsky Institute, in Edmonton, Alberta.

In addition to the Ukrainian Canadian community, the Presbyterian Church also organized "bursas". Ukrainian boys and girls were admitted to these "bursas" and received a religious education in the Presbyterian faith. In 1912, Dr. A. J. Hunter established a "bursa" in Teulon and in Sifton.²³⁷ Although students sensed a certain degree of assimilatory pressure at this institute, they resisted it by continuing to maintain their Ukrainian culture and language. Marunchak states that:

It is interesting to note, though, that this policy [assimilation] on the part of Directors [Presbyterian] of these bursas, produced the opposite results. In private, the youths spoke in their native language, read Ukrainian books, and established the Ukrainian students club, "Zoria".⁷ As it finally became apparent that this policy failed to produce the desired results, the administration began accepting only those applicants over whom, in their opinion, it would be easier to exercise their influence. But even this approach failed to alter national and cultural ties of the students because of their inherently unshakable feeling of identify prevailing among them.^{8 238}

The early "bursas" were only as successful as there were leaders to lead them. They were continually beset with financial, administrative, directorial, religious, internal and external concerns. The greatest difficulty was in obtaining Ukrainian Canadian bilingual teachers who, not only had university education and teaching experience, but also were able to understand, influence, and guide the resident students. Another obstacle was the lack of proper leadership and guidance that often spelled ruin and downfall in these institutions.²³⁹

In addition, due to the fact that “bursas” were secular in nature and open to Ukrainian Canadian students of all denominations, they became the centre of religious tension between the Ukrainian nationalists and the Ukrainian Catholic community under the leadership of Bishop Budka. The Mohyla Institute condemned Bishop Budka as hindering national progress, while the Bishop denounced Mohyla leaders as Presbyterian agents. Stechishin and other bilingual teachers advised Catholic parishioners to take an individual stand on church incorporation. The Bishop retaliated by refusing the confessional and burial on sacred ground. Consequently, 154 Ukrainian Canadians from all three prairie provinces attended a confidential meeting held July 18-19, 1918. The meeting resulted in a majority vote to break with the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and to form the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Brotherhood for the purpose of organizing the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.²⁴⁰ This in turn divided the secular Ukrainian Canadian community and organizations along Catholic and Orthodox lines.

Despite these difficulties, the “bursas” were a phenomenon that grew with the Ukrainian Canadian immigrants and have remained as Ukrainian Canadian educational institutions to this day. A modified version of a “bursa” is the Greek-Orthodox, St. Andrew’s College, in Winnipeg, named after the apostle St. Andrew, who is claimed to have first established the cross on the site of Kiev, Ukraine. The College was established in 1946 when the Ukrainian Canadian community purchased St. John’s College from the Anglican Church.²⁴¹ In addition, the Executive Board of the Ukrainian League of Canada organized

Ukrainian courses for students in higher education during the summer months. The first course was organized in 1940 and summer courses continue to be offered to this day. During the first decade of its inception, over 600 students have participated in, and completed the courses with additional honours.²⁴²

Assimilation and Discrimination

The WWI and Interwar Era is often referred to as the historical period of assimilation and Anglo-conformity of immigrants by the host society. Despite the Ukrainian Canadian community's achievements in maintaining the Ukrainian language through private efforts, assimilation proceeded according to the Anglo-Canadian agenda. Derkatz states that:

As early as 1918, Anderson foretold that many of the "foreigners" in the future "will bear the Anglicized forms of such names."¹¹⁸ Already by 1931, Young was able to confidently state that there was "a small, though increasingly, minority who through higher education or extra-group activities are weaned away from the society of their people."¹¹⁹ Then by 1950, The Winnipeg Tribune noted that, indeed, "they have become assimilated politically, economically and culturally where once they were looked upon with suspicion and dislike."^{120 243}

Assimilation was aided by urbanization, prohibitive emigration, and intermarriage. Derkatz claims that it was also "abetted by language estrangement undoubtedly resulting from discrimination and prejudice which prompted a greater attraction to the Anglo community along with an increased negative, denial orientation to the ethnic community."^{120 244}

Although the Ukrainian pioneer and post WWI Ukrainian Canadian immigrants maintained a strong commitment to their Ukrainian cultural heritage, the younger second generation of Ukrainian Canadians, who had reached

adolescence and young adulthood, found it increasingly difficult to do so due to extreme prejudice and discrimination of Anglo-Canadians. In the Pioneer Era, the first generation of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants perpetuated their cultural activities with little influence or conflict from the Anglo-Canadians due to the fact that they lived in relatively isolated rural bloc settlements and had limited contact with the dominant culture. This was not the case for the second generation Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, who were exposed to the dominant culture and English language through schooling, social contacts and employment. Second generation Ukrainian Canadians were intensely pressured by the host society to conform to British values and norms of Anglo-Canadian life. Acceptance of Anglo-Canadian ways often meant a rejection of all things Ukrainian. In order to achieve social and economic progress, the more affluent and better educated second generation Ukrainian Canadians moved out of bloc settlements and ethnic neighbourhoods and, for some, out of the Ukrainian Canadian way of life. As a result, increased proficiency in the English language by the urban second generation Ukrainian Canadians was accompanied by a decline in the use of the Ukrainian language that sometimes led to abandonment of cultural traditions, organizations and churches, for Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Keywan and Coles claim that:

In a rush to become more "Canadian"--and thus more acceptable in the eyes of outsiders, the young were giving up Ukrainian dress, their parents' more extreme religious practices, and, to some extent, their language. Out of shame over the scorn they evinced from Anglo-Canadians, many people burned their homespun clothing, or tore it up for rags. For some, Ukrainian was becoming

not the first but a second tongue, reserved for conversing with parents and older relatives.²⁴⁵

The pressure to abandon Ukrainian things was reinforced by prejudice and discrimination by the host society against Ukrainian Canadians and had a damaging effect on the second generation Ukrainian Canadians. Shamed into suppressing their ethnocultural origins many Ukrainian Canadians, during the 1930s and 1940s changed or anglicized their names.²⁴⁶ During the Great Depression, Ukrainian Canadian labourers, in particular, felt the harsh effects of discrimination in the work place. In addition to farmers, the group hardest hit by unemployment was the unskilled younger generation entering the labour market for the first time. Historian James H. Gray, in The Winter Years, wrote:

For them [Ukrainians, Poles and Jews] Winnipeg was far from being a city of 250,000 in which they too were free to search for work. As much as two-thirds of it was barred and bolted against them.

None of the city's chartered banks, trust companies, or insurance companies would knowingly hire a Jew, and anyone with a Ukrainian or Polish name had almost no chance of employment except rough manual labour. The oil companies, banks, mortgage companies, financial and stock brokers, and most retail and mercantile companies except the Hudson's Bay Company discriminated against all Anglo-Saxons. For the young Ukrainians and Poles there was a possible solution if they could beat the accent handicap. They could change their names. So they changed their names, sometimes formally and legally, but mostly informally and casually.²⁴⁷

Individual cases of prejudice were not uncommon. The Ukrainian Canadian pioneer teacher, W. Czumer, recounts the following incident that was widely reported in the press in 1941:

The school board of the district of Hampton, five miles from Bowmanville, Ontario, hired a talented nineteen-year-old teacher,

Maria Kozak, to teach in the local school. But someone in the district took exception to Miss Kozak's foreign name and her parents' foreign background, and went out among the taxpayers collecting signatures to block her appointment. Ninety taxpayers out of one hundred agreed to sign their names to a petition demanding that the local trustees not accept Miss Kozak into their school.

Miss Kozak had already signed a contract, so she asked for damages to which she was entitled according to the agreement. Although the school district was obliged to pay her \$180 in costs, the English "patriots" of Hampton, Ontario had their way and succeeded in keeping Miss Kozak out of their school.²⁴⁸

The second generation Ukrainian Canadians were divided between two loyalties; the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, and the Ukrainian culture of their parents. Consequently, the so-called "second generation blues" became a common phenomenon. Subtelny described this phenomenon as follows:

As young Ukrainians moved "up" they also moved "out" of their enclaves, literally and figuratively. Of course, not all made a clean break. A large number took a middle road, viewing themselves as Ukrainian Americans, or Ukrainian Canadians, or Americans or Canadians of Ukrainian descent. And they attempted to straddle the two cultures, reading both Shevchenko and Shakespeare, celebrating Christmas on 25 December and 7 January, listening to jazz and folk songs, denouncing their elected officials and Stalin. Some managed to draw on the best from both worlds, but most found biculturalism confusing and demanding.²⁴⁹

Assimilation of the Ukrainian Canadian youth and generational clashes within the Ukrainian Canadian community alarmed the older generation. In the early 1930s, community leaders realized not only that their organizations were failing to attract the youth, but also that the youth was actively rejecting everything Ukrainian. Therefore, the press, the church, and various community organizations set out to safeguard the Ukrainian Canadian youth in order to

preserve national culture and identity. In 1931, Providence, a Ukrainian Catholic publication, submitted the plea in 1931:

The Crisis of the Older Generation

If we are honest with ourselves, we must realize that we are old and that the time to die is just around the corner. And let's ask ourselves if we really have anyone to whom we can leave that inheritance which we have developed in this new land. Will anyone be left to attend our churches, our schools, our national homes and the other institutions which now exist? . . .

Let us save our children, our blood, before it's too late. If we don't wish to save them from assimilation then we have no right to call ourselves their parents.²⁵⁰

The first generation of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants attempted to confront the problem of the second generation Ukrainian Canadians by establishing a variety of Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations during the interwar period. In 1927, two Orthodox organizations, SUS and Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC or SUK) provided the impetus to form several youth clubs. In 1931, these organizations formed the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (SUMK) that grew to include 200 branches across Canada. In 1938, the Catholics created the Ukrainian Catholic Youth (UCY) and the Nationalists formed Young Ukrainian Nationalists (MUN). In addition, the youth in Canada became motivated through these organizations to form students clubs at the universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.²⁵¹

Cultural Identify in the First World War and Interwar Era

Ukrainian Canadians assimilated far less rapidly than most Western Europeans during the Interwar Era. Keywan and Coles state the following

reasons for the Ukrainian Canadian community's resistance and perseverance against assimilation:

For a number of reasons, Ukrainians continued to identify strongly with their cultural roots: because they were more "foreign" to begin with, and thus had a greater barrier of prejudice to overcome; because the hold of centuries of peasant tradition, which had withstood all efforts by outside powers to destroy it, was too strong to be abandoned lightly; because the presence of old people and new Ukrainian immigrants kept the language and customs alive; and because, for the most part, the people were still living on the land, in relative isolation.²⁵²

Consequently, despite prejudice, discrimination and assimilation, Ukrainian Canadians developed their life throughout the WWI and Interwar Era, based on the knowledge of their national and cultural identity. Ukrainian Canadians valued their cultural and historical facts as their heritage, and their community as a viable living entity with the purpose of preserving and fostering their heritage.

Marunchak states that:

In view of such a concept the full man would be only he who grew up on the traditions of his predecessors. This philosophical-political foundation we regularly discern in all cultural manifestations of initial development; it becomes more evident especially in the second stage of the development.²⁵³

Cultural identification of Ukrainian Canadians in the Interwar Era was manifest in retaining the Ukrainian language in the family, church, private schools, "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, customs, traditions, arts, drama, literature, and the press. Through these mediums, first generation Ukrainian Canadians made a tremendous effort in transferring the knowledge of the Ukrainian language and culture to the second generation thereby encouraging an

understanding, and preservation of the cultural heritage and identity of their ancestors.

The cultural identity of Ukrainian Canadians was also enhanced by the close ties with Ukraine. This was achieved through correspondence with their family and kinsmen and through newspapers and journals from occupied Ukraine. Although printed material, especially political news arriving from Poland or the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) was censored, Ukrainian Canadians were able to receive authentic "live" information from Ukrainian Canadian immigrants.²⁵⁴

In addition to their cultural identification as a unique ethnocultural community, Ukrainian Canadians were also loyal and patriotic Canada citizens. They were grateful and appreciative to the Canadian government who not only encouraged them to immigrate but also offered them the freedom to practice their customs and traditions in order to develop their Ukrainian cultural identity. As a result, Ukrainian Canadians took every opportunity to fully participate in Canadian municipal, provincial and federal affairs and often took on leadership roles in various Canadian community initiatives. Marunchak claims that the

Ukrainian entity basis its life and belief that Canada is their adopted fatherland for centuries to come. They feel themselves to be an integral part of their new homeland and with this feeling is a sense of responsibility towards this country, its development and its future destiny.²⁵⁵

During the Interwar Era the contribution and acknowledgment of Ukrainian Canadians as valuable members of Canadian society was significantly delivered

in the following message by Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General of Canada, to the Ukrainian Canadian rural community of Fraserwood, on September 21, 1936:

Every Briton and especially every Scotsman must believe that the strongest nations are those that are made up of different elements. The Ukrainian element is a very valuable contribution to our new Canada. You have accepted the duties and loyalties as you have acquired the privileges of Canadian citizens, but I want you also to remember your old Ukrainian traditions--your beautiful handicrafts, your folk-songs and dances, and your folk legends. I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with all their past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions towards our Canadian culture which cannot be a copy of any one old thing--it must be a new thing created by the contributions of all the elements that make up the nation . . . You will all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians.^{4 256}

In addition to their achievements, the most significant event to Ukrainian Canadians in the Interwar Era, was the creation of the UCC. Concerned with the preservation of their national identity in an Anglo-conformist environment that was both assimilatory and discriminatory, Ukrainian Canadians created a representative organization that could present their issues and concerns to provincial and federal governments. Marunchak states that to Ukrainian Canadians the UCC was "the valid natural process and organic consummation of the national entity."²⁵⁷ According to Marunchak, the UCC "was not only the manifestation and the answer to the war times, but it also possessed the creative and guiding wisdom to direct the future growth and development of Ukrainian Canadian community life."²⁵⁸ Thus, at the conclusion of the Interwar Era, the Ukrainian Canadian community formed an integral Canadian entity by demonstrating through sacrifice, perseverance, and participation, and, as Marunchak claims, "a strong, undeniable desire to live its life according to the

cultural acquirement of its own people and yet feel itself to be an indivisible part of Canada."²⁵⁹

Post World War II Era (1945-70): The Third Wave of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada and the Reestablishment of Ukrainian Education in the Public School System

Immigration

As in the previous eras, the period after WWII and the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada had a profound effect on the social, religious, economic, professional, political, cultural and educational life of Ukrainian Canadians. The third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada coincided with the post World WWII international resettlement of 40 million "displaced persons", (DP's). DP's, as they were referred to by the host society, were political prisoners, refugees, or prisoners-of-war in "forced labour" camps, from European countries, such as Germany, Austria and Italy, who had been forcefully separated from their country by WWII and who were unwilling or unable, as in the Ukrainian immigrant situation, to return because of the political situation and occupation of their homeland by the Soviet regime. At the end of WWII, there were over 16 million foreign workers, prisoners-of-war, and refugees located in Germany and Austria, of which 2.2 million were Ukrainian.²⁶⁰ This group represented all regions of Ukraine and reflected various religions, social classes, cultural and political traditions. Subtelny states that

about two-thirds of the DP's were from Galicia and belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic church, while the remaining third were from Soviet Ukraine and were Orthodox. Other important subgroups among the DP's were émigrés from the 1920's period, Ukrainian students in Germany, former German prisoners-of-war, and

released inmates of the concentration camps. In Italy, there were about 10,000 members of the interned "Galicia" division that had fought on the German side. And in 1947-8, several hundred soldiers of the anti-Soviet Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who had fought their way from the Carpathians through Czechoslovakia to Germany, also joined the DP's.²⁶¹

The Western nations of the world organized the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Army (UNRRA), formed in 1945, and the International Relief Organization (IRO), formed in 1947, to assist the homeless international refugees. These organizations provided temporary physical amenities for the refugees until they could be permanently resettled in countries around the world. The UNRRA and IRO organized the refugees by nationality into camps located in schools, army barracks or public buildings. Approximately two-thirds of Ukrainian refugees lived in eighty camps with a population of 2,000 to 4,000, located in the USA, British and French occupied zones of Germany.²⁶² Ukrainian refugees lived within these camps for a period of four to five years. During that time they lived under their own administrative leadership while organizing their own cultural, educational and political activity. However, despite the opportunity to develop their culture and way of life, social, cultural, religious, political and psychological differences and feuding often occurred among the Ukrainian refugees who were forced to live in close proximity as a result of the camps.

Approximately 20 percent of Ukrainian "displaced persons" were political refugees who were members of the Western Ukrainian intelligentsia. Subtelny stated that:

Included in the large pool of well-educated people among the DP's were about 1,000 teachers, 400 engineers, 350 lawyers, 300

physicians, and an equal number of clergy, and close to 200 scholars. There were, moreover, over 2,000 students on the university level.²⁶³

The Ukrainian intelligentsia were largely responsible for maintaining the Ukrainian way of life in the camps. According to Subtelny:

Despite very limited material resources, the Ukrainian DP's maintained two university-level institutions, about forty gymnasias (secondary schools), and over a hundred elementary schools. They also established dozens of vocational courses and 85 parishes and rebuilt Plast, the scouting organization. Cultural activity was especially great. The camps had 35 libraries, 41 choruses, 13 orchestras, 33 theatrical groups, and 3 professional troupes. They staged over 1,400 plays, 900 concerts, and 350 cultural-commemorative events (akademii). A vibrant if qualitatively uneven press produced about 230 periodicals and over 800 books. Young DP's also plunged into other activities. Forced to delay marriages and childbirth by conditions of war, they established families at a rapid rate.²⁶⁴

Between 1947 and 1951, the following approximate number of Ukrainian "displaced persons" from Germany and Austria were resettled to the following countries: USA, 80,000; Canada, 30,000; Australia, 20,000; Great Britain, 20,000; Belgium, 10,000; France, 10,000; Brazil, 7,000; Argentina, 6,000.²⁶⁵ In 1944, the UCC established the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund (UCRF) to organize resettlement in Canada.²⁶⁶ Due to Canada's post WWII need of labour in agriculture, mining and forestry, the UCC persuaded the Canadian government to permit Ukrainian refugees to immigrate to Canada. Therefore, despite the pro-Communist opposition to the immigration of Ukrainian "displaced persons", labelling them as "traitors", "enemies of the people" and "war criminals", between 1947 and 1953, 33,304 Ukrainian refugees immigrated to Canada. Kaye and Swypa claim that:

By the end of 1959, with the borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic sealed, only 3,143 additional refugees had come to Canada. Subsequent numbers have been insignificant. As a result, today over 80 percent of Ukrainians in Canada are Canadian-born.²⁶⁷

Gerus and Rea state that:

The post-war refugees represented the last significant Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Today practically all the European Ukrainians live in the Soviet Union which does not allow free immigration. Despite efforts of the Canadian government to facilitate family reunions, very few Ukrainians have been able to emigrate to Canada from Ukraine. Indeed, between 1952 and 1967 only 5,330 Ukrainians in total arrived in Canada, mostly from Europe and South America.²⁶⁸

In addition, Marunchak states that "official statistics show that immigration of Ukrainians to Canada in post-war years, 1946 to 1961 numbered 37,132 persons."²⁶⁹

The entry regulations of the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada emphasized sponsorship and rigid health requirements. Many refugees were sponsored by forestry and mining companies in Ontario. This resulted in Toronto becoming the capital of the third wave of immigrants with a combined population of 80,000 Ukrainian Canadians.²⁷⁰ The Ukrainian refugees also settled in Winnipeg, Montreal, Sudbury and Windsor.

Settlement and Social Structure

At the time of the 1961 census there were 473,337 Ukrainians in Canada. While the first generation of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants settled in rural bloc settlements and the second generation settled in both rural and urban centres, the third generation of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants settled primarily in urban

and industrial centres. The post WWII prosperity dissolved the Ukrainian Canadian community bloc settlements. The rural Ukrainian Canadian population dropped from 66 percent in 1941 (over 20 points above the Canadian average) to 25 percent in 1971 (just slightly above the Canadian average).²⁷¹ Marunchak states that "out of 290,000 Ukrainians in prairie provinces, 52% live in urban centres that is 151,000 which on farms are 48% or 139,000."²⁷² The City of Winnipeg and the surrounding metropolitan area became the most heavily populated centre of Ukrainian Canadians. According to the 1961 census there were 53,918 Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg.

Religion and Churches

Ukrainian church life continued its development in the Post WWII Era.

Marunchak claims that

much of this growth could be credited to the new organizational structure of the churches themselves that had been adopted after the Second World War, as well as to the arrival, in Canada, of the great numbers of clergy after the war. It is to these two factors that we can attribute the acceleration of the church life in Canada.²⁷³

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada continued to expand after WWII. Marunchak states that the "1951 census showed 165,000 Ukrainian Catholics, 42% out of the total Ukrainian Canadians, the 1961 census recorded only 158,000 as Ukrainian Catholic, just a little over 33% out of the total."²⁷⁴ At the end of the Post WWII Era, membership in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada increased to 190,000 members.²⁷⁵

In 1947 Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, visited the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. In 1948, as a result of his visit, the Vatican changed the

organizational structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada by dividing the single diocese into three eparchies: the central Exarchate in Winnipeg, headed by Bishop Wasyliv Ladyka; the western Exarchate in Edmonton, headed by Bishop Neil Savaryn; and the eastern Exarchate in Toronto, headed by Bishop Isidore Borecky. In 1951, the central Exarchate was divided between Winnipeg and Saskatoon eparchy and an assistant bishop, Rev. Maxim Hermaniuk, added to the Winnipeg eparchy.

Although the eastern and western Exarchates became the largest eparchies, the Manitoba Exarchate superceded the others in its numbers, amounting to approximately 58,000 faithful followers and served by some 60 priests in 59 parishes, missionary establishments and mission stations. Religious orders in Manitoba included, Basilian Fathers, Redemptorist Fathers and Sister Servants who were in charge of two private schools and three senior citizens homes. In 1956, due to the rapid growth of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Pope Pius XII established a Metropolia of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada. The Metropolitan seat was designated to be in Winnipeg with Rev. Maxim Hermaniuk as Metropolitan. The abbotships of the Basilian and Redemptorist Fathers were also transferred to Winnipeg, making the city the headquarters of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

During this time, efforts were also being made to unite all Ukrainian Catholic churches and their hierarchies in the world under one Ukrainian Patriarchate. The Archbishop, and later Cardinal Josef Slipyj, the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, worked diligently to unite Ukrainian Catholics into an

autonomous ecclesiastical body pursuing the Eastern Rite rather than the Latin Rite of the Roman Catholic Church.²⁷⁶

The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada also developed in the Post WWII Era. At a significant Ninth "Sobor" of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church held in 1953 in Saskatoon, the Church proclaimed a Metropolia with three eparchies: the Central Manitoba Eparchy that included Saskatchewan and the Metropolitan seat in Winnipeg, under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohienko); the Western Eparchy in Edmonton, headed by Archbishop Andrey Metiuk; and the Eastern Eparchy in Toronto, headed by Archbishop Mykhail Khoroshy. In 1963, a fourth eparchy was established in Saskatchewan, headed by Bishop Borys Yakovkevych. In that same year, Metropolitan Ilarion received the title of "Blazhennitsky", a designation of an independent hierarch²⁷⁷

The rapid growth of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church was a result of the division of the church into separate eparchies. Marunchak states that:

The 1951 census revealed that there was 111,000 Orthodox adherents on that date and 119,000 at the 1961 census. Broken into percentage according to the total number of Ukrainians in Canada will give us 28% for 1951 and only 24% for 1961.²⁷⁸

One of the greatest achievements of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church was the expansion of St. Andrew's College, in Winnipeg. St. Andrew's College was the only Ukrainian Orthodox theological college in North America, that in 1965, was moved onto the campus of the University of Manitoba.

