



UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT in AUSTRALIA



SYDNEY
SCHOOL OF MODERN LANGUAGES, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
1989

Front Cover:
Ukrainian Dancing Group at Migrant Transit camp in Cowra, New South Wales, 1950.

**UKRAINIAN
SETTLEMENT
in AUSTRALIA**

Наукове Товариство ім. Шевченка в Австралії.
і
Центр Українських Студій при Макворі університеті

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В АВСТРАЛІЇ

Четверта конференція,
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1989

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AND THE
UKRAINIAN STUDIES CENTRE,
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT in AUSTRALIA

FOURTH CONFERENCE,
SYDNEY, 22-24 APRIL 1988

CO - EDITORS: IHOR GORDIJEW
HALYNA KOSCHARSKY

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Conference participants: (from left) Professor Eugene Seneta, Dr Ihor Gordijew, Professor K.J. Goesch, Dr J.F. Lincoln, Professor Dianne Yerbury, Premier Nick F. Greiner and Mrs Halyna Koscharsky.

INTRODUCTION

This volume is based on some of the papers presented at a conference held in Sydney under the title "Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: A Bicentennial Conference". The event, co-sponsored by the Australian chapter of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia at Macquarie University (where the Ukrainian Studies Centre has been operating since 1984), took place between 22 and 24 April, 1988.

Parallel to the conference an exhibition of photographs on the early years of Ukrainian settlement was held at Dunmore Lang College, the conference venue; the preparation of the photographs for the exhibition was the work of Irene Buschtedt, Tom Babij and Borys Shcherban, assisted by other members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society's Sydney branch.

This volume could not have appeared in its present form without the generous support of organisations and individuals, mostly members of the Ukrainian community in Australia. Our thanks also go to the Government of New South Wales, its Premier Mr. Nick Greiner and the NSW Bicentennial Council for a subsidy of \$2000 towards defraying the costs of the conference.

The papers printed in this volume are grouped under two broad headings: education and community needs. It is not our aim to cover the whole range of possible topics on Ukrainian settlement in Australia. The collection constitutes a continuation of a series, the first of which was published in 1986.* The Introduction to the 1986 volume presents, inter alia, a brief outline of the history of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

In addition to the present English language volume, the co-sponsors of the Sydney conference are preparing a collection in Ukrainian of some of the papers presented by speakers in Ukrainian on 24 April as part of the 1988 Bicentennial conference on Ukrainian Settlement in Australia.

I. Gordijew
H. Koscharsky

**Ukrainian Settlement in Australia*. Second Conference, Melbourne, 5-7 April, 1985. Edited by Marko Pavlyshyn. Melbourne, Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986

WELCOME ADDRESS – BICENTENNIAL CONFERENCE

R. Mykytowycz, Chairman, Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia

Mr. Premier, Prof. Yerbury, Mr. Face, Mrs. Arena, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

It is a privilege and a pleasure to welcome you to this conference on Ukrainian settlement in Australia. The conference is organised jointly by the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Studies Centre at Macquarie University. As president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, I would like to give you some information about that organisation.

Though there are only some 30,000 Ukrainians in Australia, worldwide our number is of the order of 50 million. Amongst those Ukrainians, predominantly political migrants, who settled in this country after World War II, were individuals who back home had been professionals involved in academic research. In 1950 a group, headed by the late Dr. Julian Pelenskyj, founded a branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sydney.

Taras Shevchenko, our patron, is Ukraine's most distinguished and revered poet who, in the middle of the XIX century, kindled the national awareness of Ukrainians. His portrait, incidentally, decorated the study of the father of Nicolai Mykluha-Maclay – the first scientist of Ukrainian descent who stepped on Australian soil.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society is a world-wide organisation, established in the early 1870s in Western Ukraine – in Lviv, L'wow, Lvov or Lemberg – depending on the language you are using. Its objective was to study and preserve Ukrainian history and culture.

At that time Western Ukraine was under Austro-Hungarian domination. In Eastern Ukraine, which was under Russian administration, it was not possible to pursue openly such an interest, since it was prohibited by law to speak and write in the Ukrainian language.

But as history and current events in the world show, patriotic feelings cannot be subdued by physical force. The emergence of nationalist feelings in Ukraine, indeed in the rest of Eastern and Southern Europe, coincided with a similar phenomenon in Australia.

As you know, Australian patriotism was cultivated during the 1870s and 1880s by the Sydney Bulletin, the Brisbane Boomerang, the Australian Native Association and the local writers. This was the time when the watchword "Australia for Australians" and the tune "Advance Australia Fair" filled the air and heralded this year's celebrations.

It is redundant to emphasise the importance of recording the history of settlement of separate ethnic groups – we have already held three conferences which dealt with Ukrainian settlement – the present one, however, is of special significance. This is our humble contribution to Australia's Bicentennial Celebrations which is our adopted homeland, the country where we have our homes, where our children and grandchildren were born and where we enjoy all the human rights.

It is interesting to note that at the end of the XVIII century, when the First Fleet arrived in Australia (with the first convicts), deportation of convicts to remote, inhospitable parts of the world was also practised in Eastern Europe which was ruled by Russia. And there were numerous undesirable citizens at that time in the Russian empire – particularly politically undesirable ones. In 1775, the last bastion of the free Cossack State (which was organised on democratic principles), was destroyed in Ukraine by Catherine the II of Russia. Not only Ukrainians were persecuted. In 1772, the First partition of Poland by Austria, Prussia and Russia took place. Two other partitions followed – one in 1774 and the other in 1794. Persecutions and terror followed. Thousands of political prisoners were deported to Siberia over a period of a few decades. Some managed to emigrate overseas to benefit the countries in which they settled. In Australia, names like Strzelecki, Kosciuszko, Lotsky and others remind us of these immigrants.

This conference also takes place as Ukrainians all over the world celebrate the Millenium of Christianity in Ukraine. Its geopolitical location – on the border between Asia and Europe – exposed Ukraine to constant hostile contacts with opposing civilisations. Christian ideology played an important role in struggles with aggressors. During the second part of the conference, when papers are presented in Ukrainian, special attention will be paid to the history of Ukrainian churches in Australia.

I hope that at this time when increasing interest is being displayed in cultural exchange agreements with the U.S.S.R., the government, politicians and people of Australia will also be interested in the history of their own citizens of Ukrainian descent. The proceedings of the Conference may provide a useful source of information. They definitely will record the fact that post-war migrants, when they adopted Australia as their new homeland, made the right choice.....

Thank you.

