

UKRAINIAN ETHNICITY IN THE HOMOGENEOUS MAINSTREAM CULTURE

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УКРАЇНСЬКА ЕТНОКУЛЬТУРА В ГОМОГЕННІЙ ПАНІВНІЙ КУЛЬТУРІ

У статті автор розглядає чотири елементи – білу англосакську культуру, популярну культуру, засоби масової інформації та весільну індустрію, які відіграють важливу роль у формуванні домінуючої канадської весільної культури, а також як канадці українського походження враховують ці елементи у плануванні своїх весіль. Дослідження показало, що канадці українського походження не завжди пасивно асимілюються в домінуючу культуру і у багатьох випадках активно пристосовують свою етнічну ідентичність до пануючої культурної тенденції, а також до інших етнічних культур.

Ключові слова: українська етнічність, пануюча культура, етнічне весілля, іммігрантська культура, асиміляція.

I. Introduction

Most Canadians are descendants of immigrants, people who once chose to leave another country and to live in Canada. Ukrainians began immigrating to Canada over one hundred years ago. Along with any possessions that they might have had, Ukrainian immigrants brought to Canada the customs, songs, stories, and other folklore that were a part of everyday life in the old country. Many immigrants did not speak English and were not familiar with Canadian life. They often settled in ethnic settlements and created small cultural islands in places and groups where they could feel at home. In their families and in larger communities, immigrants could speak the language and practice the traditions of their homelands.

Ukrainian immigrant children, like all other children, wanted to be like their peers. Their Canadian teachers and others sometimes made them feel ashamed of their parents and the non-Canadian traditions they had followed at home. For reasons such as this, some immigrant families rejected the language and folklore of their parents in order to better adapt to Canadian culture.

Unlike their parents, however, the grandchildren of Ukrainian immigrants have different emotional conflicts about their cultural heritage. Third- or fourth-generation Ukrainians speak English very well and have grown up like most other mainstream Canadians. Members of this generation sometimes have an interest in their family's past and look to earlier generations of their family or to the homeland of their ancestors for ways to express their personal ethnic identity. They are no

longer immigrants. Their everyday lives are like the lives of mainstream Canadians, and yet they maintain a sense of specific cultural identity. Folklore can be a powerful symbol of their ethnic heritage.

In this study I aim to discuss specific aspects: the culture and ethnic identity not only of the descendants of Ukrainian immigrants (1st, 2nd, and 3rd generation Canadians), but also of recent immigrants from Ukraine¹. Do they still wish to maintain their ethnic heritage and identity? What kinds of symbols do they use to express their ethnic identity? These are some of the issues that this study will touch upon, explaining why and how descendants of Ukrainian immigrants identify themselves with their ethnic heritage during their weddings, which can include multiple ethnic symbols and customs.

Some sociologists have attempted to prove that ethnic identity in Canada is a temporary matter and that all ethnics will be assimilated into Canadian mainstream culture while the boundaries between it and ethnic groups disappear. Similarly, the maintenance of ethnic identity has been assumed to be an issue caused exclusively by ethnic groups themselves rather than by features inherent in the society at large.

The proportions of Ukrainian Canadians of single and multiple ethnic origins reflect the proportions of endogamy and exogamy in this group. Some scholars have used the proportions of ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages as indicators of acculturation and assimilation² and have tried to use these proportions to indicate the degree to which the minority ethnic groups are being integrated into Canadian society. The statistical data may do so, but it would be inaccurate to view assimilation and integration as the only trends; processes that might culminate in the eventual absorption of the Ukrainian ethnic group into the larger culture and general population. Change is not occurring in only one direction.

According to Isajiw (1974), "neither of these assumptions can be justified" because "much evidence indicates that in North America, ethnic identities persist beyond cultural assimilation and that persistence of ethnic identity is not necessarily related to the perpetuation of traditional ethnic culture"³. Moreover, even Gans, who proposed the concept of "symbolic ethnicity" and argued for strait line assimilation in 1979, admitted in 1996 that he had been wrong to predict the disappearance of ethnic and racial groups by assimilation and acculturation⁴.

I think the problem of ethnic identity "is not so much a matter of faster or slower assimilation, and non-assimilation"⁵, as of how, why, and when people ethnically identify themselves, and with what meaning and effects. The emphasis on assimilation and the skeptical view of ethnic identity do not interest me as a basis for study. In this study I attempt to prove the following aspect: the stereotypical perception of contemporary weddings that they are influenced by transnational capitalism and have become mass-marketed and homogeneous is not always right. In this study, I will discuss four elements (White Anglo-Saxon culture, popular culture, the mass media, and the wedding industry) that play important roles in creating the dominant mainstream Canadian wedding culture and review how Ukrainian Canadians respond to those elements in planning their weddings. Throughout this study, I will discuss whether or not Ukrainian Canadians are passively assimilated into mainstream culture.

The main method of collecting information was the recording of interviews with Ukrainian Canadians and their spouses who had married within the last 15 years as well as with other participants who had directly participated in Ukrainian Canadian weddings. The Ukrainian Canadians in this study include not only those who are descendants of Ukrainian immigrants, but also those who are recent immigrants themselves. I attempted to interview each husband and wife as a couple together. I chose to limit myself to weddings that had occurred in or near Edmonton. I interviewed around 50 couples, but for this study I introduced mainly 3 interviews (see Appendix). In order to determine what images were available from popular culture for a bride and groom making their wedding decisions, I examined films, television shows that included wedding scenes, wedding magazines, and other professional literature such as brochures, advertisements, and special sections of newspapers devoted to coverage of weddings.

II. Marriage patterns based on empirical data

The marriage patterns of populations of Ukrainian origin have been rarely discussed. One good source explaining the marriage patterns of various ethnic groups, including Ukrainians, is Richard's (1991) study *Ethnic groups and marital choices*, which was based on the 1971 census⁶. Richard focused on the pattern of intermarriage, examining various factors such as the sex ratio, ethnic-connectedness, percentage of urban participants, occupational status, educational attainment, and percentage of native-born participants. Richard's study indicated several reasons for the increase in the proportion of people of multiple ethnic status, or, in other words, for the increase in intermarriage. First, an imbalance in the population for each sex causes marriage between people of different ethnic origins. Second, high levels of educational and occupational attainment are associated with intermarriage⁷. Third, the distribution of ethnic populations into urban and rural residence has implications for intermarriage. It is expected that, all other things being equal, individuals living in urban areas are more likely to intermarry than those living in rural areas⁸. Among these three reasons for the increase in intermarriage, I discuss more about the first two in the following.

