

**HIDDEN ON THE FARM: REMEMBRANCES OF A
UKRAINIAN CANADIAN IMMIGRANT FARM WOMAN**

by

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Remembrances of a Ukrainian Canadian Immigrant Farm Woman

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ABSTRACT

Until recently, there have been few published works on the roles women played in the settling of Canada. Mainstream historians have, for the most part, ignored women's roles as homesteaders, wives, mothers, and immigrant farmers. Women from marginalized groups with a vast array of their experiences, lived in the process of nation-building, have been rendered virtually invisible. The focus of this work is on my own grandmother, a Ukrainian-Canadian immigrant farm woman.

My grandmother's stories illustrate the importance women had in the settlement of Canada. Their contributions have remained undervalued in historical records. This work provides the ethnohistorical record with the voice of a Ukrainian immigrant female. Such stories are unavailable in most historical archives.

This study employs a particular form of case study - the life history. This approach builds on an individual's account of their own life situation. Using this approach, I met with my grandmother during the fall of 1988 to tape record conversations about her life. Her stories generated three general themes related to her understanding and perceptions of her experience as an immigrant farm woman. The first is related to her work which encompassed domestic labour and production labour on the farm, as well as paid employment when necessary. Secondly, she discussed issues that immigrant women still face today related to immigration policy, racism, and isolation. Finally, she discussed the importance of the extended family. Her stories illustrate that for immigrant farm women like her, there was no gendered division of labour on the farm in the way that we think of the division of labour today. The narratives of her experiences demonstrate the interrelationship of gender, class, and ethnicity experienced by my grandmother as a new immigrant to Canada at the beginning of this century.

The implications of this work in education are related to two areas. The history curriculum at all levels should include the contributions immigrant women made in the settlement of Canada. School counsellors like myself who become aware of their own ethnic background can become more sensitive to the needs of children immigrating to Canada.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"if you lose your heritage, you lose yourself."
- 15-year old Surrey high school
student, 1996

I have always been interested in how people live their lives within the confines of a larger social context. What do people value? What are their beliefs? How do they cope with the constraints of the larger community? Reading about people's history and culture offers an opportunity to move beyond one's cultural-centric position to learn about, and appreciate, the variety of ways in which people live their lives.

This focus on people's historical and cultural contexts in general, and women's stories in particular, has been influenced by authors like Anderson and Zinsser (1988) who have documented in *A History of Their Own*, women's place in the history of Europe. They offered a view of the past from a different vantage point - from a woman's perspective. I had never thought much about whether or not history was gender-based until reading this text. Indeed, Anderson talks about the challenge of finding documents that provide a women's perspective on history.

Until recently, this has also been true for women in Canada. There have been few published stories about the role women played in the settling of Canada. Women's roles as homemakers, homesteaders, wives, mothers, immigrants, farmers, and pioneers - a vast array of experiences lived in the process of nation-building have, for the most part, been marginalized. Silverman (1984) writes that it was not until the seventies that books written about the women in Canada began to appear. She chose to write about those women who settled the West carving out an existence for themselves and their families in a rugged frontier. Yet, she writes as if all women settling in Canada

shared the same experiences regardless of ethnicity or class. Swyirpa (1993) criticizes Silverman on the grounds that she has assumed that the frontier acted as a levelling influence amongst the various ethnic groups adopting Canada as their homeland. Swyirpa says that Silverman bases this belief on the indifference her informants expressed during their interviews. Silverman has dismissed ethnicity as irrelevant outside a few formalized and symbolic rituals saying, "it was neither an impediment to integration into the new society nor the source of personal or political identity" (Swyirpa, 1993:217).

My interest in the history of immigrant groups, particularly women's stories, was sparked during my last semester as an undergraduate student at university. I enrolled in a course on ethnohistory. As the semester progressed and we began to explore the ways immigrants to Canada had been marginalized, I began to realize that this had happened, even within my own family. Prior to this, I had thought very little about my Ukrainian heritage. As a second generation Canadian, I had little understanding of my Ukrainian roots. Of course, I can remember my family enjoying traditional Ukrainian food from time to time, but this was only on special occasions. I neither spoke the language, understood the traditions, nor practiced the religion of this ethnic group. I saw myself as an Anglo Saxon Canadian. In fact, my family had anglicized our last name shortly after I was born because the Anglos could neither pronounce nor spell our name correctly which had made it difficult for my father to do business.

Indeed, most children born into families with an ethnic heritage different from that of the majority are similarly disconnected from their cultural pasts. Even minority groups, existing prior to the arrival of the group that has defined its history as everyone's history, often find their traditions and beliefs usurped (Christine Welsh, 1991). Kostash (1977) states in the introduction to her work,

All of Baba's Children, that she did not feel like she was "one of us", meaning she felt she belonged neither to the Ukrainian community nor to the white Anglo Saxon community. She saw herself as an outsider - "outside the American heartland, a woman outside the boys' club, a progressive outside the bourgeois establishment world view....." (1977:8). She found herself between two cultures, feeling she belonged to neither one nor the other. What is even more unsettling is that this loss of one's cultural past happens within a very brief space of time. After only one generation, many of the traditions, values, and beliefs of one's ethnic group can be lost under the dominant culture's pressure to conform.

At the time I was learning about ethnohistory, my grandmother was still alive, and at 88, she was still a spirited woman and full of life. She was one of the few survivors of the group of Ukrainians who immigrated back in 1902. I decided at that time that I wanted to compile her life story, and when I asked her if she would be willing to do this, she eagerly consented. She had been a marvelous storyteller all her life, and our time together was a precious gift for both of us. She offered me the opportunity to hear about her stories and my family heritage and I was her attentive audience. We arranged a series of visits in which I recorded the memories she relayed, and her stories have had a profound impact on me both personally and professionally. Her stories triggered for me memories of how she taught me the art of sweeping and the skill of hand wringing laundry. My grandmother showed me the capacity to love.

It was not until I was a graduate student in the counselling program in Education that I chose to pursue my interest in life history work in general, and my own grandmother's stories, in particular, as part of my degree requirements. This opportunity to be reflective about my own family's past is an important part of the process of developing my own counselling skills. Indeed, reflexivity is relevant in a number of helping professions such as social work, counselling,

psychology, and psychiatry. In training for a number of these professions, reflexivity has come to play an essential role, since it is well-established that a therapist's own issues can arise during therapeutic work. In completing this report I have attempted to take this process one step further - not only gaining an understanding of my own life choices, but also exploring how my family's values, beliefs, and heritage have affected me. In this thesis I hope to unite my passion for ethnohistory, my interest in my grandmother's life history, and my professional development as a counsellor.

Historically, schools have acted as the means by which society indoctrinates its citizens into the dominant culture. Michael Manley-Casimir (1993) states that, "...at root, schools are cultural institutions and teaching a cultural activity...Education [is] a cultural enterprise devoted to the maintenance and promotion of a normative order in society..." In Canada the "normative base" is the white, Anglo Saxon male. Additionally, an ethnocentric perspective causes people to believe that their own society is the norm and that what lies outside it is a distortion of that norm (Simmons, 1988:1).

In reading the history texts in the high schools two things become apparent. First, the texts reflect the "normative base". Marginalized groups are invisible and silent. This is not because these groups do not have their own history to share with us but because one group has the power to define its perspective as universal and the other as inconsequential (Diane Bell, quoting Catharine MacKinnon, 1993). A second thing we note is that stories about women in history texts are virtually nonexistent. Almost the only story that does get reported concerns women winning the right to vote. Trolimenkoff, Mann and Prentice (1977) argue that women's history has been neglected because history has been dominated by white males who define the boundaries of history. Male historians have little interest in women's stories and when women are included

in historical accounts they are often discussed in terms of how they have influenced male roles.

Thus, the history texts, which all of our children read, are devoid of the stories of marginalized groups. A white Anglo Saxon male perspective dominates, and little thought is given to the contributions and sacrifices that other groups (non Anglo) made to the settlement of Canada. What is ignored is the rich variety of cultures that have been brought to our shores, as well as those First Nations cultures that already existed here. Because we perceive ourselves as a monoculture (Manley-Casimir, 1993), we deny whole groups of individuals their heritage and their cultural identity. Compounding this is the invisibility and silence of the women who challenged the frontiers of Canada.

Our lack of knowledge in relation to marginalized and invisible groups can be addressed through the study of ethnohistory. Ethnohistory documents the story of a people, both past and present, giving groups an opportunity to express their own understanding of how they fit into the larger cultural community. Ethnohistory allows us to understand how cultures come together, merge, and change, and how people are able to hold onto some of the vestiges of their cultural past. Through ethnohistory, groups are able to express their uniqueness and share their traditions, beliefs, and cultural practices. In many cultures, women are believed to be those individuals who act both as transmitters of culture as well as the mediators between cultures (Kidwell, 1992; Welsh, 1991), and thus women often play a major role in ethnohistorical analysis.

The Problem

My grandmother, Mary Tymchyshyn, exemplifies some of these issues which have so far been introduced - she is one of those women who blended together the customs and beliefs brought from the old country with those of her

adopted homeland. She, and the millions like her, form a major part of Canadian history which has not been fully explored as yet. Mary was born in nineteen hundred in what we now refer to as the Ukraine. She immigrated to Canada at the age of two with her family. They settled on the prairies outside of Edmonton, Alberta, near Mundare, so that they could be close to other Ukrainians who had come from the same village as they had. Mary's life spanned the century. She lived through two world wars, the depression, and the threat of the cold war. She saw the development of the motor car and the advent of space travel. Collecting her life story is an opportunity to record history from a minority perspective - not only was she a Ukrainian, but she was also a woman.

The purpose of this thesis is to give this immigrant peasant woman an opportunity to tell us what life was like for her, and to explain to us her motives and intentions. This is a story in her own words, beginning with the family stories she brought from Ukraine. Her early memories as a child move on into conversations of her life as a daughter, wife, mother, grandmother and, finally, great-grandmother. Through her eyes, we get a glimpse of life for a Ukrainian immigrant woman during the first decades of the century especially related to her domestic and production labour on the homestead. Her stories explore the interrelationship between gender, class, and ethnicity of the immigrant farm wife homesteading at the beginning of the century.

This volume is written about the life history of a woman. Kidwell (1990) states that women's voices in history have been silent and thus we are for the most part unaware of women's motives and intentions. It has been a unique opportunity to be able not only to work with my grandmother, but also to speak directly to a woman whose life has spanned this century. With our knowledge growing about women from a wide range of backgrounds, we are finding that

women are not passive recipients of culture, but as Bell (1993) states, social actors on the stage of history.

Another noteworthy point is that this thesis is written by a woman. My choice in research subject and methods is not based on a bias toward a particular group, but is motivated by what I perceive as a gap in the knowledge base of historical records. This gap in the literature concerns women, and therefore, my intention is to contribute a piece of knowledge that will help fill that gap and thus enrich our existing records. Diane Bell (1993:230) suggests that, "..... our understanding of women's contributions to her society has been constrained by male-oriented models within which our questions are located." She believes, and I concur, that women are "social actors in their own right". (ibid., 230), and that new understandings of cultural practices emerge when women are given the opportunity to speak on their own behalf (Bell, 1993). I wish to speak in this work, as Bell (1993:30) suggests, with a "different voice", not because it is feminine, but because it acknowledges the invigorating tension generated by engaged, rigorous scholarship, and is sensitive to difference but not immobilized by it." My intention is to contribute a different perspective. To quote Bell (1993:230), "this work is not about hardship at the hands of male domination, but about the spirit and strength and independence that exists within the human spirit despite age or gender," and I would add, ethnicity.

I must state here that I am a feminist and believe that it is essential to give women the opportunity to relate their own truths so that they can inform us all about what they believe is relevant and important. By including women's perspectives on their reality, knowledge, and truth we learn about their roles as social actors. I adopt Gaskell's definition of feminism which states:

For feminism means inserting the concerns of women from all walks of life into policy and practice, ultimately reshaping the whole so that it better

serves both men and women. It is linked with the struggle to redress other inequalities, both as a matter of theory - because the persistence of one kind of inequality affects all forms of inequality; and as a matter of practice - because we need a coalition of all those who oppose that inequality. Examining the ways that differences among women are based in systematic inequalities of other kinds helps us understand the organization of women's experiences (Gaskell, et. al. 1989:3).

Having said this, I must be clear that it is my fervent hope that the reader does not label this work with an 'ism' of any kind, but suspends judgment to read about one individual's experiences as an immigrant, farmer, and woman and to take this as an opportunity to open the mind to new and exciting possibilities. Research need never be an "either/or" based upon gender, ethnicity, age or location but, as Bell (1993) comments, should allow men and women to be both.

Comments on Language and Organization

There are some points which I wish to clarify before the work itself begins. First, because this work is about my grandmother, I have used her first name, Mary, throughout this document. It seems nonproductive and unnecessary to use a pseudonym since we are related, and her identity can easily be established. All other individuals who are mentioned are represented by an initial which is either the first initial of their first name or the first initial of their last name. I have used titles where appropriate to designate gender or status. I am not familiar with Ukrainian names and, therefore, at this time I would apologize if I have misspelled names in this text. I have taken great pains in checking out any Ukrainian names used, but imply no disrespect should a name have slipped by me during this writing.

The second concern is related to ethnic classification of individuals who have immigrated to Canada from Ukraine. Swyripa (1978:5) explains the terminology in the following manner:

The term "Ukrainian", while steadily gaining popularity among Austrian and Russian Ukrainians before World War I, was used irregularly by them in Canada until the events of the Ukrainian Revolution and the existence of an independent Ukraine from 1917 to 1921 elevated their national consciousness.

Those individuals who immigrated to Canada were referred to as Galicians or Ruthenians. These terms identified which part of Ukraine the individuals lived in. Throughout the text, I have used the term Ukrainian in most instances, but occasionally use Galician, when it involves a direct quote from another author. Adopting the term "Ukrainian" both eliminates confusion, as well indicates the homogenizing effect that immigration has on groups of individuals when they leave their homeland. I have purposely used various ways of referring to this group - Ukrainian Canadian, Ukrainian Canadian peasant farmer, Ukrainian Canadian immigrant - to illustrate their class within Canada. My intention is to make the reader aware that these individuals played a range of roles as social actors in the history of Canada. These titles reflect the evolving roles, contributions, and status of Ukrainian Canadians against the background of Canadian history.

In regards to my grandmother, as well as other women from her ethnic group, I use the term "Ukrainian Canadian immigrant farm woman". To think of my grandmother in any less descriptive way would be to ignore essential components of her life. Referring to her as a Ukrainian Canadian reflects that she gained her Canadian citizenship and, except for two years, lived her whole life in Canada. Placing Ukrainian as the first descriptor acknowledges her ethnic roots, and honors her as an individual who emigrated from the old country. Linking this with Canadian demonstrates that there is a dialectic that takes place when an individual adopts a new homeland and that it is the individual that is forced to reconcile the tensions between two cultures. Using immigrant as a

descriptor further emphasizes the challenges faced by those adjusting to a new homeland. Attaching "farm" to the description of my grandmother illustrates the class to which she belongs. Finally, adding woman shows her gender.

Format of the Study

The focus of this study is the life history of an immigrant farm woman - her motives, experiences, and her understanding of life in Canada. Chapter II explains the methodology and the techniques used in collecting data. Included in this chapter are the organizing themes generated from Mary's story as well as from the theoretical and historical chapters. The first theme is the interrelationship of gender, class, and ethnicity. The second theme examines the way people survive - called "making ends meet". Included in this area are domestic and production labour on the farm. The third theme explores husbands and wives - issues such as marriage, family violence, and powerlessness versus freedom and strength. The fourth theme is mothers and children. The final theme looks at mothers as cultural mediators and educators. Chapter III provides contemporary theoretical explanations for immigrant farm women's experiences. In Chapter IV we examine the historical context of the settlement of Ukrainians in Canada at the turn of the Century, with specific reference to Ukrainian Canadian immigrant farm women. The fifth chapter called *In Her Own Words: Understanding My Grandmother's Stories* analyzes the data using the themes generated and includes Mary's own narratives. The final chapter (Chapter VI) entitled *Echoes to the Future: Beyond Conventional Realities* draws conclusions based on the analysis chapter as well as stating how this research has implications for education. The references have been divided into two parts: the first part entitled *works cited*, contains a listing of all the authors referred to throughout this document. The second part of the

references headed bibliography, are those documents read in support of this work, but not directly quoted.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The study of social situations, whether from the position of an actor or that of interpreter for a whole group of actors such as a community or culture, can become complex. Olsen (1968) points out, that social life is complex, and that multiple causations underlie all social situations. The task becomes even more difficult when the individual or group under analysis is different from the researcher's own and when an attempt is made to examine social relationships across the span of a subject's lifetime. When examining social situations in a different time and place than one's own, a methodology which is both flexible and sensitive is needed. The researcher must be able to convey a respectful view of the examined group's experiences taking account that what may be perceived as unusual to the researcher is none the less part of that group's experience.

The case study form of research has a lengthy and respected tradition. It has been used by various disciplines such as law, medicine, anthropology, psychology, sociology, social work, and political science. Recently education has adopted case study as a means to "explore the processes and dynamics of practice" (Merriam, 1988:xi). Case study is an appropriate research method choice when the researcher is looking for an "in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning for those involved - (when) the interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation" (1988:xii). This form of research is more likely to focus on answering questions related to the how and why of situations or events so that they can be understood in their entirety. A qualitative case study can be defined as "an intensive, holistic, description and analysis of a bounded

phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit" (Merriam, 1988:xiv).

Merriam (1988) states that the decision to choose a non experimental research design such as a case study depends on considering the following points:

1. *The nature of the research questions:* "what" and "how many" are best answered by survey research. "How" and "why" questions are appropriate for case study, history and experimental design (Yin, 1984).
2. *The amount of control:* the more control one has, the more "experimental" the design. The least amount of control characterizes historical research, since the researcher cannot manipulate events or directly observe them.
3. *The desired end product:* this factor is linked to the nature of the questions asked. Will the results be presented as the end product of a cause-and-effect investigation? Will the end product be a holistic, intensive description and interpretation of a contemporary phenomenon?..... Or a historical analysis? (1988:8-9).

One of the goals of this study, is to describe an individual's understanding of her own life experiences - how a woman made sense of her experience as a Ukrainian Canadian immigrant farm woman. For this reason, adopting the case study approach gives the narrator an opportunity to express, in her own words, her understanding of her own life experience while at the same time giving the researcher an opportunity to interpret those experiences within a cultural and social context. Merriam (1988:16) states that in a "qualitative approach to research the paramount objective is to understand the meaning of an experience..... qualitative research strives to understand how all the parts work together to form a whole."

Patton (cited in Merriam, 1988) writes that case studies allow us

to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the

future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting - what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting - and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting..... The analysis strives for depth of understanding (Patton, 1985:1).

Qualitative research is most often compared to quantitative research which assumes "that there is a single, objective reality - the world out there - that we observe, know, and measure" (Merriam, 1988:17). Merriam states that from this paradigm reality is constant, and that the confirmation of what is "out there" is the point of doing research which focuses on outcomes and reliability of measurement (1988:17). Watson and Watson-Franke (1985:ix) discuss the differences between the quantitative and qualitative research:

We feel that an understanding of the "insider" (emic) viewpoint is particularly important in the analysis of the life history and a much needed corrective to such uncompromisingly "outsider" (etic) approaches as psychoanalytic theory and behaviorism, to mention only a few. We believe the individual is becoming lost in the present emphasis on models, experimentation, and quantification so prevalent in anthropology and the other social sciences. If we accomplish anything in this essay, we hope to restore some lost integrity and dignity to the individual in the face of the scientific onslaught that threatens to reduce [sic] to an increasingly insignificant role in human affairs. As we see it, a return to the life history is really a return to the individual in the fullness of his social and unique humanness.

Qualitative research assumes that there exist multiple realities - "that the world is not an objective thing out there but a function of personal interaction and perception. It is a highly subjective phenomenon in need of interpreting rather than measuring.... In this paradigm, there are no predetermined hypotheses, no treatments, and no restrictions on the end product... What one does do is observe, intuit, sense what is occurring in a natural setting" (Merriam, 1988:17).

Case study in education draws on other disciplines for both theory and method (Merriam, 1988). Research in education is most likely to draw on

anthropology, sociology, psychology, and history for techniques of data collection and analysis (Merriam, 1988). Merriam (1988) focuses on ethnography (from anthropology) which she states is itself a research design. She defines ethnography as "a set of methods used to collect data" (p. 23). She states that the techniques of data gathering are interviewing, documentary analysis, life history, investigator diaries, and participant observation. Goetz and LeCompte (cited by Merriam, 1988) comment that, "ethnographies recreate for the reader the shared beliefs, practices, artifacts, folk knowledge, and behaviours of some group of people" (1984:2).

An ethnographic case study is one that moves beyond an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a social unit and is concerned with, and includes, the cultural context (Merriam, 1988). It is this context which sets this particular form of study apart from other forms of qualitative research. This type of research takes account of the community and the larger cultural context as important components in leading to an understanding of processes and dynamics being studied.

It is because of the merits of case study given above, that this design has been adopted for this study. Hammersley and Atkinson (1992) believe ethnographic work is "the most basic form of social research". Using ethnography as a research method suggests the researcher is interested in understanding the perspectives of the person being researched and in observing their behaviour, rather than just providing accounts of their behaviour. Whereas quantitative work tends to be reductionistic, qualitative work is more inclusive.

Central to this study are the historical and ethnic concerns which arise in examining one individual over the course of her/his life time. This study adopts a particular form of case study - the life history study. Watson and Watson-Franke (1985) quote Allport's (1942) definition of life histories as:

.....any expressive production of the individual that can be used to throw light on his view of himself, his life situation, or the state of the world as he understands it, at some particular point in time or over the passage of time.

Watson and Watson-Franke extend this definition of life histories to make it more inclusive:

.....the "life history" is any retrospective account by the individual of his life in whole or part, in written or oral form, *that has been elicited or prompted by another person* (1985:2).

Life histories "emphasize experiences and requirements of the individual - how the person copes with society rather than how society copes with the stream of individuals" (Mandelbaum, 1973:177). Mandelbaum (1973:178) in referring to ethnographer Kluckhohn's (1945) work suggests that he succeeded because he,

recognized that there were many problems related to validity, reliability, and interpretation when using life history material, but saw their potential advantages for studying social change, as clues to implicit themes, as documentation on roles, as demonstration of socialization and enculturation, as an entry into understanding personality, as a view of the "emotional structure" of a way of life, as a means toward understanding variations within a society, and also of seeing the "common humanity" among peoples.

By adopting this methodology, I was able to explore how my grandmother coped with life experiences and how she dealt with cultural change as a new immigrant to Canada, and as a woman within a particular social class, ethnic group, and particular historical time period.

Langness and Frank (1981) state that life histories, or biographical studies, as they are sometimes referred to, are used for one or more of the following reasons: (1) to portray culture, (2) for literary purposes, (3) to portray aspects of culture change, (4) to illustrate some aspect of culture not usually portrayed by other means (such as women's view of their culture); (5) to

communicate something not otherwise communicated (e.g. the "insider's view of culture"); or (6) to say something about deviants or other unusual cases.

The importance of doing this work is best expressed by Langness and Frank (1981:14) in their reference to "person-centered" ethnography.

What this consists of is a rigorous yet compassionate effort on the part of American scholars and others to portray the lives of ordinary individuals, in cultures and contexts sometimes far removed from the ones they know, with the kind of perceptiveness and detail that transform a stranger we might meet in our personal lives into a friend. In finding ways to give voice to persons in a range of societies - many of them members of sub-groups shuffled about in the continual struggle of class interests and shifting national alliances - [researchers] use the life-history method to convey directly the reality that people other than themselves experience. But we do not want to dwell exclusively on the idea that other worlds are miles away or in some enclave - religious, geographical, or ethnic. Getting to know any person in depth is a major experience because we have to admit that another way of structuring the world truly exists. Cultural differences make such alternatives easier to spot, but more difficult to comprehend.

This thought has been an underlying principle that has guided not only the collection of my grandmother's life stories, but particularly the analysis and interpretation of her narratives. Until recently few life histories of women have been published. The reason for this is that previously much of what had been recorded in all disciplines had been thought, investigated, and written largely from the perspective of men (Smith, 1986). Furthermore, many women's life histories which have been published have been attempts to portray what has been thought of as a "neglected aspect of culture" (Langness and Frank, 1981). But, many of the questions and topics which these works explore have generated from a gender-based perspective which, in the past, has had little understanding or appreciation of those issues deemed relevant by women themselves. Smith (1986) sees that women have generally been subordinated to the ruling apparatus and discourse which she sees as being male dominated.

Two approaches to collecting life histories are discussed by Mandelbaum (1973). He says that life histories can be collected as life cycle or life passage events. This procedure emphasizes the requirements of society, how groups socialize and enculturate their young. A concern in adopting this procedure is that it is limited to emphasizing a single stage of life to the exclusion of the whole life process.

The other approach Mandelbaum (1973) mentions is life history studies. This technique emphasizes the experiences and requirements of the individual and how she/he copes and develops within a society (cited by Crane and Angrosino, 1984). This second technique has been adopted by the present writer. My interest is in how my grandmother, as an immigrant to Canada, perceived and came to understand her experiences as a woman with particular emphasis on what she believed to be important in her life. Added to this is how she coped with cultural differences as a Ukrainian immigrant - adapting to a new cultural context while, at the same time, maintaining cultural traditions from the old country.

