

Ukrainian Canadian Newcomers' Stories, Hopes, and Dreams: Adapting to a New Multicultural Reality

Maureen P. Flaherty, Yuliia Ivaniuk

University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada

Abstract

Introduction: This paper focuses on the experiences of thirty-three newcomer Ukrainian Canadians as they adapt to their new multicultural reality in Canada. Challenges of leaving home and adjusting are studied along with changes to identity and strategies of resilience.

Purpose: Using a mental health and peace building lens, we hope that our findings will inform better understanding of newcomer struggles, hopes and dreams and can be helpful in transforming existing injustices in Canada's vibrant multicultural society towards positive peace

Methodology: Supported by a document search that supplies the broader context, the heart of the research is based on individual narrative interviews conducted in 2020/2021 with grassroots Ukrainian Canadians who immigrated to Canada as adults before Russia's overt invasion of Ukraine. The experiences of these modern newcomer research participants are viewed through a peacebuilding and mental health lens.

Results: While coming from the same country in a relatively short period of history, study participants were found to be a multivariate group. There were often competing needs for personal growth, security (economic and physical) and belonging. Major challenges upon arrival in their new home also varied. Along with some downshift in employment status, they experienced challenges to identity, language, finances, cultural adaptation, along with loneliness and sadness at leaving their homeland. They shared personal resilience strategies. Participants shared hopes and dreams for themselves, Ukraine, and Canada, along with advice for others considering the journey.

Conclusion: As Canada's ethnic and cultural makeup continues to evolve through embracing our current multicultural population accepting increasing numbers of immigrants, newcomers' experiences and their integration become important aspects of the multiculturalism debate which acknowledges the importance of developing harmonious relationships between Canada's new and older settler population and the Indigenous people who share this land. This study highlights the importance of newcomers engaging in cross-cultural experiences, while considering one's own identity at home and in community.

Keywords

mental health, immigration, identity, cross-culture, transformative experiences, positive peace

Address for correspondence:

Maureen P. Flaherty, PhD, Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada

Email: Maureen.Flaherty@umanitoba.ca

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0).



©Copyright: Flaherty, Ivaniuk, 2023

Publisher: Sciendo (De Gruyter)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.56508/mhgci.v6i1.158>

Submitted for publication:

18 January 2023

Revised: 06 April 2022

Accepted for publication:

20 April 2023

Introduction

The health, strength and positive peace of a community depends upon the health and inclusion of all individuals within that community (World Health Organization 2014). In our global world, we were interested in considering the inclusion of the people closest to us, believing that the stories of their adaptation to a new country and society might offer clues for peaceful inclusion of other newcomers to not only Canada, but also other countries integrating immigrants. While numerous written resources document the stories of well-known Canadian Ukrainian scholars, politicians, and other more public figures, little is written about the experience of the "every day" Canadian Ukrainian, the grassroots people who immigrated to Canada in different waves, since the end of the 19th century. The University of Manitoba (UM) has a collection of audio-interviews with first wave pioneers from Ukraine, as collected by Michael Ewanchuk; however, at least four waves of immigration have been identified (Isajiw, Satzewich, & Duvalko, 2002) including the last wave following Independence. Some argue that a smaller group who moved following the occupation of Crimea by Russia and the outbreak of armed conflict in the East of Ukraine made up a fifth wave (Klokiw 2020). Different motives propelled the new Canadians who met a variety of challenges along their way, both in Ukraine and as they reached their new homeland, Canada. Many Canadian Ukrainians still identify very strongly with Ukraine as evidenced by the numerous and strong cultural traditions seen in song and dance troupes, Ukrainian language schools, and non-governmental organizations that continue to share Ukrainian cultural traditions and support Ukraine itself, as a country. Still, the Canadian Ukrainian community is not homogenous; that is, there is not one heterogenous group of people known as Ukrainian Canadians.

Like any group of people, there are different histories, educational backgrounds, and political interests amongst the members, and certainly not one vision for the future. While many in the earliest waves made their homes in block settlements, thus contributing to the possibility for a stronger sense of Ukrainian Canadian identity (Momryk 1993), this is no longer usually the case. As such, some worry that the notion of Canadian Ukrainian as an identity will be lost unless the community can unify around a common cause (Grekul 2005), even though agreement on politics and other issues has not been a theme in much of Ukrainian Canadian history (See, for example, Luciuk & Hryniuk, 1991).

Context

The country known as Canada was formed by settlers who essentially invaded the territory of

Indigenous nations inhabiting this northern section of what is North America – otherwise known as Turtle Island (Robinson 2018). On a web page meant to inform newcomer Canadians, the Government of Canada notes, "When Europeans explored Canada, they found all regions occupied by native peoples they called Indians, because the first explorers thought they had reached the East Indies" (Government of Canada, 2015 para 1). Vikings from Iceland colonized Greenland and the island that became Newfoundland and Labrador almost a thousand years ago; the first European settlers came largely from England and France in 1497 and later. The territory eventually named as Canada was declared to be a confederation, the Dominion of Canada, in 1867, divided at that time into four provinces: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. By 1999, the Dominion had an additional six provinces and three territories (Government of Canada, 2015).

The first Ukrainian settlers, Galicians, Bukovinians, or Ruthenians came to Canada in the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century in tens of thousands, welcomed by an immigration policy, an effort of the Laurier government to fill the Canadian West (Mochoruk and Hinthier 2011). Further waves followed in the interwar period and then again after the Second World War when people who had been displaced from their homeland began to arrive, some directly from their homes and others via displaced persons camps (Mochoruk and Hinthier 2011) often British and American in occupied Germany (Luciuk 1986). These people, thrown together in internment camps, were from differing areas of Ukraine, and had their own varied experiences and ideologies and their integration into Canadian host communities also varied. Kunz, (as cited in Luciuk, 1986) notes, "possibly no other host factor has more influence on the satisfactory resettlement of refugees than compatibility between the refugees' background and that of the receiving population" (Luciuk, 1986, p. 467). Near the hundredth anniversary mark of the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, Frances Swyripa (1993) explains that much of the early literary representation of Ukrainian Canadians tends to highlight the role of settler or "tamer" of the wild west of Canada and a somewhat monolithic, strong community, usually based on the male experience. Swyripa (1993) and Orest Martynowych (1991) provide more nuances to this history. Despite originating from a rather small geographic area, Ukrainian Canadians', who now are both urban and rural dwellers are diverse and complex in their community organizations, religious beliefs, and political views. See for example, Orest Martynowych's, *Sympathy for the Devil: The attitude of Ukrainian war veterans in Canada to Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933-1939* (Martynowych 2011) as well as the writing of

Jim Mochoruk (2011), and Andrij Makuch (2011). Others who document strife and conflict common across ethnicities include Stacey Zembrzycki (Zembrzycki 2011) who writes about issues of domestic violence, and Lindy Ledohowski who highlights challenges of mixed ethnicity identities often found in Canada in her work, 'A vaguely divided guilt': The Aboriginal Ukrainian (Ledohowski 2011).

