


# Construction of the Ukrainian identity in a neighbourhood: the role of the host society. Example of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* in Rosemont, Montreal.

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 The *Parc de l'Ukraine* (Ukraine Park) located in the neighbourhood of Rosemont, Montreal, acquired its Ukrainian toponym in 1981 and began its replanning in 2017 which consisted of the upgrading of equipment and of the addition of Ukrainian symbols. These symbols were chosen to bring out the Ukrainian identity of the park and of the neighbourhood. During the replanning, relations were established between the Ukrainian community of Montreal and municipal governing bodies. Based on discourse analysis and using the Ukrainian community of Montreal as an example, this article will focus on the role of the host society at a municipal scale, meaning municipal governing bodies, in immigrant identity construction processes. It will look at the interrelationships between ethnic associations and the representatives and professionals of a city during the replanning of an urban park. This article will demonstrate that the host society, enacted by municipal governing bodies, can instrumentalize immigrant communities to promote a specific identity of the city that varies according to various historical contexts. Specifically, we argue that the neighbourhood of Rosemont has been at the centre of construction processes through which it has acquired a symbolic value as the Ukrainian neighbourhood of Montreal. Such processes have relied on the one hand on Ukrainian associations and on the other hand on Montreal's governing bodies.

Keywords: identity, discourses, Ukrainian community of Montreal, Municipal governing bodies, Ukrainian neighbourhood of Rosemont, *Parc de l'Ukraine*

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## Introduction

The study of migratory phenomena represents a major field of research, particularly regarding questions of identity. Many authors have focused on the identity construction of immigrants and ethnocultural communities according to several variables including time spent since migration, reasons of migration, feeling of well-being, religious affiliation, native language proficiency, cultural bias, economic participation,

social relations, perceived discrimination, and ethnic associations (Schrover & Vermeulen 2005; Grant 2007; Valenta 2009; Caselli 2009; Hardwick 2010; De Vroome *et al.* 2011; Huot *et al.* 2013; Jurkova 2014; Amit & Bar-Lev 2015). In the urban context, immigrants' identity construction processes have also been linked with identification to a specific place, such as a city district/borough, a neighbourhood or an urban park (Altman & Low 1992; Rishbeth 2001; Ehrkamp 2005; Ufkes *et al.* 2012; Main 2013; Waerniers 2017). The present article relates to the latter perspective. It looks at how the renaming and the replanning of an urban park, the *Parc de l'Ukraine* (Ukraine Park), contributed to the identity construction processes of a specific immigrant community: the Ukrainian community of Montreal'. By examining how the park changed its name and how it was replanned, the article describes the interrelationships between ethnic associations and the representatives and professionals of a city. These interrelationships in turn will shed light on the host society's role, at the municipal scale, in immigrants' identity construction processes, a factor which is little explored in the existent body of literature.

Regarding specifically urban parks, few authors have focused on immigrants' and ethnocultural communities' identity construction processes at this scale. Main (2013) looked at various meanings that urban parks could bear for immigrants. She highlighted that positive and negative meanings can be associated with them; while a sense of community, belonging and identity can be developed in a park, some may feel a sense of isolation and loneliness. In the same vein, Stodolska and colleagues (2011) demonstrated that parks can help increase a sense of community due to the possibility of fostering social relations. Low and others (2002), for their part, underscored that planning and design practices can damage immigrants' identification to a park, if they do not feel culturally represented for instance, and can also foster a feeling of exclusion. As the authors mentioned "urban parks provide social and environmental mnemonics that communicate who should be there, and historical buildings and places, markers, and monuments [that] set the stage for human behavior" (Low *et al.* 2002, 296). Additionally, in creating a new typology of public spaces, Carmona (2010) found that urban parks are formed through power relationships and can be characterized by their diversity (both social and cultural).

Applied specifically to the City of Montreal, Germain and colleagues (2006) looked at the construction of the ethnocultural character of the *Parc du Portugal* (Portugal Park). This park acquired its toponym in 1975 to commemorate the presence of the large Portuguese community in its surroundings. Later, in 1987, this community requested to replan the park to bring out its culture and to better meet its needs. However, not everyone was pleased with the new replanning. Because of the potential tensions created by this type of replanning in the 1990s (e.g., the difficulty in pleasing everyone), the City of Montreal limited the creation of ethnic parks. For several years, neutral spaces were prioritized over ethnocultural ones and ethnocultural manifestations were relayed to the periphery. For example, in 2005, the City encouraged the holding of ethnocultural festivals at the *Parc Jean Drapeau* instead of their usual local parks. Hence, in the literature, several elements were underscored regarding the ethnocultural character of urban parks: their significance in fostering either a sense of belonging or exclusion for immigrants, the importance of power relationships in their replanning, and the tensions they can foster (such as in the *Parc du Portugal*).

Using the *Parc de l'Ukraine* as an example, the purpose of this article is to render the observations gained regarding immigrants' identity construction processes by looking into the interrelationships between ethnic associations and the representatives and professionals of a city. Based on discourse analysis, this article demonstrates that, first, in general, a host society, enacted by municipal representatives and professionals can instrumentalize immigrant communities to promote a specific identity of the city that varies according to diverse historical contexts. Secondly, in particular, the neighbourhood of Rosemont encompassing the *Parc de l'Ukraine* has been at the centre of construction processes through which it has acquired a symbolic value as the Ukrainian neighbourhood of Montreal. Such processes have relied, on the one hand, on Ukrainian associations, and on the other hand, on Montreal's representatives and professionals.

The article is divided into five sections. First, we briefly present the neighbourhood of Rosemont as well as the arrival of its Ukrainian population. Second, we discuss our methodological approach that relies on discourse analysis. Third, we trace the historical development of Ukrainian identity as it relates to the *Parc de l'Ukraine* by examining its change of toponym, from the 1960s to the 1980s.

Fourth, we focus on the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* (2017–2022) and on the various discourses that were used by the actors involved in this project. Fifth, we discuss our results and compare the City's discourses to those of the Ukrainian community.