CONFERENCE OPENING

The Premier of New South Wales
The Honourable Mr N Greiner, MP

Thank you Chairperson, Parliamentary colleague, Professor Yerbury, Judge Lincoln, ladies and gentlemen. I was delighted to accept the invitation to be here with you tonight. When I accepted this around December, it wasn't yet quite clear as to when the election would be and it wasn't quite clear as to what the outcome of the election would be although I probably had a fair inkling of the results, but you were the very first group, quick off the mark on 20 March, to write and make sure that I would be here. I admire your enthusiasm and zeal in the matter.

One of the reasons that I was happy to accept the invitation was that the whole process of Ukrainian migration and settlement in Australia and indeed the development of the Ukrainian community parallels fairly closely that of the Hungarians of whom I am of course one. Both of our peoples were part of the same Austro-Hungarian Empire. The difference is that about 100 years or so ago, Hungarians were rather unwelcome visitors to the Western part of Ukraine, but we might put that aside for the purposes of this evening's events. You will hear many far worthier speeches than mine on the whole question of Ukrainian settlement and the contribution you made. I just want, in opening the Conference, to make a couple of quick remarks.

The first point is that one of the distinguishing features of the efforts of the two co-sponsoring organisations of this gathering, has been the fact of self-help. It has essentially been done – no, I think completely been done – without the assistance of governments, Labor or Liberal. That in my view is a remarkably good achievement and one that I think you should be very proud of. I know full well how difficult it is for a relatively small, a very small group when compared to most of the other ethnic communities, to fund and organise continuing involvement, continuing conferences, cultural events and so on. Nevertheless, the fact that you have been able to do so, on a self-help basis and without assistance from governments, at least until this evening, is in my view, a very desirable thing indeed. In particular, you have certainly outstripped many of the larger and much older communities in terms of Australian settlement through the Ukrainian Studies Foundation. The academic activity that exists here at Macquarie University is real testimony to the hard work and dedication not only of the principal organisers, but also of the community at large, which by contributing financially shows that it puts great weight on the importance of maintaining the Ukrainian cultural and historical heritage in Australia.

There are, of course, several lessons to be learnt in studying the settlement of groups like Ukrainians and Hungarians. The first and perhaps philosophical lesson is that of the importance of retaining the history of countries like Hungary, like Ukraine, in their independent form, is because anywhere in the world where there is a reduction or elimination of freedom, where countries are run over by others and people are in subjugation and human rights are removed, that isn't simply a problem of the people of Ukraine or the people who left Ukraine. It ought to be a problem for people all over the world. If we ever lose the belief that freedom is something that transcends individual national boundaries, that loss of freedom is something that means a loss to all of us, then we are starting to lose the basis of Australian society. So I think that it is fundamentally important that groups like yours continue to preserve,

recognise and cherish the freedom and national identity of your countries.

The second unrelated point is that many of the obstacles that were faced 30 – 35 years ago, by Ukrainian migrants and migrants such as my parents to this country, are of course still being faced by the next, or the one after, generation of migrants. In fact, it is one of the sad things that shows a need for the work that Mr Harbaum and others do, that governments do through Ethnic Affairs Commissions, that many of the problems are faced by people who come with professional qualifications and find themselves unable to have those qualifications recognised and apply their skills. Those very same problems that affected people from Ukraine 35 years ago, apply very much to people from Vietnam, the Middle East or from elsewhere, in 1988. So there is a lot to be learnt and we have not learnt all the lessons from the immediate post-war waves of immigration. One of the things I hope my Government will do in the ethnic affairs area is to push really hard, much harder than has previously been done, to ensure that legitimate professional qualifications from other countries are recognised in Australia and that the sort of monopoly cartel mentality that still exists today among many professional groups in this country, as much as it did in the early 1950s, is broken down. To do otherwise is quite unfair to the people who arrive in our country and choose to make it their home; it is also unfair to our nation as a whole.

That is as much as I wanted to say. I think it is a tremendous achievement that you have put this Conference together. It is a very fitting part of the Bicentennial celebration for a country which is one of the true multicultural societies anywhere in the world. I would simply like to congratulate the sponsoring organisations and all the individuals who have worked very hard to put the Conference on. I am glad that I was able to help in a very small way and I wish all of you who will participate over the weekend, all the very best. I hope that it will be a rewarding experience for you in terms of your participation and that there will be an element of community impact in terms of your deliberations.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for doing me the honour of asking me to open the Conference. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to declare the Conference officially open.

OPENING ADDRESS

Professor D Yerbury

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Now that the Premier has officially opened the conference on the history of Ukrainian settlement in Australia, it gives me great pleasure to welcome all invited guests and conference participants on behalf of Macquarie University. Macquarie is not only hosting the conference but is also one of only two universities (the other being Monash) in Australia, in which Ukrainian studies have found a home. Some of you will have attended the inauguration of the Ukrainian Studies Centre by my predecessor, Professor Edwin Webb in March 1984. Since then it has prospered under the able leadership of Professor Keith Goesch, Head of the School of Modern Languages, of which the Centre is a part.

Macquarie has a long history of genuine commitment to the academic disciplines devoted to multiculturalism or the study, maintenance and advancement of the languages, literatures and cultures of the ethnic communities which now form part of the Australian nation. The School of Modern Languages has for many years past conducted undergraduate and postgraduate teaching and research in the major European languages of French and German. More recently, following government funding in 1982-83 of the South Slav and Polish languages, a Slavonic studies section was established within the school and this now services, through both its intra-mural and external studies, what is probably the largest student population in Slavonic studies in Australia. Chinese studies were established within Modern Languages in 1978 and Introductory Russian this year. Japanese language was introduced at the beginning of this academic year and a Chair in Chinese Political Economy will begin operations within the School of Economic and Financial Studies during the second half of this year.

Since 1980 the University has developed a significant interest in Canadian affairs and a distinguished Canadian Visiting Fellow comes to Macquarie each year. It may be noted that since Canada has a large population of Ukrainian origin, one of these Visiting Fellows may well be a Ukrainian academic in the future.

The University, after carefully considering the feasibility of post-graduate teaching in the area of multicultural studies, introduced in 1981 an interdisciplinary master's degree course in Migration Studies which over the years has attracted a sizeable intake of keen and very dedicated masters students.

Macquarie's endeavours in this field have provided the community with graduates whose language, cultural and professional skills have served and will continue to serve it in the fields of trade, commerce, the services and in manufacturing, thus making a very practical contribution to Australia's economic growth and prosperity.

It should be stressed, however, that the University does not confine its activities in the cultural field to the study of contemporary societies. Thus, since the establishment in 1981 of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre within the School of History, Philosophy and Politics, annual archeological expeditions have been mounted to Egypt. The Centre together with the Ancient History teaching collection, has over the years made a major contribution to the study of various cultures of the Ancient Mediterranean and near East.

