Filming the in-between: studying the representation of cultural identities of immigrant families in Canadian and Quebec cinema

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Abstract

With a statistical rise in visible, audible and cultural minorities in Canada, the importance of recognizing the relationship between immigrants, culture and identity as constructed in collective discourse becomes paramount. Through hermeneutic and sociocritical paradigms, this research applies a constructionist approach to qualitatively analyze representations of cultural identities in Canadian and Quebec films projecting intergenerational conflicts within immigrant families. From these analyses, five tendencies were elicited: guilt, displacement, in-betweenness, reflections on Canadian society, and heterogeneous perspectives. While deconstructing cultural identity portrayals remains crucial, it is equally important to study these systems of meaning within production. The research is extended through the appendaged short film, *Tracing Shadows*, a glimpse into the voices of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada. Both textual analyses and the filmic creation demonstrate the symbiotic connection between society and culture, nurtured within collective identity narratives' depictions of time and space.

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1. Problematic

Since the arrival of cinema production in Canada, filmmakers from coast-to-coast have employed a combination of oral storytelling and inspiring images to examine questions concerning collective identity. What is it to be Canadian and how is this identity distinct? As celebrated Quebec filmmaker Pierre Perrault explains, film becomes a medium to explore these questions as « *un cinéaste ne peut pas échapper à cette recherche de l'identité collective*» (as cited in Poirier 2004, p. 2). According to the theory of "narrative identity" proposed by Paul Ricoeur (1985), the expression of individual and collective self-hood in cultural products necessitates the perpetual redefinition and reconstruction of identity (p. 355). Ricoeur argues that there are multiple truths, realities and identities "*experienced* in art and literature, just as in life" (Tengelyi 2007, p. 164). In essence, reality and identity vary based on time and space, framed within a social context and articulated through stories. While Ricoeur's theory illustrates how narratives contribute to the understanding of the self as well as of others, it equally demonstrates the significance of comprehensive explorations representing identities practices in cinema. Discerning the complexity of terms such as "Canadianness" is best conducted by comprehending the plurality of manners by which social agents makes sense of their reality to others and to themselves in art, with respect to their social and historical context. This introductory section will trace the approaches of capturing realities to the foundations of Canadian and Quebec cinema and how these roots transformed the way narrative identities are transmitted in Canada.

1.1 Exploring Narrative Identity in Canadian and Quebec Cinema[1]

Ricoeur's theory of narrative identity is oriented by the notion that there is not one but a plurality of realities as expressed in cultural products. In applying this theory specifically in Canadian national cinema, historians, theorists and critics have observed that "the overwhelming artistic [realist] tradition within which the Canadian artist functions" has facilitated a range of collective identity expressions (Handling 1984, as cited in Monk 2001, p. 10). The notion of the camera as a tool to portraying various realities is fundamental when exploring the roots of the national cinematic panorama.

In its beginnings, national cinema developed with respect to specific social functions, such as land settlement, immigration, wartime propaganda and education, perpetuating the rise of publicly-owned, institutionalized film production in the form of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB)[2]. Its champion, founder and first chief commissioner, John Grierson noted that while its mandate was pragmatic, the NFB implicitly aimed at fostering a sense of collective narrative identity by "invok[ing] the strength of Canadians, the imagination of Canadians in respect of creating their present and their future" (as cited in Evans 1991, p. 4). With the Griersonian model in place, the early years of the NFB, particularly a group of filmmakers known as Unit B, focused on the documentaries that created portraits of Canadian realities, rooted in "realism and a social conscious, yet [no film] broadens its analysis onto a political level, although the subjects seem to point

[1]In the introduction to the collection *Self-Portrait: Essays on the Canadian and Quebec cinemas*, Pierre Véronneau (1980) addresses the controversial notion of dividing national film into two separate industries: that of Quebec and that of the rest of Canada, primarily Anglophone-Canada. It is often an ambiguous separation, one that nevertheless distinguishes on multiple levels, notably in production, distribution and audience reach. This research maintains this paradigm and, consequently, it distinguishes between Canadian and Quebec cinemas.

[2]According to Handling (1980), the film production unit initially was named the Motion Picture Bureau, which later developed into the NFB in 1938.

them in this direction" (Handling & Véronneau 1980, p. 53). Their series in the 1950s entitled the "Candid Eye" utilized the latest technologies such as mobile camera and synchronized sound to push the aesthetic boundaries of the documentary form, which, in the process "investigat[ed] the very quintessence of Canadian life: just what it really means to be Canadian" (Harcourt 1977, p.136). Around the same time, the NFB's *équipe française* helped pioneer technological and aesthetic innovations, perpetuating a renewed focus on social, cultural and identity issues in Quebec and subsequently influencing a rise in nationalism during a period known as the "Quiet Revolution". As Bachand (2002) explains, this second film movement, referred to as cinéma-vérité[3], altered cinema's role in *québécois* society, capturing not only their changing social reality but repositioning a sense of collective identity.

> *Pour employer une formule de l'époque: « le cinéma descendait dans la rue » pour servir de miroir aux préoccupations sociales et d'accélérateur de changement. Les cinéastes étaient aux premières loges de ce brassage d'idées progressistes et leurs œuvres, en prise directe sur le réel immédiat, participaient à l'éveil d'un peuple.* (Bachand 2002, p. 62)

Since this "golden age" of the NFB, the national cultural industries have significantly transformed and expanded, nevertheless retaining the relationship between social realities and identity as expressed in early Canadian and Quebec *oeuvres* (Evans 1991). While the search for a distinctive self-hood in cinematic reality continues within contemporary narratives, critics such as Elder (1989) and Monk (2001) argue that there is no definitive answer to questions concerning the nature of "Canadianness", a phenomenon sometimes referred to as the "Canadian identity crisis" (Monk 2001, p. 4)[4]. However, in his literature review of Canadian film criticism, Melnyk (2004) concludes

[3]As Evans (1991, p.74) explains, this movement would also be known under the name *direct cinema*.
[4] On the other hand Monk (2001) acknowledges that this crisis exists at intervals between being real and perceived (p.4).

that, regardless of the position identity is explored in national narratives, "any analysis of Canadian film, whether as a review of a contemporary film or as a historical narrative, is part of shared mythologies [that] struggle with "the other", however defined" (p. 243).

While Melnyk argues the importance of the concept of the "Other" in Canadian and Quebec films, it equally implies that the concept's characterization is both elusive and controversial. In identity theory[5], the concept of the Other is a manifestation of people, groups, or institutions for which the individual or collective harbor feelings of non-belonging. The Other can be something as simple as another gender or religion, or as complex as nature[6] or even one's own nationality. The dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion provides a structure by which an individual or groups frame their identity. Marshall illustrates that accepting the Other is a difficult process, due to its reciprocal relationship to identity: "[blurred] boundaries of self and other are often denied because of the projection onto the other of a possible unwanted destiny of the self" (p. 264). Elder (1989) explains that there are variants on the relationship between "self" and "other", notably a positive identification or a negative identification, the latter which implies an identity constructed in opposition to the imagined image of the Other (p. 11). Atwood (1972) illustrates the process of negative identification through a metaphor, where art and culture are represented by the image of a mirror:

> If, as has long been the case in this country, the viewer is given a mirror that reflects not him but someone else, and told at the same time that the reflection he sees is himself, he will get a very distorted idea of what he is really like. He will also get a distorted idea of what other people are like: it's hard to find out who anyone else is until you have found who *you* are. (p. 16)

[5]Due to its fundamental importance to the research questions, the relationship between identity and alterity, in particular the importance of social recognition will be further explored in the literature review.
[6]For an exploration of nature as the "Other" in Canadian literature, refer to Atwood's (1972) chapter "Nature the Monster" of Survival: a thematic guide to Canadian literature.

Elder (1989) argues that Canadian culture is built on a process of negative identification, where the Other become mythologized into a position of domineering and locking the national psyche in a "victim's position" (p. 11). Atwood (1972) agrees with Elder in that, due to the nation's colonial experience, the Other is defined as an authoritative figure to which we take a victim stance. She expands her observation by outlining how the national identity quest manifests in culture and art as a preoccupation with the symbols of "Survival" and victimization (p. 34-35). However, Atwood, in arguing that the collective self-hood will not necessarily be perpetually suppressed, distinguishes four separate approaches to the victim positioning: victim denial, resigning victimization to an inevitable powerful force, attributing the victim experience to a power force and, finally, the creative non-victim (pp.36-39).

Alemany-Galway (2002), also influenced by Atwood's theory, explains how current postmodern trends in Canadian and Quebec cinema are reasserting identity by the creative non-victim stance, a process of de-victimization through creation (p. 103). She explains in her theoretical overview of Canadian film history and its relationship to Canadian identity, how films of the Unit B and cinéma-vérité were modernist in nature, but nevertheless fell victims to the authoritative Other (p. 108-110). However, contemporary Canadian narratives transcend this victimization through art which refuses to categorize reality. By adopting postmodernist styles, contemporary Canadian and Quebec cinema, in particular authors such as Denys Arcand, Patricia Rozema and Atom Egoyan, bring to "foreground the point of view of the 'other' within Canadian society"—

minority communities such as women, immigrants, marginalized social classes and others (Alemany-Galway, p. 115).

1.2 Diasporic Discourses

Among the many internal or external voices of the Other in Canada's national narratives, it is arguably the point-of-view of the neo-Canadian that can be the most expository as it calls into question the concept of nation itself. Authors such as Marshall (2001) outline that, whether in Canada or elsewhere, the immigrant perpetually renegotiates notions of collective time, space, and social positioning: "immigrants challenge not only perceptions of destiny and the future but also received […] notions of identity such as origin, history, what continent they belong to, and the notion of 'belonging' itself'" (p. 264). Leach (2006) further contends the importance of the neo-Canadian voice in light of amplified intercultural exchange undertaken through contemporary technologies. With current media transcending both time and space, the "diasporic effect" permeates art, rendering contemporary identities a hybrid and negotiated process, in contrast to traditional notions of identity: "such practices encourages us to think of identity not primarily as a genetic inheritance but as a construction offered by our contemporary media environment" (Leach 2006, p. 126). Marshall and Leach's observations assert that, on a national cinematic level, the neo-Canadian voice is becoming increasingly prominent in the discussion of cultural identities and intercultural relationships, raising questions regarding the nature of these discourses. This section of the introduction will focus on contextualizing the diasporic voice in Canada, in particular how the role of the immigrant has changed both in terms of demographic and representations.

The discourse associating immigrants with the internal Other in Canadian society has not always existed. Turn of the century immigrant perspectives did not question notions of collective identity, as their foremost influence on the young country's rapidly growing demographic implied that they defined the majority of the nation[7]. At this time, most immigrants arrived predominantly from the United Kingdom, including Scotland and Whales (Boyd and Vickers 2000, p. 3). The settlement of eastern Europeans, including a large wave of Ukrainians, would for the most part not be seen until the 1920s, marked primarily by postwar or political upheaval, such as the Russian Revolution and WWII (p. 6).

Looking at the history of immigrant figures in national cinema, Gittings (2002) demonstrates that this period's images of the newly arrived Canadian were framed in order to help indoctrinate a colonialist mentality. In particular, the films produced to encourage west-ward immigration constructed a normative discourse of invasion, where typically a British immigrant (white, male, heterosexual, anglo-protestant) arrived in Canada to lease and control the savage land (Gittings 2002, p. 7). It was not until much later that visible minorities appeared in Canadian and Quebec cinema, although Gittings argues that the ideological discourse encouraged assimilation. Immigrants were encouraged to submit to a "Canadianization" process (p. 42), in other words, the adoption of customs attributed to Canada.

In essence, cinema had shifted away from a colonizing discourse but the lens' gazes nevertheless remained Eurocentric, focusing on white as opposed to Canadians of a visible ethnic minority (Gittings 2002, p. 39). As Boyd and Vickers (2000) explain in

[7] At the turn of the century, immigrants accounted for 44% of the population growth, an unprecedented record which would not be seen again for 75 years (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, p.3).

their article "100 Years of Immigration in Canada", early immigration policy has not always been inclusive to religious or visible-minority communities. For example, turn of the century regulations allowed for the deportation of Mennonites and Hutterites (p. 7). The Act of 1908 as well as the Chinese Immigration Act of the 1920s set up economic and geographic barriers to prevent the arrival of immigrants from Asia. War-related legislation in the 1940s prevented the arrival of Jewish refugees (p. 7). However, a dramatic change in legislation in 1967 and again in 1978, transformed the immigration screening process, encouraging economically motivated or family-based immigration (p. 8). Changes, too, in "principles of admissions based on humanitarian grounds" allowed for the arrival of a greater number of refugees (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, p. 9). Consequently, this lead to one of the highest levels of immigration in Canada and, as Boyd and Vickers (2000) explain, contributed to national ethnic diversity:

> [This new legislation] meant that people from all nations could be admitted if they met the criteria as described in the immigration regulations. […] As a result, the immigrants who entered Canada from 1966 onward came from many different countries and possessed more diverse cultural backgrounds than earlier immigrants. Each successive Census recorded declining percentages of the immigrant population that had been born in European countries, the United Kingdom and United States. (p. 9)

Contemporary statistics of Canada's ethnic and cultural diversity reflects the impact of these legislative decisions. Recent numbers has led Statistics Canada to project a growth of neo-Canadians over the next two decades, where up to 30% of the Canadian population could be foreign-born representing over four times its current rate (Statistics Canada, 2010a). Moreover, visible minorities in Canada are projected to double in size over this period of time, where 47% of second-generation Canadians would belong to a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2010a). Previous reports have, also, reported a

high increase of the nation's visible minority population compared to the rest of the population (Statistics Canada, 2005). These statistics not only indicate a growing demographic of visible, audible and cultural minorities, but a continued shift in the nation's ethnocultural landscape.

Although these numbers indicate the demographic context of immigrants in contemporary Canadian society, they do not explicitly reveal Canadian attitudes towards immigration have transformed. Furthermore, they provide no insight into the plurality of immigrant realities in Canada[8].

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

These glances at historic and social roots of diasporic discourses in national cinema equally evoke questions concerning contemporary representations and visions of neo-Canadians and their diverse cultures. Recent exploration of these issues provoked controversy around the underrepresentation of immigrants on our national screens, notably in Quebec where the question of cultural identities sparks a more sensitive debate. Most recently, this particular issue became an issue in debate in Quebec media when filmmaker Jacob Tierney's commented that, with respect to representations in cinema, "*Les anglophones et les immigrants sont ignorés. Ils n'ont aucune place dans le rêve québécois*." (*La Presse*, ¶ 2, July 6 2010). However, putting aside the quantity of representation, there remain questions concerning the relationships between cultural identities and contemporary cinematic representations. What is the nature of these cinematic images? For example, few scholars in the field of Canadian national cinema

[8] As will be explored in Chapter 2, "Literature Review", there are number of personal, social, and institutional factors that can affect an immigrant's experience.

have looked at the manners by which cultural identity expressions are negotiated with respect to family, an arguably integral group to individual socialization and to the construction of personal and collective cultural identity. Moreover, whilst it is important to understand what is being articulated by the diasporic voice, it is equally important to understand how this voice is being transmitted.

The first objective of this research consists of conducting a comprehensive analysis of the systems of meaning production in relation to the construction of filmic depictions of neo-Canadian cultural identities, notably through intergenerational conflicts in on-screen immigrant families in a select corpus of Canadian and Quebec films. While there are innumerable factors that affect an individual's cultural identity, the theme of intergenerational conflicts is one that allows expressions of multiple approaches to acculturation from individuals who have similar socialization backgrounds. This comprehensive analysis of the systems of meaning production in relation to social contexts will be furthered by the practice of marrying theoretical analysis to filmic practice in an original production focusing on the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada.[9] To guide this analysis, this research seeks to answer the following questions:

- In what manner are the cultural identities of immigrants constructed through intergenerational conflicts in the filmic discourse of Canadian and Quebec cinema?
- What are the cinematographic strategies employed when exploring these identities?

[9] The methodology of second portion of the thesis is further explained below, and again in depth in section 3.3 of Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology. Its practice is explained in Chapter 5, "Filming the In-between".

When discussing how meaning is constructed in filmic discourse, it is necessary to frame the questions within the theory of semiotics, the study of symbols. This theoretical framework will help demonstrate what film language is and how it is employed to assist the audience in perceiving and receiving information. Moreover, the symbols' referents employed in meaning construction, in particular social markers, can reveal larger and plural realities. In other words, not only is art presented as a mirror of various social experiences of a collective, it becomes an important platform for discourse. This is the postulate of sociocritical theory, the second perspective which will be employed to explore the diasporic voice in Canadian and Quebec cinema. This thesis will critically discuss the application of these theoretical approaches to the central research questions in the section entitled Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology.

The theoretical comprehension of systems of meaning production remain a fundamental base, however, it is important to investigate their application in the field; in other words the impact lies in whether these concepts can be voiced with a camera lens. To further comprehend these systems of meaning production, the second objective of this research will go beyond textual analysis. The analysis and its findings will be translated to fieldwork involving the production of a short film that will contribute to the cinematographic dialogue on depictions of a minority ethnic culture, specifically Ukrainian-Canadians. The creative short film will operationalize[10] the concepts of the problem at hand into a narrative that combines both fiction and interviews with Ukrainian-Canadians of different generations. The objective of the short film is to

[10] The process of decoding the theoretical findings into tools in the field of cinema production will be described in the Chapter 5, "Filming the In-between".

examine the current discourses of Ukrainian-Canadians and contribute to an articulation of the diaspora's conceptualization of their "imagined community"[11] (Anderson 2006).

However, before delving into theoretical analyses or fieldwork, it is important to understand the concepts associated with the central research questions. The next chapter will map cultural identity constructed with respect to representation in collective discourse. In particular, this mapping process will be conducted by analyzing the concepts of *cultural identity*, *diaspora*, *intercultural exchange*, *immigrant*, *family* and *generation*. Moreover, to gather insight on the discourse of the creative film, the literature review will look at challenges of representation for the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

2. Literature Review

In the theory of narrative identity, vital questions of representation are raised both in terms of the content of the expression and of the methods of construction, articulation and dissemination. Rummens'(2000) interdisciplinary literature overview of research on Canadian identity has demonstrated that, while there are several methods to look at minority identity processes, analyses of identity construction are crucial. In particular, she notes that this domain of research tends to be a focus on "social construction of difference through language, symbolic identity markers, and opposition" that reconstructs, reinterprets and/or revitalizes existing identities (Rummens 2000, p. 14). Although there has been significant research in the field of identity construction in cinema, identity studies in diasporic cinema is narrow in scope, largely due to the fact

[11] As will be described in Chapter 3, "Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology", one of the challenges for the researcher, who is of intercultural heritage, is to remain objective and open-minded when discovering various articulations of intercultural conflicts or Ukrainian-Canadians identity. In other words, the researcher cannot presume that her experiences are representative of the plurality of realities that face neo-Canadians, or specifically Ukrainian Canadians.

that the domain, its analyses and its theories are fairly new and still emerging (Marquez 2009, p. 30).

2.1 What is Cultural Identity?

Before approaching questions regarding cultural identity construction practices, it is important to understand the various meanings and implications of the term. Identity construction practices, and their representation in cultural texts, have the ability not only to transform the self, but it equally reframes images of the self to the Other in the aim of fostering understanding of alternative realities. Poirier's (2004) explanation of the three points of reference that discern identity and alterity—or in other words, belonging and exclusion—illustrates that an individual or a group frame their identity through the recognition of self by self, the recognition of self by others and the recognition of others by self (p. 25). Recognition, therefore, is one crucial element to both identity and alterity, inescapably conducted through discourse. Poirier's hermeneutic perspective of identity construction lies congruent with explanations presented by sociologists such as James (2000), whose text *Seeing Ourselves* remains an important contemporary resource in understanding culture, ethnicity and race in Canada. James emphases that *cultural identity* is constructed with respect to social characteristics, social factors, and social agents[12]. While it is hinged on personal and psychological features, it is developed within society and through socialization, or "the lifelong learning process through which individuals develop selfhood and acquire the knowledge, skills and motivation required to participate in social life" (Mackie 1990, p. 64 as cited in James 2000, p. 36). James,

[12] James (2000) demonstrates how these three categories factor in cultural identity construction through an identity diagram (p.36).

therefore, proposes the definition of cultural identity as a "dynamic and complex set of values, beliefs, norms, patterns, or thinking, style of communication, linguistic expressions" (p. 201) which directly contributes to the "collective self-awareness that a given group embodies and reflects" (p. 35). Although this definition seems simplistic, it is fundamentally complicated by the ambiguous notion of culture itself.

James demonstrates through a literature review of the concept of culture that in spite of—and due to—its omnipresence in daily lives, it is difficult to explain or evaluate (p. 199). Literature on culture in the domains of hermeneutics and sociology, including the work of Moisan & Hildebrand, Fleras & Elliott (2001), Hall (2000) and Bissoondath (1994), emphasizes that culture is a fluid concept, transforming with respect to external and internal factors. In particular, Hall (2000) argues that since identity is an evolving practice, cultural identity cannot be seen as an essentialized concept. In other words no one can lay claim to an 'authentic' cultural identity or cultural practice.

> [Instead] of thinking of identity as an already historical fact, which the new cinematic discourses then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. (Hall 2000, p. 704)

The term cultural group is often employed as a synonym for ethnic group, when in fact the later refers to a group of people who may not necessarily speak the same language, but "who share a common ancestry and history, who may or may not have identifiable physical or cultural characteristics and who […] may identify themselves as being a member of that group" (James 2000, p. 203). Rummens (2000) notes that, in Canada, research often applies the term "ethnic" in reference of "Canadian cultural groups of immigrant origin" (p.7). Fleras & Elliott (1992) distinguish the two concepts by demonstrating that ethnicity is a form of social organization, whereas cultural identity

refers to construction of behaviour and lifestyle (p. 134). Culture and ethnicity are not mutually exclusive, as an individual can embody multiple or hybrid identities (James 2000, p. 28-29). However, the terms cannot be considered interchangeable.

The indistinct conceptualization of culture and cultural identity often results in miscommunications and misrepresentations, which in turn foster greater social problems such as prejudice, stereotypes and racism. James contests that much of these social problems in Canada can be traced to our emphasis on the salient features of culture, such as food or clothes[13]. In his chapter "Who has culture? Only some people do!", he remarks how popular Canadian discourse associates "visible" culture synonymously with foreignness, whereas those of Anglo-Celtic background view themselves as a-cultural (p. 33). This implies that difference is calculated, whereas neutrality is "normal". James' argument is reinforced elsewhere in sociology by Brekhus' (1998) theory of "markedness", which explains that certain elements of society such as social groups are distinctly and disproportionally remarked in comparison to others. Consequently, "markedness", such as the recognition of only "visible" cultures, reinforces hegemonic ideologies and "epistemologically ghettoizes" differences (p. 253). For both Brekhus and James, the question of culture and identity habitually transforms into questions of power structures between the dominant and minority groups within a society.

Given the dynamic, complex, omnipresent and fluid nature of cultural identity, there exist an innumerable amount of factors that influence individual and collective identities. Among these factors is *family*, in other words individuals who share an

[13] These arguments surrounding the social emphasis of salient culture and its relationship to power structures are central to criticisms of multiculturalism in Canada, most particularly found in Bissoondath's (1994) text *Selling Illusions*, and will be explored in section 2.2, Constructing Cultural Identity through Representation.

interpersonal and/or biological connection (James 2003, p. 65). Families are often cited as the first social groups in an individual's life, laying the foundation by which language, culture and social referents are transmitted (Chang 2009, p. 14). Much as cultural identity is constructed through expressive platforms, such as cinema, and with respect to social frameworks it is equally constructed at a more immediate level, through the family. As researchers such as Simon (2004) have noted, family is "privileged site for exploring issues of identity" (p. 51), particularly when comparing the variant approaches to supplementary factors of cultural identity construction such as intergenerational roles[14].