In addition to the Ukrainian Catholic and Greek-Orthodox churches, Ukrainian Evangelical churches also progressed in the Post WWII Era. These

included the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance (a division of the Presbyterian Church that later merged with the Methodists to form the United Church of Canada), the Baptist Church, the Ukrainian Pentecostals, the Ukrainian Seventh Day Adventists, and the Ukrainian Lutherans. Marunchak states that "in 1951 the Ukrainian Evangelical churches had some 50 thousand members while in 1961 the number had risen to over 100 thousand."²⁷⁹

Socio-economic Status

The social structure of the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada was different from the first and second Ukrainian Canadian immigrations. In addition to farmers and labourers, many of the Ukrainian refugees were well educated intellectuals and professionals in the arts, humanities, and sciences, as well as, skilled technicians, craftsmen, and skilled tradesmen. Marunchak states that

about 50%, in some cases more, stated that they were farmers (in fact this percentage was much smaller--many immigrants gave their occupation as farmers because this type of immigrant was in greatest demand on the American continent); about 25% were craftsmen; 6% were engineers, mechanics, and technicians; 6% were teachers; 2% were artists, musicians, and singers; about 300 were doctors and dentists; about 300 were university professors, about 600 were clergymen among those, a few bishops.²⁸⁰

The third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants received aid in employment from sponsors, families and friends. However, it was difficult to adapt to Canadian life due to lack of employment opportunities in their respective fields. Most educated post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants began at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder by working in menial, poorly paid jobs and

living in rental rooms in blue-collar neighbourhoods near churches established by the previous Ukrainian Canadian immigrants. As the economy dropped in the 1940s even these jobs were scarce. Although post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants with technical training, such as, physicians or engineers found appropriate work, lawyers, teachers and scholars found little demand for their skills and often resorted to poorly paid positions in Ukrainian Canadian organizations and institutions. This was particularly humiliating and depressing for the third wave of Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia immigrants who suffered over a drop in their social status. The less educated manual workers of the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration, who had a ready market for their labour, often adapted more successfully to their new environment than the Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia. Many of these Ukrainian Canadian immigrants worked one or two years in their related sponsored fields of grain farming, sugar beet farming, mining and forestry in pulp and paper mills, lumber camps, or on railways, in order to pay transportation costs to resettle in urban centres. The migration in the 1940s from rural to urban centres resulted in Ukrainian Canadians occupying jobs in manufacturing, construction, and clerical service occupations.

As socio-economic opportunities improved a new Ukrainian Canadian middle class emerged in urban centres. For example, Ukrainian Canadians made great progress in the cooperative credit field. Although there were 14 cooperatives by the end of WWII, this number increased to 70 in 1967.²⁸¹ Between 1951 and 1971, the number of Ukrainian Canadian professional and

technical occupations increased from 3 to 10 percent, and 7 to 15 percent in the clerical area. Nevertheless, although by 1971, 6 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian population had some university education compared to Anglo-Canadians and the French, they still, except for the aboriginal First Nations population, reported the lowest average income of any ethnocultural group in Canada.²⁸²

Socio-political Dynamics and Organizational Life

Although the third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants experienced some socio-economic difficulties they had a much easier time settling into the Ukrainian Canadian community and Canadian society than the previous Ukrainian Canadian immigrants. This was due to the already established Ukrainian Canadian immigrant aid societies, social services and organizations. The third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants quickly began adapting and organizing themselves within the Canadian society. Their communities became self-contained with limited social contacts and intermarriage. The use of the Ukrainian language was widespread and consistently spoken between children and adults. Ukrainian Catholic children attended parish schools and churches and although Orthodox children initially attended public schools, their churches and parishes provided for their spiritual growth.

The third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants differed from previous Ukrainian Canadian immigrants in their representation from various regions of Ukraine, living experiences under political regimes and social strata. Gerus and Rea state that:

The third, and so far the last, major Ukrainian influx differed appreciably from the preceding waves. First and most importantly, it was essentially political in character. Moreover, although Galicians still predominated, the immigrants represented all parts of ethnographic Ukraine, including the extreme region of Kuban Cossacks. This amalgamation of militant Western Ukrainian nationalism and Eastern Ukrainian anti-Communism constituted a new socio-political dynamic in Ukrainian immigrant life.²⁸³

Initially the socio-political dynamics of the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration caused great tensions within the established social structure of the Ukrainian Canadian community. At first the existing Ukrainian Canadian population was offended by the "upper-class mannerisms" of the new Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia who were unwilling to experience hardships of earlier immigrants and aspired only to "white-collar" jobs and higher education. In addition, they were also irritated by the condescending attitude of the new Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia towards their command of the Ukrainian language and insufficient nationalism.²⁸⁴ Conversely, Subtelny indicates that the new Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia and other post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrant "were impatient with the widespread assimilation and the ethnic inferiority complexes of their predecessors."²⁸⁵ They were not impressed with the cultural standards of the predominantly "lower-class" Ukrainian Canadians or their political ignorance regarding the Soviet regime. Subtelny states that "educated DP's were much less likely to develop the feeling of cultural inferiority vis-à-vis the English-speakers that was widespread among the early Ukrainian immigrants to North America."²⁸⁶

In addition, the political consciousness of the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration differed from the previous Ukrainian Canadian immigrations. Although the political consciousness of the first Ukrainian Canadian immigration was intensely individualistic, the second was national-revisionistic with very limited socialistic view, while the third became highly nationalistic and completely anti-Communist.²⁸⁷ Marunchak states that

The political consciousness lies in the fact that generally the third immigration did not recognize the political regime in Ukraine and regarded it as an occupational regime. Furthermore, many of the members fought against the regime as they fought against the Nazi-German occupation. Sections of . . . Ukrainian Underground Army, with the withdrawal of Germany, armed forces from Ukraine, began fighting the Bolshevik regime. They sent their representatives out of the country with the hope that they would popularize their struggle and enlist the support of Western European nations. In fact, the third immigration felt more like [a] political army created by the uprising and liberation processes in Ukraine.²⁸⁸

Consequently the third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants did not integrate well into existing Ukrainian Canadian organizations and as a result not only re-established many organizations from Ukraine but also published publications propagating ideologies and appeals for support of a liberal Ukraine.

Due to the post WWII increase in the socio-economic status of Ukrainian Canadians and the rapid growth of the post-war economy, more financial resources were available to the third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants to support Ukrainian Canadian community institutions and activities. As a result many Ukrainian Canadian organizations developed during the first decade of the arrival of the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration. According to Subtelny, the

organizations were “a reflection of their [post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants] remarkable dynamism, an invigorating variety of social, religious, regional and political components, and most of all, commitment to the Cause.”²⁸⁹

Subtelny further states that

because a return to the homeland was a theoretical (although quickly fading) possibility, they viewed themselves not so much as immigrants but as “Ukrainians living in an alien land” and tried to create “a piece of Ukraine in North America”, that is, an environment that would allow them and especially their children to remain Ukrainian so as to make a return to, or at least links with, the homeland possible. In short, in the early day(s) the goal was to maintain a kind of cultural-ideological holding pattern.²⁹⁰

The dynamic and committed efforts of the third wave of new Ukrainian Canadian immigrants not only gained the respect of the first and second generation Ukrainian Canadian immigrants but also created a renewed and vital organizational life in the Ukrainian Canadian communities that continues to this day. These organizations created by the post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were responsible for expanding the cultural, educational and professionally organized sector, and diversifying the socio-political sector of Ukrainian Canadian life.

The growth and success of Ukrainian organizational life in Canada after WWII is largely attributed to the widespread well-integrated organizational network of the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration including the intelligentsia. Since a high percentage of the third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigrants represented a well educated political and cultural elite, they reinforced the existing Ukrainian intelligentsia in Canada and in the diaspora. Upon their

immigration many of the new Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia began teaching at universities or commenced, or continued, university studies to either improve their existing qualifications or to obtain a higher education. Moreover, many post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, especially the intelligentsia, had close and personal ties that reached Ukraine or refugee camps. Although post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were dispersed to various cities throughout North America, many of them were activists and, therefore, the organizations in which they were involved before their immigration resurfaced and through their networks spread quickly into various parts of Canada and the USA.

Nevertheless, the renewed and flourishing Ukrainian organizational life in Canada was marred by a division within the Ukrainian Canadian community. The different social, historical and political context of the third wave of Ukrainian Canadian immigration often prevented many of the largely assimilated first and second generation Ukrainian Canadians from entering their institutions and vice versa. Due to the fact that the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration was severed from Ukraine by the Iron Curtain, they often became insular in their organizational life focusing primarily on internal affairs within their community and as a result did not join existing Ukrainian Canadian organization. Gerus and Rea state that:

The reluctance and often outright refusal of the newcomers to join existing organizations, their nationalist arrogance and elitism and their determination to convert the established organized life to their own political purpose (the liberation of Ukraine) was one source of difficulties.²⁹¹

In spite of these difficulties, the UCC who, not only included all Ukrainian Canadian organizations but also represented and acted on behalf of the entire Ukrainian Canadian community, helped to unify the Ukrainian population in Canada.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee/Congress

The UCC played a vital leadership role in the Post WWII Era by organizationally uniting the Ukrainian Canadian community and actively addressing important socio-political, economic, cultural, and educational issues and concerns. As the post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants set up their own organizations, the UCC altered its constitution to admit them. Through its conciliatory efforts, the UCC managed to reconcile the existing Ukrainian Canadian organizations with those of the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration thereby producing the necessary stability, harmony and unity within the Ukrainian Canadian community and effective leadership of Ukrainians in the diaspora.

At its Fourth Congress held July 8-10, 1953, the UCC recorded the following learned societies, research institutions, and professional organizations created by the post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigration: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN), Association of Friends of UVAN, Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh or NTS), Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, Research Institute of Wolyn, Research Institute "Studium" of "LVU", Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre of Winnipeg (Oseredok), Markian Shaskevych Centre, Ukrainian Historical War Institute, Ukrainian Canadian Council of Learned Societies ("Ukrainska Naukova Rada" - UNR), Association of Writers of

Children's Literature, Ukrainian Teachers' Association, Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (with branches in Canada), Association of Engineers and Technicians of Canada, Association of Ukrainian Libraries in Canada, Association of Ukrainian Canadian Veterinary Doctors, Association of Ukrainian Social Workers in Canada, Association of Ukrainian Jurists, and Association of Ukrainian Journalists in Canada.²⁹²

The post WWII Ukrainian Canadian organizations including veteran, youth and women's organizations supported by the UCC and the well established organizations of previous Ukrainian Canadian immigrations portrayed a vital and well-organized Ukrainian Canadian community. In addition, in order to preserve the Ukrainian culture in Canada, Ukrainian Canadians also formed cultural foundations that provided financial assistance to Ukrainian Canadian poets, writers and artists for publication of their own work or furthering their studies.²⁹³

By 1965, the UCC's structure and operations were controlled by the so-called "Big Six" senior member groups: Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (BUC or BUK), Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL or SUS), Ukrainian National Federation (UNF or UNO), Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association (UCVA), Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (CLLU or LVU), and Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation (UCPBF).²⁹⁴ In 1967, the UCC consisted of 31 organizations located in six Canadian provinces. This included 111 branches, as well as 28 representations in various parts of Canada: 30 branches in Alberta, 36 in Saskatchewan, 21 in Manitoba, 22 in Ontario, one in Quebec and one in British Columbia.²⁹⁵ The UCC headquarters was located in

Winnipeg. The local branches paid an assessed annual fee to the UCC headquarters and sent delegates to triennial congresses.²⁹⁶ The UCC congresses have become the most important single forum for the organized Ukrainian Canadian community. At the congresses resolutions have focused on the preservation and development of the Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada and the liberation of Ukraine. Gerus states that each congress reaffirms the following principles of the UCC:

To act as an authoritative spokesman for the Ukrainian community before the people and government of Canada and to strengthen and coordinate the work in all matters that are of common interest, thereby developing a sound basis for community life among Ukrainian Canadians.²⁹⁷

In addition, the UCC and its congresses have placed the preservation of the Ukrainian language as a priority to national survival of the Ukrainian community in Canada and abroad. The educational involvement of the UCC in the Post WWII Era was extremely significant to the future development of Ukrainian education in Manitoba and Canada.

The work of the UCC in emphasizing, promoting and representing a Ukrainian voice in international and external affairs was also significant in the Post WWII Era. For example, the UCC sent a Ukrainian Canadian delegation to the founding convention of the General Assembly of the United Nations in San Francisco. Marunchak states that

all these public appearances on wider fields were enacted for the purpose of producing a valid representation and to acquaint the whole outside world with the political situation in Ukraine and Eastern Europe and to point out that the war is not over when so many nations are under the heel of a dictatorship.²⁹⁸

The UCC also believed that their voice would be even more effective by uniting approximately three million Ukrainians in North and South America into one organization that would represent cultural and political views of Ukrainian world affairs. Consequently, in October 1947, in New York city, the UCC initiated a conference of UCC representatives from Canada, United States, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, in order to create the Pan-American Conference (PAUK). PAUK, led by Rev. Dr. Wasyl Kushnir, President of UCC, was in existence for twenty years until the formation of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU or SKVU) in 1967.²⁹⁹ At the 1959 Sixth Congress of UCC a resolution was passed to organize a world congress for the purpose of creating a world federation of Ukrainians. Marunchak states that the resolution was very clear, and it proclaimed: "the federation association alliance of all Ukrainian national organizations in every country for the purpose of coordination of their work and the preservation of spiritual-cultural and national unity."³⁰⁰

PAUK named the UCC and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of U.S.A. to organize the world congress. Most of the preparation work for organizing the world congress, spanning eight years (1959-67), was achieved by the UCC and approved by PAUK and European and Australian Ukrainian national organizations at PAUK's eighth session in November 1967. As a result, the first WCFU was held in New York, November 16-19, 1967, with 1,003 delegates representing 227 organizations from 17 countries in attendance.³⁰¹

The WCFU created a permanent Secretariat with an Executive Board. Rev. Dr. Wasyl Kushnir was elected President along with seven Canadians, who

were also elected to the executive and president councils. Marunchak states that the objectives of the Secretariat of the WCFU was: "to preserve Ukrainian culture in the free world and to aid the Ukrainian people in their struggle to regain the cultural and political freedom of their country."³⁰²

The role of the UCC in representing Canada and its democratic principles in establishing and providing leadership to the WCFU is significant and has gained worldwide respect. Marunchak states:

The freedom-loving Canada and its citizens spread the ideas of free people among the Ukrainian citizens of all continents. When we take into consideration the fact that among the official representatives at the Congress there were members of Canadian government and parliamentarians, it will be seen that the Canadian image in the eyes of the participants at the World Congress of Free Ukrainians was indeed on a very high idealistic level. Not only did Canada reveal itself as a free country in which all have a right to cultivate their own specific cultures, but it also stood out as a true champion of freedom that has the courage to raise the voice in the political wilderness and demand the realization of the principles of the United Nations Charter.³⁰³

Moreover, the role of the UCC in the history of Ukrainian Canadians cannot be overestimated. In addition to being the coordinating body for development of the Ukrainian Canadian community in Canada, it also, through communications with the Canadian government, the United Nations and governments of various countries, became the political medium for the general Canadian community.³⁰⁴

Although the issues in Ukraine were important for the UCC, Marunchak states that it considered as its first duty "the good of the Ukrainian community in Canada, its cultural aspects and above all, the future welfare of this community-- and thus, the well-being of the whole of Canada."³⁰⁵ Thus the organization

gained respect and support from both post WWII and previous Ukrainian Canadian immigrants. This in turn had a positive psychological effect on the entire social Ukrainian Canadian community. Marunchak states:

This brought additional strength to this Ukrainian Canadian co-ordinating centre which became a genuine and official spokesman of freedom and aspiration of the whole Ukrainian Canadian entity and the central powerhouse for balancing and reconciling religious, political and organizational difference.³⁰⁶

The UCC was greatly assisted in its work with the Ukrainian Canadian community by the local Ukrainian Professional and Business Clubs across Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation (UCPBF). These groups worked simultaneously to renew the former rights of the Ukrainian Canadians and to reintroduce the teaching of the Ukrainian language in public schools and at the university level.

Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Winnipeg, Inc.

The Ukrainian and Professional Business Clubs in Canada were created to generate interest and maintain momentum in Ukrainian Canadian professions and business. In addition to being social and service organizations, they encouraged interest in Ukrainian Canadian professions and business through English and Ukrainian press, public lectures, and publications. The Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs also assumed a responsible role in the cultural and charitable activities of their respective communities. Throughout their existence, the Ukrainian Canadian community has greatly benefitted from their generous moral and material assistance.

The most active Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs are

located in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Toronto. The organizations hold conventions and/or conferences in various Canadian cities and during UCC congresses. The Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs are also organized according to religious affiliation. For example, in Winnipeg, there is a Professional Sector of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (UCWL).³⁰⁷

The first two Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs were organized in Toronto (1935), and in Winnipeg (1943).³⁰⁸ Following WWII in 1939, a group of liberal minded Ukrainian Canadian professional and businessmen in Winnipeg felt the need to create an organization that would fulfill their needs in the Anglo-Canadian community. This group of enlightened individuals felt that the existing and new Ukrainian Canadian organizations were based on political differences, or fraternal, cultural and religious grounds that did not meet their needs in an English-speaking Ukrainian Canadian community. Furthermore, Anglo-Canadian service clubs did not permit all Ukrainian professional and businessmen to join their membership.

In August 1943, a group of Winnipeg Ukrainian Canadian professional and businessmen met at the home of Dr. Val Bachynski to explore the possibility of forming an association of Ukrainian Canadian professional businessmen.³⁰⁹ Attending the meeting were Dr. V. Bachynski, Wasyl Swystun, J. W. Semeniuk and V. H. Koman, who are regarded as the founding members of the UPBC.³¹⁰ Following this meeting, on August 30, 1943, W. Swystun sent out letters to Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg proposing an organization specifically for professional and businessmen of Ukrainian origin. On October 21, 1943,

interested individuals met in W. Swystun's office to discuss the formation of the UPBC.³¹¹ An organizational committee of W. Swystun, Dr. V. F. Bachynski, Julius Buriak, J. R. Soloman, and W. J. Sarchuk was created to send out letters on October 23, 1943, calling for a meeting of interested Ukrainian Canadian professional and businessmen in Winnipeg.

As a result, the inaugural meeting of the UPBC was held on November 4, 1943, at the Ukrainian National Home, on 592 Burrows Avenue. The meeting was attended by 45 men of Ukrainian descent who represented various professional and business establishments in Winnipeg.³¹² W. Swystun chaired the meeting and, according to Ratuski, "explained the need for an additional organized body in the Ukrainian Canadian community which would promote and support professional, business, cultural and social values among our people and society as a whole."³¹³ At this meeting the fundamentals in structuring the organization, the name, and qualification for membership were discussed. In addition, a combined Nominating-Constitutional Committee, also known as "Pro-Term,"³¹⁴ was elected, of the following Ukrainian Canadian professional and businessmen: Rev Dr. B. Kushnir, Dr. V. F. Bachynski, Messrs. John Kereluk, V. H. Koman, P. Korman, A. Malofie, J. W. Semeniuk, Myroslaw Stechishin and Wasyl Swystun.

On November 5, 1943, the Pro-Term Committee met at Mr. J. W. Arsenych's office, 711 McIntyre Building, to elect the Executive Committee of UPBC and to draft the first constitution. Dr. B. Dyma was elected as the first president of UPBC which terminated the work of the Pro-Term Committee.³¹⁵ On

November 10, 1943, Mr. A. Yaremovich, secretary of UPBC sent out Notices of the first dinner meeting to Ukrainian Canadian professional and businessmen in Winnipeg. The first dinner meeting was held on November 17, 1943, at the St. Regis Hotel, with 41 potential members in attendance.³¹⁶ At this meeting the report of the Nominating-Constitutional Committee was adopted and it provided, inter alia, the following purposes for the organization:

- (a) To bring more closely together persons of Ukrainian birth or descent, and to promote amongst them a spirit of good fellowship;
- (b) To accord respect to distinguished Ukrainians or other distinguished persons visiting persons visiting Winnipeg, and to arrange addresses of such persons on topics of interest to the members;
- (c) To hold luncheon or dinner meetings with addresses of topics of general interest to the members;
- (d) To study and discuss current problems;
- (e) To promote the welfare of the members of the club and of the community at large;
- (f) Every person of Ukrainian original irrespective of his political or religious affiliation can be a member of the club.

In addition, the following first executive of the UPBC was elected:

President	Dr. B. Dyuma
Vice-President	V. H. Koman
Secretary	A. J. Yaremovich
Treasurer	P. Korman
Membership Committee:	T. D. Ferley, Convenor D. Gerych, A. Molofie
Social Committee:	S. Bilinsky, W. Seraba A. Babynech, Convenor
Activities Committee:	W. Kossar, Conventor Bobinski, M. W. Wall ³¹⁷

The guest speaker for the first UPBC dinner meeting was Dr. W. Kushnir, president of the UCC. The topic of his address was, "Ukrainian Canadians on the Eve of Great World Events". Ratuski states that in his speech, Dr. Kushnir,

“stressed the importance of unity amongst the Ukrainians in Canada, and he advised that this alone shall preserve our identity, for our club, which consisted of the brains and news of the Ukrainian community, would perpetuate our ideology.”³¹⁸

The Ukrainian Canadian professional and businessmen who became members of the UPBC held important and influential positions in civil, educational, provincial and federal fields. These included senators, judiciary, ministers, clergy, legislators, premiers, mayors, businessmen, dentists, doctors, lawyers, chartered accountants, geologists, engineers, pharmacists, architects, and many other talents.³¹⁹ UPBC also had numerous teachers, principals, and school inspectors in its membership. Some notable members included: John M. Hawryluk, school principal and former MLA, known for his encouragement of Ukrainian classes in his school; Michael Ewanchuk, chairman of Ukrainian Curriculum Committee of the Department of Education, who helped develop the Ukrainian curriculum for Manitoba schools when Ukrainian language was reintroduced into the public school systems in 1961; Dr. Borislav N. Bilash, Assistant Co-ordinator of Languages for Winnipeg School Division No. 1 (Winnipeg 1) and President of the World Co-ordinating Council for Ukrainian Education; Alexander Nazarevich, President of Ukrainian Chapter of the Manitoba Modern Language Association, and W. Sarchuk, who produced Manitoba’s first official correspondence course in Ukrainian.³²⁰

The motto of “common kinship, mutual understanding, and good fellowship”³²¹ was the principle that guided the work of the UPBC that promoted

cultural, educational, and athletic activities in the Ukrainian Canadian community. The general calendar and program of events of the UPBC included: an executive meeting held on the first Wednesday of the month at various executive member's homes or offices; a general meeting with a guest speaker held the last Wednesday of the month (excluding summer months) at a local Ukrainian institution or hotel (one of the general meetings has been "Ukrainian Night" where only the Ukrainian language was spoken and new members were introduced by their sponsors at each meeting); three main social events, "Malanka", "Springtime Ball", and a picnic in June; sporting events; curling bonspiel and golf tournament, and a children's event, such as the Father and Children's Dinner held in March where various winners of Ukrainian descent performed from the Manitoba Music Festival. The UPBC also published monthly bulletins for members, organized fundraising dinners, and collected membership dues and donations for financial assistance to church groups, educational institutions, sports and recreation groups, senior citizens groups, university and high school scholarships, bursaries and awards, cultural institution and individual requests for tuition.³²² Since its inception in 1943, the UPBC

has operated as an autonomous, non-profit club, dedicated to the promotion of the interests and well-being, not only of local Ukrainians and a profusion of their organizations, but as a benefactor of numerous other community undertakings and projects as well.³²³

Most of the cultural and charitable work of the UPBC was concentrated within the Ukrainian Canadian community. Berko states that the work of the UPBC was diversified "encompassing the fields of education, public services in

children's camps and senior citizens' centres, sporting activities, debates and concerts in a cultural vein, as well as, limited espousal of deserving individuals in a sphere of the arts."³²⁴ As a result, the UPBC assisted and promoted many institutions and projects for the benefit of the Ukrainian Canadian community. These included the Ukrainian War Veterans Legion, Branch 141, Department of Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba, Holy Family Nursing Home, St. Andrew's College, summer camps, university scholarships and bursaries, City of Winnipeg high school Ukrainian language honour awards and the establishment of the EUBP.³²⁵

In addition to their work with the Ukrainian Canadian community, the UPBC initiated annual joint meetings with the German-Canadian and the Polish-Canadian Professional Business Men's Clubs, known as the "Tri-Club". These meetings were organized in order to appreciate the culture and concerns of the Ukrainian, Polish and German ethnocultural sectors of Canadian society. The impetus for the Tri-Club was initiated by V. J. Swystun, President of UPBC, 1962-64.³²⁶ The first "Tri-Club" meeting was held on November 28, 1962, at the Diplomat Motor Hotel, in Winnipeg, with 350 members of the three clubs in attendance. The Hon. Duff Roblin, Premier of Manitoba, was the guest speaker. According to Charney, he "congratulated all members for undertaking a first gathering of its kind and briefly outlined the contributions made by each ethnic group in the development and progress of Manitoba."³²⁷ The success of the first Tri-Club meeting resulted in future annual joint meetings. D. J. Charney, 1968 Chairman of Membership Committee, of the UPBC, stated that:

Our joint meetings have demonstrated that an understanding of and respect for each other's ways, tolerance and good fellowship could be accomplished and retained . . . Other ethnic groups have also expressed their desire to join in with us, and that is an indication of the success of such joint meeting.