Although life histories can be a valuable source of information in helping us understand and appreciate an individual's life process, this form of study is not without its drawbacks. Crane and Angrosino (1984) discuss concerns related to the quality of life histories gathered in the past. Many life histories lack the documentation to explain and provide a setting for the study. Another limitation is the uneven representation of age and sex groups. Most life histories are of males over fifty years of age and, thus, focus on the experiences of those of the dominant group. Both youth and women's experience have largely been ignored. This is because most researchers in the past have been males, who have had an easier time accessing male groups rather than female groups in

traditional societies. This bias also extends to the questions posed for research which has reflected the interests of male researchers.

Nevertheless, there are numerous reasons for choosing the life history research method. Although this approach to data collection is expensive and time-consuming, it yields a richness of data about people's lives that could not be collected by questionnaires.

Collecting Data

The individual chosen as an informant was my grandmother. She was an interesting choice of subject for a number of reasons. First, her life spanned the twentieth century since she was born in 1900; she had lived through one of the most dynamic periods in recorded history. Secondly, she was a woman, and as has been pointed out throughout this study, women have very infrequently been given the opportunity to put their own lives to paper. Thirdly, she could speak to her experiences as an early immigrant settler in Canada. Much of our historical records have been written from the perspective of the dominant culture - white, Anglo Saxon. Working with my grandmother allowed both her and me to give voice to an ethnic minority and to their struggle in blending together their cultural heritage from Ukraine with the cultural practices considered appropriate for a Canadian. Finally, my grandmother was willing to sit and talk to me about her early experiences. At the time I talked with her, she was eighty-eight years of age, having outlived most of her contemporaries and even some of her children. She was fortunate to have a quick mind, an excellent memory, and had developed memory patterns which she used to remember the stories of her life.

Vansina (1965) talks about the value of oral tradition particularly in cultures without written language. Oral tradition is the way in which these cultures replay their past history to the present generation. Cultures that use oral tradition adopt particular speech patterns and other linguistic techniques

with which to remember their cultural stories. Stories are constructed around the events that take place in the community and which have meaning for that group. These stories are then told by individuals who become the carriers of the community's knowledge. An individual will develop a rhythm in storytelling and tell the same story in the same manner from one telling to the next. In our family, my grandmother played the role of the family narrator. Her first language was Ukrainian. She taught herself to read the Ukrainian language. She learned to speak English through hearing English spoken in the homes she worked in as a servant when a young woman. She had no formal education in the English language until she attended night school at John Oliver Secondary, Vancouver, in 1955 at the age of fifty-five. She attended night school for a year, where she learned the basics of both written English and oral English grammar. Therefore, for most of her life she depended upon her oral storytelling to share knowledge about herself and her experiences. All of her life, she told stories about herself, her family, and her community. There was little variation in her narratives from one telling to the next. Vansina (1965) suggests that this patterning of stories is one of the methods cultures with oral traditions use to remember important events.

But, there are some cautions to be considered when collecting oral histories. First, it is generally understood that the researcher must keep in mind there are two kinds of information in oral tradition. Narratives are the first-hand experiences of the person being interviewed. These can be considered reliable to the extent that the person is talking about her/his own experiences. All other information collected from individuals about events that happened outside their personal experiences are considered legends. Some of the information collected from my grandmother falls within this second area. The information shared about life in Ukraine, and the first few years in Canada, are beyond the

scope of firsthand information. She has related what her mother and father have told her. I had considered not including this information, but I believe that it offers a valuable insight into the beliefs and myths passed on through the generations about life in the old country. Therefore, although this information has been included, it must be considered as only past legends.

Another concern related to oral history is related to people's memory and their ability to recall information over time. For a variety of reasons they may forget parts of their lives, or recall events inaccurately. Just the vast quantity of information to be remembered can make remembering every detail a monumental and impossible task. It may be that some of the information that is remembered might be of particular significance only to the individual. Or, it may be that the individual selectively remembers stories about their lives from the best vantage point, tending to overlook stories that show them in a derogatory light. Any one of these, or combination of these might be operating at any time for an individual. But this does not necessarily negate the value of collecting an individual's story. My grandmother had an amazing ability to retain large segments of information about her life. I believe that this is because she lacked any formal written means of remembering and did not keep a personal journal. Her journal was verbal - she remembered her life experiences because she developed stories about those experiences which were meaningful to her. Her ability to remember dates and events was extraordinary. She had developed memory markers which she was able to use as prompts for dates, names, and places in her memory.

Interviewer-Interviewee Relationship

An important aspect of carrying out this type of research is in establishing rapport with your informant. Crane and Angrosino (1984) view the collecting of life histories as an intimate collaboration between the researcher and the

subject. The researcher is working in a one-to-one relationship with a particular individual, and therefore, is responsible for establishing and maintaining that relationship. This is accepted practise by all researchers carrying out individual interviews (Merriam, 1988; Crane and Angrosino, 1984, Mandelbaum, 1973).

Along with the other considerations mentioned earlier in this section, the decisions to work with my grandmother did not necessarily preclude the necessity to establish a good working relationship. In fact, on reflection, working with an individual who was held in such inestimable regard by her whole family placed a certain amount of pressure on this researcher in a number of ways. First, I was concerned with whether or not she would be willing to share information about her past that might be derogatory or negative about herself or members of her family. However, in working with her I found her candid in sharing information that was personal as well as valuable in understanding her life history and relationships with other individuals both within the family and in the communities in which she lived. Second, I became aware that as one works with an individual over a period of time, the researcher can develop a sense of custodianship towards the narratives being shared. One becomes aware that the recounting of the information may have an impact on the informant's relationships either with family members or with members from their community. I felt some responsibility because she had so willingly shared her life with me and was prepared to put her words into print for others to read. Although she has since passed away prior to the writing of this manuscript, I have tried to be faithful to her stories. I do not believe that working with one's relatives is easier or harder than working with a stranger. Each case comes with its own set of obligations and pitfalls which the researcher must sort through and deal with before working with the individual.

Part of establishing rapport with an informant involves choosing a suitable location for the interviews. Informants are more likely to feel comfortable if they are in surroundings that are familiar to them. For this reason, and because my grandmother lacked transportation, I met with her in her private room in the senior citizen's facility in which she lived in the fall of 1988. Because this type of work can be intensive for both the interviewer and the interviewee, I kept the length of the sessions to between one and one and one half hours in duration. We met twice a week for approximately six weeks. During our interviews, I monitored her energy level by noting if she was getting tired or by asking her about half way through a session if it was all right to continue.

Initially, I set up our sessions and explained that I wanted to meet with her to talk about her life and put her stories into a book. I explained that there were few history books written about women by women. She agreed to meet with me to talk about her life. At each of the sessions we had for the next six weeks, we maintained a professional relationship in the sense that the conversation revolved around her past. The sessions ended after six weeks by her choice - she felt that she had related all that she believed was important to say about her life.

The method that I used to collect the information was to tape record each session. A new tape was used at each session, and the date and time was noted on each session's tape. This proved to be useful for several reasons. First, by taping all of our sessions, I was not forced to take notes which would have meant that I would have had to edit some of her dialogue. Second, I was able to give my grandmother my undivided attention which I believe was respectful of both her and her narrative. Third, by recording all the information, I was able to collect some of her emotional reactions to some of her own statements which might not have been possible if I had been taking notes. A

drawback of using a tape recorder can be that the informant may become self conscious, but this was not a problem with my grandmother. We were able to accomplish a great deal, even at our first meeting, where she talked freely and made no comment about being recorded. The tapes were not transcribed until the fall of 1994, a lapse of six years. At the time that the tapes were transcribed, a verbatim transcript was produced.

There were some problems encountered in the process of collecting the information. My grandmother's first language was Ukrainian, although she had been in Canada since she was two years old. Her native language had been spoken in the home until her own children attended public school. She retained an accent all her life, and developed speech patterns that reflected this blending of two languages. Some of her patterns were idiosyncratic which created some problems in understanding her narratives. When I was not clear as to her meaning, I would ask questions to clarify any misconceptions on my part.

This also presented some problems in transcribing the tapes. Originally, I had thought that I would transcribe the tapes using her vernacular. But, I later decided against this option because of my concern with the negative way in which individuals are perceived based upon the way in which they speak a second language. Individuals who are not able to speak English fluently or have an accent are often viewed in derogatory ways. Any attempt by me to write down her story using her speech patterns could also be misconstrued as being disrespectful by her ethnic community and be seen as another attempt to denigrate a group of individuals based upon ethnic linguistic patterns. I do not have any linguistic background or any fluency in Ukrainian which would have made it possible for me to have faithfully recorded her particular style of English language usage. Therefore, I chose to write her story in standard English usage. This has meant that I needed to proceed cautiously, taking great pains

not to change the meaning of her dialogue. I first transcribed all the tapes, as accurately as I could, using her vernacular. Where I could not understand her speech patterns I have showed my editing by using square brackets around my own words used to fill in blanks. Then, after all of her dialogue was transcribed, and I had developed an ear for her speech patterns, I went back over the written transcript and rewrote it using common English patterns. The following chart gives an example of my Grandmother's linguistic pattern and my editing:

Grandmother's Vernacular	My Editing
<p>Oh, das is happen inna I seventeen year ol. I fell from da wagon, isa horse run ana we stay behin seats and uh big hole, puddle like dat, an I jus neber holt it self an wheel jus squeeze it right to da bone. An nutink. But, das is dis..... dis is nineteen eighteen what I marry. My husban come bisit me and says to Dad, she might cripple if you don' take to doctor. Dey took me to doctor and doctor lookit me and says bones not brokink, jus flesh an he gib me boric acid.</p>	<p>Oh, it happened when I was seventeen years old. We were in the wagon behind the seats and the horse ran away through a big hole like a puddle. I wasn't holding on and I fell from the wagon. The wheel ran over my leg and squeezed it right to the bone. That was in nineteen eighteen, just before I married. My husband came for a visit and says to Dad, "She might be crippled if you don't take her to the doctor". They took me to the doctor and the doctor looked at my leg and says the bones weren't broken, just the flesh, and he gave me some boric acid.</p>

The key to getting good data has to do with the experience of the interviewer and the quality of the questions asked (Merriam, 1988). Most inexperienced researchers will prepare a questionnaire and use a structured interview format. Initially, I attempted to structure the interview in a manner that was meaningful to me as interviewer. I found this approach unsatisfactory. Although this may be appropriate in some research situations, it set up barriers to a free flowing narrative conversation. Grandmother's ability to remember past experiences with such clarity is in part due to the way in which she has remembered them. Any imposition of external constraints disrupted this pattern and she would become confused and uncertain about what she should say. The richest recollections were produced when I adopted a less directive stance in

our meetings. Patton (cited by Merriam, 1988) calls this a "presuppositional stance" - that is, the researcher presupposes that the interviewee has something to contribute, and has an opinion of interest to the researcher. Along with this Patton suggests that the researcher assumes a position of neutrality in response to the respondent's knowledge. This proved to be an appropriate position for me to take with my grandmother. By my adopting an open, non-judgemental, interviewee-led and supportive stance, my grandmother led the conversations, shared with me those parts of her life story that were most salient to her. In this manner, I was able to gain an understanding of her own beliefs and life perceptions. I am not certain that this would have been as clear if I had imposed a structure through questioning her. It may seem like a moot point but, in life history studies I believe that the informant should lead the conversation as much as is feasible so that it is not the interviewer who is determining the salience of the data being collected.

Questions were asked and answered. When I was not clear on some information shared, or wished her to go farther in her description, I would ask a question. I made minimal comments, and directed the discussion as little as possible except for clarification and understanding. But, a majority of the time, my grandmother followed her own structure in the interviews.

Merriam (1988) also discussed what makes a good respondent. She suggests that a good informant is an individual who understands the culture and is able to reflect upon it and report it to the interviewer. Key informants, she says, are able to adopt the stance of the investigator and act as a guide through unknown territory. Dexter (cited by Merriam, 1988) separates out what she refers to as an elite interview. This type of interview is conducted with a particular individual because the interviewer is interested in that particular person's definition of the situation.

Without willing informants who are able to articulate their stories, the researcher would not be able to carry out the investigation. Reflecting upon my grandmother as informant, I can say that she was both willing and articulate. It was during our second session that she asked me what I wanted her to say about her life so that she could give me what I wanted. I responded by telling her to tell me whatever she wanted to share - this was her opportunity to tell her story.

Another issue in the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, arises in the question of whether or not my grandmother was a feminist. Katherine Borland (1991), in working with her grandmother, found that through the "process of intergenerational transmission" what emerged was a variability of meaning between herself and her grandmother. Borland states that for feminist researchers the issue related to "interpretive authority" is problematic because on the one hand feminists seek to value women's experiences by allowing them to speak for themselves through the researcher, while at the same time the researcher must be aware of the structural imperatives which lead to particular social relations. The same view may not be shared by all those who share their experiences. In examining her grandmother's narrative, Borland (1991) used her feminist framework in the analysis and infused her interpretation with patriarchal ideologies. When Borland showed her work to her grandmother, she vehemently disagreed and stated that she was not and never had been a feminist. What Borland demonstrates in this article is that as researchers we must be careful in our interpretation of personal narrative not to impose our own beliefs, biases, and prejudices. Unfortunately, I can not show this work to my grandmother to see if she would agree with the way that her work has been interpreted. I do not know if she would have considered herself a feminist but a brief discussion of some of her dialogue may give some insights

as to her thoughts. The closest we ever came to discussing feminism was in our second session when she was describing her accident with the wagon in which her leg was badly injured. Her dialogue appears earlier in this chapter in the discussion on language and interpretation. Following her recounting of the incident, I asked her if the reason why her parents did not take her to the doctor was because she was a female. She responded by laughing at me by asking why they should take her to a doctor. No bones had been broken, so there was no need to go to the doctors - whether or not she was a girl did not matter. They would not have done anything differently if it had happened to a boy. I had the sense that at that moment she doubted my intelligence. But this does not mean that she did not recognize injustice or inequity when she saw it. What she did talk about was the anger and resentment she felt when she was very young and she was expected to work so hard on the farm with no similar expectations of her brothers. She was also angry and sad that her opportunity for an education had been cut short because her mother did not believe that there was any use in sending a daughter to school when her labour was so sorely needed on the farm while her brothers were given the opportunity for an education. She had wanted to learn so badly that she had tried to teach herself to read both Ukrainian and English. She refused to allow herself to be beaten by her father and preferred to leave home rather than be abused. And, when she married, she told her husband that he was not going to think that he could beat her like his father beat his mother. When her own children came along, she taught both the boys and girls how to take care of themselves and the home. The boys learned how to knit, sew, cook, and clean the house. The oldest child, a daughter, was boarded with a family so that she could attend school. By the time the other children were of school age, public schools had been built close to home and all the children were given an opportunity to attend school. The girls never worked the

fields on the farm as she had done as a youngster. I doubt whether she would have considered herself a feminist. In all the years I knew my grandmother, I never heard her talk about being a feminist. What mattered to her is that she was a good mother, having raised seven fine children who were living better lives than she and her husband had experienced.

Literature Reviews

Initially, I read some literature pertaining to settlement of the Ukrainians on the prairies so that I had some rudimentary understanding of farm life. But, I did not read extensively prior to collecting information from my grandmother. Crane and Angrosino (1984) suggest this approach in collecting life histories - reference to the literature only after the collection of data. This method allows the researcher to approach an informant with an open mind so that the individual offers her/his own story. This kind of unbiased approach prevents subject's memories and experiences from being channelled into accepted normative explanations, generated by the researcher, since the informant's life may have followed a different course than that assumed by the researcher.

As I read and reread my grandmother's narratives, I began to see some themes which suggested areas for review in the literature. The literature reviewed in this study encompasses two areas: the feminist literature which theorizes, and the literature providing contemporary explanations of women's experiences. My historical analysis explores the experiences of Ukrainian immigrant women within the context of the larger culture at the turn of the century. The books and articles reviewed helped extend and refine my focus and assisted in interpreting my grandmother's story. It was through this dialectic process - reading the transcript, then reading the literature and looking for

shared themes - that the general topics were generated for use during the analytical stage.

There were five general themes that emerged from the literature and transcripts. One theme that emerged was gender, class, and ethnicity. This particular area looks at the interrelationships between gender, class, and ethnic heritage. Issues related to immigration, government policy, racism, and isolation are discussed in terms of the experiences of immigrant women. A second theme relates to women and work, especially that of farm women. This theme is referred to as making ends meet. The literature shows that farm women are involved in unpaid labor in both the production and domestic ends of the farm. Under this theme are issues related to gender division of labor, production and domestic labor for women, economic control of the family, and wage labor. The third theme is husbands and wives. Stories of relationships in the old country, marriage practises, and family violence are explored. Stories of immigrant women's suffering and powerlessness prior to arrival in Canada would not be lost on these women. Coming to a land that holds out the principle of democracy to its citizens breeds a sense of freedom for all, even women.

The fourth area used to examine the literature and Mary's life history is mothers and children. This thematic area looks at issues related to mothering, conception, pregnancy and childbirth, women's health, and birth control.

The final theme that emerged is education and mother as cultural mediator. The Ukrainian immigrant farm woman was the person in the community that stood between two cultures. These women attempted to maintain their traditions from Ukraine against the pressures from the dominant culture to assimilate the immigrants into western ways. The instrument for this indoctrination was the education system which helped to eradicate cultural heritage and put a wedge between mother and child.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Traditionally, theories related to work have focused on paid labour. This has meant that unpaid labour such as domestic labour has been invisible, devalued, and ignored. An assumption related to women's domestic labour is that what women do in the home is separate and unrelated to the public sphere and has no impact or value to either family welfare or the state. Feminist theory argues that to be able to understand the way people survive, and determine the value of what women do, we must take into account women's unpaid labour. As researchers, we need to examine all unpaid work done by women - whether it be domestic work done for the family in the home, volunteer work, or work done for the family business or on the farm - to enable us to understand its value both to the family and the state. One area of research that explores the relationship between women's unpaid labour and its value examines work done by farm women. Research by Bentley (1984), Delphy (1984), Ghorayshi (1989), and Salamon (1992) shows that on the farm, women play a crucial role in the success of the farm as a production unit. Women not only carry out their domestic role in maintaining the home and family, but are found working alongside their partners, offering free labour in the production of goods for the marketplace. These women share unequally in the benefits accrued through their labour. The literature related to women's unpaid labour shows that what women do for free is indeed work, and does play a significant role in the economic survival of the farm family.

Historically, immigrant women have faced the same economic difficulties as other women, but their situation is compounded by a number of factors. These women must cope with government policy relating to immigration to

Canada that affects their status, as well as issues of racism and isolation upon their arrival. The literature demonstrates that the difficulties these women face in settling in Canada illustrate the interrelationship of gender, class, and ethnicity. What we read in the contemporary literature about immigrant women is similar to what women faced back at the beginning of this century. The stories my grandmother tells about life as an immigrant farm woman echoes in the material discussed in this chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to integrate the theories related to women's labour, with the issues faced by immigrant women, as a foundation for reading my grandmother's stories.

Domestic Unpaid Labour

Essentially, until the 1970s, housework has been invisible (Delphy, 1984). This invisibility has been fostered by neoclassic economic theory and even some feminists who have ignored women's domestic unpaid labour. There has been a tacit assumption that "work" is something that happens away from home, in the public domain, for a wage. The explanations developed have examined wage workers to the exclusion of unpaid or volunteer work (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990). By focusing on wage labour, the work done by women in their homes has remained untheorized, discounted, and invisible. Armstrong and Armstrong (1990) state that traditional theory fails to explain how labour is organized and is carried out because of the exclusion of women's domestic labour. Any theory must include "the way people survive on a daily basis - the means employed to provide food, clothing, shelter and care" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990:13).

Traditional theorists, by focusing on wage labour, ignore a substantial part of what gets done by various groups at different historical periods. Armstrong and Armstrong (1990:13) state that any theory of work,

...means including the unpaid labour done for family firms or farms and the volunteer work performed for all manner of organizations and individuals. It means including all unpaid domestic work - the management of the household and its finances, the bearing and rearing of children... including the work done for pay in the underground economy.

The traditional way of understanding what constitutes work/nonwork artificially divides labour into the domestic and wage labour spheres, and implies that these two domains exist separate and distinct from one another.

Feminist theorists in the 1970's began to challenge these neoclassic economic assumptions about what constitutes work, the division of labour, and the invisibility of women's domestic labour. They began to challenge the assumption of distinct and separate spheres. Armstrong and Armstrong (1985) in, *Political Economy and the Household*, state that the separation of the public and private spheres implies that the household economy is irrelevant to the market economy located in the public sphere. Feminists recognize that to understand women's experience, it needs to be viewed within "the context of the larger social structures and processes, to show how these structures and processes shaped and are shaped by women's work" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990:13). Armstrong and Armstrong continue their argument by stating, "rather than treat the public and private as separate for either women or men, feminists have increasingly explained one in terms of the other, making the political personal, and the personal political" (1990:15). Many feminist theorists have come to the conclusion that women's unpaid domestic labour is a valuable and essential part of the economy.

Meg Luxton carried out a study in 1976 in a small town called Flin Flon in northern Manitoba. The purpose of the study was to "locate domestic labour within the development of industrial capitalism in North America to show how it has changed throughout the period" (Luxton, 1980:24). A second goal was to

"illustrate the actual work process as women experience it to reveal the impact of those changes in women's lives" (Luxton, 1980:24). She believes that this separation of the private and public spheres is due to capitalist formation.

Luxton (1980) states that on the surface, domestic unpaid labour and wage work seem to be unrelated, the former based on the family and love relations, the latter on the economic relations in the public sphere. She refers to Engels who recognizes the separation of the family from other labour processes. But, historically, research has looked at the 'production of the means of existence' (wage labour) and ignored 'the production of human beings themselves (domestic labour)' (Luxton, 1980:13).

Luxton (1980) argues that when domestic labour is analyzed, this separation of public and private spheres becomes less evident. She states that women are responsible for domestic labour in the household. Traditionally, the household has been seen as a consumption unit. Luxton argues that "domestic labour is also production" (Luxton, 1980:16) in that women reproduce labour power - replenish it by taking care of themselves, their husbands and other family members - and exchange wage labour for goods and services. Women are responsible for the transformation of goods and services for household use. The transformation of wages into goods and services includes all the shopping, finances and any additional work done by women to bring more money into the household. It is the housewife who attempts to deal with the vagaries of the capitalist system during periods of economic crisis by moderating family spending and consumption practises. She states, "this never-ending work is vitally important in making life tolerable for household members." She continues her argument by saying that domestic labour is "profoundly determined by capitalist production and functions at the heart of the social relations...." (Luxton, 1980:17).

Luxton (1980) found when she analyzed her conversations with three generations of housewives in Flin Flon that the separation of women into the private sphere had a major impact both on the women as well as on their relationships with their husbands. Women often marry for economic reasons because of low wages paid women or because there is no work. Luxton (1980:44) states that this economic dependency permeates and threatens the marriage relationship. Because of this uneven relationship, a "petty tyranny" develops which allows the man to dominate his wife and children...." (Luxton, 1980:65). Some of the consequences of this unequal relationship are that men believe that they have the right to direct the arrangements in the household, have access to their wife's sexual companionship at their discretion, and *control the financial resources of the family* (my italics). The economic power of the wage earners has permeated their relationships with their spouses in profound ways:

.....women [have] not [been] free to decide how to spend money, [have needed] to ask their husband giving new social power to control women's lives. Women would be forced to manipulation (e.g. sex) to give them money (e.g. cajole, whine, beg, plead). Even when things were going well in the home men's latent economic power was expressed as 'he's real good that way' (Luxton, 1980:167).

Luxton also talks about the impact on women who by choice or necessity, enter the wage labour market. These women are faced with a double day - working both for wage labour and then doing a "second shift" in the home. In a follow-up study she conducted in 1981 to determine if there had been any changes, she found that there is a "direct correspondence between attitudes these women expressed toward paid employment for mothers and their views on the gendered division of labour in the home" (Luxton, 1986:38). These women employed one of three strategies in balancing the demands of the home and paid labour outside the home: (1) separate spheres and hierarchical

relations. These women opposed working outside the home which they believed violated women's roles as homemakers. They view men as the head of the household and women as subordinate, acquiescing to male demands and putting the family needs first. (2) separate spheres and co-operative relations. These women see men and women as different, located in separate spheres but needing to cooperate. They believe women can work out of the home, but that their real work is in the home. Although they advocated full time housework for themselves, they supported women who chose to work outside the home. They carried out most of the domestic labour like group one, and when necessary, coped with increased responsibility by easing standards and purchasing goods and services that cut down on the domestic labour time. These women also felt that when financially necessary, it was appropriate for women to work outside the home even though they still favoured a gendered division of labour. But their practises were contradictory in that they would ask their husband for help in the home. Whereas group one maintained high standards and were unaware or refused to acknowledge the pressures, group two acknowledged pressures placed on women working outside the home and weren't above asking for support. (3) towards shared spheres and changing relations. These women believed that women had the right to paid employment if they wanted. They saw "wives and husbands as partners who should share the responsibilities for financial support and domestic labour" (p.41). These women supported a change in the traditional division of labour and were doing things to help change occur.

Roberta Hamilton (1986) in, *The Politics of Diversity*, critiques Luxton's work in Flin Flon. She comments that Luxton clearly shows the extent to which housewives must exert themselves to keep their families emotionally and physically intact, sometimes at great personal cost. Hamilton commends Luxton

for showing that women are not "simply buffeted by the company, husbands, and children." While these women must deal with boundaries, placing restrictions around the choices they are able to make, they are prepared to leave a husband who becomes violent or convince a partner to move to another community so that they too can find employment outside the home. Hamilton points out that Luxton shows that even "on a day-to-day basis, women plan and work, scheme and compromise, to create satisfying lives for themselves and their families" (Hamilton, 1986:147). Luxton shows the reader how "the long arm of the job" reaches into the home, even into the sexual relationship between husband and wife.