The individual contributes reciprocally to the cultural identity of the family by assuming or rejecting a generational role, by transmitting or transforming cultural practices. The term *generation* as defined by Calderon (2004), suggests a linage of family heritage signifying the role of "*agents de changement historique*" (p. 10). As with most roles, it defines an individual's relationship with others. The issue of transmission of cultural values to the subsequent generation is often a source of consternation for immigrant[15] families, particularly when combined with stress of acculturation (Dyke et Saucier 2000, p. 24). In the field of sociology, Calderon's (2004) literature review of intergenerational relationships in neo-Canadian families demonstrates the effects of immigration on neo-Canadian families, which often manifests itself in forms of "*un écart culturel*" (p. 30). Typically, this is seen as the children adapt easily to the host culture whereas the parents hold different cultural values, creating tension in the family:

[14] As explained in the section 3.2, Research Design and Data Collection, intergenerational conflicts is the chosen angle by which to analyse cultural identities in Canadian and Quebec cinema due to its capability to represent different approaches from the same socialization background.

[15] Statistics Canada defines the term immigration by "*le mouvement de personnes d'un pays quelconque vers un autre pays dans le but de s'y établir*" (Statistics Canada 2010b). Consequently, the term Canadian *immigrant* refers to a person who has displaced from their country of origin to live in Canada.

> [*Certains] avertissements peuvent être perçus comme des pièges qui forcent les enfants de choisir entre l'adoption de la culture canadienne dominante et le valeurs et traditions de leurs parents. Les enfants peuvent trouver un équilibre entre ces poles, mais le conflit entre les générations demeure pour plusieurs une réalité quotidienne et peut être une source d'aliénation.* (Calderon 2004, p. 31)

Variant approaches to acculturation have been explained elsewhere in sociologists such as Elliott (1971) who presents a model for minority reactions to subordinate status in their host culture noting that there are various stages of passive and active rejection or acceptance of the dominant culture. Calderon's (2004) literature review proposes a three-stage model for neo-Canadian families: adoption, integration and acculturation (p. 20). Alternatively, in psychology, Berry (1990) presents a four-stage model of strategies when adapting to a different culture, whether the host culture be dominant or not. Much like Elliott, Berry notes that various factors, such as culture, economic status and notions of the self, determine how individuals move between cultures. Dyke and Saucier (2000) remark how this model does not take into account that an individual can adopt or evolve between multiple strategies. They argue that while, in sociology, immigration was once considered a unidirectional process, revised theories have taken into account the complex nature of migration and its impact on individuals as well as families: "*le processus d'immigration et l'adaptation à la société d'accueil est multidimensionnel, sélectif, et met en branle une dynamique interactive au sein de la rencontre interculturelle*" (p. 23).

Dyke et Saucier's (2000) research, *Cultures et paternités*, looks at the impact of immigration on neo-*québécois* family, noting how the phenomena related to immigration, such as the ones described in Elliott and Berry's models, change family roles and dynamics whether they are aware of it or not. Calderon's study specifically analyses these

dynamics to reveal a series of intercultural conflicts, notably when it comes to the issues of parental authority, education and language barriers.

Fleras & Leonard Elliott (2002) identified similar conflicts, or "generation gaps", as a primary obstacle for refugees and immigrations especially "when parents perceive their children as drifting away from the old culture" (p. 45). Similar tendencies were reiterated in a study by Tyyska (2005) that focused on intergenerational conflicts in Toronto Tamil families. However, her research observed two additional reoccurring conflicts: social roles of young men and marriage choices of young women. Tyyska (2005) like Calderon (2004) notes that conflicts stem not only from generation gap but from a culture divide, whose effect reaches the identity of the individuals as well as the family. Furthermore, Kaur Gill (2007)'s research pertaining to Punjabi-Sikh youth identifies an important issue for minority youth: they are more culturally and ethnically diverse than previous generations of Canadians and therefore "doubly stigmatized as belonging completely to one group nor being completely Canadian and accepted by the mainstream" (p. 1). This theme of "in-between" identity echoes throughout literature pertaining to minority culture youth in Canada, dating as far back as forty years ago. For example, Millett (1971), in analyzing the Ukrainian-Canadian communities in the west, discovers a renewed identity of second-generation Canadians in post-war prairies: "[Members] of the second generation found that these [political] activities hindered their progress at school and in employment because they encouraged the old national and religious prejudices brought over from Europe while leaving the young Ukrainian-Canadian ignorant of and therefore unaccepted by the society in which he lived." (p. 57).

Viewed from a historical perspective, Millett's reaccount of this period demonstrates the timeless nature of intergenerational conflicts within neo-Canadian families.

The struggle of neo-Canadian families to balance various cultural identities relates to Canada's own challenges in redefining multiculturalism practices with respect to a statistically projected rise in Canadians of visible, audible and cultural minorities (Statistics Canada, 2010a). Specifically, Canadian multiculturalism was built on a constitutional foundation that all cultures present in society weave together to collectively form national identity. As have explained Moisan & Hildebrand (2001), multiculturalism promotes diverse cultural heritages that harmoniously support a collective identity and attachment to Canada:

> *La politique canadienne du multiculturalisme va dans le sens d'un pluralisme culturel qui vise au développement de la conscience individuelle et collective d'appartenance au Canada, tout en ne niant pas et même en tendant à maintenir en vie et en forme les valeurs culturelles des groupes ethniques et leurs racines ancestrales.* (p. 37)

Fleras & Leonard Elliott (2002) demonstrate that multiculturalism in Canada has evolved with respect to three distinct phases: ethnicity multiculturalism, equity multiculturalism and civic multiculturalism (p. 69). They also argue that, as an ideology, multiculturalism has evolved from one that promoted ethnic tolerance in the 1970s to a more contemporary focus on participation and belonging to the Canadian collective.

However, in practice, multiculturalism is far from utopist. It has been the subject of many criticisms and often assessed as paradoxical, challenging and problematic for Canadian society. Some scholars have even gone so far as to describe it as "masochist celebration of Canadian nothingness" (Marshall, p. 263). One of the primary criticisms of multiculturalism as a practice is its failure to address imbalanced power relations despite

its ideological commitment to equal opportunity. Critical essays, such as Bannerji's (2000) *The Dark Side of the Nation*, have noted that feelings of cultural alienation can reside in communities, families or individuals who feel unwelcomed by power relations in Canada. James (2000), too, contends that, in both historic and contemporary times, there exists an expectation for anglo-conformity or to "Canadianize" immigrants: "Canadian multiculturalism policy and programs as currently constituted do less to promote equity, social justice and cultural freedom than to ensure that cultural conformity takes place" (p. 219-220). Researchers like Dhruvarajan (2003) argue further that, due to the historical relationship to colonialism and imperialism, racism has been built into Canadian institutional structures (as cited in Kaur Gill 2007, p. 9). Regardless of the origins of the social inequalities that exist between cultural and ethnic groups of Canada, James (2000) contends through a literature review that power status' in Canada continue to form individual and community cultural identity narratives of both dominant and minority groups (p. 98).

Aside from the argument of unequal power structures, critics of multiculturalism believe the policy fractures collective identity and fosters "post-modern identity politics that fragments the nation-building project" (Ley 2007, p. 7). Similarly to James' (2000) criticisms of perceptions of culture in Canadian hegemonic discourse, Neil Bissondath's *Selling Illusions* argues that, in practice, multiculturalism places emphasis on the superficial characteristics of culture and delays, if not obstructs, intercultural understanding. On the other hand, Kostash (2000) argues that these intercultural barriers are reduced with an understanding fostered by representations in identity narratives: "When immigrants and other hybrids decide to open up their communities to a *sharing* of

stories and histories, and to participation in civil society, then the popular charge that hyphenated Canadians are "about" ghettoization, exoticism, and separatism is simply hysterical" (p. 35). Bissoondath, like Kostash, recognizes that one of the manners by which to overcome multiculturalism challenges is to foster communication between the various peoples and cultures of Canada. Representations in cultural products, such as cinema, become a platform for self-expression as well as for understanding.

2.2 Constructing Cultural Identities through Representation

Representation plays a vital role in the individual and collective socialization process of cultural identity. It can affect important identity construction processes such as the three points of recognition[16] (Poirier 2004). In a chapter titled "Miscasting Minorities: Multiculturalism and the Mass Media", Fleras & Elliott (2001) argue that misrepresentation of minorities in mass media lead to ghettoization, stigmatization, demonization and/or ornamentalization.[17] Consequently, minorities internalize these representations with devastating consequences to the construction of the self. Fleras & Elliott stress that these misrepresentation trends reveal larger hegemonic power structures in Canadian society: "Minority women and men are excluded from full Canadianness, and seen as "others" to be pitied, despised, or shunned depending on the context. This is a symbolic and psychological form of violence" (p. 173). Theories discussed earlier, such as identity construction, socialization and "markedness", all support this conclusion concerning the relationship between misrepresentation and social alienation. However,

[16] For full reference and explanation of Poirier's three points of recognition, see section 2.1,What is Cultural Identity?

[17] While this research is not intended to be discursive, it is here emphasized that the effects and consequences of cinematic representation, both positive and negative, should not be overlooked. As will be further explored in section 3.1, Constructing and Deconstructing Meaning, representation has a reciprocal relationship to language and meaning.

the gap in Fleras & Elliott's work lies in their direct association with American depictions and Canadian social practices. With the exception of their review of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) and the television series *North of 60,* their argument centers around an analysis of American mass media—one that is constructed within a society harbouring a different ideological approach to multiculturalism and intercultural relations (Fleras & Elliott 2001, p. 73). While American mass media may have an influence on Canadian society, its implicit attitudes towards minorities do not necessarily illustrate social practices or power structures in Canada. Fleras & Elliott fail to provide an adequate consideration of Canadian media texts, leaving the Canadian portrayal virtually unanalyzed in light of Canadian multicultural practices.

Conversely, this sociocritical look at identity representations as a reflection of social practices has been undertaken by Poirier (2004) whose text *Le cinéma québécois: à la recherche d'une identité* studies Quebec political identity in its own media texts. Poirier's central argument is that cinema, a platform for sharing narratives, assumes a critical role in the recognition and reconstruction process of a collective identity—two processes which retain a reciprocal relationship to representation. In his research, Poirier analyzes identity expressions in order to extend Ricoeur's notion of perpetual rearticulation of the self, arguing that filmic representations allow for greater understanding of social, political and cultural realities of a shared group:

> *L'institution cinématographique est à la fois* dans *la société et* à distance *de cette société. C'est pourquoi nous suggérons d'apposer au cinéma la métaphore de l'écho: une certaine représentation de la réalité; ni un miroir ni une abstraction sans aucune attache avec la réalité sociale.* (p. 3)

In essence, Poirier contends cinema not only articulates collective practices to others, it has the capacity to interpret various social realities, creating a space for dialogue. Although authors such as Tremblay-Daviault (1981) have equally applied sociocritical theories to discern the sociological markers that shape collective identity, few have combined this paradigm with hermeneutics or narrative identity; in this, Poirier's research remains unique amongst literature on identity in Canadian and Quebec cinema. His analysis demonstrates that narrative identity reconstruction is conducted in a reciprocal relationship to changing social conditions. As a result, both time and space become essential when analyzing narrative identity and its connection to sociocritical dialogue. Poirier remarks that narrative identity is dependent on an individual's capacity to tell a story with regards to temporality, noting that transforming identity into a narrative permits the arrangement and selection of events and occurrences that is instrumental in the evolution of the individual or collective self (p. 7). Much like Poirier, Hall (1996) argues that the remembering/forgetting dichotomy of time is critical in identity construction practices in representations of minorities:

> Questions of identity are always questions about representation. They are always exercises in selective memory and they almost always involve the silencing of something in order to allow something else to speak. […] Silencing as well as remembering identity is always a questions about producing in the future an account of the past, that is to say it is always about narrative, the stories which cultures tell themselves about where they came from. (p. 601)

Where Hall and Poirier diverge in thinking is the emphasis on the power dichotomy between the self and the Other, as Hall focuses specifically on cultural identity within a colonial experience. Poirier resists this assumption, and does not engage in the debate of the Canadian Other referenced in the introduction. Nevertheless, both

perceptions are reiterations by Ricoeur's (1985) central argument of *Time and Narrative* that narrative identity is necessarily framed within past experiences ("*l'espace d'expérience*") and future aspirations ("*horizon d'attente*") (p.355).

2.3 Challenges of Representing Cultural Identities in Canada

While Poirier's research clarified the relationship between time and narrative, his reflections on space are limited due to his focus on Quebec narratives. However, much of the work conducted in diasporic cinema, particularly that of Moorti (2003), has addressed the issue of cultural, real and imagined spaces transnationally. The very notion of *diaspora* evokes the abstract relationships between identity and space, particularly a misplacement or absence of home and homeland. Gilroy (1997) defines the term as "the scattering of peoples, whether as the result of war, oppression, poverty, enslavement or the search of a better economic and social opportunities, with the inevitable opening of their culture to new influences and pressures" (as cited in Leach 2006, p. 125). According to Peters (1999), historically the term diaspora was related to Jewish settlements following the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Roman conquests. However the term, as applies to various cultural and ethnic groups, continues to be associated with displacement and exile: "Nothing is more dispersed in intellectual life today than the concept of diaspora" (p. 18). Authors like Morley (1993) argue that notions of home, exile and diaspora are being redefined with postmodern notion of space and virtual geography, a "rethinking our sense of place in the context of transformations and destabilizations wrought by the new communication technologies of the global media industries" (p. 152). As mentioned in the introduction, this is also reiterated by Leach (2006) who argues that a "diasporic effect" permeates art, negotiated with the aid of technological tools that transgresses time

and space. In terms of its relationship to cinema, however, Moorti (2003) defines diasporic cinemas as "transnational flows of visual media products [that] enable people from the diaspora to articulate community as affect, as a phenomenology of experience" (p. 358-359). Marquez (2009)'s literature review of "diasporic cinema" notes that there exist a plurality of terms interchangeably used to refer to the concept including transnational cinema, intercultural, migrant, exilic, international and Other's cinema (p. 30).

Moorti's (2003) article is novel in the sense that, not only does she seek to understand narrative discourses of diaspora in Canadian film, but how they are visually articulated. In so, she develops the concept of a "diasporic optic"/ "diasporic imagery", or a "visual grammar" that, through the blending of reflective nostalgia, offers a platform of identification with the homeland (p. 356). She maintains that this articulation is conducted through its aesthetics, producing a grammar and rhetoric "that seeks to capture the dislocation, disruption and ambivalence that characterizes their lives" (p. 359). Despite an inherent political gaze, these films nevertheless offer identity images that are understood transnationally, bridging cultures through an accessible, non-geographic sense of space and home (p. 365). These filmic narratives are important for diasporic communities, creating a comprehensible visual medium for which to explore the complexities of identity discourse. Moorti's argument can be seen in relation to Anderson's (2001) contemporary theory of "imagined communities" where "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). Anderson notes that while this concept has the ability to challenge nationalism and

its limited myths, it can equally reinforce ideologies of "limited imaginings" (p. 7), such as those that perpetuate religious war or genocide. However, Ahmed and Fortier (2003) argue that the notion of community—diasporic, imagined, or other—is not an answer to identity but a supplementary question. Their article "Re-Imagining Communities" stresses not only that traditional notions of community construction are obsolete, as "subjects may come together without presumptions of 'being in common' or even 'being uncommon'" (p. 254), but belonging to a community does not necessitate an understanding of the self. The issue of community is a continuous narrative linking the complex dichotomic issues of identity, solitude, exile and home.

Moorti's analysis directs to an understanding the importance of cultural identity construction in cinema absent in works like Fleras & Elliott (2001) and Poirier (2004). However, the scope of her research is limited in time and in socio-geographical space : her research looks exclusively at representations of the Indo-Canadian diaspora in contemporary Anglo-Canadian films. For a more thorough understanding of the transformations of the diasporic voice in Canada, it is important to look at various neo-Canadian voices in Quebec, where cultural preservation is a sensitive and heated subject and where immigrants face additional language barriers. The inclusiveness of immigrants in *québecois* culture is a reoccurring issue within the media, as exemplified most recently by debates following Jacob Tierney's comments on the absence of immigrant cinematic figures (*La Presse*, July 6 2010). Leach (2006) even argues that Quebec's strong collective identity makes it more difficult for the diffusion of hybrid narrative identities (p. 130). Marshall (2001), on the other hand, contests that certain post-Quiet Revolution

narratives, such as those found in the films of Paul Tana, are an indication of renewed intercultural exchange and understanding (p. 281).

One of the most extensive researches on the neo-Canadian voice in Quebec was conducted by Moisan & Hildebrand (2001) in the field of literature. Their text, *Ces étrangers du dedans* traces the historic and thematic threads in migrant literature from 1937-1997 in the objective of discerning how new minority cultures transform the cultural landscape in Quebec. Moisan & Hildebrand argue that immigration in Canada has fostered intercultural relationships and catalyzed individual, family and nation-wide questions and (re)definitions of cultural identity. To exhibit this argument, they utilize the metaphor of a dance between cultures : "*La danse des cultures s'impose donc désormais et elle entraîne les participants à modifier leurs façons de faire, à accorder leurs demarches, dont la consequence est de donner naissance à une "nouvelle" écriture, dite plurielle, migrante ou métisse*" (p. 332). Like Poirier's (2004) "echo" metaphor, the image of the dance illustrates how social changes inform practices of textual plurality in Quebec. Moisan & Hildebrand's research has noted that immigrant voices have transformed with respect to four different phases: unicultural, pluricultural, intercultural, transcultural. The unicultural phase reinforced assimilation and heterogeneity, as opposed to pluricultural stage that marked the beginning of the diversification of voices. It is, however, the intercultural stage that explores both identity and alterity of the neo-Canadian voice. Moreover, the dynamics of intercultural exchanges in society are examined, fostering insights of intercultural relationships and conflicts in society. The authors note that narratives that express these kinds of conflicts privilege an articulation and exploration of cultural identity:

> *L'interculturel est une mise en rapport d'écritures, de mentalités, d'imaginaires qui, au départ, n'ont que peu en commun, mais qui, dans une situation donnée, celle de la cohabitation ou de la confrontation, se rapprochent, se comprennent, se lient même, tout en maintenant leur image propre ou leur caractère particulier.* (p. 183)

To draw a parallel to cinema, Marshall (2001) equally has highlighted that cultural identity in Quebec cinema is most often explored through "a constant reciprocal exchange and acquisition […] between cultures when they meet through conquest and/or migration" (p. 267). Finally, Moisan & Hildebrand's fourth phase is transcultural literature, where the understanding of hybrid identities penetrates the literature landscape. Transcultural texts abandon a sense of fixed or predetermined identity to embrace a crosscultural psychology, for both *québécois* and neo-*québécois* authors (p. 17).

Bachand and Clément (2006) equally note that both the last two phases—intercultural and transcultural—permeate contemporary Quebec cinema. While early *québecois* films discussed either the clash between Canada's two solitudes, or alternatively, aboriginal conflicts with migrant peoples, it was not until the 1980s[18] that Quebec's multicultural characteristic was strongly manifested on screen. Filmmakers like Jean-Claude Lauzon, Paul Tana, Léa Pool and Michel Brault used problematic images of home and belonging to revisit questions of identity using various forms and exploring different communities. They remark that both representations of plural and transnational identities infused the industry in addition to *québécois* society itself: "*En somme, la construction identitaire de la spécificité québécoise—du « Nous, Québécois »--se pose aujourd'hui en termes de pluralisme, d'intégration et de convergence des nombreuses sources culturelles qui irriguent l'ensemble des communautés cohabitant sur le territoire*

[18] The foremost trend of neo-*québécois* voices manifested itself in the 1980s, although Bachand and Clément mention two important filmic texts before this period: Claude Jutra's *À tout prendre* (1963) and Ted Kotcheff's *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (1974).

national. » (p. 242). In a sense, this remark can be linked to the research conducted by Moorti (2003) who, as noted above, demonstrates certain contemporary cinemas' shift away from essentialized identity to a fluid conceptualization of the cultural self. In both researches, social transformations, such as multiculturalism and transnationalism, are being reflected through discourse manifested on the screen. However, Bachand and Clément[19] make an observation largely absent from Moorti's work; they note that while there exists positive reconstructions of the collective self, concurrent questions of violent attitudes stemming from crosscultural conflicts have taken to the screen:

> *...On [ne] peut pas s'ouvrir aux autres, à la différence sans en être transformé en retour. Mais le contact peut aussi provoquer des sentiments de méfiance et de violence qui érigent l'Autre—l'étranger, le minoritaire—en bouc émissaire passible des pires exactions. […] Aucune communauté n'est à l'abri de l'ethnocentrisme, de l'exclusion et du racisme dans son désir de permanence et d'affirmation.* (p. 239-240)

This remark points to the weight of *intercultural exchange*, particularly its importance as a method to construct identities. Loslier's (1997) research, *Des relations interculturelles : du roman à la réalité*, extends on this point by looking at intercultural conflicts as presented in various international literatures. Indeed, she argues that identity construction is at the heart of intercultural narratives (p. 12), noting that while the narrative's time and place may vary, the themes of these texts, such as « *déchirement, désarroi culturel, marginalité, rejet, aliénation, racisme, ethnocentrisme, acculturation, rapports conflictuels avec la société, et violence* », remain the same (p. 12). Although written before Moisan & Hildebrand (2001), Loslier's research can be seen as an extension of their third phase—that of understanding intercultural relationships at the heart of a society, specifically when it pertains to the Other minority. However, her definition of

[19] Their remarks are inspired by Girard's (1982) *Le bouc émissaire*.

intercultural relations, that is "*[les] rapports entre groupes humains différents par leur façon de sentir, de penser et d'agir*" (p. 42), differs slightly from Moisan & Hildebrand as she places more emphasis on the fact that intercultural relationships are rarely free of hierarchy (p. 28). Moreover, she extends Moisan & Hildebrand's notion of intercultural relations to include two additional categories—interacial relations and interethnic relations—remarking that the later two depend largely on symbolic systems like race and religion (p. 41-42). Much like Ricoeur (1985), Poirier (2004) and Bachand and Clément (2006), Loslier contests that represented identies are echoes of social realities: "*[l'identité est] à la fois influencée par le contexte sociohistorique et par des contraintes socio-culturelles*" (p. 77). Although her paradigm is similar to other research in the field of sociocritical analysis of represented identities, her research framework focuses on the nature of conflict as expressed through identity indicators, such as perceptions of time and space, rather than social indicators, such as political context. The conclusions of Loslier's research notes interesting trends in literary perceptions brought to the forefront in intercultural literature, such as how variations of time and space—real, imagined, remembered as well as forgotten—construct the identity and alterity of the individual self, the collective self and the Other. Moreover, she writes that alienation and feeling of being "in-between" often resides as a reoccurring theme in intercultural literature (p. 40).