Richard (1991) explained that the "sex ratio" is the number of males per hundred females. According to Kalbach (1989), expanding populations in developing areas that attract large numbers of international migrants are generally characterized by excess numbers of males⁹. The Ukrainian population in Canada had a proportionately larger number of immigrants, and hence, more males, than many other ethnic populations that had settled earlier in Canada. In reality, the Ukrainian sex ratio was as high as 118:100 in 1921, so the pressure to intermarry would have been high among the early Ukrainian male immigrants. According to Swyripa (1993), an imbalanced sex ratio, with a surplus of adult males, joined forces with the demands of homesteading to exaggerate and exploit the traditional peasant concept of marriage as an economic necessity. 'Bride-wanted' advertisements in the Ukrainian immigrant press represented one response of bachelors deprived of a traditional source of potential wives by a novel and unnatural situation, particularly for men who lived away from the bloc settlements. Letters to the press from men working in Lethbridge and Vancouver, for example, spoke of the men's loneliness without Ukrainian girls and tried to entice them with promises of well-paid jobs in the service industries or the local hotels¹⁰. The Ukrainian sex ratio decreased to 109:100 by 1961 and to 104:100 by 1971, becoming more closely approximate to that for the total Canadian population over the entire age range.

As previously noted, Richard (1991) argued that high levels of education also tend to influence patterns of intermarriage. Presenting the percentage of illiterate Canadians by ethnic origin, she explained that the English were the most literate of the ethnic populations, reflecting their social and economic dominance. These data suggest that those wishing to marry in 1871 would have most likely preferred an English spouse and, in 1971, one of British origin generally. English Canadians' levels of occupational and educational status would have made them statistically more desirable as marriage partners than people of other ethnic or cultural groups¹¹.

Who married whom

The ethnic choices for husbands of Ukrainian origin in 1981 and 1971 are presented in the statistic data, which was adapted from Darcovich work¹². According to the data, the percentage of endogamous marriages decreased from 54% in 1971 to 40% in 1981. In 1981, husbands of Ukrainian single origin tended to find their marriage partners more frequently among Ukrainian women of single origin than among Ukrainian women of multiple origin. Ukrainian husbands of multiple origin found Ukrainian wives more often among women of multiple origin than among women of single origin. In the case of exogamy, a significantly larger proportion of husbands of Ukrainian origin acquired wives of British origin compared to wives of all other ethnic origins. As well, around 10 percent more Ukrainian husbands of multiple origin (37%) acquired British ethnic wives than Ukrainian husbands of single origin (27.7%). High proportions of Ukrainian husbands also selected wives from ethnic groups (e.g., the Polish group) that were culturally similar. Finally, a greater percentage of foreign-born husbands of Ukrainian origin (27.9 %) than Canadian-born husbands (9.6 %) found Polish wives¹³.

The current endogamy rate for Ukrainians in the Edmonton area is not readily available. I suggest that intra-ethnic Ukrainian weddings are much less frequent than inter-ethnic marriages. The endogamy rate in my sample is approximately 60 % much higher than a representative sample would be.

III. The wedding industry and ethnic weddings in Edmonton

Focusing on the stereotypical white wedding, which permeates both the culture and the industry in America, Ingraham (1999) provided some insight into how weddings are used to reinforce the dominance of heterosexuality in U.S. media and popular culture. She argued that the contemporary wedding under "transnational capitalism" is, in effect, a mass-marketed, homogeneous, assembly-line production¹⁴. She also pointed out that enormous profit-making ventures benefit from wedding productions, which have become extravagant spectacles encouraging the accumulation of material goods¹⁵.

According to Ingraham, the wedding industry had to create the fantasy of the once-in-a-lifetime extravaganza/spectacle, or this industry would have ceased to exist. This fantasy is maintained by the "wedding-ideological complex"¹⁶. American institutions and popular culture begin preparing women from childhood for their eventual role as the centre of attraction and producer of the public wedding spectacle. Over and over again, women proclaim they have been waiting for this spectacle since they were young children. Barbie dolls with bridal gowns and bridal parties; "My Size Bride Barbie," which allows girls to try on Barbie's wedding gown; Disney films; television cartoons and sitcoms; soap operas; messages from family members; girls' roles as flower girls and junior bridesmaids; and wedding toys that invite little girls to plan a pretend wedding all contribute to this effort¹⁷.

Bridal magazines also make it their business to prepare the bride for her part in "the most important day of her life" and for planning "her day." Slogans such as these frequently appear throughout bridal literature. By producing and exploiting the well-developed fantasy of the "perfect" wedding with the future bride as the "perfect" bride with a "perfect" romance, the wedding industry is able to promote accumulation¹⁸. As part of the wedding-ideological complex, media constructions of celebrity weddings play a powerful part in linking romance with accumulation. Represented as "reality," celebrity weddings appeal to readers as actual manifestations of the fairy-tale or storybook romance¹⁹.

The "wedding-ideological complex" is working not only in America, but also in Edmonton, Canada. According to the 2001 census, Edmonton is the sixth-largest city in Canada. This census showed that half of the Canadian population resides in four metropolitan centres: the Golden Horseshoe of southern Ontario, Montreal and surrounding area, British Columbia's lower mainland and southern Vancouver Island, and the Calgary-Edmonton corridor. Seven cities in these regions have been growing twice as fast as the national average, with Calgary experiencing the biggest increase, and Edmonton's economy remains one of the strongest in the country. According to the Conference Board of Canada (2003), the Edmonton-Calgary corridor (which has a GDP of \$83 billion) has Canada's third-largest regional economy. I assume that the growth of the population and economy in Edmonton benefits the wedding market in Edmonton.

Between September 2003 and January 2004, four bridal shows were held in Edmonton: the Bridal Expo (September 28, 2003), the Bridal Showcase (October 26, 2003), the Bridal Fair (January 11, 2004), and the Bridal Fantasy (January 18, 2004). At each show, sixty to eighty wedding-related companies exhibited their products. Those exhibitors are engaged in the following businesses: accessories, bridal fashions, cake, cosmetics, custom design, deco & rentals, event planning, flowers, gift registry, honeymoons, house & home, invitations, lingerie, men's tuxedos, music, photography, publications, facilities, transportation, videography, websites, wedding planning, and others.

