

Research Report No. 10

UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY NEEDS-ASSESSMENT STUDY:
PRAIRIE REGION

Bohdan S. Kordan

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
The University of Alberta

Edmonton

1985

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
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This report is part of a research project to assess the needs of Ukrainian Canadians in the Prairie provinces, as they prepare to enter the twenty-first century. Readers may wish to consult Research Report No. 9, *Ukrainians and the 1981 Canada Census: A Data Handbook*, published simultaneously by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, for additional information. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies is pleased to acknowledge the financial support provided to the research project by the Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State, Ottawa.

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Ukrainian Community Needs-Assessment Study: Prairie Region

Introduction

In 1982 the Ukrainian Community Development Committee (UCDC) was formed as an *ad hoc* prairie regional committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) based in Winnipeg. Its mandate was to make representations to political and administrative authorities federally and at various levels in each province, especially in matters affecting language, culture and education. To ensure the most effective recommendations an assessment of the community had to be made and its needs ascertained. Because the available data on the community were inadequate, the UCDC undertook a study of the community. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, formally agreed to participate in the research and in October 1983 the project proceeded under the title *Ukrainian Community Needs-Assessment Study: Prairie Region*.

Methodology, Format and Objectives of Study

To assess the community, and especially its needs, a dual approach was used. First, the community's perception of its own needs had to be established. However, since perception does not necessarily coincide with reality, the perceived needs had to be tested against an objective analysis of the situation. Consequently, aside from the section on community perceptions, census data were included which identified a) the structural characteristics of the community, especially its strengths and weaknesses; and b) those environmental factors which could promote or impede the development of the community. However, to determine the precise effect of these structural elements an analysis at the community level through a questionnaire survey had to be conducted. This meant that the study's empirical component had both macro and micro dimensions, which served equally as an objective appraisal of needs.

The assumption that true and lasting development could occur only through organized efforts suggested that the thrust of the survey had to be aimed at the organized community. This focus necessarily raised a number of questions. For example, how was the organized community to be defined? Clearly, the UCC could not be ignored given its historical role and the oft-repeated claim that it was the co-ordinating body for all non-Sovietophile Ukrainian organizations across Canada. But was this sufficient? There was every indication that a substantial number of Ukrainian organizations were not affiliated with the UCC. It was felt, therefore, that the traditional bias favouring the UCC had to be revised to

accommodate new and non-traditional organizational forms functioning within the community. This also meant that the concept of an "organized community" had to be expanded and the term modified. More precisely, the designations "formal" and "informal" were introduced to distinguish between organized activity within the formal UCC structure and activity occurring outside its structure.

A questionnaire was deemed the most appropriate mechanism for the survey since it offered confidentiality. It was to be administered to all known Ukrainian organizations on the prairies — the geographical scope of the study. The finite character of this group suggested that random sampling (and the consequent errors associated with it) could be avoided. This meant that an exhaustive list of all Ukrainian organizations on the prairies had to be created. The final list did not include umbrella or parent organizations since the most pertinent information was at the branch level. Church parishes were also not included, although data were collected for all other types of organizations affiliated with churches which dealt with some specific aspect of Ukrainian group development. As a valid percentage, the response rate was 49 per cent (N=351). This was somewhat less than hoped for, although the sample was still significant and considered a success given certain opposition to the questionnaire.

The questionnaire itself was designed in such a way as to capture the dynamics at work in the community. The role of the UCC, for instance, being of special interest, figured prominently. The UCC is seen as a traditional source of political power in the community. In the past, it demonstrated relative success in mobilizing the Ukrainian group on various issues. But how extensive is its penetration of the community and what is its relationship with other informally organized elements within Ukrainian Canadian society? Has it been able to establish links with these elements? If such linkages have not been formed, why not? Moreover, in what areas have the linkages been established and where has the UCC failed to make significant inroads? The concern was with the level of organizational networking which can serve as an important indicator of the collective strength of the community.

There are, of course, other pivotal questions that can highlight the dynamics of a group. What is the direction of a community's growth and what is the precise relationship between Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian organizations? Because organizational membership can act as a potential measure of structural shifts occurring within the community, what are the rates of growth in membership and what are the future expectations? Moreover, what activities are the focal point of community energy and is this energy diffused or concentrated on a select number of activities?

In keeping with the proposed methodology, the questionnaire contained a section on the perceived needs of organizations and the organized community generally. Closed and open-ended questions were used to obtain this information.

From the survey, three types of data were extracted: regional, provincial and sectoral. Regional data served as the primary data source. Its general character mirrored one of the basic concerns of the study — to treat the organized community as a single, although decentralized, entity. To be sure, the needs identified by one organization could differ from another if their activities were dissimilar. For this reason, allowance was made for data that would differentiate by *activity* sector; organizations were to be classified according to the types of activities they sponsored and with respect to a specific activity sector. For example, organizations that dealt with dance were placed in the arts sector. On the other hand, the gathering of data on the provincial level offered an opportunity to examine possible provincial variations or variations within sectors by province.

All three types of data — regional, provincial and sectoral — were used in the analysis, with emphasis on regional data. Where provincial or sectoral data could enhance the quality of analysis or shed more light on a particular issue, these were also used, although selectively. The limited use of provincial and sectoral data, however, should not overshadow its intrinsic value. The emphasis on regional data simply met the objectives of this report, which assesses the needs of the whole community in the Prairie provinces.

The analysis of the data was descriptive in nature. Various simple statistical procedures — frequency runs and crosstabulations for specific variables — were used. Control variables were introduced to increase the explanatory power of selected variables.

The discussion which follows approximates the research design outlined above. First, an overview of some major trends affecting the Ukrainian community in Canada is presented, followed by a critical examination of organizational processes at the local level. Parallel developments are discussed from the standpoint of objectively defined needs. The observations are then compared with perceived needs, testing the latter for validity. A summary discussion highlights the major findings of the study.

General (Macro) Trends and the Needs of the Ukrainian Community

The methodology used in the enumeration of ethnic groups in 1981 differs radically in two ways from that used in previous census years. First, ethnic origin was no longer determined by paternal lineage (descent on the male side of the family) but according to perception of one's own roots. Secondly, the individual could identify with more than one ethnic origin. For example, where parental ancestry was both Ukrainian and French, the individual could claim a dual ethnic origin. A special multiple-origin category was created to accommodate those who identified more than one origin.

The above changes have significant implications for Ukrainians and other minorities in Canada. For most non-British, non-French ethnic groups, there is a relative decline in their respective populations. In the case of Ukrainians, for instance, 580,685 individuals in 1971 were identified as Ukrainian, whereas in 1981, only 529,615 were so identified. Technically, the decrease is deceptive because the conditions under which ethnic populations have been enumerated are different. Nevertheless, the direction of the population shift is significant, for it informs us that under conditions that have been relaxed, there are fewer individuals who identify exclusively with the Ukrainian ethnic group.