Such combined efforts therefore, in the future, will continue to help resolve many community and provincial problems and in turn, these endeavors will promote and foster even a greater spirit of interest in every citizen of every ethnic or any other group, to work and function together for a better, more unified and stronger Canada as a whole.³²⁸

The leadership role and important work of the UPBC in the Ukrainian Canadian community and in Canadian society was evident from the following excerpts of speeches given at the Fifteenth Anniversary of the UPBC held on October 29, 1958.

Alex Malofie (President 1947-48):

We saw a need for a club of this kind. Our club has been and is doing things for the community that are never publicized. Our club should give leadership to the Ukrainian people. One or two generations as Canadians cannot possibly erase our evolvement as Ukrainians of more than forty generations. However, I am proud of being a Canadian, albeit a naturalized one.³²⁹

Judge John R. Solomon (President 1950-51):

If we want to contribute to the Canadian way of life, if we really want to do something for Canada, we have to accept one of the most important challenges that face any group on this continent and that is: we must of necessity do something about the propagation of Ukrainian culture on the Canadian soil.³³⁰

Fred James (President and M.C.):

This club was started in a small way. At first there were only a few active members, and at times it looked like we would come to an ignoble end. In this club we meet on common ground, get to know each others problems, make new friends and enjoy a common heritage and fellowship.

Our members have raised \$25,000.00 towards the establishment of a Slavic Studies Department at the University of Manitoba, a \$1,000.00 building fund for the Branch #141 Legion and a \$500.00 Scholarship Fund.³³¹

Stephen Juba (Mayor of the City of Winnipeg):

This organization has made a tremendous contribution to the community at large. In my capacity as Mayor of the City of Winnipeg, I want to extend to each and every one of you hearty congratulations on this, your Fifteenth Anniversary.³³²

At the time of the UPBC's Silver Anniversary in 1968 the club had 256 members.³³³ During the Silver Anniversary Banquet held on October 12, 1968, Judge Solomon introduced the guest speaker, Judge John N. Decore, by recalling the reasons for founding the club. According to Berko,"he stressed the need of a body which could foster mutually beneficial, social and economic conditions for the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg. Time's passage--measured over the past 25 years--has fully justified the costly effort put into it."³³⁴ The important work and contribution of the UPBC to the Ukrainian Canadian community and to Canada in general, was further emphasized in the following telegram that was addressed and received at the banquet by the UPBC

President, Mr. Radchuk, from Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada:

It is a pleasure to extend greetings to members of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club of Winnipeg on the occasion of your 25th Anniversary Banquet. Canada is a richer country for the effective role Canadians of Ukrainian origin have played in her development. May you continue to build on these foundations, and remain a strong thread in the fabric of our Canadian unity.³³⁵

Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation

All Ukrainian Professional and Business Clubs in Canada operated

independently until 1965 when the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation (UCPBF) originally known as the Federation of Ukrainian and Professional Businessmen's Clubs of Canada was formed. In the spring of 1959, the Executive of the UPBC, under the President, M. A. Mitenko, invited members from the Ukrainian Professional and Business Clubs across Canada to meet on July 10, 1959, during the Sixth Congress of the UCC, at the Empire Hotel, to discuss mutual concerns regarding their organizations. A proposal to form a federation of Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs was created and presented at the congress to the UCC President, Monsignor W. Kushnir. The proposal was well received by the UCC and a committee comprised of the following Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Club members was struck to organize the initial meeting of Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs: V. J. Swystun, John G. Karasevich, Sr., Dr. I. Hlynka, J. Shanski, and F. James. Lester B. Pearson, who was at that time leader of the Liberal Party of Canada and later the Prime Minister of Canada, was the guest speaker at this first national dinner meeting of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs.³³⁶

Following the Sixth Congress, the Executive of the UPBC formed the following committee to investigate the formation of a federation of Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs: Judge John R. Solomon, J. M. Hawryluk, P. Krepiakevich, F. James, J. Shanski, and John Yuzyk. On October 22 and 23, 1960, UPBC members V. J. Swystun and J. M. Hawryluk attended an organizational meeting in Toronto to plan a founding convention of the UCPBF in

Canada. This convention was held on July 7, 1962, in Winnipeg with the following Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs present: Hamilton, Montreal, Vancouver, Fort William, Ottawa, Toronto, Oshawa, Windsor, Regina, Edmonton, Dauphin and Winnipeg. The Hon. J. B. Carrol, Manitoba Minister of Labour, and Monsignor W. Kushnir, President of UCC, addressed the convention. The first executive of the UCPBF was also elected at this convention. The Executive was comprised of V. J. Swystun (chairman), Serge Radchuk, Ewhen Wasylyshyn, John N. Decore, and presidents of existing clubs. At this founding convention it was decided to set October 9-11, 1965, in Winnipeg, as the date and place for the first official UCPBF national convention. Decisions were made that Edmonton develop the constitution, Toronto create resolutions, Vancouver prepare publications, and Winnipeg promote membership and organize the convention.

As a result, the first national UCPBF convention was held on October 9-11, 1965, in Winnipeg. It was attended by 45 members of Ukrainian Professional and Business Clubs from across Canada, representing 12 clubs with a total membership of 1,300. The representatives came from the following cities: Montreal, Ottawa, Oshawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, Fort William-Port Arthur, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, and Winnipeg.³³⁷ At the convention delegates made a formal decision to form the UPBCF and elected the following Executive Committee: Honorary President, Senator Paul Yuzyk, Winnipeg, Manitoba; President, V. John Swystun, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Joseph Boyko, Toronto, Ontario; Peter Savaryn, Edmonton, Alberta; and Secretary-

Treasurer, John M. Hawryluk, Winnipeg, Manitoba.³³⁸ The UCPBF also organized a Board of Directors that would consist of all the members of the Executive Committee and the Presidents of all affiliated clubs. The Hon. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs was the key speaker at the convention.³³⁹

Significant initiatives and projects were initiated at the first national UCPBF convention, such as, the approval for the establishment of a quarterly bilingual publication called, "Ukrainian Canadian Review". The UPBC agreed to provide the editorial board and financial assistance of \$1,000.00 to underwrite the cost of publication. The first publication of "Ukrainian Canadian Review" occurred in December, 1966, followed by a 1967 spring issue sponsored by the Edmonton Cub and the next issued sponsored by the Toronto Cub. The UCPBF also published the magazine, "Panorama", from 1972-78.³⁴⁰ The first UCPBF convention also approved two group tours to Ukraine and created associated UCPBF memberships for individuals located in areas with Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Clubs. Affiliation with the UCC was also discussed at this convention but did not occur until three years later, on October 12, 1968.³⁴¹ Since the first national convention the UCPBF to this day holds biennial conventions with 20 member clubs in cities across Canada.³⁴²

Politics

The organizational success of Ukrainian Canadians in the Post WWII Era was also reflected in Canadian politics. The new found confidence and post WWII prosperity of Ukrainian Canadians was reflected in social integration and

achievement in municipal, provincial, and federal politics. During the Post WWII Era the growing participation of Ukrainian Canadians in political life resulted in 90 Ukrainian Canadian members of provincial assemblies, 26 members of parliament, and representation in provincial and federal cabinets.³⁴³ In addition, Ukrainian Canadians were elected mayors, appointed as senators, judges, and magistrates, and nominated to serve on Royal Commissions. For example, in 1957, Michael Starr of Oshawa, became the first Canadian of Ukrainian descent to become the federal Minister of Labour. After WWII, the Province of Manitoba had 19 Ukrainian Canadians serving in the provincial Legislative Assembly that has contributed to a total of 30 Ukrainian Canadian members who have served in the provincial legislature.³⁴⁴ Marunchak states that:

Throughout the whole history (of the Canadian Centenary) there were 3 senators [2 from Manitoba] and 13 members of Parliament [4 from Manitoba] of Ukrainian origin who, together with the members of the provincial legislatures, gave a total of 83 representatives to the Provincial and Dominion parliaments and the Senate. . . .

Those 83 representatives are listed numerically according to their parties in the following order: C.C.F. and N.D.P.--23 (19 and 4), Liberals--23, Social Credit--17, Progressive Conservative--12, U.F.A.--5, Independent 2 and 1 Labour-Progressive. All of them together represent an interesting political mosaic.³⁴⁵

As a result, Ukrainian Canadian success in the Canadian political sphere has gained prestige among Ukrainians in the diaspora. The progress, diversification and integration of Ukrainian Canadians into Canadian political life has been noted by the Winnipeg Free Press on several occasions. The following is an excerpt written on December 21, 1953, entitled, "Ukrainian Members", when Ukrainian Canadians were beginning to achieve their success in political life:

It would be difficult to cite a case in any other country in which there has been such a high degree of successful political activity by members of a relatively small minority group, especially one that had to overcome a difficult language barrier. As Canadians, these people have accepted not only the opportunities inherent in a free democracy, but its duties and obligations as well . . . The manner in which a minority group such as this recognizes itself as an integral--and integrated--part of the Canadian family bodes well for the future of democracy in this country. . . .

But even more remarkable is the degree to which the Ukrainians have merged into the wider Canadian Community. While rightly retaining much of the rich culture of the land of their forebears, the Ukrainian Canadians form no pressure group politically. Their choice of party is dictated by individual preference, the best possible indication that theirs is a Canadian rather than racial outlook.³⁴⁶

Cultural Endeavours

Ukrainian Canadian creative and performing arts flourished during the Post WWII Era. Although Ukrainian Canadian creative artists continued to develop their trade from the previous eras, approximately 30 Ukrainians Canadians from the third immigration arrived in Canada as painters, sculptors, wood carvers and graphic artists. The two most prolific post WWII creative artists, William Kurelek and Peter Kuch, are sons of Alberta and Manitoba pioneers. Other notable artists of this period were either born in Canada or born in Europe and received their training in Canada. Of the latter group, Kateryna Antonovych conducted a school of painting and drawing in Winnipeg. Other Winnipeg creative artists included Roman Ivan Kowal and Leo Molodoshanin, popularly referred to as, Leo Mol. Ukrainian Canadian creative artists co-operated closely with Ukrainian artists in the United States and together formed the Ukrainian Association of Creative Artists (USOM). The Ukrainian Association

of Creative Artists (USOM) was established during the Post WWII Era.

Exhibitions of creative artists and conventions were also organized, such as the first artistic convention entitled, "The Convention of the Ukrainian Artists of America and Canada with the Social Community" held in July 1954, in Toronto.³⁴⁷

Music and choral work also continued in the Post World War II Era and was often affiliated with cultural-educational organizations. During this time, many choir directors immigrated to Canada from Ukraine and conducted various choirs across Canada. These included Nestor Horodorenko, conductor of the choir "Ukraina" in Montreal; Lev Turkewych and Wasyl Kardash, conductors of the choir "Prometey" in Toronto; Ivan Kowaliw, who organized the Musical Institute of M. Lysenko, in Toronto; R. Soltykewych, conductor of the choir "Dnipro" in Edmonton; S. Yaremenko and M. Ivanyk, choir conductors in Edmonton; Halyna Holynska, choir conductor in Toronto; I. Chechowsky, choir conductor in Calgary; S. Huminilovych, choir conductor in Oshawa; H. Myhal, choir conductor in Fort William, and Rev. B. Sloboda, choir conductor in Vancouver and Winnipeg. Winnipeg also included the following choir conductors: Dr. P. Macenko, T. Koshetz, W. Klymkiw, W. Bohonos and G. Hnatiuk.

Operatic soloists, folk singers, vocal instructors, conductors, orchestral, instrumental and chamber music, composition, and schools of music and piano, also achieved high standards in the Post World War II Era and made a tremendous impact on the maintenance and development of Ukrainian culture in

Canada. Operatic soloists and vocal instructors, included: P. Riabowal-Labinsky, D. Berezynech, H. Yaroshevych, W. Tysiak, M. Holynskyj, Jack Dale (Samotilka), radio singer, Juliette (Julia Sysak), Joan Karasevych, soloist; Lesia Zubrak, soloist, Kobzar P. Konoplenko-Zaporozetz, Cecil Semchysyn, soloist, Bill Martin-Viscount, soloist, Edward Evanko, soloist, and my father, Yaroslav Schur, as well as, younger soloists such as, Eva Stolarchuk, Iris Bala, Osyp Hoshulak, T. Ara Shuflyn, Petro Cherniak, Roksolana Roslak, Joanna Myhal, Sisters Klimashko, N. Bahriy, Marijka Brezden, Oksana Bryzhun, Stephania Zhovnir-Klos, Natalia Nestorowska, Oksana Onufriychuk, Stefa Fedchuk, Lisa Ference, and Luba Hanushchak.

Performing artists, instrumentalists, conductors, and composers of high calibre included: Ivan Romanoff, violinist, Olha Kwasniak, cellist; Chrystia Kolessa, cellist, Christina Petrowsky, pianist; Luba Zuk, pianist, Ireneus Zuk, pianist, Irene Bubniak, pianist, Steven Staryk, violinist, Zonia Lazarowich, violin-cellist, Lev Turkewych, conductor and composer Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra, Bohdan Wesolowsky, composer, and George Fiala, composer,

During the Post WWII Era, the theatre, ballet, and Ukrainian Canadian dance groups, also existed in Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton. The "Ukrainian Theatre" was organized in Winnipeg. Dance ensembles such as "Evshan" of Saskatoon, "Chayka" of Hamilton, "Ukrainian Dance Ensemble Shumka" of Edmonton, "Rusalka" of Winnipeg, and "Kalyna" of Toronto reached a high degree of achievement in this era. Talented choreographers and dancers such as Anna Zawarychin of Toronto, Olenka Gerdan-Zaklynska of Toronto, Daria

Nyzankiwska-Snihurowych of Winnipeg, Betty Pope, Neros Leckow, Olenka Tkachuk, Halyna Samtsova and Nadia Pavlychenko contributed to the success of Ukrainian ballet and dance in Canada.³⁴⁸

Ukrainian Press and Literature

The Ukrainian press also flourished in the Post WWII Era, publishing for ten years or more without interruption and producing numerous new journals and newspapers, weekly and monthly periodicals, as well as books and publications. Ukrainian Canadians also enhanced their culture through multimedia approaches in radio, television, and film. However, it was the Ukrainian press that played the vital role of informing and educating Ukrainian Canadians as to the life of the community in Canada and abroad. As a result, Ukrainian Canadians assisted in placing the Ukrainian language newspapers in the forefront of Canada's ethnic press.³⁴⁹ Marunchak emphasizes that:

There is not any doubt that the ethnic press--Ukrainian included --had always been the centre nerve of its community core, especially when much is being said about the multiform culture of the modern Canadian entity. Very often the weeklies in injecting their color-tone into the religious community way of life, were cultural reservoirs where each reader could find material for his own education and individual interest. This poses the question of the educational value of the press and how well it performs its allotted task.³⁵⁰

A number of Ukrainian poets, writers and scholars immigrated to Canada during the Post WWII Era and developed literary-artistic clubs in major Canadian cities. Since these immigrants came from various regions of Ukraine, their work was reflected in poetry and prose yet "synodic-national" in character. The writers of the Post WWII Era aroused a new interest in literature. Through Ukrainian

organizations such as UVAN and NTSh, Ukrainian Canadians made a significant contribution to Canadian literature.³⁵¹ Notable writers of the Post WWII Era included Volodymyr Skorupsky, Yar Slavutych, Volodimir Barabash, Danylo Stuck, Lewko Romen, Borys Oleksandriv (Svyryd Lomachka), Anatol Kurdydyk, Dmytro Kolisnyk, Ulas Samchuk, Wasyl S. Levytsky, Fedir Odrach, O. Hay-Holovko, Mykola Prychodko, Petro Volyniak (Petro Chechet), Ivan Ireney Bodnarchuk (Chabanruk, Bodnarchuk), Bohdan Fedchuk, Bohdan Hoshowsky ("Didush", B. Danylovych), Wolodymyr Krymsky, Nestor Rzepecki, Mykhaylo Podworniak, Mykola Kolankiwky, Julian Beskyd-Tarnowych, Olena Kysilewska, Dokia Humenna, Hanna Mandryka, as well as many literary critics.

Many writers and poets of Ukrainian descent from second and third Ukrainian Canadian generations also wrote in the English language. Maara Lazechko-Haas from the previous era took the leading role in this field. She was joined by Oleh Kupchenko, Paul Edward-Hapora, George Ryga, Christina Petrowsky, J. B. Rudnyckyj, Rev. S. Izyk, Rev. P. Chomyn, Michael Sharik, Kateryna Antonovych, Michael Luchkovich, Rev. S. Chabursky, Wasyl Niniowsky, Gus Romaniuk, Ivan Humeniuk, Halyna Kubanska, P. W. Kuchta, Bohdan Zeleny, Michael Hurshka (Harris), Rev. Petro Bilon, and Alexander Bryk.³⁵² In addition, collective editions, almanacs and calendars of the Pioneer Era were published after WWII. Literary journals, women's journals, and translated works of Ukrainian poets also appeared at this time. Marunchak states that:

In spite of the different stylized forms there still prevailed, in the poetry and prose of the third era, the innate patriotic pathos, appealing to the freedom of the individual beings, the nations and humanity . . . These feelings were transferred and rooted in the new Canadian soil and from it came the strength for practical action in the new environment. The creative talent of the Ukrainian literati helped to deepen the sound, creative pursuit of other cultures in this country and together, gave to Canada a new modern identification content and form.³⁵³

Many Ukrainian scholars also immigrated to Canada during the Post World War II Era. They, and other Ukrainian Canadian scholars from previous immigrations, filled positions at universities, thereby strengthening humanist and philosophical studies in Canada. These scholars included Dr. Ivan Ohienko, Metropolitan Ilarion of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church; Dr. Leonid Biletsky; Dmytro Doroshenko, who formulated the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN); Dr. Evhen Vertyporoch, who organized the NTSh; Jaroslaw Pasternak, a noted archeologist; Maria Pasternak, a master critic of national and ballet dancing; Thadeus Zalesky, a linguist and literary critic; Natalia Gerken-Rusova, a writer of theatrical art; Yuriy Rusow, an expert on literature and philosophy; Dmytro Donzow, a publisher and literary critic; Jaroslaw B. Rudnyckyj, head of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba and UVAN; Constantine Bida, head of Slavic Department at the University of Ottawa; George S. N. Luckyj, head of Slavic Department at the University of Toronto; Yar Slavutych, a linguist, writer and editor; Volodymyr T. Zyla, a slavist, linguist, writer and literary critic; Dr. O. Starchuk, professor at Alberta University; Dr. Victor O. Buyniak, professor at Saskatchewan University; Dr. Jaroslaw Rozumnyj, professor at Manitoba University; Dr. Borislav N. Bilash and Brother Methodius Kuziak, authors on

educational themes; Dr. Roman Olynyk (Rakhmanny), master in Sovietology; Dr. I. Hlynka, a renowned chemist; and Prof. Mykhalo Borowsky, an agriculturist. In addition, numerous Ukrainian Canadian scholars were represented in the fields of architecture, science, chemistry, microbiology, genetics, electrical energy, nuclear physics, engineering, dentistry, law, pharmaceuticals, medicine, theology, history, historiography, demography, and writers in the areas of the Ukrainian Canadian women's movement, union movement, church, culture and customs. The work of Post WWII Ukrainian Canadian scholars not only rekindled an interest by Ukrainian Canadians in their rich historical past, but also by Canadian sociologists and historians in the history and culture of the Ukrainian people.³⁵⁴

Education and Schooling

After WWII, teaching of the Ukrainian language was restricted to private homes and schools and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools. Throughout the years Ukrainian Canadians viewed this limitation on the part of provincial governments as "a rank injustice to them--as taxpayers and citizens of a free country."³⁵⁵ During the Post WWII Era the need to retain the Ukrainian language was paramount and became a matter of grave concern among parents, churches and organizations in the Ukrainian Canadian community. The English language became more widely known by Ukrainian children and tended to dispute the Ukrainian language as the language in the home. This trend was viewed with apprehension as a sign of eventual assimilation and disappearance of Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada. Therefore, Ukrainian Canadians continually

demanded provincial governments to renew their former rights for the teaching of Ukrainian in public schools. Marunchak states that "the most obvious argument for the teaching of Ukrainian language in schools was the need of the Ukrainian community itself that strove with dedication and determination to preserve this linguistic key to its national cultural treasure."³⁵⁶ In response to the concern of Ukrainian Canadians the UCC, UPBC and UCPBF began to renew political lobbies for Ukrainian language education to be repatriated in the public school system and at the university level. However, their efforts were not realized until a significant change occurred in the mentality of Anglo-Canadians from a monolithic culture to a biculturalism and then to multiculturalism.³⁵⁷ In addition Ukrainian Canadians also insisted that Ukrainian courses be instituted at the university level thereby emphasizing the cultural value of the Ukrainian language for themselves and the general Canadian community.

Post-secondary Institutions and Universities

During the Post WWII Era, Ukrainian education in Canada was reintroduced first at the university level and then the public school system. Due to the great amount of work and effort of Ukrainian churches, UCC and Ukrainian organizations, such as, the UPBC and the UCPBF, Ukrainian studies in language, literature and history were established first at the University of Saskatchewan in 1945, and subsequently at the following universities: Manitoba, Alberta, Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, McMaster, British Columbia, Calgary, Carleton, McGill, Regina, Waterloo, Western, Ontario, Windsor, and York.³⁵⁸

The Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba was established in 1949 as a result of discussions between the UCC National Executive and Dr. W. Gilson, President of the University of Manitoba, who had a keen interest in folk cultures of Manitoba.³⁵⁹ According to Derkatz:

The greater utilitarian prominence of Slavic languages, a focus on ethnocultural preservation, and the large number of Ukrainians in Manitoba communities prompted the President of the University, Dr. A. H. C. Gilson, to accept the establishment in 1949 of the Department of Slavic Studies.^{128 360}

Initially, the University of Manitoba established a Chair of Ukrainian Studies followed by the formation of a Department of Slavic Studies that included Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Old Bulgarian languages and literature programs.³⁶¹ On June 7, 1949, Dr. J. B. Rudnyckyj, a distinguished Slavic philologist, and Paul Yuzyk met in the home of Dr. W. Gilson to form the new Department of Slavic Studies. From 1949-51, Dr. Rudnyckyj, was appointed as Assistant Professor of the Department of Slavic Studies and was paid exclusively from University funds. In 1949 there were 22 students enrolled in Slavic Studies.³⁶²

In the same year the UPBC, with President John Shanski, became involved with the Department of Slavic Studies. On October 10, 1949, a University scholarship in the amount of \$100 was established from the UPBC to a first year student in the study of the Ukrainian language. The first scholarship, on July 7, 1949, was awarded to Greg Ratuski, a second year student in the Faculty of Arts.³⁶³ On January 3, 1951, at the St. Regis Hotel, Dr. Gilson was invited to be a guest speaker at a UPBC meeting. In his address Dr. Gilson said

that after visiting some Ukrainian communities in Manitoba he was convinced that Ukrainian Canadians should have greater opportunities to develop their culture. According to Gilson, Ukrainian Canadian students should study their culture and history at the University level in order to gain more self-respect and make better and more valuable contributions to Canadian society.³⁶⁴ This UPBC meeting with Dr. Gilson proved significant in that the UPBC decided to provide financial assistance to promote the development of the Department of Slavic Studies. Consequently a Ukrainian Studies Fund was organized at the meeting for the purpose of financing a second teaching position and establishing a research library for the Department of Slavic Studies. The organizing committee of the Ukrainian Studies Fund consisted of: Chairman, Mark Smerchanski (President 1951-53); Secretary, Dr. I. Hlynka; Treasurer, J. Shanski (President 1949-51); with J. R. Solomon (President 1951-52 and at that time an MLA), W. Kossar; and Honorary Patrons Dr. A. H. Gilson (President of the University of Manitoba) and Dr. J. B. Rudnyckyj (Professor of Slavic languages). The organizing committee was expanded to include members of the UPBC, UCC and Ukrainian Canadian Legion No. 141. Among the first contributors to the Ukrainian Studies Fund was a student organization, the Alpha Omega Society of the University of Manitoba.³⁶⁵

At the next meeting of the UPBC held on January 31, 1951, Mark Smerchanski reported that the objective of the Ukrainian Studies Fund would be to raise \$25,000 in five years for the Department of Slavic Studies.³⁶⁶ By March 14, 1951, the first commitment of \$5,000 was made to the Board of Governors at

the University of Manitoba. The sum of \$1,000 was also contributed to the Slavic library at the Department.³⁶⁷ On July 1, 1951, Paul Yuzyk was appointed Professor of Ukrainian and Eastern European Literature and History.³⁶⁸ In addition, a third part-time position was created within the same year, filled by Henry D. Wiebe.