### **The *Parc de l'Ukraine*: geographical and historical contexts**

The *Parc de l'Ukraine* is located in the eastern part of Montreal in the borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie. More specifically, it is encompassed in the sociological neighbourhood (*quartier*) of Rosemont, which is a subjective division of the city recognized as such by its local population. Unlike the boroughs (*arrondissements*), it is not an official administrative division (City of Montreal 2021). Nowadays, the borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie is relatively homogenous compared to other areas of Montreal. In 2016, its residents were mainly French-speaking and two-third of them were born in Canada. However, 40% of the residents of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie declared having a migration background, meaning that either themselves, their mother or their father were born in another country. This percentage is lower than for the whole City of Montreal, where 59% of its total population has a migration background. The neighbourhood was first populated by French Canadians, Scots, and Italians (Brisebois & Delagrave 2017; City of Montreal 2018a, 2018b).

Historically, Ukrainians arrived in Montreal at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the literature, authors underscored the development of this community according to four migratory waves: 1) prior to World War I which coincides with the colonization of the Canadian Prairies, 2) during the interwar period, 3) after World War II, and 4) following the collapse of the Soviet Union (Kelebay 1975, 1980, 1994; Isajiw & Makush 1994; Mokrushyna 2013). The current war in Ukraine that began on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, could perhaps cause a fifth migratory wave. According to Kelebay (1994), the first Ukrainians who settled in Montreal lived near their workplace, and their settlement attracted other Ukrainian immigrants in these areas. This created several small localities throughout Montreal such as downtown, Pointe-Saint-Charles, Lachine, Ville Émard and eventually Rosemont. In the 1930s, the number of Ukrainians living in Rosemont was estimated being between 144 (1931) and 600 (1939), at a time when there were between 3,500 (1931) and 8,050–10,200 (1939) Ukrainians living in Montreal and its surroundings. Rosemont became more populated by Ukrainians in the 1960s (estimated at several thousand) and it became the dynamic center for this community in those years (Bailey 1939; Kelebay 1992; Lazar & Douglas 1992; McNicoll 1993; Nadeau 2020). More recently, in 2016, there were 18,005 Ukrainians living in Montreal. Of this number, 1,590 Ukrainians were living in Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie which represents 8.8% of the total Ukrainian population of the metropolis (MIFI 2019).

Since their arrival in Montreal, Ukrainians formed several associations, each with a specific purpose: religious associations both Catholic and Orthodox (e.g., Saint-Basil the Great Ukrainian Catholic Church in Lachine, Saint-Michael Ukrainian Catholic Church near downtown, Saint-Sophie Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Rosemont), youth associations which promote Ukrainian patriotism (e.g., SUM, Plast), educational associations where children and teenagers can learn the Ukrainian language (e.g., Ukrainian School of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, Metropolitan Ilarion Ukrainian School), and socioeconomic associations (e.g., *Caisse Populaire Desjardins Ukrainienne de Montréal*), to only name a few. Most of the Ukrainian associations are members of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), a Ukrainian umbrella association with local, provincial, and national branches that aims at representing the interests of the Ukrainian community across Canada (UCC 2022)<sup>2</sup>. Even if these associations are scattered throughout Montreal, there is a concentration of them in Rosemont which provides this neighbourhood with a Ukrainian character. It encompasses three Ukrainian churches, a Ukrainian credit union, two Ukrainian senior residences, two youth associations that have their own building, and some Ukrainian stores.

### **Methodological foundation: discourse analysis**

This research uses the qualitative method of discourse analysis as a data processing method. Basically, Foucault (1969) defined a discourse as consisting of various statements pertaining to a same subject, and that is developed in a specific context. Additionally, Lessa (2006, 285) described a discourse as a “system of thought composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of actions, beliefs and practices.” It is formed,

as Garland (2014) explained, during a specific historical period through the system of thought and the power relations that then existed. Also, as noted by Seignour (2011), a discourse is constituted of the subjective representations that speakers have of a subject, which they may inculcate to their audience. And as such, to hold a specific discourse constitutes an act of influence. The subjective representations, as Van Dijk (1985) pointed out depend on the speaker's aims, knowledge, interests, and attitudes.

Consequently, in the current research, a discourse is understood as statements expressing the beliefs, representations, interests and system of thought that a person, or a group of persons, holds at a certain point in time and that they might want to influence their audience with. One such type of discourse that we will examine is the 'inclusivity discourse' (a discourse about Ukrainians being included in the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*) promoted by municipal representatives. It will be opposed to the 'non-inclusivity discourse' (a discourse about Ukrainians not being included enough in the replanning) promoted by the Ukrainian community.

Overall, as mentioned by Gumuchian and Marois (2000), a methodological approach such as discourse analysis allows to interpret a variety of subjective social phenomena, instead of explaining them according to objective facts. In this vein, Dittmer (2010, 284) added that this method "does not provide a satisfying 'Truth' at the end of the research, but rather a situated reading of life's phenomena", which in the present case concerns the impact that the City of Montreal may have on the identity construction of its Ukrainian community. It does so by allowing the identification of the beliefs, representations, interests, and systems of thought of various actors involved in the formation of a discourse. Therefore, by using discourse analysis, we will delve into the representations of both the Ukrainian community and the City of Montreal, from the 1960s to 2022.

To collect discourses related to the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, 43 semi-structured individual interviews of an average duration of one hour each were conducted with City's representatives and professionals as well as members of the Ukrainian community of Montreal, including representatives from various Ukrainian associations, Ukrainians involved in their community and Ukrainians residing in Rosemont. Interviews were carried out until reaching a point of saturation, when additional interviews generated little or no additional information (Morses 1995; Guest *et al.* 2006). Questions asked touched upon several topics, like the history of the relations between the Ukrainian community and the City of Montreal, and the Ukrainian's/City's perception of several projects that affected the Ukrainian community. In addition to interviews, official documents regarding the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* were collected, such as press releases, publications on the Borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie Facebook page, executive summaries, archive documents and Montreal's various official documents (e.g., charters and action plans).