Hamilton (1986) points out two other useful things Luxton clarifies regarding women, domestic labour, and paid employment. First, when women go to work outside the home, changes become evident in women's statements about their life and worth. Luxton found that when women have their own money and contribute to the household, this independence "gives her strength to put forward more forcefully her wishes about how the household income is spent" (Luxton 1980:190). Second, Hamilton states that the Marxist argument over whether women produce use value is irrelevant to Luxton. She uses careful description to show that all of the activities performed by women are work.

Hamilton (1986:149) says that although Luxton often shows the struggle within the working-class families that she studied, a struggle which she says is based on male domination and female subordination. Luxton never directly addresses this issue, or the issue of how women's double work day leads to daily struggles in the home. She also does not address the question of how resources are distributed *within* households.

Farm Women and the Domestic Mode of Production

Although Luxton's work is useful in understanding women's domestic labour in urban working class families, it does not directly speak to the experience of immigrant peasant farm women like my grandmother.

An author whose work speaks more directly to this particular group is Christine Delphy, another feminist in the domestic labour debate. She adopts a materialist's perspective, and looks at rural families in order to understand women's domestic labour and oppression. Although her explanation is at times, complicated and difficult to follow, she does contribute to our understanding of women's domestic labour with her focus on rural peasant families, her historical perspective on patriarchy, and her analysis of appropriation of women's labour for the benefit of others.

Delphy (1984) states that to understand women's oppressive position in society, one "...must demonstrate the material relations which exist within a society, and show how particular ideas support the continuation of the objective interests of oppressor groups" (Delphy, 1984:9-10). She says the subordination of women under patriarchy is now the oppression of women beings, and she defines patriarchy as the "system of subordination of women to men in contemporary industrial societies". She further states, "that this system has an economic base, and that this base is the domestic mode of production" (Delphy, 1984:18). The ways that patriarchy dispossesses women are by depriving them of the means of production and forcing them into domestic relations (marriage). Delphy says that it is not the family situation that pushes women into the labour market, but the labour market, through its discriminatory wage practises in relation to women, which forces women into marriage for economic support. Therefore the labour market plays a role in the exploitation of women's domestic work (Delphy, 1984:20).

The domestic mode of production is also a mode of circulation and consumption. The amount of consumption available to a family is dependent upon the wage income. Delphy (1984) says that the difference between the modes of production are that those exploited by the domestic mode of production are not *paid* but rather *maintained*. This means that women's domestic labour has no wage value attached to it, and thus what a woman receives for her efforts is only the continued maintenance of her existence. "Therefore, consumption is not separate from production, and the unequal sharing of goods is not mediated by money" (Delphy, 1984:18). Women's labour power, therefore, is given in the home in return for maintenance.

Delphy (1986) believes that to understand "quantitative exploitation" in the family and what maintenance consists of, one needs to study consumption in the family. She believes that maintenance cannot be translated into a monetary equivalent without the danger of overlooking the distinction between choice and non-choice in consumption. In traditional rural families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the consumption of food varied depending on the status of the individual in the family (Delphy, 1984). Men in the house got most and best of the food - meat was often only eaten by the head of the household. Women ate whatever was left over.

She also discusses how "every mode of production is also a mode of circulation" (Delphy, 1984:19). In the domestic mode of production the mode of circulation is patrimony. Where Delphy says this has been well studied is in farming. How one passes on ownership of land shows, she says, "the mechanisms which produce complementary and antagonistic classes at work. It shows how owners are divided from non-owners of the means of production" (Delphy, 1984:19).

The effect is clear in farm families - those who do not inherit - women and younger siblings - work unpaid for their husbands and their inheriting brothers (Delphy, 1984). Women's unpaid labour on the farm is taken for granted. This lack of appreciation is expressed by my grandmother in her story. Delphy (1984:67) says a woman can not exchange her *family* production, therefore doesn't make use of her labour power. It is her husband who is able to appropriate the benefits of his wife's labour and exchange it in the market economy. Even when women leave home for wage work, her wage still belongs to her husband. Her labour power is still appropriated at home by her family responsibilities. Women carry a double workload for a certain amount of economic independence. Delphy asserts that, "providing unpaid labour within the framework of a universal and personal relationship (marriage) constitutes a relationship of slavery." She continues by stating, "appropriation of ... labour within marriage constitutes [an] oppression common to all women" (Delphy, 1984:71).

Delphy (1984) challenges the argument that housework is unpaid because it is not productive (lacks exchange value) and does not pass through the market system. She describes how parts of housework are accounted for in the national accounting system in France. It is only particular types of housework that are excluded. She looks to small agricultural farms to illustrate her proposition. On small farms, wives participate in all production, as my grandmother did, for market and for consumption. Although men can do both kinds of work, it is the women who do the unaccounted work. This unaccounted work is referred to as "housework". Women's "housework" is seen as other than their 'occupational work' on the farm.

Delphy quotes research that states it is difficult to distinguish these two types of work, and that there is considerable overlap between the two domains.

This will be illustrated later in the chapter when we look at Ghorayshi's research into farm wives' labour. Delphy shows that what is described on farms as housework are things that are not specifically agricultural production. She says that "the reason why housework is not considered to be productive, and why it is not accounted for is because it is done, within the confines of the home, for free: because it is not paid or exchanged...." (Delphy, 1984:87). Thus, Delphy sees housework as a social relation of production, consisting of all unpaid labour done for others within the confines of the household or the family.

In summary, both Luxton and Delphy look at women's unpaid domestic labour and show how it has been relegated to the private sphere because it has been assumed to be nonproductive; while in reality it is indeed productive. Delphy refers to women's domestic unpaid labour as the domestic mode of production. Luxton states that women's subordination is a result of capitalist social formation. Delphy sees women's oppression as due to the patriarchy which operates through property relations. What Delphy adds to the discussion are her observations about who benefits from women's domestic labour. In examining farm families, she shows that men appropriate women's labour and exchange it on the market. What this means is that women work alongside men on the farms in the production of goods for market. Women work for no pay (remember, they only receive maintenance, or "in kind" benefits) so that the value women give to production is owned by their husbands. Farm men don't pay any wages to their wives for the labour they contribute to production. Therefore, the men receive all the benefit from women's labour. Delphy adds that men also control property relations through inheritance. Therefore, men control family wealth and property, and this puts women in a submissive position. Luxton helps us to see that, although women are subordinated to their husbands, they still find ways and means of making space for themselves and

their families. Women may be oppressed, but this oppression is not absolute. The next section will examine research into women's work on the farm which illustrates the blurring of the public and private spheres.

Farm Women and Production Labour

Examining the labour of farm wives in a rural setting offers a somewhat different view of women's domestic labour in relation to the public and private spheres. On the farm, the public sphere is identified as the labour which results in the production of marketable crops. Domestic labour in this setting implies the usual tasks carried out by housewives, but also includes tasks related to the production end of farming. Thus, the separation of the public and private spheres becomes blurred. On the farm, women play an integral part in the production end of the farm. They are also responsible for all domestic work. Historically, farm wives, like my grandmother, have always played a vital role on the farm. In the past, particularly on subsistence farms, the survival of the family often rested on the shoulders of the farm wife. Research by Abell and Robinson (cited by Langford and Keating, 1987) has shown that the most productive and successful farms always had a woman present. But, even though there is a necessary blending of the private and public spheres, women's productive labour on the farm has remained invisible.

Current research by feminists has begun to examine the role of women's labor on the farm. Farm women exist within capitalist states, but outside of urban centres. To understand their experience requires a shift in perspective. The separation of the private and public spheres takes on a different connotation when one examines farm work. A woman on the farm operates as both producer and consumer of capital production. At the same time she is responsible for the domestic labor. A fundamental difference between relationships on a farm and those that often exist in urban areas is that whoever

controls the land controls the members of the family on the farm. Historically, it has been males who own the land. Therefore, as Salamon (1992) states, it is men who hold the power in the farm family in the rural community.

Salamon (1992) conducted a study in an American midwest farming community to examine family farm life. Farming communities resemble other groups that anthropologists have studied in the past in that these groups are small, homogeneous, discrete, and agrarian. But, she says, "few anthropologists have found rural Americans worthy of study" (Salomon, 1992:2). Farming life is composed of kin, work, and community. Salamon (1992) believes that "culture, history, and community shape a family's attachment to the land. Culture, in particular, mediates how kin groups manage, handle, and pass on land, which are processes instrumental to the production and reproduction of the gender and social relations within both the family and community" (Salomon, 1992:1). Her focus is to examine family practices that are involved in kin and gender relations, domestic organization, child socialization, and life course development.

Husbands and Wives

Gender Relations on the Farm

One of the areas that she examined was the husband/wife dyad and farm management. What she found was that conjugal roles are developed through beliefs both about farming and about gender roles which include the belief that marriage is based upon love. These roles also are the basis for the division of labour on the farm. Schneider (cited by Salamon, 1992) states that the "husband/wife dyad is premised on exclusiveness and sexuality, with males as providers according to American kinship beliefs" (Salamon, 1992:120).

Salamon (1992) observed that this division of labor is based on sex. Even the way that farm labour is referred to reflects the gendered hierarchy. Women

refer to their labour on the farm as work; but men refer to women's labour as helping. This language reinforces women's subordinate position on the farm and even appears in some census reports. "While men recognize a woman's input as critical to the enterprise, because the agricultural census is a census of farms, a woman's work was masked if she was married" (Salamon quoting Haney, 1983). Historically, husbands and the census implied that a woman's work was "helping" because she was not paid and her work largely made the family self-sufficient rather than earned profits" (Salamon, 1992:121). She describes three theoretical perspectives that explain the division of labour and concludes by saying, "These various views all ignore cultural beliefs as a cause of a gendered division of labor" (Salamon, 1992:122). She argues that the male-dominated gender hierarchy is related to the control of land but is also influenced by cultural practices. She gives an example from her study to reinforce this point: "According to a retired widow the traditional residence patterns emphasize a young woman's lowly position: "When I got married we moved on (my husband's) homeplace and I had to learn to get along with his relatives because that's where the land was" (Salamon, 1992:126). What Salamon does not explain or take into account is how this gendered division of labor is influenced or reinforced by the larger social context. She overlooks and ignores the political economy. What she does do well is map out the division of labor based on sex, and show how ownership of land establishes a gendered hierarchy with males in positions of power and women in subordinate positions, where their contribution to the farm as a producer is invisible.

Complimentarity of Family and Farming

Ghorayshi (1989) has also examined the nature of wife's work on the family farm. Ghorayshi looked at a farming community in Quebec to determine the role wives played in the production and reproduction of the family farm. An

assumption in the research is that there is a separation of public and private spheres, especially urban areas and industrialized nations, but that this distinction is not useful in studying rural farming areas. What exists on farms is what she refers to as complementarity of family and farming. She states, "the public/private split which is characteristic of the majority of capitalist production units is not a necessary feature of the family farm" (Ghorayshi, 1987:573). The farm is both a production and consumption unit. Individuals do not leave home to work, but carry out their tasks at this unified site. The farm household acts as part of production when the labour expended is used to support the production end of the farm enterprise. Work time is not separated from non-work time. The division of labour on the farm is patriarchal but also takes into account age, gender, ability, and needs of family members.

The producers in the farm enterprise are related by family ties -- spouses, children, or other relatives. Marriage brings with it an obligation to work for the spouse. Often, this means that women would work alongside their partners and receive no wage for their labour. This is not an uncommon practise. Other small family run enterprises such as grocery stores or restaurants depend upon the wife's unpaid labour. Adilman (1992) discusses how indispensable Chinese women's labour has been in the success of the family store. Women who work alongside their partners receiving no pay for their labour are a valuable asset to the production unit.

The family farm remains the dominant form of agricultural production in capitalist societies due to the value of the wife's contribution of her labour towards production (Ghorayshi, 1989). Her contribution can be observed during times of economic crises when the family members employ various strategies to lessen the risk and increase the chances of survival of the enterprise. At these times choices need to be made between expenditure on personal and

household needs versus investment in the means of production for the enterprise. Hedley (cited by Ghorayshi, 1989) points out that some of the strategies that the family may employ are; cutting consumption and discretionary spending, intensifying subsistence, and seeking off-farm work.

Off-farm work may be undertaken by various members of the family. The need for capital investment in farm equipment and its high cost, force farm members, most often men, to seek off-farm work as a source of income. Wives may be forced into greater participation in direct farm production. Research has shown that when wives increase their efforts on the production side of the farm, their husbands are more able to work off the farm for a wage (Shaw, 1979:29, Haythorne, 1941:207; Gladwin & Downie, 1982). Ghorayshi states that "the need for at least one spouse to have an off-farm occupation creates a corresponding requirement for the other spouse to take care of production in his/her absence" (Ghorayshi, 1989:575-76). The benefit to the farm enterprise of the wife using her labour power on the production end of farming is that it reduces or eliminates the need to hire outside labour. During times of financial crises, this can be of immense benefit to the survival of the family farm enterprise. Wives also work off the farm for various reasons. Which spouse will look for wage work depends on the labour requirements of the farm, the labour requirements of the household, the availability of off-farm work, the level of wages of men and women, the stages of the family life cycle (whether there are young children or not), and the financial needs of the enterprise. Most women, like my grandmother, who pursue off-farm work do so to help sustain the family enterprise or to sustain the household during times of financial need. Ghorayshi comments that "what is missing from a discussion of off-farm work, part-time farming and off-farm income is the recognition of the spouses' and other family

members' contributions. Therefore, dependence of farm families on off-farm work is underestimated" (Ghorayshi, 1989:580).

Pearson and Boulding (cited by Ghorayshi, 1989) state that farming has historically been perceived as a male occupation. Their position regarding the nature of farm work assumes that the primary producer on a family farm is a man. Ghorayshi states that studies on the agricultural labour force and human resources have been sex blind. Referring to research carried out by Horner, et al. (1980), Rust (1975), and Barichello (1985), she shows that all farm production labour is credited to the male farm producer. This study, along with a growing body of knowledge, challenges these assumptions regarding women on the family farm. She argues that "women in their role as wife/partner/worker participate in an important way in direct production." She goes on to say ".... the interdependence between the family and the enterprise creates a situation where wives become active participants in what is generally assumed to be men's work" (Ghorayshi, 1989:754).

Ghorayshi explains that this complementarity of family and farming creates a situation for wives whereby they assume roles both as primary workers in domestic labour and as direct producers. By assuming roles in both parts of the family farm, women find these roles intertwined.

The research found that women, like my grandmother, played an important part in the operation of the family farm. They were in complete charge of feeding, watering livestock, milking the cows, and cleaning the barn. Women also shared equally with spouses in planting, harvesting, and ploughing. They also helped with repairing fences, building, applying fertilizers and insecticides, and picking up farm supplies when required. Women are flexible workers, using their labour in whatever way is most useful to farm production.

Impact of Domestic Labour on Farm Production

Another area of farm work for women is their domestic labour in the farm household which they are responsible for in addition to their participation in direct labour production. The boundary between domestic and agricultural work is blurred. This non-separation of the family household from the farm production enterprise occurs because many aspects of domestic work contribute to the production and maintenance of the family farm enterprise. Some of the activities that support the production end of the farm are subsistence production for family use, the preparation of meals for the work crew, and the caretaking of the hired hands' needs. The kitchen can become a repair centre for the cleaning and fixing of the farm equipment used in production.

An important feature of the wife's domestic labour has to do with her subsistence production for family use. The wife bakes, and preserves fruits and vegetables which she has grown in her own vegetable garden. Studies have shown that women are in charge of vegetable gardening on the farm (Boulding, 1980; Sachs, 1983). The produce grown in the garden allows the family to save money. Fruits and vegetables grown on the farm need not be purchased in the store therefore saving capital which can be used on the production side of the farm. This also reduces the economic pressure on the farm enterprise. Delphy (1978) has argued that any extra produce grown in the garden by the wife is sold, bringing in money to help support the maintenance of the family and its well-being. My grandmother talks about how she would take her produce and sell it to make some money to buy things for the children. The money she would make was not spent for luxury items, but for necessities for the family. She would be able to spend this money as she saw fit.

Unequal Relations

Ghorayshi (1989) states that women's contributions are systematically ignored, underestimated, and de-emphasized. The explanation she gives for this situation is related to property relations. Ownership of the land is in the hands of the direct producers. Although research (Bennett, 1982:164) has shown that relationships are interdependent, Ghorayshi cautions that this interdependence does not translate into equality. Farm wives must deal with the inequalities within the farm enterprise stemming from property relations which do not reflect the labour contributions of women. In such enterprises, a woman finds herself under the authority of the person who is perceived to be the direct producer - her husband. Ghorayshi continues her argument by stating that not everyone benefits equally from the production of the family farm and offers matrimonial property cases to illustrate the non-egalitarian relationships. She notes such cases as *Murdoch vs. Murdoch* in 1975, *Rathwell vs. Rathwell* in 1978, *Spencer vs. Spencer* in 1983, *Wildman vs. Wildman* in 1983, as examples of women receiving unequal treatment at the hands of the court.

Another factor in the inequality of the relationships of the family farm is the fact that farms are patriarchal institutions. She cites research by Hedley, (1981), Atkinson (1983), Sachs (1983) Salamon and Keim (1979) Vogler (1981), and Wilkening (1981) as support for her argument. She argues that the patriarchal relations that dominate farm families are reflected in property relations, which, for the most part, have excluded women from the ownership of land (Ramussen, 1976:148; Fairbank and Sunberg, 1983:75; Bentley and Sachs, 1984:11)" (Ghorayshi, 1989:582-83). Male operators are the decision-makers on the farm which gives them control over production and expenditure of capital.

Ghorayshi (1989) found that this unequal relationship has impact on how women perceive themselves in relation to their farm contribution. A lack of recognition, and a subordinate position in the family, affects women's self-image. They see themselves as wife, mother, and homemaker, and believe their role on the farm to be a supportive one. They tend to associate themselves more with the private sphere with family and women, and less with the enterprise, the public sphere, and men. They meet with salesmen, place orders for the enterprise but do not perceive this as being part of production. They underestimate their contribution to the farm enterprise and blind themselves to their role as producers. The way they do this is by de-emphasizing their skill and knowledge. Although the farm wives can state that their labour is essential to the farm, they fail to see or admit that their contribution is crucial. Just as Salamon (1992) found, these women do not view themselves as principal operators (even when they are running the farm and their husbands are employed in off-farm wage labour), they do not ask for equal status and refer to what they do as "helping out". But Ghorayshi concludes, it is the women's work which is indispensable to the survival of the family enterprise.

Immigrant Women

Bannerji (1993) in, *Returning the Gaze*, says that minorities have largely been invisible in published literature on Canadian society and history. She states that, "...until recently, readers and scholars residing elsewhere could perhaps justifiably conclude from published evidence that: a) Canada does not or did not have a significant non-white population; or b) if they at all existed, women (or men) among them were/are...not significant enough to be written about; and c) understanding Canadian society is possible without any consideration of Colonialism and (sexist) racism" (1993:xiv). This is not only true for the experiences of immigrant women in the late twentieth century, but for

immigrant women like my grandmother at the turn of the century. Any reporting on immigrant women has traditionally been done by males representing the dominant ruling group in Canada at that time.

Along with the issues faced by every housewife in relation to her unpaid domestic labour, immigrant women have some special concerns to contend with. They find themselves dealing with immigration policies that reinforce their subordinate position, along with issues of ethnicity and economic oppression. This is not to say that other housewives do not cope with economic disenfranchisement as well, but that the status of being an immigrant places additional barriers in the way of full participation in the society that reinforces their isolation and invisibility. Research has been carried out to examine immigrant women and paid labour, but little has been written about immigrant farm women.

Feminist theorists researching the experience of immigrant and marginalized women challenge the assumption that what women in the dominant group experience and find important, is also the same for immigrant, marginalized, and farm women. The focus has been on women as a single group but overlooks or fails to take account of additional descriptors of women such as age, race, ethnicity, and nativity (Boyd, 1975b). Feminists such as Bannerji (1993), Hooks (1984), Ng (1987; 1991), Boyd (1975b), and Maracle (1993), began to explore the experiences of immigrant and marginalized women to see if some of these factors significantly affected the women's experiences. Women researchers such as Salamon (1992) and Ghorayshi (1989) looked at the nature of women's work on farms. Their findings, like those of other feminists interested in the experiences and stories of immigrant and marginalized women, began to give a different perspective. We now recognize that to understand these women's experiences we need to take into account

racism, sexism, and patriarchy so that we carefully appreciate their positions within the social group.

Impact of Government Policy

Boyd (1975b) examines the status of immigrant women in Canada in relation to their labour force participation. She argues that when other descriptors are taken into account in analyzing and researching immigrant women, results show that these women suffer a double burden with respect to their status in Canadian society. The status of immigrant women in Canada is tied to their entry status and the status of their husbands or fathers, since immigrant women are still usually admitted to Canada as dependent relatives. Thus, women immigrants are often viewed as the responsibility of males, and consequently their own needs and problems in adapting to a new environment are ignored. The immigration policy structures the dependent status of immigrant women on males, limits their choices and options, and places them in a subordinate position, reinforcing patriarchal relationships which may exist in their homeland.

Interrelationship of Gender, Class, and Ethnicity

Ng (1991) examines the status of immigrant women and argues that immigrant women's experiences result from the interrelationship between sex, ethnicity, and class. Like Boyd (1975b), Ng believes that an understanding of gender and ethnic relations must be predicated on an understanding of how government policy mediates this relationship. This relationship is grounded in the history of state formation and the emergence of capitalism in Canada. Included in her analysis is the understanding that there is a historical component to theorizing. Ng (1991) believes that "the history of ethnic and gender relations is the history of Canadian state formation" (Ng, 1991:14). Ng states that the goal is not to determine the primacy of gender, race, or ethnicity,

but rather the goal should be to understand how the forms of oppression women experience help the dominant group to maintain hegemony over production and reproduction. She believes that feminists have a responsibility when reporting the experiences of immigrant women, and that it is not sufficient to just add the women's history to the record. She argues, "it is not enough for feminist and ethnic historians to rewrite women's history and ethnic history. In order to understand how Canada came to be a nation with its present configuration, we have to rewrite the history of Canada" (Ng, 1991:13).

Another feminist who also looks at the historical development of racism and sexism is Lee Maracle (1993). She writes that there is an interrelationship between racism, sexism, and patriarchy. The combination of racism and sexism along with colonialism has reinforced and extended the life of patriarchy.

Although she does not dispute the existence of racism or sexism prior to the industrial revolution, she believes that

....the colonial system of Europe which seeded the industrial revolution was the only social order to birth an ideology and guaranteed patriarchy a much longer life than it deserved (Maracle, 1993:148).

Maracle argues that, racism, sexism, and patriarchy operating together have kept women subordinate. She also believes that the subordination of women is a recent phenomenon brought about by the birth of capitalism. According to Maracle, the needs of capitalism demanded that blacks be enslaved, European women and children be transformed into cheap labor, and that colonies be plundered for their raw materials and markets, and to provide a place to dump excess goods and people. Maracle says that nationalism and racism infused life into patriarchy. I would argue that, in the creation of Canada, sexism and patriarchy joined with racism to subjugate women, both at the level of the home as well as at the state level, because this was believed to be necessary to maximize economic growth.

Isolation

An issue for all women, whether they are urban housewives, rural farm women or immigrant women is isolation. Kathleen Storrie (1987), reporting on the proceedings of the conference, "Women: Social and Physical Isolation," held in Saskatoon in 1985, states that the participants identified social and physical isolation as central to all women's experience. Bennett (cited by Langford and Keating, 1987) defines isolation as the "deprivation of social contact and content". I would extend this definition, as the conference organizers did, to include the operation of forces which "radically restrict participation and communication for women, presenting serious obstacles to their search for freedom and equality" (Storrie, 1987:1). The other issues discussed during the conference included the ways in which women attempt to overcome isolation through a "variety of bonding modes" (Storrie, 1987:1). However, our present discussion, will focus mainly on the structural and systemic constructs of isolation and the impact it has, particularly on immigrant and farm women.

Storrie (1987) reports that the conference adopted the metaphor of the "ecology of gender" as a way to explain the social landscape of men and women. Consistent with the other research discussed previously, this social landscape refers to the separation of men and women into private and public "spaces". Storrie (1987) identified some of women's spaces as domesticity and employment ghettos suggesting that this separation comes about through constraints.

Historically, farm women, like my grandmother, have been identified as one group of women who experience isolation on farms (Langford and Keating, 1987 refer to research by Binnie-Clark, 1979; Kohl, 1976; Pearson, 1979; Robinson, 1979; Sachs, 1983; Silverman, 1984; Tasaka, 1978). Langford and

Keating (1987) report that one reason for farm women being isolated is the nature of roles on the farm. Men interact with the community related to the productive end of the farm. Farm wives, on the other hand, are engaged in housework and child rearing activities which isolate women from other adult social contacts (Langford and Keating refer to Eichler 1983; Pearson 1980; Robinson 1979; Sachs 1983). The result is that the women feel more deeply the lack of friendship and confidants than the men do (Langford and Keating refer to Bah and Garrett, 1976; Bennett, 1980; Candy, Troll and Levy, 1981; Kivitt, 1978; Miller and Ingham, 1976; Robinson, 1978).

Langford and Keating (1987) also report that "social isolation is a threat to the physical and mental well-being of farm women (p. 48)". The effects of loneliness and isolation have been well documented. Both in the history of Ukrainian immigrant women and my grandmother's stories are examples of the effects of loneliness and isolation. Langford and Keating (1987) report that Bennett (1982) found that the above factors result in poor mental health and low self-image in older people as well as being a "critical incident" in some physical ailments. They also report that Peplau and Perlman (1982, 20) identified isolation as "detrimental to health and life expectancy."