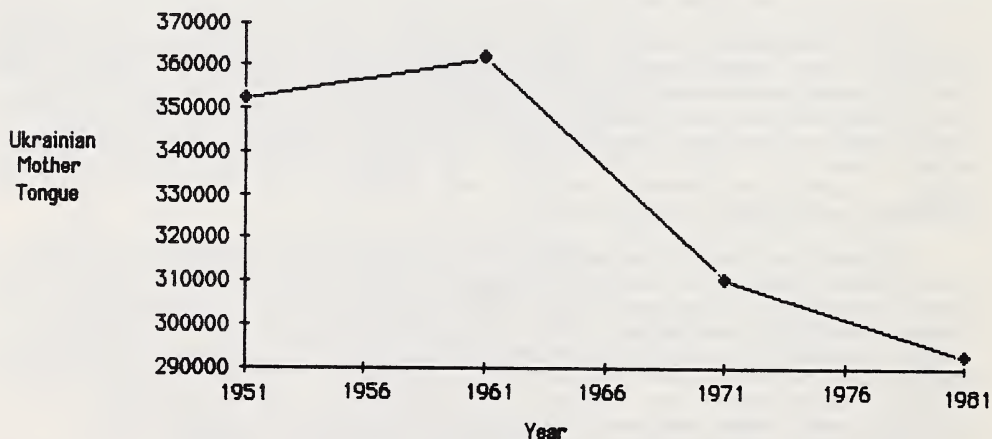
To explain this, one must look to the institutional and related mechanisms which have traditionally served to crystalize the community's identity, especially the triad of family, religion and language. Language, of course, is the vehicle by which culture is transmitted and identity preserved; family acts as the crucible in which cultural traditions and language are practised; while the church has provided much historical continuity in the maintenance of culture and identity. The study will focus in part on these elements and their effect on the community. Other key factors such as the demographics of the community and the effects of urbanization will also be considered.

The Effect of Structural Factors on the Ukrainian Community

Language. To a certain extent, loss of cultural identity can be explained by the decline in the mother tongue as a social factor in the life of the community. Language is the means by which cultural symbols and cultural life are transmitted from one generation to another. Therefore, language loss interrupts the understanding of those traditions and destroys the important historical connection needed to perpetuate the group's identity. As a means of communication, language also enhances the level of inner-group solidity. Language loss, consequently, is not only a measure of cultural weakness but an indicator of the process of social disintegration occurring within the community.

Language loss among Ukrainians has been pronounced in the recent past. Comparative data reveal that the number indicating Ukrainian as their mother tongue declined significantly in 1961-81. There was a negative percentage change of 19 per cent. In absolute terms this signifies a decrease of some 69,000 individuals who gave Ukrainian as the language first learned and still understood (see Figure 1).

Figure 1
Population with Ukrainian Mother Tongue, Canada,
1951 to 1981

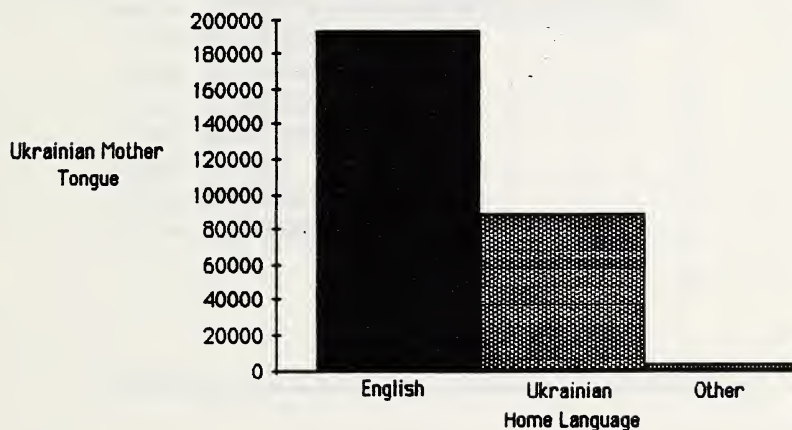


When examining the age distribution of those who gave Ukrainian as their mother tongue in 1981, one is struck by the polarity in the age structure. Although those who are 55 years and over constitute only 28 per cent of the total population, this element accounted for 49 per cent of the group that gave Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Geographically, 28 per cent are in Ontario and, again, a substantial number of this group (30 per cent) are 55 years and over. Significantly, this very small cohort (Ontarians 55+ in age who indicated Ukrainian as their mother tongue) constitutes 15 per cent of the total group in Canada who identified Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

To a degree, the above can be viewed as an index of the decline in the Ukrainian language as a social factor in the life of the community and the family. This is further revealed in the data on home language. Figure 2 shows that only 31 per cent of those who claimed Ukrainian as their mother tongue used it as a

means of communication in the home. Moreover, a phenomenally high percentage of this group is 55 years or over. Unevenness in the geographic distribution of the group is also apparent: Ontario leads with 35 per cent of the total,

Figure 2
Population by Ukrainian Mother
Tongue, Showing Home Language,
Canada, 1981



Manitoba — 21 per cent, Alberta — 18 per cent, and Saskatchewan — 15 per cent. Ukrainian home language users comprise only 17 per cent of the total Ukrainian population in Canada.

The recent and sharp decline in Ukrainian language knowledge and use can be explained by the combination of a) mortality conditions operating on the remnants of the second wave and postwar immigrants, both of whom, being first generation, constitute a large demographic block of Ukrainian language speakers; and b) the virtual absence of Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the late 1960s and 1970s (approximately 500 immigrants per annum). The rate of language loss will continue to be dramatic in the immediate future as the core of postwar immigrants (a group whose age composition is relatively homogeneous) passes on and immigration levels remain negligible. Ontario will be most affected — a function of the fact that Ukrainian postwar immigration gravitated toward the urban industrial centres of Ontario — although the Prairie provinces, from the above evidence, will experience the same results. The rate of language loss will taper off with the passing of this age cohort, but it will continue to be significant as long as current rates of intermarriage and urbanization remain constant.