### **The renaming of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* (1961–1981)**

The park now known as the *Parc de l'Ukraine* was first inaugurated in 1937, under the name of *Parc Campbell-Nord* (on Bellechasse Street). Charles Sandwith Campbell, a wealthy lawyer and philanthropist bequeathed a part of his fortune to the City of Montreal to plan parks and children's playgrounds, hence explaining the name of this park. Throughout the 1960s and in the late 1970s, steps were taken by the Ukrainian community and the City of Montreal, represented by the mayor Jean Drapeau, to change the *Parc Campbell-Nord* toponym to a Ukrainian toponym (Robillard 1948; City of Montreal 1995). On December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961, Nick Hrab, president of the Montreal Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (now known as the Ukrainian Canadian Congress), requested in a letter addressed to the mayor Jean Drapeau that a park in the neighbourhood of Rosemont be named after Taras Shevchenko, a famous Ukrainian poet. Drapeau seemed interested in collaborating with the Ukrainian community to change the name of a park as shown in a letter dedicated in 1962 to his Winnipeg counterpart of Ukrainian origin, Stephen Juba. In his correspondence, Drapeau mentioned that he intended to name a park after Shevchenko while highlighting the contributions of Ukrainians to Canada such as their hard work, their devotion to their host country and the richness of their culture (La Presse 1962a).

In the context of the 44<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ukraine's first independence, Drapeau mentioned that "Canada is proud to have welcomed the sons of Ukraine; the country was enriched by their traditions and their industry. In return, these new Canadians joined loyally with their compatriots of other

origins to build in North America a great, free, and democratic country" (La Presse 1962b). However, despite these speeches, no park was named in honour of Shevchenko<sup>3</sup>. Two years later, in 1964, the city councillor Paul-Émile Sauvageau, on behalf of Mayor Drapeau, announced during a UCC banquet that a park in Montreal will bear the name of Ukraine (instead of Shevchenko) (La Presse 1964). After a follow-up made by Luka Tomaschuk, vice-president of UCC – Montreal Branch, in 1965, the municipal authorities tried to find a park that could be named *Parc de l'Ukraine*. At this point in time, this project was not completed<sup>4</sup>.

Over a decade later, efforts had resumed to change the name of a park to honour the Ukrainian community of Montreal. In the 1970s, Renée La Rochelle-Chumak, a French-Canadian woman married to Bohdan Chumak, a man of Ukrainian origin, became more involved within the Ukrainian community of Montreal and in the changing of the park's toponym (Valerio 2017). During an interview with the Ukrainian radio broadcast *Ukrainian Time*, she mentioned that "I always passed in front of the *Parc Campbell* [...]. So, I said, why don't we change the name for *Parc de l'Ukraine*" (Ukrainian Time 2018). However, this name was not consensual within the Ukrainian community; some wanted the park to bear another name than *Parc de l'Ukraine* such as *Parc Mazepa*, to commemorate Hetman Ivan Mazepa (Ukrainian Cossack military leader). The municipal authorities also seemed to have some reluctance regarding the changing of the name of the park.

In 1980, Mayor Drapeau said he would prefer the park to bear the name of a famous Ukrainian personality instead of a country, by fear of creating a precedent among other ethnocultural communities in Montreal (Rudnyckyj 1992; Ukrainian Time 2018). After negotiations, Jean Drapeau finally gave his support to Renée La Rochelle-Chumak's project<sup>5</sup>. In September 1981, after an arrangement between representatives of the City of Montreal and of the Ukrainian community, it was agreed that the *Parc Campbell-Nord* would be renamed *Parc de l'Ukraine*. A draft by-law was written and approved by the municipal council on November 9<sup>th</sup> (City of Montreal 1981).

During the interviews, it was mentioned by Ukrainian interviewees that the *Parc de l'Ukraine* toponym now contributes to identifying Rosemont as being Ukrainian. As Petro<sup>6</sup>, a Ukrainian resident of Montreal underscored, "it's like Little Italy. [...] You identify a neighbourhood." Furthermore, Renée La Rochelle-Chumak stated in an interview with radio *Trembita* in 2017 that "this park is part of the heart and soul of the Ukrainian community" (Valerio 2017). By analyzing the discourses expressed during a period spanning some twenty years, we observe that the urban space now named *Parc de l'Ukraine* has come to be seen as a centre of the Ukrainian community of Montreal and as one of its identifying elements which underlines its Ukrainian identity.

## The replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* (2017–2022)

### *Context and technical description of the replanning work*

The *Parc de l'Ukraine* was replanned in 2017–2018. Interviews with representatives from the City of Montreal and official documents revealed several reasons justifying a do-over: the state of disuse of the park and of the park's chalet, a subsidy obtained to replace the paddling pool by water games, and the popularity of the park due to the presence of schools and daycares nearby (City of Montreal 2017a). Many adjustments were brought during the replanning of the park. The playground was changed, the paddling pool was replaced by water games, and other equipment was added such as a ping-pong table, a sandbox for children and a multigenerational swing. In addition to these changes, some Ukrainian symbols were added to recall the presence of the Ukrainian community in this area, namely the crossing paths in the park that form the Ukrainian *tryzub* (trident on the Ukrainian coat of arms), the printed Ukrainian *tryzubs* on concrete benches near the water games, and a vegetated metal arch that represents the Ukrainian tunnel of love – a tree tunnel found around a railway near the town of Klevan located in Western Ukraine. The plants that composed this arch were chosen to remind the essences and smells of Ukraine (Fig. 1, 2). The renovation of the park was completed by the addition of an artwork representing a giant *pysanka* (Ukrainian Easter Egg) on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2022.