Still, with breath comes change and Suzanna Lynn (2016) argues that little research has been done on how post-Independence immigrants from Ukraine to Canada interact with already-established communities in Canada, and her somewhat small study points to attitudinal and linguistic preferential differences between 'diasporic' Ukrainian Canadians and those who came post Ukrainian Independence.

More recent trends

Andrij Makuch's 2002 study of Ukrainians who came to Canada from 1991 to 2001, examines both the academic achievements and religious affiliation of the newcomers as well as their involvement in the community. Makuch concludes that, unlike many of their predecessors, newcomers have not linked themselves to the Ukrainian Canadian community in a significant way and tend to show a low level of participation in Ukrainian community organisations and events (Makuch, 2002). Oleksandr Kondrashov (2008), in his MA thesis, explores the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, which in his interpretation started in 1991 and was still ongoing during the period of his study (Kondrashov 2008). Kondrashov's findings related to community engagement, stress the importance of family and friends' support for the adaptation process. Similar to Makuch's observation, Kondrashov notes that ten out of sixteen respondents in his study indicated that their involvement in the Ukrainian community work was extremely low due to their primary concern being securing employment and taking care of family. Some of Kondrashov's respondents attributed lack of support to newcomers from the Ukrainian community to the economic reasons that served as a driving force toward the fourth wave's immigration, as opposed to politically driven immigration that previous waves experienced. Kondrashov's findings also indicate that people who were fluent in English preferred receiving help and information from non-Ukrainian institutions, such as immigration services or universities, as opposed to trying to engage with the Ukrainian community's support. At the same time, respondents indicated that there was often misunderstanding between the receiving Ukrainian community and the Ukrainian newcomers due to newcomers' level of expectations towards the existing community being too high without an expectation to help in return (Kondrashov, 2008).

Olesya Khromeychuk's personal essay devoted to Ukraine's thirtieth anniversary of independence depicts the differences in perceptions of "true Ukrainianness" between the unwilling immigrants who came to the UK in the post-World War II period and the economic immigrants, Ukrainians from Ukraine, who came after the collapse of the USSR (Khromeychuk 2021). Khromeychuk discusses the existing notion that "true Ukrainians" are those who were forced to leave their country as opposed to those who left willingly, although the term "willingly" may be debated. She acknowledges the cultural, linguistic, and perceptual gap between the different waves of Ukrainian immigrants and typifies identity challenges that immigrants in the 1990s faced, not only getting used to the new country, but also having to defend their love for Ukraine in the eyes of immigrants from earlier waves. Khromeychuk's experience situated in the UK mimics Kondrashov's findings in Canada.

Alla Nedashkivska (2018) analyses the processes and transformations in language preferences practiced by the so-called sixth wave, Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada after the 2014 Revolution of Dignity. Nedashkivska emphasizes that the sixth wave of immigration diverges from the previous five waves in terms of linguistic practices due to the fact that a substantial number of immigrants arrived from Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, unlike the previous waves where immigrants from western Ukraine were prevalent. Through conducting social media analyses and interviews, Nedashkivska concludes that code-switching and language practices were used by the speakers to build connections with the hosting Ukrainian community. Thus, multiple participants whose first language was Russian resorted to code-switching while communicating in the Ukrainian social media pages and even insisted their children learn Ukrainian as opposed to Russian as their second/third language, and this was post-immigration (Nedashkivska 2018).

Purpose

This article describes a research project piloted to collect oral histories of Ukrainian Canadians from different, more recent waves, to learn about challenges they have met and overcome and what factors sustained them, building resilience. The specific research questions for this project were: What brought the participants to Canada? What major challenges have they had in settling? What keeps them here? What keeps them going through hard times? How, if at all, do the hopes and dreams for Ukraine vary dependent upon the time spent in Canada/time away from Ukraine/ their reasoning and timing in coming to Canada? What are their hopes and dreams for themselves and their new country?

Methodology

This study uses a feminist lens of appreciative inquiry to approach our research. Our tools are qualitative mixed methods. Appreciative inquiry, while often criticized for being an overly positive approach, has been acknowledged as a particularly respectful way to explore experiences and possibilities (Hung, et al. 2018). Bushe (2011) reminds that this approach does not ignore what may be considered negative; rather it allows for open dialogue about experiences. We wanted to acknowledge differences in people's experiences noting that one does not negate another.

Participants and Recruitment

For this pilot project, we planned to interview approximately 40 participants 18 years of age and older who immigrated to Canada as adults and had obtained at least permanent residency status. We attempted to find a gender balance, and to interview people across the age spectrum. Initially, participants were to be residents of Manitoba, as we planned to do in-person interviews.

We used both a snowball approach as described in Bogdan and Biklen (Bogdan and Biklen 2006) and advertising through posters. Snowball sampling is a kind of chain referral of one participant who then usually tells another about the study and each contacts the main directly researcher to participate. This is a type of non-probability sampling used when participants may be otherwise hard to find. In this case, we relied on people having acquaintances who have some community connection.

Advertisements told people about the study asked prospective participants to contact the researchers regarding their interest in the research. These advertisements were placed on different Facebook pages including the Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies (located at the University of Manitoba Facebook page, at Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok Ukrains'koi Kul'tury i Osvity/Oserekok), Ukrainians in Canada, Ukrainians in Toronto, Ukrainians in BC, Ukrainians in Manitoba, Ukrainians in Alberta. Through these posters, prospective participants were invited to contact researchers by telephone or email indicating their interest in participation. The research was approved by the Research Ethics Board (REB) of the University of Manitoba. When COVID-19 struck, researcher had to again seek ethics approval to change the format of the interviews to audio-taped ZOOM interviews, which finally began in fall of 2020.