Langford and Keating (1987) examined social isolation and friendship of contemporary Alberta farm women. Their research shows that, generally, farm women did not report feeling socially isolated. What they did find out was that predictors of social isolation were related to three factors: women's dissatisfaction with their marriages, dissatisfaction with the lifestyle of farming, and the support they believe they receive from their husbands.

Another group of women who suffer from social isolation are immigrant women. Djaio and Ng (1987) look at immigrant women's structural isolation in Saskatchewan. They suggest that these women experience a double

disadvantage. First, immigrant women are discriminated against in the labour market, as women, and also as members of a minority group (Djao and Ng reporting on research carried out by Arnopolous 1979). Second, the labour they perform for their families at home is undervalued (reporting on Ng and Ramirez, 1981).

Djao and Ng (1987) suggest that although the status of "immigrant" has negative implications for women, there are some advantages for them in coming to Canada. Immigrant women are able to find wage work, something which may not have been possible in their homeland. In fact, the lack of jobs may have precipitated their move to Canada. Djao and Ng (1987) suggest that by being able to find wage work immigrant women may be able to establish their financial independence. Another important advantage for immigrant women has to do with different social roles which may not have been available in their home country. Djao and Ng (1987) state that with less restrictive women's roles, immigrant women may experience more freedom which can open avenues of opportunities that may have been impossible in their pasts. Djao and Ng (1987) suggest that immigrant women's experiences vary, depending on three inter-related factors - ethnicity/race, social position, and personality. But, they state that regardless of race and class, isolation is "the most common experience shared by all immigrant women" (p. 141, they refer to research carried out by Epstein, Trebble and Ng, 1979; Ng and Ramirez, 1981; *Immigrant Women in Saskatchewan (IWS)*, 1985). In talking with immigrant women in Saskatchewan, Djao and Ng (1987) report that these women report a profound sense of homesickness and loneliness due to their isolation. Djao and Ng state, "repeatedly, women described feeling more fearful, less confident, and very isolated. The feeling, "I am isolated, even within my own family," epitomizes the experience of the majority of women" (Djao and Ng, 1987:141). For immigrant

women, their sense of isolation is reported as related to their immigration to Canada where they experience "culture shock" due to the loss of their families and social networks (Djao and Ng, 1987). But these researchers suggest that although this is true, isolation is also a result of structural and systemic factors found in Canadian society. They state that "it [isolation] results from patriarchal and racist assumptions, including state legislation and policies" (Djao and Ng, 1987:142).

Djao and Ng (1987) identify three structural imperatives which reinforce immigrant women's social isolation. The first is the social and physical environment. The organization of urban centres, residential patterns, climactic conditions, and the lack of small neighbourhood stores means fewer support systems for women, and leads to an increased sense of isolation and dependency of women on their husbands. The second factor is the labour market organization in Canada which moves immigrant women into female job ghettos. Finally, state policies and services such as immigration policies, place women in a dependent status in their families where they become invisible to the system. Djao and Ng (1987) report that the services available to help immigrant women overcome their isolation are inadequate. One of the main needs identified for immigrant women is English language training. Djao and Ng (1987) found that only forty per cent of the women they interviewed had received "some language training after immigration" (Djao and Ng, 1987:152). Their [the immigrant women's] main complaint was that the training provided was inadequate.

All these structural and systemic factors work together to relegate immigrant women to the private sphere, isolating them in their homes and placing them in an unequal relationship with their husbands.

Summary

The literature presented in this chapter has direct implications for my grandmother's story. Throughout this chapter, we have seen over and over again that according to social science research women have been relegated to the private domain where their domestic labour is devalued and invisible. But, there is considerable controversy related to the sociological practise of discussing this separation of the public and private spheres. Finch (cited in Storrie, 1987) comments that this separation is ideologically constructed by sociologists and that each time it is discussed in this manner it reinforces this separation. The debate over the existence of the "private/public boundary" (Storrie, 1987:2) surrounds issues such as the permeability of the boundary, its historical specificity, and if it is biologically determined, or related to particular social relations which develop out of emerging systems such as capitalism. The rural women who speak in the reports of *Women: Isolation and Bonding*, speak with voices "rarely heard, even in feminist discourses" (Storrie, 1987:3) because of the distance between urban centres and the farm women in rural communities. Storrie suggests that this is indicative of a power relationship whereby people of the city define themselves and their interests as "*the* centre." She charges the women's movement with not paying enough attention to women's oppression in small towns and rural areas, which she claims has resulted in a double subordination of these women. I would add that this omission by feminists reinforces these women's isolation and their invisibility.

As the debate continues regarding which factors are responsible for the difficulties faced by immigrant women, it continues to focus on the wage labour of women in urban settings. However, this chapter has examined some of the research and theories relating to women and their domestic unpaid labour. Several things emerge from this review. First, whether women are in paid

labour outside the home, carry out domestic labour in the home, are citizens or immigrants, or work on farms in rural communities, all women are placed in unequal relationships with men. This inequality exists within the home as well as within the political economy. Feminist theorists argue that this sexual inequality can be explained by patriarchy.

Second, some theorists assume the existence of separate spheres - the public sphere, found in the formal economy, where wage labour takes place and which is dominated by men, and the private sphere, or the household, which is operated by women. This division assumes that production takes place in the public sphere, while consumption and leisure takes place in the private sphere. Conceiving of production and consumption in this manner implies that what takes place in the household does not support production in the public sphere. As was pointed out in Meg Luxton's (1980) research, there does exist a separation into public and private spheres for many individuals who live in urban settings where one member leaves the home for wage work while the other remains at home carrying out the domestic labour in the process of supporting and replenishing labour. But this division hides the contribution made by homeworkers to commodity production in the marketplace.

Furthermore, this division of the private and public spheres is not evident in relation to family farm enterprises. Women are producers on the family farm as well as domestic labourers. Their roles are intertwined, and necessary for the survival of the family farm unit. But, even though their labour is indispensable, their participation remains largely invisible. Because of the invisibility of women's work on the farm, there has been little research into the contribution their labour plays in farm survival and in the economic development of the country as a whole.

Finally, immigrant women find themselves in a double bind. Not only do they find themselves in a subordinate position to their partners, but this unequal position is also reinforced by the state. This inequality structurally reinforced by the political economy, ignores women's contribution at all levels. And, because most immigrant women are located in the urban settings, little research has been done on immigrant women's experiences in rural settings.

As feminist theorists help to redefine what is important to study with respect to women's labour, new understandings of women's needs and contributions begin to emerge. An examination of the immigrant women's experience, shows the difficulties these women encounter in adjusting to life in a new country. They face barriers to their participation in the economy beginning with immigration laws, which place them in a subordinate relationship to their husbands and fathers. Unless and until women find a voice and their contributions find a place equal to that of men, women will continue to struggle for equality.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Those who ignore history are doomed to repeat it.
- Santayana

Ukrainian Canadians played a large and important role in the formation of the Canadian national consciousness and in opening up and settling the prairie provinces at the turn of the century. This group of immigrants faced a "legacy of low immigrant status and a negative group stereotype" (Swyirpa, 1993) which made settling in Canada a difficult ordeal for many of them. The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the experiences of the Ukrainian immigrant farm woman in Canada at the turn of the century by examining the interrelationship between gender, ethnicity, and class. I have concentrated on how the larger political system impacted on their lives, how these women saw their own experience, and how they dealt with the day-to-day problems of survival on the homestead.

Gender, Class, and Ethnicity

Immigration

Immigration to Canada began in earnest in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada as a particular class - farmers and peasants. Their choices and experiences were shaped by their status. The settlement of Ukrainian Canadians on the prairies had a severe impact on the lives of the womenfolk.

Petryshyn (in Lupul, 1978) explains emigration and immigration as a result of "push/pull" factors present in various countries at a particular time in history and influencing the movement of groups of people. Several authors describe the social conditions in what is now called Ukraine which influenced the

Ukrainians to seek out a new beginning in a new land (Lupul, 1982; Pinuita, 1978; Potrebenko, 1977; Kostash, 1977). For the peasants in Ukraine, the unstable social and economic conditions made it impossible for them to foresee a future in their homeland. Although serfdom had been abolished, there was still extreme inequality between the landlord and serf. Along with this were problems in land ownership, political oppression, crushing taxation, and constant battles between nations for control of Ukraine. Ukrainians were looking to escape the oppression and economic destitution of their homeland (Kay & Swyripa, in Lupul, 1982). To Ukrainians, Canada offered hope for a better life than they could expect at home.

In Canada, the conditions were in place by the 1890s to encourage immigration by the right group - ie. those who would help develop the nation (Kay & Swyripa, in Lupul, 1982; Pinuita, 1978). Canada was in the process of industrialization with a growing population in the urban centres. There was an increasing need for settlement on the prairies to develop agriculture so that the city dwellers could be fed. Settlement of the prairies had been attempted by the early Anglo settlers who came to claim the land of the natives, but they found the life harsh and unrelenting, and left the land to live in the cities. The CPR, completed in 1885, required a work force to help open up the prairies and populate the west. "The federal government program of western settlement, railway expansion, and industrial development called for new sources of manpower" (Kay & Swyripa, 1982:20). There was a need for a work force to carry out all the undesirable tasks that the current population would not do. Lupul (1978) states that Ukrainians were imported to fill the needs of the Canadian urban and rural economies. The desire of Ukrainians to find land and freedom, coupled by the need of the federal government to settle the west and

increase the labour pool, set the stage for the emigration of Ukrainians from Ukraine.

For the women who emigrated with their husbands and fathers, the move was not without its emotional and personal costs. Kay and Swyripa (1982) talk about the emotional costs for the women. For many of them, it was a traumatic experience leaving loved ones behind. Many of these women had no choice about leaving their homeland. Their homes and land were sold to help pay for the cost of travel to Canada, so there was nothing left for them in the homeland. Their emotional resources were further strained by severe homesickness having never been so far from family and home before in their lives.

Those Ukrainians who left to settle in America or Canada were thought to be lost to the home-land and nation. Often in Church, when the priest gave the blessing to a departing family or group, not only the relatives but the whole village wept more than at a funeral. The women crying like children, kissed each other good-bye saying, "Farewell, sister, we won't see each other till Josephat's Valley (Czumer, 1981).

This sense of mourning was further aggravated by the exhaustion of the long trip in substandard ships, and the fear and uncertainty of what the future had in store for them and their families.

Ukrainian immigrant women existed in the double ghetto of class and gender. But these are not the only attributes Ukrainian women dealt with as workers in Canada. They occupied a distinct position in that almost all Ukrainian women were located in agriculture or service jobs such as that of domestic helper. Petryshyn (1980) argues that this distinct position of Ukrainian immigrant peasant women can be attributed to their immigration status on entering Canada as well as their ethnicity. She argues this points to a triple ghetto for Ukrainian immigrant women. Although she does not state whether entrance status or ethnicity is more important, she does believe that Ukrainian women have held a particularly unfavourable position in the work place due to

the restraints imposed by their class and sex, augmented by their ethnicity and immigrant status.

Government Policy

Ukrainians were invited to settle in Canada. As an incentive, the government offered any peasant prepared to emigrate to Canada 160 acres of "free" land per farmer and the right to purchase an adjoining quarter section (an additional 160 acres). The land being offered to Ukrainians had been expropriated from the aboriginals who were present before the white man settled in Canada. The offer of free land was an irresistible lure to the peasant who had little or none in Ukraine. But the land was not free. There were conditions that had to be met if the peasant farmer wished to claim his quarter section of land (Subtelny, 1991). Each male immigrant was offered 160 acres for the cost of a ten dollar registration fee. To get the title to the land a farmer had to, within a three year period, clear and farm thirty acres, build a house valued at three hundred dollars and live on the land at least six months of the year. For many of the immigrants, even the ten dollar registration fee was more than they had by the time they arrived on the prairies with their families. Kostash (1977:21) quotes Peter Krawchuk in *Shevchenko in Canada*, by stating:

According to agreement, the settler was obligated, during the three-year term of the contract, and for the sum of ten dollars, to build a house on the land allotted to him, to erect buildings for cattle, and to clear and plough at least thirty acres of land. Only after carrying out these terms of the contract, could the land be considered as belonging to him. If these terms were not carried out, he lost the rights to the land, and the three years of work and effort that was put into it was wasted and lost. To make sure that this would not happen and that he would have the right to settle permanently on his contracted land, the settler and his family worked from sunrise to sunset to clear the forest and cultivate the thirty acres demanded within the contract. Without horses or oxen - the people themselves donned the harness ploughing the earth and harrowing it with their own strength. And just as in the old days of serfdom, in the town of Shevchenko, 'people were harnessed to the yoke'. So here in Canada, in the "new homeland", they were forced into

harness to keep from dying from hunger. It was the same serfdom, only in a different form.

Canadian immigration policy favored Anglo Saxon immigrants (Petryshyn, 1978). This policy was predicated on the then current racial theories of social Darwinianism that supported ideas of biological superiority coupled with the fact that Britain was one of the founding nations of Canada. In Canada, this meant that the dominant group was the British. What did this mean for the Ukrainian immigrants? It meant that they immigrated to a country in which the social structure was based on ethnic stratification (Petryshyn, 1978).

Ukrainians found themselves in a social structure which was characterized by a system of ethnic stratification. This stratification emerged when Europeans first established their military, economic, and social dominance over the native peoples. The Canadian ethnic hierarchy was further strengthened by the class relationships which emerged as a consequence of the British conquest in 1759.

Canadian immigration, especially before World War I, was governed by popular, pseudo-scientific racial theories of Spencerian social darwinianism, wherein development of the British Empire was taken as evidence of innate British racial superiority. (Petryshyn, 1978:77)

Petryshyn's sentiment regarding Canadian immigration policy is clear. He expresses the anger and resentment of Ukrainian immigrants, and the struggles this group experienced in trying to locate themselves within the Canadian social structure. Although Britain is one of the founding nations of Canada, and it is not unreasonable to assume that British settlers would have preferential treatment in immigrating to Canada, (personal communication, Dawson, 1996) the objection is that Ukrainians were treated as second class citizens. Less desirable occupations were for "inferiors" which translates into all other classes of immigrants. Petryshyn (1978:77) comments that what emerged was "a reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and class." The implications for Ukrainian immigrants was that farmers, farm workers, and domestics were preferred (Potrebenko, 1977).

.....But the government knew what it was doing. It needed people who were used to hardship to build a nation, do the dirty work the Anglos didn't want to do, and help make the Anglos rich on the backs of the immigrants. (Potrebenko, 1977:77)

The boom period of immigration was 1896 to 1914, and that was when the prairies were settled. By the 1880s, Britain was largely an industrial nation with only about 25 percent of the population being engaged in agriculture (Potrebenko, 1977:33). The British were industrial workers used to working in factories and stores rather than clearing and settling new land. Therefore, Britain alone could not supply the vast number of immigrant farmers needed to settle the West. Ukrainians were invited to settle in Canada because of their agricultural knowledge, ability to work hard, and willingness to emigrate to a new land.

The Ukrainian families worked extremely hard for two reasons. First, there were no other options because there was no support available to them and few alternate means of earning a living. Kostash (1977) states that the only other choice was working for a CPR extra gang which was a choice between the devil and the deep blue sea. Secondly, the immigrants were driven by a belief that the Canadian economy, unlike feudalism in the old country, would allow them to establish bigger farms that would provide a better life for the next generation. They worked for a future payoff (Kostash, 1977:60).

The government policy to give land only to men assured that the women were placed in a position of dependence on their husbands and fathers. The way the government monitored the development of the homesteads subsumed a woman's contribution under her husband or father's labor, intensifying her invisibility and ignoring her economic contribution to the homestead. Kostash (1977) believes that the experience of these women was not endemic to the Ukrainian immigrants. Her explanation examines the structural reasons for

these women's unfair experience in Canada, and suggests that it was due to their gender. She also adds to this the comment that the legal policies of their adopted homeland were responsible for Ukrainian Canadian women's disadvantaged position in Canada.

.....the fact that Ukrainian Canadian women laboured as hard as and longer than the men does not describe the entirety of their situation in the community. They were female workers and as such experienced a status and condition peculiar to their sex. As pioneers, they did not have under Canadian law the right to a shared ownership to the homestead they helped to clear and manage, nor to the income they helped to earn; for years they did not even have legal guardianship of their children. They could be, and were, deserted by their husbands with no right to support, nor to the funds realized from the sale of the land. It was a common place conversation that in the Ukrainian pioneer family, "women are little better than slaves who toil laboriously at the beck and call of [their] husbands (Kostash, 1977:156).

These were cultural imperatives which reinforced women's subservient and dependent position in the homestead family.

Isolation

These homesteaders found themselves isolated on farms long distances from a town or community. What were referred to as roads, were often little more than cow trails wandering across the prairies, almost impassable except in the best weather conditions. For the women and children, this meant being isolated on the homestead with virtually no contact with humanity beyond one's immediate family. If a wife were lucky, she might accompany her husband into town once a year. Or the community might gather to celebrate a religious holiday.

Piniuta (1978) relates Maria Adamowska's story about how the immigrant women perceived their first experiences in Canada.

Yes indeed, we did have a taste of the good life. God only knows. First of all, we had a taste of fear. We were frightened that our souls almost

parted from us prematurely... By that time (following the winter) our supplies had run out.

All of the factors mentioned in varying degrees of intensity, explain why these women were unable to gain acceptance as strong, competent individuals. As we will see in the discussion on education and women as cultural mediators, there were also Canadian culture's idealized myths of what was appropriate female behaviour, and this also played a part in reinforcing Ukrainian women's subservient position and ignoring their strength, independence, and courage.

The isolation on the homesteads made it next to impossible for these women to learn the English language. The husbands, as part of the process of doing business with the Anglo community, were forced to learn the language. Without language skills, these women were unable to learn about their adopted homeland. Isolation for the women did offer shelter from the direct discriminatory treatment the men folk suffered at the hands of the Anglo community, yet it was more than likely that they would suffer second hand abuse when their husbands returned from town.

Discrimination and Ethnicity

Although immigration to the West by great numbers of Ukrainian peasant immigrants satisfied the government's plans to settle the West, and the long-range economic plans of the CPR and the Ontario capitalists for the prairie provinces, it angered, scared, and enraged the general population. The decision by the federal government to send Ukrainians to the West without consultation with the western provinces and the sense of having these "hordes" thrust upon them, only fostered bitterness and resentment amongst the English-speaking population (Kostash, 1977). The Anglo Saxon population viewed these immigrants from an ethno-centric position which held its own traditions, practises and beliefs as the standard by which all persons were measured.

There was no understanding or appreciation of those traditions that were important to the Ukrainians - nor were there any attempts to appreciate Ukrainian culture. Whatever the Ukrainian did was viewed as anti-Canadian. Kostash (1977:35), quoting Woodsworth, states

.....repeatedly, in this era, the equation is made between defensive self-interest and defense of the interests of "British civilization." Unless this civilization prevailed against the "alien invasion" and the mass of "human dregs" from eastern Europe, one's family, one's career, one's self esteem would be dragged about in the muck of the foreigner's culture. These were, remember, "people emerging from serfdom, accustomed to despotism, untrained in the principles of representative government, without patriotism.

Kostash (1977:36) also quotes from an article written in the Toronto Globe from the early part of the century which talks about the fear of the Galician immigrant, reassuring readers that the, "...Anglo Saxon civilization was holding its own in the west, '[and] there was nothing to fear in the "Slavic inundation" so long as the elite and its institutions remained WASP - white, Anglo Saxon, and Protestant".

Ethnic prejudice and the difficulties of adapting to life in Canada created a dialectic of social imperatives to which the Ukrainians needed to respond. As we will see later in this chapter, education and women played an important role in the struggle to assimilate the Ukrainians.

At first, prior to 1914, the newspapers reported on the arrival of the new immigrants using less prejudicial descriptors (Isajiw, in Lupul, 1982). Words such as "progressive", "industrious" and "good agriculturalists" were used to describe these newcomers to Canada. But, with the overwhelming numbers, their different dress and mannerisms, along with their language, they became visible targets for hatred and prejudice based upon their ethnic heritage. Potrebenko (1977) and MacGregor (1968) charge that the newspapers of the

day were responsible for spreading hatred and prejudice against Ukrainian immigrant peasants.

The country was going to be overwhelmed by them [meaning Ukrainians]. All summer long the weird, menacing hundreds trekked east - "damned foreigners", "bloody bohunks" (MacGregor, 1969:148; Potrebenko, 1977:36).

If our foreign immigration agents cannot send us a better class of immigrants than these it is almost time to consider whether we might not dispense with immigration agents altogether. The southern Slavs are probably the least promising of all material that can be selected for nation-building (Daily Nor'wester, Winnipeg, Dec. 23, 1896; Potrebenko, 1977:37).

As for the Galicians I have not met a single person in the whole of the Northwest who is sympathetic towards them. They are from the point of view of civilization ten times lower than the Indians. (Alberta Tribune, Feb. 4, 1899) (Potrebenko, 1977:39).

Woodsworth (1909:134) writing about the Ukrainians stated that, "in so low an estimation are they held that the word Galician is almost a term of reproach. Their unpronounceable names appear so often in the police court news, [and] they figure so frequently in crimes of violence that they have created anything but a favourable impression."

The fear and lack of understanding on the part of the citizens of Canada, fueled by the newspaper's derogatory accounts of these hardworking Slavic people, led to a belief that they would threaten the Canadian way of life. The descriptors in the newspapers were words such as "ignorant", "dirty", "unhealthy", and "poor" (Isajiw, in Lupul, 1982). The Anglos believed that the Ukrainians would lower farming standards, spreading animal diseases and weeds (MacGregor, *Vilni Zemli*, pp. 155-56).

The effects of prejudice and discrimination caused the Ukrainians to withdraw into their own group (Wsevolod W. Isajiw, in Lupul, 1982). They developed an informal system of support through organizations such as the national halls (Kostash, 1977). The national halls that sprang up in the small

villages across the prairies was based upon the idea of the reading societies from the old country where books, newspapers, politics, and social issues were discussed. "The national hall was a Canadian organization in the sense that 'Canadian' still meant 'Anglo Saxon'. But it was profoundly Canadian in that it was an indigenous and popular institution created by Ukrainian Canadians to fulfill needs made explicit by the experience of living as a 'bohunk' in Canadian Society." (Kostash, 1977:156). At least in these national halls, the Ukrainian had some semblance of respect as a person whereas out in society among the Anglos, "you were just another dumb bohunk. Inside the ethnic association, you were a comrade, a sister, maybe even a big shot" (Kostash, 1977:156).

Even before the construction on a hall or church would begin, a women's group would be formed (Swyripa, 1993). The community recognized that women's support in paying debts and offering programs was an essential element to the success of the organization. Swyripa says that it was the women's arm of an organization that was responsible for raising needed funds to help build the halls and churches.

Without support from the Anglo community, the Ukrainian farmer was hard pressed to get his crop to market. To wait for government support or acceptance from the English community would have meant disaster. The Ukrainians needed to be self-sufficient in response to the lack of support given to them. Therefore, Ukrainians developed a system of co-op wheat pools so that they could move their crops to market (Wsevolod W. Isajiw, in Lupul, 1982). Eventually, Ukrainians were hired as wheat inspectors, but were met with prejudice by the English community, as the following account illustrates.

..... earlier, he had been offended by the appointment of Peter Sveritch as a wheat inspector in the district: "it is quite possible that while English-speaking generations yet unborn will come to look upon the descendants of Galician emigrants as their equals and friends; at the present time we do not so consider them..... when it comes to investing

a Russian yokel with the authority to dictate, in the government's name, to English-speaking British subjects, we think this is going too far and, anticipating too boldly on the future. We resent it as a humiliation; and it is unlikely that white men in this province will stand for it (Kostash, 1977:39, quoting the Vegreville Observer, July 15, 1931).

During this period Ukrainian Canadians became very much aware of anti-foreign sentiment on a massive scale.

The fact that, for apparently so little reason, Ukrainians could be persecuted in a country they had been invited to and a country which advertised itself as a haven of democracy undermined their sense of security for decades. Whether they retreated into caution and fearfulness, or expressed their outrage through political organizations, or jumped onto the Anglo-Canadians' vitriolic bandwagons, the varying responses of the Ukrainian-Canadian community to persecution at this time marked the beginnings of an internal struggle that would divide it right up to the present" (Kostash, 1977:45-6).

Making Ends Meet

Settler Interdependence

New immigrants were anxious to settle close to friends and relatives from their village in the old country, and this was of far greater concern initially than the quality of the land. This desire to live close to one's kin created what was later referred to as bloc settlements which were closed to assimilating factors (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982). Kaye and Swyripa state that (1982:60) "because they did not settle in the most fertile land, this established their entrance status in Canada and their potential for future social and economic development." On arrival, the family would find shelter with a countryman while father and husband went to seek paid employment with more prosperous farmers, or on the railway, as a section hand, to earn enough money to pay for the land registration, equipment, and livestock so that they could start farming. Women were left behind to fend for their families as best they could, performing the back-breaking tasks required for their families' survival.

As has already been pointed out, the amount of capital on arrival on the prairies was crucial in determining how quickly land could be cleared

and cultivated, how quickly an income could be realized from it. The less money the immigrant had to begin with, the longer he had to spend working away from the farm, and the longer he had to postpone transforming the homestead into an economic unit (Kostash, 1977:27).

Piniuta (1978) relates Maria Adamowska's story about how immigrant women perceived their beginnings in Canada:

And so it was that father left home one day, on foot, prepared to tramp hundreds of miles to find a job. He left us without a piece of bread, to the mercy of fate.....