One of the oldest bridal shows in Edmonton is the "Bridal Fair," which has been held for 29 years since making its debut. The 2004 event included two fashion shows at 11:30 a.m. and 3:30 p.m. featuring the latest in bridal wear and lingerie as well as the new formal wear for men. The Fair also organized a "Bridal Gown Gallery" where customers could purchase discontinued bridal gowns at drastically reduced prices. The Fair's marketing strategy included two door prizes: "an all-inclusive honeymoon in Jamaica" and "a beautiful set of matching gold diamond wedding bands."

Bridal shows have become a one-stop market-place for a bride and groom to buy all they need

for their wedding. The Bridal Fair in Edmonton advertised itself by using statements like the following: "Bridal Fair 2004 is a chance for couples to plan their whole wedding, in just one day!"²⁰ The Bridal Fair's target was not only the bride and groom but also their family and friends: "So if a wedding is in your future, bring along your partner, your family and your friends and find out what's new and exciting in the world of weddings"²¹.

As Ingraham argued, the whole wedding business is supported by the "wedding-ideological complex." Not only business companies but also the mass media play a major role in promoting the fantasy of the spectacle. The Bridal Fair in Edmonton was sponsored by a local newspaper, the Edmonton Journal, EZ Rock 104.9, Weddingbells magazine, Air Canada Vacations Super Clubs and Uniglobe/Geo Travel.

In the same month when the Bride Fair was held, many programs on weddings appeared on television: "On Jan. 24, the Australian series *Marry Me* premieres, followed the next day by an eight-part Canadian series, *Get Me To the Wedding*. Top off the evening with Hollywood's Ten Best Wedding Movies, featuring wedding moments with tinsel town's most beloved stars. The "matrimania" continues the succeeding weekend with more of *Get Me to the Wedding*, along with special marriage-themed episodes of *The Shopping Bags*, *Style VIP*, *The Right Fit* and *Stylin' Gypsies...*"²² This information indicates how the mass media focus people's attention on weddings, by supporting the wedding business and helping to create the "fantasy of the spectacle" ("Matrimania is coming").

A few days before the Bridal Fair, the Edmonton Journal, contained a three-page special section on weddings. This section's headline was "Star-struck weddings: How celebrity nuptials have influenced Canadian brides"²³. The reporter began by describing the influence of celebrity weddings on Canadians' weddings. Even though "the splashy, overwrought nuptials of A-listers such as Celine Dion, Wayne Gretzky and David Beckham set a standard that was as inimitable as it was ostentatious"²⁴, celebrity weddings no longer mean "overdone" because from the choice of music to the colour of the table linens, a budget-strapped bride can always find something to copy. Quoting Sacks, the wedding planner for Jennifer Lopez and Ben Affleck, Harris mentioned that "celebrity marriages will never lose their appeal in the public eye. And that's saying a lot, given in the matrimania currently consuming Canadians"²⁵. According to McGill, editor-in-chief of *Weddingbells*, a bridal publication in Canada, "Brides want to know what the Hollywood set is doing so they can get inspired by it... From a fashion perspective, there's a lot of influence"²⁶. McGill continued, "Brides want to take little elements from celebrity weddings and put their own spin on it, so they can feel like they're having their own glamour moment"²⁷.

Harris (2004) also mentioned that although the wedding industry produces homogeneous weddings, the Canadian wedding has its own distinctive characteristics. For example, the average Canadian wedding costs around \$ 22,000 or about \$ 5,000 less than a typical U.S. wedding. Also, Canadians tend to emphasize heritage and symbolism when deciding upon where to marry. Quoting Willington, the Canadian coordinator for the International Association of Bridal Consultants, Harris pointed out that even though the traditional church ceremony and hall or hotel reception are becoming less popular than they were previously, Canadian couples like places with a view – particularly those that have heritage and symbolism. Today, Canadians want to get married at a special location and create a theme for their wedding ceremonies.

No one can deny the wedding industry's powerful influence on Canadian weddings. However, the wedding industry's effect on the expression of ethnic identification in Canadian weddings is questionable. As Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) stated, secular wedding specialists can most conveniently organize a wedding if they can stick to what they have already learned to do well, rather than having to incorporate new and different elements into the ceremony²⁸. Even though the wedding industry and mass media play a major role in creating mass-marketed wedding productions, the bride and groom as well as the other wedding participants can always find ways to make a wedding distinctive. One strategy available is to enhance the visibility of ethnicity and to use ethnic symbols. In the following chapters, this study will focus on the individual's and community's creativity in constructing and inventing a variety of ethnic elements in wedding ceremonies.

IV. Case Study: Interaction between the Ukrainian group and the "mainstream"

Canada has numerous ethnic groups that do many things differently. However, Canadians use two official languages in many situations, and share a common body of media products: books, magazines, newspapers, television shows, films, and the Internet. As a result, Canadians share many assumptions and expectations. In particular, Canada has strong tradition of what may be termed the "dominant mainstream Canadian culture." According to Crane (1992), "the dominant culture is always presented as the culture, the reference point for the society as a whole"²⁹. This section discusses several elements (white Anglo-Saxon culture, popular culture, mass media, and the wedding industry) that play important roles in creating the dominant mainstream Canadian wedding culture and also examines how Ukrainian Canadians respond to those elements in planning their weddings.

1. Anglo-Saxon culture

Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) used the concept of "White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture" to explain the dominant mainstream American culture. Some Canadians think that white [Anglo-Saxon] culture also plays an influential role in creating the mainstream Canadian culture. A collective of Asian artists, workers and cultural activists, who run the Montreal Asian Heritage Festival, expressed their perceptions of the barriers that Canadian mainstream culture creates for ethnic minorities: "Even though Canada has officially adopted an ideal of multiculturalism, long-held prejudices about what constitutes Canadian identity remain institutionalized. The images of Canadian culture and identity propagated by the media remain predominantly "white"³⁰.

Over the centuries, Canada has absorbed immigrants from various parts of Europe. Not only English and French, but also Italian, Polish, German, Scandinavian, Ukrainian and other immigrant groups have become accepted into the wider society. However, a degree of prejudice has been directed at those who are not Anglo-Saxon. Nevertheless, the straight-line assimilation model predicts that non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant groups will be able to assimilate into the mainstream fabric of Canada after they have learned the English language and adopted Canadian ways of living and behaving.