The abovementioned examples of Macquarie's involvement in cultural and multi-cultural studies testify to the abiding interest which this university has shown in contributing to academic excellence in this field.

In welcoming all distinguished guests and conference participants, I am confident that the present conference will make a worthwhile contribution to Ukrainian studies in Australia and I take this opportunity to wish conference participants a successful, and mutually instructive exchange of views and information.

Thank you very much.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Ihor Gordijew, Chairman, Ukrainian Studies Centre

Mr. Premier, Prof. Yerbury, Mr. Face, Mrs. Arena, Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Tonight's talk is addressed to our non-Ukrainian listeners. This is partly because we have few opportunities to talk to so distinguished a non-Ukrainian (as well as Ukrainian) audience as is gathered here tonight. As is usual in extended families such as the Ukrainian community, we have been talking to each other for nearly 40 years and have had ample time even to get on each other's nerves. I must therefore from the outset apologise to my Ukrainian listeners for saying things which they know and believe to be true. I hope not to disappoint their expectations. No single individual can express exactly the same ideas that another individual would.

As the programme which you have received indicates, this conference will be concerned with a wide range of issues concentrating on Ukrainian activities and needs in Australia within a multi-cultural context. It would therefore be something of a duplication on my part to dwell on Ukrainian life in Australia exclusively. A few words are – however – in order. From the late 1940's to the present, the Ukrainian community has – on the whole – integrated well into the economic, social and political life of the host community, along with many other so-called ethnic groups. With over 260 organisations, it is reputed to be one of the best organised and politically aware among the ethnic communities. This is due in no small measure to the efforts of the generation who came here in the late 1940's as displaced persons, when they themselves were still in their mid-twenties to early forties.

The salient feature about members of that generation – and they have passed it on to many of the younger generation born either in post-war Western Europe or in Australia – is that they regard themselves essentially as political emigres rather than as purely economic immigrants. I am not saying that this is morally good or bad. We are what we believe ourselves to be.

As a tribute to the constructive work done by the older generation, I shall dedicate some of the thoughts that follow to an expression of the beliefs and aspirations of that generation of political emigres, however imperfect my rendition of those beliefs may be.

One question that may arise is this: How does the attitude of a political emigre differ from that of an economic one? To put it briefly, it is that the political emigre, under similar conditions, will devote more of his or her psychological, emotional and

material resources to what he or she believes to be the cause. Needless to say, the cause is not his personal advancement nor that of his immediate family.

Ukrainians in Australia have amply demonstrated their devotion to their cause by not only erecting numerous church buildings and community halls but also by fully financing the staffing of Ukrainian Studies at both Macquarie and Monash Universities.

The cause I have in mind is the maintenance of a collective identity. Cultural collective identities – each unique in its own way – are a significant force for satisfying profound human needs, allowing individuals to function as well-adjusted and productive members of society. They take hundreds and even thousands of years to build up but may be very fragile when attacked. The destruction within a few decades by the white man of 35 thousand years of Aboriginal civilisation testifies to that. Individual and collective suffering (such as the holocaust) and battling to retain collective identities appears to exert a considerable influence on the tenacity with which groups, classes, tribes and nations cling to their cultural, religious and linguistic traditions. In this context, the picnic-and-coke oriented approach to “the celebration of a nation” in our bicentennial year is not likely to contribute materially to the building of an Australian nation.

But – every cloud has its silver lining and every sail – its advertisement. This one will result in increased sales of coke. To paraphrase the immortal words of a mortal General Motors executive: “What is good for Coca-Cola, is good for Australia”. To continue, however...

In the context of the role of hardship and suffering in building up a collective memory, there appear to be at least four candidates whose individual and collective suffering could have been useful ingredients in the evolution of an Australian cultural identity: the Aborigines, the convicts, the immigrants and the soldiers. So far only the soldiers have “the one day of the year” devoted to them in the national calendar. The Aborigines, the convicts and the immigrants still await their turn.

The reason I dwell on this point is that somewhat in contrast to the Australian nation which is spending large sums in search of a collective identity, the Ukrainian nation in Europe has for many centuries past been experiencing powerful pressures to abandon its identity. It should be observed that Ukraine has a population of over 50 million and in terms of territory it is the second largest country on the European continent after European Russia.

A few examples will have to suffice to demonstrate my point. My first example is Russification. Ever since Ukraine in the 17th century became a subject of imperial and then in the 20th Century of Soviet Russia, the rulers of that empire have pursued an unrelenting policy of what has been called “linguistic genocide”, i.e., the suppression of the Ukrainian language on the territory of Ukraine and its displacement by Russian. It would therefore, be surprising if any of my non-Ukrainian listeners were able to name more than one Ukrainian composer or writer.

Thus linguistic genocide leads to the destruction of national literatures and hence of collective identity.

My second example relates to the Christianisation of Ukraine in 988 A.D. Professor Seneta will say more about the Millennium. A long time ago the Russian empire arrogated this date to itself – whereas it took place in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, when the Russian empire was not even dreamt of. More recently, the Soviet authorities, having donned the Russian imperial mantle, now claim Christianisation for Moscow – when as a matter of historical fact Moscow became an independent

principality only in the middle of the 13th Century. The intention of such tactics is obvious - it is to deprive the largest potential rival of imperial Russia (within Russia's own orbit) of its history and in so doing - of its cultural identity. A nation deprived of history is but ethnic material for another.

My third and final example is an event of holocaust proportions which occurred in Ukraine under the Stalin regime only 55 years ago. This was the deliberately organised starvation to death of some 7 million people to force the Ukrainian peasants to submit to Stalin's collectivisation drive. What is significant from our point of view is that this was a policy of the destruction not only of the cultural but also of the physical identity of a nation. What is even more significant is that to the present day Western academic circles and media have more or less ignored the Ukrainian famine of 1933 as if it never happened. Even at the height of the cold war in the 1950's, when it would have suited the Western powers to publicise a man-made famine of that magnitude, they preferred to pass it over in silence.

There must be several lessons in this. One of the lessons is that when you are a submerged nation, no one is very interested in what happens to you.

And so the Ukrainian political emigre is faced by a dilemma: how can he bring to the attention of the world the plight of his people - their losing battle for a collective national identity. The Ukrainian emigre is really a rather timid type. He does not hijack aeroplanes or commit other terrorist acts. The most that he does occasionally is to demonstrate and hold up placards with a few slogans on them. But this is not really very effective in the long run. It is for this reason that the Ukrainian community in Australia has banded together to donate their hard-earned savings towards the setting up of Ukrainian Studies both at Macquarie and Monash Universities. The immigrants have realised that coming as they do from a submerged nation they would be forced to rely on their own resources no matter how much they have contributed towards the economic prosperity of the nation of which they are now a part. So far their requests for financial help from governments of both political persuasions to cater to their cultural needs have fallen on deaf ears. But we live and hope.