Family. The nature of family structure is important for language retention and use. The highest level of success for language retention is in households where both husband and wife share the same mother tongue. However, of all marriages involving individuals with Ukrainian mother tongue, only 29 per cent had both husband and wife indicating Ukrainian as their mother tongue. The enormous difficulties involved in maintaining language use when one partner is not conversant in the home language of the other is demonstrated by the following: only 8 per

Figure 3
Population by Ethnic Origin, Showing Divorce Rate,
Canada, 1981

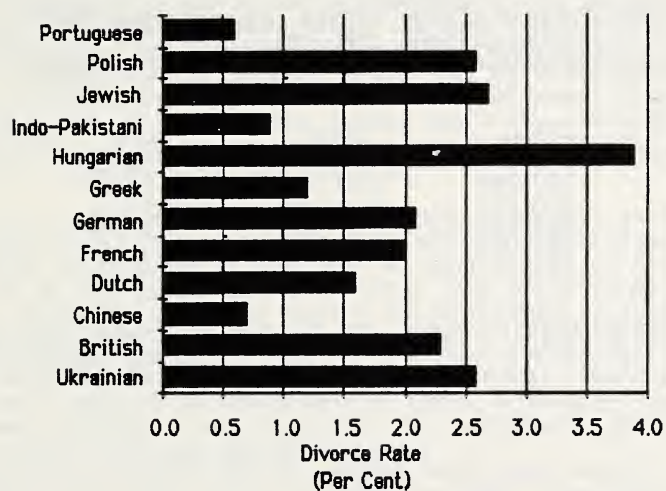
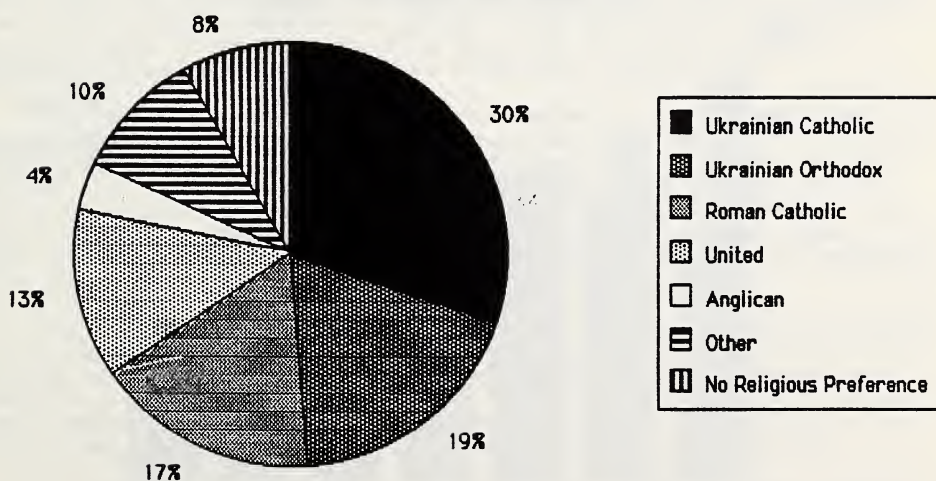


Figure 4
Percentage of Ukrainian Population by Religious
Denomination, Canada, 1981



because the net direction of internal migration is from rural to urban areas, urban centres should have benefited from the rural influx of Ukrainian-language speakers.

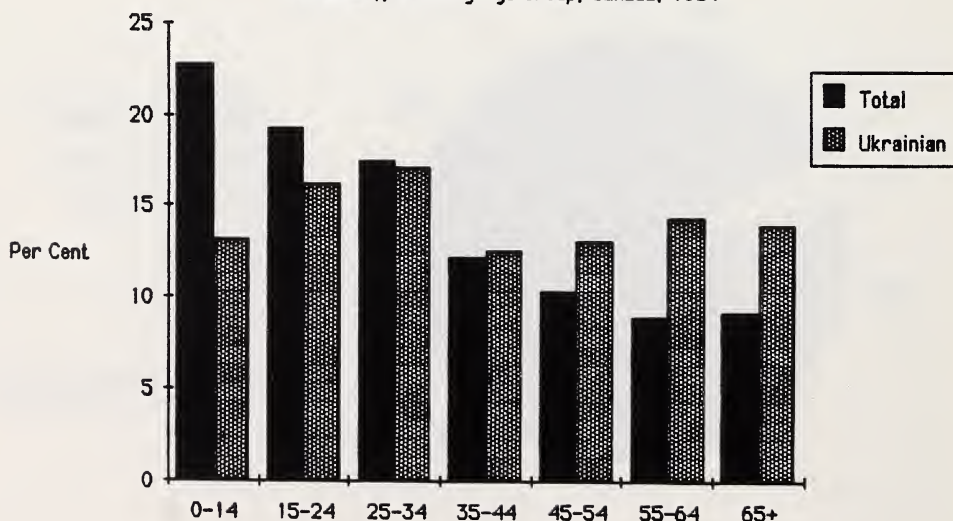
Table 2
Population with Ukrainian Mother Tongue, Showing Urban-Rural Status, Canada, 1951-1981

	Ukrainian Mother Tongue		
	Total	Urban	Rural
1981	292,265	220,185	72,085
1971	309,860	218,240	91,615
1961	361,496	217,360	144,136
1951	352,323	161,719	190,604

This should have occurred despite the fact that the rate of language loss among Ukrainian urban and rural dwellers over time has been the same. In effect, language loss should have been retarded in urban areas but, instead, the rates are the same. This shows the negative effect of urbanization on language retention. If the rates remain constant, urbanization will continue to have a negative impact.

Demography. Certain demographic factors will also influence the character and the direction of the group over time. Figure 5 shows that the age structure of the Ukrainian minority contains a modest cyclical pattern. This pattern deviates from the national composition in two ways: there are fewer young and a disproportionate number of elderly.

Figure 5
Population by Ethnic Origin (Total and Ukrainian), Showing Age Group, Canada, 1981



Two factors explain this variation. The large number of elderly is due to the influx of immigrants in the postwar period whose age structure at the time of immigration was relatively homogeneous. This immigrant group has had a lagged "generational effect," allowing the current 25-34 year cohort to maintain a disproportionately high level of representation within the group as a whole, despite assimilatory pressures. The same effect will carry over into the immediate post-1985 period, also increasing disproportionately the size of the 0-14 year old cohort. However, the low Ukrainian fertility rate will affect the growth of this cohort. In 1976 it was calculated to be 1.63, well below the minimum replacement level of 2.1. The low fertility rate is the second factor which has influenced the cycle, explaining the disproportion in 0-14 year olds between the national and Ukrainian group (see Figure 5).

The age structure and fertility rate harbour potential disaster for the community. The group may have to divert more resources away from community development programmes to cope with an aging population. The responsibility would fall on the younger generation whose own future numbers will be small. In sum, the community could find itself in the predicament of double jeopardy: facing the future with a shrinking base and the burden of caring for a disproportionate number of elderly people.