Ethical Considerations and Challenges

The anonymity of our participants was maintained unless they requested otherwise, though as part of the informed consent process,

we sought permission from the participants to keep their audio-recordings in a digital archive to be kept at either Oseredok or the University of Manitoba; however, this was not a requirement for participation in the research. Post-interview, participants were given a copy of their transcript for their own review, understanding that it is common for people to not have fully shared their stories, or to perhaps edit themselves a bit. Encrypted audio files of the interviews were shared, via registered mail with participants who wanted them. Most interviews lasted at least an hour, though some went much longer. Although there were challenges with virtual interviews, this format did allow participation from different corners of Canada, and even one participant spoke with us while visiting family in Ukraine. Interviews were conducted in Ukrainian and in English, the participant's choice.

Data collection and analysis

Interviews began with our thirty-three participants being asked to talk about what they knew of their family's life circumstances around the time that they were born, grounding the participant in their history. Participants from previous studies said that beginning personal interviews with reflection on history pre-birth helps and then move forward in reflection assists the individual connect with their own values and strengths (Flaherty, 2012; Flaherty, 2016). Participants were then asked about their life growing up, including school experiences, what their life was like coming to adulthood and then what made them decide to come to Canada. They were asked to talk a bit about the decision-making process, the process of moving to Canada, and their experiences upon arrival and settling in. Participants then spoke about their challenges, joys and surprises adapting to life in Canada. They spoke also about their present situations as well as their dreams for themselves and their families. Towards the end of the interview, participants were invited to share their hopes for Ukraine and for Canada. They were asked to speak about what gets them through hard times as well. Interviews ended by summarizing the content of the contact and asking participants if they had any questions about the research or the processes involved.

In analyzing the responses to these questions, as peace and conflict studies scholars, we found our best explanations in theories related to identity, (for example Cook-Huffman, 2015; Verkuten, 2018), cultural tightness and looseness (Gelfand, 2011), and of course, basic needs theories (Burton, 1979; Marker, 2003).

Situating ourselves in the research

[Author 1]: I was born, raised, and obtained most of my education in Ukraine. I moved to Canada in 2016 to pursue my Masters' Degree in Peace and Conflict Studies and upon completing

my studies continued my employment journey in Canada. As a newcomer and a researcher, I was impressed by the richness of the contributions of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada's social, political, and economic fabric, and by the divergence of historic roles, attitudes, and perceptions that Ukrainians have assumed not only during different waves of immigration but also between those waves. I have participated in this project not only as an interviewer and a co-researcher but also as one of the interviewees, and this participation has allowed me to contextualize my personal story within the project.

[Author 2]: I was born and raised in Canadian National Railway stations in small prairie villages

and towns in Canada. My earliest memories are of being the only non-Ukrainian or Polish family in Warspite, Alberta, adopted, in a way by those who surrounded our large family, supporting my parents both concretely and emotionally. In 1999 my first trip abroad was to Ukraine to participate in developing a Social Work program at L'viv Polytechnic National University. My colleagues there encouraged me to complete PhD research with them focusing on their efforts of living peacefully in their evolving society (Flaherty, 2012). This interest extends to the resilient adaptation of newcomers as they find their new homes in Canada.

Results

Study findings are shared below partially through the participants own words, to honour them. Participants are identified as they requested. When participant anonymity was requested, no name is provided. In this sharing we work to connect the findings to supporting theory.

A multivariant group

Celia Cook Huffman outlines the obligation for researchers as theorists to see people as multi-identified and multi-identifiable, emphasizing that meanings, just like identities, are complex, socially constructed, and fluid, and thus can be challenged and changed (Cook-Huffman 2015). Identities can be both transitory and rigid, bound by blended identities and migratory experiences. Verkuyten (2018) argues that identities are contextually and alternately salient assuming different meanings depending on the context. Considering migration, Verkuyten suggests additive identities where several meanings merge into one through recombination or fusion. In this sense the author theorizes that hybridity concentrates on "togetherness in difference" (interculturalism) rather than "living apart together," a thought commonly associated with multiculturalism (Verkuyten 2018).

Based on a thirty-three-nation study, Michele Gelfand concludes that cultural tightness and looseness is manifested not only in distal ecological, historical, and institutional contexts but also in everyday situations. Individuals in nations with high situational constraints tend to be more dutiful, have higher self-regulatory strength, a higher need for structure, and higher self-monitoring ability. Nations with loose cultures tend to have a lower need for order, social coordination, and norms compliance. The authors also predict that nations that have experienced chronic threats tend to develop tighter cultures (Gelfand, Raver and Nishii 2011). Despite the existence of numerous historic threats, during this research, Ukraine scored as the loosest country among the thirty-three nations that were

researched, which was attributed to a shift of cultural paradigm that occurred in the post-Soviet era after the collapse of the

USSR (Gelfand, 2021). We note that this may well have changed since Russia's invasion of Ukraine in early 2022.

Study participants varied in many ways. People were from different parts of Ukraine, and different socio-economic backgrounds. Some had never travelled outside of Ukraine prior to immigration, and some were very well-travelled, including people who previously resided in the US and other countries. Some arrived after obtaining temporary resident visas as students, spouses of students, or workers, and others arrived with their permanent residency status obtained either through the federal or provincial immigration programs by themselves or their immediate family members. Each primary applicant for permanent residency had to meet the point-based age, language, education, employment history and adaptability requirements outlined by the respective federal and provincial immigration programs (Permanent Resident Program 2022, Government of Canada 2022).

A common factor was that every participant had obtained some post-secondary qualifications in Ukraine ranging from trade school to post-doctoral degrees. The driving factors for immigration also differed from searching for better economic opportunities, dissatisfaction with the political development, environmental concerns, and avoiding mandatory army conscription, to difficulties in finding their sense of belonging in their home country and fascination with the idea of life in North America. Nine out of thirty-three participants arrived in Canada to pursue education and then decided to stay. Based on the thirty-three interviews, we would like to theorize that the overpowering looseness of Ukrainian society and lack of structure was among the largest contributing factors driving people towards immigration.

Different reasons for leaving home

The following section outlines the main themes shared by participants as they discussed their reasons for leaving their home country of Ukraine. The reasons are also summarized in Table 1 at the end of this section.