However, many studies have made it clear that the straight-line theory of assimilation does not necessarily apply to non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants in Canada. As Song (2003) mentioned in *Choosing Ethnic Identity*, "theories of assimilation were... criticized for treating immigrant individuals as the passive objects of the host environment, rather than as active agents who can creatively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities"³¹. Song emphasized the increasing evidence that no uniform linear process exists by which successive generations of immigrant groups are integrated into the wider society. Greenhill (1994) explained that non-English ethnic groups, for example, Ukrainians, use "carnival" ethnicity as a discourse to manipulate power in the general absence of access to its more privileged form. Ukrainians can identify such things as *pysanky* (decorated Easter eggs) and certain kinds of embroidered dance costumes as distinctly Ukrainian, having frequently recognized and asserted a sense of their individuality³².

Moreover, Bakalin (1993) found that even though most third- and fourth-generation descendants of Armenian immigrants in the USA were not regularly engaging in culturally distinctive "Armenian" practices, they tended to uphold a strong sense of their Armenian heritage. Similarly, although Canadian-born Ukrainians do not use the Ukrainian language in their everyday interactions, or regularly eat Ukrainian food, or necessarily associate with Ukrainian people, Canadian-born Ukrainians can still say that they are "Ukrainian"³³. This example reveals that what is "Ukrainian" is subject to change and is recreated and reinvented over time. According to Waters (1990), the ability of many Americans of European heritage to assimilate has meant that many of them wish to claim a European ethnic ancestry, such as Norwegian or Italian, to make themselves feel distinctive and special³⁴. It can be said that Ukrainians in Canada may feel the same way: they do not want to be just "ordinary" Canadians, but distinctive Ukrainian-Canadians.

Anglo Saxon culture has numerous influences on the Canadian wedding culture. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) commented that "because not all elements of even the central wedding ceremony can be

attended to equally, some gain more attention; these become key symbols"³⁵. According to Ortner (1993), "key symbols" are those granted greater significance than other symbols, those more frequently present, more obviously visible, most often found in a typical form³⁶. Leeds-Hurwitz listed four key symbols in wedding rituals:

1. For the social code of language, the key symbol is the set of vows exchanged by bride and groom.
2. For the social code of clothing, the key symbol is the bridal gown.
3. For the social code of objects, it is the wedding rings.
4. For the social code of food, it is the wedding cake, present not at the formal wedding ceremony but at the reception that generally follows.

Among these four key symbols at wedding rituals, the bridal gown and wedding cake reflect the Anglo-Saxon influences to some degree. According to Ingraham (1999), the white wedding gown originated from Queen Victoria:

Prior to Queen Victoria (1819 – 1901), white wedding gowns were not the norm. Brides wore brocades of golds and silvers, yellows and blues. Puritan women wore gray. But Victoria's wedding in February 1840 captured the imaginations of many when this powerful presider over the British empire, who many thought of as "plain," married a handsome man. She did so in an opulent ceremony where she wore a luxurious and beautiful (by nineteenth-century standards) white wedding gown. Following this grand event, many white Western middle-class brides imitated Victoria and adopted the white wedding gown. By the turn of the century, white had not only become the standard but had also become laden with symbols. Queen Elizabeth II's wedding to Prince Philip in 1947 once again seized the attention of people around the world... Continuing this powerful tradition in recent years were the weddings of two preeminent princess brides: Princess Grace and Princess Diana. These blond-haired, blue-eyed, real-life princess Barbies married during the mass media era..."³⁷

Princess Diana's wedding and gown have had a particularly profound influence on the wedding industry as well as on people's perceptions of their own weddings. Nearly every aspect of her wedding has been detailed time and again on television and in bridal and news magazines. The wedding of Diana and Charles became the exemplar of the ultimate fantasy of what a wedding should be:

Lady Diana Spencer, in the most romantic storybook tradition, wore a sequin-and-pearl-encrusted dress with a 25-foot train. Made of ivory silk taffeta produced by Britain's only silk farm, the dress was hand-embroidered with old lace panels on the front and back of the tightly fitting boned bodice. A wide frill edged the scooped neckline, and the loose, full sleeves were caught at the elbow with taffeta bows. A multi-layered tulle crinoline propped up the diaphanous skirt . . . [and] for the final tradition-bound item – something blue – a blue bow was sewn into the waistband of the dress³⁸.

One of my informants, Diana (couple 1), who has the same first name as Princess Diana, explained that she wanted to have a wedding dress like Princess Diana's. Not only Diana, but also some of my other informants, commented that Princess Diana's image had influenced their choice of their own wedding dress. Today, the white wedding dress seems to be the main choice among Ukrainian-Canadian brides. None of my informants wore a Ukrainian folk costume for their wedding ceremony. The white wedding dress has replaced the traditional costume, becoming a key symbol at Ukrainian Canadian weddings. However, the new tradition of wearing a white wedding dress did not replace all Ukrainian elements. Some brides tried to incorporate Ukrainian designs into their wedding gowns or follow traditional rituals while dressing the bride. Others wear a veil, which looks like the Ukrainian *vinok*. Also, some brides wear a Ukrainian folk costume at the rehearsal or at the wedding reception, instead of at wedding ceremony.

Tetyana (couple 2), who wanted to have a white wedding dress, but in a Ukrainian style, designed her wedding dress by herself and sent it to a dress-maker in Ukraine. She looked through a Ukrainian

catalog and decided to have a double dress with a detachable top. Her dress had many small cuttings on its surface and also many chamomile designs all over it. Tetyana wanted a chamomile flower design, which is very popular in her region of Ukraine, in order to incorporate Ukrainianness into her wedding dress. On the morning of Tetyana's wedding, one of her friends, who was a hairdresser, came to Tetyana's house to do her hair. Then she put on her wedding dress with the help of her mother, who used a white napkin whenever she touched the dress because of the belief that the bride should be the first person to touch it. After Tetyana had put on her dress, her father put a crown on her veil. In her region of Ukraine, a little boy usually performs this ritual, but in her case, her father did so for her. The Ukrainian folk costume is not popular among Ukrainian Canadians, but they still can incorporate Ukrainian elements into the wedding dress and perform rituals while dressing the bride in various ways.