Parallel to the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, there was a project to modernize the park's chalet to better meet the needs of users and to facilitate the holding of annual events, including the

Montreal Ukrainian Festival organized by the Saint-Volodymyr Cultural Association. The chalet was first built in 1940 and bequeathed by the Campbell Estate to the City of Montreal on December 31<sup>st</sup>. Modernization work began on April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017, under the responsibility of the architectural technician Sophie Deslisle, and was finished a year later. It consisted mainly of upgrading electricity and plumbing facilities and adding a new universally accessible and unisex bathroom. In the new bathroom, a reminder of the Ukrainian flag has been put by borough professionals, namely a blue and yellow ceramic line on the wall (Deslisle 2016; City of Montreal 2017a, 2017b; Borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie 2017a, 2018).



**Fig. 1.** *Parc de l'Ukraine* after the replanning.



**Fig. 2.** Ukrainian tunnel of love (Ukrainian symbol) in the *Parc de l'Ukraine*.

The Three-year Capital Expenditure Program for 2016–2018 outlined that the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* will officially begin in 2017. The landscape architect Jean Cadieux of the borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie designed the plans and was put in charge of the project. Some consultations were held with the Ukrainian community – representatives from the UCC and the Saint-Volodymyr Cultural Association – mainly to present what the replanning would consist of, including the Ukrainian symbols, and to help relocating the Montreal Ukrainian Festival during the construction phase. The replanning began on June 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017 and took almost a year (Borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie 2017a, 2017b; City of Montreal 2017b; Delacour 2018). Regarding particularly the artwork, the selection of the piece was done by holding a contest organized by the Public Art Bureau of the City of Montreal between three selected artists. Prior to the contest, a meeting that brought together the artists, the borough professionals and members of the Ukrainian community had been held. The objective was for the latter to showcase some elements of their culture that could be included in the artwork. The winning artwork, Giorgia Volpe's *Entrelacs* representing a giant Ukrainian *pysanka* made of ribbons with Ukrainian symbols engraved in them was announced on April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2021 (Public Art Bureau 2021).

To celebrate the replanned park, an opening ceremony was held on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018. It was attended by representatives of the borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie and representatives from the Ukrainian community of Montreal. The ceremony consisted of speeches and of the blessing of the park by both a Ukrainian Catholic priest and a Ukrainian Orthodox priest (City of Montreal 2018c, 2018d). About four years later, on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2022, a ceremony was held to celebrate the inauguration of the artwork *Entrelacs*. Again, it was attended by representatives of the borough and of the Ukrainian community. Speeches were given on this occasion, for instance, by Renée La Rochelle-Chumak, Gregory Bedik (president of the Saint-Volodymyr Cultural Association), Eugene Czolij (honorary consul of Ukraine in Montreal), Valérie Plante (current mayor of Montreal), François Limoges (current borough mayor), and Giorgia Volpe<sup>7</sup>. After the speeches, the artwork was blessed by a Ukrainian Catholic priest and a Ukrainian Orthodox priest (Lacerte-Gauthier 2022).

### *City discourses regarding the replanning of the Parc de l'Ukraine*

Several official documents, such as press releases and publications on the Borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie Facebook page, put emphasis on Ukrainian symbols added in the *Parc de l'Ukraine* that contribute to its Ukrainian identity. During interviews, City representatives and professionals also underlined the importance of commemorating the Ukrainian community in the park. Both documents and interviews revealed that two main discourses were used regarding this commemoration: the recognition of Rosemont as an important neighbourhood for the Ukrainian community of Montreal, which we analyze as the 'Ukrainian neighbourhood discourse', and the inclusion of Ukrainians in the replanning, named 'inclusivity discourse' in our study.

Regarding the Ukrainian neighbourhood discourse, City representatives and professionals underscored that Rosemont is a truly important neighbourhood for the Ukrainian community of Montreal. Two main elements were mentioned regarding the significance of the neighbourhood of Rosemont for Ukrainians: the Ukrainian *population* in the area, both past and present, as well as the *institutional landscape*, meaning that visually, Rosemont looks like a Ukrainian neighbourhood. Regarding the first element, official documents concerning this replanning acknowledged that there is a current Ukrainian population nearby and that there was a historical Ukrainian population who contributed to the development of the neighbourhood of Rosemont. As mentioned in the invitation to the opening ceremony of the replanned park "the new configuration of the park encompasses [...] visual elements that testify of the presence of the Ukrainian community in this neighbourhood", which highlighted that there are still Ukrainians who reside in Rosemont. For his part, the former borough mayor, François William Croteau, underscored during the ceremony that "we wanted to honour the very strong Ukrainian community who contributed to the development of this neighbourhood" thus recognizing the historical significance of Rosemont for the Ukrainian community (City of Montreal 2018d).

During the interviews, the importance of the Ukrainian population in this area, both past and present, was also mentioned. While Paul talked about the fact that "we found a large number of

Ukrainians [in Rosemont]”, Jean-Luc, for his part, emphasized the history of the neighbourhood. He, as well as other interviewees, acknowledged that even if there are still Ukrainians who reside in Rosemont nowadays, their number decreased over time, thus becoming more a historical Ukrainian neighbourhood. However, according to these interviewees, it doesn't make the neighbourhood less Ukrainian; especially when compared to other ethnic neighbourhoods that seemed to follow the same pattern, meaning that immigrants tend to be more clustered in a neighbourhood upon their arrival to become scattered across the city over time. In this vein, Jean-Luc indicated that even if the ethnocultural population declines as is the case with Ukrainians in Rosemont, the neighbourhood remains significant for them, because of its *historical* importance:

For me, saying that Rosemont is a Ukrainian neighbourhood, I am like, yeah, it's true. There is history behind it... the borough [Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie] united two neighbourhoods. So, you had La Petite-Patrie on one side, west of Iberville, and Rosemont, east of Iberville where there is the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, and La Petite-Patrie, where there is Little Italy. However, in Little Italy, there are fewer Italians who currently live there. [...] But we continue to call it Little Italy, because there is a story behind it. You know, the neighbourhood life was developed around this. It's the same for the Ukrainian neighbourhood. [...] Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie, it's the heart of Ukrainians in Quebec.

Putting emphasis on the Ukrainian population in this neighbourhood, both past and present, exposes that there is indeed a Ukrainian neighbourhood discourse expressed by municipal representatives.