Macro Trends and Local (Micro) Processes

The macro trends identified above should have a resonant effect on the micro level — the organizational level of the community. For example, overall membership levels within organizations should be declining slightly and more recently fewer organizations should have been forming. The character of the community, especially as defined by its age and generation structure, would suggest emphasis on the more traditional activities. Typically, support for cultural preservation, second-language instruction and religious activity associated with the traditional churches should be up, although moderated somewhat by recent developments within the Ukrainian church. Similarly, a considerable degree of traditional interest in the Ukrainian independence question would continue. Conversely, language use within an organization would be down and, as a logical extension, discussion of topics with Ukrainian themes would be in decline.

To offset or compensate for pressures exerted on the community, one might expect some form of natural counter-response. Given the role of the UCC, the expectation would be for the UCC to have increased its organizing activity in all sectors. One might also expect more extensive networking between the UCC and other organizations as well as an acceleration in recruitment campaigns. Other changes might be increased activity in non-traditional sectors, such as social services. The issue, however, is whether the questionnaire findings empirically support the macro developments affecting the community?

If regional data for membership are examined, they show moderate success has been attained in maintaining membership levels over time (see Table 3). As a valid percentage, 71 per cent of the organizations indicate that membership has increased or is stabilized at current levels. In explaining the increase, 28 per cent of the organizations attributed success to their ability to recruit individuals, while another 18 per cent gave their "well organized activities" as the attraction.

Of those organizations experiencing a decrease, 44 per cent gave people moving out of the community as the main reason (see Table 4). This is not surprising since 82 per cent of the organizations declared that the scope of their activities were local in character. The limited geographic scope of an

Table 3
Membership Over Time for All Ukrainian Organizations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Increasing	124	35.3	36.6
Decreasing	98	27.9	28.9
Remaining the Same	117	33.3	34.5
No Response	12	3.4	-

Table 4
Reasons for Decreasing Membership in Ukrainian Organizations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Indifference to Recruitment Campaigns	13	3.7	12.9
Poorly Organized Activities	1	.3	1.0
Increasing Assimilation	15	4.3	14.9
Group Isolation	1	.3	1.0
Programmes Less Attractive	4	1.1	4.0
Members Move Away	44	12.5	43.6
Absence of Government Funding	3	.9	3.0
Other	20	5.7	19.8
No Response	10	2.8	-
Not Applicable	240	68.4	-

organization's field of activity prevents individuals from maintaining contact once they move and from joining similar organizations elsewhere. This points to the need for increased networking among organizations.

The success achieved in terms of membership is unexpected in view of the macro trends and suggests the influence of some underlying structural cause which needs to be examined. Over 25 per cent of all existing Ukrainian organizations on the prairies were created in the last decade. This is an impressive figure. Significantly, all have registered membership increases, which should not be surprising given that time has been insufficient for these organizations to undergo devolution. As a result, when future membership is cross-tabulated with current levels, 10 per cent of organizations whose membership is currently increasing expect future levels to be down (see Table 5). More importantly, a greater proportion of organizations which currently indicate a stable membership, expect a decrease within the next decade. This undoubtedly reflects a realistic assessment of a situation where the average age of the vast majority of organizations which expected membership levels to decline (46 per cent) was in the 50-60 year old bracket. Presumably, these organizations will be hard pressed to replenish their ranks in the future.

Table 5
Membership Foreseen in Next Decade by Current Membership in
Ukrainian Organizations

		Membership Foreseen Next Decade			Row Total
		Increasing	Decreasing	Remaining the Same	
Current Membership	Increasing	86	12	20	118 37.1%
	Decreasing	6	67	20	90 29.2%
	Remaining the Same	18	40	49	107 33.6%
	Column Total	110 34.6%	119 37.4%	89 28.0%	318 100.0%

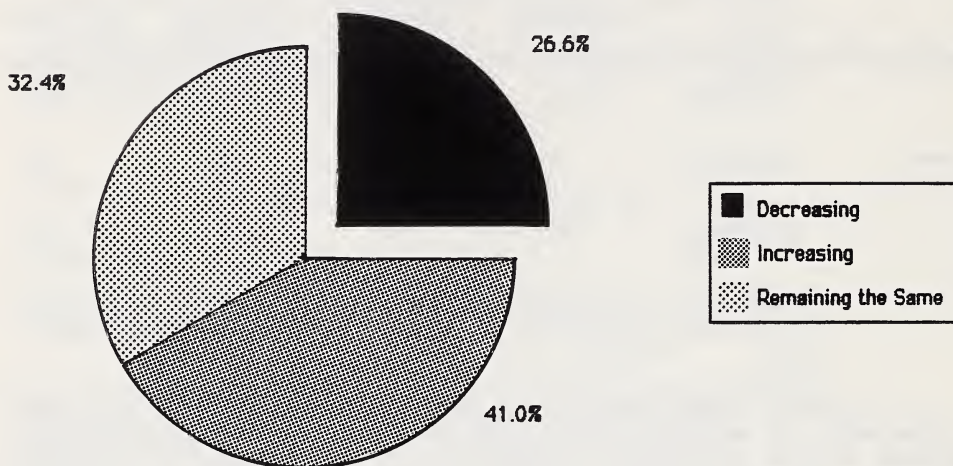
In explaining current membership levels, one must therefore consider when an organization was established. Most organizations experience declining membership levels after an initial period of optimum growth. Consequently, with time, the percentage of organizations with declining membership will increase. An increase in new organizations will affect the latter negatively and inversely, but this is an unknown quantity.

The provincial data follow the regional pattern. Sectoral data, on the other hand, show some interesting differences, most notably in the arts sector. Only 27 per cent of the arts organizations expect a future decrease in membership (see Figure 6). This is much below the norm. Given the importance of age composition in explaining decreasing membership levels at the regional level, what is most apparent is the relative youthfulness of the arts sector membership, 32 per cent being young adults. The expectation that future membership will increase is undoubtedly inspired by the existence of the large pool of young people and the strong belief that arts organizations will continue to attract youth. This suggests much to organizations that wish to remain relevant. It also raises some important questions that will be explored later: What is there about the arts sector that makes it so relevant and what does this imply for other Ukrainian organizations?

It was noted that 25 per cent of the Ukrainian organizations canvassed were established in the last decade. One might expect the UCC to have increased or at least maintained its share of that total. The results are surprising. Table 6 shows that only 32 per cent of the organizations canvassed are affiliated with the UCC. Provincially, Alberta is at the high end of the range (37 per cent), Saskatchewan at the low end (28 per cent), and Manitoba slightly above Saskatchewan (29 per cent). These percentages challenge the UCC's long-standing claim that it co-ordinates the majority of non-Sovietophile Ukrainian organizations in Canada.