Stop Press

As I was writing my talk a letter arrived from the Premier informing us that Mr. Greiner had approved a grant of \$2,000 towards defraying the costs of this Bicentennial Conference, and of the reception in particular. We are sincerely grateful to the Premier and the government of N.S.W. for so generously assisting our contribution to this, the bicentennial year of Australian nationhood. Thank you Mr. Premier!

E. Seneta

Ladies and Gentlemen

We are almost at the end of the formal part of this evening's proceedings. Before concluding with some remarks on tomorrow's program, I would like to say a few words about the significance of the year 1988 to Australian Ukrainians.

This year commemorates the Australian Bicentennial, in which we, as members of the Australian community take equal pride with other Australians. It also marks 1000 years, the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.

In the year 988, Christianity in its Byzantine form was adopted as the State Religion of Kievan Rus' (later to become known as Ukraine) by Prince Volodymyr, whose grandmother, Princess Olha, had earlier travelled to Byzantium to receive her baptism. From Kiev, Christianity spread to the northern parts of the Kievan State, finally reaching Muscovy in about the 13th century. So it is Ukraine that should, rightfully, be celebrating her first Millennium of Christianity. However, what celebrations there will be in the Soviet Union will, as we all hear, be centred on Moscow and not Kiev, and within the context of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

We are saddened that our brethren in Ukraine of both the Ukrainian Orthodox and of the Ukrainian Catholic Churches (neither of which is legally permitted to exist in the USSR), cannot join with us in celebrating their own rightful heritage.

I. UKRAINIAN EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA

M. Danylak

The effort to maintain and develop the Ukrainian language by Ukrainian communities in the diaspora began during the uncertainties of DP camp life in war-devastated Europe. It continued with the long sea journey to Australia and into the extremely difficult conditions encountered upon arrival here. It was to blossom finally with the establishment of Ukrainian Ethnic Schools, the first of which were established about 1949 in the camps where the newly arrived Ukrainians were housed, these being at Bonegilla, Bathurst, Greta, Skyville and Chullora. The transitory conditions of the arrival camps gave way to more settled conditions of the major population centres of NSW. With this movement came the formalisation of social structures - churches, councils and schools.

The previous sporadic attempts were consolidated with the establishment in 1951, in the city of Sydney, of a part-time Ukrainian school with 2 teachers and 20 pupils. By 1953 this had grown to 6 schools with 123 pupils, meteorically increasing to 550 pupils in 24 different centres by 1958.

All these schools used in their names the title 'Ridna Shkola', reminiscent of the late 19th and early 20th century Ukrainian schools of Galicia in Western Ukraine where the population had no other option but to rely on its own financial and organisational resources in order to lift its general level of education.

In these early and difficult years the Ukrainian Ethnic Schools were under the auspices of one of two organisations: The Ukrainian Council (Ukrainska Hromada) or the Ukrainian Women's Organisation (Sojuz Ukrainok). Even at this stage it was realised by the various initiators that in order to achieve the best results a structured school system needed to be established.

In 1957, only 6 years after the founding of the first 'permanent' Ukrainian school, a Board of Ukrainian Ethnic Schools of NSW (Shkil'na Rada) was established and it continues to function today.¹ Initially, it accredited courses and teachers as well as registering schools. Today it is concerned directly with the last two functions while the first is administered by a National Schools Body.

In recent years the Ukrainian Ethnic Schools Board in NSW has established between 6 to 8 permanent institutions teaching about 400 students on an annual basis. Annexure A sets out available statistics for the years 1976 to 1987 for the State.²

The most striking achievements of the Ukrainian Ethnic School System have been:

- (i) A structured system encompassing all schools in Australia on a State and Federal level.
- (ii) Uniformity of syllabi throughout the schools.
- (iii) Use of community-owned facilities.

The school system was further strengthened with the introduction of matriculation exams in Ukrainian. Initially, these were conducted by the University of Sydney between the years 1975 and 1977 with 8, 6 and 13 students sitting for exams in the 3 respective years. From 1978, on the matriculation courses were run by the Department of Education through the Saturday School of Community Languages.³

However, the impetus did not stop there! Due to the determination of the Ukrainian community, Ukrainian Studies were introduced into tertiary institutions in the 1980's, and these studies were again funded by the community itself. This was the culmination of many years of hard work and a crowning glory for not so large an ethnic community.

The question arises: why have so much effort and resources been directed into the area of language maintenance, irrespective of political inclination or religious affiliation? The answer, I believe, lies in the existence of the core value of language maintenance which has to a great extent been passed on to future generations. This has been assisted by:

- (i) The majority of those teaching the Ukrainian language and culture today being born outside Ukraine
- (ii) Second generation community members sending their children to Ukrainian Ethnic schools and beginning to assume the functions of parent support groups attached to these schools.

Whether the success of the transmission of the core value of language will continue into the future is questionable. There is a definite possibility of the system degenerating into a quasi part-time child-minding operation on a Saturday morning, or whenever classes are held, where a few basic Ukrainian phrases, synonymous with many a foreign language course, are intermingled with some few of the surviving heartier traditions (such as Easter egg decorating or folk dancing).

The signs are already there: limited knowledge or no knowledge at all of the Ukrainian language among some of the children attending Ukrainian schools; some parents and children conversing amongst themselves in English and not in Ukrainian; the lukewarm attitude of some parents to assisting in the administration of schools; lack of particular interest by the community in the general well-being of the school system, particularly in attracting sufficient teaching personnel and in providing adequate resources for the curricula, as attention has been focused lately on the tertiary level. However, this does not mean that all is lost for the school system and the Ukrainian language here. What is required is a realistic reappraisal of the aims of the school system itself followed by a positive and concerted action by all to rectify the present glaring inadequacies.

The school system in its original concept met the needs of the community and the pupils in facilitating the transmission of cultural values, in particular the core value of the Ukrainian language. The system, including the curricula, was based to a large extent on the experience of those who had taught the language and other related disciplines prior to World War II within the ethnographical confines of Ukraine (a completely different environment from Australia both politically and socially). The aims of those teaching had been to develop further communicative competence in

the language. In the 35-odd years since its inception the aims of the school system have not been greatly modified even though the needs of many of those attending have undergone fundamental change.