A second element uncovering the Ukrainian neighbourhood discourse is the institutional landscape. Some interviewees mentioned that Rosemont is important for Ukrainians because of its visual aspect. The Saint-Sophie Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, the Montreal Ukrainian Festival, and the *Parc de l'Ukraine* toponym were mentioned as representing the Ukrainian presence in the neighbourhood. As stated by Marie-Anne “the Ukrainian presence is felt mostly by... one of the architectural gems of Rosemont, the church [...] Saint-Sophie”. This visual aspect has also been improved by the Ukrainian symbols added in the replanned *Parc de l'Ukraine*.

The inclusivity discourse, for its part, concerned the *inclusion of the Ukrainian community* by City representatives and professionals in the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*. This discourse was conveyed by the Ukrainian symbolic added in the park, by the consultations with the Ukrainian community during the replanning process and by the accommodation of the Montreal Ukrainian Festival, a three-day annual event that traditionally took place at the *Parc de l'Ukraine*. Regarding the *Ukrainian symbolic*, as previously mentioned, some Ukrainian symbols were added in the park, one of which is the crossing paths that represent the Ukrainian *tryzub*. Even if this symbol is better seen from a bird's-eye view, its significance comes from the fact that the entire replanning of the park, meaning all the spatial organization, was based on it. It was central in the development of the plans of the proposed park, therefore positioning the Ukrainian community as central in the replanning work. For example, on the Borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie official Facebook page, after the inauguration of the park, it was written that “the new configuration of the park, conceived entirely by Borough professionals is based on the symbolic representation of the ‘trident’, Ukrainian emblem, represented by the central axis and the curvatures of the paths...” (Borough of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie 2018). Paul, for his part, added that “the trident formed the organization of the paths [...]. Everything goes from there”, which put the emphasis on the significance of this symbol. The other symbols, meaning the vegetated metal arch that remind the Ukrainian tunnel of love (a tree tunnel found around a railway in Western Ukraine) and the reminder of the Ukrainian flag in the bathroom of the park's chalet were also mentioned as elements involved in the inclusion of the Ukrainian community, thus, in the inclusivity discourse.

However, this inclusivity discourse is not only related to the added Ukrainian symbols in the park, but also to the replanning process itself, meaning that *Ukrainians were consulted*, and that the *Montreal Ukrainian Festival was accommodated* throughout all these changes. Regarding these consultations, the interviewees stated that the Ukrainian community was consulted during the replanning of the park. They mostly mentioned that the project was presented to Ukrainians and that they were pleased with it. Paul specified that even if the replanning was not a collaborative process per se, there were indeed meetings with Ukrainians, and they were happy with the proposed plans. Other than the replanning of the park in 2017, during the related project of the *Entrelacs* artwork, a collaborative process between the Ukrainian community and the artist had been underlined in a press release from the Public Art



Bureau. It stated that “the sculptural work will be produced following a collaboration with members of the Ukrainian community of the borough which will begin this spring [2021]” (Public Art Bureau 2021). These examples show that, according to City representatives and professionals, there have been varying degrees of consultation with the Ukrainian community concerning the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, ranging from some meetings to a collaborative process, which convey the inclusivity discourse.

Regarding another element that relates to the inclusivity discourse, the interviewees mentioned that everything was done *to maintain the Montreal Ukrainian Festival* in the *Parc de l'Ukraine*; picnic tables had been added, new locations for the outdoor stages and bars had been found, and the needs of the organizers were considered in the replanning of the park's chalet. Also, it was stated that help was provided to relocate the festival to the nearby *Parc Beaubien* while the *Parc de l'Ukraine* was under construction and became temporarily unavailable for holding events. As Jean-Luc mentioned, “you know, we thought of them [Ukrainians] when we did the replanning [of the park]. We also thought of their festival, which became bigger throughout the years. [...] When we replanned the park, we had planned some amenities and equipment for them.” Thus, City representatives and professionals understood the significance of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* for the Montreal Ukrainian Festival, and they tried to accommodate the event. However, despite these accommodations, the festival finally stayed in the *Parc Beaubien*<sup>8</sup>.

### *Ukrainian community discourses regarding the replanning of the Parc de l'Ukraine*

During the interviews, discourses expressed by the Ukrainian community were more diverse than the ones that were conveyed by the City of Montreal. One was shared with City representatives and professionals, while another was divergent. For the shared discourse, both the City and the Ukrainian community acknowledged that Rosemont is an important neighbourhood for Ukrainians in Montreal, following the ‘Ukrainian neighbourhood discourse’, thus explaining the need of commemorating this community in the replanned *Parc de l'Ukraine* and of honouring its Ukrainian identity. However, the inclusivity discourse promoted by the City, was contradicted by the Ukrainian discourse of *not* being included enough in the replanning of the park, which we identify as ‘non-inclusivity discourse’.

Regarding the shared discourse, for most of the Ukrainian interviewees, Rosemont can be considered as a Ukrainian neighbourhood for three main reasons. Firstly, it is the area with a Ukrainian *institutional landscape*, meaning that there are many visible Ukrainian institutions clustered in one single area, such as three Ukrainian churches (Saint-Sophie Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, Assumption-of-the-Blessed-Virgin-Mary Ukrainian Catholic Church, Saint-Mary-the-Protectress Ukrainian Orthodox Church), a Ukrainian credit union (*Caisse Populaire Desjardins ukrainienne de Montréal*), two Ukrainian senior residences (*Résidence ukrainienne*, *Villa ukrainienne*), two youth associations which have their own building (SUM, Plast), and some Ukrainian stores. Other than these institutions, there are also Ukrainian *toponyms* in the area, namely *Rue de l'Ukraine* and *Parc de l'Ukraine*. So, as mentioned by Yuri “visually, [Rosemont] is still recognized as the neighbourhood that has the most Ukrainian colour to it.” In the same vein, for Viktor, “[Rosemont] it's the biggest [Ukrainian] place, because there are institutions. [...] Everyone needs a neighbourhood, right? So, to say that it is there [in Rosemont], I am OK with that.” Secondly, there are many Ukrainian *activities* that take place in the neighbourhood of Rosemont, for example, concerts, divine liturgies, Ukrainian Saturday schools, as well as the annual Montreal Ukrainian Festival. They represent opportunities for Ukrainians to gather and to talk in their language. Thirdly, the area began to be heavily *populated* by Ukrainians in the 1960s–1970s. Even if the Ukrainian population decreased over time and is more dispersed throughout Montreal, some still reside there nowadays.