At first glance, the arts sector appears to explain the relatively small percentage of UCC affiliates and the provincial variation. Not only are the greatest number of organizations (57 per cent) associated with the arts, but only 33 per cent of them are affiliated with the UCC. Moreover, a greater percentage of arts-oriented organizations are associated with the UCC in Alberta than in the other two provinces. On closer examination, however, one finds that time rather than

Figure 6
Membership Foreseen by Ukrainian Organizations
Sponsoring Arts Activities in Per Cent



the arts sector is most responsible for the slight impact of the UCC. Only 22 per cent of the organizations established after 1955 were affiliated with the UCC. When one considers that 49 per cent of all arts organizations were established after 1971 (see Table 7), it is not surprising that the UCC's contact with the arts organizations should be weak. The point, however, is not the role of the arts sector but of the UCC. Since the mid-1950s the UCC has been relatively inactive in most sectors, thereby failing to incorporate the informally organized community.

In Manitoba, for example, of the twenty-five organizations established in the 1976-82 period, only one organization indicated affiliation with the UCC. To argue that the UCC's constitution restricts its role to organizations which are national in scope, is to ignore the changing character of Ukrainian organized life. It points to the need of the UCC to reassess its mandate, especially if it truly hopes to speak for Ukrainian organizations in Canada.

Despite the UCC's inability to branch out, it has been able to maintain membership levels within its own structure. As many organizations inside the UCC structure as outside claim that membership has increased or remained the same. Moreover, as a valid percentage, i.e., as a percentage of all who responded, 70 per cent of UCC-affiliated organizations thought that the UCC represented their interests. This would suggest a significant degree of satisfaction with the UCC or a high degree of discipline among its member organizations.

From the UCC's failure to network with other Ukrainian organizations, could it be said that the general Ukrainian community is in a situation of organizational disarray? Moreover, what organizational networking is there with non-Ukrainian organizations? Broadly based issues such as bilingual education, for example, should push the Ukrainian community toward greater cross-cultural contact. The latter creates an environment which helps to sustain the cultural development of the group. The data, however, reveal that, while a medium level of networking

Table 6
Ukrainian Organizations Affiliated with Ukrainian Canadian Committee by Year Established

	Pre- 1939	1939- 45	1946- 50	1951- 55	1956- 60	1961- 65	1966- 70	1971- 75	1976- 80	1981- 83	Row Total
Affiliated	27	10	15	9	6	7	4	8	4	7	97 31.9%
Not Affiliated	49	7	13	8	13	6	11	31	45	24	207 68.1%
Column Total	76 25.0%	17 5.6%	28 9.2%	17 5.6%	19 6.3%	13 4.3%	15 4.9%	39 12.8%	49 16.1%	31 10.2%	304 100.0%

Table 7
Ukrainian Organizations Sponsoring Arts Activities by Year Established

	Pre- 1939	1939- 45	1946- 50	1951- 55	1956- 60	1961- 65	1966- 70	1971- 75	1976- 80	1981- 83	Row Total
Sponsor Arts Activities	33	8	16	6	7	9	12	31	37	18	177 56.7%
Do Not Sponsor Arts Activities	44	9	15	11	13	5	4	9	12	13	135 43.3%
Column Total	77 24.7%	17 5.4%	31 9.9%	17 5.4%	20 6.4%	14 4.5%	16 5.1%	40 12.8%	49 15.7%	31 9.9%	312 100.0%

exists within the community (54 per cent of all organizations have formal contact with other Ukrainian organizations: see Table 8a), only skeletal beginnings exist where non-Ukrainian organizations are concerned (only 17 per cent of Ukrainian organizations have formal contact with non-Ukrainian organizations: see Table 8b).

Table 8a
Organizations Affiliated with Other Ukrainian Organizations
Existing Outside Formal Ukrainian Canadian Committee Structure

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Affiliated	184	52.4	53.8
Not Affiliated	158	45.0	46.2
No Response	9	2.6	-

Table 8b
Ukrainian Organizations Affiliated with Non-Ukrainian Organizations

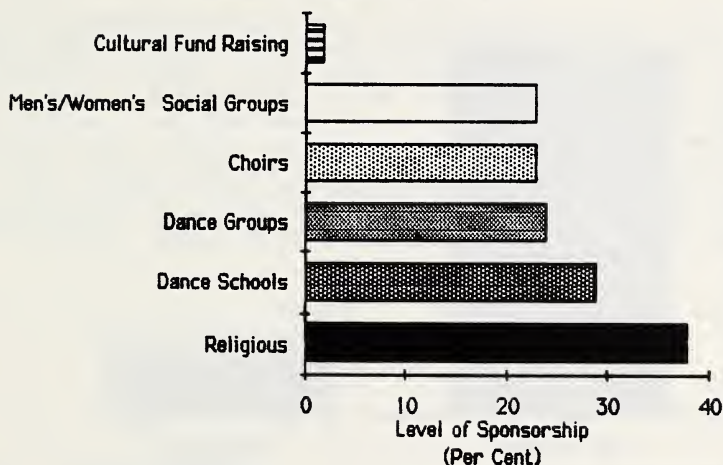
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Affiliated	56	16.0	16.7
Not Affiliated	280	79.8	83.3
No Response	15	4.3	-

The effect of the age structure of organizations on the types of activity sponsored was next examined. The age composition of the majority of Ukrainian organizations — the average age of the membership for 39 per cent of all organizations is 50 years and older — suggests that the focus would be on traditional activities. Figure 7 shows that in order of magnitude, the activities sponsored by at least 20 per cent of the organizations were as follows: religious (38 per cent); dance schools (29 per cent); dance groups (24 per cent); choirs (23 per cent); men's/women's social groups (23 per cent); cultural fund raising (20 per cent). Notwithstanding some slight variation in serial ranking, the provincial data were the same. Age is a critical factor, best reflected in the pronounced participation of organizations in religious activity. Even though a substantial part of the community has severed its ties with the traditional faiths, the elderly as a group continue to maintain their association with the Ukrainian church. Their over-representation within the traditional faiths can be seen from the fact that 32 per cent of the Ukrainian Catholic Church consists of those 55 years and over.

The level of participation in traditional religious activity by Ukrainian groups contradicts the larger trend within Ukrainian Canadian society, namely, the defection of Ukrainians to such non-traditional denominations as the Anglican and the United Church. Presumably, as this element disappears with time, the preoccupation of organizations with aspects of religious activity will also decline.

Data on involvement in activities show that participation in the arts is high. To explain the level of participation in this sector is to account for the relative stagnation of other activity sectors. The difference is the relative youthfulness of members in the arts sector and the failure of established organizations within other sectors to attract youth. In explaining this phenomenon three factors were important.