Among the material needs mentioned, only one of the major concerns does not play any significant role for Ukrainian Ethnic Schools – that of suitable accommodation. Most Ukrainian Ethnic Schools conduct their classes in community owned property. As to their suitability for the task at hand, well, that is another question. The remaining concerns certainly do affect Ukrainian Ethnic Schools and will remain even if curricula are radically altered.

Is there any light at the end of the tunnel? By addressing the concerns listed under non-material needs we see that there certainly is. Formal recognition of ethnic schools as an education system by educational authorities will be followed by both material and psychological improvements. While not alleviating this at least it would assist in overcoming to a large extent the unnecessary material and non-material burdens carried by all ethnic schools⁴.

Education authorities and governments, both at State and Federal levels, argue that ethnic schools are at present formally recognised. They use the provision of grants – both per capita and submission based – to support their arguments⁵. This is, however, only ‘de facto’, but not true ‘de jure’ recognition of their existence and of their education goals of mother tongue maintenance and cultural transmission. De jure recognition of ethnic schools will ensure their place as a fully-fledged educational system alongside Government, Catholic and Independent schools, thus permanently institutionalising them and not subjecting them to the whims of government and bureaucracy. Recognition of this type can only be achieved by legislative change allowing for the registration of after-hours part-time schools which is now embodied within the National Policy on Languages. Would this type of registration be important for Ukrainian Ethnic Schools? Yes – for unlike some of the other ethnic communities in Australia, Ukrainians, because of their numbers and geographical dispersion, presently have no opportunity for language and cultural acquisition and maintenance programs to be introduced within the day school system. The only possibility, at present, would be the establishment of a full-time Ukrainian Day School, along the lines of Jewish Schools in Sydney and Melbourne.

Parents who send their children to ethnic schools are taxpayers and voters and have a right (in the legal sense) to ensure that the standard of service provided for their children corresponds to that provided in the mainstream, even if the actual service is delivered in a different way. Jupp in his report to the Federal Government on the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services asserts that equitable access to and participation in all programs and services by members of ethnic communities “requires institutional change, so as to ensure that the organisations that make decisions about programs and services, and which implement them, do so in an equitable manner”⁶.

The community needs to recognise its educational needs, state them and assert its claims to ensure that governments fulfil their function of ensuring the development of a pluralistic society that takes cognisance of the differences of the constituent groups in the population, whilst ensuring its cohesiveness and unity. National language, multicultural philosophies and policies mean nothing unless governments not only appear to but actually do support on an equitable basis ‘the opportunity for people to maintain, enjoy and develop their cultural heritage and

identity⁷. In the light of this philosophy the position of Ukrainian ethnic schools as a viable and necessary education structure is paramount to the continued development of the Ukrainian language at the primary and secondary levels which, in turn, will assist the tertiary level.

Government registration of Ukrainian ethnic schools can take many forms: it can be done by simply registering the name of a school or by more complex measures requiring standards and acceptable levels of education to be met. Registration should be dependent upon and linked to what ethnic schools do best – the imparting of linguistic and cultural knowledge in a way that cannot be expected of a recognised day school⁸.

Recognition will not only see an increase in government commitment but would result in tangible recognition of ethnic school attendance and achievement. Students' achievements at ethnic schools would be recorded as part of standard reporting and accreditation procedures at both primary and secondary levels. Greater credit for language achievement would provide an additional psychological boost for both parents and students. It is pleasing to note that the National Policy on Language asserts the need for appropriate accreditation of students' after-hours learning.

Ethnic communities must ensure that formal recognition is in no way equated with government intervention or take-over. Autonomy and cultural authenticity must and should remain the domain of ethnic communities themselves and not that of government instrumentalities and educational authorities.

Ukrainians must remember that the maintenance of language is vital to the community's continued existence. Language is the essential tool necessary for cultural transmission. Additionally, the knowledge of a second language points to the general enhancement of linguistic skills.

In sum, Ukrainians are faced with the need to address two key issues relating to the teaching of Ukrainian language in the secondary context. Firstly, there is the question of curriculum changes to meet the altered and diverse needs of students attending today and secondly, the raising of self-esteem of ethnic schools as a viable educational structure. What is being advocated is not a revolutionary restructuring of the Ukrainian Ethnic School system, but changes which can be achieved from within the existing structure which will provide parents and the community at large with a unique framework from which to address these two key issues. Curriculum changes can be addressed nationwide by assessing the needs and developing programs with expertise that exists within the community, but the community needs a political voice if it is to prod the authorities along the necessary path of recognition.

NOTES

1. *Ukrainians in Australia* (In Ukrainian) 1965 Sydney.
2. *Metodychnyj Lystok* 1976-1987.
3. Lo Bianco Joseph, *National Policy on Languages*, Canberra, 1987 p. 29. Annexure B sets out the available data.
4. Norst, M. J., *Ethnic Schools: Report with Recommendations*, Commonwealth Schools Commission, Canberra, 1982.
5. Commonwealth Schools Commission, *Report on the Commonwealth Ethnic Schools Programme*, Canberra, 1983.
6. Jupp J, *Report of Committee for Stage I of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services, Don't Settle for Less*, Canberra, 1986.

7. Ibid.
8. Andreoni H, *Response to MACMME Draft Paper: Ethnic Schools in Victoria: A Discussion Paper*, Armidale, 1986.

ANNEXURE A

NUMBERS OF STUDENTS ATTENDING UKRAINIAN ETHNIC SCHOOLS IN NSW 1975 TO 1987

| Year | No. of Schools | No. of Students |
|------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1975 | 10 | 336 |
| 1976 | 6 | 297 |
| 1977 | 6 | 343 |
| 1978 | 6 | 312 |
| 1979 | 8 | 312 |
| 1980 | 8 | 322 |
| 1981 | 8 | 325 |
| 1982 | 8 | 348 |
| 1983 | 8 | 359 |
| 1984 | 9 | 394 |
| 1985 | 8 | 394 |
| 1986 | 6 | 356 |
| 1987 | 5 | 317 |

ANNEXURE B

STUDENTS PRESENTING UKRAINIAN AT MATRICULATION LEVEL IN NSW

| Year | No. of Students |
|------|-----------------|
| 1978 | 28 |
| 1979 | 27 |
| 1980 | 12 |
| 1981 | 12 |
| 1982 | 08 |
| 1983 | 18 |
| 1984 | 16 |
| 1985 | 12 |
| 1986 | 12 |

UKRAINIAN SCHOOLING IN VICTORIA: PERSPECTIVES, NEEDS AND PLANNING

Part I: Teachers and Pupils

Olga Dudinski and Marko Pavlyshyn with Olga Bojczuk, Bohdan Bryndzia, Daria Fedewytsch, Christine Hrynevich, Olesia Rosalion, Jurij Semkiw, Marta Semkiw, Anna Skorobogaty, Tania Slipeckyj, Peter Struk, Katia Tkacz and Maria Vander Werf.