Corruption and lack of stability, which were identified by most of the respondents as concerning in their home country, can be seen as signs of a high level of looseness in a society to the extent that legal norms are not necessarily reflected in practices. Yaroslavna, a respondent who studied and practiced law in Ukraine, stated:

I felt like it's, I'm not safe, my family was not safe... like the law in our country doesn't work at all, you know... We have the law, we have the rules, but the thing is that we had to... figure out in order to work, we had to figure out how to skip that rule. Every morning started with stress...

Even the cadence of her spoken response brings home the sense of uncertainty Yaroslavna felt in her home country of Ukraine.

Two participants similarly indicated their dissatisfaction with life in Ukraine connected with trying to run a business legally; one even mentioned fear associated with intimidation tactics experienced through their business. Olha C. spoke about security concerns; not having to think about "these hard things that influence your everyday life" was one of the joys of living in Canada. Flipping the lack of stability to look at what might be considered a positive response to this challenge on the part of Ukrainian citizens, Tanya Y. spoke of Ukrainians, in this instability, being taught to be self-sufficient and strong, relying on themselves without ever asking for help. Another participant described life in Ukraine as fast and unpredictable and speaking to the notion that one must never be too nice or too tolerant in order not to be taken advantage of. One must be on guard, on the defensive. Participants overall spoke of a high need to be flexible, to be able to improvise to function with a lack of functional laws that are a reality for Ukrainians, laying the ground for the push factors of emigration.

More pointedly, another participant suggested she chose Canada because of its stability and the availability of support systems.

So, I thought it is a so much better future in Canada than in Ukraine, because at least you have a future. In Ukraine you will see today. You can't plan anything. You don't know what will happen. Even with a mortgage or something. You never know what will happen tomorrow.

As an example, she almost jokingly shared her fear of driving in Ukraine because of the other drivers' recklessness when it comes to following the rules, and the corruption she associated with getting a driving license. Yaroslavna shared a very similar sentiment about driving in Ukraine:

I felt so stressed every day. And when I was sitting in my car and started travelling and

everybody violated the rules, it was horrible. Every day! So when I... just when we went to United States, I thought "Wow, I can feel freedom!" It was a nice feeling.

What Yaroslavna referred to as freedom in the United States may be attributed partially to the prevalence of stronger social norms governing society, which include not only driving but also other aspects of everyday existence.

One participant inadvertently referred to systemic looseness and lack of strong social norms in Ukrainian society, indicating, "In Ukraine sometimes it doesn't matter what your education is or how smart you are or how hard you try; the system sometimes works against you." At the same time a number of participants referred to Canada as a kind of dream place, where if one works hard, they are usually rewarded for that work.

Thus, many of our interviewees showcased signs of discomfort with the overbearing looseness of Ukrainian civil society and expressed their satisfaction with living within a tighter context. Even though it may sound counterintuitive, they referred to the existence of stronger norms and clear rules of behavior as freedom. While it is reasonable to expect the participants' satisfaction with the infrastructure that Canada offers as a WEIRD society (Western, educated, industrialized, rich and developed) compared to Ukraine's transitional developing status, several participants alluded to being surprised that the slowness, predictability, and cultural normality of patiently waiting in long lines in Canada, whether related to getting coffee or taking care of administrative issues, eventually produced a sense of comfort in them. Although the transition to a new more rigid society was not always natural and flawless, most participants appreciated existing within this tighter context once the adaptation period is over. Based on our respondents' shared experiences, we can theorize that people who find comfort in tighter conditions when it comes to social norms, tend to express having more positive experiences in the new Canadian environment.

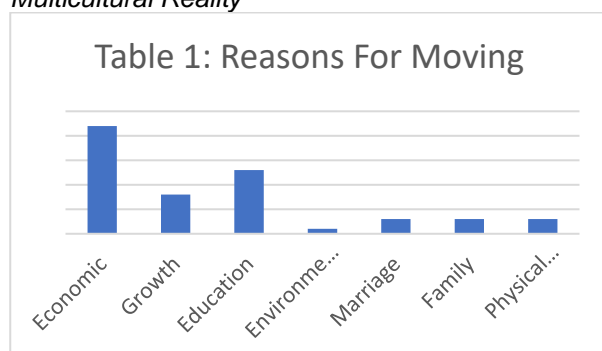
While Gelfand et al (2011) and others acknowledge that general rules of tightness and looseness do not apply consistently to entire populations and are influenced by area, level of threat, and level of mobility, a more detailed regional study of Ukraine's cultural looseness/tightness and that of Ukrainian immigrants could be warranted. However, since it is logical to presume that loose and tight cultural groups tend to showcase different levels of tolerance towards compliance and deviance of social norms, this fundamental divergence can serve as a source of conflict among populations who immigrate to Canada from different backgrounds. Thus, it is important to consider the divergence of cultural looseness and tightness of

people's original homes while providing integration support to newcomers to Canada so that multiculturalism can be embraced.

Table 1 below depicts what participants expressed as main reasons for leaving Ukraine for Canada. Some participants had multiple reasons; however, economic security was a leading factor along with improving education and seeking adventure or personal growth. And it is even more complicated than that as noted below.

Table 1

Ukrainian Canadian Newcomers Stories, Hopes and Dreams: Adapting to a New Multicultural Reality



Competing needs of personal growth, security (economic and physical), belonging

Along with identity comes other basic needs such as the opportunity for personal growth and economic stability. John Burton (1979), while not the originator of basic needs theory, positioned that a variety of needs that transcend gender, class, and culture drive human behaviour. Sandra Marker (2003) explains Burton's theory clearly noting that while these needs exist together, they are not necessarily in a hierarchy and include the following: safety/security (need for structure/stability), love/belonging, self-esteem, personal fulfillment, recognized identity, cultural security, freedom (choice), distributive justice (resources for all community members), and the ability to participate in civil society. All our participants, in various ways mentioned the fulfillment of basic needs as motivation for the big move; however, for many, the spoken emphasis was physical security for themselves and their children, if they had them, and a future that appears to have more economic security. It is still not that simple. While nine participants (almost 30%) moved to Canada temporarily, seeking to grow their education, the reason to stay was largely related to not only economic security of employment, but also the possibility to grow and develop personally. Several married women moved with husband and family, somewhat reluctantly, for economic reasons, and what would appear to be a more stable future for themselves and their children, even though that meant leaving friends, family, and work that had more personal satisfaction and status behind in Ukraine.