Furthermore, Loslier observes a model for migrant experiences in literature (p. 24), as described in three phases: rupture with the culture of origin, the intercultural exchange with the dominant culture, and adoption of new practices. Similarly, Micone (1995) has remarked that, for Canadian immigrants, intercultural and transcultural experiences become a vital part of their cultural identity. He explores this idea further by

arguing that there exists a veritable immigrant identity and culture, based on the three integral experiences and phases: cultural experiences in the country of origin, uprooting experiences in the emigration-immigration process, and adoption or integration to a new culture (Micone 1995, p. 204). However, authors such as Jean Jonassaint prefer to express this experience with the word "*déplacement*", demonstrating that immigrants are "always at the centre of some things and at the periphery of others" (as cited in Marshall, p. 266).

While Loslier (1997) and Micone's (1995) works both reveal important trends in immigrant identity construction, very little work has been conducted to observe these tendencies in Canadian and Quebec narratives. All the same, researchers in the afore mentioned field, such as Moorti (2003), Poirier (2004) and Bachand and Clément (2006), acknowledge that recognizing the density of various cultural identities, fostering positive intercultural exchange. Nevertheless, one of the challenges of discussing and portraying cultural identities—in cinema as in other texts—lies in the risk to misrepresent with generalizations, turning "ethnic communities into museums of exoticism"[20] (Bissoondath 1994, p. 111). In other words, it is not sufficient to simply demonstrate cultural identities on screen, but to explore and recognize these diverse and complex realities.

2.3.1 Cultural Representation of Ukrainian-Canadians

The Ukrainian community in Canada was selected for the context of the fieldwork in film production as it is a diasporia which does not have a prominent voice in Canadian or Quebec cinema, even if they comprise 3.6% of the Canadian population (James 2001,

[20] Bissoondath's (1994) text is essential in understanding criticisms of multiculturalism and intercultural communication in Canada. His work is, therefore, explored in greater detail in the section 2.3: Challenges of Representing Cultural Identities in Canada.

p. 32). However, as Grekul (2005) argues, it is necessary that this community is continually represented in Canada's cultural landscape in order to be integrated into the national collective conscious. In other words, it is important to preserve Ukrainian-Canadian identity: "Perhaps the business of "getting it right"—promoting the right image of Ukrainian Canadians—is not as important as fostering ongoing dialogue about what it means to be Ukrainian and Canadian" (Grekul 2005, p. 199).

On the other hand, Kostash (2000) calls for a renewed self-expression of Ukrainian culture, one that is not static of relegated to stereotypes. She argues that current cultural representations pigeonhole the community through self-produced media, such as community magazines, with outdated images: "Ukrainian-Canadians still generally go along with the popular view of themselves as colourful, dancing, *horilka*-tippling hunkies recently arrived from a wheat farm in Saskatchewan" (p. 30). In her look at contemporary representations of Ukrainian-Canadians in various cultural fields, Kostash (2000) notes that the self-relegation "to the margins of Canadian concern where their stories are confined in private memory and important only to them" (p. 21) can, in part, be attributed to a collective "psychological insecurity" (p. 32) stemming from various historical traumas, such the Holodomor or Ukrainian internment camps in Western Canada.

Nevertheless, both Grekul and Kostash's variant perspectives on the issue of representing the Ukrainian-Canadian community recognize of the importance of composing contemporary texts that encompass the plural and evolving experiences and social realities of Canadians of Ukrainian origin. Indeed, as Bissoondath (1994) would argue, without an evolving narrative identity, the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada risks the absence of self-recognition and recognition by the Other: "A culture that fails to grow

from within inevitably becomes untrue to itself, inevitably descends into folklore" (Bissoondath 1994, p. 81). As will be elaborated in the methodology section, the objective of the creative film is to fill this narrative identity void by proposing a contemporary filmic representation of Ukrainian-Canadian culture. The text will apply the findings of cultural identity construction practices to a renewed filmic perception of the Ukrainian imagined community.

The identity challenges that face neo-Canadian families at various levels can be retraced to social practices in Canada, both explicit and hegemonic, and their exerted influence of textual representations of cultural minorities. While the preceding paragraphs have demonstrated analyses that study concepts relating to these issues—intercultural relations, diasporic spaces, neo-Canadian narratives and their influence of the cultural representation domain—there has been very little research dealing with neo-Canadian family conflicts as represented in film as their likeness to social realities. Therefore, this research proposes to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the systems of meaning production in relation to social contexts, notably through intercultural conflicts amidst generations in immigrant families within a selected corpus of Canadian and Quebec films. In doing so, the objective is to ascertain thematic and aesthetic strategies used to represent intercultural conflicts between various generations of immigrant families in cinema.

3. Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

The merging of sociological literature pertaining to multiculturalism in Canada with research on cultural identity practices in cinema, presupposes that there is a connection between artistic expressions and social discourses. As expressed through

Ricoeur's (1985) narrative identity paradigm, rearticulations of evolving individual and collective identities are experienced through art, as not all realities can be understood within fixed time or space. In other words, social actions as represented in platforms such as cinema, demonstrate commentaries on social, cultural and identity practices. Furthermore, these narratives provide multi-faceted perspectives at complex concepts such as cultural identity, diaspora, intercultural exchange and intergenerational conflict.

As certain researchers such as Kaur Gill (2007) have highlighted, the complexity of identity, even as expressed in cinema, is difficult to quantify. This method of research often fails to grasp the connoted and denoted meanings behind cultural identity representations and demonstrations of the immigrant experience. Therefore, for the theoretical analysis portion of the methodology, this research undertakes a constructionist approach to qualitative analysis in order to understand methods of cultural identity construction, specifically through a variant that merges semiotical and sociocritical theories to examine the cinematic language employed in a select film corpus[21].

3.1 Constructing and Deconstructing Meaning

This research hinges on the study of discourse through its signs and symbols both in the narrative and in the visual elements of the film. Moreover, the implications of these connoted meanings to social criticism will be analyzed. Poirier (2004) explains the relationship of social actions and cinematic representation through the analogy of a mirror, which demonstrates "*des tendances sociales, des questions qui la préoccupent, des enjeux qui la dynamisent, des conflits qui la traversent, des contradictions qui l'ébranlent et des aspirations qui l'inspirent*" (p. 3-4). This analogy elucidates

[21] For further explanations on the film corpus and its selection process, see section 3.3.1, Approach.

sociocritical theory, a type of analysis that studies the importance of social markers in texts, influenced by Marxists thinking and the works of critics Lucien Goldmann and Georg Lukacs. As Dubois (1987) explains, sociocritical theory is a vision of the world that postulates that art is a product of history, which in turn is a product of collective social tendencies (p. 258). Aesthetic practices produce works that allow for a descriptive interpretation of society. Art, a product of human practices, permits an exposure as well as a critique of society: "*l'histoire [que l'art] atteste […] n'est jamais elle-même pur objet de référence, mais est toujours prise dans un discours et construite ou reconstruite par une narration*" (Dubois 1987, p.290).

Sociocritique is notably applied to literature analysis, but is equally relevant to other domains where cultural products are concerned. In the field of Canadian and Quebec cinema, it has been applied in the works of Tremblay-Daviault (1981), Marshall (2001), Gittings (2002) and Bachand (2005) to name a few. There are assorted approaches to conducting a sociocritical analysis and determining its inferences. Goldmann (1964) believed that the analysis of a textual production is essential in understanding the collective consciousness of a group:

> *L'oeuvre littéraire n'est pas le simple reflet d'une conscience collective réelle et donnée, mais l'aboutissement à un niveau de cohérence très poussé des tendances propres à la conscience de tel ou tel groupe, conscience qu'il faut concevoir comme une réalité dynamique, orientée vers un certain état d'équilibre*. (p. 27)

Duchet's sociocritical theory distances itself from Marxist thinking, leaning more towards the idea that sociocritique must be formulated within a semiological framework, especially when it concerns social symbols such as gestures, language, spaces or objects found in a text. This framework was equally applied in more contemporary works in the

field of Canadian and Quebec cinema, such as Poirier (2004) who specifically links sociocritiques to political and ideological changes in the social landscape.

The study of symbols as employed in cinema extends to a larger study of film language, in other words "how meanings are produced, sustained, negotiated and devised" through the medium's sights and sounds (Fuery 2000, p.47). In a more general sense, semiotics is the study of the manner by which meanings are produced through language, a complex, structured and ordered communication system that generates meaning (Lotman 1976, p.1). Semiotics operates on the Saussurian understanding of the functions of language: that a sign is composed of both a signifier and a signified (Hall 1997, p. 31). In essence, language is the struggle to communicate a conceptual system. According to Hall, the discerning of objects referring to larger concepts is conducted through a system of representation which "consists, not of individual concepts, but of different ways of organizing, clustering, arranging and classifying concepts, and of establishing complex relations between them" (p.17). Language and cultural codes, like identities, are not fixed but produced within history and other shared social and cultural meanings (p. 32).

The semiotics of cinema extends these principles of using a conceptual map to share meaning into the domain of film, where theorists such as Lotman (1976) argue that, as a communicative system, cinema has its own language (p. 36). For theorists such as Eisenstein, cinema's aesthetic elements such as shots, montage and narrative serve assigns that are harmoniously interwoven to create a larger meaning. Cinema's language is constructed by "combining shots that are *depictive*, single in meaning, neutral in content—into *intellectual* contexts and series" (Eisenstein 1957, p. 30). In essence, a

semiological study of cinematic texts is understanding aesthetic strategies employed to transmit implicit meaning to the audience. As Lotman (1976) underlines in his text *Semiotics of cinema*, aesthetic strategies can range from shot composition, to montage's struggle with time and space and finally with musical rhythm of a score.

3.2 Research Design and Data Collection

As detailed in the section entitled Problematic[22], the objective of this research consists of understanding the thematic and aesthetic strategies used to represent immigrant cultural identities in cinema, specifically through the variant approach of intergenerational family conflicts as it permits a look at diverging approaches to acculturation. Identification and analysis of the thematic and aesthetic strategies will be conducted from two different yet complementary angles. We will, first, proceed with a qualitative content analysis of selected scenes from a corpus of films based on a criterion that establishes the problem at hand. This first step will direct to the creation of a short twenty minute film that will illustrate and rework the principal thematic and aesthetic tendencies noted in the qualitative analysis. The critical symbiotic nature of this two-step process is further reiterated by semiology theory: while the film analyses will deconstruct meaning, the short film will enable the construction of meaning. The first stage of the research method consists of understanding any themes associated with two types of film texts: those that depict intergenerational conflicts at the heart of immigrant families and those that present Ukrainian culture in Canada. The second stage will operationnalize in the form of a creative film the data obtained through the first analysis. The short film will be the product of the research conducted while, at the same time, contributing to a

[22] Refer back to section 1.3, Research Questions and Objectives, for primary research questions.

framework of cultural identity depictions through the medium of fiction and documented interviews, in the specific context of the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

Sociocritique and semiotics are theories by which a researcher views texts. However, their principles favour an understanding of *how* to view a text, but not precisely what to look for in the document. In other words, there is no precise formula or procedure by which to analyze social symbols in a text. Consequently, this research will be conducted using a constructed analysis grid, a tool which will generate specific research questions and will support the researcher in deciphering thematic and aesthetic tendencies in the film documents. Although the division of the corpus into two categories[23] demands two analysis grids[24], both will be founded on five works, all which apply sociocritical and/or hermeneutic thinking to the understanding of cultural identities and social realities in cultural products: Sylvie Loslier (1997), Christian Poirier (2004), Sujata Moorti (2003), Clément Moisan and Renate Hildebrand (2001) and Juri Lotman (1976).

3.2.1 Film Corpus

In order to achieve a thorough comprehension of both the issue at hand in addition to the specific context of Ukrainian culture in Canada, the research will analyze a select key scenes of a select corpus of films, divided into two categories. The first of these categories of documents comprises of fictional Canadian or Quebec films depicting neo-Canadian families where generations are conflicted by a cultural divide.[25] The second set

[23] As described in section 3.2.1, Film Corpus, there are exist two types of texts in the selected corpus of films: narratives that undertake intergenerational conflicts within immigrant families and narratives that represent the cultural identity of Ukrainian-Canadians.
[24] The composition of the grids is described in section 3.3.2, Interviews. Also, for full grids, see Annex I and Annex II.
[25] As discussed in section 2.1, What is Cultural Identity?, intergenerational family relations are one of many factors that affect cultural identity constructions. It was chosen, however, because it remains a platform that permits a plural view at acculturation from members who hold similar socialization backgrounds.

of documents present fictional and non-fictional representations of Ukrainian-Canadians of various geographical and temporal contexts. The documents are selected using a non-probalistic method of purposive sample. The choice of films was established based on an important criteria: (1) they are produced in Canada, following the CRTC regulation on Canadian content, (2) they depict a Ukrainian-Canadian or a neo-Canadian family in conflict (3) there exists a version in either French of English and (4) where identity and cultural identity quests, as catalyzed by intercultural conflicts, are at the heart of the narrative. It should be noted that this research is not limited by films directed by neo-Canadians in order to assure a diversity of perspectives of the problem at hand. The corpus consists of films encouraging immigration, documentaries and fiction films. The films to be analyzed are:

Ukrainian-Canadian narratives:

- *Nation Building in Saskatchewan: 'The Ukrainians'* (Archives of *Saskatchewan Settlement Experience*, 1921)
- *Laughter in My Soul* (NFB, 1983)
- *My Mother's Village* (NFB, 2001)

Narratives involving intergenerational conflicts in neo-Canadian families:

- *Family Viewing* (Atom Egoyan, 1987)
- *Double Happiness* (Mina Shum, 1994)
- *L'ange de goudron* (Denis Chouinard, 2001)
- *Home* (Phyllis Katrapani, 2002)
- *Comme une odeur de menthe* (Pierre Sidaoui 2002)
- *Mambo Italiano* (Émile Gaudreault, 2003)

The films in the category of narratives involving intergenerational conflicts in neo-Canadian families were chosen for reason that they represented a diversity of cultural backgrounds—from Armenian to Greek to Chinese. Moreover, the nature of the central conflicts varies: for example, while *Comme une odeur de menthe* pivots around

expressions of cultural confusion, other films such as *L'ange de goudron* focus on more poignant socio-political problems that put forth expressions of cultural identities. Additionally, certain films, notably *Family Viewing* and *Double Happiness*, have been recognized in the domain of Canadian and Quebec cinema for their postmodern aesthetics (see Alemany-Galway, 2002, p. 165-190 and Gittings, 2002, p. 240-260), a characteristic that contributes to the polyphonic objectives of the fieldwork. Although there exists additional films in the panorama of Canadian and Quebec cinema which adhere to the selection criteria stated above, some texts—such as Egoyan's *Next of Kin* (1984)—were omitted to avoid repetition of personal of socio-cultural perspectives. The objective of the select corpus of films was not to be exhaustive, but to demonstrate the plethora of immigrant realities in Canada as demonstrated in film.

3.2.2 Film Analysis Grids

Although the films have been viewed in their entirety, only select key scenes will be analyzed. The scenes to be studied were selected for their advanced articulation of cultural identities or for their importance in the intercultural conflict. In order to assure continuity in the observations and data analysis, this research will utilize the two aforementioned analysis grids[26] that will serve as the central tool in the collection of research data. Although both are based on a similar series of sub-questions revealing the concepts identified in the literature review, the first grid will focus on scenes involving interegenerational conflicts while the second will focus on the cultural identities of the Ukrainian-Canadian characters. This research will commence by looking at the geographical and historical context of the scene, followed by a description of the

[26] As mentioned in the section 3.1, Constructing and Deconstructing Meaning, the analysis grids will be formulated through the inspiration of the research of five authors.

protagonist, the relationship between the social agents and finally, aesthetic tendencies that permeate the scene.

While the grid is a marriage of these works, it is principally based on Loslier's (1997) grid structure, from her text *Des relations interculturelles: du roman à la réalité*. This grid observes three elements of a narrative (context, protagonists, conflict) in order to observe social tendencies in texts that gravitate around intercultural conflicts. In many ways, Loslier's grid is an extension of Poirier's analysis model which focuses on time, place and the relationships between characters. However, there are two important modifications to Loslier's grid: the "protagonist" section was extended to conduct a profile of the family, and a section on cinematic strategies was added. The latter was particularly informed by the work of Lotman, specifically his influential text *Semiotics of Cinema* (1976), and Moorti's theory of the diasporic lens. In particular, this section analyzes whether or not the lens' gaze evokes a sense of belonging to a larger imaginary community. The aim of this portion of the grids' analyses the aesthetic strategies employed in the films in order to develop a more thorough comprehension as to how film text's structure and formal aesthetic features affect the rhetoric of the various perceptions of cultural identity. The questions on both the protagonist and family relationship sections were extended to try to understand how the protagonists' and the families' identities fit within Moisan & Hildebrand's framework for cultural identity expression: unicultural, pluricultural, intercultural or transcultural? Using the literature discussed in Chapter 2, such as Calderon, Dyke & Saucier, and Berry's model of integration, queries

into the family dynamics—the chosen platform[27] to analyze articulations of cultural identity—were placed into sociological framework, investigating the on-screen challenges of constructing a cultural identities in Canadian multicultural society.

3.3 Putting Theory in Practice: A Focus on Ukrainian-Canadians

The theoretical comprehension of systems of meaning production remain a fundamental base, however, it is important to investigate their application in the field. Thorough analyses of these systems, however, necessitate not only deconstruction of representation practices, but a look at the construction process of representation. In other words, the impact of the film analyses lies in whether it can be reciprocally rearticulated with a camera lens. The proposed fieldwork will extend its analysis of neo-Canadian families' cultural identities by reexploring the voices of the Ukrainain-Canadian community in an original docudrama narrative. This particular community was selected for the context of the fieldwork in film production as it is one which does not have a prominent voice in Canadian and Quebec cinema. As noted in the literature review[28], there are very few films or filmmakers of Ukrainian origin despite an important presence of this community to both demographic and cultural landscapes of Canada. This portion of the research—in other words, the application of theories extracted during data collection to the production of a short film—will contribute to the integration of Ukrainian-Canadian identities to the national collective discourse, to create a channel for the expression of plural perspectives on Ukrainian-Canadian identities, updating contemporary representations.

[27] As discussed in section 1.3, Research Questions and Objectives, there are an innumerable amount of factors for which cultural identity can be analyzed, although this research chose intergenerational conflicts as it privileges multiple perspectives from a similar frame of reference.
[28] See section 2.3.1, Cultural Representation of Ukrainian-Canadians.

3.3.1 Approach[29]

The approach to the fieldwork in film production consists of the creation of a short film, creating the portrait of a multigenerational Canadian family from the point of view of a young fictional protagonist, a third generation neo-Canadian. The objective of this film project is to fill the missing gaps within discourse on Ukrainian-Canadianness.The film's structure will be influenced by the three phases of transitioning immigrant identity as identified by Micone (1995): culture of origin, emigration-immigration process, and integration into a new culture (p.204). It is not necessary that these three experienced be directly witness by the audience, but they will be evoked by an off-screen narrative voice. The short film will combine elements of both fiction and reality through the docudrama genre, as it fuses narrative fiction and documentary interviews. The objective of these hybrid forms represents a plurality of realities that Ukrainian-Canadians live every day. While the documents sampled provide a unique insight into creation of the representation of neo-Canadians and historical images of Ukrainian immigrants, they, for the most part, lapse in contemporary expression of Ukrainian culture in Canada as well as Ukrainian-Canadian identities. Although the researcher is of Ukrainian origin, she cannot presume that her experiences are representative of the plurality of realities that face Ukrainian-Canadians. The research intends to maintain objectivity when dealing with the subject of the Ukrainain-Canadian community. Therefore, the aim of this second method of the fieldwork is to objectively

[29] Although this section details the objectives of the fieldwork, discussions and reflections on aesthetic approaches, as well general remarks on the challenges of the filmmaking process, are detailed in Chapter 5, "Filming the In-Between".

seek out these discourses from Ukrainian-Canadians of different ages[30], generations and geographical regions in order to include in the fieldwork in cinema production. The objective of these recorded interviews is to obtain an array of contemporary cultural expressions and social experiences, as described by the subjects themselves. Adding to the diversity of discourse and articulations of various Ukrainian-Canadian identities reinforces Hall's (2000) argument that there is not one authoritative culture[31]. Furthermore, video recording the interview responses provides an opportunity to capturing not just content of the discourse, but the manner by which things are said, such as intonation and emotional responses.

Six to eight neo-Canadians of Ukrainian origin were recruited using the "snowball" method of sampling (Bonneville et al., 2007). Interviewees were informed of the research objectives become engaging in the interview process. It is equally important that the interview subjects approve the publication of their accounts prior to undertaking any research, as their accounts could be published in the proposed fieldwork. To mitigate any stress the interviewee may feel regarding the publication of their responses, participants were informed that they may revoke a specific statement from the final product before it is finalized. The interviewees were conducted in French or English, depending on the preferred language of the interviewee, and within an atmosphere agreed upon by both the researcher and the participant. These semi-directed interviews proceeded based on an inductive schematic where the more particular questions will be asked first so that the interviewees could reflect on more general impressions. The

[30] To avoid ethical and legal complications regarding the publication of information of a minor, participants must be 18 years or older.
[31] For full understanding of Hall's argument, refer to section 2.1 What is Cultural Identity?

objective of this interview grid[32]structure was to guide the thought process of the interviewee so they may articulate a personal identity, for example a cultural or family identity, prior to reflecting on the identity of Ukrainian diaspora.

4. Cultural identities of immigrant families in Canadian and Quebec cinema

A critical approach to understanding the complexities of a group's various realities is through collective expressions of narrative identity. Comprehending contemporary diasporic identity in Canadian and Quebec film, particularly when it concerns the elusiveness of cultural identity, it is important to look at construction within discourse. Cultural identity, much like narrative identity, is the result of a production process comprised within representations of the self and of the Other (Hall 2000, p.704). This comprehensive analysis of a select corpus of film aims to understand in what manner cultural identities of immigrants is constructed through intergenerational conflicts in Canadian and Quebec filmic discourse. Specifically, the objective is to deconstruct cinematic language, revealing how socio-critical meaning is assembled in filmic texts, in order to adopt these systems of meaning production in the development of a short film on Ukrainian-Canadians.

This chapter is divided into two main sections: an analysis of intergenerational conflict narratives and an overview of expressions of Ukrainian culture, both within Canadian and Quebec cinema. Each of these sections will, first, overview each film of the select corpus, analyzing the thematic and aesthetic strategies employed in a specific

[32] See Annex III for complete interview grid.

conflict scene[33]. Secondly, each section will discuss trends and tendencies among the corpus, discerning various cinematic methods for communicating cultural identities of members of a diaspora.

4.1 Intergenerational Conflict Narratives

As discussed in the literature review, cultural identity is dependent on innumerable factors, although sociologists agree that family remains a privileged site for its construction. Families are a primary community through which an individual socializes, learns values and adopts identity roles. However, members of the same family often assume different methods in the integration—or conversely the separation—of the host culture following immigration. The approach that we have appropriated to delving into diasporic discourses is through the family conflict, specifically intergenerational neo-Canadian families. This permits a more plural approach to discussing variant realities and cultural identities within the same family and ethnic community.