Figure 7
Activities Sponsored by at Least 20 Per Cent
of Ukrainian Organizations in Per Cent



The first is the natural tendency for cultural forms of identity to be associated with ethnicity. While there are committed individuals who act out their identity in cultural forums, those who define their ethnicity in political terms usually display much greater personal conviction. In a society where cultural pluralism is tolerated but where ethnic political interest groups are not understood (let alone accepted) the tendency is for individuals to gravitate toward cultural or non-antagonistic expressions of identity. In the final analysis, these are the only real options available to ethnic groups. In this sense, for Ukrainian youth, it is much more meaningful to be a Ukrainian dancer than a Ukrainian militant demanding cultural minority rights.

The second factor is the traditional community power structure which, based on a hierarchical system of age (and gender), has effectively shut out the participation of youth in organizational affairs. Rejuvenation at the decision-making level has not occurred within the formal community structure. The young are ambivalent about the fate of traditional organizations. On the other hand, 68 per cent of the arts-oriented organizations exist outside the traditional structure and are able to introduce youth at the executive policy-making level. The average age of executives of 43 per cent of arts organizations falls within the 20-40 age bracket, which compares with 19 per cent for executives of all other organizations. Presumably, the youthfulness of the executives of arts-oriented organizations has enabled them to remain attuned to the needs of youth.

Finally, there is the context. For a great many Ukrainian Canadians, and especially youth, removed as they are from developments in Ukraine, there is little political consciousness to allow the individual to elevate the idea of identity to something other than a cultural phenomenon. More than ever, the Ukrainian group no longer constitutes an immigrant society — only 14 per cent of Ukrainians are

Figure 8a
Immigrant Status of Ukrainian
Population, Canada, 1981

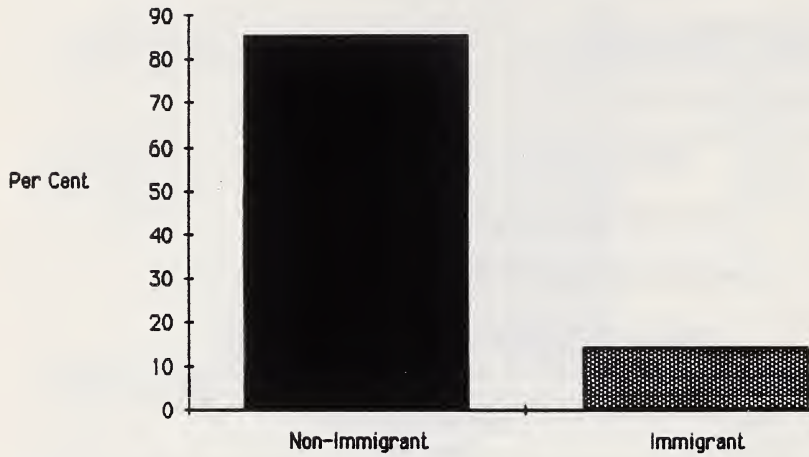
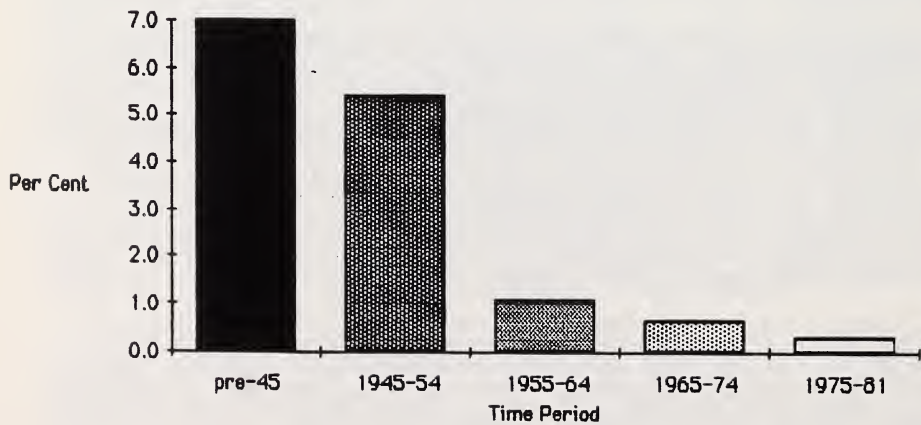


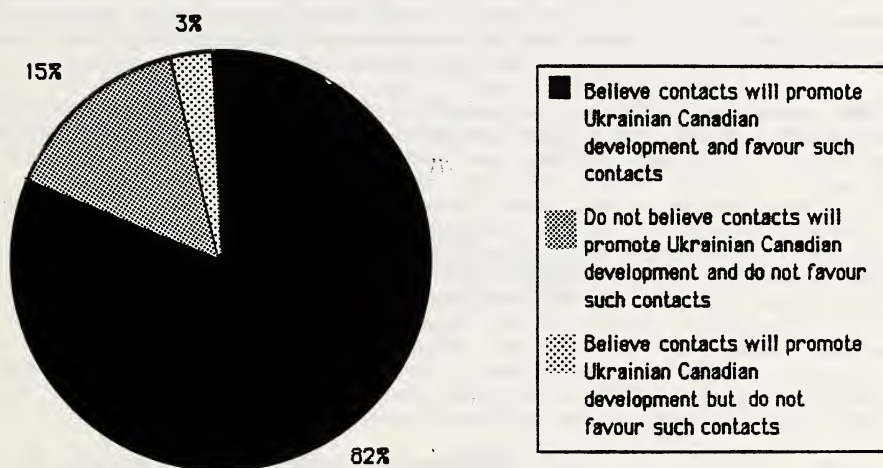
Figure 8b
Ukrainian Immigrants As Percentage of Total
Ukrainian Population by Selected Time
Periods, Canada, 1981



immigrants and of this group slightly less than half emigrated as children prior to 1945 (see Figures 8a and 8b). Knowledge of Ukraine for most Ukrainian Canadians is indirect. Consequently, when one considers that organized Ukrainian life has centred around émigré politics, with the decline in immigration and the subsequent decline in émigré influence, it is easy to understand why the political dimension has lapsed and has been replaced by a cultural component.