In opposition to the shared discourse promoting Rosemont as an important neighbourhood for Ukrainians, regarding the inclusive nature of the replanning, the discourses between the City of Montreal and the Ukrainian community diverged. Contrary to the vision of the City of Montreal that highlighted the inclusion of the Ukrainian community through the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* to promote its Ukrainian identity, Ukrainians, for their part, felt they were not included enough in this process due to three main reasons: 1) the replanning does not reflect the Ukrainian character of the neighbourhood, 2) the consultations between the City professionals and the Ukrainian community

were considered insufficient, and 3) the annual Montreal Ukrainian Festival had to change its location from *Parc de l'Ukraine* to *Parc Beaubien*.

As mentioned above, Ukrainian symbols were added in the park. Most of the Ukrainian interviewees who were aware of this project do not think the park looks like a Ukrainian park, and they don't feel represented in the chosen symbolic. For instance, Vira mentioned that "they [the changes] don't have a Ukrainian flavour if that's what it was meant to have" while Viktor highlighted that "it is named *Parc de l'Ukraine*, but... it doesn't look like a Ukrainian park." For her part, Oxana specified that it would be important for the park to look Ukrainian because of its central location for the Ukrainian community and because its toponym reflects its Ukrainian identity: "I guess the fact that it's named *Parc de l'Ukraine* kind of... it's not reflected in the appearance of the park. [...] Uh, I guess it would be nice for there to be something that, to reflect the name and the fact that it's sort of the central area of the Ukrainian community at this point." Some Ukrainian interviewees mentioned that the chosen symbols are too subtle for people to notice that they are Ukrainian. They considered that there are not a lot of individuals who are aware that the tunnel of love is in Ukraine whereas the *tryzub* can only be seen if one flew above the park.

In addition to the Ukrainian interviewees that thought that the Ukrainian presence is not sufficiently reflected in the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, others felt they were not included enough because of a lack of consultation during this process. Some of them felt that the Ukrainian community was not consulted at all, while others said they were consulted, but only in the later stages of the replanning. They believe they should have been involved throughout this process. Therefore, according to them, there was not a real consultation effort on the part of the City of Montreal. As Oxana mentioned:

There was a plan I guess that the City instituted and then uh... asked us if we wanted to add anything that was kind of Ukrainian. But it wasn't kind of a concerted uh, effort that they... [...] ...you know, at the planning stages, uh, I don't feel that uh, the Ukrainian community was consulted. It was only after everything had been planned out uh, I think the Ukrainian community was then asked if we wanted to put something in, uh... maybe like a token, object, or something to uh, I guess to, to be able to say that it's still *Parc de l'Ukraine*.

In the same vein, Maxim felt that the City only presented the plans, and then asked if the Ukrainian community wanted to add anything else, rather than having a real dialogue with them from the beginning of the replanning: "But you know, [the City] didn't consult us, eh. We had a meeting, but it was already too late, too late, you know. [...] They didn't ask for our opinion." According to Maryia, this lack of consultation does not only apply to the replanning itself, but also to the contest organized by the Public Art Bureau for the choice of an artwork to be installed in the park. In her opinion, the meeting between the borough professionals, the artists, and the Ukrainian community was insufficient. Ukrainians only showcased some elements from their culture rather than being actively involved in the choice of the artwork. She stated that "there wasn't enough consultations. [...] Because it's due to this, this lack of, in my opinion, integration from the start. It always comes top-down. It always comes from the political gesture rather than from the community."

Finally, the non-inclusivity discourse expressed the fact that the *Parc de l'Ukraine* represents Ukrainian identity and is important for the Ukrainian community not just because of its toponym, but because it was the traditional location of the annual Montreal Ukrainian Festival (before the replanning), which was insufficiently accommodated during this process. Some Ukrainian interviewees mentioned that they were disappointed that the Montreal Ukrainian Festival had to change its location from *Parc de l'Ukraine* to *Parc Beaubien*. Of course, the festival had to be relocated when the park was under construction in 2017, but it continued to be held in *Parc Beaubien* afterward. Some Ukrainian interviewees thought that the relocation of the Montreal Ukrainian Festival was directly related to the replanning of the park. This perception can indeed lead to the impression that Ukrainians were being thrown out of their own park and supports the feeling of a lack of inclusion. For instance, Alexei stated that "it's kinda weird, right, they call it *Parc de l'Ukraine*, then they made all these changes and, and the festival, you know, the festival is not there anymore." Other Ukrainian interviewees thought that the *Parc de l'Ukraine* was simply too small to keep holding such a big event, so it had to be moved to *Parc Beaubien*. Their perception is less related to the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, and thus, they did not mention a lack of inclusion.

## Discussion

Since the 1960s, there were efforts to commemorate the Ukrainian presence in Rosemont, and in the 1980s, specifically in the *Parc de l'Ukraine*. Since that latter decade, its Ukrainian identity was highlighted, be it by its Ukrainian toponym (1981) or by the replanning that added Ukrainian symbols in the park (2017–2022). Indeed, as mentioned respectively by Main (2013), Low and others (2002), the designation of a park with an ethnocultural name as well as planning practices can reinforce the identification of an ethnocultural community to such a place, if it feels represented enough. Carmona (2010) added that power relationships between various actors are significant in the creation and development of these places, which, in the present case were between the Ukrainian community of Montreal and the City of Montreal. During the change of the park's toponym, they were at the beginning mostly between Ukrainian representatives from the UCC and Jean Drapeau (in the 1960s), to finally become largely between Renée La Rochelle-Chumak and Mayor Drapeau (late 1970s–early 1980s). While for the replanning of the park, even if this project was decided under Denis Coderre's term in office (2013–2017), it was mainly accomplished during Valérie Plante's terms in office (2017–in progress). Therefore, the relations regarding this project were mainly between various representatives from the Ukrainian community (UCC, Saint-Volodymyr Cultural Association) as well as representatives and professionals under Plante's mandate. It is in this context of municipal policies that discourses were formed.