A sense of adventure, and another kind of self-fulfillment that helped propel many people, also had its nuances. Two young women came initially to volunteer or to work at service jobs thinking of this as an adventure or experiment for personal growth and ended up meeting their life partner on that adventure. Both women, along with two others who initially came for educational purposes, noted the heart-wrenching choice they eventually had to make: whether to marry and stay in Canada or go home to family of origin. One woman left a very good position and wonderful climate to marry, in many ways starting over in Canada, challenging her personal identity and self-sufficiency. Several others who had been to North America came overtly seeking better, more secure employment, though they were doing relatively well back home. Acknowledging the competing basic needs, Nataliya S. whose husband wanted to emigrate shared: "[b]ut for me it wasn't that easy as I worked I worked as a professor. It wasn't easy for me to start from the bottom again. Like mentally, I wasn't happy. I didn't see myself here. I didn't see myself."

Some spoke clearly about their need to belong and to fully participate in society. Two people, male and female, with very different life experiences, different levels of economic stability and geographical locations provided the clearest examples of people who moved in order to participate safely in civil society.

Five female participants spoke about their dissatisfaction with the prevalence of traditional patriarchal values and gender stereotypes that exist in Ukrainian society in general, and at their workplaces specifically which had made their employment experiences difficult serving as a glass ceiling towards employment opportunities on the one hand, on the other, in some cases, actually unsafe for females:

I love the job ethics here [in Canada]. Back in Ukraine ... I wouldn't work as an assistant to a male in Ukraine, to be honest with you. In Russia and Ukraine there is a challenge if you are a younger girl, a little bit pretty... Here I feel very safe, the [workplace] is very safe, and it is just the safest [workplace] I have ever seen.

Another participant spoke about the effect that gender stereotypes and economic instability have on young females who grow up relying on their appearances in order to gain social status through relationships with males instead of feeling empowered to achieve their own economic goals and objectives. It is good to know that the government of Ukraine has adopted a national action plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 On women, peace and security and an Action Plan for the new National Human Rights Strategy which brings hope that systemic changes will occur not only at the judicial but also at the grassroots level (Ukrainian Women's Congress 2021).

In addition to challenges of gender, age was another important consideration. Two participants were surprised to observe that in Canada aging is not always seen as negative and age discrimination is not so evident at workplaces. At the same time, they expressed fascination with the ability of older people to savor their lives, travel, enjoy simple pleasures like sliding down snow hills and “act young” which stereotypically would be viewed negatively in Ukraine.

Surprises and challenges upon arrival

While our participants shared with us their major challenges and adjustments upon moving to Canada, they shared them with considerable humour. Those challenges in and of themselves provide plenty of fodder for another article on its own. Very few participants had work similar to what they were seeking lined up soon after they arrived; many worked at subsistence jobs initially and then moved up. Money that had been saved disappeared much more quickly than anticipated with things being more expensive and complicated than they anticipated in Canada, particularly housing, utilities, and public transportation. Even though most were already well educated (every participant had tertiary education) and had studied English much of their lives as a second or even third language, suffice to say that almost all wished they had obtained a better level of English before moving; however, they adjusted relatively rapidly, with many saying that they continued to learn the nuances of a language in a new culture. For some it took a while to find their sense of belonging and get used to the new culture, jokes, and social norms. Almost without exception, participants mourned not the comfort foods of home as one might think, but rather, the taste of fresh food, which, in much of Canada, does not generally have the same farm to table quality familiar in Ukraine.

Overall, participants shared that they saw the challenges they faced upon immigration as mostly positive, though in a somewhat complicated way. Essentially, it was a “what doesn’t kill you makes you stronger” attitude bundled with sheer determination that got them through, along with relational support, partially from family directly (financially, emotionally) both in Canada and in Ukraine, and indirectly through the family and cultural values they brought with them. Harkening back to Tanya Y.’s thoughts earlier this article, we found that yes, Ukrainians were taught to be strong, determined, and self-reliant, and many commented on this. However, the vast majority of participants also mentioned grasping that it was not only acceptable, but also imperative to learn to ask for help for what one needs and to seek supports, often, in this case, in the diasporic community, for there one’s language is usually understood, and some affinity found. More about this affinity later.

This next section focuses on the hopes and dreams participants shared for themselves, their families and Ukraine.

Participants’ Hopes and Dreams For Ukraine

Our participants spoke both with great sadness, sometimes frustration, and with great hope for Ukraine, their country of birth. First, all participants were clear that not only did they hope Ukraine will eventually become truly self-sufficient, strong and independent, but also all but one individual said they know this will happen. Remember, this was before Russia began its full-scale invasion.

Nadia P. spoke with some frustration about divisions in Ukraine based on political beliefs, language, pro-European vs pro-Russian views. She wanted to see more action toward unity and inclusion, to see more decisiveness and clearer articulation of goals on the part of Ukrainian leadership. Sofiya T. shared a similar sentiment wishing for Ukrainians to learn to respect each other’s divergent opinions and for leadership to take accountability over their actions and their effect on average people.

Several participants such as Valerii P. believed that Ukraine needs to build capacity and self-reliance to be able to maintain independence even when foreign support is not as prominent. Dmytro M. similarly wished for Ukraine to become a true democracy with stable economic progress.

Ironically, these hopes were fueled by the challenges that were had become increasing vivid, the catalyst being Russian aggression in the East and the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014. AK noted, “In Ukraine, so I’m pretty much, I’m pretty much there in my heart ...and...it’s getting better now, it’s getting... After Maidan something is... something happened. So, the nation is awake in some way, especially the new generation...” intimating that there are strong people in Ukraine and Ukraine will be self-sufficient. Like many others, she went on to voice the belief that Ukraine will continue to grow in the globalized work, and that there is already evidence of change.

Several speakers indicated the importance for Ukraine to reclaim its national, cultural, and linguistic identity, complicated as it is, and understand what is truly Ukrainian versus what was imposed on Ukraine by force. Iana P. spoke to that:

You know how those cities were Russified in the last century. We know that violence was used to enforce and there was not much choice that people had. So now we have this wonderful opportunity to come back to who we are. It doesn’t have to be traditional, no, but I think that once we remove everything that is not ours but with nonviolent ways of dealing with it, and we become

aware, I think it will change the whole dynamic [of Ukraine].