The wedding cake is another non-Ukrainian symbol that most Ukrainian Canadians have in their weddings today. Concerning the origin of the wedding cake tradition, Charsley (1992) explained,

Viewed from the European mainland [the] wedding cake has always seemed a peculiarly English development. . . . He [Montagne] identifies it as based on the distinctively English plum cake, by then marginally incorporated into the French and Belgian confectionery range. The wedding cake itself is 'a monumental cake', 'a symbol rather than a delicacy, a tradition handed down from one country to the next, whose origin are lost in the mists of antiquity'³⁹.

Charsley (1992) also mentioned that the tradition of the wedding cake has been maintained and developed in America: "Across the Atlantic, contrary traditions from other parts of the European continent were in places assiduously maintained but it was development from the British roots which was, in this as in so many other spheres, most conspicuous"⁴⁰. The contemporary Canadian wedding cake also seems to be a successor of the Victorian cake that began to appear during the rule of Queen Victoria in England. According to Charsley, when Queen Victoria married Prince Albert in 1840, she had a great, round and single-tier plum cake. However, eighteen years later, the young Royal Princess had a different type of a new wedding cake that became "a model to be followed, and intensively publicized, in the official cakes for each of her younger siblings in turn"⁴¹. In the *Chester Chronicle*, the Royal wedding cake was described as follows:

The Royal wedding-cake was between six and seven feet high and was divided from the base to the top into three compartments, all in white. The upper part was formed of a dome of open work, on which rested a crown. Eight columns on a circular plinth supported the dome and enclosed an altar. . . . The side of the cake itself displayed the arms of Great Britain and Prussia, placed alternately on panels of white satin. . . . The cake was divided into a certain number of portions or slices, and each portion was decorated with a medallion of the royal bride and bridegroom⁴².

Charsley (1992) explained that after the Royal Princess' wedding, expectations about wedding cakes gradually changed. People initially wanted a large single cake, then a large cake which might have more than one tier, and then a cake with three tiers. At the same time, the term 'bride cake' was largely replaced by 'wedding cake'⁴³.

The wedding cake tradition has also been adapted for Ukrainian Canadian weddings. In some cases, the wedding cake replaces the old Ukrainian symbol, *korovai*. However, in most cases, the wedding cake appears with the Ukrainian *korovai* and takes over one of its previous major functions: its use in the bread-cutting-and-sharing ceremony. For some Ukrainian Canadians, the wedding cake has a relatively functional meaning while the *korovai* an artistic and traditional meaning. Moreover, Ukrainian Canadians have also made the traditional wedding cakes more "Ukrainian" by incorporating Ukrainian elements into them. The wedding cake can be decorated with Ukrainian objects, such as Ukrainian embroidery designs, wreath-made-artifacts (swans and bells), periwinkles, a crystallized Ukrainian church, and other Ukrainian designs. Ukrainian Canadians have created a new style of wedding cake that reflects Ukrainian ethnicity.

2. Popular culture, mass media, and the wedding industry

Popular culture and mass media are two major influences on contemporary culture and society. Among the many analyses of popular culture and mass media, one type focuses on their homogenizing pressures on our fast-moving urban society. Some people have expressed concern about media ownership, stressing that more and more American mass media are owned by fewer and fewer, very large corporations. These people argue that "media monopoly" homogenizes content and limits coverage of controversial views. Some analysts claim that the commercial or commodity forms that surround popular culture, and the marketing of culture as a commodity, overwhelm content. According to Reed (2002), "the assertion is that popular culture as commercial culture constantly serves to reinforce high consumption and other corporate values as the ultimate social values regardless of whatever values may be promulgated in the cultural texts themselves"⁴⁴.

Other scholars challenge the negative analyses of popular culture and emphasize its positive role in providing options and variety to people so that they can try different forms. Klymasz (1972) argued that Ukrainian folk culture in Canada was responding dynamically to Canadian popular culture: "Ethnic Pop exploits non-traditional materials such as plastics; it uses novel techniques of application (for example, decalomania), the de-personalized methods of mass production, and the sales opportunities of the commercial marketplace. It even develops entirely new products that are designated as being somehow Ukrainian – car-top decorations for weddings, seat covers, rugs, whirligigs, placemats, ceramic casseroles, and many other accessories of modern life"⁴⁵.

The dominance of popular culture has not always resulted in the homogenizing of ethnic cultures in Canada. Instead, Canadian popular culture has often increased Ukrainian Canadians' devotion to the non-verbal, sensory appeal of the Ukrainian folk heritage and helped them discover their ethnicity as the new and dynamic *raison d'être* that permeates the Ukrainian folk legacy in Canada today. Klymasz also argued that the sound of Ukrainian folk music, the taste of traditional food, and the visual attraction of folk arts and crafts were the Ukrainian elements most often exaggerated and transformed into the dominant elements of Ethnic Pop. For example, as he mentioned, cross-stitch motifs, which have become the single most pervasive symbol of Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity, now appear in printed form on fabrics and are also used for cake decorations.

A gift from the bride and groom is a symbolic memento given to friends and relatives at the reception in appreciation of their help and support during the wedding. Some traditional Canadian gifts are chocolates, wrapped mints, or almonds, but they can be as elaborate as crystal or ceramic works. The Ukrainianization of wedding gifts has taken the form of refrigerator magnets in the shape of *vinoks*; various designs of wheat weaving; small dough doves like those on the *korovai*, and mini *korovai*. These wedding gifts often incorporate the wedding theme colours and may include a thank-you note. These gifts also provide a clear example of the mixing of ethnic and popular culture. This ethnic pop phenomenon plays a role as an effective antidote to the homogenizing pressures of our culture and also provides a rich source of entertainment, instruction, wonder and pride⁴⁶.

The mass media are the whole body of media reaching large numbers of the public via radio, television, movies, magazines, newspapers and the World Wide Web. Ingraham (1999) wrote that the mass media provide us with information and materials that help shape how we view the world, ourselves, and our values. The media also provide the symbols, myths, images, and ideas by which we constitute our dominant culture⁴⁷ and subcultures. Using the example of the Disney Corporation, which controls its own multimedia, home video, book publishing, motion pictures, magazines, TV and cable, retail, sports teams, newspapers, music and theme parks, Ingraham explains that the privileged classes use mass media to define or legitimize entitlements by producing and promoting belief systems based largely on myths and stereotypes. To support his argument, Ingraham used the media's representation of weddings:

The staging of weddings in television shows, weekly reporting on weddings in the press, magazine reports on celebrity weddings, advertising, and popular adult and children's movies with wedding themes or weddings inserted all work together to teach us how to think about weddings, marriage, heterosexuality, race, gender, and

labor... Many newlyweds today experience their weddings as stars of a fairy-tale movie in which they are scripted, videotaped, and photographed by paparazzi wedding-goers. Even Kodak and Fuji offer disposable "wedding" cameras for placement on reception tables, ensuring that no moment in this spectacle will be overlooked⁴⁸.