Regarding the City's discourses, they concerned two main elements: the recognition of Rosemont as an important neighbourhood for Ukrainians in Montreal (Ukrainian neighbourhood discourse) and their inclusion in the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* (inclusivity discourse). This inclusion concerns three main elements: 1) the added Ukrainians symbols, 2) the consultations with the Ukrainian community, and 3) the accommodation of the Montreal Ukrainian Festival during the replanning process. This inclusivity discourse goes in line with various documents issued by the City that highlighted the inclusive nature of Montreal. For example, in 2004 and 2005 were adopted respectively the Montreal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and Inclusion and the Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities. These two documents mentioned some values that must be respected by every citizen in Montreal, such as dignity, respect for human life and equity. Both also emphasized the importance of the inclusivity discourse. The former asserted the promotion of practices that valued cultural diversity and inclusion while the latter stated that Montreal's status as an inclusive city must be strengthened. Article no.12 of the 2005 charter is particularly eloquent regarding the inclusivity discourse when it stated that "Montreal's cosmopolitan character represents a valuable resource that is further enhanced by promoting inclusion and harmonious relations between its communities and persons of all origins" (City of Montreal 2005, 9).

However, in this charter, inclusivity is not limited to ethnic origin, but encompasses many other attributes such as age, gender, sexual orientation, and social condition (City of Montreal 2004, 2005). More recently, in 2017 the Policy on Social Development was issued whose objective was to create a movement that favours social cohesion and inclusion. As in the previously mentioned documents, the inclusivity discourse was also present in this policy as can be seen when it states that "Montreal is a supportive and inclusive metropolis made up of sustainable neighbourhoods that are excellent places in which to live and thrive [...]" (City of Montreal 2017c, 13). This document was based on four areas of intervention, some of which highlighted the inclusivity discourse. The first area of intervention – to develop a city and neighbourhoods on a human scale – mentioned the need to advocate mixed and inclusive neighbourhoods, while the second – to foster social cohesion and living together – underpinned the creation of inclusive living environments that favours social cohesion (City of Montreal 2017c). Once again, inclusivity was not only related to the ethnic origin but to all other attributes that a person may have (e.g., gender, social condition, health condition).

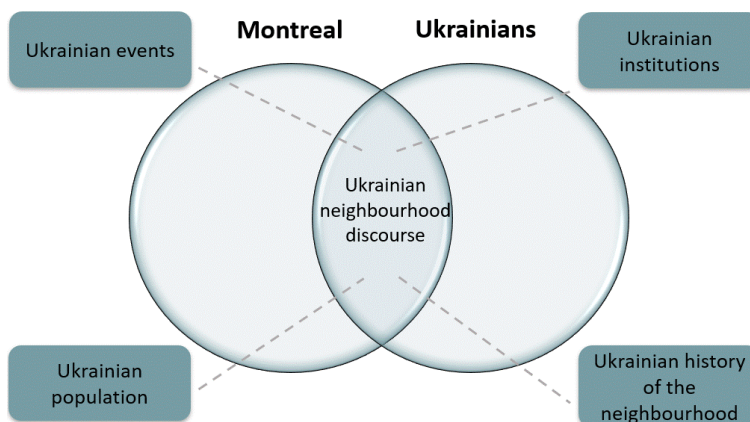
The following year, in 2018, Valérie Plante unveiled Montreal's first immigration action plan named Inclusive Montreal that, as stated by its name, also promoted the inclusivity discourse. The objective of this plan was to demonstrate Montreal's leadership as a proximity government mainly regarding the inclusion and integration of immigrants. The plan proposed four strategic axes, one of which directly concerns Montreal's inclusivity (Inclusive City). This axis had three main objectives: to value Montreal's diversity and the multiple trajectories of immigration, to involve Montrealers in the

integration process of immigrants and to reduce all kinds of discrimination (City of Montreal 2018e). The four documents mentioned above show that Montreal's inclusivity discourse was developed in the 2000s and was highlighted under Valérie Plante's terms in office, mainly applying to immigration and ethnocultural communities. As previously seen, this discourse was promoted again during the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* regarding both the added Ukrainian symbols and the consultations during the replanning process. So, Montreal representatives and professionals seem to use the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* to reassert the fact that Montreal is an inclusive city, even if this perception is not shared with the Ukrainian community. Thus, in this case, the City is perceived as instrumentalizing Ukrainians to promote its own identity.