While father was away, mother dug a plot of ground and planted the wheat she had brought from the old country, tied up in a small bundle. Everyday, she watered it with her tears.....

Production Labor

The role of women on the early homesteads was an important one (Isajiw, 1982). Isajiw states that a woman was often in charge of the entire household and farm, especially during the early years when men were forced to work away from home.

It was women's ingenuity and productivity that helped keep the family alive while they waited for their husbands to return with some cash for the family. These women would pick wild mushrooms and berries, snare rabbits, shoot birds and generally use what was in their environment to help their families survive. They did things like work for their neighbours, walk to town to sweep out boxcars for a few cents, make their own oil for the oil lamps, make rope..... The list of jobs was endless (Kostash, 1977).

According to a survey conducted by J. S. Woodsworth in 1917, two-thirds of all the Ukrainian women worked in the fields. The sociologist C. H. Young in 1931, described a typical summer day:

The average Ukrainian woman often contributes more to the work of the farm than does the average hired man, whether in the interest, strength and ability she brings to the task, or in the variety of work she performs. A Ukrainian woman in the Canora district, Saskatchewan, gave us an outline of her days work in the summer. She gets up between four and

five in the morning and goes to bed at eleven at night. When she gets up she does the chores outside, feeds the cattle and milks the cows. She then prepares breakfast and washes the dishes, after which she follows the family to the field where she may hoe or drive a gang-plow, stook, etc. She comes in shortly before dinner, prepares it and cleans up, a matter of one and one half to two hours, then returns to the fields until eight o'clock when she milks, after which she gets supper. This is a man's share in any community. Along with the contribution of all the other members of the family - and they are usually several - the woman's labour goes far to explain the undeniable progress of the Ukrainian farmers (1931:88).

These women understood "that the problems of survival did not allow for neat distinctions as to man's, woman's or even child's work" (Lesoway quoted in Lupul, 1988:118).

Potrebenko (1977) states there was a clear division of labour based on gender. The plowing and sowing seed was done by the men; women did the bending work. Milking, which in Ukraine, had been done by men, became women's work in Alberta (Lesoway, in Lupul 1988). Sons also became exempt from carrying out this farm task.

What kept these women from attaining equality in Canada? Potrebenko (1977), a feminist, argues that women were kept in subservience because men had the physical strength to ensure that the women did not step out of their place. The primary method used was to keep women pregnant, along with a division of labour along gender lines which left women doing most of the work (Potrebenko, 1977:53):

The purpose of the division of labor, besides keeping women in their place, was to emphasize the necessity of the families. In acute poverty, no one person can survive alone.

But, it was not just the Ukrainian immigrant farm woman who laboured under an unfair division of labour. In fact, these women were capable of and were doing the work usually thought to be men's work on the farms. The reality was that these women were capable of running their homesteads without their

husbands - because in fact, they did. But in doing so, as many of these women would say, the responsibility was killing them.

Domestic Labour

Kostash (1977) talks about women's labour on the homesteads as not being the sort of stuff commemorated on cairns, or sung about in folk ballads, nor was it accurately appreciated for its economic contribution to an expanding prairie wealth; but without it no continuous communal life among Ukrainian Canadians would have been possible. "In their housework, the women tended, nurtured, and reinvigorated the men for their labour; in their child care, they reared the next generation of workers; and, in their farmwork, they often made the difference between mere subsistence and security" (p. 206).

Women could be found tanning hides to make into moccasins and clothing for the family. If a child got sick, they made medicines from herbs. They could be found mending and sewing, tending the cows, knitting, making bread, cheese and sauerkraut, washing dishes, making meals, and ironing clothes. They tended the garden growing the family food, ground grain, and worked the fields. In addition to all of this, they reared the children (Kostash, 1977).

Husbands and Wives

Marriage

Kostash (1977) states that the patriarchal organization of the family was transferred intact to Canada:

the father's word was authoritative, family earnings were often confiscated by him, marriages were arranged, and women often did not eat with the men but served them first.... Women endured yearly childbirth and frequent child-death, untreated pelvic disease and the often fatal puerperal fever; they were often more illiterate than the men, and, when educated, had a greater chance of being taken out of school to marry or to care for young siblings; as homemakers, they tended to be more isolated from social contacts and their participation in community

activities outside the Church was almost unheard of" (Kostash, 1977:164-65).

The majority of the first generation of Ukrainian women remained on the farm - "to work, marry and bear and rear children as their mothers had done before them" (Swyirpa, 1993:74).

Immigration to Canada had an impact on traditional marriage patterns (Swyirpa, 1993). Traditional marriage patterns in the old country were of marriages contracted within the village between kin and neighbours. Relocation in Canada, offered new choices in marriage partners. Between, 1908 and 1911, one-half of all marriages involved people who came not only from different villages but from different districts. Along with loss of closeness to kin and neighbours from the old country, Swyirpa (1993) states that the precariousness of peasant immigrant life and the necessity for an intact family unit influenced Ukrainian immigrant marriage patterns. "Research suggests that the decision to marry or not was affected by variables like time of settlement, quality of land, and opportunity for agricultural expansion or employment..... as well as other factors including the Depression, lack of arable land, and increased emphasis on love" (Swyirpa, 1993:87-8).

Kostash (1977) related the stories of women from Two Hills regarding the custom in the old country of marrying off the oldest daughter first. The women shared their own story of a woman they knew who was hastily married off to a man they described as a "brute". Subsequently, the woman found out that her new husband had gotten the hired girl pregnant. When she confronted her husband he told her that if she did not raise the child as his own, he would run off with the girl. So the woman raised the child as her son. But when the man died he willed his estate to his son, and the wife was left to fend for herself as best she could.

Marriages [often] had little to do with love and affection. Potrebenko (1977:74) states,

Affection between men and women was almost non-existent, as it was considered a weakness and men were to have no weaknesses.

The stories of young girls being married to men they had never seen were not unusual, even though the stories, told, like the one above, were rarely recorded. They remain passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth. The women's perspective on history or her experiences in settling the new land were rarely recorded. Yet, these women, had their own point of view.

..... when the Ukrainians congregate, you'll find they drink and they'll start singing. The men will all sing very sentimental love songs, some of the folk songs, some of them popular from the thirties and forties, and there are the women, sitting hard, cold-eyed and angry. The men are sentimental slobs. They're walking around kissing each other, and each other's wives. They're saying flattering things to one another, they're gentle and tender, and the women are sitting there, steel-eyed and angry, cold as snakes. This is very common. Their husbands oppress them all week, but on weekends they get together and get very romantic and the women who have been keeping these neurotics alive all week, who probably hate them and probably hate themselves by now, are sitting there completely angry. That's the way Dad treated Mom. She was full of rage (Kostash, 1977:165-66).

Family Violence

When the women talked about women they knew in the old country, many of the early immigrants could tell you of a sister, mother or friend who had been beaten by her husband or father. My grandmother tells several stories about what women's plight had been like in the old country. Circumstances faced by these women and their families settling on the prairies could lead to violence on the homestead. Women experienced violence first at the hands of their fathers, then at the hands of their husbands.

In Canada, abuse could be a chain reaction where the men would be abused at the hands of the Anglos and would bring home their rage and take it out on their wives (Potrebenko, 1977).

..... father would be abused by the community [relief officer and] would come home and beat his wife... "I was still boss in my own house, and I could still beat the shit out of my wife and kids and so I did" (Potrebenko, 1977:17).

Wife beating to the Anglo-Canadians epitomized the coarseness of Ukrainian peasant life (Swyirpa, 1993). Swyirpa (1993:36) quotes Constable Nash from the Alberta Police in Vermilion in 1917 as stating, ".....I don't believe that X was any more cruel to his wife than the average Galician..... I believe that many of the Galician women in the district stand as much abuse if not more beating than she does, without any thoughts of suicide or even much resentment." But, it was not that the women accepted their abuse. The fact was that there was little support by local law enforcement and the courts to stop violence against these women.

..... assaults on women were rarely reported. Rape of domestic labourers was common but there wasn't anything the women could do about it. Wife-beating went unreported, due to the hopeless economic situation of women (Potrebenko, 1977:259).

It must be stated that although these women suffered both violence and oppression, Maciejko (1990) states that

.....abuse and exploitation is not an "aspect" of any particular "culture." Women of all ethnic origins were frequently mistreated and severely worked on farms which they did not own and over which they had no legal control. A life bound in an exploitive relationship with her father then her husband undoubtedly represents the experience of many Ukrainian women. In this they were not alone, however.

To suggest that these women found themselves in a life of subservience to their husbands, working from dawn to dusk, and yet had no thoughts to a better life, would be short-sighted. As Potrebenko (1977) says, "her mother was

always afraid but never accepted her inferior position." These women as early as 1917 were rebelling against the treatment they received at the hands of their husbands and fathers. Kostash (1977:156) states that the Vegreville Observer reported, "the disappearance of a teen-age girl from her parents' home and speculated that it was 'small wonder' she had struck out for herself, given that "nine times out of ten, the parents take away the last cent of her earnings..... and believe in compulsory matrimony and selling their daughters to whichever suitor can give them the best value in exchange." Young (1931) says, "..... some women were actually taking their husbands to court on assault charges and that daughters were refusing the marriages arranged for them."

These women were strong and capable. They had come to Canada with their husbands who sought a better way of life. And these women, too, hoped for a better way of life for themselves. Throughout the literature, one catches glimpses of a strong spirit that rebelled against the indignities they suffered here in Canada. This does not mean that the treatment they endured here in Canada was any different than the abuse they had suffered in their homeland. But, their fathers and husbands had immigrated to Canada to live in a country that offered freedom to its citizens. This lesson was not lost on the women who came - they hoped for freedom and a better life as well. Even the English-speaking press acknowledged the strength and competency and independence of these immigrant women.

Mothers as Cultural Mediators and Education

Education

It was by a series of historical events that the Anglo Saxons were the ruling class and in a position to define themselves as the real Canadians, and their Britishness as a standard against which the newcomers were forced to measure their own approximation to the cultural ideal (Kostash, 1977). Who are

'we'? asked Woodsworth (1909). His reply - English, Irish, Scotch or French, even though there were many other nationalities living in Canada at the turn of the century.

The result of such a large number of settlers arriving from one part of the world i.e. Ukrainians, within a short space of time, stirred up anti-ethnic sentiments in the community. These anti-Ukrainian feelings played an important part in the development of a Canadian identity and in state formation.

Woodsworth, as early as 1909, wrote that the foreigners were a danger to the Canadian way of life - that these sheep skin immigrants needed to be educated to the appropriate lifestyle or they would surely drag the nation down. He believed that the problem of immigration was assimilation. Assimilation is the process by which individuals are absorbed into the dominant culture. For Ukrainian Canadians, this meant that they had moved from Ukraine to Canada, from 19th century folk culture, from homestead to city (Kostash, 1977). Kostash (1977:339) states that it 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." One learned not only how to behave like a Canadian, but also how society was structured and how the individual was intended to fit. "One learned, in other words, that the process of assimilation was a sweep of the long arm of Anglo-Canadian political power" (Kostash, 1977:339).

When George Fisher Chipman, editor of the widely circulated Grain Growers' Guide, wrote in October 1909, that "the patriotic people of Winnipeg are on the defensive in endeavouring to educate and Canadianize the foreign immigrants", he was expressing sentiments rampant in turn of the century society. He advocated social and educational reforms, including

"Canadianization" and domestic education, as a means to protect Anglo-bourgeois privileges (Maciejko, 1990:21).

James Thomas Milton Anderson, a close correspondent of Chipman, focused on Galicians when he wrote that adult immigrants would "never become true Canadian citizens, imbued with the highest Anglo Saxon ideals", and would continue to "look rather lightly upon our laws and institutions.... (whereas) their offspring.... (could) grow up as valuable Canadian citizens" (Maciejko, 1990:22). The result of this stirring of nationalist feelings led to the development of English-speaking schools and the assimilation of the immigrant into what was then referred to as the Canadian melting pot. The principal agent for securing this generational transformation was the public school (Maciejko, 1990). It became the responsibility of the schools and churches to intervene in the Ukrainian community to educate these individuals into the appropriate Canadian ideologies and ways of life. If the Ukrainian Canadians resisted and wished to maintain their old country social and cultural styles, it was viewed as an unwillingness to become decent Canadian citizens (Kostash, 1977).

The struggle settled on bilingual schooling. Piniuta (1978) talks about education being of prime importance to the Ukrainians who had been denied this opportunity in Ukraine. They believed that education for their children was the route to a better life. But they were also suspicious of English-speaking teachers for two reasons. First, they brought up memories of the Poles and Russians who had ruled them in the old country. Second, they saw them as agents of assimilation, and now that they were free, they did not want to lose their Ukrainian culture (Piniuta, 1978). Therefore, the Ukrainians insisted on their children being taught by Ukrainian-speaking teachers (Piniuta, 1978). The Department of Education saw their desire to educate their children in the Ukrainian language as a problem (Swyripa, 1978). This struggle over the

control of the schools was evident in Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan throughout the early part of this century (Maciejko, 1990). The campaign against bilingualism was typified in the popular slogan, "one language, one flag, one school" (Maciejko, 1990:26).

Maciejko (1990) talks about individuals who acted as agents of social reform and built their careers on assimilating new immigrants into the idealized Canadian culture. One of those individuals was James Thomas Milton Anderson. From 1911, when he became a school inspector in Yorkton, he took up the cause of assimilation, especially targeting the Galician (Maciejko, 1990:23). He viewed bilingual schooling as a problem and argued that bilingualism resulted in "chaotic and divisive" school systems. Maciejko (1990) states that attacks on bilingualism constituted attempts by the dominant culture to enforce "Anglo-conformism" standards. J. T. M. Anderson wrote that "teachers should be a dedicated cultural and national elite, should evidence "a strong type of Canadian manhood or womanhood.... (Maciejko, 1990:26)." Even when reports from inspectors were to the contrary, these reports were ignored and he continued to agitate publicly against these Galician foreigners.

The explanations given for insisting on unilingual education were based upon the assertions that Galicians were unable to do business in English which hampered the flow of trade and that the general immigrant population was not acquiring the English language (Maciejko, 1990). Maciejko (1990) states that these arguments are not sufficient to understand the relentless pursuit of eradicating bilingual education. He asserts that a far more likely explanation for reformation of the prairie school systems to abolish bilingual education is explained in terms other than those given by the reformers. The historical records show that the campaign against bilingual education began before Galician immigration. In truth, it gave the Anglo-Protestant business class an

opportunity to consolidate their economic position which up to this point had largely been a Franco-Catholic political economy. Maciejko (1990:26) states that the "Francophone communities lost many of their remaining linguistic prerogatives through school reforms aimed...at the Galician". But, the English-speaking schools could not fully indoctrinate all Ukrainian children.

Mothers as Cultural Mediators

Immigrant women were viewed as roadblocks to assimilation and steps were taken to ensure that the next generations would be properly anglicized. These women found themselves between two cultures, mediating the stresses placed upon them by adopting a new land while at the same time attempting to maintain their cultural heritage.

Trolimenkoff and Prentice (1985) talk about the idealized Canadian woman in the early 1900's. They quote Henri Bourassa's vision of the ideal woman as being a delicate creature of intuition, nobility, and dignity. Some of her other prized traits were purity, gentleness, an abundance of good sense, and a tendency towards being emotional. Women who lived up to Bourassa's ideal should be queens in their homes, preservers of tradition, and primarily focused on marrying and bearing children. The perfect woman should be soothing and reconciling and act as man's redeemer, since men, from time to time, might engage in brutal nasty enterprises from which only the purity and sweetness of women could rescue them. So, the strength and ability to work the homestead alongside their father and husbands placed these immigrant women outside the ideal of a Canadian woman, though modern wives now praise these women.

..... The 'tradition' of the dependent woman confined to the bourgeois family was itself a product of modernism, of the universalization of the bourgeois values and knowledge. The power of the Galician "baba", as the centre of a culture antithetical to modernism, was implicitly recognized by prairie reformers (Maciejko, 1990:27).

Ukrainian homes centered around the mothers who were perceived as cultural mediators (Lupul, 1988). Kostash (1977:72) suggests that women were "the essential conduit of the Ukraine culture." Therefore, the primary targets became the mothers. Maciejko (1990:30) comments:

The Galician victim became "as familiar a character in the stories of settlement life as (did) the dirty homes, bad food, and intemperate drinking" which surrounded her. In this mythologized form she was distinguished from the idealized Canadian woman. This separation explicitly devalued the Galician. It also furthered the creation of an ideology which permitted the domestic interventions.... interventions which affected the lives of many more women whose class location made them vulnerable to the new breed of experts in social and domestic science.... There is evidence that what distinguished the Galician women from the idealized Canadian female, was not that she was unable to leave the house, but that she did so in ways unbecoming to the bourgeois women with whom she was compared.....

It was deemed essential to eradicate the last vestiges of Ukrainian culture in the homes. The legitimacy of this intervention into the homes of the Galician immigrant settler was based upon the primitive conditions of the household (Maciejko, 1990). Reports were made that these people lived in little more than hovels, built from mud, logs, and sod. Floors were of dirt that would become mud slicks during the rains. Some immigrants were forced to take refuge in caves in the sides of river banks for lack of accommodation. Maciejko (1990:28-9) states "even accepting that these were accurate descriptions of the conditions observed, they remain in need of analysis." Most obviously, they lack context. Vivian Olender has pointed out that reformers rarely or "never compared Ukrainian settlers to.... Anglo Saxon homesteaders who lived in log cabins or sod huts and endured similar primitive conditions...." (Maciejko 1990:29). These 'facts' were ignored because it was necessary to do so to be able to justify the interventions into the homes of these people.

Missionaries and teachers were expected to go into the homes, and seek out the Galician mothers "(that) they may learn some of the secrets of

housekeeping that have been hidden from them thus far" (Maciejko, 1990:28). It was expected that these reformers would 'enlighten' these backward peasant women regarding the "secrets of housekeeping". Teachers were to go into the homes of foreigners, and draw the women out and into "mothers' clubs" in the schools where they could be taught lessons in hygiene and morality (Maciejko, 1990). He continues by stating that, in rural areas, the teacher's residence was to provide a model of domesticity where these women could learn "unconsciously as well as consciously" useful help and information.

Maciejko (1990) states that these women were targeted for "help" with little thought or concern for the wedge being driven between parents and children in the assault on traditional knowledge. He reports (1990:29) that Mabel Nebel, a teacher and mission worker who was influenced by Anderson, recalled that:

Some of the mothers were, at first, much disappointed when their daughters refused to wear the (traditional) embroidered costumes and insisted on making their dresses from patterns...In the surrounding districts..... the teachers often gave the girls help with their first dresses.

It should be noted that more than "fashion" was lost as the teacher intervened between mother and daughter. The traditional embroidery signified a person's regional and ancestral linkages, one's personal connection and "location" in the community. Intruding between mother and daughter may have interfered with the creation of other "women-centred" knowledge, and with this lessened the social roll, and therefore, power of these women (Maciejko, 1990:30).

Ukrainian traditions, customs, religious holidays, language, food, dress, and beliefs were irrevocably affected by the intervention of the social reformers from the educational system. There was no thought, no twinge of guilt or sympathy, for what was lost to the successive generations of Ukrainian children. A sense of shame and embarrassment were the legacy left to the children of the first Ukrainian settlers - a need to distance oneself from one's past - to blend into Canada.

..... the children were more eager to accept new customs, the new language, manners and attitudes. They knew very little of history or background of their predecessors. They were standing between the old and the new..... They knew very little about the Ukrainian music, art, literature and other traditions. They were not proud of anything that was connected with their poverty, hardships, language and customs, which were strange to the English people. Some of the young Ukrainians were reluctant to admit their true identity as to their ethnic origin or place of birth. Some changed their names..... Their hearts were with their parents, brothers and sisters, but outwardly they were afraid of being scorned by the English (Humeniuk, 1977:200).

Maciejko (1990:34), comments, "To [Anglo-Canadians] the Galician represented social practices and knowledge other than that of the idealized modern Canadian. The representation of otherness was used to rationalize interventions by social agencies, often working with or through schools, into the homes. These interventions, in the name of bringing morality and health to the foreigner, created a norm for modern society against which all, even the families of the reforming activists, were measured."

Yet, I would venture that the story of the hard work, isolation, fear, and perseverance of these misunderstood and undervalued women, was repeated by every immigrant family in those first early years. It was the woman, who, with her fortitude and strength, shouldered the burden of ensuring her children's survival and her husband's residency on the land and who brought about the development of the West.

As Kostash (1977) comments, is there any wonder that after these early women came a generation of feminists? "Subversives, in their own way, such women passed on the word of female dignity and female legitimacy in the human collective....." (Kostash, 1977:168). Even though the dominant culture prescribed appropriate female behaviours, which these women did not appear to exemplify, they did demonstrate that women were strong, capable, and industrious.

CHAPTER V
IN HER OWN WORDS:
UNDERSTANDING MY GRANMOTHER'S STORIES

This chapter begins with a brief overview of Mary's life describing her family's move to Canada and focusing on her child rearing years. Following this is the analysis of her life story. Within each heading, information has generally been organized into three time periods - the family's settlement in Canada, her early childhood experiences, and the years of her marriage. Woven throughout this discussion is the notion of changing cultural practises. Moving to Canada influenced old country traditions, and it was my grandmother's generation that stood between the old world traditions and the new customs of their adopted homeland.

An important goal in this work is to allow Mary to speak for herself. Therefore, as the analysis proceeds, intermingled throughout will be sections where Mary tells her own story of what it was like to be a Ukrainian immigrant farm woman here in Canada. Although it is my responsibility to analyze her experience, it is her right to tell her own story.

Personal History

My grandmother was born Mary Budnek in Chernachee, Ukraine, on November 5th, 1900. She came from a peasant background. She lived with her family in a small village called Linec, in the province of Schnyaten. Their village is very close to an area in Ukraine which is well known today - Chernobyl. She was the second of ten children born to Helena and Prukup. Prukup worked for a wealthy landowner, but had no land of his own. Life was very hard for them. Both of Mary's parents were illiterate, and there was little chance that things would be better for their children.

Advertisements beckoned people to immigrate to Canada. Ukrainians were promised free land by the Canadian government if they would emigrate and settle there. My grandmother said she remembers her mother telling her family members and villagers who emigrated to Canada a year earlier than her family wrote back to Ukraine with encouraging news about life in Canada.

In 1902, Prukup and Helena, along with their two children, immigrated to Canada. They were forced to sell their meagre possessions to be able to afford the costs of travel to Canada. Because women could not own property in Ukraine, Prukup, as owner of his widowed mother's plot of land, was able to sell it and put together enough money to take his family to Canada. His mother had no voice in his decision to sell her husband's land. Prukup offered to pay her way to Canada, but she chose to stay behind in Ukraine with some cousins. She did not want to leave behind the only life she had known. Prukup gave a small plot of land to these cousins so that they would take care of his mother for the remainder of her life. At the same time, Prukup's sister Anne, and her husband Bill, also emigrated with them.

They travelled first by train, overland to Hamburg, and then by ship to Halifax. On board, Helena gave birth to a boy, George, who died within hours of birth. Helena had been worried that they would dump the boy's body overboard, as had been done to others who had died. But, the ship had telegraphed ahead and a small coffin was waiting so that George could be buried in Halifax.

Once Mary's family arrived in Halifax, they were immediately placed on a train and moved out west to Winnipeg. There, the immigrants were given a health inspection, and anyone who was not "hale and hardy" was not permitted to continue across the prairies. It was only those of the hardest stock who would be able to endure the suffering and hardships that would follow.

Mary's mother's niece was one of those individuals who was forced to stay in Winnipeg because she was ill, and she remained along with some other relatives who could not pass the medical examination. Two places have become focal areas for the family's history in Canada - Winnipeg, and the area northeast of Edmonton, around Vegreville.

The train travelled west, and finally ended its trip at Strathcona Station, on the south side of the river. This area would later develop into Edmonton. My grandmother remembers that all that was there at the time was the train station and the immigration building. On the north side of the river was one small building. This was where families were left.

They took the ferry across to the north side of the Saskatchewan river. A man by the name of Tetose was waiting for the families getting off the train. He had arrived, himself, two years earlier, and had a homestead at Beaverhill Lake. Tetose was looking for an immigrant family to stay with his wife while he went away to work. He approached Prukup and asked him if he and his family needed a place to stay, offering his home until they could get on their feet. Prukup was very thankful for the offer and quickly accepted.

They stayed at Beaverhill for a year until Prukup could afford to pay his ten dollars for a homestead. Tetose had tried to convince him to stay at Beaverhill Lake where the land was fertile, but Prukup wanted to move to Warwick (now called Willingdon) because many of the people from his village in the old country had settled there. Even though the land at Warwick was much poorer than that around Beaverhill, he chose the poorer land so he could be close to his countrymen. The family remained in the Warwick area until Prukup retired from farming late in the 1900's.

Mary grew up on her family's quarter section, and did not travel too far from home until she married Steve Tymchyshyn, in 1918, at the age of eighteen.

They struggled to establish themselves on a quarter section adjacent to her father, but they were not successful. Mary worked very hard, first on her father's land, and then on her husband's land. But, with bad weather and a poor crop, at the end of their first year of marriage they were forced to abandon their homestead because they could not keep up the payments, pay their taxes, or purchase seed.

Following their unsuccessful attempt at farming, they travelled to various towns. Between 1918 and 1926 they moved from Warwick to Vegreville in Alberta, and then to Enderby in B.C. In each location the same pattern was repeated. They struggled to establish a home and make ends meet. Mary managed to keep the home together, taking in sewing and laundry while Steve tried a variety of occupations.