Valerii P. said he believed that Maidan served as a catalyst for political and national mobilisation of the Ukrainian people by creating a generation of new “free thinking” people. However, people with old Soviet thinking who gave in to the “ghost of socialism” as well as those who are in the middle and indifferent in their views still exist. He hoped that Ukraine would continue reforms supported by the European partners, and which would sway the people in middle to develop national consciousness. Igor S. also alluded to the importance of changing the Soviet ways of thinking, sharing that despite his first language being Russian he chose to teach his son to speak Ukrainian. Another participant spoke to the importance of reclaiming Ukrainian culture and language despite coming from an area that is known for traditionally being Russian speaking.

This hope was supported by factual changes in Ukraine, of which our newcomers were quite well informed. While Ukraine's growth and societal reforms had been hit hard by COVID 19, (The World Bank 2021), still the energy sector continued to grow, particularly alternative or renewable energy, agriculture, manufacturing (textiles and clothing), defense and aerospace and improvements to healthcare and education to name a few (Kyiv Post 2021). As participants hoped, Ukraine is continuing to develop in the globalized world. More specifically Denis V. said, “My hope has always been that Ukraine...joins the European Union and sort of the western way of life and moves away from Russia, who is clearly moving in the opposite direction.” And of course, while corruption is still evident, regarding the overall picture for stability in Ukraine, most participants noted that they could see things changing for the better, though it will take time.

For Canada

This study took place during the full-blown experience of COVID-19 across the world. While many people kind of chuckled with surprise at the question when asked about their hopes for Canada, almost all participants responded that they hoped for COVID to be over so that the Canadian government and society could get back to its work, and so that they (participants) might be able to see family members in person. They mentioned appreciation for the social programs that were implemented in this time, noting a desire “for the Canadian government to continue to support its people (like in COVID)”, including support for seniors, affordable housing, etc. They wished for Canada to continue to support democracies, including the development of Ukraine as a full democracy. They also hoped for “continued prosperity” for Canada, a land where they want their children to grow and thrive. Others drilled a little deeper into some of the issues

Canada was currently facing or not facing. Oleh C. was adamant,

I think there is a lot that needs to happen in terms of Child and Family Services development. I think that current foster care is the future of – it is gonna be the subject of multiple class action lawsuits similar to the residential school system. I don't know how this cannot be seen by people in charge because this is just unbelievable. This is one of the biggest disappointments for me personally in Canada – Child and Family Services.

Oleh went on to say that true reconciliation will require much better supports for indigenous families.

Three participants noted that they would like to see further improvement in the medical and health field and three other participants believed that Canadian society could benefit from reforming the school system to be more rigorous. While some concentrated on economic aspects wanting to see Canada become more competitive and technologically advanced, others wanted to see more education opportunities for the general public to learn about homelessness and ways of tackling the issue.

Denis V., whose work, paid and volunteer (both in Ukraine and in Canada), supports systems of good governance, summarized saying he thought Canada will continue to develop, and continue to work at this development.

[Canada must] continue dealing with maybe some of the dark parts of history that... you know... that we are finding...we maybe knew but never dealt with. But still having a dialogue, allowing... I find that sometimes in Canada now... the dialogue has been lost... It is very polarized. You only hear one side while on the other side the debate is shut down. My hope for Canada is that we always, we should always be able to debate opposing opinions. [M]aybe that is what Canada is known for: for democracy, for strong governance, for respectful debate... both sides of the debate should be able to voice their opinions and...to continue growing the country.

For themselves and their families

Participants were clear, without exception, that they hoped for and were counting on continuing economic stability in Canada for all, included in what we might call “tightness” or sense of security as noted earlier. This means continuing to grow personally and professionally, and to have similar opportunities available for the young people in their lives. Parents wanted their family to do well, for their children to feel, “secure, confident, and loved”. Many directly mentioned finding extra security and connection in the diaspora, while also believing that that community connections of all kinds were important, and what had helped them through the hardest of times. This was not a passive thought but rather a state of action for the

participants. Nataliya S. said, "We always try to be with the community. And you know, we volunteer a lot."

Almost all participants mentioned volunteering and were oriented to "to help people". For some, like Denis V., this meant community development work both in Canada and Ukraine. For Olga D. this meant changing her profession from one of successful businesswoman to health care practitioner, "to help people to reduce pain... emotional pain, physical pain, it doesn't matter." Many others found this connection through social service work.

Perhaps surprisingly, only four participants mentioned any plans to help relatives move to Canada as well. Many of these relatives were reportedly supportive of the participants' moves to Canada but had no plans or particular desire to move to Canada themselves, other than to be closer to them, and with communication made so much easier with on-line connections, this physical distance seemed a little less daunting.

"What keeps you going": Advice for those considering the journey

Without exception, participants mentioned that they would not have made the journey, nor would they have stayed in Canada, were it not for support of "dear ones" who often included family members with them in Canada and those who remained in Ukraine. Several participants noted that family members who encouraged and support them remained in Ukraine because they were living relatively comfortably there, with established communities of family and friends and work that provided at least the basic necessities of life, their basic needs as described earlier.

Many participants found strength and support in the local Ukrainian Canadian community. Olha C. shared how the feeling of shared experiences with other Ukrainian immigrants made her feel more welcome:

I was first impressed when I got to a church, when I just came to Canada and I saw all the Ukrainian people who were together who knew each other who were trying to help because they knew all... They were in your shoes before. They knew what you are going through right now, so everyone is really helpful. And now in Oseredok it is nice to see the established Ukrainian Canadian community, too. It is inspiring because you see how people manage to succeed here, to find themselves...

Yulia K. was pleasantly surprised by how the local Ukrainian diaspora managed to preserve what was lost in Ukraine. On the other hand, several participants reflected on the importance of respecting the fact that Ukrainian language, traditions, music, and culture have evolved and would like to see more acceptance for the modern

Ukrainian culture within the Ukrainian Canadian community.

No one said that the transition was easy. Iryna noted the hardships associated with immigration that often get distorted in the eyes of those who stayed behind in Ukraine due to social media. She summarized what she saw as a common, though misguided social media message:

"[The immigrants] are so lucky, they just moved to Canada or whatever and they just make money, they eat with a golden spoon and they're so happy." All those pictures on social media give us a wrong message. It's all about, "Look at me at the best moment I'm right now!" Right? It's not about, "Look at me how I'm crying at night." It's not about, "Look at me how I'm struggling with language." It's not about how I get actually... I get confused with things and I want to move [back] to my country because it is comfortable...