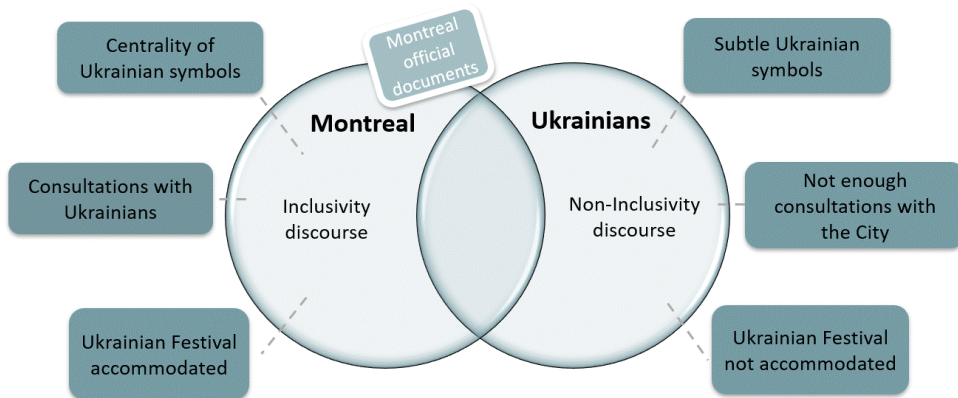
Regarding the Ukrainian community's discourses, one is shared with the City of Montreal's discourses, that is the Ukrainian neighbourhood discourse, while another discourse is divergent, that is the inclusivity discourse (Fig. 3, 4). Even if the City of Montreal promotes an inclusivity discourse in the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, Ukrainians felt they were not included enough for three reasons: 1) they thought that the added Ukrainian symbols did not reflect the Ukrainian character of the neighbourhood, 2) there were not enough consultations with their community during the replanning process, and 3) the Montreal Ukrainian Festival was impacted by the replanning. These elements could damage the identification of Ukrainians to this park. As mentioned by Low and others (2002), planning and design practices can indeed have a negative impact on immigrants' and ethnocultural communities' identification to a park if they do not feel represented enough, which may have happened during the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*. Germain and colleagues (2006) added that immigrants will feel more represented in an urban space if consultations are held with the City in the replanning process, which were considered insufficient in the present case. The holding of an ethnocultural festival in a park was also listed in the literature as strengthening the identification of an ethnocultural community to such a place (Germain *et al.* 2006; Main 2013). Thus, if a festival is not longer held in a park, as is the case of the Montreal Ukrainian Festival in the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, the identification to it might be impacted. Despite these elements, during the interviews, Viktor mentioned that his association planned to talk to the City to see if something could be done in order to make the park more Ukrainian. Therefore, the Ukrainian community wants to be included in the process of replanning the park and wants to strengthen its Ukrainian identity.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this article was to provide a keener insight of the identity construction processes of immigrants by examining the interrelationships between ethnic associations as well as municipal representatives and professionals within a specific context; that is the replanning of the *Parc de*



**Fig. 3.** Shared discourse between the City of Montreal and the Ukrainian community of Montreal.



**Fig. 4.** Divergent discourses between the City of Montreal and the Ukrainian community of Montreal

*l'Ukraine* in the neighbourhood of Rosemont, Montreal. Using discourse analysis as our methodological approach, we first demonstrated that the City of Montreal can instrumentalize immigrant communities to promote its specific identity. Secondly, we revealed that the neighbourhood of Rosemont has been at the centre of construction processes through which it became recognized as the Ukrainian neighbourhood of Montreal. Such processes have relied both on Ukrainian associations and on Montreal representatives and professionals. This demonstration was made possible by focusing on the discourses that were expressed during the change of toponym of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* (1981) and during the replanning that added Ukrainian symbols in the park (2017–2022).

After comparing the discourses used by the City of Montreal and the Ukrainian community during the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine* and retracing the inclusivity discourse since the 2000s, we draw two main conclusions. First, we found that the City instrumentalized the Ukrainian community to promote its identity and its objective of becoming a truly inclusive city. The inclusion of Ukrainians during the replanning of the park was perceived being primordial as shown by the significance of the added symbols, by the consultations with the Ukrainian community and by the accommodation of the Montreal Ukrainian Festival. However, by comparing this discourse to that of the Ukrainian community discourse, which stated that they did not feel included enough throughout the replanning, we can see that this inclusivity could be better implemented concerning specific projects. Hence, there seemed to be a certain divergence between discourses that stated that Montreal is an inclusive city and actions. Thus, it seems that the City used Ukrainians to promote its own identity in the context of a specific replanning project.

Second, by looking at the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, we found that Rosemont was indeed at the centre of a construction process through which it has acquired a symbolic value as the Ukrainian neighbourhood of Montreal, which was developed, as shown by the study of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, by Ukrainian associations that tried to be more involved in the park, and by Montreal's representatives and professionals that added Ukrainian symbols in it and that pronounced speeches recognizing the significance of Rosemont for Ukrainians living in Montreal. Therefore, in Montreal, Ukrainian identity seems to be linked to the *Parc de l'Ukraine* and to the neighbourhood where it stands, meaning Rosemont. Further research perspectives could be developed based on these findings: 1) a study to identify which elements the Ukrainian community deems worthy of commemoration (according to the various conceptions of its identity); and 2) a study to determine how these elements impact public commemoration projects.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In this article “Ukrainian” refers to anyone who identifies as Ukrainian, regardless of their country of origin.

<sup>2</sup> The aim here is not to provide a complete list of all the Ukrainian associations in Montreal (as well as their characteristics), but to give an example of some of these associations. Once, there also was an important communist association (that was not a member of the UCC): the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC). However, in the province of Quebec due to the adoption of the Padlock Law (1937–1957) under Maurice Duplessis, communist activities were deter. This association therefore quickly lost its influence in the province (Hinther 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Correspondance from Nick Hrab to Jean Drapeau, December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961, Collection of thematic files, Parks and Playground, VM166-D01900-A-5. *Montreal Archives*, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>4</sup> Correspondance from Luka Tomaschuk to Paul-Émile Sauvageau, March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1965, Collection of thematic files, Parks and Playground, VM166-D01900-A-5. *Montreal Archives*, Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Correspondance from Paul-Émile Sauvageau to Jean Dupire, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1965, Collection of thematic files, Parks and Playground, VM166-D01900-A-5. *Montreal Archives*, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>5</sup> Correspondance from Jean-Louis Sauvé to Jean Péloquin, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1979, Collection of thematic files 7253, VM001-5-2-8107253. *Montreal Archives*, Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Correspondance from Jean Péloquin to the president and members of the executive committee of the City of Montreal, November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1979, Collection of thematic files 7253, VM001-5-2-8107253. *Montreal Archives*, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>6</sup> All the names of the interviewees are fictional.

<sup>7</sup> Non-Participant observation.

<sup>8</sup> After the replanning of the *Parc de l'Ukraine*, the Montreal Ukrainian Festival became held in the *Parc Beaubien* until the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic (when the 2020 edition of the festival was held online, and the 2021 edition was cancelled). In 2022, the festival was held in *Parc Maisonneuve* (in Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie).

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