By September 1955, UPBC President Fred James reported that the Ukrainian Studies Fund had reached its objective. By March 1956, the commitment of funds was paid in the total amount of \$21,715.41. In that same year UPBC created a separate award entitled, "The Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Bursary", that gave financial assistance to a student at the University of Manitoba who would be continuing studies in the Ukrainian language.³⁶⁹

In 1959, Dr. Rudnyckyj was promoted to full-time Professor at the Department of Slavic Studies and Mr. Yuzyk, to Associate Professor. During the years 1960-63 many changes occurred in the Department of Slavic Studies. Dr. Rudnyckyj was appointed to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, while Prof. Yuzyl received his Doctorate and resigned to accept a call to the Senate of Canada. As a result, R. Klymasz and B. Rubchak were appointed to the staff of the Department and in 1964, Dr. J. Rozumnyj and Dr. I. Tarnawecky were added to the Department to form four full-time staff.³⁷⁰ This was increased to five full-time positions by 1968.³⁷¹ Dr. Bilash writes that by 1968 the staff at the Department of Slavic Studies included "Dr. J. B. Rudnyckyj, professor and head of the Department; [since 1976]³⁷² Dr. T. Ohienko, honorary

professor; Dr. J. Rozymnyj, assistant professor; Dr. T. Tarnawecky, assistant professor; Henry D. Wiebe, assistant professor; and Dr. A. Baran, part-time lecturer."³⁷³

Enrolment in the Department of Slavic Studies increased over the years from 175 students in 1969 to 255 students in 1984. By 1985, 31 students received a Master of Arts degree in Slavic Studies, and 10 students enrolled in doctoral programs at other Canadian universities. During the Post WWII Era and the beginning of the Multicultural Era, the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba had the highest enrolment in North America.³⁷⁴ According to Rozumnyj:

The turning points in Ukrainian enrollment were the years 1964 and 1967, i.e., after the introduction of Ukrainian language into Manitoba's high schools (1961) and after the acceptance of Ukrainian language as a University of Manitoba entrance course. The second reason for the increase was the expansion and reformation of the Ukrainian programme in 1964, 1970 and 1976.³⁷⁵

The Department of Slavic Studies is significant not only for its educational contribution to the Ukrainian Canadian communities, but also for the role it had to play in promoting and marketing Ukrainian language, culture and cultural identity.

Rosumnyj claims that:

The interests of students (regular and mature) in Ukrainian studies in this province is positive. Interest is particularly apparent in language, culture, and folklore. Language seems to be the most attractive aspect of cultural identity. More and more students appear to be desiring to learn correct Ukrainian as opposed to a former trend of "Canadian" Ukrainian. Next to language, interest is high in culture, rituals, and mythology.³⁷⁶

Dr. Bilash writes that:

The Slavic Studies Department of the University of Manitoba has gained world-wide recognition and respect for the high level of its research and publication in the field of Slavic languages and literature. Many of its graduates occupy important positions with the Government of Canada and with various universities and educational institutions.³⁷⁷

However, it is important to reiterate that without the financial assistance from the UPBC, through the Ukrainian Studies Fund, the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba would not be able to continue its important work in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Mark Smerchanski claims that "with this kind of incentive, the committee (Ukrainian Studies Fund) and members (UPBC) felt we were making a vital contribution to the Ukrainian speaking people of Manitoba and Canada."³⁷⁸

Public School System

During the time of the establishment of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba, the Ukrainian Canadian community and the UCC in particular, also lobbied the provincial government for the teaching of the Ukrainian language in Manitoba public high schools. Derkatz cites Dr. Bilash who claims that:

The matter was brought up as early as 1952 in a meeting with Dr. Gilson at the University. Dr. Gilson said he would be very pleased to intervene on behalf of the Ukrainians with Dr. McFarlane, the Minister of Education to support Ukrainian in the public schools.¹³⁰
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Therefore, although English remained the language of instruction in the Manitoba public school system, in 1952 the provincial government made changes to the Public Schools Act that permitted trustees to authorize the study of other

languages at three distinct times. According to Lupul, these times occurred “during a period authorized for religious instruction, or one authorized in the program of studies for teaching a second language, or before and after school hours.”³⁸⁰ Since the third choice of teaching the Ukrainian language before and after school was always an option, it was not an attractive alternative for Ukrainian Canadians. Ukrainian Canadians deemed the first option as unfair unless language learning was combined with religious instruction. Moreover, all second-language learning was effectively blocked in heterogeneous school districts. Therefore, the Ukrainian Canadian community pursued the middle option of developing an authorized program for the study of the Ukrainian language. Through effective political lobbies and pressure in the form of conference resolutions, briefs to Royal Commissions (1957 Royal Commission on the Study of Education), delegations to government, personal political contacts and speaking invitations to cabinet ministers, Ukrainian Canadians were able to bring changes to the Manitoba Public Schools Act that authorized Ukrainian as a language of study. According to Lupul, “since French, German, Latin, even Icelandic, had been introduced earlier and in 1952 and 1959 Saskatchewan and Alberta respectively had made Ukrainian a secondary school option, further delay was hardly possible.”³⁸¹

The erecting of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Winnipeg is significantly linked to the reintroduction of Ukrainian as a language of study in Manitoba’s public school system. In 1961, the UCC erected a Taras Shevchenko monument on the grounds of the Manitoba Parliament buildings commemorating

the one hundredth anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's death and the seventieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Derkatz states that Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet has for many Ukrainian Canadians served as "an external visible symbol and an internal mindset (that) 'stands for the persecution of Ukraine, for attempts to free its culture from foreign domination, and for teaching and learning Ukrainian'."³⁸² John Diefenbaker, the then Prime Minister of Canada, in his official unveiling speech, said the following:

As a poet he not only enriched the literature of his people but inspired them with new hope for freedom. What he sought for them, he sought no less for the oppressed everywhere in the world.

The seventieth anniversary of the arrival of Ukrainian settlers in Canada is also being celebrated this year. The labour and devotion of these pioneers on the western prairies have meant much to the Canadian epic, and the contribution of them and their descendants to the economic, cultural and public life of Canada, has been a worthy one.³⁸³

Following the unveiling of the monument, Premier Duff Roblin quite appropriately announced that with the start of the 1962-63 school year, the Ukrainian language will be introduced as an elective core subject in Grades 9 through 12 in the Manitoba public school system.³⁸⁴ This was a significant announcement for Ukrainian Canadians in Manitoba. For over forty years they had resisted assimilation and Anglo-conformity and made vigorous efforts to have the Ukrainian language re-introduced and taught in the public school system. Premier Roblin's announcement was an almost "rehabilitation of the past" when forty-five years earlier Ukrainian textbooks were publicly burned on the same Legislative grounds. Marunchak states that:

No wonder that the 50,000 audience at the unveiling of the monument was deeply moved while the pioneers even showed a few tears of joy³). Here was the birth of a new Canada which had provided a place of merit for the Ukrainian culture in recognition of the worthy contribution made by three generations to Canadian mosaic.³⁸⁵

On the occasion of the reintroduction of Ukrainian as a language of study in the Manitoba public school system, Michael Ewanchuk recollects:

I was appointed chairman of that committee which introduced this controversial resolution but it was the Royal Commission on the Study of Education in 1957 that opened the door for changing the curriculum. Personally, as a teacher, I always felt that there should be some activity to make the people proud of their heritage. I was not one of those who said, "You just have to know Ukrainian and nothing else." I believed that Ukrainian had to come in the context of our educational system. People who couldn't speak Ukrainian wanted to know what their roots were. You can't understand the history of any other people from any other country unless you understand your own history. You first of all have to know yourself. There was a time when the people were afraid and ashamed to admit that they were of Ukrainian extraction or that they knew the language. Bringing Ukrainian courses into the school system brought the Ukrainian children some dignity.^{131 386}

In 1962-63 there were 300 students who took Ukrainian as a subject in Manitoba public high schools.³⁸⁷ In 1964-65, this number increased to 402 students in 22 schools. In that same year, there were 2,127 students taking Ukrainian courses in the high schools of the three prairie provinces.³⁸⁸

Since its re-introduction into the public school system, the study of the Ukrainian language carried little status until 1967 when the UCC diligently pursued its objective for it to not only be an optional subject, but also one for matriculation purposes. Therefore, in 1967 the University of Manitoba accepted Ukrainian as a matriculation subject. The Faculty of Arts at the University of

Manitoba was among the first to respond favourably to this initiative.³⁸⁹ In its efforts to have the Ukrainian language recognized, the UCC had demonstrated its usefulness to the provincial and federal governments as an intellectual and practical asset.³⁹⁰ During that same year, a correspondence series in the Ukrainian language began and the Core Ukrainian Language Program received equal accreditation with other languages taught in the Manitoba public system.³⁹¹ In 1968, Ukrainian was introduced at the junior high school level from Grades 7 through 9.³⁹²

In 1964, to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, the UCC established the Taras Shevchenko Foundation, a single all inclusive Ukrainian foundation to sponsor research in Ukrainian Studies and provide financial need to organizations and institutions that propagate Ukrainian culture in Canada.³⁹³ On July 22, 1963, the Taras Shevchenko Foundation was incorporated in the Senate and the House of Commons in Ottawa.³⁹⁴ The goal in the Foundation's charter is to foster, develop and bring to perfection the Ukrainian culture in Canada. To this end the proceeds of the Foundation investments were given to the printing of school textbooks, the teaching of Ukrainian language in schools, preparation of material dealing with Ukrainian history and literature, collection of books, production of biographical records and microfilm, provincial scholarships for students, funds for scientists to pursue research, and for financial assistance to choirs, orchestras and theatres. Marunchak states that

Ukrainian pioneers and their descendants by the erection of the T. Shevchenko monument on the grounds of the Manitoba Parliament Buildings in 1961 and by the formation of the million-dollar T. Shevchenko Foundation represent a historical landmark for Ukrainian culture in this country.³⁹⁵

During the 1950s and 1960s the UPBC was also active in supporting and providing financial assistance for Ukrainian education in Manitoba. In 1960, under the chairmanship of Ivan Symchych, the sum of \$1,500 was collected from the UPBC membership for the Shevchenko monument.³⁹⁶ In 1955, the sum of \$100 was donated to the UCC for the publication of the Ukrainian grammar to be used in Canadian high schools.³⁹⁷ In 1958 and 1959 the UPBC awarded trophies to deserving students of Ukrainian at Isaac Newton [High] School in Winnipeg.³⁹⁸ In 1963, \$100 was given to the University of Manitoba for a capital fund campaign to construct new buildings and facilities on campus. The UPBC also supported private schools and the Ukrainian community by donating \$250 in each of the years, 1962 and 1963 to the St. Nicholas Building Fund, and \$25 to the Women's Council of UCC to assist in the publication of an English translation of Lesia Ukrainka's poems.³⁹⁹ In addition, on October 1964 Michael Kepron, President of UPBC, approached various Winnipeg high schools, collegiates and public libraries with an offer of a book entitled, "Anthology of Ukrainian Poets, selected and translated into English verse by Dr. G. H. Andrusy and Dr. Watson Kirkconnel. As a result the book was placed in twenty libraries."⁴⁰⁰

Private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools

In the 1960s, the introduction of Ukrainian as a language of study in junior and senior high schools throughout Manitoba was an important achievement for

Ukrainian Canadians in their struggle to retain their language and cultural identity among the third generation Ukrainian Canadians. However, the Ukrainian Canadian community would have preferred that this legislation begin at the elementary level where, according to research, more successful results are obtained by students in learning a second language.⁴⁰¹ In order to fill this void, private and "Ridna Shkola Ukrainian schools in parishes and secular organizations continued to exist in the Post WWII Era with emphasis on elementary classes and courses in Ukrainian culture. "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools that were better equipped and therefore able to accommodate the most students were located in the larger Canadian cities. For example, the UNF school in Winnipeg at one time had an enrolment of 200 students.

Three types of private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools existed in the Post WWII Era: private parochial and high schools run by the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian heritage classes organized on Sundays and Saturdays by both the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church parishes, and non-denominational Saturday schools called "Ridna Shkola" offered by various Ukrainian organizations.⁴⁰²

The Ukrainian Catholic Church had the highest number of "Ridna Shkola" schools in Canada. These schools were located in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Toronto. Altogether, there were 329 schools (45 in Winnipeg) including 13 kindergartens schools with vacation classes. During the Post WWII Era, the enrolment in the Ukrainian Catholic Church's "Ridna Shkola" schools was 5,000 students in regular classes, 7,000 students in summer courses, and

500 students in kindergarten. The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church conducted "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools in 283 parishes in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Toronto, and Montreal, that were attended by 3,000 students and 5,000 students in Sunday School. Other Ukrainian Canadian organizations established the following schools across Canada: UNF had 10 Ukrainian schools and 4 kindergartens attended by 800 students; SUM had 9 schools and several kindergartens attended by 1,000 students, and AUUC had approximately 20 schools. "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools were also organized by local organizations, such as, "Chytalnias" of "Prosvita", National Homes, and others.⁴⁰³ Within these schools, elementary classes were offered to students up to 14 years of age and Ukrainian cultural classes to those over the age of 14.

During the Post WWII Era, there were approximately 25,000 students taking courses in private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools across Canada. Although many Ukrainian Canadian students received Ukrainian instruction, the level of education varied in the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools. According to Marunchak, this depended on

the time limit, the convenience of system, qualifications and availability of teachers, home preparation--the latter depending on the degree of language proficiency the student is able to bring from home. It is only proper to mention here that the degree of preparation received at home played the greatest role in implementing the correct and systematical teaching in these schools.⁴⁰⁴

In addition to the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, Ukrainian private elementary, junior, senior, and post-secondary schools in Manitoba, were organized and continued in the Post WWII Era. These schools offered a

complete public school curricula and the teaching of the Ukrainian language. The private schools in Manitoba included, the School of St. Nicholas in Winnipeg, renamed as Mary Immaculate School; Immaculate Heart of Mary Academy, administered by the Sister Servants; St. Vladimir's College, referred to as the "Small Seminary" organized by the Redemptorist Fathers, and St. Andrew's College, established in 1946 and administered by principal Rev. Dr. S. W. Sawchuk, with Philosophical and Theological Faculties conducting courses in the Ukrainian language.⁴⁰⁵

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Simultaneous to the re-introduction of the Ukrainian language in the Manitoba public school system in 1962, Canada was entering a decade of constitutional development for multiculturalism, an ideology and concept that would have significant impact on the future of Ukrainian language education of Ukrainian Canadians.

In 1963, the federal government of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson responded to growing French nationalism in Quebec (referred to as "The Quiet Revolution"), and established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B & B Commission) in Canada, under the chairmanship of A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau.⁴⁰⁶ According to Swyrypa, "its activities were to dominate the period of national reassessment that accompanies the celebration of Canada's centennial."⁴⁰⁷ The task of the B & B Commission was to "report into the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian

Confederation on the basis of equal partnership between the two founding races."⁴⁰⁸

As aforementioned, the B & B Commission was initially established to address the historical, cultural and political problems of Anglo-Saxons and French Canadians. However, during the public inquiry process of the B & B Commission, many ethnocultural groups felt that their cultural contributions to Canadian society were being ignored in that a policy of bilingualism and biculturalism would relegate them to the status of second class citizens. Therefore, ethnocultural groups took the opportunity to show, through a public forum with sufficient proof, that there exists in Canada not only Anglo-Saxon and French problems, but also vital issues regarding other ethnocultural groups. The question of Canadian identity that was presented before the B & B Commission was in terms of either a bilingual and bicultural character based on the two foundation races, or a multilingual and multicultural composite that recognized the equal partnership of all the ethnic groups within the country.⁴⁰⁹ Numerous briefs and memoranda from ethnocultural groups were presented at the hearings of the B & B Commission advocating that multiculturalism was the basic principle of Canadian identity.

Moreover, the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson supported multiculturalism and the three elements of the Canadian population, in the "Weekend Magazine" dated April 3, 1965, with the following statement:

We must become increasingly proud of the composition and character of our people--the French part, the English part and the third force. We must develop a more exuberant spirit of patriotism.

Some diffident people have become accustomed to think of this as almost un-Canadian.

I don't believe that the Anglo-Saxon element in our society need be subordinated or minimized because Canada is now a multiracial society. In rough terms, one-third of our population is of Anglo-Saxon stock, one-third of French stock and one-third which is neither French or English. We cannot allow traditional feelings and loyalties dominate the situation to a point where the English-speaking group appears a[s] some sort of master race.⁴¹⁰

Ukrainian Canadian presentations of briefs at the hearings were exceeded in number only by Anglo-Saxons and French Canadians. The Ukrainian Canadians, who were supported by first, second and third generations Ukrainian Canadians, as well as by recent Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, articulated the case of multiculturalism for the "Third Element" or "Third Force", that is, for one quarter of the Canadian population that was neither Anglo-Saxon, French, nor from the First-Nations.

One of the most influential Ukrainian Canadian presentations to the B & B Commission hearing was in 1963 from the UCC. The UCC, who represented the voice of the Ukrainian Canadian community and opposed Ukrainian Canadian isolation and Anglo-Canadian assimilation, emphatically supported the concept of multiculturalism. In maintaining that Canada was multicultural rather than bicultural the UCC stated that Ukrainian Canadians were partners with the Anglo-Saxon, French, and First Nations Canadians. The UCC stressed that Canada, apart from Quebec, remain an English speaking country with government support for the preservation and development of languages and cultures where desired. Gerus states that "it (UCC) argues that the Ukrainian community should function as an equal partner in a multi-ethnic Canada, with institutional guarantees to

retain and develop ethnic cultures.”⁴¹¹ Moreover, the drive for cultural and linguistic concessions was part of the UCC’s conviction that these rights would be for all ethnocultural groups and that formal recognition of Canada as a multicultural society would ensure the retention of Ukrainian culture and cultural identity.

The most significant outcome of the UCC brief was a visit on October 3, 1965, from Quebec’s Premier Jean Lesage to the UCC in Winnipeg. During this visit an understanding was reached that Ukrainian Canadians recognize French Canadians as a founding people entitled to have their language official, but not forced on Canadians and that their language be a language of instruction in all schools in French districts in Canada or wherever they could form large enough classes. Premier Lesage, on his part, recognized that Canada was bilingual and multicultural and that Ukrainians are partners with the right to have their language taught in the public schools as a subject, and that Quebec would introduce the teaching of the Ukrainian language starting at the Grade One level or wherever there would be a sufficient number to form a class.

The English press in Winnipeg, particularly the Winnipeg Tribune, was supportive of this solution to the problem regarding all ethnic groups in Canada and the significant role of Ukrainian Canadians in the work of the B & B Commission as dynamic and vital participants of Canadian society.⁴¹²

Many Ukrainian Canadian organizations supported the UCC brief presented to the B & B Commission. The UCC coordinated and defended all briefs submitted to the B & B Commission by Ukrainian organizations in Canada,

including the UPBC. In January 1964, the UPBC approved a copy of a brief, prepared by Dr. I. Hlynka, Borislav Bilash and V. J. Swystun, on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that was presented to the Manitoba Advisory Committee for discussion.⁴¹³

In 1969 the federal government proclaimed the Official Languages Act as a result of the B & B Commission. Although the UCC recognized English and French as the official working languages of the Canadian government and its institutions, it called for amendments to the Official Languages Act that would recognize all ethnocultural languages as Canadian languages and compelled the federal government to assume responsibility for their maintenance and preservation.⁴¹⁴ The UCC also requested that the federal government extend this responsibility into the public school system.

The first volume of the B & B Commission Report was published in 1967 and dealt with the status of official languages. Bociurkiw states that in response to this Report, Prof. Rudnycky, appointed as the Ukrainian Commissioner to the Commission, "argued for the official recognition of the other most widely used Canadian languages as 'regional languages' in the areas of greatest concentration of the given linguistic minority."^{22 415} Derkatz states that:

J. B. Rudnycky, a Ukrainian Commissioner (to the B & B Commission), argued that forcing the transformation of communities into unilingual groups and denying ethnocultural groups public school language rights and support for language maintenance was a "linguicidal [sic] act."^{133 416}

The following year, the UCC also reacted to the B & B Commission's Report with the release of the "White Book", a widely distributed document that "demanded

constitutional guarantees for Ukrainian and other minority language rights in the revised constitution.^{23 417}

The political pressure from separatists forces in Quebec, Native-Canadians, and ethnocultural minorities, particularly the well-organized and vocal Ukrainian Canadian community, resulted in the federal government giving official recognition to Canada's ethnocultural diversity. Consequently, in 1970, Book IV of the B & B Commission was published under the title, "Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups".⁴¹⁸ Book IV accepted multiculturalism as a national policy within a bicultural framework. Marunchak cites the report of the B & B Commission stating that:

Immigrants, according to Book IV, regardless of ethnic-cultural origin or mother tongue, "should choose to integrate with either of the two societies--English or French. Integration did not force the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics, or of original language and culture."⁴¹⁹

Marunchak further adds that "although this recommendation was not synonymous with assimilation which implied total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group, it did create a middle road for it."⁴²⁰

Assimilation

After WWII, the process for the preservation of Ukrainian culture, language and identity in Canada was maintained and developed in every aspect of national life. However, despite this effort, assimilation in the area of language, religion and intermarriages, continued to occur among Ukrainian Canadians. Assimilation of the Ukrainian population increased to 30 percent during the Post WWII Era. According to Marunchak, "no other era in history of Ukrainian

Canadians could register such extremes--great cultural and political achievements on the one side, and the loss of mother tongue and denominational identification on the other."⁴²¹

The assimilation process of Ukrainian Canadians during the Post WWII Era is most evident in Canadian census statistics. With respect to language assimilation, in 1941, 5.1 percent of Canadians of Ukrainian origin could not speak their native language, followed by 10.6 percent in 1951 and 35.6 percent in 1961. Although by 1961, 169,000 Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent had lost the opportunity of learning the Ukrainian language, their declaration of Ukrainian nationality in the census is evidence that language assimilation is not equivalent to national assimilation or nullification of the nationality.⁴²²

Assimilation in the religious field was also evident in the Post WWII Era. According to the 1961 census, 58.5 percent of the total Ukrainian population belonged to either Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox churches, whereas 34 percent (approximately 164,000) of Ukrainian Canadians belonged to the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian churches and over 7 percent belonged to Lutheran, Baptist, Pentecostal, Mennonite and other churches.