They lived three years in Enderby, in the Okanagan region of British Columbia. By 1929, the men that had worked the line for the CPR were laid off. With no other work available in the community, Mary and Steve had to move again. Mary had liked her little brick house in Enderby, but with no work for Steve, and four children to clothe and feed, they were forced to move on. They had read advertisements in the newspaper about homesteads being available in the Peace River country of Alberta. The government was giving quarter section homesteads to anyone who was able to pay the ten dollar registration fee. Both Steve and Mary thought it would be a good deal if the land was good. They had found the name of some contacts in the newspaper many months before, and recognizing the name as that of a countryman, had written to ask if there was still any land available. B. replied that there still was land available, although he warned them that he did not know if the land was any good or not. Steve and Mary went anyway. They sold their house for six hundred dollars, which was a

good price in those days. Mary and Steve packed up the family and caught the train for the Peace River Country.

Mary and Steve moved to the Peace River country in 1929 and remained there for eight years. Once again, the history of the immigrant family was being repeated. The promise of "free" land attracted those people who were too poor to establish themselves any other way. But, they would not have been able to take advantage of this government scheme had there not been a family willing to take them in on their arrival, as their parents before them had been assisted. Mary and Steve were met at the train in Peace River town by the Mr. B's family. Steve registered for a homestead, but was told that he would have to wait until the government checked to see if the land they were receiving had clear title. At least once before, the land had been owned and abandoned by some other family. When I asked Mary why, they had still taken the property when it had already been abandoned, she only shrugged and replied, "What else could we do?" About three months later they heard from the government that they could take over the title on the homestead. The land that they were given by the government had been severely damaged six years earlier when a prairie fire had swept through that part of the territory and had cleared off the land. The fire had burned with such intensity, it had burned off all the top soil in the area, down to the clay. This was a serious problem for farmers such as Steve and Mary, as it made profitable farming almost impossible.

The beginning of the end came for the Tymchyshyn family in the Peace River the summer of 1935. A severe rain storm wiped out the crop within an hour. They had lost everything - grain crop, hay meadow - all had been ruined by the rain. Mary says that they had had enough and decided that they would prepare to leave the following spring. She says that she had lived in fear for eight years and had had enough worrying about the family's survival. The family

moved from Peace River to Salmon Arm, where they stayed for six years. After their experiences in the Peace River country, Salmon Arm was a place where Mary had some happy recollections.

However, Steve continued to have difficulty getting steady work. He was able to get work as a CPR sectionhand, but that was not steady. Following a holiday he took with some of his friends to Vancouver, he returned to Salmon Arm to announce to Mary that they were moving down to Vancouver. It was his hope that there would be more steady work in the city. So, once again, Mary packed up and moved. They lived the remainder of their lives in the Vancouver area.

Immigration

Government Policy

The Canadian government offered to any Ukrainian adult male the opportunity to acquire free land if they would emigrate to Canada. The homesteader was expected to pay a ten dollar registration fee. Although this was an attractive offer for the immigrants, there were requirements that had to be met to receive the land title. A stipulation of the government's policy on homesteading was that residency on the land be maintained for three years to establish ownership, and also that a minimum amount of land be under the plough, and some buildings be erected. The vast number of Ukrainian immigrants had to spend every cent that they had accumulated in the old country to pay for transit to Canada. Often, on arrival to the prairies, men were forced to work away from home to earn cash for capital investments of land, animals, seed, and equipment for farming. The consequence of this need for the men to find work meant that women and children were often left for long periods of time to fend for themselves, with no money and few supplies. The family's survival during these times rested on the shoulders of the immigrant farm wife.

My grandmother talks about how her father and earlier homesteaders would leave their families to find work. The women were expected to produce enough food for the family survival as well as tend the farm. As Mary says,

.....Dad never found a homestead yet. He and Mr. T leave to find work. Just Mom and his wife and the children are left for the summer. Over the summer we had to work in the garden and do everything like feed the cattle. Mr. T's family had been in Canada two years already and he had everything like horses and oxen and we had only a little bit of money left after travelling to Canada.....

My grandmother and the other women in her family, would find themselves isolated on their farms, for months at a time, responsible for the running of the farm while their husbands were away working. Although it is not commented on in the literature, it was the women and children who made it possible for their husbands and fathers to fulfill the residency requirements of the government.

My grandmother's life in Canada was a test of her strength, perseverance, and indomitable spirit. Mary says they were little more than slaves. There was no help from the government to alleviate some of the struggles and pain my grandmother and her family were forced to endure. They often watched their children get sick and die due to the lack of food or medicine. Mary spoke with bitterness in her voice when she talked about how she perceived the government's support for struggling immigrant families.

..... M got called to the army..... There was a man, I forget his name, but he says Mrs. Tymchyshyn I heard your son got called to the army. I says yes..... I says when my son had to walk four miles to school every day barefoot, the government never cared. I says now he's found my boys and took to the army. I says, good government.....

The only time my grandmother expressed any bitterness or resentment was when she discussed the lack of support offered by the government. As she stated, the government knew where to find her children when they needed them for war.

Settler Interdependence

It was difficult to establish oneself without some help, and the immigrants who came to Canada extended a helping hand to their fellow countrymen. New immigrant families were often met at the railroad station by a Ukrainian immigrant who had arrived earlier and had been able to establish a farm. These individuals would offer shelter and food to the new families in exchange for some help on the farm. Mary talks about her family arriving from the old country at Strathcona Station, Alberta in 1902.

..... we arrived by train at Strathcona Station. There was nothing there but the railroad station on one side of the river and one building on the other. That was all that was there when my family arrived in Edmonton. A stranger, who had arrived from the old country two years earlier, was waiting at the station when the families arrived. Dad says that he approached him and asked if he was from the old country. Dad told him yes and the man asked him if he would like to come and stay with him on his farm. He wanted to go and find work but his wife did not want to stay alone again on the farm [like last year]..... We did not know him but he found us and took us home with him. His name was Mr. T. He told my Dad not to worry about food, that he had birds, and cattle and a garden so that there was plenty of food.....

Not all the stories were as happy as this one. Life on the prairies was a precarious struggle for survival. Therefore, some of the families were less willing to offer these new settlers charity and open their homes to the new immigrants. Mary talks about one family they stayed with when they moved to Willingdon, and her account illustrates how fearful some homesteaders were about their own survival and the extra risk of accepting the added burden of another family.

..... then, we lived with one family, but not for long. Mrs. S was a very cranky woman..... Mr. S was from our village. But still never had a horse or nothing. But he had a garden. Some people sure showed how scared they were. When we came to live with Mr. S and his family, his wife was not willing to share even some potatoes with us even though she had enough from the garden. My Dad saw how she felt and decided to take up an offer from Mr. P to live with him and his family. Mr. P told Dad to come and live with them because they had a lot of room. My Dad also knew that Mr. P had an ox. We went to live down there, and even though

they saw that we had no money to pay for the food they offered they told us not to worry about paying for the food, just help with the work.

Without the generosity and charity of their countrymen, survival could be a grim task. Kin and community were essential factors for Ukrainians homesteading in Canada.

Getting Settled on the Homestead

One of the first things that these homesteaders needed to do was build a home for the family. The immigrants were often forced to build a shelter from sod or dig out a cave in the side of a cliff. Once the family could acquire their homestead and cut some timber, they would build a more permanent dwelling. The men would erect the building but it would be up to the womenfolk to chink the cracks, whitewash the walls with lye, and prepare the roofing. My grandmother tells me the work was backbreaking, and it was not unheard of that women would die trying to complete their family's home.

Often the first roof would be from sod with a dirt floor. Living in these homes in bad weather was miserable. Mary recalls,

..... the house my Dad built was made from logs.....The roof was made from sods, just like the kind they now use [to make a lawn]..... But when there was a big rain it would leak. One time it was a big rain and we all hid under the table. Even when the sun came out and we were still in the rain..... The dirt floor, which was like cement, would turn to mud when the roof leaked.....

Not only did this make for miserable living conditions, it meant the risk of serious illness such as rheumatic fever, pneumonia, and possible death.

As soon as possible, the farmwife cut the tall grass and prepared bundles of grass to make sheaves to use as rain proof roofing. Then the roof would stop leaking. But even though the straw roof would improve the family's living conditions on the one hand, on the other, the family faced the possibility of fire. In regards to this, Mary remembers,

..... danger of fire. You know, when we lived with Mr. T and those straw caught fire through the chimney. And I tell you, all the kids asleep in the house. My Dad and Mr. B fight the fire. And we saved the house. Then Mr. T said you need to put a proper shingle roof on the house and before the next winter Dad put a shingle roof on the house. I tell you, when we could we had it.

Discrimination

Many Ukrainians suffered discrimination and exploitation at the hands of the English-speaking community. The ethnohistorical record is replete with examples of the suffering of these immigrants at the hands of the English. My grandfather, who had been educated in Ukraine, wrote an article for a Ukrainian daily newspaper in 1967, discussing how Ukrainians had been treated by the people who controlled the community businesses and government. The one story that Mary related regarding prejudice was to do with getting the children into school in Salmon Arm.

..... we move to Salmon Arm and the people in Salmon Arm don't want to take our kids in the school..... We had lived about a quarter of a mile out of town on the north. The children were going to school in the valley. But, when we planned to move into town, and Dad tried to register them, he was told that he couldn't because they didn't live in town, even though we would be living there within a month..... [When my husband hear this] he came and told me what is what, and I said what are we going to do? We had good neighbour, he was from England. Very nice man, Mr. O. He says, you write a letter to the school inspector in Revelstoke and my husband told Sophie to write the letter. She wrote a letter, and sent it to Revelstoke, and within the week the inspector came to Salmon Arm. He came to the house and told me who he was. He said I'm the inspector from the school district. I says I was sorry, but my husband would be home any minute. He says, I will go back to the Montabello Hotel. You tell your husband to come and see me there. He just left, and my husband comes in from work..... He goes down to the hotel to see the inspector. The inspector asks Dad why he never registered the kids for school? My husband says we never had this place..... and now that I going to move to this property the kids need to be in the school. The inspector says, you leave it with me. I'll straighten it out..... The next day the mayor and some other members of city hall come and say Mr. Tymchyshyn, send your kids to the school. I tell you, some people are so nasty! There was a bunch of them like that at city hall, but they can't play [games] like that with the inspector! When our kids start to go to school,

one time when we walk home, Mrs. McG, she's like a [city official], stops us to say you should have come to us. My husband says I did come and report it. My kids have to go to school here..... [They] found out Tymchyshyn not those what they thought.....

Mary did not share many stories about discrimination but remained proud of her ethnic roots.

.....we never shamed to tell what [is our] nationality.

It was far more likely that it was the children of the early immigrants who suffered prejudice and harassment. School, for children like my father, was often a grim, ego-shattering experience. In fact, it was not until he attended English-speaking public school that they had their first experiences with prejudice. The children were taunted and harassed by both the English students as well as some of the teachers. It became a test of their grit and determination to go to school each day and withstand the teasing and threats of physical violence from the Anglo children.

Isolation

One of the situations the immigrant women found themselves coping with was the overwhelming loneliness and isolation on the prairies. These women were isolated on their homesteads, far from family and neighbour support. This sense of isolation and loneliness became intensified once their husbands were forced to leave the farms in search of wage labour. One of Mary's earliest recollections was watching her mother, and other Ukrainian women at a gathering, weeping in sorrow at what they had lost in coming to Canada. Mary says,

No. My Mom was never happy until all the children had grown up..... I remember the families getting together one Sunday when I was about six or seven. Those women were like those hens in the summer time with little chickies. They all come together like big kids talking and crying and we saw our mothers crying too!..... They would cry for what they had left behind. In the old country they had everything, but here they had nothing.....There they had had the Church, we had everything,

and here we have nothing..... Scared for the life they had to live..... and you know, that's sad for those women, living where there was no civilization, no nothing.

Bad roads made travel between homesteads and towns difficult and reinforced the settler's isolation.

One of the most difficult things my grandmother said these women had to come to terms with was the loss of what they considered civilization. There were no churches, schools or community organizations. A sense of community and religious practise were central parts of the immigrants' lives. Mary tells the story of how the women felt about coming to what they considered a savage land. There was no attempt by the government to develop a community structure for the immigrants. It was up to the immigrants to develop their own community. And that is what they set out to do, despite the roadblocks put in their way by various groups fearful of the influence this large group of immigrants might have on Canadian culture and politics.

One of the first things to be built were the churches. My grandmother talks about how the women missed having a church of their own faith which was a gathering place for the community. The loneliness and isolation experienced by these women was intensified by the loss of the religious support offered by the church. The development of churches gave the immigrants a sense of community while lessening the loneliness. On churches, Mary says,

..... when A was born in 1910, twelve ranch had built a Catholic church..... It was Roman Catholic not Greek Catholic..... That is different from Greek Catholic Church.....

.... and people start to get happy. Built a church. Built a school. Cut and build some roads. You know civilization start to come, people start to get happy. But still work hard. Work very hard.....

Isolation was not only the physical isolation on the homestead, it was linguistic as well. For many of the first wave of women immigrants like my great

grandmother and grandmother, being isolated on the farm meant not knowing the English language. The significance of this was that, in the English-speaking community, they were unable to communicate. My grandmother talks about needing to learn English when she started working as a domestic in the village.

..... [Momma] never [learned English]... Dad [learned English], yes. I would never have learned if I had stayed on the farm. But we moved to Vegreville. I went to work for an English family and have to learn. The woman I worked for says come on Mary, tub, tub. I say wash board....And I tell you, I had head I [learned] them so fast..... Yes and I want to learn Canadian language.... If I start to catch up it helped me when I went to get a job cleaning the train station....I still never talk plain Canadian language.....

But, being unable to speak or understand English might have offered women some protection from the experiences of abuse and discrimination their husbands suffered when they needed to do business with the larger community.

Making Ends Meet

As we can see from the discussion in the previous chapter, for the settlers to get established, and move beyond subsistence farming, took a tremendous amount of energy and support. Nonetheless, a number of family members were successful in establishing themselves as production units. My grandmother says that her parents as well as my grandfather's parents farmed throughout their lives.

An assumption about farming is that labour is divided along gender lines: women in the home, men in the fields. In my grandmother's case this did not apply. My grandmother did tasks traditionally thought to be men's work in the production end of the farm, as well as carrying out domestic duties. Boundaries based on gender did not exist for her, but did exist for her brothers. They neither laboured in the fields nor helped in the home.

Domestic Labour

Taking care of the household included duties such as tending the livestock, which could include turkeys, chickens, geese, and cows, growing and preserving the food, collecting the water, sewing and mending, as well as keeping house. There was little or no cash for domestic needs and often nowhere to purchase staples, so my grandmother made her own soap, and ground the flour. Her days would begin at dawn, and she often worked long after the family was in bed sleeping. Mary remembers,

..... after everyone would go to bed, I would wash the dishes then sit down behind the sewing machine and sewing until midnight or one o'clock in the morning..... I'd sew everything for the kids. I never buy nothing..... My husband would trade a load of wood for second hand clothing and some moose hides. I made a jacket for M and moccasins. I'd [rip apart] the suits and over-coats and make smaller for the kids. I was busy with those sewing day and night.....

..... it [caring for the family] would have been easier, but I never had much equipment..... and, how I work! I told you. Women never had time, like I told you before, I'd be asleep before my head would be on the pillow. And then get up again and again. I made it. I don't know how. But I made it.....

She worked to exhaustion most days, and as Mary says, "women were slaves." There was no time to think, no time to rest; she put her head down and kept working.

There was no electricity, sewers, running water, plumbing, or any other convenience on the early homesteads. Getting water for the livestock, the garden, and the family's daily needs seemed like an endless task. It was often made worse when the water supply dried up in the summer or froze over in the winter. It was up to her to keep the family and livestock supplied with water.

According to Mary,

..... S went to work and I had to do everything - cooking and washing and running around outside..... if we move onto our land [in Peace River] we never had water at all. We would have to melt snow and we already

had three head of cattle and two pair of horses, and that was too much for me..... in the summer the water dried up.....

..... in the winter, we just had a slough close to the house. Your Grandma knew how to keep the water fresh. I dug a hole, covered it with a board and in the morning it would be full of frogs. If there were frogs, then I didn't worry about the water. If there were frogs, then the water was clean..... As soon as I would bring the water in the house I would strain it through a cloth and boil it..... in the winter I had to melt the snow. That was terrible! You could melt fresh snow all day and only make a cup of water. Old snow would make more water.....

The combination of lack of water and the onerous task of hauling water for the livestock and family sparked Mary's ingenuity. She decided to build a dam that would ensure a reliable source of water and lighten her workload. Her decision to build a dam was a unique solution to her problem not often considered by her neighbours. She knew that what she was planning might leave her open to ridicule so she invented a plausible explanation for her task. Her decision to build a water reservoir meant she was prepared to do work not normally considered women's work. As she remembers,

..... we had a tiny creek running by the house. In July and August, it would dry up. I decided to build a dam..... So, I went to my neighbour and asked if I could borrow his scraper. I told him we wanted to dig a basement because we wanted to build a house. I never told him I wanted to make a dam, because people would laugh. They would ask me why I was so dumb. What would I need a dam for since there already was a slough. M and I took the scraper and dug out the creek. M took the reins and I worked the scraper and we built the dirt up along the sides. We make 'em about thirty feet wide, fifty feet long and four feet deep. The day after we finish it was cloudy..... Boy, if it rain and thunder I couldn't see twenty feet. Oh, maybe three quarters of an hour later, the sun came out..... I go outside, and I pretty near fell down. My fields are all under water including my meadow hay. And you could just hear burble, burble, burble..... And I go look at my dam and it was all filled up..... an people were surprised. I had water and didn't need to worry in the winter if it froze because we would cut chunks of ice and boil it. We never worried about water after that.....

Production Labour

Women on the farms were expected to do a double day of work. This was commented on earlier by Ghorayshi (1989) and Salamon (1992). They

were required to help in the fields as well as carry out their domestic responsibilities. Establishing a farm on the prairies meant that all hands were needed. Even when Mary was a young girl, she was expected to work alongside her father on his farm doing men's work. She explains this in the following account.

I was Dad in the field..... stooking hay. Dad would never let me harness the horse or ox but I could take the harness. He and I would toss the hay and I would go to the house. When I was finished I would go to the house tired and Mom would say go and bring a can of milk from the well. I would bring the milk can, separate the cream from the can, then go and feed the calf, hogs and chickens. Momma would cook supper and Dad would come from the field and lay down because he would be tired. I was small, but I could do it, but the boys didn't..... the boys would come from school and go and get the cows. That was it..... I had to do man work. Dad gave me two oxen and a harrow and showed me how to use it..... I never put a sharp corner, but came round again and again with the harrow. Mom and I never had shoes and my brother's boots were too big and heavy for me to wear. So I go barefoot in the field all day working. Boy! If I walk in that dirt all day, and the dirt being a little bit wet, by the evening when I went to bed after washing my legs I cry out to Mom that my legs are burning. Momma comes and asks me why I'm crying. I told her my legs burn. So she went to get sweet cream and told me to rub my feet with it and then I could go to sleep..... I worked like this until the day I got married.....

Mary continued to work in the production end of the farm as a wife and mother. She relates,

.... My husband had to go to work and I had to put the crop in myself.... I planted much less because we didn't have much seed. My father give a little bit and my husband's brother-in-law give a little bit of seed along with what we had. We had two sacks of wheat, and I put in about twenty acres of wheat and about four acres of oats..... I had a seeding machine and a self plow and I worked them myself.

Mary's husband worked away from home for considerable periods of time during the growing season. Each time they tried to establish themselves on a homestead it was not my grandfather that prepared the land but my

grandmother who was left to her to clear the land for production. As Mary remembers,

..... every summer I planted a garden..... S was oldest and M and P do work in the house what he could of what I had to do. And I have to go and work in the garden. I thought I'd clear more of the heavy brush and prepare it for plowing. But mostly I had enough with the garden.....

When disaster threatened to ruin their crops, Mary did whatever she had to ensure her family's survival, even if it meant doing the work normally done by her husband. She says,

..... but we had a crop. My husband worked away all of the time. And I thought if my husband never had time, this crop would be spoiled if it snowed..... So I went to my neighbour and I said Mrs. B would you come and help put crop all in a stack. And to tell you, we both one hauling, and hauling, and hauling and hauling! All day. We stopped that night and we had finished..... An Indian said that tomorrow it would snow. And sure enough, it did. But it disappeared quickly. And Mrs. B said what about our oats. I said shake off the snow. I come with the team of horses and we hauling your [crop]..... our neighbour had cut the crop, but Mrs. B and I hauling all of the crops..... That's how women had to work in Peace River. Not everyone, but lots of us.

Changing Roles

The traditional division of labour based on gender practised in the old country began to break down under the pressures of surviving in the new land. My grandmother talked about women doing the household chores, tending the garden, and milking the cows, while the men handled the animals used in the fields, such as the horses and oxen which had been old country traditions. Even when the women helped in the fields, there had been tasks that were considered women's work. Mary explains,

..... women never had a bunch of horses or oxen and never do any work in the fields except stoking.

..... Mr. T had an ox, but she [the women] never worked with the ox except maybe to pull out a stump. But, you know, old country women, they don't know much about harnessing an ox. Some do know. Mom never knew how to harness an ox. Women never had horses or oxen in

the old country. [Mom] did the gardening but as for the horse or ox, she knew nothing. And never tried. She considered this to be men's work.

It is clear from the section on production work, that coming to Canada changed many of the traditional work patterns for my grandmother, and her workload increased. Mary cleared the land, hauled the hay, sowed the fields, harvested the crops, harnessed and worked the horses, and used any of the farm equipment that they had on the farm. For my grandmother there was no division of labour based on gender.

Another example of a changing role for my grandmother's family is related to milking cows. In Ukraine, milking cows had been the work of the men. Although her father had learned how to milk cows in the old country, he never taught the boys this skill once they were living in Canada. Mary spoke with bitterness in her voice that she was expected to handle the tending of the cows alone while her brothers went off to school. She remembers the inequity she experienced.

..... Dad know how [to milk cows], but he never taught the boys. Milking cows for other people considered man's work and Dad did that, but when they come home and in the old country they never did that in our village..... By the time I was twelve years old, I would milk the cows but the boys didn't have to..... Well we had seven or eight head to milk. By the time I was fifteen or sixteen years old we had ten head. I had to milk cows morning and evening, morning and evening every day.....

It is clear from my grandmother's words that there was no division of labour based on gender for her. When times were tough, or extra hands were needed in the field, the division of labour based on gender became less important than the needs of the farm. This placed a larger burden on my grandmother than it did on her brothers. Whereas for her brothers, their workload lightened at my grandmother's expense. They did not milk the cows. In fact, all they were expected to do was bring them to the barn for milking. In practise, in my

grandmother's family it was only the men who benefited from a division of labour based on gender.

Wage Labour

Making ends meet was often made more difficult because of the seasonal influences. Bad weather at the wrong time of the growing season could wipe out a farm in a matter of moments. For subsistence farmers like my grandparents struggling to establish a foothold, bad weather could mean the end of their farming days. Farmers who could not survive in farming were forced to move to town in search of wage work. My grandparents were one of those families who were wiped out by bad weather during their first attempt at farming following their marriage.

The first year we were married all of the crop was frozen. We never had a crop at all. It was frozen by an early frost in July. We had been growing wheat and oats, but all of it froze. We just had enough crop for feed for the cattle..... [the next year] the crop dried out and I said to my husband what are we going to do? We hadn't been able to pay the property taxes for two years already. The interest was growing and we didn't have anything else to sell.... and we leave it and go to town. We sold the horses, the cow and everything and made about five hundred dollars and moved to Vegreville.....

Living in town meant a change in lifestyle. My grandmother would take in work, find wage work away from home, or do whatever was necessary to make money to be able to purchase the things that they needed for their family such as food and clothing. Sometimes she would plant a small kitchen garden to supply the family's food needs. Over the years, Mary did a variety of jobs to help supplement the family income. In Vegreville, like many other Ukrainian women, she cleaned people's homes, and she remembers this in the following account.

..... I go to work in people's houses..... Sometimes I would work from nine o'clock until four. I made twenty-five cents an hour..... Lots of women needed help in the house. After S was born..... I took baby in the buggy and go to work..... The baby slept.... and I helped with what I had to do..... sometime the baby would cry and the woman would come and talk to the baby and I would do the work.....

Mary took in laundry to help make ends meet. She says,

In Chipman, there were no jobs except on the railway. My husband had a business, but those business wasn't enough to make a living for us..... He bought a new engine and crusher and we had to pay for it on payment. And we had to pay the debt and make a living and what he made wasn't enough. Then I started to take in wash at home. I washed and ironed clothes..... scrubbing them on a board..... I charged three or four dollars for a bunch of clothes depending on how much..... that's how I make a living.

When things did not work out in one place, Mary and Steve packed up their belongings and moved to somewhere else. When the children needed new clothes grandmother would find seasonal work to earn cash to purchase clothing. While they lived in Enderby, Mary travelled to work in the orchards in Vernon, picking fruit. She recalls this in the following way.