Introduction*

The Ukrainian system of education in Australia was established and developed during the 1950s, shortly after the arrival of the wave of post-war Ukrainian immigrants.¹ During these first years Ukrainian Saturday schools catered for children who spoke Ukrainian freely and whose attitudes had, in large measure, been shaped by the Ukrainian origin of their parents. Neither parents nor pupils at that time questioned the kind of education or the methods of instruction being provided. Schools assumed their role to be the provision of literacy for native speakers and the transmission of information concerning Ukrainian history, literature, culture and religion.

Almost forty years later on, circumstances have altered. The change most widely remarked on is the decline in the ability of the average child to communicate in Ukrainian. However, there is no doubt that *all* of the aims of Ukrainian schooling should be reviewed to see whether they still meet the needs of the Ukrainian community. Some schools and teachers have responded to changes in language ability by instituting special language classes for pupils with little or no knowledge of Ukrainian and by introducing new methods. However, these measures have more often than not depended on the initiative of individual teachers, rather than being part of a response based on long-term policy.

The Ukrainian system of education in Australia is organisationally well placed to take a rational and co-ordinated approach to defining and meeting its present and future needs. It is centralised under the Ukrainian Council of Education in Australia (U.C.E.A.), a body which is responsible for curriculum design and which has inspectorial rights in all Ukrainian Saturday schools in the country. That the U.C.E.A. has found it difficult to evolve a long-term plan is at least partly due to the fact that there are no data on the changing expectations of parents and pupils or, more importantly, on the language skills of the incoming pupils.

The aim of this project was, therefore, to provide a body of knowledge about the groups participating in Ukrainian schooling (parents, teachers and pupils) and their

education-related needs and opinions.² By “Ukrainian schooling” we mean all educational activity associated with schools and courses teaching Ukrainian in Victoria up to and including secondary school level. The concept embraces Higher School Certificate (now Victorian Certificate of Education) courses in Ukrainian, as well as Ukrainian pre-schools and kindergartens, but does not include tertiary education. The findings of the project, formulated as a group of policy recommendations for the U.C.E.A., should contribute in a concrete way to the confidence with which the Council can undertake its medium and long-range planning.

The target groups were questioned on the perceived objectives of the Ukrainian schooling system and its success in achieving these objectives; on practical aspects of the system (e.g., convenience, cost, resources available to it, training of teachers); and on the perceived level of language skills among pupils and teaching skills among teachers. In addition, the surveys of parents and pupils sought to assess the degree of preservation of Ukrainian identity within these groups. To date only the results of students and teachers are available. The present paper limits itself, therefore, to a discussion of these two surveys.

Methods

The opinions of teachers and pupils were elicited by requiring them to respond to printed questionnaires. Questions endeavouring to assess the degree of preservation of Ukrainian identity were based on those adopted by Isajiw for his study of ethnic pluralism in Canada in 1978.³ Questions pertaining to people’s assessment of the role of Ukrainian schools and of practical aspects of Ukrainian schooling were developed by members of the project group. To facilitate coding for computer analysis, questions were mainly of the kind which allowed the respondent to choose from two or more structured responses. Where applicable, responses were graded. In some cases respondents were able to write unstructured comments. As these are more difficult to encode and process, these responses are not yet available for computer analysis.

The teachers’ and pupils’ questionnaires were administered during school hours. Questionnaires were supplied to schools with the instruction that they be completed by all teachers and all pupils over the age of 12.

Students

A total of 98 students was sampled, of whom 49% were male and 51% female. 97% were born in Australia. Respondents were from all five Ukrainian community schools in Victoria – North Melbourne (35), Sunshine (17), Noble Park (14), Geelong (7) and Essendon (7) – as well as the State-run University High (16), which prepares students for matriculation in Ukrainian at year 12 level. All schools hold classes on Saturday mornings, with the exception of Sunshine, which offers tuition on Friday evenings.

TABLE 1: Preservation of ethnic identity:

How important are the following for you:

| | very important | important | not important |
|---|-------------------|-----------|------------------|
| your ethnic/cultural background | 45% | 49% | 5% |
| maintenance of Ukrainian language | 68% | 29% | 3% |
| knowledge of parents'/grandparents' background | 58% | 38% | 4% |

Schools might derive encouragement from the fact that their prioritisation of teaching Ukrainian language skills over cultural studies subjects corresponds to the attitudes of pupils themselves. In answer to questions designed to test respondents' subjective views concerning the importance of various attributes of ethnic identity, 68% considered the maintenance of the Ukrainian language to be very important – ahead of the 58% who believed that a knowledge of the background of parents and grandparents was very important (see Table 1). The degree to which school children were maintaining their ethnic identity was also reflected in the extent to which they claimed to be participating in identifiable Ukrainian social and other activities.

As Table 2 indicates, eating Ukrainian foods, attending Ukrainian church services and participating in Ukrainian summer camps were given as the Ukrainian activities most frequently performed. On the other hand, listening to Ukrainian radio programs or reading Ukrainian newspapers are not common activities – whether because these are more demanding or because of the content of the Ukrainian media was a question that the questionnaire did not pursue. While school children appear to have a majority of their social contacts with peers outside the Ukrainian community, the number who meet regularly with Ukrainian friends is also high (54% meet with non-Ukrainian friends “frequently” or “fairly often”; the figure is 44% for Ukrainian friends).

TABLE 2: Preservation of Ethnic Identity:

How often do you:

| | Fre- quently | Fairly often | Some- times | Rarely | Never |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------|-------|
| attend Ukrainian social gatherings with your parents | 24% | 22% | 31% | 18% | 4% |
| attend Ukrainian social gatherings with your friends | 22% | 20% | 23% | 20% | 16% |
| attend Ukrainian summer camps etc | 46% | 22% | 7% | 7% | 18% |
| eat food associated with Ukrainian feast days | 65% | 26% | 9% | | |
| listen to Ukrainian radio broadcasts | 2% | 7% | 11% | 35% | 45% |
| read Ukrainian newspapers etc | 3% | 7% | 29% | 30% | 32% |
| attend Ukrainian concerts | 28% | 26% | 30% | 9% | 7% |
| attend Ukrainian church services | 54% | 21% | 16% | 8% | |
| attend non-Ukrainian social gatherings with your parents | 2% | 20% | 30% | 30% | 18% |
| attend non-Ukrainian social gatherings with your friends | 12% | 42% | 21% | 12% | 14% |

Students were asked to evaluate their own Ukrainian language skills and to give information on the frequency of their use of Ukrainian and on the contexts in which they use it. It is clear from Table 3 that, while all students believe that they understand Ukrainian well or very well, they are not confident about their ability to speak it: only 17% claim to speak Ukrainian “very well” – fewer than 21% think that they read very well and a surprising 29% see themselves as writing very well. (The likelihood is by “writing” most respondents understood, not free composition, but the skill, relatively easy in a phonetic language such as Ukrainian, of writing from dictation.)