The displacement of the political by the cultural is seen in the fact that only 9 per cent of organizations cited Ukrainian independence as the main issue facing Ukrainians in Canada. On the other hand, 32 per cent claimed understanding the cultural roots of the community to be the most pressing issue. Similarly, 82 per cent indicated it was their belief that cultural and educational contacts with Soviet Ukraine would promote the further development of the Ukrainian community in Canada and favoured such contacts (see Figure 9). Three per cent believed such contacts would enhance community development but were opposed to any contact with Soviet Ukraine; 15 per cent believed nothing would be gained from such contacts and did not favour formal exchanges. The overwhelming support for

Figure 9
Ukrainian Canadian Attitudes toward Cultural and
Educational Contacts with Soviet Ukraine



cultural contact with Ukraine breaks with the traditional hostility toward the Soviet Union. It may stem from an awareness that cultural survival is impossible without nourishment from the source. It may also reflect the fact that Ukrainian Canadian society is becoming less immigrant. Cultural exchange will have dual significance: enriching Ukrainian cultural life in Canada and providing Soviet Ukrainians with greater opportunities to contact Ukrainians abroad.

Curiously, organizational involvement in second-language education is limited. Even after allowing for the observed trend of language loss within Ukrainian Canadian society, the lack of involvement is disturbing in terms of the long-term welfare of the community and the widely held belief that culture can only thrive in an environment nurtured by the native language. Only 7 per cent of the organizations actively supported bilingual education, and although support for *ridni*

shkoly was slightly improved (16 per cent), there was still great discrepancy in the levels of participation among the provinces. These uneven and disappointing results would indicate either marginal support within the organized community or that relevant forces have not been mobilized effectively.

There is considerable indication that the support is marginal. To the question, "Do you believe Ukrainian culture can be transmitted through the English language?" almost 70 per cent replied in the affirmative. The result suggests that the priority given to bilingual education may have to be re-evaluated. Should bilingual education as a priority prevail, then an extensive campaign would be needed to convince the public that it is a necessary requirement for the community's continued development.

Such a campaign would be an enormous task when one recognizes that the low level of involvement in Ukrainian-language education is symptomatic of larger developments within the community. Almost 40 per cent of all organizations canvassed indicated that the use of Ukrainian in the organization had decreased in the last fifteen years; only 14 per cent claimed an increase. Furthermore, knowledge of Ukrainian was no longer required for membership in 77 per cent of the organizations. Equally significant, where newspapers/bulletins existed, there were twice as many English-only publications. That Ukrainian is important for the development of Ukrainian organizations and community life cannot be denied, but one must contend with the belief that Ukrainian culture can be transmitted without the use of the language. The adherents of this position appear to be supported by a rather curious statistic: despite the fact that language use within organizations is down, discussion of subjects with Ukrainian themes ('things Ukrainian') has increased by almost 40 per cent in the last fifteen years.

The macro trends affecting organizational development are reflected in various compensating forces which have redirected organizations toward non-traditional areas of activity. Significant changes have occurred, for instance, within the social service sector. Whereas fifteen years ago very little was done to provide for the care of the aged and the infirm, twenty-seven organizations are now involved in elderly citizens' housing and eighteen organizations deal with personal home care. Unfortunately, other needs in this sector are not met as well. Only two organizations assist the disabled, eight organizations are involved in Ukrainian nursery/day care, and only eleven participate in immigrant aid. Since the special needs of the community cannot be met adequately by state-sponsored social programmes, responsibility lies with the community. Ukrainian nursery/day care is a case in point. As more Ukrainian women enter the workplace and as the incidence of single-parent families increase, the need grows for a cultural environment that encourages values essential to the long-term survival of the community.

Apart from the macro trends, a number of external factors are key to the development of the community. The *ad hoc* approach to the provision of social services, for example, may be the result of insufficient funds. With membership fees the main source of revenue in 1982 for 39 per cent of the organizations, it should surprise no one that the annual operating budget for no fewer than 58 per cent of the organizations was less than \$5,000. Government funding would have been a logical choice for organizations hard pressed to provide sustained and adequate financing for their programmes, yet government was cited as the main source of revenue by only 9 per cent of the organizations. This is most unusual since 70 per cent of organizations were aware of government funding programmes and 58 per cent had applied for financial assistance from this source. Because only 2 per cent were denied assistance (see Table 9), the size of the grants must have been miniscule.

From additional data on the revenue of organizations, it is clear that the largest number of grants were received at the provincial level, although their size

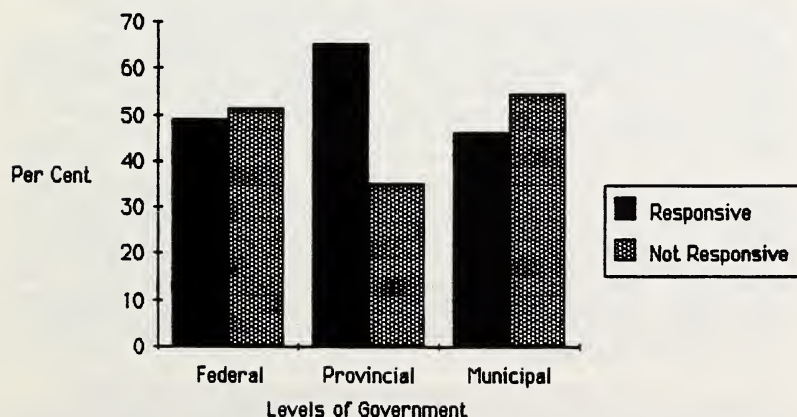
Table 9
Ukrainian Organizations Which Applied for and Received
Government Funds

		Received Government Funding		
		Yes	No	Row Total
Applied for Government Funding	Yes	162	4	166 83.0%
	No	0	34	34 17.0%
	Column Total	162 81.0%	38 19.0%	200 100.0%

was small. The reverse is true for federal grants, where there were fewer (only 19 per cent received federal monies) with substantially more money. Funding by municipal governments was practically non-existent, with only 7 per cent receiving funds from this source.

The data show a direct correlation between the perception of responsiveness by different levels of government and the type of funding received (federal, provincial, municipal). For example, 68 per cent of the organizations that received federal monies felt that the federal government was responsive to their needs. This compares with 29 per cent of the organizations which had no financial dealings with Ottawa. Figure 10 illustrates the general perception among organizations of government responsiveness to organizational needs. While the re-

Figure 10
Perception of Levels of Government
Responsiveness to Ukrainian Organizational
Needs



sults are mixed, there does appear to be more satisfaction with provincial governments. This may reflect the fact that the highest frequency of grants was from provincial sources.

Sectoral data are much too inconsistent to arrive at conclusions about government funding practices. However, from the point of view of organizational effectiveness, sectoral data does show that, apart from the arts, organizations in other sectors have been negligent in applying for government funds.