4.1.1 Family Viewing

The earliest film in the corpus is *Family Viewing* (Atom Egoyan, 1988), a text that discusses the complex relationship of one family consisting of Van (Aidan Tierney), his father Stan (David Hemblen), his Anglo-Saxon step-mother, Sandra (Gabrielle Rose). While visiting his grandmother in a run-down old-age home, Van meets Eileen (Arsinée Khanjian) whom he feels can identify with his sense of disconnect to family roots. Much to Stan's chagrin, they strike up an alliance to protect Van's grandmother from suffering an unhappy death in her residence. The film's central conflict primarily concerns a

[33] For a more comprehensive understanding of the analysis process, please refer to Chapter 3, "Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology".

dissonance between son and father although, unlike other films within the corpus, it is regarding clashing views of the past as opposed to the future. Stan, unlike his son, wants to forget about Armen, his mother tucked away in a nursing home. Although Armen is a silent character, an observer instead of a participant, Van feels that she provides an important connection to their past and their heritage culture. Stan, on the other hand, ignores Armen, to the point where he no longer recognizes her. In fact, Stan goes through great pains to separate himself from his personal and cultural past: he erases family home videos by taping over them with footage of him and Sandra, his second wife, in bed. Van will discover this activity and reappropriate the tapes in order to view his family—an interpretation of the film's title. *Family Viewing* is an interesting text because it reverses the roles seen in *Double Happiness* and *Tar Angel*: it is the father, Stan, who rejects his heritage while his son, Van, sets out to preserve it. While perceptions of time—both remembered and forgotten—are essential to the film, issues of diasporic space are not. In fact, specifics to the family's heritage, ethnicity or immigration history are never discussed.

Van and Eileen's friendship is sparked through a shared belief in a connection to this undiscussed family, heritage and culture. Sometime their viewpoints on the matter differ: Van maintains that culture can be experienced through technology, such as film, whereas Eileen insists on presence. This difference of opinion is evident through Eileen's reaction when Van tapes her mother's funeral and leaves her gravestone unmarked. Van maintains that these experiences are equally as viable when they are recorded, whereas Eileen feels that technological mediation is an added distance. Van's perspective on culture is tainted by his own family relationships: his primary heritage culture

experiences are through family home recordings, ones that his father systematically erases. The character's approach to culture reflects, in a manner, Leach's concept of the diasporic effect, that intercultural exchange is facilitated through the aid of technology. Learning about one's own ethnic heritage or those of others, is expedited and diversified by the variety of available information. In a sense, diaspora is no longer synonymous with exile. In effect, *Family Viewing* reflects on these mediated cultural practices despite its prior release to the Internet and social media. Nevertheless, its questions regarding culture's relationship with technology remain timeless. Van and Eileen's exchange on technologically-mediated personal or cultural experiences, such as family memories or deaths, pushes a discourse on the nature of culture and the methods by which it is it integrated into a personal narrative, without criticizing either Van or Eileen's approach. Despite their opposing views on cultural experiences, Van feels that Eileen, like Armen, bridges gaps in his cultural identity whereas, otherwise, he feels disconnected: as he says to his father "I've been feeling kind of weird lately […] Everything I do feels like I could be doing it or not, and it wouldn't matter".

Their interactions push Van to reexamine his own father's approaches towards remembering and forgetting ahis ethnic heritage in an important conflict scene. Stan and Van are sitting watching the nature channel, the camera facing them as if it were coming from the perspective of the TV. This is a common motif throughout the film: the family is often seen watching TV—a second implication of the film's title. Van shares with his father that he harbours anxiety with regards to his life's purpose, and suggests that Armen consolidates an absence of connection. As such, he asks if Armen could move in with the family, her personal care being his responsibility. Stan shrugs off Van's anxiety as a

product of debuting adulthood and provides excuses as to why Armen should not move in with them. Stan lays out his view of intergenerational family dynamics: “Look, Van. She’s my problem. One day, I’ll be yours”. The scene, like the rest of the film, is quite simple in its dialogue and structure. However, it is the subtle details that accentuate the self-reflective approach of the narrative. For example, the scene is tinted in a light blue, as if either the glow of the television is lighting up the room, or the scene is projected on a television within the diegesis. In other words, is the family viewing a television or is the audience viewing a family on television?

The conflict is not one fueled by anger or guilt; what is important within the scene is not what is being said but what is omitted. Appropriately, the dichotomy within the scene’s subtext is one of remembering/forgetting: Stan wants to forget Armen and all that she represents, such as personal history and heritage. Meanwhile, Van wants to form a closer bond with his grandmother, going through great financial pains to assure her happiness and comfort. Sandra, like Stan, sees Armen as a figure of the past in direct conflict with their present: “she is a part of your lives that I have nothing to do with”. The remembering/forgetting dichotomy is critical to *Family Viewing*. It is a reoccurring motif, manifesting itself in unmarked graves, abandoned hotel rooms and Armen’s silence. Even omitted from the film is the family’s precise ethnic heritage; allusions to their minority cultural identity is restricted to what is seen “on video”, such language employed by the family and the orthodox priest at Eileen’s mother’s funeral. The figure of Van’s biological mother is also composed of a mysterious memory: Stan claims she deserted the family, but home videos suggest a happy and loving woman dominated by her husband. It is uncertain whether Stan hides Van from his mother, much like he shelters Van from his

grandmother. It should be noted that, out of the select corpus of films, Stan is the only character who actively forgets his heritage culture, assiduously assimilating himself to the Other. Van, on the other hand, realizes that he is a product of his father's forgetting and would like to reappropriate his connection to the past. The remembering/forgetting dichotomy between father and son is representative of the power dichotomy between the self/Other as described by both Poirier (2004) and Hall (1996). Hall, in particular, argues that the questions of identity necessitate issues of memory within representation, as those omitted or silenced are often forgotten. Poirier, utilizing Ricoeur's concept "*l'espace d'expérience*", or the act of remembering or forgetting past experiences, reiterates that narrative identity transforms and reframes collective identity.

As explained in the Problematic section, Alemany-Galway (2002) argues in *The Representation of the Other in Canadian Cinema* that *Family Viewing* is a unique text that applies postmodern aesthetics to identity discourse, refusing to categorize reality and transcending the victim's stance traditionally found in Canadian cultural texts[34]. Indeed, *Family Viewing*, in its refusal to articulate precise social, temporal or spatial contexts, transgresses transcultural or transnational classifications. By removing these referents, Egoyan inevitably detaches a system of meaning production and its subsequent referents. The characters' words become increasingly polysemic, applying to multiple realities and identities. Hybridity of mediums, such as the use of home video, film, television and security camera footage emphasizes heterogeneous perspectives and further exposes transformations in the relationship between space and technology as described by Leach (p.152). Additionally, the central remembering/forgetting dichotomy reflects a

[34] For more on the subject of the theme of victim in Canadian cultural texts, please see section 1.1, Exploring Narrative Identity in Canadian and Quebec Cinema.

questioning of family historical narratives and Stan's hegemonic interpretants. *Family Viewing*'s postmodern aesthetics deconstruct the narrative more than constructs identities or alterities, creating a text that simultaneously criticize essentializing attitudes and celebrates hybridity in its many forms.

4.1.2 Tar Angel

Tar Angel (Denis Chouinard, 2001) follows the Kasmi family, recently arrived from Algeria, and the conflict that arises when their son Hafid (Raba Aït Ouyahhia) steals documents from Canada's immigration department as part of his political activism. To protect his son and his family's pending citizenship, Ahmed (Zinedine Soualem) goes out in search for his son with the help of the latter's girlfriend, Huguette (Catherine Trudeau). While the primary conflict dimidiates traditional and modern values, the dichotomy between past/present is not as much of a concern as that of how the present will affect expectations for the future, or the "*horizon d'attente"* (Ricoeur 1985, p.355). The Kasmi family does not reflect nostalgically on their rupture with Algeria, embracing instead the possibility of their adopted country and adapting their cultural practices to their new environment, such as playing soccer in knee-deep snow. While Algerian spaces are evoked through the film's score, it is notably the *quebecois* social and geographical landscapes[35] explored over the course Ahmed and Huguette's travels: the multicultural character of Hafid's CEGEP, the alienating highways and lumber mill sites, and the vastness of northern Quebec's rolling hills to name a few (Bachand, 2002).

[35] Denis Bachand's (2002) article, in delineating an analysis of *Tar Angel*'s theme of opposing conflict, demonstrates narrative and aesthetic reiterations of the intercultural unions throughout the film.

Unlike other films within the select corpus, such as *Double Happiness*, *Mambo Italiano* and *Family Viewing*, *Tar Angel*'s intergenerational conflict privileges the perspective of the parents, specifically Ahmed. The audience learns about Hafid's secrets such as Huguette and his political involvements at the same rate as Ahmed. The polarizing intercultural differences between father and son, although originally undetectable, slowly unmask themselves as Ahmed gets closer and closer to finding his son. Huguette acts as an intermediary communicator, highlighting Hafid's cultural identity variations that Ahmed still does not fully grasp: "*Je pense que ton 'chez nous' ce n'est pas le même que celui d'Hafid*". She is an adjuvant to the film's quest but also offers to the narrative an outsider's perspective to the recognition processes between father and son. For example, she emphasizes to Hafid that, despite the chaos of conflict, Ahmed maintains an unconditional paternal love: "*Je pense pas que tu realises à quel point il t'aime, ton père*".

Specifically, the primary conflict between father and son concerns goals that impede on each other: Ahmed's dream of obtaining the family's citizenship papers contends with Hafid's political actions for a just society. Much like other films within the corpus, the intergenerational aspect of the conflict resides in dichotomist views on attitudes that affect the future. Ahmed values a good education, even if it means financial sacrifices, in part because he did not have this opportunity in Algeria. Hafid's actions actively reject his generational role within the context of his parents' expectations, as his disobedience towards his family and parents jeopardizes their citizenship and his enrolment in school. In this sense, the conflict regards education and parental authority, common intergenerational trends identified by Calderon (2004) within immigrant

families (p.31). Their objectives additionally connote opposing views of the Canadian social realities. Obtaining citizenship denotes to Ahmed an acceptance by the majority Other, recognition of his identity by Canadian institutions and the privileges that they offer. Hafid, on the other hand, is more critical of Canadian laws, policies and political practices, in particular its social inequalities and power structures, and empathizes with the marginalized Others in Canada.[36] Despite having similar acculturation, what Berry (1990) would identify as integration attitude following immigration, father and son carry polarizing viewpoints on the essence of Canadian social life. Both perspectives however, express a certain distance or displacement from Canadian society, as the Kasmi family's in-betweenness is legal as well as cultural. Although they have lived in Canada for a few years, Ahmed contends that "*on n'est pas chez nous ici*".

These multiple layers of the film's conflict come to cumulative point when Ahmed and Huguette finally find Hafid, along with other members of the grassroots organization, in a small cabin in the northern woods of Quebec. Ahmed realizes that no amount of anger or parental discipline could affect Hafid's decision. He opts instead to reason with him how his actions hurt the families' opportunities, a freedom for which he has sacrificed immensely. In rebuttal, Hafid criticizes Ahmed's fear of the authoritative Other—"*les barbus*" in Algeria and the Canadian government—as well as his aloof outlook towards those about to be deported, attitudes that make him complicit to social injustice. The painful look on Hafid's face as he explodes at his father articulates many subtexts, that he has felt this way for a while but never opted to communicate it for fear of hurting his father. Moreover, Hafid expresses a profound guilt that his own values and

[36] As will be discussed in the section 4.2.4, Reflections on Multiculturalism, it is interesting to note that, within all the films in the select corpus, it is only *Tar Angel* and *Comme une odeur de menthe* that criticize directly and poignantly Canada's multicultural and/or immigration system.

decisions would negate his father's, especially considering all of Ahmed's sacrifices: "*Tu crois qu'on voit pas tout ce que tu fais pour nous? […] Mais ça ne permettra pas, tous tes sacrifices, de tracer ma vie!* ". Hafid's guilt is not as evident in this particular scene, as in the subsequent conversation with Huguette. Gently crying, he confides that he never meant to hurt his father with his actions: "*J'ai l'impression de l'avoir tué*". Where once Hafid only felt a distance from his father, he now believes he is exiled from the family.

To elicit the intensity of the scene, Chouinard depends primarily on his actors, evoking anger, guilt, frustration and pain through body language, facial expressions and vocal tone. The emphasis on certain words and phrases, like Ahmed's repetition of the word "*rêver*" (to dream), accents their opposing realities, paths and ambitions. The scene is cut in a standard point/counter-point, as if the conflict were a debate with no definitive answer. However, the setting serves as a metaphorical backdrop to their conflict, their unsettling distance reiterated by the barren, dark and cold landscape; their breath against the night air and the soft crackling of snow under their feet act as a pathetic fallacy. It is interesting to note that a portion of the dialogue of this conflict scene is omitted, relying on Ahmed's agitated hand gestures and Hafid's pacing, to convey the gravity of the characters' emotions. The silent portion of the scene is seen from Huguette's outsider viewpoint—metaphorically and figuratively—as she looks on through a window from inside the cabin. She witnesses these two colliding considerations, empathizing with both points of view but unable to offer any resolution.

The figure of Hafid and his quest for a justice serves as a *porte-parole* reflecting on the limitations and failures of contemporary multiculturalism in Canada, specifically what Fleras & Elliott would identify as civic multiculturalism (p.69). The subtext to the

intercultural exchanges in *Tar Angel* calls attention to ambivalent, fearful, and even violent attitudes towards neo-Canadians, since as Bachand and Clément noted, "*[a]ucune communauté n'est à l'abri de l'ethnocentrisme, de l'exclusion et du racisme dans son désir de permanence et d'affirmation"* (2006, p. 239-240). The characters themselves do not directly express a sense of marginalization, often asseverated in intercultural conflict narratives (Loslier 1997, p.12). Nevertheless, specific interactions with representatives of the Canadian government express antagonistic social inequalities. For example, the officer of Immigration Canada in charge of the Kasmi file, a representative of multiculturalism policy, is unwelcoming and unsympathetic to their plight with the complex legal system and dehumanizes their actions: he describes Naïma's unorthodox arrival as "*rentrer ici en sauvage*" and exclaims "*c'est quoi ça*" upon seeing their Algerian passport. In remarking that Naïma is pregnant, he ethnocentrically notes that she will bear a "*vrai petit Canadien*", as if, despite their admittance to their country, they are precluded from being "real" Canadians. Exclusionary words take a turn for the violent upon Hafid's conflict with Canadian authorities. During his mission, Hafid is brutally beaten to death by the police, as the officer declares "*j'va t'montrer comment ça marche ici*". Subsequently, Ahmed's utopian vision of Canadian society is shattered, where possibility is reserved for Others. Where once the Kasmi family looked forward to their status as Canadians, Ahmed solemnly cries with grief at their swearing in ceremony. While *Tar Angel* explores the darker, violently socially problematic side of intercultural relations, *Mambo Italiano* appropriates a comedic toe to the issue of intergenerational cultural conflicts.

4.1.3 Mambo Italiano

Angelo Barberini (Luke Kirby) is a young, gay, second-generation Italian-Canadian, the protagonist in *Mambo Italiano* (Émile Gaudreault, 2003). Knowing full well the difficulties of their objections, Angelo, nevertheless, decides to come out to his parents, Maria (Ginette Reno) and Gino (Paul Sorvino). Not only does this pose conflict in his family, but it causes a stir in the community as his lover, Nino Paventi (Peter Miller), refuses to admit their relationship, fearful of the reactions of his own mother, Lina (Mary Walsh). Both Angelo and his family must come to terms with what these truths mean to their individual and family identities. While the film's main conflict concerns Angelo's sexual identity, he often places it in terms of how it contests with his cultural identity: "There is no fate worse than being gay and Italian". Nevertheless, heritage seems to be very important to Angelo as he often self-identifies as Italian to others. His definition of "Italianness" sometimes collides with other members of the community, such as Nino who accuses him of being a self-hating Italian for focusing on the negative aspects of culture.

Images of the Italian diaspora in Montreal are primordial to the film, evoked through both real and imaginary spaces. Salient markers of a character's Italian heritage are usually indicated by an accent or by their name. Consistently, the first generation of Italian-Canadians is presented as one that speaks a mix of Italian and English to each other. However, their children are presented as trilingual: while they speak English amongst themselves, they interject Italian phrases when speaking to their family and approach strangers in French. Many of the film's scenes are set in public environments where inevitably members of the Italian community gather: cemeteries, communal

vegetable gardens, the church headed by an Italian priest to name a few. The interconnectedness among the community is often evoked in conversation, where every member seems to know each other through family or reputation. However, it is never mentioned whether the Barberino family or the community maintains contact with family in Italy. As such, Moorti's "diasporic optic" is not expressively employed in *Mambo Italiano*: none of the characters express nostalgia for a homeland, although, at time, they seem concerned with their reputation and role in the Italian-Canadian community of Montreal. Community is an important agent in the film's conflict: much of the humiliation expressed by Maria, Gino and Nino is the shame of being the centre of the community's gossip. Unlike Nino, however, Maria and Gino come to accept their differences with the Italian community for the benefit of their loved ones.

While there are several conflicts between Angelo and his parents during the course of *Mambo Italiano*, the main conflict that will be analyzed is when Angelo confronts his parents' silent refusal to accept his homosexuality, in part due to their fixed sense of identity—cultural, sexual or other. The scene unfolds when Angelo's parents invite Angelo and Nino over for dinner with encouragement from Lina: the aim is to play matchmaker for both Angelo and Nino, hoping that they will abandon their love affair. Unbeknownst to anyone, Nina has invited Pina, Nino's one-night-stand. The conflict comes to its cumulative point when, upon her arrival, Pina is not only insulted that she is to be hooked up with Angelo, who had a reputation in high school for being gay, but she admits to being Nino's lover. Angelo is humiliated: his identity is not only rejected by his parents and his lover's mother but is abandoned by his unfaithful lover. Feeling guilty, Angelo's parents invite him to move back home. Out of hurt and feeling betrayed,

Angelo openly criticizes his parents' notions of "home": he highlights how their values and ways of life remain confined within a fixed notion of belonging, that which was defined in the past and in Italy. Angelo sees their life as not a production of their experiences in Canada but a continuation of their life pre-immigration. As such, the Barberino home embodies an imaginary space burdened by Gino and Maria's pasts, imprisoning Angelo's aspirations and, most importantly, his identity.

Although he does not articulate it directly, the conflict encompasses Angelo's many frustrations with his family's disapproval of his lifestyle, such as his choice to move away from home, his passion as a screenwriter and his sexual identity. This particular angle of the conflict reflects the process involved in one of Poirier's points of recognition: recognizance of the self from the Other, where the Barberino parents embody the Other. Angelo is frustrated with their lack of recognition, rebutting with an attack on their cultural self. The pain on Gino and Maria is evident: they are deeply troubled and hurt by their son's angry words. After all, they feel that all their efforts were simply for their children's happiness. It is interesting to note that the alterity in the primary conflict of *Mambo Italiano* is not a majority culture—in this case, *québécois* culture—but the predominant fixed approaches to identity within the family and within the Italian-Canadian community itself. Angelo's reproach concerns essentialized identity narratives and their consequent imposition on his recognition of the self. The language in the *Mambo Italiano* conflict revolves around themes of denial: the Barberino's family denial of acculturation and of their son's homosexual, in addition to Nino's denial of his relationship with Angelo. In many ways, Angelo also struggles throughout the film with his decision to deny or reveal his sexual identity: he afraid to hurt his parents by going

against their wishes and values, but feels compelled to in order to remain true to his identity: "I feel that with everyday that goes by, I lose bits and pieces of myself. And I'm afraid if [being in the closet] goes on, I will lose myself all together".

In this sense, Jade, from *Double Happiness*, is very comparable character to Angelo. Like Angelo, Jade feels she can no longer live in denial and therefore must go against her parents' values, regardless of the consequences. However, as an aesthetic narrative, the family conflicts scenes of *Mambo Italiano* and *Double Happiness* oppose in tone and style. The acting in the primary conflict scene of *Mambo Italiano* is exaggerated and melodramatic, as opposed to the calm anger of the Li family. This is the filmmaker's intention: many of the aesthetic choices of the film such as costumes, décor, mambo-esque music and camera movements, emphasize the comedic aspects of the characters and the scenario. As such, it is not the aesthetics of the scene that stress the conflict, but the heavy words of the dialogue. Angelo, for example, uses hurtful words to confront his parents with regards to their home ("a prison"), their lives ("worthless") and Italy ("a spit of a village"). While the rhythm of the film is faster and generally carries an upbeat tone, the density of this particular scene is highlighted with contrasts: there is no score, the camera remains still and the scene is cut at a slower pace.

A reevaluation of the conflict applying sociological literature pertaining to neo-Canadian families, specifically Berry's (1990) model[37] of cultural adoptions, Angelo indirectly accuses his parents of active separation, in other words of maintaining cultural characteristics without envisaging an identity altered by external social, geographical or cultural factors. However, separation is not uniquely attributed to the first generation

[37] For a review of Berry's model, see section 2.1: What is Cultural Identity?

Italian-Canadians of *Mambo Italiano*; while at first glance this scene appears to be an intergenerational conflict, it should be noted that Nino equally refuses to consolidate his identity for fear of marginalization. The issue of essentializing or denial of the self transgresses many facets of identity including culture, ethnicity and age. While, in this sense, the film's discourse concerns in-between identities, it does not address hybrid, intercultural or transcultural identities to the extent of some of the other films within this corpus. In other words, Angelo does not struggle to fit into Canadian culture but to compromise with Italian homogeneous roles. Nevertheless, *Mambo Italiano* postulates fluid notions of identity—cultural or otherwise—and its production with respect to family and community roles.

4.1.4 Home

Home (Phyllis Katrapani, 2007) is a narrative that combines both documentary and fiction, addressing the issue of displacement among neo-Canadians. In the narrative, a young couple considers questions of home, heritage, and family upon the news that they will be having a child. Intertwined with this narrative are five documented interviews with neo-Canadians of different ethnicities, whose own anecdotes about home reiterate the narrative's themes of belonging, generational roles and uprootedness.[38] Aside from the interviewees' descriptions of their own family's immigration, very little of the narrative is placed in context. There exist few markers of either time or place, although the protagonist, Alex (François Papineau), briefly discusses his own parent's immigration to Montreal. As Kantrapani distances herself from questions of multiculturalism or

[38] It should be noted that a similar structure is adopted in one of the Ukrainian-Canadian narratives, Paskievich's *My Mother's Village*. Both of these films influenced the structure of this research's fieldwork, as described in the proceeding Chapter 5, "Filming the In-between".

intercultural conflict, the themes of the fictional narrative remain universal and emotional, as opposed to sociocritical, in scope. Omitted are the thematics identified by Loslier, such as marginality or social alienation, as well as Micone's structure of the immigrant experience. In fact, issues of the Other are not as articulated as personal alterity and feelings of expatriation.

Due to the very personal nature of both the film's narrative and documented anecdotes, the film's language echoes a metaphorical visual poem describing the abstract relationship between identity and space. The film expresses an indescribable longing for something never experienced—*home*. In particular, the problematic concerning belonging is affected by his self-identified *métissage*, or in other words his mixed ethnicity. In the opening monologue of the film, Alex attributes the markedness[39] of his salient features and mixed cultural points of reference as distinguishing factors in his relationship with Greek, Turkish and Canadian spaces. As such, he proclaims to his partner, "I have no home", despite his connection to foreign lands (stating, of Greece, that it "Feels like my mother"). Given the character's self-articulated in-betweenness, the (ab)sense of belonging—to a community or to a home—becomes a central theme in the film's narrative. The theme is emphasized through metaphorical language in the character's monologue ("My mother has a hard time with borders") and within subtle actions, such as throwing a piece of paper that says "I'm here" back into the Saint Lawrence River. Everything that is revealed about the character, including his profession as an ocean cartographer, suggests a deep thirst for a sense of place. Moreover, the search for

[39] The use of the term markedness refers specifically to Brekhus' (1998) theory of disproportionally remarked differences, reviewed in section 2.1, What is Cultural Identity?

belonging amidst in-betweenness is emphasized thematically though the interviewees' testimonies. The respondents, consisting of first and second generation Canadians, discuss their own relationship to feelings of diaspora, particularly the absence of home. For example, one respondent relays how her first visit to Egypt led her to realize that her conception of its space is imagined, not only because her perceptions were constructed in relation to her mother's remembering/forgetting dichotomy, but because the homeland has significantly transformed since her immigration.