TABLE 3: Pupils’ assessment of their competence in Ukrainian

How well do you understand, speak, read and write Ukrainian?

| | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|---------------|------------|-------|------|-------|
| Very well | 47% | 17% | 21% | 29% |
| Fairly well | 52% | 66% | 62% | 55% |
| Not very well | 1% | 16% | 15% | 16% |
| Not at all | | | 1% | |

TABLE 4: Frequency of pupils’ use of Ukrainian

| | |
|------------------|----|
| daily | 53 |
| often, not daily | 25 |
| occasionally | 17 |
| rarely | 5 |

TABLE 5: Language spoken by pupils to family, friends and teachers

Which language do you use when speaking to the following persons:

| | Mostly English | As much English as Ukrainian | Mostly Ukrainian |
|------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| parents | 42 | 31 | 28 |
| grandparents | | 5 | 91 |
| brothers and sisters | 76 | 16 | 5 |
| Ukrainian friends | 69 | 25 | 5 |
| Teachers at Ukrainian school | 5 | 28 | 67 |

Figures on the frequency and context of the use of Ukrainian (Tables 4 and 5) are not encouraging. Almost half of the sample does not speak Ukrainian even once a day, and it is clear that English is now predominantly the medium of communication within the family. It should also be kept in mind that even the figure of 53% (those who claim to speak Ukrainian every day) includes those who speak a mixture of English and Ukrainian at home; it gives no picture of how much Ukrainian is spoken. Grandparents are the only group with which children speak mostly Ukrainian. It should be noted that grandparents at the moment comprise mainly persons born and educated in Ukraine; the demographic structure of the community is such that the generation of primarily Ukrainophone grandparents is destined to decline without replacement in the next two decades. With their parents only 28% of children speak mostly Ukrainian, 31% speak both languages and 42% speak mostly English. Not surprisingly, there is a very strong correlation between the language which pupils speak with their parents and their assessment of their ability to speak Ukrainian (Table 6).

TABLE 6: Language spoken to parents on the basis of ability to speak Ukrainian

| Language spoken | Mostly English | As much English as Ukrainian | Mostly Ukrainian |
|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| Speaks Ukrainian | | | |
| Very well | 10% | 17% | 30% |
| Fairly well | 58% | 73% | 70% |
| Not very well | 32% | 10% | 0% |

The figures on actual language use by pupils showed little correlation with their subjective high evaluation of the importance of maintaining the language.

Pupils' opinions were sought on a number of issues related to Ukrainian education in general and their experience of Ukrainian schooling in particular. It became clear that, on the whole, pupils approve of the pedagogical aims of their Ukrainian schools, and that their perception of the aims of Ukrainian schooling does not differ significantly from that of their teachers. Given a set of possible aims of Ukrainian schools, pupils on being asked to rank them, gave absolute priority to Ukrainian language development (58% thought this the most important aim, and 25% the second most important). Development of an awareness of Ukrainian customs and traditions followed, more or less on par with cultivation of Ukrainian

identity. Pupils did not rank socialisation into the Ukrainian community in Australia as an important aim. This is not to say that socialisation is not taking place; rather, the response may indicate simply that pupils are unaware that this is happening. School children saw religious instruction as peripheral to the role of their Ukrainian schools (Table 7).

TABLE 7: Pupils’ perception of aims of Ukrainian schooling

| Aim | Ranked first | Ranked second |
|--|--------------|---------------|
| Language development | 58% | 25% |
| Teaching of customs and traditions | 21% | 35% |
| Development of a sense of Ukrainian community membership | 5% | 11% |
| Development of a sense of Ukrainian national identity | 18% | 22% |
| Development of a sense of religious identity | 4% | 9% |

Asked to name their favourite subjects and rank them in order of preference (the question made it clear that pupils were not being asked to name subjects they considered important), students gave responses that would startle many a teacher. High ratings were achieved by language (many students specifying that they liked grammar) and history. Literature, geography and culture received middle ratings, and religion, singing, dancing and craft were rated low. There may be some correlation here with the time at which the subjects of the last group, all of them perceived by the school administrations as outside the core curriculum, are taught, namely, early on Saturday afternoon after the conclusion of “school proper”, just before the pupils go home. A question about preferred times for attending Ukrainian school revealed that Saturday afternoon was the least popular of all possible times. Saturday morning, when the bulk of teaching takes place, was favoured by only about one quarter of the pupils, an absolute majority expressing a preference for Friday night (Table 8).

TABLE 8: Pupils’ preferred times for Ukrainian classes

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Friday night | 51% |
| Saturday morning | 24% |
| Saturday afternoon | 0% |
| Sunday afternoon | 4% |
| Monday night | 17% |
| Widweek night | 4% |

A set of questions required students to tick evaluative statements about Ukrainian schooling with which they agreed. Some responses were encouraging, others point to a level of disaffection. In the pupils’ own estimate, the schools are achieving their primary goal of increasing language competence. No fewer than 80% of respondents felt that their reading and writing skills were improving, and 70% believed that their ability to speak Ukrainian improved as well. The lesson for teachers and planners, however, lies in the fact that fully 30% of respondents do not believe that their oral communications skills have benefited from coming to Ukrainian school. Given that the language competence which pupils are bringing

from their homes is diminishing, it seems obvious that substantial new initiatives need to be taken in this area.

A disquieting finding was that almost half of the pupils surveyed (47%) did not enjoy Ukrainian school, and that only 46% were prepared to say that they believed their teachers to be competent. Only 39% agreed that Ukrainian schools offered a good mix of subjects. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not pursue this issue to discover what particular imbalances pupils have identified. (Paradoxically, 82% of respondents considered time to be allocated properly to the subjects that were taught.)

It appears that efforts to mainstream Ukrainian education by having Ukrainian subjects included in the program of Australian schools would leave the present pupil population indifferent. Exactly 50% of respondents felt that Ukrainian should be part of the general curriculum. On the other hand, a strong majority feels that Ukrainian schools are, in the final analysis, worthwhile: 70% of pupils intend to send their own children to Ukrainian schools.