Conclusions

The macro and micro processes lead to certain conclusions about the needs of the community. These can be summarized as follows:

1. *Increased networking.* Networking within the community is important because it can alleviate some of the pressures acting on most organizations. To improve networking, the UCC must make inroads within the informally organized part of the community. Lack of initiative on this account may be the result of a false understanding of what constitutes the community and of a power structure that supports the misconception.
2. *Recruiting youth.* The most pressing task facing organizations if membership is to increase is the recruitment of youth. Youth participation levels in most activity sectors are low. For recruitment efforts to succeed, new and innovative programming will be needed. Youth must participate in creating the programmes and at the decision-making level.
3. *Renewal of leadership.* Problems of recruitment and networking are fundamentally linked to the problem of community leadership. The record demonstrates an ineffective leadership. The community's future development will require an imaginative and dynamic leadership.
4. *Re-evaluating priorities.* Positions on issues may have to be re-evaluated given certain trends within the community. If second-language instruction is to continue as a priority, then a campaign of public education will be needed. Even so, success may be tenuous in view of the strong belief within the community that Ukrainian culture can be transmitted without knowledge of the language.
5. *Support for the arts.* The traditional visibility and appeal of the arts make them a valuable means to strengthen the collective identity of the group. If the arts are to have a lasting impact, then a systematic approach to their development must be undertaken. The professionalization of this sector must be encouraged. Cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, favoured by a vast majority of organizations within the community, may contribute to this end.
6. *Increased support for non-traditional activities.* Demographic and social trends indicate that organizations should support non-traditional as well as traditional activities that are vital. Both traditional and non-traditional activities require the support of

organizations if the community is to develop evenly.

7. *Underfunding.* One of the major obstacles facing the community is its inability to provide sustained funding for existing and future programmes. To a certain extent, this failure is a result of organizations being lax in tapping government sources. On the other hand, all three levels of government have been remarkably frugal in funding the community. A systematic and concentrated effort to pressure various levels of government to provide proper funding is needed.

Objective Analysis and Perceived Needs

The above needs are drawn from the mix of trends and factors operating at the community level. Does the analysis correspond to the perception of needs? To determine this, a section of the questionnaire ascertained the views of executive members on issues and needs affecting the community.

When asked to rank order the factors needed to attract new members to their organizations, the three most frequently cited were:

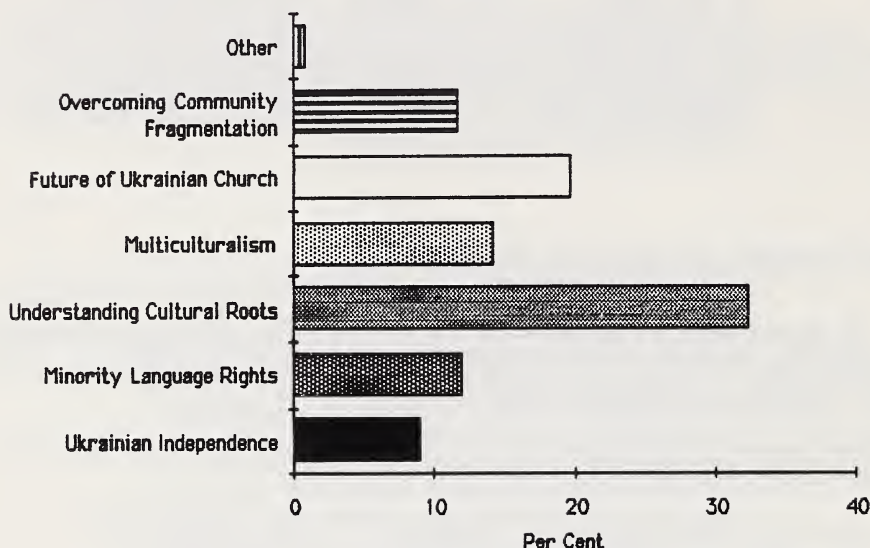
1. raise the level of Ukrainian consciousness (33 per cent)
2. greater and more effective recruitment (18 per cent)
3. more youth-oriented programmes (16 per cent)

At the core of the problem of recruitment is the need to attract youth, and youth-oriented programmes are offered as the solution. To be distinct from programmes which cater to youth in non-Ukrainian organizations, the notion of "being Ukrainian" must become more meaningful. Youth and the community must examine the nature of ethnic consciousness if the level of Ukrainian consciousness (and subsequent involvement) is to be raised.

The level of participation in the cultural activities of the arts sector is a major step toward raising the ethnic consciousness of the group. But the salient question is whether organizations realize the relationship that exists between participation in cultural activities and the development of Ukrainian consciousness. To the query, "What is the main issue facing the Ukrainian community?", a plurality (32 per cent) indicated understanding the group's cultural roots (see Figure 11). Significantly, there was a high degree of correlation (86 per cent) between this group and those who thought that raising the level of Ukrainian consciousness was the most important factor influencing membership. Moreover, those who saw cultural understanding as the main issue facing the community participated overwhelmingly in the arts sector (92 per cent), a likely result given that 57 per cent of the organizations in the total sample were involved in the arts sector. On the other hand, the very reason for their participation in the arts sector was that it offered a meaningful way to understand the cultural roots of the group. Overall, the results underscore the necessity of developing the arts.

The lack of systematic support of and direction in the arts points to the absence of an agenda and, ultimately, to the ineffectiveness of leadership. It is difficult, therefore, not to exaggerate the importance of the fact that a majority (26 per cent) considered new and effective leadership to be the greatest need

Figure 11
Main Issues for Ukrainians in Canada



facing the community (see Figure 12). Interestingly, when issues were crosstabulated with needs, 18 per cent indicated that the main issue was understanding cultural roots and the main need was leadership. This is a significant percentage given the range of choices. Moreover, when affiliation with the UCC was used as a control variable, there was only minor variation. The result indicates some consensus around the view that only new and effective leadership can give "meaning" to the community.

In Figure 12 other needs are identified. These include more professional and social services (23 per cent), improved programming (20 per cent) and improved communication among organizations (19 per cent). Curiously, only 6 per cent indicated that increased government funding was a major need and the provincial data show little variation on this question. The result is most unusual given this assessment.

The findings are not out of step with the original analysis of the community's objective needs. With the exception of government funding, there is almost an intuitive sense about organizational and community needs. However, only a renewed leadership will implement successfully a new strategy for community development. The consensus around the latter point is important for two reasons. The objective analysis based on census data was unable to gauge adequately the single most important need of the community. The results on the questionnaire, however, are clear on the issue of leadership. Secondly, the issue of leadership demonstrates that the community both needs and is prepared for change. Its future growth and development, however, require not only new direction but the active participation of all of the community's elements. Whether the Ukrainian community in Canada has the will to carry out a programme of action that will take it forward is a matter of speculation. Only time will tell as Ukrainian Canadians turn to meet the challenge of the twenty-first century.

Figure 12
Main Needs of Ukrainians in Canada