Questions of generation are essential to *Home* both thematically and within the narrative, although the subjects are approached from a different angle than the other films within the select corpus. Both the antecedent and the precedent family generation are not present on screen, but are preoccupations of discussion among Alex and his partner. Much like its approach to pluricultural discourse, the film revolves around intergenerational questioning more than an interpersonal conflict. *Home* begins, fittingly, with Alex contemplating his own generational role with regards to his parents, bearer of personal memory and history. Like *Comme une odeur de menthe*, the protagonist does not discuss a generation gap, like a disagreement on marriage, education or other values. Although they are dead, Alex continues to empathetically channel their rootlessness and to understand his inarticulable connection to their pasts. Alex and his partner are also concerned with the future generation of their family: their child is not yet born—and, in fact, will be lost—but its cultural identity becomes the subject of projection. For example, the protagonists' partner states that she would like to name her child with a universally pronouncable name so that it may feel welcome in many countries. In contrast to Alex's fragmented identity, their child would be un-marked and settled.

The issue of roots and belonging are essential to one of the film's main conflicts: considering Alex's own family is taking shape, will he resolve his conceptions of family home life? It is not a conflict among characters, but evoked as unresolved feelings in a scene of the fictional narrative. Like *Comme une odeur de menthe*, the film's conflict does not necessarily connote intercultural or transcultural negativity. The contention is more accurately described as a profound unease with a fragmented cultural identity. This is notably seen when Alex is unable to respond to his partner's two main questions: "How many times do you have to return [to your mother's homeland] for it to feel like home? What makes you think you'll be happier elsewhere?". These questions are, in fact, never directly answered by the protagonist himself but by one of the interviewees towards the end of the film, connecting the film's two separate narratives. Also a Greek, the interviewee states that, as he is always in a contradictory state, coming to terms with emotions, as opposed to a physical location, that will provide peace of mind.

The scene is brief but nonetheless powerful, directly supported by a minimalist aesthetic approach. Much like *Family Viewing*, it is through the scene's simplicity that its complexity is highlighted: the *mise-en-scene* is minimal, framed in a simple medium shot and edited with a simple straight cut back and forth between characters. There is no music and the characters' vocal tones remain consistent in emotion. The issue is not what is being said but what is being omitted; the fact the protagonist has no response to the questions attests strongly to the identity challenges faced by members of the diaspora. This is in contrast to the rest of the film where the imagery of culture is emphasized through both image and music, specifically a score of traditional Greek guitar sounds. Intermittingly between interviews and fictional narrative, the director projects single still

shots of rural landscapes in what is assumed to be Greece or Turkey: abandoned square clay houses, a woman plucking a chicken, goats on a country road, a weathered window vane, etc. No context—geographical, temporal, social, cultural or other—is annotated to these images. It is as if the imaginary space continues to be a part of narrative, a transitional and abstract homestead bridging the gap between fragmented dialogues. It is interesting to note that while the film is primarily in French, its title is in English; few words or images accurately translate the concept of belonging, as if the sense of non-belonging were more commonplace.

4.1.5 Double Happiness

In contrast to *Home*, time—not place—becomes primordial in cultural identity constructions within *Double Happiness* (Mina Shum, 1994), a narrative depicting a second-generation Chinese-Canadian, Jade Li (Sandra Oh) who desires to be an actress despite the objections of her strictly traditional parents. With the help of her confidante, her sister Pearl (Frances You), Jade is able to reconcile her competing identities and reappropriate her future. The narrative delineates dichotomist conflicts of tradition/modernity, past/present and Chinese-Canadian/Anglo-Saxon cultures. Time, as opposed to space, remains a more important factor in the narrative's conflicts: not a single character expresses a desire or unsettled displacement in relationship to China or Canada. Although there are no cinematic images of the family's past, it reoccuringly becomes a topic of discussion in the film, specifically upon the arrival of Father Li's childhood friend, Ah Hong (Donald Fung), visiting from China.

The temporal conflicts outline the generation gap between the parents, Father Li (Stephen M.D. Chang) and Mother Li (Alannah Ong), and the second generation, Jade

and Pearl. Jade, like other second-generation Canadians in *Double Happiness*, is torn between the traditions and expectations of her heritage culture and her own modern approach to marriage and career. While Shum privileges Jade's perspective in the intergenerational conflict, specifically her adverse state in-between these dichotomies, she equally provides context to the parents' outlook. For example, Ah Hong provides insight into Father Li's unspoken insecurities, like how language upon immigration barred him from accomplishing his dreams. The relationship between parent-child in *Double Happiness* has a deeper symbiotic meaning: in many respects, the measure of the children's' successes, such as education or jobs, reflect the accomplishments of their parents. For example, prior to introductions, the children must practice their pronunciation of Chinese in order for Ah Fung to perceive Father Li as accomplished. Equally, the Li family gate-keep certain information, such as their son, Winston, leaving home, to avoid being shamed in the Chinese community. As such, the community is a contributing agent in the intergenerational conflict, similarly to *Mambo Italiano*.

The film's central conflict cumulates from the first scene: Jade is at an age where she is encouraged to marry, although she is not interested in her suggested suitors, and her professional aspirations as an actress do not coincide with her parents' view of a bright future. Moreover, it is slowly revealed that the family's strict adherence to certain attitudes, such as staying at home until you are married, means that Father Li has recently disowned his eldest son, Winston. This is a point for hardship for the whole family, especially the mother who deeply fears she will lose another child. In many ways, the Li family holds similar expectations to those outlined by Angelo's parents in *Mambo Italiano*; his love life, interest in an arts-based profession and living away from home

were all points of conflict in the Barberino family. Additionally, much like in *Tar Angel*, the Li parents expect their children to succeed under their values, given their own sacrifices for their family. While Jade is uneasy about lying to her parents, she slowly discovers how other Chinese-Canadians adopt a similar strategy to resolve the gap between identity and community expectations: a gay suitor pretends to be straight, her parents selectively pretend Winston does not exist and Ah Hong hides that he has a daughter out of wedlock. Jade quietly resolves to her parents' wishes, such as breaking up with her Anglo-Saxon boyfriend Mark (Callum Rennie), a decision with which she is evidently ill-at-ease. Ironically, it is Ah Hong—whom Father Li wanted to impress—who observes Jade's pain and urges her to "choose [her] path carefully".

The primary conflict takes place over an elaborate family dinner in celebration of Ah Hong's departure. The family discussion turns to Jade's childhood and her unconditional love for her father. As Jade starts to tear up, Ah Hong excuses himself from the table in anticipation for what is about to transpire. The rupture is simple: Jade simply states that she is leaving and "I am not doing this to hurt [Father Li]". In terms of the scene's dialogue, there are many things that are not being said within the conflict. Jade does not specify her reasons for leaving, although it has been implied from earlier conversations that it is the disequilibrium between her aspirations and those of her parents. The father does not say that he is going to disown his daughter, although his unforgiving response is implied through his tense facial expression and curt words.

To apply the literature of Dyke & Saucier (2000), the parents have adopted a specific strategy in maintaining minority culture within an Anglo-Saxon majority, although Jade chooses to adhere to a different approach to acculturation. *Double*

Happiness is a film that reflects that following immigration, family dynamics, like individual cultural identities, are in a constant state of change, even if the rupture with the host country has long passed. Within the character of Jade alone, she identifiably expresses much of the intercultural conflict trends identified in Loslier's research: marginality and rejection as a result of being torn between two cultures in addition to conflicting relationships with society—in this case, the media in particular. Calderon (2004, p.31) states that intercultural conflicts within neo-Canadian families are often a source of alienation for the individuals, although *Double Happiness* is arguably the only film within the corpus that concludes, as opposed to commencing, with character alienation.

The primary conflict scene serves as a bookend, closing the film in the same manner as it opened: family conversations concerning Jade's future over dinner. However, comparative to the first dinner scene, the camera moves much slower, fixed upon close-ups of the faces of Jade and Father Li. Unlike the first dinner scene where the camera swivels back and forth between family members, imitating a Lazy Susan, the camera straight-cuts between Father Li and Jade. The focus is solely on the father-daughter conversation as Mother Li and Pearl remain off-camera. Body language plays an important communicator in the confrontation, stating emotions without using words: Father Li remains stoically stern while Jade subtlety cries, pleading with her father to accept her identity. Even as Jade leaves the home, her father refuses to look her in the eye, requesting with his back turned that she leave the key. His final glance at the key as her vehicle pulls away suggests that there is more that is unsaid between father and daughter, perhaps even a subtle regret of his own attitude towards his children. As

researcher Gittings (2002) has noted, *Double Happiness* as an aesthetically postmodern narrative provides an alternative look at hybrid identities and intercultural conflicts in Canada, serving as a "self-ethnographizing film that invites the audience to see Jade's family from her perspective" (p.239). As a postmodern narrative, *Double Happiness* takes cinematic risks in order to effectively communicate its perspective on neo-Canadian families and its criticism of essentialized identities. For example, there are scenes where Shum breaks the fourth wall, allowing each family member to express a monologue[40] on their unspoken anxieties and challenges with their cultural identities. The father's story of his immigration, and consequent changing of social statuses, sheds light on his steadfast retention of "Li family values", such as hard work and a good education. Moreover, he express disconnect between himself and his children, as they are drifting away from the Chinese culture and values—a "generation gap" (Fleras & Elliott 2002, p.45) that is at the heart of the cumulative conflict of the film. Jade's aspirations as an actress provide a means for the film to apply self-referential logic in questioning notions of representation of visible minorities in contemporary media. Moreover, Jade's adoption of different personalities and accents for her acting, Shum blurs voices and highlights the concept of hybrid identities. The characters code-switch between English and Mandarin, reinforcing these concepts and reflecting the Li's socio-cultural reality. However, despite *Double Happiness*' postmodern aesthetic approach, it is interesting to note the primary conflict scene does not employ postmodern techniques such as self-referencial logic or crossing

[40] Although the current research stipulates an analysis of only a select conflict scene of each corpus film, the researcher recommends further analysis of *Double Happiness*' four individual monologues as it would allow for further understanding of postmodern articulations of intergenerational cultural gaps in Canadian cinema.

of the narrative voice. Instead, Shum chooses a simplistic and straight-forward cut, focusing instead on the emotions of her characters.

As an intercultural conflict text, *Double Happiness* equally serves as a narrative that addresses many of the ethnocentric behaviours described in James' *Seeing Ourselves*, both inside and outside of a minority community. For example, at her acting auditions, Jade is subtly discriminated or pigeonholed due to her visible Asian heritage. However, Shum also demonstrates the family's own prejudices and stereotypes towards both Chinese-Canadians and other Canadians. When confronted with a phone speaker who only speaks English, Mother Li assumes that she is Caucasian, although the audience sees that the speaker is, in fact, of Asian heritage. Conflict between Chinese-Canadian and Anglo-Saxon cultures is a reoccurring theme, providing underlying tones to the film's final conflict. In her monologue, Jade expresses a desire for the un-markedness of being white Anglo-Saxon: "I grew up wondering why we could never be *The Brady Bunch*. I guess *The Brady Bunch* never needed subtitles". On the other hand, within the Chinese community, there seems to be mistrust towards the majority white Anglo-Saxon culture, in that characters like Mother Li fear their children and their grandchildren will assimilate. In particular, Mother Li generalizes Anglo-Saxon marriage values as loose, as they "have a tendency to get divorced". Jade, too, becomes subject to prejudice, cultural stigmatization and even media ornamentalization in her job as an actress. Within her auditions, she resolves to adopt what the majority perceives as Chinese-immigrant identity, that is either a waitress who speaks poor English or news anchor Connie Chung. Jade subjects herself to self-prejudice, as well, imitating these stereotypes in order to avoid an unwanted conversation with Mark upon their first meeting. Jade experiences

what Kaur-Hill identifies as the "double-stigmatization" found in second-generation visible minorities: difficulties with language prevent them from integrating completely into the heritage community ("You're not really Chinese", states an executive from Hong Kong), but salient and cultural traits distinguish them from the Canadian majority. Shum is critical of both majority and minority approaches to alterity and difference, demonstrating through her narrative how constraining essentialist views obstruct intercultural and intergenerational understanding.

4.1.6 Comme une odeur de menthe

Similarly to *Double Happiness*, filmmaker Pierre Sidaoui also explores questions of markedness in his film *Comme une odeur de menthe* (2002), although applying an autobiographical documentary style. It is a text that reflects on his family life, immigration from Lebanon due to civil war, and its effects on his perceptions of home. As a reflective film, remembered spaces and their transnational connection to Sidaoui's current space remain a critical aspect to the narrative. As demonstrated on-screen and through the voice-over, Montreal "turns" into his native village, Abbey, emphasizing the interconnectedness between the real and remembered spaces: a shot of a door in Montreal fades seamlessly into a Lebanese door in a photograph. Sidaoui weaves together a contentment of contemporary Canadian spaces with diasporic nostalgia for an unobtainable past. A box of family photographs acts as a metaphorical extension or synechdocal component of his family's cultural life, encapsulating both remembered time (weddings, celebrations) and space (schools, pre-war Lebanon). Even injurious memories of civil war are equally associated to his childhood in Beirut and as existing within Montreal; contemporary events, such as the 1998 icestorm or *le verglas massif*, summon

repressed memories of civil war in Lebanon, evoked through sounds of gun shots and cannons as well as falling ice and ambulance sirens.

Comme une odeur de menthe applies Moorti's diasporic optic, however reminding the viewer that his perspective is necessarily a transnational one. His narrative surrounding remembered time is shaped by his experiences in Canada much like childhood in Lebanon transformed his life in Canada:

> *Mais je ne renie ni mes origines, ni ma première culture, ni le montagnard en moi. Je ne fais que les exalter par interactions avec tout ce que j'ai acquis par ailleurs. Délibérément. Je me sens encore plus humain et je sens une légèreté.*

Perhaps as a result of the personal nature of the film, description of the immigration process, as reflected in both Loslier and Micone's researchers, can be traced within the film's structure. Sidaoui recounts his life in chronologically, discussing his childhood in Abbey and subsequent rupture, intercultural exchanges within Mexico and Canada and adoption of new cultural practices, such as shaving his moustache and wearing jeans—habitudes that Sidaoui endearingly labels "occidentalisation". However, *Comme une odeur de menthe* does not evoke the negative repercussions of intercultural conflict discussed by Loslier, such as marginalization, racism or ethnocentricism. Sidaoui does, however, hint at unexpected alienating experiences encountered by family. For example, even though he loved snow as a kid, the cold winds of Montreal make him long for the warmth of Lebanon ("*Abondance est le pire ennemi du desir*"). He even states that he believes his father lost a bit of his vivacity post-immigration.

Despite these adverse experiences, Sidaoui states that he is at peace with his past, his family and his cultural identity. Like *Home*, the film does not portray directly on

screen an intergenerational conflict but instead, a problematic of longing to understand and connect to their family. The scene that possibly reflects this problematic most poignantly is the conclusion, where Sidaoui not only acknowledges his family as essential points of reference, but also his overall rootlessness and subsequent transcultural experiences:

> *Malgré toutes nos épreuves et difficultés, je pense que le fait d'avoir vécu dans trois pays différents, d'y avoir travaillé, aimé et rêvé a contribué à semer en moi un sentiment troublant. Dorénavant, mon pays c'est moi-même. Mon identité c'est ma famille, mes amis, mon caractère et mes choix de vie. Je me sens de nulle part, même si je sais qu'aux yeux des autres, je serais toujours catégorisé. Quel paradoxe, n'est-ce pas? Après avoir tant parlé du Liban, et d'Abbey.*

Prior to the monologue, Sidaoui painfully explains that his father had developed Parkinsons and was deported, along with his wife, from Canada due to an inability to achieve landed immigrant status. Sidaoui expresses similar frustrations to those of the Kasmi family in *Tar Angel*: they are narratives critiquing Canada's immigration procedures and policies as absurdly complicated, unwelcoming and almost dehumanizing. However, it appears to only reinforce his transnational philosophy that we must forget nation as an essential point of cultural identity reference. After all, narrative concepts of space are as fluid as narrative concepts of identity: "*Ici c'est souvent ailleurs et partout. Il suffit de regarder autrement, de vouloir se transporter, d'oublier les fontières… toutes formes de fontières*". Before delving into his conclusion, Sidaoui illustrates this interconnectedness between space, time and family with a visually introspective scene: an old photograph of his father pensively sitting on a low rock wall, when suddenly modern-day translucent Sidaoui walks into the frame and quietly sits beside his father, demonstrating how his father's past self in Lebanon bridges the present.

The strength of *Comme une odeur de menthe* is its capability to bring to life the poetry of still photographs: animating their movements, connecting off-camera sounds effects to enhance the actions and "voicing" dialogue between the people captured. Sidaoui plays with different mediums to paint a thorough portrait of his family. For example, the audio combines the monologue with his father's personal journal, his own rendition of songs from his childhood and music from the Lebanese singer Ferouz: "*La voix de Ferouz represent pour moi le Liban, mon Liban. […Sa voix] viens me chercher. […] Ferouz faisait presque partie de la famille*". It is a multi-media film amalgamating home video footage, personal family photographs, hand drawings and film footage of Sidaoui himself. It is as if Sadaoui wishes to build his own synesthetic depiction beyond the photographs themselves, evoking every sound, smell, taste and feeling associated with his childhood in Lebanon.

4.2 Trends and Tendencies in Intergenerational Narratives

Following these analyses of the select corpus, four thematic tendencies and one aesthetic trend were noted: guilt of not adhering to a "*horizon d'attente"*, theme of irreconcilable displacement, in-betweenness and estrangement, reflections on Canadian society, and heterogeneous perspectives. The following section will outline how these tendencies were manifested in the discourse, thematic and aesthetics of the select corpus of films pertaining to intergenerational neo-Canadian family conflicts. Within each trend, perceptions of time and space critically shape the narrative and its variation of the identified theme. Overall, many of the identified narrative trends are mechanisms or reactions to a character's inability to bridge a gap, whether it be generational, cultural or

social. Put quite simply, within conflict, each character seeks a mechanism to be understood by another in the context of Otherness.

4.2.1 Parental Expectations: between understanding and guilt

Ricoeur discusses how narrative identity is framed with respect to perspectives on past experiences and future aspirations ("*horizon d'attente*"). Arguably, in the select corpus, the main character frames their cultural identity with respect to another generation's *horizon d'attente*, either understanding or rejecting parental[41] expectations. Many of the points of neo-Canadian family conflict outlined by Calderon (2004) and Tyyska (2005)—education, employment, parental authority and marriage—are transformed into points of contention in cinematic narratives. For example, in both *Mambo Italiano* and *Double Happiness*, concerns over the financial implications of a career in the arts preoccupy both the Barberino and Li families. In *Tar Angel* and *Family Viewing*, both fathers feel that they are losing their parental authority over their sons, whose own aspirations jeopardize their vision of the future. Alternatively, *Home* and *Comme une odeur de menthe* exemplify children whose ambitions attune with those of their parents. Alex and Pierre express an acceptance of their generational role as transmitters of personal memory and history as their narratives focused more on an understanding of their family culture.

In the select corpus, the conflicting values are generally coded in terms of dichotomies, such as past/present, tradition/modernity or past/future. Poirier, like Ricoeur, notes that the construction and definition of these temporal markers affects the

[41] It should be noted that a trend noted within each film is that the conflict occurs between parent and child, although in a few particular cases such as *Home* or *Family Viewing*, a third generation becomes an agent in the primary conflict.

recognition process of individual and collective identities. In terms of temporal construction practices related to culture observed in the select corpus, they reflect Calderon's observations that second-generation neo-Canadians consolidate between "*l'adoption de la culture canadienne dominante et le valeurs et traditions de leurs parents*" (p.31). Disputes articulated in the cinematic narratives demonstrate two interpretations of the future aspirations —that of the children and that of the parents—and how this reality causes stress on individual and family cultural identities. However, the strength of these cinematic representations is their capacity to reveal of the consolidation process varies depending on family, social contexts and the nature of the points of contention. Moreover, they demonstrate that the renegotiation of cultural identity is ongoing and, in some cases such as *Home*, continue even after the parents' death. In other words despite common trends in family conflicts, these filmic depictions assert that neo-Canadian family realities and identities are heterogeneous, fluid and intergenerational. Sometimes, the individual or family acculturation mechanism permits a resolution to the conflict (such as in *Mambo Italiano, Comme une odeur de menthe, Family Viewing*) while other times, it drives families apart leaving feelings of family or social alienation (*Tar Angel, Double Happiness, Home*).

The cinematic depictions integrate a specific feeling of stress not discussed in the literature: the second-generation characters of Jade, Eileen, Angelo and Hafid, who ruptured with their parents' expectations, articulate a profound guilt for subsequently hurting them. Hafid enunciates twice these sentiments, once to his mother ("*Je suis vraiement désolé*") and to Huguette concerning his father ("*J'ai l'impression de l'avoir tué*"). Eileen, on the other hand, quietly harbours feelings of culpability for not providing

better care for her mother, alluded to only in conversations with Van. In part, this guilt is accentuated by a framing of family past experiences (or "*l'espace d'expérience*" for Ricoeur), specifically how each parent has sacrificed for future opportunities for their children. For example, Jade is repeatedly reminded not only of her parents' hard work that provided her with security and an education, but that her actions and decisions reflect directly on her parents. Nevertheless, each character insists on reasserting their own *horizon d'attente*. Any suppression or compensation for the guilt through lying or deceit is eventually forfeited in order to be true to self. Angelo, for example, states that "[…The] last thing I wanted to do was to hurt [my parents. …] They deserve to know who their son is. Not an illusion or a illusion, but who I am for real". Despite this profound perpetual guilt, each second-generation character seeks recognition of their self by their disapproving parent, in attempt to appease emotional estrangement.

4.2.2 "Home" and Irreconcilable Displacement

While the theme of paternal expectations engages perception of time, questions of irreconcilable displacement address relationships to space. In particular, many of the characters—first or second generation—express, what Jean Jonassaint would describe as, "*déplacement"* from home, community or nation (as cited in Marshall, p. 266). In other words, feelings of belonging are connoted in abstract terms and challenges the notion that home is necessarily a real or fixed space. This is particularly observed in the film *Home* where Alex battles with sensations of rootlessness, that he belongs in neither Canada nor his parents' homelands. Angelo expresses a similar sensation, although it is directed more towards communities as opposed to nations, as he is not completely accepted in either the gay or Italian circles. As such, he directs his anger of rejection towards his parents'

concept of essentialized cultural belonging and home, which he metaphorically describes as a prison. Moreover, films such as *Tar Angel* demonstrate that perceptions of "home" may vary among generations: Huguette observes that Hafid and Ahmed's "*chez-nous*" are not congruent. The effect of Hafid's sense of displacement is noted in his character, specifically his wandering nature, and accounts for his commitment to support deported peoples.