Building community in Canada was and is very important to setting down roots here and, somewhat surprising to us, for a number of participants that did not mean that connecting to the Ukrainian Canadian community was a priority. In contrast, Denis V. recommended newcomers be brave and venture outside of their own community, learn to interact with people who think and live differently and find something that they like about other cultures which will allow them to get to know the plurality of "the Canadian life". Another participant recommended not sticking to diaspora community forever so that the outside world does not grow so unknown that it seems hostile, something she had noticed among some of her diasporic acquaintances.

Still, community connection of some kind was necessary and desirable, as was a clear decision that Canada is indeed where one wants to live. Several participants mentioned times when they questioned their own decisions, particularly if they were the member of a couple who had not been the initiator of the quest to move. However, hope for a brighter future for themselves and their children, founded on what they saw as evidence of more stability in Canada than Ukraine was what kept them going, along with having made a clear decision to stay, being prepared to work through tough times – and ask for and accept help.

Tanya Y. emphasized the importance of understanding and honoring one's roots while building a new life in a new country:

We need to be proud of who we are and where we came from and value – and this way we will value even more what we have now.

Nataliya F. spoke clearly in her advice to someone considering the move to Canada:

Well, I think my advice would be to listen to your heart and try to figure out, first, what it is you want. If you want to integrate into Canadian society, then make steps to do it. Meet other Canadians, learn language, get education, meet

other Canadians, and integrate. If you want to keep your Ukrainian culture, associate yourself with Ukrainians, keep your culture, keep your traditions, keep in touch with Ukrainian culture and with Ukrainians from at home..

Discussion

In addition to literature searches, this study was conducted with thirty-three participants, between the ages of 18 and 60, from different areas of Ukraine, living in different areas of Western Canada, twenty-four identifying as female and nine as male. Interviews which would have ideally taken place in person, because of COVID-19 were conducted in 2021 on-line using the ZOOM pro format and audio-taped separately on a hand-held device. Participants were provided with their transcripts to check accuracy of transcription and to offer opportunities to clarify or omit any parts, a process which took some time and was also important to the ethics of the study. This article briefly summarizes the main themes of these interviews, having used theories related to identity, culture, and basic needs to better understand our participants' experiences.

We learned that since Independence was declared in Ukraine, with the borders opening, so too has migration out of the country. Most of the participants in this study moved essentially to meet basic human needs, which include not only economic (and physical security in one case), but also fulfillment of their identities as people who work to their potential, (improved education and job opportunities) and actively contribute to society. People moved with vision and hope, looking to provide more of this kind of security for their children and some for other family members who may eventually join them in Canada.

Of the participants, 45 per cent migrated post-Revolution of Dignity. One woman moved around that time and felt conflicted about her choice, but efforts to move had been initiated several years prior to 2014. All migrated prior to 2021.

Most of the participants who immigrated to Canada with Permanent Residency (PR) status took at least three years of careful planning, preparation, and English classes prior to coming. Many shared that doing preliminary research and keeping their minds open allowed them to adapt to the new reality quicker. Despite challenges the participants demonstrated enormous amounts of positive resilience which allowed them to reinvent themselves in Canada.

We learned that while the fabric of post-independence immigration to Canada from Ukraine is divergent in terms of age, gender, geographic region of origin, language preferences and social-economic status, the participants were highly educated and determined to achieve growth and build better lives for themselves and their families in Canada.

After the initial struggle of finding one's place of economic, social, and cultural belonging in the new environment and fascination with the resources that Canada offers as a WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich and developed) state, the participants started to notice social phenomena and elements that could be improved such as homelessness in our population, reconciliation challenges with our Indigenous population, racial injustice, a need for medical and educational reforms, need for newcomer support, need for community connections, and a need to develop better relationships between representatives of different waves of immigration.

Participants reflections on life after becoming permanent residents of Canada were heavily focused not only on meeting their basic needs as identified by John Burton (Burton 1990) which now are seen to go beyond needs such as food, clothing and shelter, safety and security, love and belonging, to include meaningful involvement in civil society as healthy, valued members of a community (Public Health Agency of Canada 2022). These determinants of health are also some of the fundamentals of positive peace, in a culture of peace, a culture of inclusion (Boulding 2003), a society where all are supported to live their best lives (Chinn 2004).

Narrative interviews were conducted in 2020/2021, before Russia's February 2022 invasion of Ukraine, as another generation or wave of people from different parts of Ukraine moved to Canada to seek a new life. At the time of writing, more than 8 million people have left Ukraine, fleeing the devastation and destruction of the Russian invasion (UNHCR 2023). Their stories will be heard in the days to come. Still, we believe that it is important to document the experiences and thoughts of those who came before, in different circumstances. The threads of their stories, join with others who have gone before, comprising part of the fabric of a society that welcomes refugees from the war

Conclusions: Moving forward

This was a small study, conducted with a desire to better understand both the reasons for migration from Ukraine to Canada post Ukraine's independence (and before February, 2022), and the change in the make-up and engagement in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

While most of the participants eagerly embraced Canada's multicultural environment and thoroughly enjoy cross-cultural interactions by finding strength in the similarities of struggles and desires that different groups share, they see reconciliation, social justice, and positive peace for different racial and ethnic groups in Canada as the way for Canada and themselves as Canadians to grow with positivity.

Again, we note that the interviews and initial analysis took place prior to the overt invasion of Ukraine by Russia on February 24, 2022. The delay in publication is somewhat connected to the impact of this aggression on all of us, participants, and writers. Still, we believe in the importance of sharing the stories and wisdom of these participants.