The post WWII assimilation process also occurred through intermarriages. The 1961 census shows that over 38 percent of Ukrainian marriages occurred in mixed marriages with 15 percent of Ukrainians married to Anglo-Saxons, over 3 percent to French, and over 20 percent to predominantly Slavic and other ethnocultural groups.⁴²³

The 1961 census indicated that although assimilation occurred in the Ukrainian Canadian population, Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent belonged to a group of ethnocultural communities that were the least likely to assimilate and continue to maintain their language, culture, and religion through the assistance of homogeneous marriages. According to the 1961 statistics, 64.4 percent of Ukrainian Canadians use the Ukrainian language in the home. The highest preservation of the Ukrainian language, was found in the Western Canadian provinces where Ukrainian immigrants settled in bloc settlements; 72 percent of Ukrainian Canadians in Saskatchewan spoke Ukrainian in the home, followed by Manitoba with 69.6 percent.⁴²⁴ As to religion, 58.5 percent of the total Ukrainian Canadian population belonged to either the Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox churches, and 61.8 percent of Ukrainian marriages occurred in homogeneous unions. According to Marunchak:

When we put on the line the above given statistics . . . then the relative closeness of these figures will show very clearly that the homogeneous marriages and the traditional churches (here we must also include the nationally oriented Evangelical churches) foster the cultivation of the native language of their fathers, whereas on the other hand, the native language all but disappeared in the mixed marriages in which, for the sake of "matrimonial compromise", one of the official state languages is chosen, usually the English.⁴²⁵

As in the previous era, the third immigration of Ukrainian Canadians continued the need to provide Ukrainian Canadian youth with an all-encompassing Ukrainian environment in order to resist assimilation by the host society. As a result many youth organizations, that were established in Ukrainian international refugee camps, were organized in Canada and other countries and

continued to develop throughout the Post WWII Era. Since the Cold War heightened feelings of anti-communism, the Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations tended to be militaristic in flavour in that the youth were inculcated with a sense of duty to their parents, homeland and an obligation to help with the struggle against Soviet oppression in the Ukraine.

The most prominent Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations were Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization, Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), Ukrainian National Democratic League (ODUM) and university students clubs, such as, Canadian Ukrainian Catholic Students' Organization Gamma Rho Kappa (Obnova), Ukrainian Students' Club (USC), and Ukrainian Canadian Students Union (SUSK).

Plast, an apolitical scouting youth organization, was founded in Galicia, Ukraine, in 1911, and organized in Canada and United States in 1948. By 1953 there were 1,000 Ukrainian Canadian youth enrolled in Plast. The Plast organization tended to attract members of the urban Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia. Although it stressed patriotism, Plast resisted adopting a more nationalistic stance and continued to emphasize scouting and the development of self-reliant, self-motivated individuals who were patriotic Ukrainians as well.⁴²⁶ In major centres such as Winnipeg and Toronto, Plast purchased buildings for year-round activities and organized local, national and international summer camps.

The Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) was also organized in Canada in 1948. The first SUM branch was located in Toronto. By 1951, SUM had 1,400 Ukrainian Canadian youth enrolled in its Canadian branches. SUM functioned

together with the Bandera Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In order to appeal to the youth in the Ukrainian Canadian community, SUM borrowed some of Plast's scouting features but retained its militantly nationalistic stance.⁴²⁷ According to Subtelny, SUM's primary goal was "the inculcation of youth with the principles, aspirations, and values of Ukrainian Nationalism. Taking 'God and Country' as its slogan, it stressed discipline and commitment to the cause among its members."⁴²⁸ SUM also acquired buildings and campgrounds for year-round activities.

The Ukrainian National Democratic League (ODUM) was established in Canada in the 1950s. This organization consisted primarily of Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine, unlike Plast and SUM whose membership was predominantly from Western Ukraine. ODUM emphasized democratic values with patriotism but with less emphasis on discipline. Their membership also attended summer camps.⁴²⁹

University Ukrainian Students' Clubs (USC) were also organized in the Post WWII Era. In 1953, twenty USC organizations from across Canada met in Winnipeg to form the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK). According to Subtelny, "by the early 1960s, SUSK encompassed about 800 of the 4,000 Ukrainians studying in Canadian colleges and universities."⁴³⁰

Cultural Identity in the Post World War II Era

Despite areas of assimilation in language, religion and intermarriages, post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, together with the third generation Ukrainian Canadians immigrants, resisted the assimilation process of the host

society by organizing and developing their efforts for Ukrainian language and cultural retention in the areas of public, private schools, "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, universities, professions, business, politics, literature, creative and performing arts, and the media (radio, television, films). As a result of their hard work and persistent perseverance, the Ukrainian Canadian community not only achieved outstanding progress and success in the Post WWII Era, but also made a tremendous impact and contribution to Canadian society. According to Gerus and Rea:

The Second World War impelled Ukrainian Canadians closer to the mainstream of national life . . . The demonstrated patriotism and large enlistment (estimated 35,000) helped to make Ukrainians more acceptable in the eye of the host society and instilled greater self-confidence as full fledged citizens in Ukrainians themselves.⁴³¹

The achievements of the Ukrainian Canadian community was primarily due to a great feeling of national consciousness and cultural identity during the Post WWII Era. Marunchak states that "the potential power of any community will only last as long as the consciousness of its national identity remains and the backbone of the community is strong."⁴³² Marunchak continues, stating that:

The ethnic identification (third generation) is more of a functional type rather than the symbolic kind, which had existed in the second generation, and takes into consideration not only the bare symbolical interpretation, but also its natural value. What the son considered to be an ideology, that was forced upon him by his father, the grandson regards highly as an information medium and a treasured history. We must strongly expect that the same laws of history will apply to the Ukrainian third generation in Canada.⁴³³

Moreover, since the government was on the verge of adopting a multicultural policy, the assimilation process of Ukrainian Canadians faced much stronger

resistance during the upcoming Multicultural Era. Marunchak reflects on the upcoming Multicultural Era by stating that “on the contrary all arguments point to the fact that in the sphere of language and culture a turn-about-face action, toward the past, is coming into its own.”^{9 434}

Multicultural Era (1971 onwards): Ukrainian Canadian Community
Continues to Lobby the Canadian Government for Ethnocultural
Rights, Heritage Language Programming and the
English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program
in the Public School System

On October 8, 1971, in the House of Commons, Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau declared the existence of a multicultural Canada and proclaimed the federal government’s policy of Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework.⁴³⁵

At that time, the Prime Minister stated:

Canadian identity will not be undermined by multiculturalism. Indeed, we believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context.⁴³⁶

The multicultural decades of the 1970s and 1980s created a new epoch in Canadian history. During the Multicultural Era, many ethnocultural groups including Ukrainian Canadians achieved recognition of their national and cultural identity.

Immigration

After WWII, there has been no significant Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Throughout the 1970s, only a few hundred Ukrainians Canadian immigrated annually from various countries and a limited few arrived from the Soviet Union.⁴³⁷ Nevertheless, by the end of the 1980s, 8,000 new Ukrainians

immigrated to Canada from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Ukraine. As in the previous eras, these new Ukrainian Canadian immigrants were significant in developing the cultural and economic life of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Isajiw states that:

For one thing, they are on the average younger than the post-war immigrants were at the time of their arrival, and very few have been coming with families. Furthermore, their educational and occupational background is not as high or as differentiated as was that of the post-war immigrants, and their knowledge of Ukrainian is often weaker. Nevertheless, even during their short stay in Canada they have had an impact on Ukrainian-Canadian cultural life. This impact is visible in avant-garde theatre established by the young immigrants and in the art brought over by immigrant artists. More research, however, is needed to assess the significance of this new immigration.⁴³⁸

However, Isajiw adds that by the end of the 20th Century "it should be remembered that over 90 per cent of Ukrainians in Canada were born in Canada".⁴³⁹ Marunchak states that:

According to the 1971 Census there were 580,685 Ukrainians registered by paternal lineage. Due to the changes in the 1981 Census regarding identification of ethnic origin there were 529,615 Ukrainian Canadians whose both parents were of Ukrainian descent and 225,360 of others.⁴⁴⁰

Therefore, Ukrainian Canadians have become the fourth largest ethnocultural group in Canada preceded by the Anglo-Saxons, French and German groups, respectively.

Settlement and Social Structure

Urbanization and migration of the general Canadian community was common during the Multicultural Era. Marunchak cites Leroy D. Stone, who, in two studies on this subject, states:

“Almost half of the Canadian population changed residence between 1966-1971 and about one-quarter moved to a different municipality. More than one in 10 changed municipality of residence twice in those five years.”² . . . “When a group of migrants moved between an urban and a rural area in the 1966-1971 period, it was the characteristics of the urban area that were most influential in shaping the occupational distribution of the group, regardless of the direction of the migration. This was the result of the dominance of the urban area as a source of higher-education facilities and of varied job opportunities. It was particularly marked when the urban area was a metropolitan area.”^{3 441}

As in the Post WWII Era, during the 1970s and 1980s, an increase in the socio-economic status among Ukrainian Canadians resulted in an increase of movement away from the original Ukrainian Canadian communities located in the rural bloc settlements in the prairies to urban centres. However, urbanization often posed a threat to Ukrainian Canadians’ sense of community and retention of their cultural identity. However, once again the arrival of new Ukrainian Canadian immigrants into urban centres and leadership of existing Ukrainian Canadian organizations within the Ukrainian Canadian community helped preserve and develop Ukrainian cultural identity.

The majority of new Ukrainian immigrants to Canada in the 1970s were young adults in their 20’s and 30’s who settled in metropolitan centres that had a large Ukrainian Canadian population, such as, Toronto, Edmonton, and Winnipeg. The vibrant urban growth of Toronto motivated Ukrainian Canadians to remain in the inner city and in close proximity to their traditional neighbourhoods. Due to its tremendous economic growth, the Ukrainian Canadian community in Toronto became one of the largest, wealthiest, and most active in Canada. Subtelny states that “by the 1980s it laid claim to being the

informal capital of the Ukrainian diaspora."⁴⁴² Furthermore, the rapid growth of Edmonton resulted in this city surpassing Winnipeg as the leading Ukrainian Canadian centre in Western Canada. Subtelny states that:

In 1931, over 80 per cent of Ukrainian Canadians lived in a rural setting; today over 75 per cent are city-dwellers. Edmonton, Winnipeg and especially Toronto, where many DP's settled, are now the centres of Ukrainian life in Canada.⁴⁴³

Religion and Churches

During the Multicultural Era Ukrainian Canadian churches continued to be a visible symbol of religious and cultural identity for Ukrainian Canadians. As in previous eras, the Multicultural Era produced a close relationship between the Ukrainian Canadian community and religious life. Marunchak states that "the national cultural character of this or that church is not of minor importance. This already suggests that church ties are closely bound with cultural heritage of the people and the nation it serves."⁴⁴⁴ The three Ukrainian churches that continued to develop in the 1970s were the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church, and the Ukrainian Evangelical Church.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada expanded in the 1970s with an Eparchy in New Westminster, British Columbia, and Quebec. In addition, due to a lack of Ukrainian Canadian and non-Ukrainian priests, a Ukrainian Catholic Seminary was established in Ottawa. The expansion and development of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was evident in the construction of a consistory in Winnipeg (1976-79) that housed a library, church archives, and other cultural organizations of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, and the Eparchy of

Winnipeg.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church and religious orders in Canada celebrated many anniversaries during the 1970s and early 1980s, such as, the 25th Anniversary of the erection of the Ukrainian Metropolitan See, the church province, in Winnipeg occupied by Archbishop Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, C.S.S.R., in October 1981; the 75th Anniversary of the Redemptorist Fathers in 1981; the 80th Anniversary of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate (SSMI) in 1981, and the 80th Anniversary of the Basilian Fathers in 1982. During the Multicultural Era, the aforementioned religious orders and other orders such as the Sisters of St. Joseph, Missionary Sisters of the Mother of God, and Sisters of St. Basil the Great (OSBM) worked in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Educational institutions that were under the auspices of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, such as, St. Joseph's College, in Yorkton; St. Vladimir College, in Roblin; Immaculate Heart of Mary School, in Winnipeg; Metropolitan Sheptycky Institute, in Saskatoon, and a number of kindergarten, evening and summer courses in the of the vernacular language, Ukrainian culture, and history continued to develop in the Multicultural Era.⁴⁴⁵

An important turning point in the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church occurred in 1980 with the creation of the Synodical Government of the Church, whose sessions (Synod) were summoned with the approval of the Pope. The chairman of the Synod was the Ukrainian Catholic Church's Metropolitan and Archbishop Major of Lviv, Josyf Cardinal Slipyj. Although the Synod gave the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its bishops the opportunity to resolve its own

issues and concerns, the Ukrainians desired their own Eastern-rite Patriarch, a traditional form of government in Eastern churches, that would create total autonomy of the Church in the diaspora. In the 1970s, the Patriarch movement spread throughout the diaspora and was organized as the Ukrainian Patriarchal World Organization (UPWO). In Canada, this movement was known as the National Council for the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with headquarters in Winnipeg, under the leadership of Dr. M. Marunchak.⁴⁴⁶ Subtelny states that in the mid-1970s, "although the Vatican refused to sanction the creation of the patriarchate . . . the Holy See was, none the less, forced to pay greater heed to Ukrainian Catholic demands for special status."⁴⁴⁷

Activities within the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church also flourished in the 1970s despite the death and/or illness of three Metropolitans. The fourth, Metropolitan Archbishop Andrey Metiuk, assumed his authority of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in 1975. In 1971, the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church celebrated 20 years existence of the Metropolitan See. The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Consistory was built in 1974 and housed the seat of the Metropolitan, church offices, library, church archives, and a liturgical and devotional book store. In 1978, the Church celebrated 60 years of missionary work in Canada.⁴⁴⁸ During the 1970s and to this day, the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church continues to develop theological studies at St. Andrew's College, in Winnipeg.

A significant development of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church occurred in 1980, when the Sobor removed the work "Greek" from the title of the Church identifying it as "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada".⁴⁴⁹ The

highest ruling body of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is the Sobor that discusses and decides principal religious issues as well as cultural and educational activities of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and community. For example, the question of using the Ukrainian language in liturgies has been an ongoing issue of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its Sobors. In 1980, at the Sixteenth Soborin, the Sobor decided that other languages than Ukrainian may be used in liturgical services depending on the approval of the Presidium of the Consistory and the Metropolitan.

In addition to the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches of Canada, two protestant churches, the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America and the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Conference of Canada also expanded in the 1970s. According to the Canadian Census in 1971, there were 13,000 Ukrainian Baptists in Canada.⁴⁵⁰ Due to intermarriages and lack of Ukrainian Canadian parishes, many Ukrainian Canadians became members of non-Ukrainian churches, such as, Roman Catholic, United, Lutheran, and Pentecostal. Thus, in an attempt to retain its parishioners, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Canada have included the use of other languages in their liturgies. In addition, in order to somewhat unify the Ukrainian Canadian community, these two churches decided during the Multicultural Era, to jointly prepare for the observations and celebrations of the 1988 Ukrainian Millenium of Christianity. This historic venture was signed in a document in Toronto, on June 27, 1998, at the WCFU by three Metropolitans: Mstyslaw, Maxim, and Stefan, and one of the founders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Arch-priest S. W. Sawchuk.⁴⁵¹

Socio-economic Status

By the 1970s, the Post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants and their children had entered the mainstream of Canadian society and settled firmly into its middle class. Although the older generation of Ukrainian Canadians earned modest incomes, their children reaped the benefits of higher education and many became professionals, such as, teachers, engineers, physicians, lawyers, businessmen, and executives. In addition, the new Ukrainian Canadian immigrants arriving in the Multicultural Era, provided a labour force for Ukrainian Canadian-owned enterprises, such as, labourers, drivers, sales clerks, waiters, bank tellers, teachers in "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, and secretaries or staff members in Ukrainian Canadian organizations and institutions.

Since the turn of the 20th Century, the number of Ukrainian Canadians in the agricultural field has been significant and continues to play an important role in Canadian agricultural production. However, after WWII, the percentage of Ukrainians employed in this field dropped significantly from 30.24 percent in 1951 to 11.65 percent in 1971.⁴⁵² This was primarily due to the technological progress in farming equipment that replaced manual labour. As a result, younger generations of Ukrainian Canadians immigrated to urban centres seeking employment in industries, businesses and professions. A majority of Ukrainian Canadians also worked in construction, transportation and communication. However, their presence was not as apparent in managerial fields due to a political and traditional Anglo-Saxon majority. The Ukrainian Canadian community was hopeful that the Multicultural Era would bring about change in the

area of management positions in order to equitably distribute the proportion of ethnocultural groups in this field.

Nevertheless, during the 1970s, Ukrainian Canadians progressed to high level positions particularly in fields of engineering, manufacturing, building, and higher education. Since 1949, Ukrainian Canadian engineers were organized in the Ukrainian Technical Society. In 1975, the name of the Society changed to the Society of Ukrainian Engineers and Associates in Canada. The Society became very active in both the Ukrainian community and Canadian engineering societies and associations. As a result, many Ukrainian Canadian engineers hold senior positions in various levels of government, own or are partners in consulting engineering companies, or hold corporate positions in the private sector.

Ukrainian Canadians also advanced in the professional and business fields. A number of Ukrainian Canadians became involved with the administration of Canadian universities, such as, Dr. L. Melosky, Chairperson of the Board of Governors of the University of Manitoba; Christine Pastershank, Chairperson of the Board of Governors of the Saskatchewan University; Peter Savaryn, Chancellor of the University of Alberta; William Teron, member of the Board of Governors of Carlton University; Valerie Kasiurak, member of the Board of Governors of Windsor University, and William Solypa, member of the Board of Governors of the University of Winnipeg.⁴⁵³

In the field of economics, the Ukrainian cooperative movement continued to develop during the Multicultural Era. The Ukrainian Canadian cooperative

movement began in 1930 with the Winnipeg Ukrainian cooperative and book store, "Kalyna". The credit unions within the Ukrainian Canadian cooperative movement began in Western Canada on February 13, 1939, with the opening of "Nova Hromada" (New Community Credit Union) in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Similar credit unions followed in Winnipeg with the opening of "Carpathia Credit Union" in 1940, and the North Winnipeg Credit Union in 1943. Over time, smaller cooperatives in Winnipeg, as "Dnipro", "Progress", and "Vera" amalgamated with these cooperatives.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Ukrainian cooperative movements were organized nationally and internationally throughout the world. In 1971, at the Tenth UCC Congress, Ukrainian Canadians formed a council uniting all cooperatives across Canada. The council was called the Ukrainian Co-operative Council of Canada (UCCC) with headquarters in Toronto. During the second congress of WCFU held in 1973, a Ukrainian World Co-operative Council (UWCC) was formed by Canadian and USA cooperative councils uniting all Ukrainian cooperatives in the diaspora. The UWCC also manage Ukrainian trust companies. Marunchak states that "the assets of these companies amounted by 1980 to \$815,669,000 (Canada \$85,000,000, U.S.A. \$100,669,000).⁴⁵⁴ In 1980 the Ukrainian cooperative movement in Canada celebrated its 50th Anniversary with 60 cooperatives and approximately 60,000 members.⁴⁵⁵

Socio-political Dynamics and Organizational Life

During the Multicultural Era the social structure and ethnic national consciousness of the Ukrainian Canadian community was divided into three

categories. The largest category was comprised of those Ukrainian Canadians whose forefathers left Ukraine three, four and even five generations ago. For the most part, this segment of the Ukrainian Canadian population no longer spoke Ukrainian, had little or no contact with Ukrainian Canadian organizations, and was often only vaguely conscious of its cultural roots. The second category included Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, a generation or two removed from Ukraine, that were familiar with the Ukrainian culture but did little to preserve it; and the third, was composed of post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants and their children. Although this category was the smallest, this segment of the population, together with some members of the earlier Ukrainian Canadian immigrations, formed the core of the Ukrainian Canadian community that was committed to preserving and maintaining its culture and cultural identity.⁴⁵⁶

Dual identity: Canada and Ukraine. Although the Ukrainian Canadian community experienced changes in its socio-economic status, the various political ideologies that existed among the third Ukrainian Canadian immigration did not change but rather became irrelevant during the Multicultural Era. The militant nationalism that existed in the Post WWII Era began to fade in the 1970s and 1980s as Ukrainian Canadian immigrants realized that they could do little to affect the situation in Ukraine. Subtelny states that "the pacifism of the post-Vietnam era along with the rise of the self-indulgent mentality of the 'me-generation' of the 1970s and 1980s greatly hastened the depoliticization of the erstwhile DP's and especially their children."⁴⁵⁷ Nevertheless, many of the younger generation of Ukrainian Canadians retained a strong sense of Ukrainian

cultural identity and combined this sense of Ukrainian patriotism with an increasing commitment to Canada. The “two home-lands” or “divided loyalty” concept as it was referred to, appeared with greater frequency as the new ideology of contemporary Ukrainian Canadians who were making the transition from immigrants to ethnics. Subtelny states that the proponents of this idea argued that “commitment to Ukraine, on the one hand, and Canada, on the other, was both possible and desirable, for by retaining one’s Ukrainian heritage an individual contributed to the cultural richness, diversity, and dynamism of his or her new homeland.”⁴⁵⁸

Renewed relationship: Ukrainian Canadians with Ukraine. By the 1970s and 1980s Ukrainian Canadian immigrants including Ukrainian Canadians who lived abroad permanently and identified themselves with Ukraine, referred to themselves as the Ukrainian diaspora. In the 1970s and 1980s the prosperity of the Ukrainian diaspora with respect to political freedom, preservation of cultural identity and language, and socio-economic growth, enabled them to assist Ukrainians in Ukraine, who had suffered so many misfortunes in the 20th Century. According to Subtelny, these misfortunes included:

The poverty of the peasants, the chaos of the civil war in 1918-20, Polish repression, Stalinist terror and the horrible famine of 1933, the devastation and horror of the Second World War, Russification, the brutal suppression of dissent in the 1970s, and finally, the Chernobyl disaster in 1986.⁴⁵⁹

In the late 1980s the desire to help Ukraine intensified due to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev’s epochal changes in the USSR of “glasnost” and “perestroika”. Before “glasnost” and “perestroika” Soviet contacts with the

Western world were achieved by officially designated citizens, and Ukrainian Canadians, particularly post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigrants, were reluctant to enter relations with them. However, since 1985, USSR 's policies of "glasnost" and "perestroika" have changed the relations between Ukrainian Canadians and Ukraine. Due to "glasnost" and "perestroika" Soviet citizens, who were prohibited from travelling to the West, were able to do so. In addition, many imprisoned Ukrainian dissidents were released. The USSR also eased restrictions on individual travel, enabling Ukrainians, especially the third immigration in the diaspora, to visit their relatives and vice versa.⁴⁶⁰ As a result, formal contacts began developing between the Ukrainian Canadian organizations and institutions and the Soviet Ukraine. Initially these contacts were charitable or cultural, however, they progressed to professional relations and exchanges of scholars, professionals, and specialists. By the 1990s significant changes and contacts also occurred in areas of politics and religion.

Some of the Ukrainian diaspora exchanges with Ukraine preceded the establishment of significant international congresses in Kiev, such as the World Federation of Ukrainian Medical Associations (WFUMA) held on August 5-16, 1990, and the International Association of Ukrainian Studies, held from August 27 to September 3, 1990. During this time, numerous delegations of Ukrainian businessmen from the diaspora also explored the possibility of joint ventures with Ukraine. In 1989, a visit of Ukrainian Canadians and the Canadian government economists resulted in the establishment of the International Management

Institute, in Kiev, that would teach Ukrainians, in Ukraine, Western business techniques. Subtelny states that:

Besides the concrete benefits that these burgeoning contracts provided, they also had a broader, politico-cultural significance by exposing Soviet Ukrainians to modern Western technology, expertise, and methods by means of their native language and through the intermediary of other Ukrainians--that is, by encouraging the view of modernization was attainable without recourse to the Russian language and without Moscow acting as its conduit--North America's Ukrainians may have contributed to slowing the Russification of Ukraine. And, in the long run, this could prove to be their greatest contribution.⁴⁶¹

In addition to exchanges with the West, many institutions in Ukraine benefitted from books, journals and periodicals published in the diaspora by Ukrainian post-war immigration scholars and scholarly institutions who were diligent in maintaining Ukrainian culture, history and scholarship. Cultural exchanges with Ukraine especially flourished in the 1980s as numerous choirs, soloists, singers, musicians, painters and poets from Ukraine and the diaspora performed for one another in their respective countries.