Despite immigrant families' quests for home, Moorti's diasporic optic, in other words the nostalgic view of representation of the homeland, is only present in two films within the corpus. Aside from *Home* or *Comme une odeur de menthe*, where feelings of irreconcilable displacement define the voice and conflict of the film, the corpus does privilege the diaspora's glance on spaces of origin. Reoccurring, homeland is a topic of discussion between family members in the corpus, but restricted to a framing of past experiences. *Home* and *Comme une odeur de menthe*, on the other hand, privileges images of the homeland in capturing details and connecting them to realities in Canada. *Home* layers contemporary monologues of its interviewees over images of the Greek countryside. *Comme une odeur de menthe*, in its attempt to convey the alienation of expatriation, weaves the Canadian and Lebanese spaces in the narrative and in the editing style, as if they were inexplicably connected. Patterns of perceptions of space identified in Loslier's research more closely echoes relationships to space expressed in the select corpus, such as imaginary spaces and domestic space as a refuge. However, unlike the texts analyzed by Loslier, specific political and social contexts to a culture were not at the heart of the primary conflicts—the only exception being *Comme une odeur de menthe* where the Lebanese civil war affected feelings of exile. Three of the six films, the

specifics of the characters' locations are not revealed, indicating that the theme of irreconcilable displacement of home does not necessarily criticize a specific space, community or nation, but articulates an incoherent stress arisen from immigration. Moreover, the trend comments on conceptions of rootedness, in particular that a notion of home is fixed simply by nationality. Belonging to a space or culture is not a homogeneous, linear process but, like narrative identity, is revisioned perpetually.

4.2.3 In-betweenness: peripheral of self and alterity

Expressions of displacement equally evoke notions of occupying the peripheral, immigrants and subsequent generations existing in-between identities, cultures, spaces, languages and communities. Each character, whether first or second generation, expresses a disconnection, alienation and estrangement from a critical aspect of cultural identity, whether it be the self, heritage, family, community or even Canada. In the case of *Family Viewing* and *Home*, Van and Alex both struggle to specifically state the source of their disconnection, knowing only that their identity is fragmented between belonging and exclusion. Primordial to the theme of in-betweenness is a lack of recognition of the self by the Other, an acceptance essential to the formulation process of facet of identity (Poirier 2004, p.25). In the film corpus, the Other in the conflict manifests itself in various forms, such as a family member (*Tar Angel*, *Double Happiness*, *Mambo Italiano*, *Family Viewing*), Canadian immigration institutions (*Comme une odeur de menthe*) or the character themselves (*Home*). Exclusion by the Other can take multiple forms; for example, in *Mambo Italiano* and *Double Happiness*, parental rejection of the second generation equally evokes marginality in the cultural community. Jade, specifically, is caught between white Anglo-Saxon notions of Canadian identity and community

perceptions of what it means to be Chinese-Canadian. Strategies for dealing with being in-between identity and alterity vary among the characters of the corpus. Denial is a common strategy employed by Van, Hafid, Jade and Angelo whereas Alex prefers to openly discuss these feelings with his partner. Pierre reappropriates his in-betweenness by creating a documentary of his family and arguing for transnational definitions of identity.

Sentiments of in-betweenness are constructed when identity is necessarily framed between two dichotomist identities: self/Other, heritage/adopted cultures, past/present, familiar/strange or home/away. A strategy to absolve these feelings is to assess identity not in terms of dichotomies but hybridities, optimizing for intercultural or transnational constructions of the self. A few of the characters within the corpus express a desire to blur the lines of their culture, like Jade who assumes different personalities, along with accents and attitudes, to escape to another reality. Pierre discusses intercultural experiences through food, musing how his diet imperatively includes poutine, Sheppard's pie and tabouli due to their connection to his past. Like Dyke and Saucier (2000) argue in their research, acculturation is not a linear process with a set objective but a blending of multiple strategies. To utilize Moisan & Hildebrand's metaphor, it consists of a dance of cultures from a new pluricultural context—a dance between the self and the Other articulated in every film within the corpus.

4.2.4 Reflections on Multiculturalism

Issues of displacement and in-betweenness inevitably lead to questions concerning the nature of Canadian society. Perhaps in response to only half of the corpus acknowledging the Canadian space, few reflections on multiculturalism are depicted.

Generally the characters do not define their identity through difference but despite of difference. For example, in *Mambo Italiano*, the second generation's trilinguilism is demonstrated without being an acknowledged aspect of their Italian-Canadian identity. Homogeneous archetypes of Canadians outside of the family's ethnic community were avoided and, if evoked, were denounced by the film's narrative. For example, in *Double Happiness*, generalizations of "white" Canadians were counterbalanced by demonstrating how these stereotypes are harmful to the Canadian and Chinese-Canadian communities. In *Tar Angel*, *Double Happiness*, *Home*, *Mambo Italiano*, the majority francophone or Anglo-Saxon Other is generally connoted positively and endearingly, as lovers or confidantes. The conflictual Other in these selected narratives was generally not a member of majority cultural communities, but individuals within the character's cultural or imagined community[42].

Reflections on Canadian society in the corpus address criticisms of multiculturalism, specifically on the dehumanization of current immigration policies notably observed through family legal struggles in both *Tar Angel* and *Comme une odeur de menthe*. In both instances, reflections on "civic multiculturalism" notion that while its policy on immigration aims to be inclusive, it is far from utopist (Fleras & Elliott, p.69). *Double Happiness*, on the other hand, delves into questions of symbolic multiculturalism, specifically within the context of media representation and the limitations of typecasting. Overall, the corpus offered sociocritical reflections on individual processes of identity construction rather than on Canadian institutional practices.

[42] As discussed in section 4.2.3, In-betweenness: peripheral of self and alterity, the Other manifests itself in variant ways throughout the corpus.

4.2.5 Emphasizing Heterogeneous Perspectives

Regardless of the theme or sociocritical observation evoke, each film adopts its own aesthetic strategy to communicate its discourse. From comedic narratives to nostalgic docudramas, the select corpus presents the panoply of cinematic approaches to imparting the subject of neo-Canadian family cultural identities. Each film approached its own projection of Moisan & Hildebrand's dance of cultures, an exchange between the self and the Other: in *Mambo Italiano* it is a literal dance shared between Angelo and his aunt; in *Home* and *Comme une odeur de menthe*, it is a dance of photographic or documentary images interweaving Canada and a lost home; and in *Double Happiness*, *Tar Angel*, and *Family Viewing*, the dance is often expressed in a point/counterpoint between parent and child.

A common trend among the corpus is an emphasis on heterogeneous perspectives of the portrayed diaspora, providing a mirror for multiple sociocritical realities. This is particularly poignant when looking at intergenerational family conflicts as heterogeneous views highlight that, despite similar socialization backgrounds, each family member does not necessarily approach cultural identity from the same angle. *Double Happiness* demonstrates how responses to events outside the family affect an individual's relationships, decisions and values, an argument made evident when each family member breaks the fourth wall and address the audience directly with their own monologue. In many ways, Shum is applying a postmodernist technique of fragmenting the narrative to contextualize both Jade and Father Li's reactions to the impending conflict. *Family Viewing* also applies a postmodern approach to stress heterogeneous outlooks, although Egoyan conducts this by refusing to categorize reality. His play with various media forms reiterates that diasporic identities are equally constructed with the aid of technology, a

tertiary transmitter of cultural practices. In a similar vein, *Comme une odeur de menthe* and *Home* both combine genres, visual and audio mediums to reiterate the weaving of voices to create narrative identity. In *Home* specifically, the blending of documentary and narrative forms privileges plural perspectives on questions of rootedness, placing Alex's fragmented identity in relationship to other neo-Canadians and their cultures. *Tar Angel* and *Mambo Italiano* permit pluralist points of view simply by giving both first and second generations equal voices in the conflict, the camera neither judging nor stereotyping their perspective as necessarily fixed in tradition or modernity. The intercultural nature of the narratives in the corpus is generally reiterated by this expression of variant perspectives on issues of space, diaspora, time and society, challenges any notion of a heterogeneous diasporic identity.

Analysis of the select corpus also revealed an unexpected aesthetic trend: emphasis on unmarked discourse. Often in the primary conflict scenes, such as *Double Happiness*, *Family Viewing*, *Home*, the themes were not communicated through dialogue but through the absence of response. For example, Alex's inability to answer his girlfriend's queries in *Home* expresses a deep and wounded estrangement or rootlessness. Jade's subtle crying in *Double Happiness* or Pierre's silent reminiscence of his father dramatize unconditional love, hurt, guilt and alienation in ways that words cannot describe. The trend is an indication that often simplicity is the best transmitter of universal emotions, permitting the audience to empathize with emotions that transgress cultural groups.

While much of the research in both cultural and sociological research was reflected in the identified themes of the select corpus, certain trends identified in the

literature were not as predominant as expected. Micone's three stages of immigrant identity did not become a focus of the narratives, primarily because the family conflict occurred between his second and third stages of immigration. However, in select narratives like *Mambo Italiano*, family pre-immigration was discussed and even became an agent in family conflicts. Since the narratives all take place in Canada, a diasporic optic was not present in each film of the select corpus, only in *Home* and *Comme une odeur de methe*, both which adopted a documentary style. Moreover, questions of hyphenated identities, while often discussed by authors such as James and Bissoondath, was not addressed in the corpus, despite the in-between thematic predominating. No character ever self-identifies as both their culture and their nationality, but instead by their culture (for example, Angelo is Italian and Jade's family is Chinese). *Family Viewing*, in its refusal to categorize identity, takes this a step towards the transcultural by refusing to mark its characters by a specific culture. Maintenance of language and culture, a common family conflict noted by both Calderon and Tyyska, does not appear as a source of contention in the corpus, although the issue of assimilation becomes a sub-point in *Double Happiness*.

4.3 Ukrainian-Canadian Narratives

Despite the exclusion of these aspects of neo-Canadian family life, the corpus demonstrates the plural effects of immigration stresses on multiple generations and its impact on the cultural identities of the individual and family. Central cinematic trends, amongst which include representing in-between identities, *horizon d'attente*, irreconcilable displacement, reflections on Canadian society and heterogeneous perspectives remain universal across cultural groups, although generally nuances are

adjusted to highlight specific socio-cultural and historical contexts. As mentioned in the methodology, the objective is to apply these trends through a short film on Ukrainian-Canadian intergenerational identities. However, the former analysis does not impart on how these trends can be transfigured to address preexisting narrative identity texts of this specific diaspora. In order to approach the fieldwork—that is the short film—from a more distinct angle, a second analysis will be conducted to look specifically at representations of Ukrainian-Canadian culture in Canadian and Quebec cinema. This section will look at three films where Ukrainian-Canadians are the focus, with the objective of deconstructing[43] these representations. As mentioned in the methodology section[44], this analysis is not meant to be exhaustive, but to obtain a snapshot of cinematographic representations of Ukrainian-Canadians throughout various periods of time, and contextualize the short film's narrative.

4.3.1 Nation building in Saskatchewan*: early images*

The first film selected, *Nation Building in Saskatchewan: the Ukrainians* was one of the earliest known films to portray Ukrainian-Canadians. A short silent video, produced by the Government of Saskatchewan's Department of Education in 1921, it aims to encourage the establishment of teachers in western Canada. The structure is very much like a documentary, although intercut with titles describing the portrayed scenes and agents. *Nation Building* depicts small rural Saskatchewan towns, its inhabitants, its schools and the role of the teacher in these communities. While little can be discerned with regards to the aesthetic of the film, as camera functions were limited and

[43] As previously mentioned, the analysis grid for this second analysis can be found as Annex II.
[44] The selection processes of the corpus of Ukrainian-Canadian films is described in section 3.2.1, Film Corpus.

synchronized sound was not available, what can be observed is the discourse surrounding the Ukrainian inhabitants. Moreover, as it is a promotional video, there is no central conflict to the narrative. The film's argument is that education is essential to the development of communities' infrastructure of agriculture and migrants workers.

To an extent, the film highlights to the contribution of the second wave of Ukrainians in Canada who helped build the physical landscape in the prairies. They are described as "thrifty, hard-working farmers and have brought under cultivation thousands of acres of our fertile prairie land", while the camera demonstrates a large boat, men in suits with briefcases on a pier, and a portrait of three generations of Ukrainian women staring into the camera. What is interesting to note is the discourse used to describe the audience—"Canadians"—as opposed to the Ukrainian diaspora who are reiterated as the Other. Phrases like "the social side of *our* Canadian life" [my emphasis] on the film's title cards evoke a dichotomist mentality, such as us/them or a majority/minority view. James (2000) would describe these title cards as "Canadiazation" discourse, ensuring that immigrants conform to Canadian culture, encouraging cultural power structures in Canada (James 2000, 219-220). This is also an era where nuances of cultural, ethnic and racial identities were not considered. For example, *Nation Building* states in the beginning that its aim is to highlight "the many races that are playing a leading part in building up our new Canadian Nation" although, as James would note in *Seeing Ourselves*, Ukrainians are not a race.

Nevertheless, for its time period the text pushed the boundaries of cultural identity. A particular scene where the camera shows immigrants from different backgrounds, along with the sign "We were four but now we are one—Canadian",

advances symbolic multiculturalism fifty years ahead of any legislation. The film remains an important document as it testifies to the treatment of minority groups in Canada and attests to the extent that Ukrainian-Canadian narrative identity has transformed over time.

4.3.2 Laughter in My Soul*: revisiting the Ukrainian-Canadian question*

As part of the corpus of films pertaining to Ukrainian-Canadians, the second film analyzed was Halya Kuchmij's documentary *Laughter in My Soul* (1983). Its subject is Winnipeg artist, Jacob Maydanyk, whose cartoon character Shteef Tabachniuk, became a critical folk hero to the Western Canada's Ukrainian community at the turn of the century. However, in looking at Maydanyk's life and work, Kuchmij manages to create a portrait of a generation of Ukrainians who immigrated in Canada prior to WWI. The time frame explored in the film represents a first wave of immigrants that arrived from Ukraine between 1891 and 1914 who helped settle the Canadian prairies. *Laughter in My Soul* brings to light the challenges and hardships of these Ukrainian immigrants in turn of the century Canada.

In many ways, the structure of *Laughter in My Soul* can be broken down in accordance to Micone's (1995) model[45] for integral immigrant experiences: (i) socio-historical and personal explanations as to why Maydanyk left his country of origin, Ukraine (ii) his uprooting experiences upon working in Canada's mines and (iii) how he came to reconcile Canada as his home through his contributions to the community. As the film is a historical documentary, questions of time and space become more essential to the film's discourse than the figure of Maydanyk himself. In many ways, Maydanyk serves as synecdochical element by which to explore a larger historical narrative.

[45] See section 2.3 Challenges of Representing Cultural Identities in Canada.

In the beginning of the film, Kuchmij allows the viewer a glimpse of conditions in Ukraine through stock footage: images of peasants plowing and stacking wheat paired with traditional folk songs. However, she avoids what Moorti would call a diasporic gaze: the objective is not meant to be nostalgic but educative. The narrator explains that the social conditions for rural Ukrainians were not ideal as they often worked land for foreign owners, having little means themselves. Her portrait of Western Canada at the turn of the century is equally unfavourable. The narrator comments that many Ukrainian immigrants travelled to Canada, "a land of promise", only to be confronted by alienation in the face of alterity. Kuchmij also references, but does not delve into, the issue of institutional violence in the form of Ukrainian internment camps in Western Canada following WWI. Much like the narratives describing intercultural conflict as outlined in Loslier's work, *Laughter in My Soul*'s themes include rejection, alienation and ethnocentrisicm faced by the minority group. The power dichotomy between immigrants and white Anglo-Saxon protestant Canadians based on language, economic status and normative colonizing discourse, highlights that Ukrainian-Canadians were the marginalized, feared and untrusted Other in the early 1900s. The film's narrator also calls attention to the historical language in Canadian discourse used to describe Ukrainian-Canadians during this time period: "bohemians", "foreigners" and even "enemy aliens" during Ukrainian-Canadian internment. While these terms reflect the social realities of that time period, it equally demonstrates the difficulties in collectively developing a positive Ukrainian-Canadian identity.

Despite *Laughter in My Soul*'s preoccupation with history, the film's conclusion explores notions of the future. Kuchmij's documentary manages to balance depictions of

past experiences with future aspirations, as outlined in Ricoeur's *Time and Narrative*, in order to construct a contemporary narrative identity of Ukrainian-Canadians. Specifically, the film's concluding scene questions the impact of the turn of the century historical narrative on future generations' cultural identities. The scene starts with recent footage of 65th wedding anniversary celebration. Held in a small church in Oakburn, Manitoba, the old couple is blessed by a Ukrainian priest wearing traditional gold robes as Maydanyk and others look on. They gather for a reception with various members of the community, an assembly of four generations of Ukrainian-Canadians. As the narrator remarks, some of the faces do not speak Ukrainian and some have changed their names, but they have all gathered out of respect for their ancestors. Simultaneously, Kuchmij pairs these remarks with the different faces of multigenerational community, such as images of children dancing with their parents as grandparents look on. In particular, the camera takes a long tracking shot to follow a little girl weaving in and out of dancing couples, as the narrator observes:

> We've finally arrived in Canada. But what have we lost? Will she remember the language? Will she remember where she came from? Does it really matter?

Kuchmij's questioning opens a dialogue concerning production of cultural identity and the value of ethnicity. She alludes to assimilation and cultural conformity of Ukrainian-Canadians, although does not seem to pass judgment with either her words or her lens. Although a historical documentary, it proposes that cultural identity is a historical process—not a historical fact—negotiated for better or for worse with respect to socio-cultural circumstances and a remembering/forgetting dichotomy. While Maydanyk and his folk hero Steef Tabachniuk were once vital to the community, they are forgotten or

seen simply as just another old man. Their message no longer reflects the reality of contemporary Ukrainian-Canadians. Their importance was in the past and as such, the narrator states that the character "deserves his rest".

Laughter in My Soul has a vital connection to Canada's cinematic roots as discussed in the section of this thesis entitled Problematic[46]: it was produced by one of NFB's pioneer animators, Robert Verrall, as well as two of Unit B's filmmakers, Wolf Koeing and Roman Kroiter. The influence is evident in Kuchmij's style of documentary filmmaking: the uses of rare stock footage and photographs intercut with contemporary recordings reflects a style seen in the Unit B film *City of Gold* (1957). Much like Koeing and Kroiter's classic film, Kuchmij manages to render a historical narrative approachable to a contemporary audience. She personalizes the archival images in the film by focusing on details, zooming in on faces of ancestors. Moreover, she uses an expository mode of documentary employing an omniscient voice-over narration to thread together the film's context and themes. Kuchmij choice of photos is done with care in order to emphasize the juxtaposition between Ukrainian-Canadian realities and those of the Anglo-Saxon majority. The audience often sees photos of Anglo-Saxon Canadians in white at luxurious parties or festivals. Their homes are large and lavished with expensive furnishings. In contrast, we see archival photos of Ukrainian-Canadians working in dark mines paired with heartbreaking songs of how "Canada isn't going so smoothly". Kuchmij also utilizes the comic of Steef Tabachniuk and voice actors to spotlight the attitudes of the Ukrainian-Canadians. In particular, the film talks of a symbol repeated by Maydanyk's Steef Tabachniuk character: his clenched fist and the expression "dooyah". As Maydanyk

[46] For more information on the Unit B and the Golden Age of the NFB, see section 1.1, Exploring Narrative Identity in Canadian and Quebec cinema.

explains to the camera, it asserts that, despite these unfavourable challenges and alienation, “I existed, I exist, and I will exist”.

In many ways, *Laughter in My Soul* is an intercultural narrative because it concerns the identity and alterity of Ukrainian-Canadians in the face of conflict. It would be difficult to classify this film as transcultural as the narrative shies away from discussing contemporary cross-cultural psychology such as comparing these historical circumstances to the plights of other minority groups in Canada. Nevertheless, it is a film that reevaluated historical narratives of Ukrainian-Canadians identity, a particularly important step for its time. As Makuch notes in his literature review of Ukrainian-Canadian film, it was not until the 1970s the community started to take prominence in representation: “In short, Ukrainians in Canada had finally ‘arrived’ in Canada” (p.2). It is interesting to note that this film was developed in the 1980s in cooperation with a government initiative entitled Multiculturalism Canada. As mentioned by Kobayashi (1993) in the literature review, the time leading up to the 1988 Multiculturalism Act restructured the immigration narrative from a conversation about demographics to an understanding of its symbolic weight of multiculturalism on Canadian identity. As such, *Laughter in My Soul* provides an important socio-critical insight on visioning of the Ukrainian-Canadian community during a time when discourse on multiculturalism and intercultural exchange in Canada was transforming.

4.3.3 My Mother's Village*: Paskievich's generational exploration*

My Mother's Village (2001) is a documentary by Ukrainian-Canadian photographer and filmmaker John Paskievich[47] exploring a generation of displaced Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada following WWII. Combining the interview testimony of children of displaced persons with his own personal journey to his mother's remote rural village, Paskievich examines notions of family, roots and the displacement assumed by many members of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Much like *Laughter in My Soul*, Paskievich's film provides a glimpse of a generation of immigrants by narrowing in on the stories of few, although he avoids the use of historical documentation such as archival footage or statistics. He chooses, instead to focus on the emotional narrative identity of his five interviewees, all of whom grew up in Canada but witnessed the repercussions of their parents' traumas in war-torn Ukraine and as displaced persons (DPs).

Regardless if Paskievich abstains from historical documentation, the time frame evoked in the film is the past. In essence, *My Mother's Village* concerns coming to terms with personal, family and nationwide histories. Paskievich notes, as does Grekul (2005), that the Ukrainian national psyche is deeply wounded due to over 300 years of socio-historical obstacles: WWII political upheavals, the nation-wide famine known as the Holodomor and, overall, difficulties at achieving its independence. *My Mother's Village* addresses how personal and collective horrors affected the identities of two generations. Intergenerational conflicts are directly deliberated on camera despite the absence of DPs

[47] This is not the first time Paskievich's work explored the Ukrainian-Canadian question: his film *Ted Baralyk's Grocery* (1982) remained popular and is often cited in literature reviews of Ukrainian-Canadian films (Makuch, 2005).

from the screen. However, the unsettled relationship between the first generation's "indefinable longing" and their children's "psychological borderlines" becomes the focus of the film. Paskievich clarifies the nature of this conflict further by interpreting in a voice-over narration that his parent's generation retained an Otherness in Canada, specifically in a restless inability to reconcile a lost home—much like the trend of irreconcilable displacement identified in neo-Canadian intergenerational family conflict narratives[48]. Consequently, Paskievich argues that the role of children of DPs was to bridge the gap between Canada and Ukraine, inadvertently cultivating a sense of rootlessness within the second generation. The film's argument mirrors much of the sociology literature overviewed in Chapter 2 that suggests that the generation gap between first and second generation Canadians is amplified by the latter's alienated position in between heritage and adopted cultures.[49] However, *My Mother's Village* offers an emotional and deeply personal testimony to this phenomenon. As Paskievich further describes in a voice-over monologue:

> I put on a Canadian identity, like one puts on a shirt. Sometimes it fits better than others. […] Because we can neither see or experience the place that formed them, our parents retained an Otherness which we were always trying to anticipate, to understand, to put into context. In trying to bridge that gap, a part of us became foreign to our own selves. And many of us never developed a sense of rootedness in our own Canadian culture.