The media provide very few Ukrainian symbols by which Ukrainians can constitute their ethnic culture. In TV, newspapers, magazines, and other media, a few symbols, such as *perogies* and *holubtsi*, may be understood as "Ukrainian." However, in general, the mass media has very little Ukrainian content.

During the last decade of the 20th century, the advent of the World Wide Web marked the first era in which any individual could express himself or herself through the mass media. On the one hand, the World Wide Web plays a role in the reproducing of stereotypical belief systems. However, on the other hand, the Web also provides ethnic groups with the opportunity to cultivate an online community and promote their ethnic identity.

Nincic, Weiss and Nolan (2003) explained that since large movements of different ethnic groups around the world have become common, these groups are often faced with the tension created by their desire to assimilate into new regions and to also maintain a sense of ethnic identity. Many groups develop and participate in on-line communities to ensure that they will not lose their ethnic identity⁴⁹.

According to Nincic, Weiss, and Nolan (2003), online ethnic communities have become very important sites for the exploration of how ethnic affiliations are taken up and used as a basis for the creation of online communities. Internet technologies have become increasingly embedded in everyday life⁵⁰, prompting careful inquiry into the cultural and social implications of online interactions.

Nincic, Weiss and Nolan (2003) argued that an ethnic virtual group actively uses the Internet to meet a variety of cultural needs in fostering and maintaining a sense of difference in terms of representation, language and collective identity. The members' emotional investment in their community and the amount of time they spend communicating, offering each other comfort, sharing information, and organizing meetings offline—all these practices suggest what we can think of as an active attempt to create a relatively homogeneous community⁵¹.

Many informants in my study said that they belonged not only to real Ukrainian cultural groups but also to virtual Ukrainian groups on the Internet. For the preparation of their weddings, many Ukrainian Canadians search web sites to learn Ukrainian wedding traditions. One popular web site that many Ukrainian Canadians use is www.brama.com. This web site provides useful information in various fields, from current Ukrainian political issues to Ukrainian folk traditions, such as wedding customs. This web site's wedding-custom section provides descriptions and photos of actual wedding rituals not only in Ukraine, but also in North America. This site also provides a place for discussion about Ukrainian wedding traditions between a prominent North American folklorist, N.Kononenko, and anyone who is interested in Ukrainian wedding customs. Some of my informants obtained information from this web site for their wedding pamphlets, which introduce Ukrainian wedding rituals. Given the range of options that an ethnic group can possibly have, active participation in an online community by using the mother tongue in online communication may be a group's most proactive choice⁵².

Nincic, Weiss and Nolan (2003) concluded that "virtual" sites can be seen as created social contexts in which the participants, drawing from different offline and online resources (experience, cultural patterns, language, computer/Internet knowledge) explore and negotiate cultural meaning. A virtual ethnic community is thus perceived as a pedagogical location that "teaches" online participants by its social organization, its rules of online behavior, and its modes of access ("The Net, Ethnicity and Difference"). For Ukrainian Canadians, especially those who do not belong to any actual ethnic organization, a virtual web site can be an important mediator to connect ethnic people to each other and to provide them with a source of information about their ethnic community.

As mentioned earlier, because of the lack of Ukrainian symbols in the traditional media available in Edmonton, almost the only media source of Ukrainian content media seems to be the Internet⁵³.

As a part of popular culture, the wedding industry has become an important factor influencing ethnic weddings. Robey (1990) described marriage as not only a personal milestone, but also as a

consumer turning point. He wrote, "By age 35, the vast majority of Americans have been married at least once. Beyond the boost to industries related to the ceremony and honeymoon, marriage has a significant effect on the housing market, durable goods and financial services, to name a few"⁵⁴. The wedding industry can provide the bride and groom with a guideline for how to prepare their wedding. In many cases, people often feel pressured to have the kind of wedding that the industry wants them to have, and not the one that they envisioned. One groom says, in *Bridal Gown Guide* (1998), "That giant sucking sound you hear is the money extracted from engaged couples who walk down the aisle"⁵⁵.

According to Leeds-Hurwitz (2002), the bride and groom are not expected to know how to design an appropriate ceremony by themselves, without guidance, and the wedding industry has developed its own secular specialists to serve as expert advice givers. The fact that these experts primarily encourage the couple to follow mainstream norms rather than to display their own unique cultural identities says something about the strength of the normalization (melting pot) process within culture⁵⁶. Leeds-Hurwitz's discussion includes the following passage:

Caterer Abigail Kirsch tells couples: "Stay away from highly seasoned, unrecognizable ethnic foods. . . . It's best not to offend anyone" (quoted in Pollan & Levine, 1989, p.42). Typical of advice from wedding specialists, the central argument here suggests: Do not try to combine different traditions, in fact, steer clear of them entirely so as not to upset anyone. Wedding consultant Marcy Blum put it bluntly: "Not too many years ago, the concept of what was elegant meant completely sanitized of your ethnic background" (Mayer, 1992a, p.15). . . . Rather than change its guidelines for each wedding depending on the unique characteristics of the bride and groom, Cartier promulgates mainstream wedding traditions to the exclusion of all others. Clearly it is to their advantage to do so; the only surprise is that so many people follow their rules⁵⁷.

These examples indicate that the wedding industry tends to make the contemporary wedding a mass-marketed, homogeneous, assembly-line production. This phenomenon is very strong and also influences the weddings of Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton.