..... the next year, I took P and H and travelled to the orchards in Vernon to pick apples. I went in the neighbour's car..... every day we started work at eight o'clock and would work until four thirty..... I made good money - six cents a box, and you know how many boxes I could pick then because I was young. I was just like a squirrel on a twelve foot ladder..... I make someday pretty near a hundred boxes of apples depending on how big the apples were and how fast I could work..... I would put the children on a rock with the neighbour's two kids and sometimes they would fight. Then I would yell at them to stop it..... In the orchards, the company had some sheds and the people working in the orchards would sleep in them..... I took my own clothing and bedding and the kids slept with me.... for breakfast, I would give the kids porridge or corn flakes.... for lunch, I would make a big bunch of sandwiches which we would eat for lunch and any leftovers we would eat between then and supper..... For supper we would have a can of soup..... the first time I went to work in the orchards, my husband gave me ten dollars. Then I went and bought some bologna and I bought some potatoes..... we had a wood stove to cook on so I would chop the wood..... I used the money to buy clothes for the children when I went home to Enderby..... After two weeks we'd go home. I would make about thirty-five dollars and my husband would think that was nice money. But I told him the money was for clothing for the kids.

Any money being made by my grandfather was needed to purchase equipment, or seed, or to pay for repair of farm machinery and was used strictly in the production end of the farm. As for feeding and clothing the family it was

up to my grandmother to raise the funds that were needed. She would do a variety of things such as selling the vegetables from her garden or the chickens and turkeys she raised. What she could produce she would sell to townfolk to purchase necessities for the children. As she says,

.....[in the Peace River], I grew carrots... and beets... lettuce, onions, and cabbage. I would plant the cabbage and by July there would already be small heads. I would take of onions, celery, and cabbage and go to town to the restaurant in Peace River and would sell it to make money.....One time I took what you called it, a load of wood. A double box we call it. The three kids and M sawed wood for two days. Then I took the box of wood to the restaurant and sold it. Who should come to town and see me but Mr. W (a neighbour). He says to me, what are you doing? I told him I am doing what I need to do because my kids need clothes. I make a little bit of money. Other times the kids and I would pick cranberries, blackberries, and currants and I would take those to town and sell them.....

.....we had a garden, we had cows. We alright for food. My husband would haul wood and trade it at the mill for flour. I'd bake bread..... we could live. But we just couldn't make a living on our own.

When my grandparents found themselves short on cash they could acquire their staples by bartering for things they needed. Canada was in the process of becoming a nation state, and, out on the frontier, the only labour available was working the railroad, mining or forestry - all of which was seasonal work. Even horseshoes for the animals were bartered. On bartering, Mary says,

..... it cost one dollar per leg, but four legs cost eight dollars [for horseshoes]. The man said bring me two loads of wood..... And I tell you, my husband traded lots of times. One time he got a hundred pound sack of sugar for one load of wood..... one time he brought a can of milk, a big roaster for a load of wood.

.....my husband hauling wood all winter to the flour mill. He would trade for cream of wheat, flour, shortening, bran, what we needed.....

At times, when bartering was not possible, and there was no work, the family survived on credit at the town store. Mary speaks of credit in the following way.

Not many [jobs]. You know, it was a very small town. If winter comes, I tell you, I looked for a job, but there weren't any. But we had a good store man. He would give us what we would need. He knew we never had anything..... we would only take food so we could make it to spring..... [we bought food] on credit. And when spring come, my husband would to work and would pay him back by the time winter would come again..... He would pay debt, just start to catch up and winter would come again.

Life was tough on the homestead. Sometimes survival meant doing something that you did not want to do. But when your partner was not supportive, options were limited. Mary speaks with distaste that some men would send their wives to town to earn some money to help support the family

..... If Mr. B comes and helps us, my husband would cut a good chunk of meat. He would be glad to get it, because they never had meat all the time. I tell you, he would send his woman into town if somebody wanted a good time and she would bring something back home..... She would go to Peace River and she would be with the single men..... One time I talked to her about what she was doing. I said, Mrs. B does your husband know what your doing? She told me he knows. I have to do this otherwise the kids wouldn't have any bread in the house..... [Mrs. B] says to me, Mrs. Tymchyshyn, I left him once. But, now I have two children How can I leave with those kids? And, no one wants me with these kids. She says I do what I can..... she told me, that the first time she had to do it she cried. But if I can make money for the kids and if my husband doesn't care that I'm doing this, why should I?..... I asked her what does your husband say about it? She replied he says nothing as long as I can bring home a sack of flour..... and I told her one time, if my man told me to do that, I would tell him good bye!! Mr. B just not a real dummy, but pretty near. A smart man would never do that.....

Survival on the frontier was not for the feeble or weak spirited. It took courage and ingenuity to beat the odds and survive.

Wives and Husbands

Marriage

Traditionally, when men and women married, women promised to, "love, honour, and obey" their husbands. Historically as we have seen in the last chapter, decisions made regarding a marriage partner were based upon the

social imperatives of the cultural group. At that time marriages were arranged between families. Whether or not you loved the partner chosen for you was far less important than a good economic bond between families. For many women marriage really was "for better or for worse". With few alternatives, no economic independence, and cultural tradition as important factors for women, marriage could at times feel like a life sentence. Many of the stories written about in the history of settlement, and the stories my grandmother tells, illustrate this point. Both the husband and wife were caught between the demands of family ties and the need to forge a strong working unit for the survival of their own family. The pressure of being in a new land often created tensions that would erupt in the home. My grandmother talks about the fact that women were expected to placate their husbands and act as the release valve for their husbands' frustrations. Attempting to accommodate all these factors created tensions within the relationship and between families. One did not just marry a spouse, one married the partner's family. But, on coming to Canada, cultural practises from the old country began to change.

The Ukrainian immigrants brought with them the marriage practises from the old country. My grandmother states that fathers and mothers were most often the ones to have a say in the union of their sons and daughters, based upon family and group ties and economic need. In the old way, the couple would come from the same village and the families would have known each other for a considerable length of time. But, on coming to Canada, this marriage practise was changing as new communities were formed and the option for marriage partners increased.

Dating, as we know it today, was viewed as inappropriate. All contact prior to marriage between potential partners was chaperoned. A good marriage was one in which the husband could provide for the new family while the wife

was obedient and hard working. Mary talked about how in the old country, young girls rarely argued about the mates chosen for them. But, here in Canada, old traditions began to change. When Mary was sixteen, her parents believed it was time for her to marry. Her parents had selected someone who they believed would make a good husband. But she had other plans. She knew that the boy her parents had selected for her would be abusive. Her story shows us that even in the early part of this century, she had the courage to speak out for what she wanted.

..Mom and Dad threw a party and lots of people were there. Momma kept telling me to go and talk to N. But, I didn't want to. I knew that they were planning that I would marry him. There was dancing going on and N came over to ask me to dance. I refused, and he got angry with me. He grabbed me to try to make me dance with him, but I slapped him instead and ran away...after everyone went home Dad yelled and yelled at me... how I shouldn't have done it because he would be my husband. But I knew what sort of husband he would be and I wasn't going to marry him....Finally, Dad yelled if I didn't agree to marry this boy, then I could leave the family... So I told him I would go. He yelled at me that I couldn't survive and I would come crawling back and do as I was told.... The next day I packed my bag and went to the village...I got a place to stay in a boarding house and got a job working in the restaurant...I guess I showed him. About a month later, Dad came to town and told me that if I didn't want to I didn't have to marry N and I could come home..... I was very glad.....so I went home.

Traditionally, courtship was to be carried out under the watchful eye of an elder. But, even these practises were changing in Canada. Mary relates the story of going to her friend's house with a young man, who later became her husband, setting off a furor in the family:

....one Sunday I decided to visit my girlfriend A. S asked if he could come with me. I told him if he wanted to it was okay with me. Then S rowed us about half a mile to A's house. My brother, J, had wanted to use the boat, but because we wouldn't give it to him he got mad. When Dad came to our house from the field, he asked where was Mary and my brother J said Oh, Mary's with S. Dad never said one word. He knew that we would be back about four-thirty and he was waiting for us. When we rowed back, my brother S was waiting for us at the lakeshore. He said that stupid J had told Dad I was with S. I turned to my boyfriend and told him that Dad had invited him for supper. So I went to

the house with my brother on one side and my boyfriend on the other. Dad was waiting for us in the dirt. Dad yelled at me, so you want to step out do you?....if you want to go out with her you will have to marry her..... My boyfriend told him well I want to marry her.....Dad and Mom discussed it and said it would be okay for us to get married.....

Any proposal regarding marriage was to be made by the prospective suitor to the girl's parents. This old country tradition was changing too, as Mary's story illustrates:

...S asked me what I thought about marrying him. I told him I would think about it.... The next Sunday, he asked me if I had told my Mom and Dad. I said no, I had told my Mom, but not my Dad.....Momma said well we see. Mom didn't know that there was any other way than if the boy's people coming and asking for the marriage. She didn't know that S had asked me and that was enough....

When a couple had made the decision to get married, their wedding became a community event. The families of the bride and groom put together a dowry to help the young people set up a new household.

An important part of the relationships between the husband and wife were their respective families. Mary talks about the obligations both she and her husband had to their families. Working the farm meant that everyone needed to stick together. There had to be an interdependence between generations if there was to be a productive farm and survival for the family. It was a struggle to survive, and, for many, the only way was to work with one's family. So along with one's new spouse, a bride or groom might be expected to live with in-laws. Decision making was split between the production end of the farm and the domestic end. Although the ultimate authority in the household was the man of the house, decisions related to hearth and home were left up to the women folk. This meant that the husband controlled decisions related to farm production, including all the money arrangements that were needed. And, if he worked for a wage, then he maintained control over his salary. The housewife on the farm had responsibility and control regarding all issues related to housework,

gardening, and the livestock. A myth regarding women is that they have little influence over their families. But this is not necessarily the only story. On the farm, the women wielded considerable power and control over their households, even to the point of being able to beat their daughters-in-law. Life could be very disagreeable if the mother-in-law of the house decided to be unpleasant. Mary tells the story of going to live with her new husband's family. She was surprised that in her husband's family, men milked cows. This had never happened at her parent's home. Mary's account shows that her mother-in-law had significant jurisdiction over issues related to the home:

...I was surprised. After I was married, I came to live with my husband's family. Dad and my husband took the pails and went to milk the cows! Dad says you two fix breakfast. It wouldn't have been too bad if Mom had been good. She said okay, and told me to go and make the bed, set the table and she would make breakfast....Momma was the authority.....One day a neighbour came by and we started talking about the eggs I was collecting.....We were laughing and talking and Momma heard us and came hollering out of the house. You stop talking to my daughter-in-law! Dad and my husband look to see what the problem is. I never said a word. I says to the neighbour, I have to go or else mother-in-law will spank me. He says that will be the day that your mother-in-law spans you. You know that a stick has two ends. I says yes I know. One for Momma and one for me.....The boy knows me and know I'm not scared. So, I came inside and she yells at me to set the table. I set the table and she comes and changes it all around. I never said a word. My husband and father come and see what's happening, they look at each other and they never say a word. Fine, I thought. Don't say anything. So we sit down to supper. Momma starts telling the men what kind of a housekeeper I make that I never help cook supper. She bangs down the dishes and leaves the table. After dinner I washed the dishes and did all the work.....

Life was difficult for my grandmother as a daughter-in-law. She found herself at the bottom of the power structure in the home. She was expected to carry out all the directions of her new mother. Her mother-in-law even had the

authority to deny the newlyweds access to the home, as Mary's account illustrates:

...some people had given us cash as a wedding present. One day my husband says to me we will go to town...maybe we will buy something with some of the money and the rest we will put in the bank. He didn't want to keep money at home. He knew that if his mother found out we had money, she would take it away from us. So, we went to town and when we came back, Momma screamed and hollered at us calling us all kinds of names. And Dad just went into the house. My husband wanted to say something to her, but I told him to just leave her alone and let her talk....Finally, she closed the door on my husband and we were forced to go sleep in a granary at my parents' place....

After having to sleep away from home for a month, it was Mary's father-in-law that convinced his wife to let them return. Mary explains,

..one day after another night in the granary we come to my husband's parents' home. My husband started to argue with his father about the situation we found ourselves in. And Dad says, I already have changed her mind. I told her that you could have this room and one upstairs and we would keep the kitchen and cellar.... That's where all the vegetables were stored and she wanted to make sure that she had all the food....So, we had to get food from my family. She wouldn't share anything. So I went to my folks and my Momma gave me eggs and whatever I needed. My husband had to go and haul some wood for the stove and my Dad gave us an old stove so that we could cook our meals and keep warm....Sometimes she could be so nice. She would come and with me and talk about her neighbours. We lived like this over the winter....

No matter how bad it got, she accepted the demands and abuse directed at her by her mother-in-law in silence. She did her best to live by the old country tradition. But, there were limits as to how much abuse Mary was willing to take from her mother-in-law to keep peace in the family. An incident she remembers occurring in the following spring, convinced her that it would be better for her and her husband to live in a place of their own.

...in spring, everything going okay. But, Momma better and worse, just couldn't tell what's what..... One day, I was standing in the kitchen and looked outside to see what all the yelling was about. Momma was running around the back yard with a big carving knife. She ran into the house, hollered at me and cut up a picture that had been on the wall.

That's enough... I was scared that she would use the knife on me. So I goes to my husband and told him I couldn't live there anymore. So we packed up and moved to the old house on the other section of land....

Family Violence

A recurring theme throughout the interview was related to family violence. My grandmother talked about the stories her mother would tell her about the old country ways, where men ruled their families, and it was considered a man's right to beat his wife. Mary shared anecdotes told to her by the women in the family of the beatings the women withstood from their husbands in the old country.

..... Well, I tell you in Europe this is okay [wife beating]..... Year and years ago it was okay to beat your wife..... As soon as a man would get mad, he would beat his wife and she would have to say she was sorry..... because she made him mad..... one of my mother's sisters died when her husband got so drunk that he beat his wife to death.

Women in the family were expected to accept this abusive treatment and apologize to their husbands.

In Canada, this old country practise survived to some extent. Some of the women in the family lived out their lives believing there were no alternatives. But, for women like my grandmother, coming to Canada opened up the hope that things could be different. Mary related several stories of relatives - women who chose to do something about their abusive relationships. One of the stories was about Mary's Aunt D. Aunt D had come to Canada with her husband from the old country.

..... her husband beat her lots and sometimes she would be unconscious. Finally, one night while everyone was sleeping she ran away with some man..... they went to Windsor and one night she ran away from him too. We never heard from her again..... you know, everybody knew that D's husband was beating her like that. People never went to court in those days..... nobody ever went to court..... But people weren't surprised that she left him.....

Many years later, when Mary and her husband moved to Vancouver, Mary had a woman friend who asked for help because her husband was beating her. Mary says,

Mr. L. used to beat his wife here in Canada. One time she told me, you put some ammunition into my husband's head..... She begged me to help her assassinate her husband. I told her, Mrs. L, I don't know anybody who would do such a thing..... She tried to be good wife and for what?.....

When Mary married and moved in with her in-laws, she found that her mother-in-law was often beaten by her husband. My great grandfather stood about six foot tall and my great grandmother was about five feet. When Mrs. T would argue with her husband, he would settle the dispute by giving his wife a pair of "sun goggles." As Mary explained this was a set of black eyes.

..... my husband could see that there was going to be a big fight between his mother and father so he took me and we left..... The next day, I get up, and Momma had sun goggles. I said to my husband what's this? He said, that's why I wanted to get out. Dad shouldn't have said what he did to Mom. I thought Dad had just been joking. But she got offended..... and started yelling at him. So he slapped her hard in the face, but Dad was a big man and she was just a tiny woman.....

Both my grandparents worked hard to make ends meet. My grandmother worked alongside her partner from sunrise until sunset. Mary recognized and acknowledged the support and mutual dependency that was required if the family was to survive. But, Mary's husband never admitted that her effort was essential to the family's survival. She says,

..... I always gave my husband credit for what he did. But he never gave me credit for how much I would do. That's the old people's style. In our country, a girl get married, she never all of her life got the opportunity to be a girl. Anybody who came along, she married. Maybe in some families, she would be beaten like a dog. She had to run and do everything..... Maybe her husband would be a drunkard and she would have to feed the kids by herself..... People come to Canada, and there's still a lot living like that..... Life was really hard. Women, I tell you, poor woman she didn't know anything but working. No place to go, nothing to do. After maybe living in Canada about four or five years, at Christmas they would have a party.... it was like being in jail. She works

hard so that she can give something to her kids to eat. If they have a house, it would be one room, there would be a stove in the corner and a table and bed. That's how they lived.

Women's Strength and Courage

My grandmother's story is woven with her indomitable spirit - the courage and strength she possessed, like so many other immigrant women. We can see from her story that she was a strong-minded, independent woman at a time in history when many assumed that women were weak, helpless, and dependent. Homesteading on the prairies at the turn of the century was not for the weak or frail. It took strength and courage to face the hardships that these early Ukrainian immigrant women endured.

It was my grandmother's ingenuity and resourcefulness that often made the difference between life and death for her family. One of her favourite stories was about the quality of her products and her good business sense. Even when others scorned her marketing decisions, she went ahead and followed her own instincts and was often successful:

..... One time the kids and I sawed wood for two days. We loaded it into a wooden ice box. Then the kids and I picked some cranberries and black currants. I killed three or four chicken, cleaned them and wrapped them up nicely in paper. Then I took all of it to the restaurant in Peace River. But who should come to town in their car but Mr. W. (a neighbour), He says to me, where are you going with that? I told him well, I do what I need because the kids need some clothes. I can make a little bit of money. My chickens were good chickens - five pounds each I got five cents a pound, that's fifty cents for each chicken. I sold four chickens so I made two dollars! That day I made ten dollars! Oh, I'm such a big woman!! So, I went to the store to look at a pair of nice gloves. Those were for S.(eldest daughter) And, a nice dress for V (daughter)..... the boys needed socks. So, I looked around the store. Boys socks were thirty-five cents, so I still had four dollars and eighty cents! So, I bought socks for everyone. My husband comes home, sees the things I bought and says what did you buy? You could have..... and I told him so what? I said look at what I bought for S - a pair of gloves..... I didn't buy any yarn because I could spin it for myself for wool.....

..... the butcher in town knew our family because S worked in town. He told me, listen, Thanksgiving is coming. Can you bring me at least ten

turkeys? I said to him isn't it too early and he replied no, I need them by Thanksgiving. When I told the neighbour that I was planning on killing turkeys for Thanksgiving, he said what, are you stupid? Turkeys will be twenty-five cents a pound by Christmas. He said I would make more money if I waited until Christmas time. I killed the ten turkeys, picking out my best ones and made fifteen cents a pound. By Christmas, there were so many people wanting to sell their turkeys that the price had dropped to nine cents a pound!..... If I had waited until Christmas time, just think of the price I would have gotten for my turkeys. Imagine! I sold thirteen, seventeen, and fifteen pound turkeys.... if you add that all up I made good money.....

For many of the Ukrainian immigrant women like those we read about in the last chapter as well as my grandmother and great-grandmother, who came to Canada with their fathers and husbands, life could be harsh, lonely, and brutal. The women were responsible for the survival of the family, grew the crops, worked alongside their husbands and fathers. But, their indomitable spirit, ingenuity and resourcefulness enabled them to survive, and helped forge the nation at the turn of the century and beyond.

Women's Health

Family obligations were an important part of belonging to the family. Especially wives, but occasionally husbands, were forced to set aside their own plans in order to help out a family member in trouble. For Mary, this meant making sacrifices and setting aside her own desires to accommodate the needs of others. All during her life, she was called upon to help with the family, raise the children, or work on the farm. This could mean she would place her life at risk because the needs of the family were of paramount importance. She knew that no one could make it alone. When it came to care and attention, she was often the last to receive medical care, as Mary's account illustrates:

...my husband's sister was very sick. We went to see how she was and it was clear that she needed help. She was saying that she wanted to die. There was nothing we could do for her. My husband says M, you have to take her to the hospital. But she refused to go to the hospital. She said that she would rather die at home. Her temperature was very high and she was delirious...A neighbour came and said maybe if we

took her to the hospital, they could help her....Finally, about midnight, M agreed to take her to the hospital.....

My grandmother and other women in the family that my grandmother talked about, made many sacrifices for their family. In those days there were no nursing homes or pension plans for aging parents. Someone was expected to care for the elderly. Mary tells how her sister looked after her parents for twenty years, giving up plans for marriage and a family:

.....if Mom and Dad not well, she would stay home. She would do sewing for other people and made a living making clothes.Anne was a very honest woman..She felt dad and mother needed help, so she looked after them. She never married before our mother passed away.....Then my father said to her, A, you should get married. But she was worried how he would take care of himself.....Then H found out what a good woman A was, and came and asked her to marry him. So they got married and took care of our father until he died.....She looked after our parents for more than twenty years.....

Sometimes the demands on her energy was almost beyond human endurance. The cost of helping family members could exact a heavy toll on her. Mary lost her first child helping family members because another woman was sick. She tells the following story of what happened when she and her husband went to stay at the family's home and she took on the responsibility of caring for the children and housekeeping.

.....then we were running back and forth to the hospital. It was all so expensive...Then M begged us to come and stay at their place because he didn't know what to do with the kids. They had three girls and a boy and they were all babies. It was getting close to Christmas, so we decided we would go and help until M came home from the hospital. I had to wash the diapers and everything. M came home from the hospital, looked around the house and told me it was getting close to Christmas and I should get the house cleaned up!...I thought I did what I had to do at your house...The men went into town and brought back everything to white-wash the house....That evening we went to visit a man my husband had known in the old country...My husband and him were fooling around and I banged myself and I lost my baby...Alright, I was so sick. But I never laid down...I helped white wash the house anyway.....

Mothers and Children

Mothering

Children were an important part of family life. For early immigrants, survival often meant having enough hands to produce what was needed to survive. My grandmother had the sole responsibility of feeding, clothing, and caring for the children, along with helping her husband in the fields and carrying out domestic tasks.

Taking care of the children meant teaching them social skills, practical survival skills, cultural traditions as well as discipline. Discipline, old country style, had been to beat children for bad behaviour. The father of the family had the right to use whatever means he felt was appropriate to discipline their children. In Canada, for many children, physical punishment was still the norm. But, there were other parents who used other methods to help their children learn right from wrong. Mary had experienced many beatings from her father growing up, and she said often during our conversations that one thing she never did was beat her children.

..... anytime he would play like that and they make something wrong, I never beat them.....

Instead she used a variety of other methods to help her children learn appropriate behaviour. When the children misbehaved, she might yell at them and explain what they had done wrong and what she expected from them. At other times, she used some very contemporary ideas to help her children learn. One way was to use explanation to educate the children so they would understand. She also talked about helping one of her grandchildren learn to appreciate the value of nature.

.....L was about two years old when we were in Salmon Arm. One day she pulled out a flower and put it in my hand. And I looked at her but I never bawled her out. I just looked at the nice flower and said what a

nice flower. But, you know, L, you don't have to pick the flower. Let them grow outside. But anyway, I thank you for it.....

Another was using logical consequences and using a sense of humour when the children misbehaved.

.....[one summer while we were in Peace River], the children built a big raft. But they didn't know how to operate it. I was never worried about the children playing on the slough. It was about that deep [two feet]. I thought, let the children play. So, I went back to working in the garden. The children played and played. After awhile it got quiet and I thought I'd better check at the slough. Something [was down by the slough] that looked like an animal. My two boys lay down in the sun [in the bushes], wet like rats. [They were covered] in moss from the water and they looked just like animals. The raft had tipped over and they had fallen into the slough....I wanted to say to them, hey boys, you want to get sick? Go into the house and change.... I asked them how they got like this. If you wanted to go swimming you could have gone in just your under shorts... I said why didn't you call Momma? Maybe Momma come with you... cleaning moss be lotsa work.. [so], I told them [the children] how to do it.... But I never beat them. I thought kids play. Kids don't know.....

In fact, by teaching the children that if you make a mess, it is your responsibility to clean it up is very similar to the technique of logical consequences used by parents today.

One of my grandmother's biggest fears was for the safety of her children. She needed to be constantly vigilant. Mary speaks about her constant fear for the safety of her children during the seven years they homesteaded in the Peace River country. Her husband spent most of the year away from home working, leaving shortly after the beginning of spring and often not returning until October. When she was alone with her children, she faced the constant dilemma of the safety of her children versus the responsibility of tending the farm animals needed for survival. The death of an animal could mean the end of farming and even jeopardize the survival of the family. Often the choices were not easy. Mary relates her experience during the first winter in Peace River. My grandparents had found an old Indian camp used by the natives

during the hunting season before the prairie fires had destroyed it several years earlier. My grandfather fixed up the one remaining building, and moved the family into it for shelter. My grandmother was left alone with her children and the horses they had purchased with the money they had brought with them, while grandfather left to find paid employment. When something went wrong, she had to make a life and death decision, praying that her choice would not end in disaster:

.....it was hard watching the animals and kids. We had no fence at the camp to keep the animals in. They would wander away into the neighbour's fields to eat, so I would have to go and get them..... It was hard work trying to track the horses. We needed those horses to help with the work..... I got the idea that maybe I could keep them close to the cabin if they were hobbled..... at about two o'clock in the morning I woke up to put some wood on the fire. I heard the wolves, looked outside and saw that the horses were gone. I could hear the bells on the horses in the bush. I was afraid if the wolves found the horses, they couldn't get away because they were hobbled..... If the horses were gone, that would be the end of it.....I was alone with the kids. They were so little. If I leave the kids, and something happened they would be all alone and might freeze..... Finally, I thought I have to get those horses..... I found them about two miles from the camp and took them back and tied them up..... We so lucky, that everything was okay..... the next time my husband came home we went and bought some wire and build it a fence.....

Children were needed to work for the families' survival. By the time children were eight years old, they were expected to work either on the farm or for a wage in the community. One of the things that Mary's family did to earn money while they homesteaded in Peace River was to go into the woods to cut cords of firewood. In winter, when the temperature could drop to forty below, the two boys would go to cut wood all day. Mary tells how she taught them to keep themselves safe if they were in the bush alone.