The reciprocal relationship between identity and alterity is an underlying focal point to *My Mother's Village*, particularly how they are informed, much like the corpus of neo-Canadian intergenerational family conflicts, by being in-between dichotomies[50]:

[48] For a review of this trend see section 4.2.2, "Home" and Irreconcilable Displacement.
[49] For more information on generational gaps in immigrant families, see section 2.1: What is Cultural Identity?
[50] For a review of this trend, see section 4.2.3, In-betweenness: peripheral of self and alterity.

home/away, belonging/displacement, familiar/foreign, Ukraine/Canada, past/present, etc. However, unlike the previous corpus, Paskievich offers how the third space between dichotomies could be a solution, as opposed to a problem. He does this by means of a monologue on his own cultural identity:

> Living in the middle ground between two cultures is not a such bad place to be, if you wanted to be an artist, as I did. […] I have continued to be drawn to the theme of displacement. There is no shortage of subjects. Physical and psychological displacement seem to be the condition of our century. I have, I think, accepted my own displacement. It has become a source of enrichment. It gives me a perspective from which I can examine the world.

The documentary's strength is its presentation of different approaches to dealing with this socio-historical reality: while some may very bitter vis à vis their ethnic heritage—specifically when it became a point of discrimination in Canadian society—others express passion, nostalgia, guilt and hope towards their Ukrainianness.

Paskievich often pairs his personal monologues with visions of the human and physical landscape of his mother's village. He shoots scenes that evoke notions of movement: riding on a train, dirt paths in a forest, horse carriages, or an indefinite trail in deep snow. Unlike *Nation Building* or *Laughter in My Soul,* Paskievich's aesthetic discourse underscores a connection to Ukraine, regardless of whether or not he or his interviewees have ever been to their parents' homeland. Paskievich creates a transcontinental connection between members of the diaspora, applying Moorti's diasporic imagery within the documentary form. The precise nature of this diasporic connection varies among the interviewees: some describe an undefineable longing while others see it more as a haunting presence. One interviewee describes her feelings as nostalgia for something she never had and, as such, "Ukraine will always be in my soul". It is interesting to note that while the film concerns Ukrainian-Canadians, the space

directly represented on camera is Ukraine. Its people, customs and language of Paskievich's ancestral village are the focus of the lens' gaze. It is evident from the traditional ceremonies and changing of the seasons that Paskievich is in Ukraine for the better part of the year. As such, *My Mother's Village* offers a plethora of cultural, regional and religious practices for the viewer, such as carols, plowing the fields and blessing of the home for the New Year. The film remains, for the most part, very observational: the representation of these events is not ornamentalized, glamourized or exoticized. In many ways, Paskievich's view of Ukraine could even be considered anthropological if it were not for the presence of the filmmaker himself on camera. He includes his own deeply personal touch to the film by gazing at the faces of his own extended family, such as when he is presented a *sorochka*, a traditional embroidered shirt, as a gift from his mother's family. The generosity of this gift is not lost on the viewer: not only was the *sarochka* hand-embroidered but we had previously learned that, as farmers, the family lives very modestly. As they sing him happy birthday, the camera slowly focuses on Paskievich solemnly reflecting.

Much of this diasporic affinity is evoked through a layering of his interviewees' responses overtop of footage from Paskievich's travels in Ukraine, always linked thematically. For example, while the interviewee may describe how their parents discouraged marriage with someone outside of the Ukrainian community, Paskievich displays a traditional wedding in contemporary Ukraine. This effect not only contextualizes both Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian cultures, but it creates an outlook of an interconnected relationship that transgresses time and place, fusing real and imagined spaces. In many ways, Paskievich is using his own "editing grammar" to evoke

a diasporic optic: nostalgia for a homeland coupled with the voice over articulating sense of dislocation and disruption. It is diasporic imagery such as this that Paskievich articulates a transnational relationship between nations, cultures and societies. Questions of diaspora and imagined communities remain a vital theme to *My Mother's Village*. Many of the interviewees described how the Ukrainian-Canadian community became a place where their parents could seek out a feeling of belonging. For example, one respondent describes how anyone from her parents' village was considered surrogate family. Others describe the image of how their parents seemingly "[brought] over the whole village with them from Ukraine". Without directly attributing the term "imagined communities", the respondents describe how, in the absence of homeland, their parents feel in communion with those who have shared similar experiences. However, as Anderson argued, with imagined communities, there equally exists the possibility of "limited imaginings". Narrowness within the Ukrainian community in Canada is addressed by each interviewee, describing how, in some way, they felt obliged to compromise on a value or a life decision, such as marriage, to fit into the Ukrainian-Canadian community. After all, as Poirier (2004) remarks, a sense of recognition is critical from constructing an identity (p.25). It can even be observed that Paskievich's view on Ukrainian diaspora in Canada is limited: he documents only three generations—that of his parents, himself and, to an extent, his son—without discussing connections to other members of the diaspora. He does not deliberate on the DPs relationships with other Ukrainian-Canadians, such as those see in *Laughter in My Soul*, who arrived during the Great Depression, or of those who have arrived after the 1950s. Despite this limitation, the message of *My Mother's Village* remains transcultural: "No culture or history is

absolute", states Paskievich in a voice-over monologue. The film proposes how has come to terms with his displacement, both psychological and physical. In fact, he argues that his in-betweenness has permitted to view reality from a different angle, and has made him a better son, parent and artist. Paskievich's speech is vital in discussing cultural identity because not only does it recognize alterity within the Canadian social landscape, but reappropriates the concept to form a positive cultural identity. Unlike *Laughter in My Soul*, there is no discussion of assimilation, but a leading step towards feeling connected to his predecessors in Ukraine while simultaneously "shed[ding] his ancestral baggage". Nevertheless, resigning does not necessitate an abandonment of cultural identity: third generation Canadians like Paskievich's son have found relatives through the internet and desire to visit Ukraine. His conclusion reiterates that sometimes it takes generations to resolve the shock of acculturation and to develop a transnational identity.

4.4 Trends and Tendencies in Ukrainian-Canadian Narratives

The corpus generally includes salient features of Ukrainian-Canadian culture such as food (*perogies*), clothing (*sarochka*) and language to communicate specific cultural practices. However, much like the corpus of intergenerational conflicts, questions of time and space invariably affect the construction of cultural identities in narratives. The three analyzed depictions vary in both these aspects, however carry similar trends such as emphasizing historical narratives—i.e. how Ukrainians arrived, how they adopted to Canada—and its effect on future generations of Ukrainian-Canadians. As such, the films represent diverse contexts of Ukrainian-Canadians and how this collective identity is perpetually changing.

Disparities in the trends are often attributed to the intended audience and objectives of the narrative. For example, the audience of *Nation Building*, that is Canadian schoolteachers, is more interested in how to adopt their teaching practices to this relative new cultural group. *Laughter in My Soul*, however, serves as more to reaccount Ukrainian-Canadian stories often omitted from Canadian history textbooks. *My Mother's Village*, on the other hand, is intended for a transcultural audience as it talks about more universal plights such as rootlessness. Much of the films' individual limitations are attributed to the time period in which the film was produced. For example, *Nation Building in Saskatchewan* was written with limited imaginings of alterity and culture. *Laughter in My Soul* emerged during a time when the focus was on pluralism or symbolic multiculturalism, as opposed to transnationalism or transculturalism witnessed twenty years later in *My Mother's Village.* These films, therefore, attest to the socio-cultural context of Canadian discourse surrounding the Ukrainian diaspora.

For all these films, representing history—that of Ukraine or of Ukrainians in Canada—remains an essential part of the narrative. The theme of historic reaccounts is perhaps attributed to what Kostash identifies as the collective's "psychological insecurity" (p. 32), but could also be a result of the documentary nature of all three films. More research on Ukrainian-Canadian filmic narratives should be conducted to review this observation. Neverthless, fragmented Ukrainian-Canadian identities are highlighted in both *Laughter in My Soul* and *My Mother's Village* in their explorations of how Ukrainian-Canadians—even if they are from two different diasporic waves—often live in-between identities. In essence these two narratives question how these identity gaps can be bridged, much like the intergenerational narratives explored. Including this

exploration of in-betweenness, other trends identified in the corpus of neo-Canadian intergenerational family conflicts are raised in both *Laughter in My Soul* and *My Mother's Village*: Paskievich describes the parental expectations through the perspective of children of DPs; Kuchmij's documentary reflects on turn-of-the-century immigrants' perspectives on home and belonging; both texts reflect on feelings of in-betweenness within the Ukrainian diaspora, Kuchmij specifically contextualizing these feelings within pre-multiculturalism Canadian immigration policies.

Much like other diasporic narratives, space also becomes an important feature in representing Ukrainian-Canadian culture. For *Nation Building* and *Laughter in My Soul*, depicting Ukrainian-Canadian dwellings helped communicate a way of life to an audience that does not necessarily know or understand the challenges of the diaspora. In *My Mother's Village*, Paskievich demonstrated the altering Ukrainian social, geographical and demographic landscapes. Notions of space are somewhat limited within the corpus, in part because the generations explored have not experienced long-term exposure to visual media products, or technology that can expedite a transnational flow of information. The gap in the corpus is the voice of younger Ukrainians and how they can relate to their history with access to "diasporic effect", for example how they experience culture with the aid of the internet (Leach, 2006).

The overviewed thematics will contribute to the integration of Ukrainian-Canadian identity to the national collective discourse, to create a channel for the expression of plural perspectives on Ukrainian-Canadian identities, and to update contemporary discourse. As will be explored in the next chapter, much of the thematic

and aesthetic trends analyzed in both the intergenerational and Ukrainian-Canadian narratives inform decisions in portraying cultural identities in my own film.

5. Filming the In-between

Analyzing the two corpuses of diasporic discourses heightened an awareness to the universal nature of cultural, temporal and spacial alterity. These narratives captured the dizzying problematics of finding a social positioning in light of catalyzing points of identity references, something as simple but fundamental as the self or belonging. The intricate construction of identities within these stories discern the complexity of representing concepts like culture, diaspora, and Canadianness: no two definitions of these realities are alike. The analyzed films and their identified trends have been the backbone to the narrative and aesthetic approaches of the fieldwork, a short film entitled *Tracing Shadows*.

The appendaged film is a symbiotic part to the previous written chapters, reiterating as well as reciprocally contributing to the thematic findings through construction. Moreover, utilizing film as a medium to extend the discourse on cultural identity productions within Canada renders the research accessible to additional publics and audiences. As will be explained in the following chapter, the written component of the research was crucial in deconstructing and understanding the concepts through narrative identity. It permitted *Tracing Shadows* to take form in its narrative structure and overlying production of identity and alterity representations. Concurrently, the film pursued insight into the theme of "in-betweenness", offering conclusions that were not

touched upon within the analyzed corpus—such as affirmations of the periphery as a positive imagined space. In effect, the findings of *Tracing Shadows* demonstrate that there are perspectives beyond those represented in the corpus that necessitate further analysis and representation. The proceeding section details my objectives in translating the themes and theories discussed in the previous chapters into an original filmic text, demonstrating the process of marrying the theoretical and practical applications of narrative cultural identity. It delineates processes like writing the narrative, sketching the aesthetic vision of the film, as well general remarks on the challenges of the filmmaking process. Moreover, it details other experiences and even cultural texts—films, novels and music—that have influenced the reflection process leading to the creative construction process of *Tracing Shadows*.

5.1 Constructing the Narrative

While there were several trends identified from the corpus of intergenerational conflict films, it became increasingly problematic to translate them all five themes into a short film. For inspiration, I took it to task to observe a few classic—and some of my personal favourite—National Film Board short films: Norman McLarens' *Neighbours* (1952), Roman Kroiter's *Paul Tomkowicz: Streetcar Railway Switchman* (1953), Wolf Koenig, Colin Low's *City of Gold* (1957), Kuchmij's *Laughter in My Soul* (1983) and Chris Landreth's *Ryan* (2004). I observed that the more pregnant films were, in essence, ones that chose to approach only one or two clear themes. In other words, a short film was more profound when it was simple. As such, I chose to focus on the identified trend

of *in-betweenness*[51], of existing on the peripheral of self/alterity, home/away and belonging/estrangement. It is a universal theme, a sentiment that applies not simply to cultural identity but to any individual who has ever felt marginalized, marked or lost. In-betweenness emphasizes the importance of Poirier's points of recognition in developing and articulating cultural identities. It reiterates that processes of cultural adoption, such as those found in Berry's model[52], is an ongoing fluid process. Acculturation is more complex than categorization; as the corpus of films has demonstrated, it is a process that transgresses time, space and generations. Keeping this in mind, what is the best approach to represent cultural in-betweenness and its role in the Ukrainian-Canadian community?

In an interview on George Strombolopolous' *The Hour*, celebrated *québécois auteur* Denis Villeneuve speaks to how he aspires for each of his films to say something he never had the courage to say before "I think that making cinema is a privilege. It's a chance; and when you have the chance to use the camera, you have to use it in order to talk about something that is very important for [*sic*] you" (*The Hour*, Jan 21 2011). Like Villeneuve, I wanted my film to push the boundaries, to fill the missing gaps within discourse on Ukrainian-Canadians, the voices of 2nd and 3rd generation Ukrainians as well as those of mixed heritage. My objective for the film was to transmit the theme of in-betweenness with a message of heterogeneity as a response to the questions of narrative and reimagined identity. I aimed to represent multiple approaches to Ukrainian-Canadianness and demonstrate that individuals hold varying relationships to the diaspora. Due to limits in the film's time, the objective was to pose questions of cultural in-betweenness without necessarily offering a resolution, much like the film *Home*. It is

[51] For an in-depth exploration of this observed theme as expressed in the corpus, see section 4.2.3, In-betweenness: peripheral of self and alterity.
[52] For a review of Berry's model, please refer to section 2.1: What is Cultural Identity?

important to acknowledge the problematic of unexplainable longing, but without imposing on how one should ruminate. The interviewees, themselves, would provide a plethora of strategies, much like the interviews served in *My Mother's Village*. This polyphonic style spoke to the postmodernist spirit of the film: singular narratives about something as fluid as identity are less credible.

It is important for the film to dispel myths about an absolute Ukrainianness and un-mark fragmented Ukrainian-Canadian identities. For these reasons, I avoided the integration of in-depth historical documentation or context, such as can be seen as *Laughter in My Soul*. Archival footage was used to contextualize modern experiences, questioning Histories and, instead, focusing on personal (hi)stories. After all, as Marquez (2009) concluded in her research on diasporic narratives, personal memory is an empowering practice. These stories were woven with a postmodernist cinematic sensibility, combining hybrid forms and genres, the script in-between documentary and narrative, blurring the line between real and imagined spaces, much like Paskievich achieved in *My Mother's Village*. I was very much inspired by Paskievich's declaration of displacement as a positive catalyst in his journey as an artist, for I empathize with a sense of in-betweenness. I am a minority in the Ukrainian-Canadian community because of my mixed heritage, my inability to speak the language, and my limited knowledge of Ukraine. However, I find that my strength lies in the fact that I am at a distance from the community. I am able to reflect on the issues of cultural identity about with a unique vantage point. As such, I aspire for *Tracing Shadows* to open doors of discussion, to foster intracultural, intercultural and transcultural communications and to contribute and strengthen the Ukrainian-Canadian community's sense of self.

In many ways, the structure of the *Comme une odeur de menthe, Home* and *My Mother's Village* are the primary influences on my own film. However, while Paskievich focuses uniquely on the generation of the children of DPs, my own work explores Ukrainian-Canadians of all generations, backgrounds and ages. Also unlike Paskievich, I did not want to place too much emphasis on my own or my families' stories in the narrative. For one, it was a means to maintain a more impartial stance when editing the discourse of others. Inevitably some part of me spilled into the screenwriting process, although that is not to say that the story is intimate, biographical, autobiographical or even historical. The writing process can be better described as an exercise in empathizing with past generations, as witnessed in films like *Home*, *Comme une odeur de menthe*, or *Tar Angel*. It is about connecting on an emotional or cognitive level to a reality that is not necessarily your own. The objectives of the film reiterate the universal characteristic of a transcultural experience: whether or not you were Ukrainian-Canadian, or identified with the culture, I wanted for the audience to feel like it was the story of an individual they knew.

As demonstrated in the literature review, questions of representation inevitably plague mediums, such as film, that closely imitates reality. I struggled with the positive and negative problematics of representation explored by Bissoondath, Fleras & Elliott and Hall.[53] For example, is it important to employ the term Ukrainian-Canadians? The question evokes a double edged sword: it felt important to use the term to acknowledge the diaspora, but at the same time refused to over-emphasize for fear of alienating those who are not from the same ethnicity. Nevertheless, I came back to the objective of

[53] For more details on the problematics of representation, see section 2.2, Constructing Cultural Identity through Representation.

maintaining an open definition of the cultural identity processes. I want the camera to be free of judgment and to possess a compassionate framing of the characters. As the interviewees stressed their own social contexts and visions of Ukrainnianness, I felt that I had the liberty to remain slightly more ambiguous when constructing my fictional characters and to avoid overtly categorizing reality, as can be seen in Egoyan's *Family Viewing*.

The script[54] was a long and ever changing process, written in fragments over half a year. Restrictions in budget, time, and resources imperatively altered the narrative. Nevertheless, the core themes as discussed above remained the same. The aesthetic thematics extracted during analysis of the corpus had instilled in me is that it is not always what is being said, but how it is being said. As such, post-production became a critical component to the production: the narrative was constructed more and more from the interactive weavings of the different audio-visual ingredients of the film, rather than what was originally penned in the script. Post-production matured into an experimentation with my own editing and visual grammar, discovering new and interesting ways for there to be dialogue between the two types of film within the film: when the fictional characters respond to the interviewees, it breaks the fourth wall and heightens the audience's awareness of the production process, as in postmodern texts like *Modra* or *Double Happiness.* As cinema theorists such as Lotman, Koulechov, Vertov and Eisenstein would argue, editing in and of itself frames the image of the film's reality (Marsolais 1974, p. 306). Finally, it became important to settle on a title. While at first I chose the tentative heading "When We Were Children" to reflect the importance of time, generations and "*horizon d'attente*", it was inevitably temporary as it is also the name of

[54] The script for *Tracing Shadows* is presented in Annex IV.

a song used in the film. Instead, I landed on the title "Tracing Shadows", an acknowledgement of my preoccupation with driving forces that loom behind quotidian cultural practices. "Tracing" is simply the act of bringing to the foreground that which is beneath the surface, the caliginosity of things past. "Shadows" is also a reference to Sergei Parajanov's *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* (1964), an experimental film that explores early folklore of the Ukrainian Hutsul peoples. This film evokes, for me, the melancholic spirit of my own ancestors and a personal longing for the beauty of Ukraine's Carpathian Mountains. As will be discussed in the next section, Paradjanov's text has been influential to my understanding of cinematic language, specifically in its use of perspective.

5.2 Aesthetic Inspirations

Influenced by the aesthetic approaches of *Home, My Mother's Village* and *Comme une odeur de menthe*, the intent is to approach *Tracing Shadows* as a multimedia film, a *pastiche* of Super 8, HD film, recorded Skype calls, personal photos and archived images. I wanted the film to have a textured feel, like a visual scrapbook for the diaspora to open and explore. After viewing François Girard's *Thirty-Two Short Films About Glenn Gould* (1993), I was also inspired to interweave various forms of audio to enhance feelings of emotional proximity. I wanted to blur the voices of the protagonists and the respondents, to deconstruct any notion of one singular narrator. I felt this approach would emphasize the heterogeneous nature of narrative, reality, identity and culture.

While my aspiration was to create a multi-media scrapbook it was equally important to assure an aesthetic connection between the plethora of perspectives and to obtain a cohesive look to entirety *Tracing Shadow*. I opted to integrate three motif

images: (1) a yellow/blue colour scheme, (2) the reiteration of in-between spaces and (3) the use of mirrors or mirrored images. The yellow/blue colour schemewas inspired by the playful hues on the set of *Mambo Italiano* and subtly referenced Ukraine's blue sky and vast wheat fields—an aesthetic nod to the space that influences the diaspora. Some could contest that the integration of archival photos is too nostalgic however, as Moorti argues, nostalgia can act as both "restorative and reflective" processes (p.359). Ukraine is directly depicted on camera, through archival photos and some home footage of my own travels. Evoking this space was a means to tie into the imagined community of the Ukrainian diaspora, but nevertheless needed to be contextualized in a Canadian space. Therefore, I convey in-betweenness through several images of aimlessness, wandering and transitioning. Like *My Mother's Village* or the films of Léa Pool, non-spaces, in other words places where one does not settle, were filmed. This included highways, subway tracks and dirt paths to convey this absence of connection. However, to propose a solution to this channeled rootless, I also intently filmed the interviews in peaceful spaces such as national institutions, household and parks. Those interviews conducted on Skype equally demonstrate how contemporary media environments are platforms to express narrative identities (Leach 2006, p.126). In light of the identified theme of irreconcilable displacement[55], incorporating different perspectives on space was critical in my construction of a diasporic narrative. Finally, the intent of incorporating mirror in the section "Perception" was to visually emphasize the concepts of (self)reflection and representation. Its objective was to portray on film Poirier's analogy of the echoed

[55] The analysis surrounding this theme can be found in section 4.2.2,, "Home" and Irreconcilable Displacement.

images[56], where reality is reconfigured with representation in cinema. Use of mirrors is also a postmodernist technique to reiterate skepticism of truth and perception: in films like Woody Allen's *Annie Hall*, it serves as visual questioning "about art's, or language's, capacity to reveal an essential reality. Everything is a reflection of a reflection" (Fabe, 2004, p.188). In a way, these three motifs chosen for *Tracing Shadows* emulate Micone's (1995) structure for the textual immigrant experience[57]: yellow/blue evokes the cultural experiences of Ukraine, non-spaces reflect the in-between state within the emigration-immigration process and, finally, the mirrors speak to a renewed identity.

For other aesthetic inspirations, I turned to texts that recalled questions of perspective, looking specifically at discourse from other Ukrainian diasporas. The postmodern novel *Everything is Illuminated* by Jonathan Safran Froer, about returning to Ukraine to unearth cultural and historical identities, impressed an importance for an omniscient voice-over narration that blurs the lines between several frames of references. For example, in *Tracing Shadows*, when the voice of the grandmother addresses an interviewee, it breaks the fourth wall and emphasized the interconnectedness of both fiction and documentary. Like, *Everything is Illuminated*, Sergei Paradjanov's experimental film *Shadows of our Forgotten Ancestors*, set in a small Hutsul village of Ukraine, concerns a coming to terms with diasporic emotions rather than place. While its narrative renders to screen a culture disappeared, the essential objective is to demonstrate the universal nature of culture through emotions like passion, love, loss and anxiety. In

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[56] As was discussed on pg. 17 of section 2.2, Constructing Cultural Identity through Representation, Poirier uses the analogy of echoed images to explain socio-critical theories: « *C'est pourquoi nous suggérons d'apposer au cinéma la métaphore de l'écho: une certaine représentation de la réalité; ni un miroir ni une abstraction sans aucune attache avec la réalité sociale* » (p. 3).

[57] As reviewed on pg, 28, Micone's structure consists of three phases: cultural experiences in the country of origin, uprooting experiences in the emigration-immigration process, and adoption or integration to a new culture (Micone 1995, p. 204).

the film, the camera's gaze is an essential communicator, a mechanism to help the audience emphasize with characters of another time and space. To imitate Paradjanov's gaze, I accentuated details that place the audience in a diegesis in shots of *Tracing Shadows*—for example how it feels to walk in familiar childhood home or dip your feet in a local river. Paradjanov's film in its incorporation of traditional Ukrainian folk songs also demonstrates how music also plays an important role not only in contextualizing the narrative but in setting the mood of the film. Similarly, I include music from the band Olenka and the Autumn Lovers, inspired by her sound (folk harmonies, waltz guitar) and her ability to tell a personal stories and memories through particulars (cast iron pots, faded jeans). Born in Poland, Olenka Krakus heads the band, translating her experiences of immigration to Canada into musical emotions: melancholic past with a glimmer of hope. Licensing agreements were determined in order to integrate three tracks into *Tracing Shadows*: "Sweet Little Road", "When We Were Children" and "Soldier's Waltz". As all three songs are from the same artist, their use would add to a sense of oral cohesiveness throughout the film.