However, my interview materials indicate that some Ukrainian Canadians attempt to plan their weddings away from the influence of commercialism to make them be different from the homogeneous, typical weddings. The best example of this attempt is Grant and Karen's (couple 3) wedding. Three years after Grant and Karen started dating, they experienced a surprising event. A few months before Valentine's Day in 2001, a country music radio station in Edmonton advertised a contest which would provide an all- free wedding, including a wedding dress, tuxedo, limo, invitation cards, wedding hall, justice of the peace, food, cake, photos, videos, and a hotel room, to the person wrote the best story about "Why you think your boyfriend should marry you." Just for fun, Karen wrote a poem about how she had met Grant and how everything had worked out between them, and submitted it to the radio station. Surprisingly, she won the contest. The radio station informed her of her prize on February 7th. Her wedding day was set on February 14th on Valentine's Day by the conditions of the prize. Karen and Grant had only a week to prepare their wedding. At that time, they were not engaged yet; thus, Grant proposed to Karen on one of the station's programs just four days before their wedding. Grant commented, "We probably had the shortest engagement in history." In fact, however, traditional Ukrainian village weddings very often followed a brief engagement period.

Karen and Grant's wedding was supported by various wedding companies. However, to ensure that the wedding industry would not dominate their wedding, Grant and Karen incorporated ethnic elements into it:

"I think we just wanted something Ukrainianized because of the setting that we were in. We didn't want to feel like it was a big circus event. We brought in some elements of Ukrainian things into our wedding just because my family was going to be there, her family was going to be there, and we had always kind of Ukrainian flavor

to things since I have been involved in Ukrainian dance ... so we tried to incorporate as much of Ukrainian elements in our wedding. It just made us feel like it wasn't a big show or a big whatever they wanted to promote in radio station. We thought they might promote us as a big circus event. And we didn't want that, we didn't want that big circus..." (Grant)

In the year when Grant and Karen married, the movie *The Wedding Planner* was released. Apparently influenced by this film, the radio station obtained many sponsors to provide free wedding products and promotions. Grant and Karen were the contest's first winners and established the pattern for the following contests each year. Grant and Karen's efforts to incorporate Ukrainian ethnic elements into their wedding received positive responses from the people at the wedding. For example, the owner of the bar, who provided Karen and Grant with a free wedding place for their wedding, said to Karen, "We have never seen anything like this before in this bar and we will never see this again." Grant and Karen believed they had surprised people by including Ukrainian elements in their wedding. The radio station was very supportive of what they were doing because from its perspective, Ukrainian bread, decorations, dances and a choir were good tools for promoting and advertising the event and the wedding industry. Grant and Karen's wedding was the product of the wedding industry. However, the Ukrainian ethnic elements that Grant and Karen incorporated into their wedding made it different from and more meaningful than other typical, mass-marketed weddings.

V. Conclusion

This study was motivated by sociological works, which attempt to show that ethnic experience primarily involves the assimilation of ethnic culture into a larger mainstream culture. Some authors have used statistics on ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages as indicators of assimilation.

My fieldwork materials partially support this view, showing that the wedding rituals of those couples of Ukrainian single origin tended to include more Ukrainian elements than that of those who married Ukrainian multiple origin spouses. Also, intra-ethnic couples tended to express their ethnic identification more strongly, including more ethnic elements in their wedding rituals than inter-ethnic couples. This data indicates that ethnic intermarriage is somewhat related to lower ethnic identification and that in terms of examining the expression of ethnic identity, ethnic origin is as important as sociologists have proposed.

However, throughout this study, I argued that many other factors influence the expression of ethnic identity. In fact, my fieldwork materials indicated that Ukrainian single-origin was not always connected to the expression of strong ethnic identification. Indeed, a number of Ukrainian multiple-origin people expressed stronger ethnic identification than Ukrainian single-origin people did. Furthermore, some inter-ethnic couples were more active in expressing ethnic identification than intra-ethnic couples.

This study emphasized that the Ukrainian Canadian wedding is a product of the synergistic encounter of multiple cultures and a cultural product of modern society. The stereotypical perception of contemporary weddings is that they are influenced by transnational capitalism and have become mass-marketed and homogeneous. In this study, I discussed four elements (White Anglo-Saxon culture, popular culture, the mass media, and the wedding industry) that play important roles in creating the dominant mainstream Canadian wedding culture and reviewed how Ukrainian Canadians respond to those elements in planning their weddings. This study indicated that Ukrainian Canadians are not always passively assimilated into mainstream culture. In many cases, they actively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities with mainstream culture and other ethnic cultures.

This study viewed ethnicity as a dynamic process, driven by multiple relationships, among Ukrainian Canadians as well as between them and other ethnic people or the mainstream society. These interactions can be competitive, cooperative, or conflictual, and perhaps a combination of all three. From this point of view, I emphasized the notion that what is distinctively "Ukrainian Canadian" has been itself a product of this synergistic encounter of multiple peoples and cultures. Everyone is

changed in this dialectical process. This study indicated that Ukrainian Canadians are not always passively assimilated into mainstream culture. In many cases, they actively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities with mainstream culture and other ethnic cultures. In general, I argued that assimilation is not a linear process. Instead, various communities and individuals construct new ethnic cultures by incorporating, adapting, and even creating cultural attributes.

Appendix

Couple 1: Diana Kuchta & Dennis Kuchta

- Wedding date: August 1990
- Wedding place: Edmonton
- Intra-ethnic couple
- Both are strongly engaged in Ukrainian community activity
- Both have single ethnic origin

Couple 2: Steven Makey and Tetyana Makey

- Wedding date: August 2003
- Wedding place: Edmonton
- Inter-ethnic couple: Steven (English-Dutch), Tetyana (Ukrainian single origin)
- Both are strongly engaged in Ukrainian community activity

Couple 3: Grant McDonald and Karen McDonald

- Wedding date: February 2001
- Wedding place: Edmonton
- Intra-ethnic couple
- Both are strongly engaged in Ukrainian community activity
- Grant (Multiple origin), Karen (Single origin)

¹ The total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin gradually increased to 1,054,300 by 1991, slightly decreasing to 1,036,470 between 1991 and 1996, and then increasing again until it reached 1,071,055 in 2001. See B. S. Kordan, *Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census 1981 – 1996* (Saskatoon: Heritage Press, 2000) and 2001 Canada census.

² W. E. Kalabach & M. A. Richard, "Ethnic intermarriage and the changing Canadian family," In Legare et. Al. (Eds.) *The family in crisis: A population crisis?* (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1989).

³ W. W. Isajiw, "Definitions of ethnicity," *Ethnicity*, 1 (1974), p. 121.