Moving forward, we believe it will be important to research more fully and deeply into this topic, as this was such a small study. The next steps will include, amongst others, people who have moved to Canada following the invasion of Ukraine by Russia. Informal conversations with these people have begun as we listen, careful not to re-traumatize in our eagerness to understand and support. We do hope that even this small study shared here opens doors for all Canadians, including diaspora members, to be more curious and open to their neighbours, wherever their origin, encouraging them to share their stories, hopes, and dreams. Newcomers to Canada are never a monolithic block; all contribute in different ways depending on experiences, identities, needs, and hopes. We are richer together, supporting each other in good health.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

References

- Bogdan, Robert, and Sari Biklen. 2006. *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods (5th ed)*. Pearson.
- Boulding, E. 2003. "Peace culture for today and tomorrow." In *Positive approaches to peacebuilding: A resource for innovators*, edited by C. Sampson, M. Abu-nimer and C. Leibler, 83-92. Washington, DC: Pact Publications.
- Burton, John. 1990. *Conflict: Basic Human Needs*. New York: St. Martins Press.
- Bushe, G. 2011. Appreciative inquiry: Theory and critique. Vols. pp. 87-103, in *Routledge companion to organizational change*, by D. Boje, B. Burnes and J. (Eds.) Hassard. Oxford: Routledge.
- Chinn, Peggy. 2004. *Peace and power: Creative leadership for building community 6th ed*. Mississauga, ON: Jones and Bartlett Publishers Canada.
- Cook-Huffman, F. 2015. "The role of Identity in Conflict." In *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, by J. D. Sandole. Routledge.
- Flaherty, Maureen P. 2016. It takes a vision to raise a nation: Peacebuilding with men in Ukraine. Vol. 1, in *Society under construction: Opportunities and risks*, by P. Baldys and K. (Eds.) Piatek. Bilesko-Baiala: Technical Humanitarian Academy.
2012. *Peacebuilding with women in Ukraine: Using narrative to create a common vision*. Lanham: Lexington.
- Gelfand, M, J Raver, and L. Nishii. 2011. "Differences between Tight and Loose Cultures: a 33 Nation Study." *American Association for the Advancement of Science* 332 (6033): 1100-04. doi:10.1126/science.1197754.
- Gelfand, Michele, interview by Stephen J. Dubner. 2021. *The U.S. Is Just Different — So Let's Stop Pretending We're Not* Brent Katz, (July 14).
- Government of Canada. 2015. "Discover Canada - Canada's History." Government of Canada. 10 26. Accessed 05 2021. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/discover-canada/read-online/canadas-history.html>.
2022. *Permanent Resident Program*. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/operational-bulletins-manuals/permanent-residence.html>.
- Grekul, Lisa. 2005. *LEaving Shadows*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press.
- Hung, Lillian, Alison Phinney, Habib Chaudhury, Paddy Rodney, Jenifer Tabamo, and Doris Bohl. 2018. "Appreciative Inquiry: Bridging Research and Practice in a Hospital Setting." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods (Sage)* 17 (1): 1-10.
- Khromeychuk, Olesya. 2021. "Ukraine at 30, Part 1: How to love your homeland properly." *Los Angeles Review of Books*. August 22. <https://lareviewofbooks.org/short-takes/ukraine-at-30-part-i-how-to-love-your-homeland-properly/>.
- Klokiw, Andrew. 2020. "A fifth wave? A contemporary comparative study of Ukrainian immigration to the United

- States, 1870-2019." *Texas Law Review* 98 (4): 757-791.
- Kondrashov, Oleksandr. 2008. "An Exploratory Study of Fourth Wave Ukrainian Immigration in Winnipeg: Problems and Perspectives of Immigrants' Adaptations."
- Kyiv Post. 2021. The most promising sectors for investors in Ukraine. Kyiv, Accessed September 29 2021. <https://inventure.com.ua/en/analytics/articles/most-promising-sectors-for-investors-in-ukraine>.
- Ledohowski, Lindy. 2011. "A vaguely divided guilt: The Aboriginal Ukrainian." In *Re-imagining Canadian Ukrainians: History, politics, and identity*, by Rhonda Hinther and Jim Morochuk, 85-106. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Luciuk, Lubomyr. 1986. "Unintended consequences in refugee resettlement: Post-war Ukrainian refugee immigration to Canada." Accessed 05 2021. <https://jstor.org/stable/2546044>.
- Luciuk, Lubomyr, and Stella (Eds.) Hryniuk. 1991. *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Lynn, Suzanne. 2016. "Differences and similarities in attitudes towards intellectual and visual culture within the Ukrainian-Canadian community in Edmonton, Alberta." *Multilingual Discourses*, ???
- Makuch, Andrij. 2011. "Fighting for the soul of the Ukrainian Progressive Movement in Canada: The Lobayites and the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association." In *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, politics and identity*, by Rhonda Hinther and Jim Morchuk, 376-402. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Makuch, Andrij. 2002. "Sociologist Examines Latest Wave of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada." *The Ukrainian Weekly* (Ukrainian National Association) LXX (10).
- Marker, Sandra. 2003. *Unmet human needs*. Vol. August, in *Beyond Intractability*, by G. Burgess and H. Burgess. Boulder, Colorado: *Conflict Information Consortium*, University of Colorado.
- Martynowych, Orest. 1991. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924*. Edmonton: CIUS.
- Mochoruk, Jim, and Rhonda Hinther. 2011. "Introduction." In *Re-imagining Ukrainian Canadians*, by Jim Mochoruk and Rhonda (Eds.) Hinther. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Momryk, Myron. 1993. "Ukrainian Canadians, 100 years later." *Labour/Le travail* (University of Toronto Press) 31: 355-364.
- Nedashkivska, A. 2018. "Identity in Interaction: Language Practices and Attitudes of the Newest Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada." (*Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies*) 5 (2): 111-47. doi:10.21226/ewjus421.
- Public Health Agency of Canada. 2022. Social determinants of health and health inequalities. 06 14. Accessed 04 13, 2023. <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/health-promotion/population-health/what-determines-health.html>.
- Robinson, Amanda. 2018. "Turtle Island." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. November 6. Accessed 2 19, 2020. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/turtle-island>.
- Swyripa, Frances. 1993. *Wedded to the cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- The World Bank. 2021. "Where we work: Ukraine." *The World Bank*. Accessed September 2021. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ukraine/overview>.
2021. "Ukrainian Women's Congress." *United Nations Human Rights Council*. September 15. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=27464>.
- UNHCR. 2023. Operational Data Portal: Ukraine Refugee Situation. March 28. Accessed April 04, 2023. <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>.
- Verkuyten, M. 2018. *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*. Routledge.
- World Health Organization. 2014. "Social Determinants of Mental Health." *World Health Organization*. Accessed October 2020. https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/112828/9789241506809_eng.pdf;jsessionid=6958C382AB67177B3B43887159306145?sequence=1.

Zembrzycki, Stacey. 2011. "'I'll fix you!': Domestic violence and murder in Ukrainian working-class immigrant community in Northern Ontario." In *Re-Imagining Canadian Ukrainians: History, politics, and identity*, by

Rhonda Hinther and Jim Morchuk, 436-464. Toronto: University of Toronto Press