The resurgence of cultural, educational, and political organizations in Ukraine and branches of these organizations in the diaspora also occurred during this time. For example, the Ukrainian youth organization "Plast" re-established itself in Lviv, and new organizations such as the Women's Association Soiuz Ukrainok (UNWL) were created in Kiev and Lviv. An organization from Ukraine that was established in September 1989, and found particular support and development in the diaspora was the popular movement of Ukraine or "Rukh" (the Movement). This "Rukh" signified Ukraine's democratic

movement for reform. Ukrainians in North America formed branches of "Rukh" in three dozen cities. In Toronto, The Canadian Friends of Rukh, became the most active organization. The work of "Rukh" organizations in the diaspora was important to the future of Ukraine. These organizations not only collected funds to aid the victims of Chernobyl and assisted the reform movement in Ukraine with technology to communicate its mandate to all Ukrainians, but also, and more significantly, arranged meetings and informed federal politicians and media in Canada and the USA about "Rukh" and its goal for an independent Ukraine and recognition of its country by the international community. As a result of "Rukh's" efforts, in 1990, both the USA and Canada amended plans to open their respective consulates in Kiev.⁴⁶²

During the time of "glasnost" and "perestroika", the most important and equally historic link that was restored between the Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora, involved religion and the churches. The persistence of Ukrainians in the diaspora to preserve their faith and church contributed to the renewal of religious life in Ukraine. Although the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Ukraine have existed clandestinely, the former church was forcibly dissolved in 1946, while the latter, though briefly renewed during the WWII, was also liquidated. However, as a result of "glasnost" and "perestroika" from 1989-90, a religious revival in Ukraine occurred in both churches. With the assistance of Bishop Basil Losten from North America, Cardinal Myroslaw Lubachivsky returned to Lviv on Palm Sunday, in 1991, to symbolically reunite Ukrainian Catholics in the diaspora with Ukraine. Equally significant, on June 5-6, 1990, at

a Synod held in Kiev, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) was re-established. The Synod dissolved its link with the Moscow-based Orthodox Church and proclaimed the formation of its own Patriarchate. On October 20, 1990, the new Patriarch, Mstyslav from South Bound Brook, New Jersey, was proclaimed Patriarch of Kiev and Ukraine, at St. Sophia Cathedral, in Kiev. Due to his residence in the United States, Patriarch Mstyslav appointed Metropolitan Ioann as his representative in Kiev.⁴⁶³

During the USSR period of “glasnost” and “perestroika”, Ukrainians in the diaspora and in the Ukraine, became familiar with one another by reacquainting themselves and often changing their stereotypical view that they held for one another for generations. Subtelny states that:

Those in the West realized that their view, tinted by nationalist ideology, of Soviet Ukrainian society as a mass of oppressed, suffering patriots thirsting for independence and repressed by brutal imperialists in the Kremlin with the aid of their Russified lackeys in Kiev was too simplistic and one-dimensional. Meanwhile, the traditional Soviet propaganda image of Ukrainians in North America as consisting of progressive workers, on the one hand, and malicious bourgeois nationalists, on the other, was also far off the mark.⁴⁶⁴

The stereotypical views held by the Ukrainian diaspora and the Ukraine often lead to unrealistic expectations of one another. As a result of “glasnost” and “perestroika”, Ukrainians in the diaspora felt that they could now assist Ukraine and that changes in the USSR would bring a quick reversal of Russification and an independent Ukraine. Meanwhile, Ukrainians in the Ukraine overestimated the capacity of aid from the West. Due to their very difficult circumstances, they had no patience with altruistic motives of the Ukrainian diaspora as they were

extremely eager and desperate for concrete aid and benefit. Nevertheless, through the process of re-acquainting themselves with one another, both communities in the Ukrainian diaspora and in the Ukraine, realized positive aspects of each other's situation since they had a common goal of assisting Ukraine. Ukrainians in Ukraine were impressed with the size, organization, as well as the cultural and linguistic retention of Ukrainians in the diaspora, and Ukrainians in the diaspora were pleased with Ukraine's national sentiment and by the intelligent and enlightened policies of Ukraine's democratic reforms.⁴⁶⁵ In addition, due to interactions with Ukraine, Ukrainians in the diaspora broke free from their sense of isolation and experienced a revitalization. In fact, their efforts with respect to the preservation of Ukrainian cultural heritage, language, church and political values in the diaspora, as well as their voice on behalf of their fellow countrymen and assistance to Ukraine, was not only justified but also instrumental in the realization and attainment of the shared goal of an independent Ukraine on August 24, 1991.

Organizations. Despite the progress and success realized by its assistance to Ukraine, the challenge and central issue of this era for Ukrainian Canadians was to maintain the organizational and cultural life created in the previous eras. Due assimilation of the Ukrainian language and in intermarriages, organizational life in the Ukrainian Canadian community declined in the 1970s and 1980s.⁴⁶⁶ Subtelny states the following factors contributed to the decline of organizational activity in many ethnic groups during this period:

The disintegration of traditional neighbourhoods; the ranks of activists thinned by death, ageing, or fatigue; the failure of an aging European-bred leadership to adapt to modern ways; the increasing irrelevance of many, especially ideological, organizations; and, most crucial, the inability to attract young people.⁴⁶⁷

Many of the Ukrainian Canadian organizations established in the previous eras were preserved by the older rather than younger Ukrainian Canadian generations. However, since the new ideology of a dual identity between Canada and Ukraine was being established among the younger Ukrainian Canadian generation, new types of Ukrainian Canadian organizations and associations emerged that were largely non-political in nature although supportive of Ukraine's independence, such as, the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club branches across Canada and numerous dance ensembles that totalled 150 groups in Western Canada with approximately 10,000 members. These organizations introduced a new sophistication to traditional cultural and social activity while maintaining a strong conviction to Ukrainian identity and patriotism to Canada. The new Ukrainian Canadian organizations attracted a young, upwardly mobile professional membership. While new Ukrainian Canadian organizations were created, the previously established organizations remained and were preserved under the umbrella of the UCC. It is interesting to note that only 10 to 15 percent of the Ukrainian Canadian population belonged to Ukrainian Canadian organizations within their community.⁴⁶⁸

Ukrainian Canadian Committee/Congress

During the 1970s and 1980s, the UCC proceeded in becoming an integral and vital socio-cultural component and a symbol of cultural identity for the

Ukrainian Canadian Community. The UCC continued to serve as the unifying federal organization that co-ordinated the work, co-operation and harmony of its branches and 40 member organizations across Canada.⁴⁶⁹ As a result of its mandate to work for the preservation and development of Ukrainian Canadian culture, the UCC continued to be the legitimate representative voice of Ukrainian Canadians and thereby a symbol of Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada.

During the 1970s new Ukrainian Canadian organizations joined the UCC and some older organizations departed. This resulted in structural changes within the UCC. During the UCC's 10th Congress in 1971, a new sequential rotational system of the Executive among "the Big Six" founding organizations (USRL, BUC, UNF, CLLU, UCVA and UCPBF) was proposed and accepted. At that time Dr. Peter Kondra, representing USRL, became the first president. However, in 1974, at the Eleventh UCC Congress, a representative of the UNF who was to be the next president, proposed that the president be elected by a majority vote. Consequently, Dr. Serge Radchuk was elected president in 1974, re-elected at the Twelfth UCC Congress in 1977, followed by Ivan Novosad at the Thirteenth UCC Congress in 1980. Consequently, the organizational structure of the UCC consisted of an elected president; a rotational system from the executives of six primary organizations; youth representatives from "Plast", SUM, SUMK, and ODUM; and representatives from the Women's Council of UCC and the Taras Shevchenko Foundation; who all served on the executive and became equal partners in executive decisions. However, in the 1990s, the

UCVA was no longer active. Consequently the major organizational body and control of the UCC changed from "the Big Six" to "the Big Five".⁴⁷⁰

The work of UCC during the Multicultural Era cannot be overestimated. The UCC was politically active in its efforts to guarantee the rights of ethnocultural communities in Canada by promoting and supporting the development and implementation of multiculturalism, the federal government's policy of multiculturalism, and Canada's constitution. The UCC was also significant in Ukrainian politics as it was instrumental in supporting the reform movement in Ukraine, lobbying and influencing the Canadian government to be the first Western nation to recognize the independence of Ukraine and participating in an External Affairs Committee to assist in establishing state-to-state relations with Ukraine that resulted in the visit of Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kravchuk to Canada. In addition to fulfilling its political mandate, the UCC continued to support cultural and educational endeavours through its assistance with the expansion of Ukrainian studies in higher educational institutions, the development of Ukrainian private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, and the creation of the EUBP programs in Canada. Marunchak states that:

With its broad-mindedness and progressiveness towards the development of Ukrainian community along with its dynamism the U.C.C. has written its name on the pages of ethnocultural history as being perhaps the leading and the most active among all ethnocultural organizations.⁴⁷¹

The role of the UCC was crucial in that it changed Ukrainian Canadian life from factionalism to one of the best organized Ukrainian communities in the Western World. According to Gerus,

As Ukrainians gradually came to influence many levels of Canadian society, they acquired greater financial power and social respectability, which, superimposed on their strong ethnic consciousness, made them a notable fact of Canadian life. The UCC, as the recognized spokesman for Ukrainian Canadians, often translated the latent potential of that community into meaningful cultural and political gains, no mean accomplishment considering the size of the country and the incompatibility of the several immigrations and generations.⁴⁷²

To this end, Gerus states that, "over the years, the federal government has developed considerable confidence in the UCC's credibility and has regularly consulted it (privately and officially) on Ukrainian affairs in Canada and abroad."⁴⁷³

Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation

One of the most influential and the sixth largest organization in the UCC is the UCPBF. The UCPBF represents the interests of the Ukrainian Canadian community in business and government. According to Serge Radchuk, President of UCPBF (1966-8), the main purpose of the UCPBF is to "foster the social, cultural, and economical betterment of the Ukrainian community."⁴⁷⁴ Although some of the members in UCPBF do not speak fluent Ukrainian, they believe they still have a distinct function to play in Canadian society. According to Dr. Joseph Slogan, President (1983-85):

Our Clubs function in English reflecting the loss of competency in our ethnic language by many. Thus we welcome and provide a role that those who have lost their mother tongue can play in supporting our culture and causes.⁴⁷⁵

The UCPBF became significantly active in the Ukrainian Canadian community during the Multicultural Era. Beginning with the 1970s the work and

organization of the biennial conventions of the UCPBF took on a more active role in the cultural and political life of the Ukrainian Canadian community. The UCPBF played an influential role in establishing Ukrainian Canadian educational institutions and programs such as, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies (CFUS), the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, its multimillion dollar project publication of the five volume Ukrainian Encyclopaedia in the English language, and the EUBP in the three Canadian prairie provinces. The UCPBF has also participated actively in the WCFU and has provided a number of presidents to the UCC. In 1972 the UCPBF's main office was located in Toronto under the chairmanship of Stanley Frolick. Following a 1973 UCPBF Convention the main office was transferred to Edmonton, under the newly elected board and president, Professor Manoly Lupul.

Since its inception in 1960 and through to 1980, the UCPBF has held ten biennial conventions. The important leadership role the UCPBF not only to the Ukrainian Canadians, but also to the general Canadian ethnocultural communities, is attested by the guest speakers that have attended its conventions, namely, The Hon. Lester Pearson, The Hon. Stanley Haidasz, The Hon. Robert Stanfield, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Premiers Davis, Pawley and Lougheed, as well as, various Ukrainian Canadian senators and members of parliament in Ottawa.⁴⁷⁶

At the September 1972 convention in Toronto, and under the chairmanship of P. Savaryn, eleven resolutions were presented that changed the

focus and goals of the UCPBF. The UCPBF decided

to take steps to strengthen the social economic and cultural life of its members, to encourage the maintenance of the Ukrainian National identity in Canada and fully support the causes of multiculturalism; to encourage the clubs and members to participate actively in Ukrainian Canadian organized life and to support it morally and financially, to support its members to play an active role in Canadian political life at all levels and also in non-Ukrainian organizations, to increase the political activities and lines of communication between the Federation and all levels of Government in Canada.⁴⁷⁷

After 1972, the UCPBF convention themes and resolutions centred on the linguistic, cultural, national, and religious preservation of Ukrainian Canadians, as well as, Ukrainian political involvement and action in Canada. Topics such as multiculturalism and the Canadian Constitution appeared frequently at conventions and were addressed by speakers from federal, provincial and local governments and prominent professional businessmen in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Some of these conventions included the 1973 Convention in Edmonton, held May 18-21, on the topic of multiculturalism, addressed by The Hon. Robert Stanley Haidasz, Minister of State, in charge of multiculturalism, and The Hon. Robert L. Stanfield, Leader of the Opposition; the 1974 Conference in Winnipeg on multiculturalism, organized by the Winnipeg UPBC; the 1977, multiculturalism conference on the topic, "Multiculturalism: Dead or Alive", with a panel consisting of M. Lupul, B. Krawchenko, R. Serbyn, R. Petryshyn, and P. Savaryn, and a conference in British Columbia entitled, "Survival of our Identity".⁴⁷⁸

In addition to the UCPBF conventions/conferences held during the

Multicultural Era, UCPBF publications continued to be an important forum for discussing not only activities and concerns of the UCPBF and its branches, but also of the general Ukrainian Canadian community. During 1965-80, UCPBF published seven quarterlies of "Ukrainian Canadian Review", nine issues of "Panorama", and four of "Panorama Newsletters". The UCPBF publications included keynote speeches delivered at conventions, views given at seminars and panels, resolutions, presidential messages, reports of clubs' activities, submissions to various governments, vignettes, and past descriptions of various historical events.⁴⁷⁹ Throughout its vision, ideological principles, activities, and political involvement the UCPBF accomplished a great deal during the Multicultural Era and became an influential organization and one of the leaders in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Winnipeg, Inc.

Similar to its national Federation, the work and activities of UPBC intensified in the latter part of the 1960s and achieved tremendous significance and accomplishment in the 1970s. Dr. Joseph Slogan, President from 1971-1972, states that:

In response to the appeals of the Ukrainian community who have urged us to assume a greater leadership role, we have joined the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as the Federation had joined on the national level. Similarly, last year, our Club was instrumental in re-organizing the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Federation setting it on a firm and independent path, which we hope will see the Federation play a very meaningful role in communications among the Clubs nationally and in articulating a new responsible voice for the younger generation through what we recommended to the annual policy conventions. The most glaring need is to consolidate and streamline our over-

organized but under co-ordinated Ukrainian organizations and promote better communications between them.⁴⁸⁰

During the 1970s and 1980s the UPBC's work and activities focused on the promotion and retention of Ukrainian culture and language, the teaching of Ukrainian language in the public educational system, Ukrainian Studies at higher institutions, multiculturalism, aid to Ukraine, as well as, financial support in the form of student scholarships and awards, and financial assistance to worthy causes in the Ukrainian community.

In 1970 the UPBC raised \$2,000 in support of the Holy Family Nursing Home Expansion Fund.⁴⁸¹ In November of that same year, the organization contributed to a discussion regarding Book IV of the "Bilingual and Biculturalism Report" at the annual St. Andrew's College Dinner Meeting. In 1971 the UPBC initiated an Annual Testimonial Dinner and Awards Night to honour achievements in the UPBC's membership and the Ukrainian Canadian community, sponsored prizes for elementary students at the Ukrainian Verse Speaking Contest, and joined the local UCC branch. In January 1971, at the UPBC's "Malanka", Mayor Steven Juba presented the UPBC president and the other German and Polish presidents of the Tri-Club Association with silver medallions in recognition of their service to the community.⁴⁸²

In April 1973, the UPBC held a significant annual Tri-Club Dinner. The keynote speaker was The Hon. Stanley Haidasz, First Minister of State for Multiculturalism, who spoke on the federal government's initiatives with respect to multiculturalism and ethnic minorities.⁴⁸³ The following year, on March 8, 9

and 10, 1974, at St. Andrew's College, the UPBC held an important Centennial Seminar to commemorate the Centenary of the City of Winnipeg. The theme of the Seminar was, "Future Directions of Manitoba Ukrainians in a Multicultural Canada". The Centennial Seminar in Winnipeg was inspired by the 1974 UPBC president, John G. Karasevich Jr., who stated:

The growth of this community, situated in the heart of the continent, was achieved substantially through the toils of Ukrainian pioneers who helped break the great prairies of the West. It is indeed fitting on this occasion to review the role of their descendants in the future course of Ukrainian Canadians in light of this pioneering spirit.⁴⁸⁴

The keynote address at the Centennial Seminar was given by P. Savaryn, Other speakers were Walter Klymkiw, on Culture, William Solypa, on Education, Dr. Joseph Slogan, on Politics, and Walter Hlady, on Multiculturalism. The UPBC also organized a follow-up to this Centennial Seminar in November.⁴⁸⁵ In 1975, that UPBC began taking an active role in the promotion of the teaching of Ukrainian language in the Manitoba public school system. Their role in creating and developing the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program (EUBP) is the premise of this thesis and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of this study.

Politics

During the Multicultural Era, Ukrainian Canadians made a significant contribution in the area of politics. Many Ukrainian Canadians achieved high political office during the 1970s and 1980s. By 1981 there have been 122 Canadian parliamentarians of Ukrainian descent. This has included 21 provincial ministers, 90 legislators, 27 MPs and 5 senators. There have also been 8 provincial cabinet ministers, three of which were in the Manitoba NDP

Government: Samuel Uskiw, Minister of Government Services and Minister of Highways and Transportation, Bill Uruski, Minister of Agriculture, and Wilson Parasiuk, Minister of Energy and Mines.⁴⁸⁶ In addition there have been two city mayors of Ukrainian descent, as well as, the appointment of John Sopinka, to the Supreme Court of Canada, and Ramon Hnatyshyn as Canada's Governor General.⁴⁸⁷

The political integration of Ukrainian Canadians into Manitoba was particularly evident during the Multicultural Era. In 1973, the NDP formed the Government with Edward Schreyer, who had some Ukrainian ancestry, elected as Premier of Manitoba. In addition, six former NDP MLA's of Ukrainian descent were re-elected including an additional Ukrainian Canadian Liberal MLA. During the 1970s and 1980s, Ministers with portfolios included: Ben Hanuschak, Minister of Continuing Education (1973-76) and Recreation and Cultural Affairs (1966-77); Samuel Uskiw, Minister of Co-operative Development (1971-75); Bill Uruski, Minister responsible for Public Insurance Corporation (1975), Minister responsible for Motor Vehicle Branch, Minister of Municipal Affairs (1976), and Minister of Civil Service (1976-1977); and Peter Burtniak, Minister of Highways. Moreover, by 1981, there have been 57 members of Ukrainian Canadian descent in the Manitoba Legislature. These have included farmers that possessed general schooling, and individuals with higher education such as teachers, businessmen, lawyers, medical doctors and Oxford scholars.⁴⁸⁸

The political involvement and awareness of the various sectors of the Ukrainian Canadian community in the 1960s and 1970s was significant because

it was through the political process that Ukrainian Canadians of the "Third Force" or "Third Element" represented ethnocultural groups other than the French and the English by promoting the concept of multiculturalism and thereby influencing many political decisions and policies regarding the recognition of ethnocultural minorities and protection of their cultural rights. Gerus and Rea state:

In Canada, Ukrainian organizations had realized a long time ago the philosophical and political importance of cultural pluralism for their own ethnic survival. Ukrainian organizations pioneered the concept of multiculturalism and have been vigorously advocating it since the 1920s.⁴⁸⁹

Cultural Endeavours

During the Multicultural Era the cultural endeavours of the Ukrainian Canadian community identified Ukrainian Canadians as a distinct cultural and national ethnocultural group in Canada. Throughout the 1970s a new group of painters, gravurists in mediums of wood and metal, graphic artists, as well as artists of silk-screen, sculpture and ceramic art, represented Ukrainian Canadian creative arts. This new generation of creative artists completed their studies at universities and colleges in Canada and became members in the Ukrainian Association of Creative Artists (USOM) in Toronto. Their work was exhibited in 1971, at the Ukrainian Canadian Art Festival held in Thunder Bay, and in 1973, at the All-Canadian exhibit of Ukrainian graphic art held in Montreal. Exhibitions have also been held at the Ukrainian Art Foundation in Toronto, the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg, and at numerous local showings throughout Canada.⁴⁹⁰

Various Ukrainian Canadian art galleries played an important role in supporting and popularising the works of the creative artists during the Multicultural Era. At first these galleries were located in "Reading Associations", "National Homes" and parish halls. Ukrainian Canadian art galleries developed into self-contained institutions, such as the Focus Gallery that opened in Toronto in the mid 1960s, the M. M. Gallery in Niagara Falls that manages the art work of the famous artist, William Kurelek, the art council at St. Volodymyr Institute in Toronto, the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) in Winnipeg that opened its gallery and art exhibition in 1972, and the Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta (UCAMA) that opened in 1974 which, like Oseredok, consists of a gallery, archives, a museum and a library.⁴⁹¹

Ukrainian Canadian performing arts also proliferated during the Multicultural Era. Toronto became the main centre for Ukrainian stage and theatrical art in Canada that included actors, singers, musicians, choreographers, choral, vocal and dance ensembles. This stage culture, especially choral and dance ensembles, also flourished in Winnipeg and Edmonton. Many productions, festivals, concerts, seminars, and workshops were organized to promote progress and develop Ukrainian Canadian creative and performing arts to a recognized professional standard in the Ukrainian Canadian and general Canadian society. Marunchak states that "numerous song and dance ensembles bring respect for Ukrainians, in general, and help to mobilize youthful forces to engage in the cultural stream of activities."⁴⁹²

During the Multicultural Era radio, television, and film also progressed in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Television and radio became the medium from which Ukrainian Canadians not only received information and news regarding events in Ukraine, Canada and throughout the diaspora, but also entertainment from Ukrainian vocal, choral and instrumental ensembles. In the film media, although Ukraine produced only a limited amount of films that were made by highly professional and talented people in the film industry, due to political restrictions, censorship and complete control of the film industry by the Soviet Government, educational films on subjects of culture, history, and tradition were generally unavailable from Ukraine. Consequently, in the 1970s, Ukrainian Canadians began to produce and develop films of this genre. As a result, Ukrainians in Canada were able to receive information about the values and aesthetics of their Ukrainian history, culture, heritage, and traditions. The 1970s brought positive changes in the film industry due to the fact that more professional films with Ukrainian content were produced, younger Ukrainian Canadians paid tribute to the past of their forefathers, more interest and understanding emerged in the circles of the National Film Board for ethnocultural elements and more professional people of non-Ukrainian descent began to show an interest in Ukrainian culture in Canada.⁴⁹³

Cultural institutions such as museums, monuments and cultural foundations were also important to the Ukrainian Canadian community in preserving, maintaining, and promoting cultural identity. These institutions were particularly active in the 1970s and 1980s. Marunchak cites Harmata who states,

“We need our community memories as much as we need our personal memories, not only to teach us who we are, but also to comfort, to sustain and to renew us.”⁴⁹⁴ During the 1970s Ukrainian Canadians erected monuments and built parks not only to sustain and leave their legacy behind for their children but also for the appreciation and recognition of all Canadian citizens. In addition many cultural foundations were created to commemorate prominent individuals of Ukrainian Canadian history, to support cultural causes of the community, and to promote research in cultural fields.

Ukrainian Press and Literature

As mentioned in the previous eras, the Ukrainian Canadian press achieved its greatest expansion after the post WWII Ukrainian Canadian immigration. However, during the 1970s, the Ukrainian press began experiencing financial difficulty in publishing newspapers and journals. As a result, the “Canadian Farmer”, the first Ukrainian paper published in Canada, ceased publication. In addition, due to the gradual loss of fluency with the Ukrainian language among the younger Ukrainian Canadian generation, the Ukrainian press experienced a dramatic decline in their reading audience. In order to solve this problem, English sections were added to Ukrainian Canadian newspapers in order to make them bilingual for readers. Also financial support was obtained from affiliated Ukrainian Canadian organizations and churches, as well as from personal donations. As a result, the Ukrainian press continued to produce newspaper editorials and articles regarding Ukrainian and Canadian news and issues with respect to culture, language, identity and multiculturalism.