⁴ H. J. Gans, "Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and culture in America," in H.J.Gans, N.Glazer, J.R.Gusfield, & C.Jencks (Eds.), *On the making of Americans: Essays in honor of David Riesman* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc., 1979), p. 453. Gans (1979) developed the assimilationist theory, which predicts the gradual disappearance of ethnicity in the future. In the article in which he first defined the concept of "symbolic ethnicity," he wrote, "My hypothesis is that in this generation, people are less and less interested in their ethnic cultures and organizations" (p. 202). Gans continued to explain that symbolic ethnicity "does not require functioning groups and networks" and does not need a "practiced culture" (p. 209).

⁵ Isajiw, op.cit., p. 121.

⁶ M. A. Richard, *Ethnic groups and marital choices* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991).

⁷ M.M. Barron, "Intergroup aspects of choosing a mate," in M. Barron (Ed.), *The Bleeding America: Patterns of Intermarriage* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1972), p. 43.

⁸ B.W. Hurd, *Origin, birthplace, nationality and language of the Canadian people* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1929), p. 133.

⁹ Kalabach & Richard, op.cit., p. 109.

¹⁰ F. Swyripa, *Wedded to the cause: Ukrainian-Canadian women and ethnic identity 1891 – 1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 81 – 82.

¹¹ Richard, op.cit., p. 103.

¹² See W. Darcovich, *Ukrainian Canadians and the 1981 Canada census: a supplement to the statistical compendium on Ukrainians in Canada, 1891 – 1976* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), p. 107. Darcovich introduces a table about "Husband-wife families, ethnic origin of husband by ethnic origin of wife, Canada and Provinces, 1981 and 1971." The above data is from this table.

¹³ See the table 22 of Richard, *Ethnic groups and marital choices*, pp. 140 and 141. The table is about "Ethnic origin of intermarried Ukrainian husband by ethnic origin of wife by nativity of husband, Canada, 1971."

¹⁴ C. Ingraham, *White weddings: Romancing heterosexuality in popular culture* (New York & London: Routledge, 1999), p. 74.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 104 – 105.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ "Bridal Fair 2004: Spotlight on fashions, trends in weddings," (2004, January 6) *Edmonton Journal*, p. E3.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "Matrimania is coming to a TV near you," (2004, January 6), *Edmonton Journal*, p. E2.

²³ M. Harris, "Star-struck weddings: How celebrity nuptials have influenced Canadian brides", *Edmonton Journal* (2004, January 6), p. E1.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., p. E3.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ W. Leeds-Hruwitz, *Weddings as text: Communicating cultural identities through ritual* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), p. 63.

²⁹ D. Crane, *The production of culture: Media and the urban arts* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), p. 87.

³⁰ The festival features visual arts exhibitions, performances of music, dance and theatre, film and video screenings, panel discussions, readings and forums on various arts disciplines. (<http://www.montrealasianheritagefestival.com/emandate.html>)

³¹ M. Song, *Choosing Ethnic Identity* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2003), p. 8.

³² Pauline Greenhill, *Ethnicity in the Mainstream: Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), pp. 158 – 159.

³³ A. Bakalin, *Armenian-Americans: From being to feeling Armenian* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction publishers, 1993).

³⁴ M. C. Waters, *Ethnic options: choosing identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 30.

³⁵ Leeds-Hruwitz, op.cit., p. 105.

³⁶ S. B. Ortner, "On key symbols," *American Anthropologist*, 75 (1993); as cited in Leeds-Hurwitz, *Wedding as text*, p. 105.

³⁷ Ingraham, op. cit., pp. 35 – 36.

³⁸ A.B. Anderson, *Ethnicity in Canada: theoretical perspectives* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), p. 1.

³⁹ S.R. Charsley, *Wedding cakes and cultural history* (New York: routledge, 1992), p. 20.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 84.

⁴² "The Royal Wedding Cake," 1858, p. 3; as cited in Charsley, 1992, pp. 84 – 85.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 82.

⁴⁴ T.V. Reed, "Popular Culture," retrieved April 13, 2004 from <http://www.wsu.edu/~amerstu/pop/prod.html>

⁴⁵ R.B. Klymasz, "Introduction," In *Continuity and change: The Ukrainian folklore heritage in Canada*, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1972), p. 10.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

⁴⁷ Ingraham, op.cit., pp. 72 – 73.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 73.

⁴⁹ V. Nincic, J. Weiss and J. Nolan (2003) "The Net, Ethnicity, and Difference: the Serbian Community During the Kosovo Crisis," Retrieved May 15, 2004 from <http://www.jasonnolan.net/papers/Serbia-web17.html>.

⁵⁰ P. Agre, "Life after cyberspace," *EASST Review*, 18, 2/3 (1999), retrieved January 27, 2000 from <http://www.chem.uva.nl/easst/easst993.html>

⁵¹ Nincic, Weiss and Nolan (2003), op.cit.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Other examples, though with a limited distribution, are *Ukrainski visti*, the local Ukrainian newspaper, CKER and CFCW, CJSR Ukrainian radio show, as well as Kontakt on television.

⁵⁴ B. Robey, "Wedding-bell blues chime as marriage markets shift," *Adweek's Marketing Week* (1990), p. 10.

⁵⁵ "Bridal Gown Guide," 1998, p. 29; as cited in Ingraham, op.cit, p. 29.

⁵⁶ Leeds-Hurwitz, op.cit., p. 112.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 62 – 63.

In this study, author discussed four elements (White Anglo-Saxon culture, popular culture, the mass media, and the wedding industry) that play important roles in creating the dominant mainstream Canadian wedding culture and reviewed how Ukrainian Canadians respond to those elements in planning their weddings. This study indicated that Ukrainian Canadians are not always passively assimilated into mainstream culture. In many cases, they actively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities with mainstream culture and other ethnic cultures.

Key Words: Ukrainian ethnicity, mainstream culture, ethnic marriage, immigrant culture, assimilation.

В статье автор рассматривает четыре элемента – белую англосаксонскую культуру, популярную культуру, средства массовой информации и свадебную индустрию, которые играют важную роль в формировании доминирующей канадской свадебной культуры, а также как канадцы украинского происхождения учитывают эти элементы в планировании своих свадеб. Исследование показало, что канадцы украинского происхождения не всегда пассивно ассимилируются в доминирующую культуру и во многих случаях активно приспособливают свою этническую идентичность к господствующей культурной тенденции, а также к другим этническим культурам.

Ключевые слова: украинская этничность, господствующая культура, этническая свадьба, иммигрантская культура, ассимиляция.