5.3 Challenges and Obstacles

The production of a creative film posed its own unique set of challenges and rewards. *Tracing Shadows* would not have been realized without the help of Ukrainian-Canadians all over the country. The networking process became extremely important in the creating of the film. It was crucial during the interview stages, namely, as my methodology outlined[58], because I relied on the "snowball" method of sampling (Bonneville et al., 2007). This required reaching out to various resources including the

[58] For a review of the interview methodology, see section 3.3.2, Interviews.

Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Ottawa, various organizations such as the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies, and even friends of family. Fortunately, every interested party was able to warmly recommend or refer you to another Ukrainian-Canadian or documentation on Ukrainian-Canadians. As such, networking also provided a means to access institutional memory: the Ukrainian Canadian Documentation Centre at St. Vladamir's Institute in was very generous in allowing me to browse their archival photos, film and publications on the Holodomor, on DP camps and on transfigurations with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. These interactions with other members of the community were a constant reminder of the interconnectedness of diaspora but also the different approaches to Ukrainianness.

The frustration in finding interviewees ties back to questions of representation as discussed by Fleras & Elliott (2001), Hall (1995) and Poirier (2004): it is an influencing power even when the narrative aims to be open and inclusive. Those who declined my invitation to participate in *Tracing Shadows* were either 3rd or 4th generation Ukrainian-Canadians who did not feel connected to Ukraine or, alternatively, new immigrants from Ukraine who did not feel connected to Canada. This constraint skewed the representation of the diaspora in *Tracing Shadows:* the majority of those on camera express a kinship to their heritage, whether or not this is the majority attitude. This challenge demonstrated, for me, that essentializing attitudes towards cultural identity still run strong. Moreover, the problematics of representation is a perpetual challenge in the film medium, necessitating further research and awareness of representation, construction and deconstruction practices in cinema studies.

The challenge for the narrative portion of the film was to think outside of the framework of my own thoughts, to be fluid in the production of this identity text. From the beginning of the research process, a clear methodological approach was outlined for *Tracing Shadows*: construct a story structured on Micone's (1995) three phases of immigration identity that weaves the interviewees' responses. However, within the filming in post-production practices, it became clear that it was the making of the film that informed the narrative itself. As described in 5.1, Constructing the Narrative, it was in conducting this interweaving process that new narratives emerged, new insights, and new contexts. Even though it had been highlighted in the research, the process of creating my own narrative allowed me to observe in the field as to the fluctuating and commutative nature of realty, perspective and identity. In retrospect, this discovery was foreshadowed in the literature review by Hall (2000) when he stated that: "we should think […] of identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (p. 704). The cultural identity representation process in *Tracing Shadows* exemplified an exercise in producing, sustaining, negotiating and devising meaning. Although the film is a snapshot of identities within a given time-frame, it is a narrative that will continually be in production even after the final frame is rendered. Future projections of *Tracing Shadows* outside of the academic community with help generate further discussions regarding Ukrainianness and promote rearticulates the diaspora's narrative identity.

6. Concluding Thoughts

In conducting a thorough analysis of the systems of meaning production, including cinematic strategies, our research has established five reoccurring trends in articulating cultural identity in national diasporic narratives, specifically through the frame of intergenerational conflicts within neo-Canadian families: guilt, irreconcilable displacement, estranging in-betweenness, reflections on Canadian society, and heterogeneous perspectives. *Tracing Shadows*, a short narrative concerning cultural identities within the Ukranian-Canadian diaspora, became the fruit of this analysis on the systems of meaning production. It was the result of this project's second objective, to experimentally translate the concept of in-betweenness with a camera lens. Mapping the relationship between concepts such as culture, diaspora, intercultural exchange, immigrant, family and generation shed light on this construction and (re)articulation processes and demonstrated how perceptions of past experiences ("*l'espace d'expérience*") and future aspirations ("*horizon d'attente*") (Ricoeur, p.355) critically shape individual and collective narratives. This dialogue between society and culture—a reciprocal relationship nurtured through time and space—was a theme observed throughout the thesis: first, in an overview Canadian cinema roots through the lens of narrative identity, followed by an exploration of the evolving and elusive concept of cultural identity and the problematic concerning its construction within representation, within Canadian multicultural society and within Canadian families, and finally in an analysis of the five distinguishing trends that bridge gaps between alterity and identity in national cinematic texts. Sociocritical analysis delineates that this relationship between society and culture observed throughout this research attests to art's capacity to

simultaneously communication and impress on collective practices and values. To apply Phillippe Falardeau's words, as detailed in his acceptance speech for Best Director at the 32nd Annual Genie Award, "Cinema is like the memory and imagination of a country. So, without that, a country would not be a nation" (*National Post*, ¶ 6, March 8 2012).

While this chapter may conclude the research process, the outreach does not end with these words. Fortunately, the medium chosen—that is film— to articulate the second aspect of the exploration of diaspora and the in-between, is an accessible space. I hope to bring the film *Tracing Shadows* to others who are interested in the issues of cultural identity: to Ukrainian-Canadian community centres, to film festivals, to conferences on culture and communication, etc. Moreover, a copy of *Tracing Shadows* will be available at the University of Ottawa, the Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre at Grant McEwan University, and the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies. The objective of this kind of distribution is to encourage a rearticulation of narrative identity within the diaspora and to foster intercultural appreciation. I aspire for the graduate research film to do more than contribute to the understanding of diasporic discourses in Canadian and Quebec film: I hope that in screening *Tracing Shadows*, my research will contribute and strengthen the Ukrainian-Canadian community's sense of self, to demonstrate that they are not at the peripheral but rather at the heart of identity narratives in Canada.

The analysis portion of this research was naturally subject to certain limitations, the nature of which were determined by the scope of the project. However, these gaps are important to address to advance further research in the field of diasporic cinema studies within Canadian and Quebec film. As addressed in the methodology, the extent of the corpus was not exhaustive: Atom Egoyan's *Next of Kin* (1989), Michel Brault's *Shabbat*

Shalom! (1992), Léa Pool's *Emporte-moi* (1999), Deepa Mehta's *Bollywood/Hollywood* (2002), Charles Officer's *Nurse.Fighter.Boy.* (2008), and Ingrid Verniger's *Modra* (2010) among others, are all unique narratives whose insight into intergenerational conflicts within neo-Canadian families would have greatly contributed to the findings. Furthermore, the analysis of our corpus was limited to a specific conflict scene, when a more rigorous look at the entirety of the text would have provided supplementary insight into aspects such as character development, the effects of spatial and temporal perceptions, and diasporic optic. Finally, the focus of our analysis was on the construction and articulation of cultural identities through the lens of narrative identity. However, a third factor of narrative identity—dissemination—was not addressed within the literature review or analysis. The limitations, challenges and obstacles posed by cinema production within Canada—such as distribution, governmental funding legislation and national cinematic institutional outreach—often affects film content. As sociocritical theorist Bourdieu explained, the complex system of the production of cultural goods within the social system sways the criticisms promulgated:

> The determination that [positions in cultural texts] imposes on its occupants, on the other positions constituting in the field; and that the structure of the field, i.e. of the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field […] (1993, p. 30)

Further research into diasporic cinema could address how access to production influences the number and quality of images of immigrant identities as depicted on national screens.

Approaching the issue of diasporic identities in Canadian and Quebec film with a film production also posed its own unique challenges and obstacles[59]: narrowing the

[59] These challenges and obstacles are explored in greater detail within Chapter 5, "Filming the in-between".

thematics to fit in a short-film timeframe, finding Ukrainian-Canadian Francophones to interview, and issues concerning the inclusion of salient cultural features to name a few. On a personal level, the filmmaking process triggered personal questions of my role as a filmmaker. In a sense, I endured my own struggle with the remembering/forgetting dichotomy, such as what to edit out and what to capture on camera. Moreover, I wrestled with the idea of integrating my own families' narratives, to find the balance between truth, perception and objectivity. *Tracing Shadows* was not to uniquely concern my own identity production, but it was hard to deny its role in creating my own filmic narrative. More importantly, however, was how the research and production process of *Tracing Shadows* problematized my own Ukrainian-Canadian cultural identity. The more I conversed with others within the diaspora, exploring the consciousness of the community, the more I unearthed its internal struggles—such as its uncomfortable bearing of tragedies endured during the Holodomor genocide, the DP camps and the oppressive political climates. To an extent, as a third generation Ukrainian-Canadian, I felt the guilt articulated in the corpus of neo-Canadian narratives. Unexplainably, past atrocities weighed down on my conscious. I feel a *horizon d'attente* from those who sacrificed to assure that I, and others like me, had opportunity in Canada. Comfort lied in *Tracing Shadows*, in the act of creating discourse on these collective ghosts. To apply Keefer's (2005) own words in *Dark Ghost in the Corner: Imagining Ukrainian-Canadian Identity:* "I do not mean "burden" [of my ethnicity] in a wholly negative way—after all honour, duty, love, empathy—all these weighty entities can—even must—be burdens given the nature of reality, of which as T.S. Eliot reminds us, humankind can bear so little" (p.16.).

While the *Tracing Shadows*' preoccupation may have lied with exploring the plethora cultural identities within the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, thorough analysis of the Ukrainian-Canadian historical identity construction process within social texts was not an integral aspect to this research's methodology. The objective was to apply the trend of cultural in-betweenness to an original narrative, marrying the theoretical to filmic practices in the Ukrainian-Canadian frame of reference[60]. Analysis of narratives concerning Ukrainian-Canadians contextualized earlier representation practices, but was not exhaustive in its exploration of questions concerning representation as socialization or even depictions of imagined and reimagined communities[61]. However, the research conducted for *Tracing Shadows* opened the door to these particular unanswered questions concerning filmic representations of Ukrainian-Canadians: what trends exist within depictions of Ukrainian-Canadians in national narratives? To what extent do Ukrainian-Canadian filmmakers articulate their cultural identity in Canadian and Quebec film? How do these representations reflect the reality of the diaspora in Canada ?

A review of Klymasz' (2005) bibliographical report on academic literature pertaining to the Ukrainian-Canadian question demonstrates that there is a fairly extensive review of the diaspora's identity construction as it relates to folklore practices, literary representation, visual art, and education to name a few. However, minimal research has been conducted on Ukrainian-Canadian film: there appears to be no exhaustive studies since Zaporzan & Klymasz's (1982) filmography. However, Makuch's (2005) lecture at the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association demonstrates that the number

[60] The objectives of the research and its methodology are further explained in sections 3.2, Research Design and Data Collection, and 3.3, Putting Theory into practice: A Focus on Ukrainian-Canadians.
[61] The problematics concerning representing cultural identity are explored in section 2.2 of the Literature Review.

of films and filmmakers who address issues pertaining to the Ukrainian diaspora are on the rise. As such, it is my hope that this research inspires a renewed look at the problematic concerning Ukrainian-Canadians within Canadian and Quebec cinema. For example, the methodology conducted by Marquez (2009) in her research on articulations of Latin-American diasporic identity consisted of interviews conducted with the filmmakers themselves. It is a methodology that could equally be applied to examine Ukrainian-Canadian directors, such as Halya Kuchmij, Yurij Luhovy, James Motluk, John Paskievich, or Larysa Kondracki. A research of that nature would be able to delve into the perspectives of the filmmakers' themselves, further contributing to the sociocritical role of the artist the articulator of collective consciousness.

Furthermore, with the transforming demographic landscape, changing legislature on multiculturalism in Canada, and even with altering immigration practices in foreign countries, the cinematic trends identified within this thesis will require updating as early as within a decade's time. Indeed, critical Canadian and Quebec narratives have emerged within the time it took to conduct this research: Denis Villeneuve's *Incendies* and Phillippe Falardeau's *Monsieur Lazhar*, films that approach intercultural and transcultural problematics, received Academy Award nominations for Best Foreign Language Film in 2011 and 2012 respectively. Recent films such as Ivan Grbovic's *Roméo Onze* (2011) or Rohan Fernando's *Snow* (2011) approach the issue of neo-Canadian families' struggles with identity, cultural adoption and generation gaps. Robert Lieberman's *Breakaway* (2011) depicts struggles to construct an Indo-Canadian cultural identity within Canada's unofficial national sport, hockey, and challenging hegemonic notions of "Canadianness". Narratives touching on issues of diaspora are even expected in the coming year: director

Maryanne Zéhil's anticipated sophomore film *La vallée des larmes* is to explore transnational consequence of intercultural war and genocide. David Mortin's *Mad Ship* is to return to early narratives on immigrations, looking at a neo-Canadian of Norwegian origin struggling during the Great Depression. With a growing demographic of neo-Canadians, it is without a doubt that issues of diasporic identities will continue to be raised within rearticulations of national narrative identities. As Moorti argues, diasporas are "long-term, if not permanent, community formations. Although aspects of separation and dislocation tend to be highlighted, these new communities also signify hope and new beginnings" (Moorti, p.357).

The sum of the work conducted for this project demonstrates the process of marrying the theoretical and practical applications of narrative cultural identity, noting that cinematic representations, in their ability to express that which is difficult to conceptualize, offer a platform to overcome challenges of cultural identity construction, particularly through a fostering of intercultural and transcultural communication. The importance of this kind of dialogue cannot be understated; intercultural understanding is a primary step towards the celebration of identity and alterity. As Moisan & Hildebrand explain, « *L'intention est donc d'abolir les différences et d'exclure les similarités. Ou encore de concilier les deux.* » (p.154) After all, cinema reflects as well as affects social changes. In observing expressions concerning Otherness, specifically within diasporic discourses, our analysis contributes to an understanding of the evolving and renegotiated national reactions to these fundamental points of recognition. Moreover, it fosters an ongoing renegotiation of Canadian collective identity, as diasporic discourses redraws boundaries—identity, spacial and cultural—unraveling traditional notions of

Canadianness. Within the scope of Canadian narrative identity, diasporic discourses are important markers as it problematizes so much that is essential to constructing collective identities: belonging, nation and nationality, culture, historical consciousness, language, tradition, territory, difference, heterogeneity and homogeneity, indigeneity, and home. However, what this research has demonstrated that the periphery need not necessarily be marked: diaspora cinema emphasizes that home "becomes a site that is no longer limited to the geographic space of a single nation state" (Moorti, p.365). It is important to continue to acknowledge, understand, share and celebrate these polyphonic narratives within national cinematic landscape.

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Annex I : Grid Analysis: Intergenerational Conflict Narratives

Description of geographical, historical and social context of the narrative

a) describe the context of the scene
b) time
    a. what images are projected that evoke the past? present? future?
    b. how are these images integrated into the narrative? (i.e. flashback, ellipse etc.)
    c. are there any markers of historical context?
c) place
    a. where does the narrative take place?
    b. is the setting connoted positively or negatively?
    c. how is the national or public spaces connoted? domestic space?

Description of main characters, agents of the conflict

a) physical description of the character
b) psychological description of the character
c) description of the family role
    a. what role does the character hold in the family?
    b. how does the family qualify this character?
    c. how does the character qualify their family?
d) character reflections on their role in their ethnic community
    a. the character identifies with which cultures?
    b. does the character express a unicultural or a pluricultural identity?
e) reflections on Canadian identity
    a. how does the character view Canadian culture?
        i. unicultural, pluricultural, interculture or transcultural society?
    b. is it complimentary or antagonist to his own culture?
f) what emotions are incited by their relationship between cultures?
    a. does the character partake in ulterior intercultural or transcultural experiences?

Description of familyrelationships

a) description of the family
    a. familymemberdynamic
b) reasons for havingemigrated
    a. whichmember(s) emigrated?
    b. do they describe the process? transition?
c) reflections of the family's culture
    a. values
    b. ways of thinking
    c. custums
    d. food, clothing
d) reflections of the family's role in the community
    a. does the family identify with an ethnic group?
    b. do they participate in a particular community?

    c. are there communities by which the family does not identify?
e) reflections on Canadian culture
f) reflections on Canadian identity

Description of the intergenerationalconflict

a) time and place of the conflict
b) values at the centre of the conflict
    a. explications, opinions, beliefs, reflections et emotions provoked by the conflit
c) sequence of the conflict
    i. verbal communication
    j. non verbal communication
    k. behaviours

Description of cinematographic strategies

a) Narration
    a. structure
    b. style
    c. camera perspectives and angles
        i. objective or subjective?
        ii. gaze or focus?
b) Montage
    a. relationship between time/space as developed by editing
    b. rhythm of music
c) Image
    a. clarity
    b. movement
    c. tempo
    d. colour
    e. exposure
d) Sound
    a. significance of musical score and/or soundtrack?
    b. marked or unmarked sound effects or synchronization?

Annex II : Grid Analysis: Narratives Evoking Ukrainian Culture in Canada

Description of geographical, historical and social context of the narrative

a) describe the context of the scene
b) time
    a. what images are projected that evoke the past? present? future?
    b. how are these images integrated into the narrative? (i.e. flashback, ellipse etc.)
    c. are there any markers of historical context?
c) place
    a. where does the narrative take place?
    b. is the setting connoted positively or negatively?
    c. how is the national or public spaces connoted? domestic space?

Description of main Ukrainian-Canadian characters

a) physical description of the character
    a. clothing
b) psychological description of the character
c) description of the family role
    a. if there is a family, what is their dynamic?
d) character reflections on their role in their ethnic community
    a. the character identifies with which cultures?
    b. what are their customs, values?
e) reflections on Canadian identity
    a. how does the character view Canadian culture?
        i. unicultural, pluricultural, interculture or transcultural society?
    b. is it complimentary or antagonist to his own culture?
f) what emotions are incited by their relationship between cultures?
    a. does the character partake in ulterior intercultural or transcultural experiences?
    b. is there a culture with which they do not identify?
g) what relationship do they have with Ukrainainness?
    a. do they describe Ukraine?
    b. do they participate in the Ukrainian community in Canada?
h) is the character an immigrant?
    a. if so, do they describe the process? Transition?

Description of aesthetic strategies

a) Narration
    a. structure
    b. style
    c. camera perspectives and angles
        i. objective or subjective?
        ii. gaze or focus?
b) Montage
    a. relationship between time/space as developed by editing

    b. rhythm of music
c) Image
    a. clarity
    b. movement
    c. tempo
    d. colour
    e. exposure
d) Sound
    a. significance of musical score and/or soundtrack?
    b. marked or unmarked sound effects or synchronization?

Annex III : Interview Questions

Type of question	Objective of the question	Exemples of the question	Notes
Informative questions	• establish a rapport with the interviewee	• What is your name? • What is your profession? • How long have you lived in Canada? • From what part of Ukraine did you or your family emigrate? • Have you ever visited/returned to Ukraine? Why?	
Descriptive questions	• entice the interviewee to articulate in detail elements of their personal identity that reflect their relationship to culture and family	*Immigration* • Why did you emigrate from Ukraine? How did you feel about leaving behind your home country? • What was your experience in adapting to Canadian way of life? • How do you feel about your roots compared to when you first immigrated? • What do you know about your family's immigration to Canada? *Cultural identity* • What do you consider to be your culture? (i.e. Ukrainian? Canadian? Ukrainian-Canadian? Other?) • Why? • Do you ever feel that sometimes your own ways of viewing the world differ from those of members of your cultural community? • What impressions do you have about your heritage? • Do you consider yourself a minority because of your ethnic heritage? *Ethnic communities* • Do you participate in a cultural community? • Do you participate in your local Ukrainian community? *Family* • Do other members of your family participate in events of the Ukrainian community? • Can you describe your family? • In general, what culture or cultures does your family identity with? • Can you describe your view of your family heritage or your roots? What images are evoked when you discuss your ancestors? *Generation* • How many generations of your family are living in Canada? • What is your relationship like with your family? • Do you find it difficult to identify with older/younger members of your	Questions on immigration vary depending on the interviewee, as they may be first, second, or third generation Canadians

		family? • Are there a lot of disagreements between the generations of your family? • Are there things that you would never tell your (grandparents/parents/children/grandchildren) because you feel they wouldn't understand you?	
General questions	• inspire the interviewee to express their impressions on collective identities such as *Ukrainianness*, Ukrainian diaspora and, more largely, relationships with other ethnic communities	*Intercultural relations* • Do you feel different from others because of your culture? If so, who? How is this differentiation manifested? • Do you feel that Ukrainians are recognized in Canadian culture? (i.e. monuments, films, political discussions) • What images are evoked when I talk about a dominant culture in Canada? • Do you identify with other minority cultures in Canada? *Ukrainian diaspora* • Do you feel a sense of connection to other Ukrainian-Canadians, for example those in the Prairies? • Can you describe to me an image in your head that, for you, embodies the idea of "Ukrainianness"? • Do you feel that your definition of "Ukrainianness" is different from Ukrainian-Canadian culture?	
Concluding questions	• to wrap up the interview	• Do you have any aspirations for future generations of your family? • Where do you consider *home*? Can you describe it?	

Annex IV : Narrative

"Sweet Little Road"
My path has been crooked. It is tattered and overgrown. Please don't mistake this as a regret for walking the path. I was very happy planting seeds along the way. I just hope that for those who follow behind me, the path to will be luscious and green.

My path has been crooked and long. Sometimes, I feel like I've been walking it forever, father away from home but never reaching my destination. Either way, I am very happy planting seeds along this luscious and green road.

"Trymatysya"
I've never once heard a story: I've heard many versions of the same story. But with each new version the ending stayed the same: melancholic fate, the tragedy of circumstances. No beauty in her youth, no laughter. She carried with her the horrors of humanity's failures, although she was never able to articulate its pain or guilt. Instead it gets passed on, like you would pass on a family heirloom. She just held on to survival. She has suffered through life so much that she does not know how to exist without toil.

"(Her)stories"
My stories and my mother's stories could not be found history books. They weren't even found in films. Sometimes, when looking at old photographs, small traces of this other world could be found. Rough hands, each wrinkle telling of another year of survival. Eyes with a glimmer of sadness.Weathered faces. Her stories were being forgotten with time. There was purpose in her forgetting. She would not have to remember all the questions she did not know the answer to.

"Stay Ukrainian"
The man on the TV told me to 'stay Ukrainian'. It never occurred to me that being Ukrainian was something I could slip out of my hands and lose, like keys or a necklace. Can I lose being Ukrainian? Maybe I'll lose my memories. Maybe I've already lost them. That's okay. I'm not the maudlin type. Instead, I've helped form new memories. With my daughter, with my granddaughter.

"Diaspora"
Sometimes I see people on the street and it is as if I already know their faces. In photographs of old books. Sometimes I see people on the street and wonder if I've met their parents or their grandparents.

“Perspective”
I’ve been reflecting since my trip. I’ve been very lucky that I’ve never wanted something so bad it has consumed my life…

“Sorochka”
I feel like they’re measuring me—with their eyes, with their questions—wondering why I am not exactly like them. They’re judging my differences, my flaws that make my whole. But what values do they hold that are stronger than mine? What is this abstract scale that measure me, as if I were a piece of fabric judged by the thread or the weave or the thread count?

“Growing Old”
I see parts of myself in her. My nose, my hearty spirit. My way of holding up embroidery to the sun, checking the evenness of the stitches and thread. How how to pronounce certain words. Some things inherited, some things taught. Sometimes I look at her and wonder if that’s how I will grow old. She moves slowly but with purpose. Sometimes I look in the mirror and wonder if that’s how she looked like when they were young.