Ukrainian Canadian poets and writers also flourished during the Multicultural Era. The subject of their writing was often the quest of the Ukrainian Canadians throughout the generations, attempting to solve the conflict between the culture of the Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Celtic host society and that of Ukrainian Canadians. In November 1971, Ukrainian Canadian poets and writers became members of a Ukrainian Canadian Literary Association, "Slovo", that was founded in Toronto with the support of the Ukrainian Canadian Writers Association "Slovo" in exile. The executive of Canadian "Slovo" was based in Edmonton and Toronto. The Canadian "Slovo" organized literary evenings, speeches, concerts, and publication of the "Slovo" collection in Toronto. The Edmonton branch worked to raise funds for the "Slovo" publication. Additional funds for "Slovo" were received from federal grants, the Department of Multiculturalism, and the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, as well as the profits from the sales of publications.⁴⁹⁵

A series of publications that were written in the 1970s created a great amount of source-oriented literature for Ukrainian Canadians. The publications included "Jubilee Books" that focused on a specific number of years or 50th anniversaries of various existing organizations. In addition, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Ukrainians in Canada had acquired additional source-oriented literature, such as, memories, monographs, Anglophone literature about Ukrainian Canadians, literature created for the purpose of further research about Ukrainian Canadians, and literature about the history, politics, social structure, culture and multiculturalism of Ukrainian Canadians. Marunchak states, "when

compared with historiographies of Ukrainian settlements in other countries, they are beyond any doubt first in quality and quantity."⁴⁹⁶

Education and Schooling

During the Multicultural Era, Ukrainian Canadian students continued to learn the Ukrainian language in three school systems, and at the university level. The three school systems were "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian Schools, Core/Elective Program in the public and private school systems and the EUBP. These school programs complemented one another in addressing the various needs of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Marunchak cites Vasyl Balan's study on "Ukrainian Language Education in Canada: Summary of Statistical Data 1980-1981" by stating that:

In 1981 there were 295 Ukrainian schools categorized as follows: Ridni Shkoly and Kursy Ukrainoznavstva 80, Nursery Schools 7, Ridni Shkoly, Kursy Ukrainoznavstva and Nursery Schools 28, Language Camps 7, Private Schools 2, Core Program Public Schools 124, Core Program Separate Schools 19, Bilingual Program Public Schools 18, Bilingual Program Separate Schools 6. There were also other school programs. In all these programs there were 15,046 students.⁴⁹⁷

It is interesting to note that statistics regarding financial support of these schools included 32 programs supported by the federal government, 21 provincial, 71 federal and provincial, and 171 with no federal or provincial assistance.⁴⁹⁸

Marunchak states that:

Here we come to the central question of multicultural policy of the federal and provincial governments. It appears that governmental officials of the Multicultural Department pay less attention to this problem and concentrate their efforts on racial aspects in more political than cultural aspects.⁴⁹⁹

As a result, Ukrainian Canadians needed to rely on their own financial resources to maintain their linguistic and cultural identity in education.

Ukrainian studies at higher educational institutions and universities also continued during the Multicultural Era. Various Ukrainian Canadian organizations and private individuals encouraged students to take up Ukrainian studies by establishing scholarships at various high schools, colleges, and universities.⁵⁰⁰ The achievements and success in this area is attributed to the initiatives and consistent efforts of the UCC and especially the UCPBF, whose work in this area placed them at the forefront of other organizations in the Ukrainian Canadian society.

Post-secondary Institutions and Universities

Ukrainian Studies at post-secondary institutions and universities achieved a great deal of success and achievement in the 1970s and 1980s. Prior to the 1970s, leadership in the field of Ukrainian Studies at Canadian universities was held by the University of Saskatchewan when in 1945, Professor Kost Andrusyshen established a chair of Ukrainian Language Studies at this university. Since then the area of Slavic and Ukrainian Studies has progressed at various universities in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Ottawa, and Toronto. Throughout the Multicultural Era, these universities have employed 29 lecturers of Ukrainian descent to instruct courses in the area of social disciplines, such as, demography, anthropology, economics, geography, sociology, and political science. In 1974, Winnipeg and Toronto began offering courses in Ukrainian history. At that time, only the University of Alberta had a permanent chair in the

studies of the History of Ukraine under the direction of Ivan Rudnytsky that was established with financial assistance from the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko.⁵⁰¹

On April 6-7, 1974, the UCC organized the first academic conference in Winnipeg for the purpose of discussing the future of Ukrainian Studies in Canada. The conference was entitled, "All-Canadian Conference on Ukrainian Studies Courses". Senator P. Yuzyk was the chairman of the conference along with 47 Ukrainian Canadian professors at Canadian universities, 15 invited guests, and 5 graduate students. The purpose of the Conference was to discuss the following concerns:

Problems of teaching Ukrainian languages, literature, history of Ukraine and other Ukrainian social subjects and finally problems of research and publications in the field of Ukrainian Studies and last but not least co-ordination and financing studies in universities in Canada.⁵⁰²

A number of resolutions were adopted at the Conference, including acknowledgment of establishing a Ukrainian Studies Centre at the University of Ottawa. The most significant resolution passed at the Conference was a proposal to create a Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) with the assistance from four Western provincial governments that would co-ordinate and financially support Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies in Canada. The Conference elected an ad hoc committee of seven members who would organize a standing committee on Ukrainian Studies to pursue the proposal of establishing CIUS. This Conference also precipitated the establishment of an annual conference on Ukrainian Studies within the framework of the Canadian

Association of Slavists.⁵⁰³

Following the All-Canadian Conference on Ukrainian Studies Courses, the UCPBF took on the responsibility of establishing CIUS with the Conference's ad hoc committee. The UCPBF and its members, especially President, Professor M. Lupul and P. Savaryn, who was at the time a member of the University of Alberta, Board of Governors and Senate, worked tirelessly and lobbied consistently with the Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario provincial governments for the creation of CIUS. The Alberta Government was the first to provide assistance for this project. Prominent political contacts included Ald. L. Decore, W. Diachuk, M.A., MLA's Mrs. C. Chichak, Dr. K. Paproski, W. Skoreyko, and members of Cabinet, The Hon. Julian Koziak, Minister of Education, and The Hon. Dr. Albert Hohol, Minister of Advanced Education. As a result of the UCPBF's efforts, on June 18, 1976, the Board of Governors of the University of Alberta, with the assistance of funding from the Government of Alberta in the amount of \$350,000 a year in perpetuity, established CIUS at its university campus to serve the academic needs of Ukrainian Canadians in all of Canada.⁵⁰⁴ In the summer of that same year, the Ontario Government also announced its assistance to CIUS through grants that would be allotted in cooperation with the Alberta Government. Today, research in Ukrainian Studies is primarily conducted by UVAN and NTSh, in the Ukrainian language, and CIUS in the English language.

CIUS became the first Institute on the North American continent that established systematic financial assistance and subsidy from the government for

Ukrainian Studies. Prof. M. Lupul became Director of CIUS at the University of Alberta, and was assisted in his research by Prof. I. Rudnytsky (University of Toronto) and Dr. B. Bociurkiw (Caleton University), and in publications by Yuriy Luckyj (University of Toronto), as well as by The Council of Associates that included 40 professors of Ukrainian Studies across Canada.

In addition to CIUS, members of UCPBF also created the Canadian Foundation of Ukrainian Studies (CFUS). CFUS was established in the spring of 1975 and serves as a financial base for projects and activities of CIUS. On March 20, 1979, the UCPBF worked together with the CFUS to establish the chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto that would serve as a centre within the framework of CIUS in Eastern Canada. Through tremendous efforts and political lobbying, financial assistance for the Ukrainian Studies chair at the University of Toronto was provided, in 1977, by the Government of Ontario in the sum of \$100,000, and in 1979, \$300,000 was received from the Federal Government, \$300,000 from CFUS, and \$500,000 from UCPBF. Marunchak notes that:

On this occasion, president of the University of Toronto, G.M. Ham, stated that the chair will embrace history of Ukraine, history of Ukrainian culture and political economy of Ukraine.⁸ On behalf of the Federal Government Hon. N. Cafik, Minister of Multiculturalism signed the document and complimented the Federation for its initiative and financial assistance. He also emphasized that the chair of Ukrainian Studies in Toronto is an expression of principle of equality for all citizens of Canada. "Today, he said, we bring this principle into the field of science and humanities."⁵⁰⁵

In addition to the development of Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton and Toronto, a program of complete Ukrainian Studies was introduced and

established in the 1960s, at St. Andrew's College, an affiliate of the University of Manitoba. In 1974, the University of Manitoba, accredited such Ukrainian Studies courses as theology, language, history, political science, geography, and the arts. Due to the expansion of courses at St. Andrew's College, The Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies (CUCS) was established at the University of Manitoba on January 28, 1981. CUCS was created to serve students who are generally interested in Ukrainian Canadian Studies. The first director of CUCS was Dr. Natalia Aponiuk, Asst. Prof. of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba. 1981 also marked the 35th anniversary year of St. Andrew's College.⁵⁰⁶

Other important Ukrainian Canadian educational institutions and societies were also established during the Multicultural Era. These included in 1978, the learned society the Ukrainian Mohylo-Mazepian Academy (UMMAN) in Montreal and Philadelphia; in 1980, the incorporation of the educational, scientific non-profit corporation Symon Petlura Institute in Toronto, and in 1981, the Ukrainian Catholic Theology Seminary in Ottawa.

Established educational institutions from the previous eras continued with their efforts in the Multicultural Era and celebrated anniversaries of their work in Canada. These included, in 1975, the 25th anniversary of UVAN and, in 1979 the 30th anniversary of NTSh or UTS. In addition to the work of UVAN and NTSh, the Research Institute of Volyn in Winnipeg, published 20 volumes of scientific works. Professional programs also continued in the following organizations: Markian Shashkevych Centre, The Research Institute "Stadium", Ukrainian

Teachers' Association, Association for Writers of Children's Literature, Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, Association of Engineers and Technicians in Canada, Association of Ukrainian Librarians in Canada, Association of Ukrainian Canadian Veterinary Doctors, and The Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre (Oseredok).⁵⁰⁷

Private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian Schools

During the 1960s and the 1970s, only 30 percent of Ukrainian Canadian youth attended "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools while others received their language instruction at home. This instruction usually did not go beyond the elementary conversation level.⁵⁰⁸ There were many reasons for the difficulty of language retention and low enrolment in the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian school system. First, the dispersement of families and lack of bloc settlements produced a negative influence not only on the retention of the Ukrainian language, but also on the lack of enrolment in "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools. Secondly, churches that had been the primary supporters of the Ukrainian language, began taking the least line of resisting assimilation by introducing the English language into their divine liturgies. Thirdly, parents experienced difficulties in sending children tens and even hundreds of miles away to learn the Ukrainian language in private or "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools and to consolidated public schools where children did not receive any instruction in Ukrainian. Fourthly, "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools did not have the opportunity to establish an organized system of teaching at various places in the country. Fifthly, "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools also experienced a lack of

uniform programs, adequate textbooks and, in some places, qualified teachers. Finally, while the "Ridna Shkola" school system of teaching in the past concentrated on grammatical instruction for students who were conversant in the Ukrainian language, this was no longer applicable to Ukrainian Canadian students whose language fluency had declined in the 1960s to 1980s as a result of the assimilation process.

Nevertheless, throughout the Multicultural Era, the private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools proceeded to fulfill a need for children in the Ukrainian Canadian community, in order to increase their knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The UCC continued to play a significant role in the development of "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools in Canada. In 1968, at UCC's Ninth Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian school system came under the auspices of the Ukrainian National Centre of Ukrainian Educational Councils (NCUEC). The first president of NCUEC was Natalia Kohuska, a pedagogue and editor of "Promin" journal.⁵⁰⁹ The UCC created NCUEC to establish standards for "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools and to provide a degree of co-ordination, particularly through its National Centre of Ukrainian School Boards. In addition, qualified educators from the Ukrainian Teachers' Association (Toronto), Saskatchewan Teachers of Ukrainian (Saskatoon), Ukrainian Chapter of the Manitoba Modern Languages' Association (Winnipeg), and Ukrainian Language Association (Edmonton), worked with NCUEC to design curricula and programs for implementation in the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools. Assistance was also received from The Eparchial School Council of Winnipeg on its directive from the

Ukrainian Catholic Church, and from the General Council of the Ukrainian School of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church.⁵¹⁰

Furthermore, in order to pay greater attention to nurseries and kindergartens (the optimum level for learning a language), to improve the method of teaching in "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, and to ensure that these schools and courses of Ukrainian Studies were supplied with qualified Ukrainian Canadian teachers who use modern methods of teaching, the NCUEC started organizing systematic seminars for parents and teachers. In 1979, NCUEC also began publishing a professional journal entitled, "The Ukrainian Teacher", edited by Dr. Borislav Bilash, who at that time was the president of NCUEC and advisor on multiculturalism for the Winnipeg School System. The purpose of the journal was to act as a forum to exchange ideas and information for Ukrainian Canadian teachers of Ukrainian language and Ukrainian Studies courses.

"Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools were inspected regularly with a report given to the NCUEC. In his last inspection, J. Bodnarchuk, a long time inspector and author of a 1980 study on "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools entitled, "To Native Lands", confirms the efforts of NCUEC to improve this school system by stating that:

Ukrainian schools moved from the basements of "National Homes" transformed into well-lit, spacious classrooms, having qualified teachers, thanks to scholarships and higher pay, and in addition, new talents in the persons of younger teachers arriving to strengthen the sagging forces. This is especially noticeable [sic] in the increase of nurseries and kindergarten teachers.⁵¹¹

In 1970-71 NCUEC announced that the "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian school

system in Canada comprised 142 schools with 8,558 students. Marunchak provides the following statistics:

Eastern Canada	65 schools and 5,150 students
British Columbia	10 schools and 280 students
Alberta	19 schools and 1,103 students
Saskatchewan	20 schools and 724 students
Manitoba	18 schools and 1,271 students
Total	142 schools 8,558 students ⁵¹²

Since the greatest number of post World War II Ukrainian Canadian immigrants settled in Ontario, especially in Toronto, this province became the forerunner of "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools in Canada. The Ontario "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian school system is under the auspices of NCUCE at the UCC Provincial Council that regularly publishes the monthly educational journal, "Ridnoshkilnyk". The Ontario UCC Provincial Council also co-operates and benefits from the work of the Association of Writers of Children's Literature. Other children's and youth journals published and circulated across Canada are "Veselka", "Yunak", "Krylati", "Young Ukraine", and others.⁵¹³

In 1971, there were 1,221 students enrolled in 19 "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools across Manitoba. In 1981 there were 1,455 students in Manitoba's "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, however, by 1982, this had declined to 966 students. Six schools showed a decreased enrolment, eight remained the same, while five schools increased their enrolment. In order to maintain enrolment in "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools, particular emphasis was given to nursery level students. In 1982, Manitoba's enrolment at the nursery level was 146 students in the following 19 "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian schools:

eight Ukrainian Catholic schools, six Ukrainian Orthodox schools, and five non-denominational schools.⁵¹⁴ However, in 1985, the Manitoba “Ridna Shkola” Ukrainian school system experienced another decline in its enrolment to approximately 800 students.⁵¹⁵

In addition to the “Ridna Shkola” Ukrainian schools, the opportunity for Ukrainian Canadian students to learn the Ukrainian language occurred in the 1960s and developed in the mid-1970s when the three Western provinces, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, introduced the EUBP in the public school system. However, the Ukrainian Canadian community decided to continue with the private “Ridna Shkola” Ukrainian schools and Core/Elective Language Programs in the public school system due to concerns from the Ukrainian Canadian community in receiving and maintaining sufficient numbers of students for the EUBP, and in anticipation of the evaluation of the EUBP with respect to Ukrainian language retention in bilingual teaching that would not occur until 13 years after its existence. Although the unaccredited “Ridna Shkola” Ukrainian school programs were funded, organized, and administered by Ukrainian community educational institutions, the “Ridna Shkola” Ukrainian school system benefitted from the federal government’s multicultural policy as federal support for “cultural enrichment Ridna Shkola” programs came in a per capital grant from 1974 to 1990.⁵¹⁶

Public School System

In addition to the “Ridna Shkola” Ukrainian school system, the Ukrainian Core/Elective Language Programs in the public school system also benefitted

from multiculturalism endeavours. During the Multiculturalism Era many scholars and theorists justified the teaching of a second language in the public educational system. Derkatz cites Curnisky, who states that:

Cultural differences tend only to be tolerated and respected until they intrude on the values of the mainstream society, when pressures for conformity begin . . . The ethnic communities if they are to maintain any significant level of cultural awareness--beyond token expressions of culture such as folk dancing and cuisine--must receive support from within the educational system.^{134 517}

The federal government's support for heritage language programs began following the proclamation of the Multicultural Policy with a Non-Official Languages Study .As mentioned previously, Jaroslav Rudnyckij, a member of the B & B Commission, promoted the concept of multiculturalism for recognition of languages other than English and French. Solypa states that "as head of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba he encouraged The Ukrainian community to press for the teaching of Ukrainian in the public schools of Manitoba."⁵¹⁸ Solypa adds that the December 28, 1968 edition of the Winnipeg Free Press stated that the "B & B Commission recommendations about bilingual schools, plus the request of Manitoba Ukrainians for language rights, have again raised the question of teaching in more than one language."⁵¹⁹

Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Ukrainian Canadians lobbied local, provincial, and national governments to renew the former rights and redress the perceived injustices of ethnocultural groups by supporting Ukrainian and other heritage language programs in the public school system.⁵²⁰

Manitoba's Ukrainian Canadians had been lobbying the provincial government

for increased Ukrainian language instruction in the public school system since the late 1960s. As a result of the persistent advocacy of Ukrainian Canadians in Manitoba, Ukrainian Core/Elective Language Programs were introduced in 1962 at the high school level from Grades 9-12. In 1967, the Core/Elective Language Program received equal accreditation with other languages taught in the public school system. In that same year a correspondence series commenced for studying the Ukrainian language.⁵²¹

In 1968, Ukrainian language instruction was introduced at the junior high level from Grades 7-9, and in 1970, at the elementary level from Grades 4-6. Lupul states that "by 1970, Ukrainian could be taught through to the kindergarten level, but without suitable teaching materials its study usually began in Grade four."⁵²²

In spite of the provincial legislation and due to its regulations, one school division in Manitoba, Winnipeg 1, did not permit the teaching of Ukrainian as a language of study in Grades 1, 2 and 3. Solypa states that:

With this type of attitude one wonders how the Division managed to appoint two Ukrainians to superintendent positions. John Pankiw was the first Ukrainian to be appointed to an assistant superintendent position and William Solypa was the first Ukrainian to be appointed to the position of superintendent of elementary schools.⁵²³

However, the teaching of Ukrainian in Grades 1, 2 and 3 in Winnipeg 1 was realized with the persistent efforts of the UCC and UPBC. At that time, the UPBC established a position of education liaison on their Board of Directors to address educational issues of the Ukrainian Canadian community. The

education liaison member of UPBC became chairman of the UPBC education committee. Initial chairmen of the UPBC education committee, were John Pankiw, William Solypa, and Ernest Cickerski. In 1974-75 the UPBC education committee was chaired by William Solypa and included the following members: Dr. Borislav Bilash, Steve Klym, Peter Luba, John Pankiw, Jack Pyra, Louis Tomaschuk, and Ewhan Uzwyshyn. The UPBC education committee assisted in the preparation of a brief on the teaching of the Ukrainian language in Grades 1, 2 and 3, that was presented to School Board of Winnipeg 1 on January 21, 1975, by Marusia Kostyshy, a Ukrainian language teacher. The brief presentation was supported by the presence of the UPBC president, John Karasevich, and by a letter from the UCC. The following day, January 22, 1975, The Winnipeg Tribune reported on this issue under the heading, "Ukrainians Rap Language Division's policy on second language teaching has been termed restrictive and contrary to provincial legislation by a group of Ukrainian teachers." As a result of this presentation, Winnipeg 1 permitted the instruction of Ukrainian in Grades 1 to 3.⁵²⁴

By 1977 Ukrainian Canadians also successfully lobbied for a Ukrainian Language Consultant at Manitoba's Department of Education.⁵²⁵ During that time an accredited Ukrainian Core/Elective Language Program in the public school system was operating through provincial and federal government funds. However enrolment in this program was decreasing as parents became discouraged by its inability to make children fluent in the Ukrainian language.⁵²⁶ The number of students taking Ukrainian language courses from 1975-80 had

declined. Whereas in 1975-76 there were 4,446 students taking Ukrainian language courses, but in 1979-1980 this had dropped to 2,978 students (see Appendix A). Marunchak states that:

These statistics are even more alarming when we compare the late figures from 1981/82. At this time there were only 2,331 students who chose Ukrainian language as an optional course. If we add to this number 480 students from the bilingual programs, then we have 2,755 students studying Ukrainian in public school.⁴ This makes 223 students less than 1979-1980.⁵²⁷

Due to the concern of declining enrolment in the Ukrainian Core/Elective Language Program and the increasing loss of their Ukrainian language, parents and members of the Ukrainian Canadian community realized the need to support a bilingual system of education such as the EUBP that would enable students to become more fluent in the Ukrainian language. The creation and development of the EUBP, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this study.

Multiculturalism, Multicultural Policy and Multicultural Education

Federal Multicultural Policy: Role of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee/ Congress and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation

As was previously mentioned the Multicultural Era commenced with the proclamation of the federal government's policy of Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework, on October 8, 1971. The federal government's policy on multiculturalism contained the following guarantee:

Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. To say that we have two official languages is not to say that we have two official cultures, and no particular culture is more "official" than another. A policy of multiculturalism must be a policy for all Canadians.^{2 528}

In 1971, immediately following the proclamation of the federal policy of multiculturalism, a Minister of Multiculturalism was appointed by the government. In January 1972, the Secretary of State announced that three million dollars would be made available for the period ending March 31, 1973, to help finance the federal government's policy on multiculturalism, with more than one million dollars earmarked for grants for various projects proposed by ethnocultural groups.⁵²⁹

In 1972, the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM) was formed with 101 members for the purpose of consulting with and advising the Minister of Multiculturalism on the development of multicultural policies and programs in Canada. The CCCM consisted of a national chairman, five national vice-chairmen, 10 chairmen for the provinces, and two representatives for the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories. During the 1970s, many prominent Ukrainian Canadians served on the CCCM, such as, Prof. M. Lupul (1973-80) among others. From 1980-82, a Ukrainian Canadian lawyer and past president of UPBC in Edmonton, Laurence Decore, served as chairman of the CCCM.⁵³⁰

Shortly after the declaration of the federal multicultural policy, the government formed the Multiculturalism Directorate, within the Department of the Secretary of State. The Multiculturalism Directorate was responsible for new programming that concentrated on the cultural-retention issues, and cultural sharing between ethnocultural committees in Canada. Gauld states that:

The newly established multiculturalism directorate took over responsibility for the earlier programming, which was restructured, but which retained elements related to long-term integration. While the policy did not close the door to equality issues, new programming concentrated on the cultural-retention concerns of communities and on cultural sharing. It dealt with cultural integration needs as they were defined by ethnocultural communities themselves, but it was left largely to the communities to take the initiative.⁵³¹

The Multiculturalism Directorate also carried on liaison activities with the ethnic press, sponsored research, including major projects on non-official languages and ethnic attitudes to multiculturalism, and a series of histories of ethnic groups, aided the development of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, supported activities in the performing and the visual arts, and assisted programs of linguistic instruction.⁵³² The Multiculturalism Directorate was comprised of library, educational and historical divisions. In 1974-75 the Multiculturalism Directorate's budget for the three divisions that served the cultural needs of one-third of the Canadian population, was \$8,150,000, and in 1979-80, \$7,783,000 as compared to \$190,179,000 was spent on bilingualism, and \$175 million for "Official Languages in Education".⁵³³

In 1985, the Multiculturalism Directorate became a full sector of the Department of Secretary of State, equivalent to the official languages and/or citizenship sectors and, for the first time, a standing committee of the House of Commons was established to review the implementation of the Federal Multicultural Policy across Canada. This resulted in a new Canadian multiculturalism policy that was outlined in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988.⁵³⁴

The influence of the Ukrainian Canadian community in the establishment of the Federal Multicultural Policy was evident on October 9, 1971, the following day after its the proclamation, when the Prime Minister once again reiterated the Federal Policy of Multiculturalism at the UCC's Tenth Congress in Winnipeg.⁵³⁵ According to Derkatz, "whether multiculturalism is taken to mean a demographic fact, an 'articulated ideology' or public government support for cultural maintenance,¹³⁵ Ukrainians found themselves central to the debates about the reconciliation of minority rights under majority rule."¹³⁶ ⁵³⁶ The formal recognition of Canada as a multicultural nation was at least, in part, due to the efforts of the UCC and its affiliated organization the UPBCF. Dr. Slogan, as president of the UPBCF from 1983-85, stated that:

The main role our Federation set out to play was to work with U.C.C. as the one that would prepare and present many of our briefs to Parliament and other bodies. Beginning with the Bicultural and Bilingualism debate and continuing to the present the Federation has played an important role. It was largely our impetus as a leader among the ethnic group that changed biculturalism to multiculturalism. Specifically in 1971 Prime Minister Trudeau announced the policy of Multiculturalism to the U.C.C. convention in Winnipeg attesting to the importance we played in bringing multiculturalism into reality.⁵³⁷

In his 1971-72 UPBC's presidential report, Dr. Joseph Slogan also stated that:

The Government has now officially declared its "Policy of Multiculturalism". There is much to be done in implementing it. Only co-ordinated, united and active participation by our ethnic community can make the multicultural policy a worthwhile reality.⁵³⁸

Multicultural Conferences: Role of the Ukrainian Canadian Community

During the 1960s and 1970s many conferences on the subject of the federal government's policy of multiculturalism including themes on Canada's

cultural mosaic and heritage languages programs were held in provinces across Canada. At these conferences representatives from various ethnocultural groups discussed the input of ethnic cultures in the development of Canada and its identity, and the implementation of the federal multicultural policy as it relates to the preservation and development of various cultures and heritage languages. Many of these conferences were organized and chaired by members in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

The most significant conferences of the Multicultural Era included the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee's "Thinker's" Conference held in Toronto, on December 13-15, 1968, and chaired by Senator Paul Yuzyk; the "Canadian Multicultural" Conference held in Toronto, on August 7-8, 1970, and organized by the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (SUSK); the "Multiculturalism for Canada" Conference held in Edmonton, on August 28-29, 1970, and organized by SUSK; the "Cultural Mosaic" Conference held in Winnipeg, in October, 1970; the "International Symposium on Languages and Cultures" held in Ottawa, in May 1971, that resulted in the creation of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association; the "Policy Conference on the Preservation and Development of Ukrainian Culture in Canada" in Ottawa, in September 1971; the "Alberta Cultural Heritage Conference" in Alberta, in 1972; the "Ontario Heritage Conference" in 1972, and in the same year, the "Ukrainians of Quebec" Conference held in Montreal.⁵³⁹ In addition, in April 1980, the founding conference of the "Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations of Canada" occurred in Toronto, and was attended by presidents and representatives from

approximately 40 national ethnocultural organizations that published 200 ethnic newspapers and periodicals in 30 languages.⁵⁴⁰ These multicultural conferences were important to Canadian history. Through these conferences changes developed the social thinking and consciousness of the Canadian nation from assimilation and Anglo-conformity to cultural pluralism and multiculturalism.