.....neighbours didn't want to haul wood everyday..... by the time my oldest son was twelve and the other two years younger, they were going into the bush to cut wood. And, you know, all day I'd [pace back and forth] until they would come back in the evening. Maybe a wolf or something would happen..... I would be happy when everyone come home in the evening..... All the time I'd say to the boys, take the dog with

you. I'd give the boys a bone [for the dog] and food [for themselves]. And I told them if you see a coyote or something, start a fire right away..... but nothing ever happened like that.....

Worry was a constant companion for my grandmother. She was very glad to leave Peace River because she had lived in constant fear that her husband would die. She believed that if he died, so would the family because it required both a mother and father to keep the family going.

Whenever her husband left for work away from the homestead, Mary was left alone to take care of the farm and the family. If something was needed in town, she left the children alone on the homestead while she travelled to town for supplies, or sometimes she left them to go and work in the fields. One of her biggest fears was that if the children were left alone in the cabin, they might burn it down. This was not an unusual occurrence in the country in those days. She says,

..... I was afraid [of fire]. So I told them not to start a fire in the summer. Let Momma do that. So, I would make lunch before I would go, and tell them not to set a fire..... I was scared for the kids.....

My family, faced constant threats from the environment. My grandmother guarded against starvation, freezing to death in the winter, and a host of other disasters. Even when she believed that the children were safe, they could be threatened suddenly by an unexpected source. Mary talks about how one of her daughters found herself in a situation that could have been disastrous:

..... Those mosquitoes in the summer, I told you! If it was sunny, they would hide in the shade. But, if it was cloudy and no wind, they were just like a cloud! I could hear the horses stampeding in the pasture, so I had to go make a smudge..... V was about two years old then. I thought she was asleep. So, I left her on her bed in the house, but didn't lock the door, hid the matches just in case she woke up and try to play with the matches and set the house on fire..... [I was out setting the smudge for the horses and I could hear something] that sounded like a child sobbing. I thought what's that? I looked around and saw V walking [towards me] covered by mosquitoes. I took off my sweater and ran over and picked her up, wrapped her in my sweater and squeezed it around her..... I took her in the house and she looked like she had

smallpox. I put her in warm bath water, then covered her with Vaseline..... I was scared. I tell you if you see that child.....

Whether it was the mosquitoes in the summer, or the freezing cold and wolves in the winter, my grandmother faced each new challenge as it presented itself. It was her strength, endurance and industriousness that got them through tough times.

Women, like my grandmother, were also the individuals responsible for educating their children about their cultural heritage, the ways of the new land, as well as how to take care of their home. As we have seen earlier in the chapter, as well as in the literature review, the traditional belief has been that labour is divided along gender lines. This was not true for my grandmother when she was growing up and it was not true for her own family. As a child she worked in both the domestic and production end of her father's homestead. As a grown woman with a family of her own, her children learned to do all the chores regardless of tradition on the farm. The boys were expected to cook and clean, wash clothes, feed the animals as well as knit and mend. There were two reasons for this. First, she needed help to cope with the tremendous load of work in keeping the farm running. She explains,

..... But my daughter S help me. Like Mrs. B when she would come home she would give her husband a piece of bread. He would become all day not working so she says here is a piece of bread, a cup of tea, then go to sleep. She never cook in the evening because she cooked in the day. But I had S. She helped me a lot. When I worked in the field, S would cook

Second, Mary remembered her own experience as a young girl, doing men's work while her brothers were allowed the freedom to come and go as they pleased. In her own family, the pattern she had experienced as a child seems to have been partially reversed. She boarded her daughter with a family so she could receive an education while her sons learned about and carried out

domestic tasks. Thus, she tells of how she taught her own sons to complete their share of the work:

..... I brought wool with me from Enderby [to Peace River]. I used to use the wool to make quilts. If I come to Peace River, I never had a chance to make quilts. (Instead), I spun the wool so the kids could knit. M knitting, P knitting, H knitting, L knitting and S, all the kids had a pair of needles..... I showed them how to do it. They knit mitts and socks. That was a lot of help to me.

..... The boys would scrub the kitchen floor with brushes. By the time we leave Peace River, the rough hewn planks of the floor had been scrubbed smooth.....

Without the help of the children, Mary's task of keeping her family fed and clothed could have been almost insurmountable.

Raising children was a central and important part of being an immigrant farm wife. Although having a family meant increased work and responsibility, Mary saw children as a normal part of their lives. Mary's main concern was the welfare of her children. At times, this would put her at odds with her husband and she could be a tough negotiator on behalf of the children. But she was very clear that her children came first.

..... my husband could fight..... but I would tell him what for we married? Why should the kids suffer? I was on the kid's side.....

Most often, her support for the children had to do with money - trying to get her husband to buy the children clothes so that they would have the appropriate attire in public. She says,

..... he [her husband] think about the children, but he never saw this in his folk's family. For his folks, you went and made money and brought it home. But in my family things were different. Children had to have Sunday clothes so that they could go to Church which were different from their everyday clothes. In my husband's family, the coveralls you worked in were good enough to go to Church in. Lots of people were like that.....

A number of times, she talked about being at odds with her husband in relation to money issues. The money that her husband earned was not usually used for

the family's basic needs. Therefore, whenever the children needed clothing, Mary had to argue with her husband to get him to spend his funds. Even when the children were out working for a wage, they would be expected to turn over all their earnings to their father. This was old country style. Mary remembers her efforts to keep her children properly clothed in the following account:

..... both the boys were working in the orchards. And one nice day in September I ask M why he wasn't going to the local community events. Kids smart..... He know Dad cut his hands and Mom was hurt. [He says], no we stay home. I just never said anymore. I went and told my husband the kids needed clothes. [He says] Why? What can I do? I told him we had to do it. I had two nice men's jackets. We took the jackets to the tailors and had them made for the boys..... If I saw my kids need it, I do it..... I all the time had to put up my head if my kids needed something.....

At other times, when she believed that the children were being treated unfairly by their father, she came to their defense.

Even as a grandmother, Mary continued supporting her children and grandchildren. Moreover, even when her children were grown and needed her support, she would be there for them. She remembers,

..... S came to the hospital with the baby. She was with the baby six weeks in the hospital. And I looked after the kids. And I had my kids. Mrs. S, the baker's wife, says Mrs. T how do you do it? I told her they're good kids..... If I wash for my three kids, I can wash for those two kids too.....

Mary treasured those few quiet moments watching her children. She recalls the pleasure and pride she felt in seeing them create things to play with.

..... And you know, in Peace River the kids never went to the neighbours to play with the kids. The four kids play at home by themselves. And they always played something nice together..... He and P would build a bridge from some trees..... They would build castles from paper boxes and everything. If I had a camera I should have taken a picture..... I was very pleased for them.....

There may have been several reasons for the children playing close to home. One is that the distance between homesteads could be several miles.

The children were very young, so it may have been easier for them to play at home. Another concern relates to language. Ukrainian was the language spoken in the home and they lived in a predominantly English-speaking community. The language barrier might have created some difficulty in communication with the neighbour's children. Finally, once the children began school, they suffered discrimination at the hands of teachers and students alike. My father tells stories about the miserable treatment he endured in school. Mary was either not aware of this fact or had forgotten it over the years.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

Grandmother talked about how risky it was for the farm women to give birth. Isolated on their homestead, far away from hospitals or any medical help, home births were common. All but one of Mary's births, were at home. If a woman was lucky, she might have a female neighbour attend the birth. At other times, when there was no one around, a woman would deliver on her own. Mary talked about her pregnancies and being alone for some of the births.

..... and in 1922 I had a boy in August..... I had him at home. I knew baby was coming. But I sent my husband to milk the cows..... He delivered just like that. I never had another easy delivery like this one..... My husband came back and I had baby. I says we had baby. He says what!..... A woman like a nurse come [to tie the cord]..... She came and laughed and says, Mary, my goodness! Nobody was with you? I says no.....

..... when I had S I had a woman come to the house. I'm not in a hospital. But if I had baby, I thought, don't get out of bed. I waited for my husband, but baby come too fast.....

..... I had all the children at home except for V..... A neighbour would come when I had the baby.....

Sometimes men cut the umbilical cord. This could be an unsettling experience for the husband. When there was no alternative, people would do what was necessary despite any misgivings. Mary remembers,

..... one time when W born in Peace River. Dad go work at Mr. W because we didn't know when baby would come..... at about four o'clock in the afternoon [I went into labor]. So I send M to get Dad at Mr. W's place. They lived five miles away. Dad couldn't leave because there was no one there to take care of the animals. Before he could come home, W was born. When W born, I thought I better do nothing. I lay down. W cried a little bit so I put him next to my flesh, and he got warm and slept. My husband came home about midnight. He asked if I had to go to the hospital. And I says baby's born. He says what you want me to do? I says what do you think. I says you're the nurse! He didn't like it. I says listen, here's the [medical] book..... its midnight. You can't go nowhere. You have to do it [cut the cord]..... The next day Mrs.. B came and says who did that? I says, Who? The person what helped make the baby can do the rest!

For farm women like my grandmother, being pregnant was a regular occurrence. Giving birth could be very risky depending whether or not the mother had proper nutrition, exercise, and rest. About every two years, Mary would give birth to another baby. For Mary, little rest, eight pregnancies, lack of medical attention, coupled with hard work, poor nutrition, and lack of convalescing following delivery took its toll on her health, as the following account illustrates:

...By that last winter in Peace River I was dying! Dying! I had had my last baby in October and there was so much work to do that I had to go back to work right away. There was no one at home who could help me, so I just thought this isn't heavy. I'll lift it myself....then I get sick.. I didn't know what was happening to me...The only doctor around Peace River was an old veteran doctor from the war. He didn't know what was wrong with me but gave me some medicine and that's it. Nothing else. The next spring we go to Salmon Arm and Mr. I said that there was a new doctor in town...so my husband took me to the doctors. He says my goodness! You won't live much longer if you didn't get some help. He told me that my uterus had slipped and that I was losing about an ounce of blood a day. I had just thought it was my period....The doctor told me that I was down to forty per cent in blood and that if he operated right now I wouldn't make it. He told me that before I could have an operation I needed to build up my blood.... So, it took me from July until Ukrainian Christmas to build up my blood so that I could go for an operation.....I wasn't able to stay in bed as the doctor had ordered. I had three small kids and they need looking after. The kids helped as best they could...M and P would do the washing on Saturday. S would do the scrub the floors and do the ironing on Sunday. I would walk around the house just like I was dead. If I tried to climb the stairs to go

to the bedroom, I'd have a spell and fall down. So I told them to bring the couch downstairs so that I didn't have to go up the stairs... Just before Christmas I went back to the doctor and he tested my blood and told me that my blood was good enough for me to go for the operation....So, in the Sunday before Ukrainian Christmas I went in the hospital for the first time in my life to have an operation. All the children were walking around the house acting sad. I thought don't cry in front of them. I thought whatever happens, happens. My husband goes and warms up the car and as soon as it's warm he came and got me.. Oh, the kids were very sad..But I just said, Oh, I'm just going to the hospital, it's nothing. I'll be home pretty soon. don't worry...For me, I had decided that if I came back that's okay. If I didn't, it doesn't matter. Put it this way, if I lived or died, it didn't matter to me. I had the operation and S come and cry at the bed, Mom dying, Mom dying. Mrs. I says to S, Mom isn't going to die. She's just had an operation that's why she looks like that. You'll see, tomorrow she'll look different. And that was the truth...And after I came home from the hospital, I was never scared to go for an operation again.... The way I had been wasn't any kind of life, dragging myself around the house... After the doctor told me that my uterus had fallen because I had gone back to work too soon after having my baby and that the lifting and bad fall I had had caused my womb to fall....And I come back to health....

..... winter was coming. We had no cow for milk for the kids..... Mr. W give us a jersey cow. W is a baby and I tried feed baby. But he didn't gain any weight. I thought, what was I going to do? My husband and I took the baby to see the doctor..... The doctor asked what I was eating. He told me I didn't have enough milk to feed the baby..... You know I work like a man..... My husband told him we were feeding the baby milk from a jersey cow mixed with water. The doctor say, my God! That would kill the baby. Go and get Holstein milk. So we did, and baby start to grow.....

Birth Control

My grandmother tells me that most of the families around them were large. Another birth meant another pair of hands to help with the farm work. But it was not necessarily the women's desire to have a large number of children. For grandmother, more children also meant more work and another mouth to feed. So, often the birth of a child was a mixed blessing. Mary laughed when she talked about trying to control the number of births by kicking her husband out so that he had to sleep in the barn. She knew that limiting contact would be effective, but not possible. Lack of birth control information, options, money to

purchase birth control devices, or access to supplies due to isolation on the homestead, took birth control out of a her hands:

I had four [children] and I was very satisfied. If we hadn't gone to Peace River, I wouldn't have had anymore..... But we lived away from civilization..... and what can you do? In Peace River, I knew what to do, but you couldn't buy nothing, you can do nothing..... What told your husband to get out!.....

If we move to Salmon Arm it was better. And I told him, that's it. L was about six months old. I told him we should be smart enough. Mrs. R came to visit me and she says Mrs. T, how many kids do you have? I have seven. She says I have two daughters and that's enough. I'm just woman. I can't work for everybody..... Then a knock came at the door. It was the nurse. Mrs. R send me to talk to you. So, I invited her in and we sat and talked and she gave me instructions and everything..... And I thought I should have smartened up and done this a long time ago. I says enough. No more kids. But like I says, in civilization [you can do something]. But what you gonna do in Peace River?

Despite the load Mary had to carry, she maintained her sense of humour.

If she did not laugh she would have cried about what she endured. Mary says,

..... when we come from Peace River, Mr. W says what did you produce up there? I laughing and says we produce three children..... nothing else..... that's all we produce in Peace River.....

As Mary reflected on her life and all that she had lived through, she was in awe that she had survived through the hardships and difficult times. What had kept her and her husband going through all the difficult times was their faith, hope, and love. What really counted for my Grandmother in her analysis of her life was that she had raised seven good children.

I told you how many of those kind of life. I don't know how I make 'em.... Mama just like slave. Women never had time. Women before go to bed, I sleep already. Then in the morning get up and go again. What I live through until today. You know, women go and go alla time. I make 'em, but I don't know how I make 'em.

Summary

Mary was one of those early homesteaders who forged a life in Canada. Life for my grandmother was often difficult and exhausting, but she never was

bitter or resentful about her experiences. Although she acknowledged the struggles she faced throughout her life, the stories she told were about her perseverance, ingenuity, and successes. She never succumbed to defeat or to compromising her principles or beliefs in working to care for her family.

My grandmother's stories illustrate the tensions created between old country tradition and the cultural practises of the adopted homeland. As a first generation Ukrainian Canadian, she represents the process of continuity and change in adapting to a new country. This was illustrated by her stories about the choice of a marriage partner. Rather than follow her parent's wishes and marry someone she believed would be abusive, she chose to leave home - a bold step for a woman in those days.

Nowhere is this process of changing practises more evident than in the stories she tells about working. The division of labour based on gender became blurred for my grandmother. In making ends meet she worked in the home, laboured in the fields alongside the men folk, and worked as a domestic to support her family. Beginning as a young girl, she provided labour in the home doing such tasks as cooking, cleaning, and tending the garden. She also worked alongside her father helping in the fields sowing crops, driving the oxen, and harvesting. Whether it was work traditionally thought of as men's work or women's work was never an issue - she did whatever work was necessary to ensure her family's survival.

Although my grandparents tried on several occasions to establish themselves as homesteaders, poor quality land, bad weather, and the lack of enough capital to get established precluded them making a living from farming.

Nevertheless, grandmother maintained a positive attitude about her experiences. What mattered to her was raising her family and making a good home. When my grandmother spoke of the hardships she had endured with her

family, there was a sense of amazement that she had survived to see her children grown with families of their own. Often there was little more than faith and hope for a better life to sustain her through the tough times. This sentiment was so powerful that they named their youngest daughters Faith, Hope, and Love as a symbol of her unfailing belief that the dreams of a better life for her and her children in Canada would one day be realized.

CHAPTER VI
ECHOES TO THE FUTURE: BEYOND
CONVENTIONAL REALITIES

This research has been a personal and professional journey, as well as an academic endeavour. In this final chapter, I wish to address these areas separately. In so doing, this separation suggests that these are discrete from each other. This is only for academic purposes. All of my experiences intertwine and influence my reality, both at the personal and professional level.

Traditionally, the normative base of knowledge in historical records in Canada has been from the perspective of the white Anglo Saxon male. What this has meant is that the construction of all knowledge, truth, and reality has been from men's experiences (Barbre, 1989). Adopting this position has been a limiting perspective that ignores gendered realities of human experience. Scholars have begun to appreciate that this limited view of human endeavours has impoverished many disciplines such as literature and history. Barbre (1989) discusses how an increasing body of knowledge that includes women's experience is beginning "to create a more inclusive, more fully human conception of social reality."

Some of the strongest voices in this process of change has come from feminists who have shown that human experience is gendered (Barbre, 1989). Barbre (1989) shows that through feminist research an appreciation of women's experiences and a reconstruction of our understanding of the world has developed. Changing our perspective to listen to women's voices means that we ask different questions and develop an understanding that there is a gendered difference in how women experience their world. Barbre (1989:4)

speaks about the fact that "since feminist theory is grounded in women's lives, and aims to analyze the role and meaning of gender in those lives and in society, women's personal narratives are essential primary documents for feminist research". My grandmother's narratives relate her experiences, thoughts, and impressions about how she lived her life. Barbre (1989) states that "these personal narratives illuminate the course of a life over time and allow for its interpretation in its historical and cultural context."

The importance of women's personal narratives goes beyond the recording of personal experience and gives the reader an opportunity to see the dynamics of gender which emerges in women's stories (Barbre, 1989).

Women's personal narratives are, among other things, stories of how women negotiate their "exceptional" gender status both in the daily lives and over the course of a lifetime. They assume that one can understand the life only if one takes into account gender roles and gender expectations. Whether she has accepted the norms or defied them, a woman's life can never be written taking gender for granted (Barbre, 1989:5).

My grandmother's stories offer the historical record insights into how she negotiated her roles as immigrant, wife, and mother. Her anecdotes about her life in Canada as a Ukrainian Canadian immigrant farm wife add to the ethnohistorical record of women's experiences.

My grandmother's stories illustrate the tension created between the cultural practise of the old country and the cultural imperatives of the adopted homeland. The stories of immigrants like my grandmother are really stories about continuity and change. Throughout her conversations, she refers to how things were changing for her and her family in Canada. She demonstrates the human capacity to adapt and change to survive in a new situation. Historically, she exemplifies women who have shown a great capacity toward flexibility in

this process of adjusting to new environments and offers an alternative view of history which includes gender, class, and ethnicity.

Nowhere is the significance of this change in cultural practises more evident than in the stories my grandmother shares in making ends meet. Assumptions about farming have historically credited men with farm production labour. This view is predicated on the belief that there exists a gendered division of labour where women carry out tasks in the domestic domain and men do production labour. In the family's attempt to gain a foothold here in Canada as homesteaders, work roles in my grandmother's family changed. The separation of work along gendered lines became blurred for my grandmother. She took on work roles carrying out work normally assumed to be men's work. Even as a child she worked alongside her father planting, ploughing, and harvesting crops for market. It was the men in her family who experienced a division of labour based on gender. Her brothers no longer carried out the traditional practise of milking cows or helped in the fields. The boys were able to go to school for an education while grandmother's labour was needed on the farm. It was the menfolk in my grandmother's family who benefited from a gendered division of labour.

Through the stories, I have had the opportunity to hear my grandmother's explanation of what it was like to be a woman living on the prairies at the beginning of the century. Through her eyes we have had a glimpse of life for a Ukrainian immigrant woman and her roles as daughter, mother, wife, homesteader, and farmer. Through my conversations with my grandmother, and across the intervening years since then, I have developed a profound respect and admiration for women who choose to work in the home and raise a family. The stories told by my grandmother about her job as mother and wife

show her as a strong, independent, and capable woman in contrast to some stereotypes of women as passive, housebound protected creatures.

This work has had a profound impact on me personally in ways that I could never have envisioned at the beginning of this journey so many years ago. My grandmother and I came from two different cultural backgrounds: hers of being an immigrant Ukrainian farm wife and mine of a middle class urban woman. Being raised with Anglo-Canadian beliefs and practises, I had lost touch with my Ukrainian heritage. I perceived myself as an Anglo Saxon, with the influence of other cultures as only a distant memory in my grandmother's stories. I was most fortunate to be able to get to know my grandmother - a special gift for a granddaughter. More importantly, through working with my grandmother, along with reading the ethnohistorical accounts of the experiences of Ukrainian women in settling Canada, I have come to appreciate my cultural heritage while at the same time developing a sense of pride in what the women in my family accomplished so many years ago. The impact of becoming familiar with my ethnic roots as well as with my grandmother's narratives became evident last summer when we visited my great grandparent's homestead not far from Chipman, Alberta. I remember standing at the edge of the wheat field, watching the golden stocks wave in the late afternoon breeze. As I surveyed the fields and granaries, the barn and the old farm house, I could hear my grandmother's voice telling me the stories of the family that lived here so many years before. It was at that moment that a sense of familiarity passed over me, a feeling that this was where my roots were -- I had come home. It was a poignant moment filled with many conflicting emotions, and at that instant I wished that my grandmother had been alive and with me so that I could share my thoughts and feelings.

There are a number of questions which have been generated by this work which have implications for future research. Subsequent to the work I have done with my grandmother, I now plan to expand this information to include other women's stories about their life as homesteaders on the prairies. Another area which emerged from work on this manuscript is questions regarding the experience of children as immigrants. There is limited historical research on children's narratives although it is an emerging field of interest. Finally, both in the literature reviews and in my grandmother's stories it was evident that there are a number of policy issues related to immigrant women which affect their welfare. There is a need to explore current policy issues to determine their impact on the quality of life for immigrant women today.

There are two implications of this work for schools and education: the first is regarding my role as a school counsellor and the second, history curricula. First, school counsellors who become aware of their own ethnic background can be more sensitive to the needs of children immigrating to Canada. Through listening to my grandmother's narratives, I have learned about the challenges faced by immigrants. One of these is that as the individual takes on the traditions of the adopted homeland, they begin to lose the practices of the old country. At some point, the immigrant stands between cultures - no longer part of the old, not yet part of the new. This can create stress for the individual and feelings of loss of familiar traditions. Part of what makes us who we are as individuals is our cultural heritage. To lose one's ethnic practises is to lose a sense of self. In my opening chapter, I begin with a quote from a high school student who clearly understands that the loss of one's historical past has a significant impact on the individual. The student's remark was, "If you lose your heritage, you lose yourself." A parent's comment regarding their own lost heritage illustrates this sentiment. During a session with a parent, we discussed

the impact on her life of learning about her unknown native heritage. She talked about having a clearer understanding of her actions in her past, and how her life made more sense now that she knew about herself. She also talked about the anger and frustration she had carried with her for so many years, and how that diminished as she put the pieces of her lost heritage in place in her life. She saw that the loss of her heritage had had a profound impact on her life.

Over this past year in my work as a school counsellor in a community with a high immigrant population, I have heard similar feelings repeated by others who have talked about their experiences as new Canadians. Children expressed this clash between the cultural traditions from their native land and those of their adopted homeland in different ways throughout the year. I had the opportunity to work with a young man who has been in Canada for the past two years. During our conversations, we began to discuss his life in his homeland and how things were different here in Canada. As a result of my respect of his heritage, and our dialogue around the loss of his mother tongue, he felt that someone at least partially understood his experiences and it was possible for us to work together to solve his problem. We ended our time together with his teaching me something about his religious practises. There was the child who talked about his president in his native homeland as being the leader - not the prime minister of Canada. Or the young man who talked about himself not as being a Canadian, but in terms of his ethnic heritage as his national identity. Young girls discussed not being able to be with boys because of their ethnic traditions and how their wanting to be like the other girls was creating tensions at home. All these resonated with my own heritage as revealed in my grandmother's stories.

The work in this manuscript also has implications for curriculum development. Numerous times throughout this document, I have discussed the

invisibility of immigrant women in historical records. The invisibility of women extends to history textbooks in school as well. This means that there is little or no historical record in our children's textbooks about the contributions made by immigrant women in the settlement and development of Canada. Students should know about the contributions made and sacrifices that immigrant women experienced during and after the settlement of Canada. There needs to be further research into curriculum development to determine the manner in which our history textbooks can be more inclusive of human experience.

Education needs to play a dual role in this regard - orienting individuals to Canadian cultural traditions while accommodating ethnic minorities. Education needs to offer a sense of multiple possibilities in Canada and we can accomplish this through opening our historical texts to a level of inclusiveness that has not been present in the past. History as a school subject has, in the past, and for the most part still does, disseminate the beliefs and practises of the dominant group. It tells the story of conquest and settlement of the victors. It reflects the understanding of cultural progress from the position of centre. Other groups remain marginalized and invisible. One way that education could foster a more inclusive vision of Canada is to systematically add an ethnohistorical perspective to the history and social studies curricula. This approach to learning represents a holistic stance that is more rewarding for all members of our community learning history. It represents an appreciation and acceptance that there are multiple voices with stories to tell about Canada. The stories of colonial stereotypes, ethnic destruction, conscious action, cultural continuity and change, are the ethnohistoric pieces that produce a story of Canada's past closer to the truth. What this can offer students is an opportunity to discover their own cultural diversity, and to be freed from the notion that there is only one historical script for Canada. The question should not be "either/or" that reinforces a

divisiveness between our citizens, but a "both" to foster understanding and acceptance for all. We need to adopt a social history that takes account of all human experience - women, children, immigrants, and men and honor their contributions and their losses.

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