Marunchak states that the conferences:

brought to the surface a series of problems from the past, not only cultural discrimination but also cultural nihilism and together with these they brought into full view many long years of struggle for cultural existence of various groups in Canada. In comparison with this, there also arose higher elements of cultural pluralism which in the future history of Canada will play the role of cementing ingredients in the building of the Canadian nation. This cultural pluralism will become the Canadian denominator which would also create a strong force in opposing the extreme right and left elements, who in the name of political doctrines deny the national democratic process of national development.⁵⁴¹

Federal Multicultural Policy and the Canadian Constitution: Role of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee/Congress

Initially, most of the federal government's multicultural initiatives focused on cultural and linguistic retention. However, by the late 1970s, the government also began to recognize equity issues and concerns regarding race relations and minority rights of the Canadian nation. As a result, the federal government's multicultural policy became more entrenched into the entire Canadian political structural sphere. During the Multicultural Era, Canada ratified three important United Nations conventions on the elimination of racial discrimination, on civil and political rights, and on social, economic and cultural rights. These commitments began to be reflected in Canadian legislation, policies, and

programs, including those dealing with multiculturalism.⁵⁴² For example, the Citizenship Act created in 1977 abolished the preferential treatment given to British subjects who applied for Canadian citizenship, the Canadian Human Rights Act also created in 1977, gave Canadians legal protection from and recourse against individual discrimination of race, colour, national or ethnic origin, and the Immigration Act proclaimed in 1978 reiterated the principles of universality and non-discrimination.⁵⁴³

The UCC, and many Ukrainian Canadian politicians and individuals, through their commissions and numerous submissions from conferences and briefs, played an important leadership role among Canadian ethnocultural groups in promoting and implementing multiculturalism and multilingualism in the Canadian constitution. On July 28, 1980, the UCC presented a brief supporting individual and ethnocultural rights to the Joint Parliamentary Committee of Senate and the House of Commons on Constitution. The UCC demanded that the Constitution include the Charter of Human Rights and that ethnocultural communities be guaranteed the ability to develop their culture and language, as well as, the opportunity to participate equally in all aspects of government and community life. Marunchak states:

There is no doubt that the study "Building the future of Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century"³ advocates very strongly the following recommendations. We quote: "To effect our goals and aspirations in cultural development our, [sic] community must involve sections 15 and 27 of the Canada Charter of Rights and Freedoms and undertake litigation if necessary."⁵⁴⁴

In addition, the UCC also requested an amendment to Section 38 of the Official

Languages Act that would recognize all languages in Canada as Canadian languages so that the Official Languages Act and the Commissioner of Languages be re-named as Canadian Languages Act and Commissioner of Languages of Canada.

The work on the Canadian Constitution resulted in Section 27, dealing with multiculturalism, and Section 22, on ethnocultural multilingualism. Section 27 referred to multiculturalism by stating that "This chapter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians."⁵⁴⁵ Section 22, under the heading, "Official Languages of Canada", states, "Nothing in sections 16-20 abrogates or derogates from any legal or customary right of privilege acquired or enjoyed either before or after the coming into force of this chapter with respect to any language that is not English or French."⁵⁴⁶

Furthermore, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, in the Constitution Act of 1982, recognized both the individual and collective aspects of the federal government policy on multiculturalism by giving ethnocultural groups specific guarantees under Sections 15 and 27:

15.(1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

(2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups, including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, religion, sex, age or mental physical disability. . . .

27. This charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.⁵⁴⁷

By the 1980s, the federal government policy of multicultural and human rights legislation, endorsed by the Canadian constitution became recognized by the world as the characteristic and unifying mainstream of Canadian society. Canada became a nation where ethnocultural groups had the opportunity not only to challenge prejudices and discrimination but also to assert their ancestral pride and cultural identity. Gauld states that:

During the eighties, new considerations emerged: (1) that equality issues facing communities were in many cases systemic and beyond the capability of the community to resolve, requiring the cooperation and active involvement of government, and of Canadian institutions; (2) that there existed the need for positive measures such as employment equity, and for building a certain degree of acceptance for them; (3) that, within more and more established communities, it was becoming an issue that they be recognized as a part of the Canadian mainstream, not something apart from it.⁵⁴⁸

Multiculturalism in Manitoba

The provincial government of Manitoba has been very supportive of multiculturalism. In fact, in 1972, Manitoba was the first province to officially adopt a multiculturalism policy of its own. Manitoba's multicultural policy was designed to redress social and racial inequity. Friesen states that the anticipated goals of the policy were:

to identify and remove barriers to equal participation; eradicate ethnic and racial discrimination; create a climate in which the principles of multiculturalism would be applied to all aspects of Manitoba life and society; and assure a proactive role in the protection of minority rights (Canada 1986).⁵⁴⁹

The Manitoba government was at the forefront of Canadian multicultural conferences. For example, the "Manitoba Mosaic Congress" held October 13-17, 1970, originated with the New Democratic Party's announcement in the 1970 throne speech, of its commitment to multiculturalism. Marunchak states that:

In October, 1970, Manitoba as one voice pronounced that Canada is a multicultural and multilingual country, and that all those who work for the government on all levels are duty bound to support this multicultural and multilingual program as a typical trait of Canadian identity.⁵⁵⁰

At that time, the government announced its intention to assist the different ethnocultural groups in Manitoba in holding a Congress.⁵⁵¹ The purpose of the Congress would be to provide a forum where the different cultural groups in the province may express their views on measures needed to nourish and sustain the linguistic and cultural heritage.⁵⁵² The 400 delegates at this Congress, 124 of which were Ukrainian Canadians, voted on resolutions and 15 recommendations that not only supported multiculturalism but also provided the provincial government with an action plan to implement the multicultural policy and more specifically, multicultural education in the public school system.

One of the most significant outcomes of the Congress was the formation of a Ministerial Advisory Committee on Multiculturalism that would act as a liaison between the government and ethnocultural communities in Manitoba. The Committee also "undertook a review of the recommendations made by the Congress and established criteria and eligibility for the Multicultural Grants Program and recommended the establishment of the Linguistic Support Program. The Multicultural Grants Program provided financial support for cultural projects

in ethnocultural communities and the Linguistic Support Program provided financial support for heritage language programs outside the public school system. The Committee was active until the latter part of the decade when the Progressive Conservative government was elected.⁵⁵³

During the 1980s, the return to power of the NDP established multiculturalism at in the forefront of provincial politics. The NDP re-addressed the issue of recreating a communication liaison with ethnocultural communities. In 1982 the NDP government appointed the Interim Committee on Multiculturalism that resulted in the creation of the Manitoba Intercultural Council (MIC) in 1983. The MIC was created as a community-elected advocacy body that advised the government and assumed responsibility for the distribution of funds from lottery revenues. The MIC represented every ethnocultural community, service organization sector, and region of the province. The Manitoba government has referred major issues to the MIC, including the prioritization of funding by the Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation. The Multicultural Grants Program offered by this Department provided equal financial support to all ethnocultural groups in Manitoba including the Anglo-Saxon, French, First Nations, and Metis communities. In 1984, the NDP established the Ethnocultural Cabinet Committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Culture, Heritage and Recreation that included members from the ministers of finance, education, business development and tourism, labour, community and social services, and the attorney general. This committee met

with MIC to receive its recommendations for financial assistance to Manitoba's ethnocultural communities.⁵⁵⁴

Federal Multicultural Education Policy

In addition to progressing in the cultural, social, and political areas, the federal government's policy on multiculturalism has also developed in the field of education. Cummins suggests that the purpose of the federal multicultural policy in education is:

To find effective ways of realizing the educational potential of culturally and linguistically diverse children and to develop social cohesion by promoting appreciation among all children of the varied contributions of different ethnic groups to the Canadian mosaic.⁵⁵⁵

The federal multicultural policy in education has influenced a variety of provincial multicultural education policies. However, the ambiguity of the multicultural ideology is reflected in different approaches that each province places upon definition, integration, implementation, and maintenance of multicultural education. Each provincial multicultural education policy and programs reflect regional traditions, priorities, and different interpretations of ethnicity. For example, the three Canadian prairie provinces particularly emphasize linguistic and cultural maintenance, multicultural education programs that reflect the prominence of European ethnocultural groups, particularly Ukrainian Canadians, who constitute the majority of the population in some prairie communities. McAndrew states that "these three provinces, with legislative provisions and government policies that provide more than Canada's two official languages to

be used as languages of instruction maintain a more linguistic view of multiculturalism.”⁵⁵⁶

Manitoba Multicultural Education Policy and Programs

In Manitoba, multicultural and multicultural education policies include the development of heritage language programs. Although heritage language programs existed at the secondary public school level since 1950, in 1973, these programs were also introduced as languages of study for a specified maximum number of minutes a day at the elementary and junior high levels. In addition to heritage language programs, Manitoba's Department of Education also initiated departmental changes that reflected the multicultural policy in education. In 1974, the Bureau de L'Education Française (BEF) and the Native Education Branch were established and, in 1977, the position of an English Second Language (ESL) Consultant was created and staffed. Funding for ESL school programs by the Department of Education began in 1979. Previous to 1979, funding for immigrant student programs was financed through individual school division instructional budgets. In that same year, the government of Manitoba amended The Public Schools Act that allowed for instruction in languages other than English and French. This was largely due to the lobbying efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community, particularly the UPBC, that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of this study.

Many of the Manitoba multicultural education policies and programs resulted from multicultural conferences and seminars organized in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1978, the first multicultural education conference in Manitoba entitled,

“The Conference and Workshop on Multiculturalism and Community Education”, was held in Winnipeg. This Conference was sponsored by Winnipeg 1 and the Manitoba Community Schools Association. In that same year, the Board of Trustees for Winnipeg 1 passed a motion accepting the concept of multiculturalism and in 1981, struck a Committee on Multiculturalism in Education. As a result of this Conference, the Manitoba Ad Hoc Committee on Multiculturalism was formed in 1979. This Committee was significant in organizing Canada’s first national conference on multicultural education that was held in Winnipeg, in 1981. The goal of the Conference was

to foster greater understanding among people of various cultural and regional backgrounds in Canada [and] conference sessions were directed at educators and featured practical models and materials on how to respond to the educational needs of a multicultural society.⁵⁵⁷

The Conference resulted in the development of various multicultural organizations across Canada and a national council for co-ordinating these organizations entitled, “The Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education”.

In March 1983, Manitoba’s Minister of Education hosted an Heritage Language Seminar that was attended by over 300 teachers, community groups, school trustees, and school administrators. Although the Seminar dealt specifically with concerns regarding heritage language instruction, other aspects of multicultural education were also addressed. The Department of Education’s Communication Branch draft press release regarding the Heritage Language Seminar reported that “the group [Seminar participants] called for school boards

to develop policies on race relations and multiculturalism and . . . a mandatory course for teacher trainees on multiculturalism. They also called for regular in-service multicultural programs for teachers."⁵⁵⁸ As a result of this Seminar the position of a Multicultural Education Consultant, in the Department of Education, was created in 1984.

In that same year, the Department of Education sponsored a Conference on Multiculturalism in the School Curriculum. As a result of this Conference, Manitoba Education drafted a policy on multicultural education in 1986.⁵⁵⁹ The primary principles of this policy construe multicultural education as (1) education for full participation in society, (2) education for cultural and linguistic development, and (3) education for intercultural understanding.⁵⁶⁰ Some of the Department's initiatives consistent with this philosophy included the following workshops and material resources outlined in the current Policy Statement of Manitoba Education and Training: Multiculturalism: Implications for School Administrators; Implementing Multiculturalism into the Curriculum; Dealing with Racism and Stereotyping; Orientation for New Immigrants; Multicultural Week--Resource Kit and Curriculum Development--enhancement of the multicultural component of the various curricula during the review process.⁵⁶¹ Manitoba's official policy on multicultural education was adopted in 1992. Currently many school divisions are developing policies for multicultural education and race relations.

Progress of Ethnocultural Groups and the Ukrainian Canadian Community

The Multicultural Era signified a new period and progress in Canadian history. At first, the multicultural policy addressed cultural and social concerns within the Canadian ethnocultural community. In the 1970s, ethnocultural groups made some achievements in securing the cultural mandate and spirit of the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. Although ethnic minorities had anticipated equal access to economic and political opportunity in Canadian society without the loss of their cultural identity and language, the policy of multiculturalism initially produced only symbolic gains for ethnocultural groups in portraying them favourably through the media and the arts, financially assisting their artists, groups, clubs, community festivals, and celebrations, and advocating cultural pluralism in school curricula. In addition, the ethnocultural groups, who were vitally concerned with the loss of their cultural identity and language, criticized the multicultural policy as insufficient regarding linguistic and cultural retention.

Although ethnocultural groups made gains in social and cultural areas, progress in the socio-economic and political fields was difficult to achieve. Some specific progress was made regarding court actions, legislations, confrontations in the streets and work place with public bureaucracies and working with human rights commissions. However, in order for multiculturalism to have affected social change in Canada it needed to be viewed as a "social philosophy with explicit equalitarian implications that would permit greater socio-economic

opportunity and participation for a greater variety of individuals and groups in Canada.”⁵⁶² Mazurek reiterates this concept by stating:

If we do not go beyond the “cultural” mandate of the policy of multiculturalism, that policy will continue to become subtly transformed from genuinely radical social policy with great potential for social amelioration, to a placebo that reiterates but does not fulfill the ideological promises of a meritocratic liberal democracy.⁵⁶³

In the 1980s, multiculturalism gradually became accepted as a new social philosophy. The concept was beginning to emerge as a societal value affecting both mainstream and ethnocultural communities in Canada. During the 1980s, multiculturalism and its policies began to include economic and political issues. As a result, rapid growth of multiculturalism was witnessed in various sectors of society: governmental, public, educational, and the media. At the same time, the ethnocultural groups began to assert their political influence and advanced in greater social economic equality. Consequently, they began to challenge and socially disrupt the status quo of the host society.

The second decade of the Multicultural Era gave ethnocultural communities in Canada equitable policies and laws for their future development, including a charter of rights and protection of civil liberties. While ethnocultural communities were recognized for their culture and traditions, Burnet and Palmer state that “the fact that the government heeded the pressure of lobbyists for the other ethnic groups [such as Ukrainian Canadians] is an indication that those groups had already gained economic and political strength.”⁵⁶⁴

The Multicultural Era also influenced the field of education. Initially, efforts in multicultural education were problematic because they were ethnic specific.

During the 1970s, multicultural education addressed the specific linguistic and cultural identity retention needs of ethnocultural groups by developing programs, such as, cultural retention classes and heritage language programs. However, as the Multicultural Era evolved, changes occurred towards emphasizing a more comprehensive cultural-intercultural approach to education. In the 1980s, social, economic and environmental issues produced a new awareness in Canadian society and the need for a meaningful multicultural education policy that would deal with more universal social issues and concepts, such as, racial and gender equality, integration of the physical and mentally challenged, gifted and special education, understanding, acceptance, tolerance, peace, and justice. Thus, multicultural education became successful in that it assisted Canadians in understanding their diversity and identity. McLeod states that:

Multicultural education should be judged by its successes not by its failures, though these must be recognized. Measured by the increased attention to human relations, group development, language teaching, teacher awareness and sensitivity, administration adjustments, student interests and concerns, and community involvement there have been successes.⁵⁶⁵

Ukrainian Canadians, who were very well organized as a community, through their work in federal and provincial human rights legislation, provided the necessary leadership for the ethnocultural groups to achieve the linguistic and cultural maintenance and full equality in Canadian society provided by multicultural policy and programs. Burnet and Palmer suggest that Ukrainian Canadians "tended to be from well-organized groups who felt that their pressure had brought about the [multicultural] policy and that its main thrust was or ought

to be linguistic and cultural maintenance.⁵⁶⁶ Throughout the Multicultural Era, Ukrainian Canadians sought public support for Ukrainian cultural development and language instruction in the public school system, as part of the multicultural ideology that promoted cultural pluralism and equality of opportunity for ethnocultural groups. By advocating multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, Ukrainian Canadians, who endured much prejudice and discrimination in the past, resisted the efforts of the two dominant English and French Canadian cultures to elevate themselves above the many ethnocultural communities in Canada and create two melting pots instead of a multicultural/multiracial society. However, despite Ukrainian Canadian support of multiculturalism for the good of all Canadian citizens, and because the policy had fluctuating objectives and was criticized by the societal elite, Isajiw claims that "it is therefore difficult to say whether the attitudes of the general population to Ukrainians in Canada have substantially improved over the last twenty years."⁵⁶⁷

Assimilation

Assimilation of Ukrainian Canadians continued to occur during the Multicultural Era. As previously mentioned, during the Multicultural Era, Ukrainian Canadians gradually moved into metropolitan areas and away from established bloc settlements and rural communities. Once in the city, many rural families became assimilated into Anglo-Canadian society as church associations and traditional values gradually began to dissipate. Marunchak states that "Urbanization also subtracts from the binding cultural forces which are so necessary for the creation of a strong ethnocultural community."⁵⁶⁸

Ukrainian Canadians also faced the problem of maintaining their population growth that affected the preservation of their Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada. Ukrainian Canadians were forced to rely on their own natural growth due to the fact that there had been no significant immigration of Ukrainians to Canada since WWII and because of severe Ukrainian emigration restrictions enforced by the Soviet regime. During the Multicultural Era, the Ukrainian population in Canada dropped from fourth to fifth place, followed by the Anglo-Saxon, French, Germans, and Italian communities.

Ukrainian Canadians also experienced religious assimilation through a decline of membership in Ukrainian churches. According to the 1971 Canadian census, the Ukrainian Catholic Church lost 18 percent of its parishioners mostly to the Roman Catholic Church, while 2 percent was lost to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.⁵⁶⁹ The loss in membership in the Ukrainian Catholic Church was attributed to the fact that many Ukrainian Canadians saw no difference between the Roman and Ukrainian Catholic Church that follows the Byzantine Rite. Some of these churches have been unified by similarities in church calendar, rites, use of the English language in services, common conferences of hierarchs, clergy and organizations such as the Knights of Columbus. However, the Ukrainian Catholic Church remains resilient to religious assimilation through tenacious church leaders who maintain traditional rites and support the establishment of a Ukrainian Patriarchate that will unify all Ukrainian church rites and disciplines throughout the world.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Ukrainian churches continued to witness assimilation through intermarriages within the Ukrainian Canadian community. Since ethnocultural and religious intermarriages are viewed by Ukrainian Canadians as the basis of the assimilation process, they continued to threaten the preservation of a Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada. However, during the Multicultural Era, the Ukrainian community attempted to deter intermarriages by involving their Ukrainian Canadian youth in the Ukrainian church, and community and youth organizations, thereby attempting to maintain homogenous marriages and to preserve the Ukrainian cultural identity within the community.

The gravest concern of Ukrainian Canadians in the assimilation process of the 1970s and 1980s was the gradual loss of the Ukrainian language. In 1931, 93 percent of Ukrainians in Canada spoke their native language. In 1971, 48.9 percent out of 580,600 Ukrainian Canadians knew the Ukrainian language, and only 22.8 percent (132,000) spoke Ukrainian in their home. Moreover, by the 1980s, 3 percent of Ukrainians born in Canada spoke Ukrainian at home.⁵⁷⁰ In 1981, language usage in Manitoba dropped to 21 percent.

The decrease in language usage is a result of assimilation in migration, religion and intermarriage of Ukrainian Canadians. It is also greatly attributed to Anglo-conformists who, from 1916 to the early 1960s, vigorously opposed the establishment of teaching other languages, including Ukrainian in public educational systems and institutions. It is interesting to note that Kirtz suggests that "loss of one's ethnic language--an inevitability under a bilingual policy--limits

the development of true multicultural equality within the Canadian mosaic.”⁵⁷¹

However, despite a loss in Ukrainian language usage during the Multicultural Era, Ukrainian Canadians believed both in multiculturalism and the opportunity for equality by retaining and not sacrificing their language.

Cultural Identity in the Multicultural Era

Although assimilation continued to occur in the 1970s and the 1980s, multiculturalism and multicultural education made a significant positive impact on maintaining the cultural identity of Ukrainian Canadians. As leaders of the “Third Force/Element” that mediated between the English and French to establish multiculturalism, Ukrainian Canadians developed into a significant “national community” whose organizational structure together with Ukrainian Churches, played an important role in the preservation of their cultural identity. Marunchak states that:

The concept (national community) is not only interwoven into dominion wide organizations in Canada, based on the community grassroots level, but also into cultural connections with identical national communities in other countries and with the cultural stream in Ukraine.⁵⁷²

As a national community, Ukrainian Canadians progressed and matured during the Multicultural Era through learned cultural and educational societies and professional organizations that produced research studies, publications, foundations, movements, and museums. Ukrainian Canadians also achieved much success in the professional fields, such as, economics, politics, humanities, sciences, fine arts, and education. During the 1970s and 1980s, Ukrainian Canadians applied great effort to the teaching and cultivation of the Ukrainian

language through Ukrainian Studies courses at the university level, and the public, private and "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian school systems. It is interesting to note that although multicultural government sources provided financial support for Ukrainian language education, assistance was minimal as compared to the Ukrainian population in Canada. Marunchak states that:

According to Multicultural Programs of the State Department in 1980-81 there was allotted to the Ukrainian projects \$249,150 (out of \$7,784,907.81).⁴ Of this amount \$87,087 was given to their school programs. This amount is approximately one-fourth of the annual budget of any rural elementary school. The use of the phrase "where numbers warrant" is the most proper indicator for any policy.⁵⁷³

Nevertheless, Ukrainian Canadians benefitted from the Multicultural Era in Canadian history by reintroducing the teaching of Ukrainian as a language of study into the public school system and as a language of instruction in the EUBP. This achievement enabled Ukrainian Canadians to resist assimilation and retain their language and cultural identity.

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