Teachers

A total of 22 teachers were surveyed: 16 women, 5 men and one person who did not specify gender. Two age groups were represented by larger numbers: 6 respondents were between 30 and 39 years of age and 7 between 60 and 69. Two were in their twenties. The sample reflects the well-known difficulty of teacher recruitment encountered by all Ukrainian community schools: while the system does succeed in obtaining younger teachers, it still relies heavily on older personnel. Seven respondents were born in Australia, 10 in Ukraine and five in other countries. Six respondents were professional teachers and seven claimed to have professional teaching qualifications. Three of these had obtained their qualifications in Australia. No fewer than seven respondents had been teaching in the Ukrainian school system for more than 20 years.

Asked to assess their Ukrainian language skills, 52% of respondents said that these were very good and a further 33% believed their skills to be good. However, 10% or two individuals confessed that their language skills were poor – an admission as disturbing as that of the two individuals who assessed their teaching performance as ‘not very good.’ It is clear that a number of teachers feel their inadequacies in the classroom very keenly; the systematic provision of opportunities to upgrade qualifications and acquire essential skills is an assignment that Ukrainian education planners will have to take very seriously.

TABLE 9: Teachers’ views of aims of Ukrainian schools

| | Ranked as very important |
|--|-----------------------------|
| To give fluency in spoken and written Ukrainian | 77% |
| To teach Ukrainian history | 68% |
| To teach Ukrainian literature | 46% |
| To teach Ukrainian geography | 54% |
| To teach religious doctrine | 41% |
| To make the student aware of Ukrainian customs and traditions | 68% |
| To give a sense of membership of the Ukrainian community in Australia | 73% |

| | |
|--|-----|
| To give a sense of membership of the Ukrainian people as a whole | 86% |
| To foster peer friendships | 91% |
| To foster friendships, with marriage as the ultimate aim | 64% |
| To teach Ukrainian song, dance, etc. | 27% |
| To teach Ukrainian arts and crafts | 14% |

Teachers were given a list of possible aims of Ukrainian schooling and asked to indicate how important they found each to be. Table 9 lists the percentages of respondents who gave each rubric the highest rating of ‘very important’. There is a remarkable degree of correlation between teachers’ and pupils’ responses in almost all cases. The acquisition of language skills, oral and written, ranks high. Of the humanities and social sciences, history outstrips geography, literature and religion. Folkloric subjects are regarded as less important. Unlike their pupils, however, teachers believed schools to have a significant socialising function: there was near unanimity concerning the role of the school in fostering peer friendships (91% of respondents considered this very important), and 64% believed that it is very important for schools to foster friendships with marriage as the ultimate aim. Asked to indicate the relative importance of the academic and the social function of the school, no fewer than 68% said that they were of equal importance (Table 10).

TABLE 10: Teachers’ assessment of the relative importance of academic and social aims of Ukrainian schooling

Consider the following statements:

- (A) Ukrainian schools should teach Ukrainian mainly through academic subjects
- (B) Ukrainian schools should socialise pupils into the Ukrainian community

Which best represents your view:

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| (A) only | 1% |
| (B) only | 0% |
| (A) more than (B) | 18% |
| (B) more than (A) | 9% |
| (A) and (B) equally | 68% |

Teachers were given the opportunity of expressing their opinions about commonly perceived problem areas in teaching. The difference in levels of language competence among pupils in their classes was identified by 23% as a major problem. 68% regarded it as a problem, but a minor one. 36% of teachers claim to use only Ukrainian in class, the rest using more Ukrainian than English.

Questions about contact with parents revealed that no fewer than 41% of teachers do not believe that parents are supportive of their efforts. A troubling 41% of teachers believe that their school provides insufficient opportunity for them to discuss children’s progress with parents. Only 4%, or one individual, regards relations with parents as ‘very satisfactory’, and, while 73% believe them to be ‘satisfactory’, 9% consider them unsatisfactory, and a further 9% – very bad. It will be enlightening to compare these responses on teacher-parent relations with those of parents, but the obvious concern of a minority of teachers indicates that a review of the situation is necessary.

Teachers were asked for their opinion about various aspects of the present curriculum of Ukrainian schools. (The curriculum is prescribed by the U.C.E.A., and is, at least theoretically, binding for all Ukrainian community schools in Australia.) Views were approximately equally divided on whether the content of the curriculum is appropriate and whether the standards which it sets are realistic (see Table 11). However, all but one teacher thought that there should be separate curricula for children with a reasonable knowledge of Ukrainian and for those without, confirming the finding that differences in language competence are a problem.

TABLE 11: Teachers' opinions concerning the U.C.E.A. Curriculum

| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|-----|
| Do you regard the U.C.E.A. guidelines as appropriate to your current teaching situation? | 36% | 50% |
| Do you consider the content of the prescribed curriculum appropriate to your grade level? | 50% | 41% |
| Is the standard appropriate? | 41% | 45% |
| Do you think that there should be a separate curriculum for children with little or no knowledge of Ukrainian? | 95% | 4% |

A set of questions was designed to test teachers' satisfaction with the teaching methods which they were employing. 59% claimed that they use audio-visual aids, but as often as not these were provided by the teacher and not by the school. Respondents were not, on the whole, impressed with the aids that were available. While there was more satisfaction (54%) than dissatisfaction (32%) with prescribed textbooks, an overwhelming 86% believed that the provision of extra enrichment reading material would be of benefit. (Unfortunately, pupils were not asked cognate questions about their perception of their teachers' methods of teaching.)

The survey attempted to establish whether teachers were satisfied with their jobs, and what were particular sources of professional satisfaction or dissatisfaction for them. It appears that, on the whole, teachers do derive pleasure from their jobs and from the subjects which they teach. The most important reason which the majority (54%) give for continuing to teach, however, reflects their sense of duty to the school and the community: their departure would cause staffing difficulties (Table 12).

TABLE 12: Reasons why teachers continue in the Ukrainian schools system

How important are the following factors in your decision to continue teaching?

| | Very Important | Important | Not very Important | Not Important |
|--|----------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------|
| Job satisfaction | 27% | 54% | 4% | 0% |
| Interest in the subject | 45% | 27% | 9% | 0% |
| Departure would cause staffing difficulties | 54% | 18% | 14% | 4% |
| Financial reward | 14% | 36% | 32% | 9% |
| Wish to participate in the education of own children | 27% | 23% | 9% | 14% |

Teachers were not greatly tempted by the level of pay. 54% regard pay levels as adequate, 36% as inadequate. 73% believe that higher pay would justify higher demands on teachers, but about half are sceptical about the possibility of finding better candidates.

The single most attractive aspect of their jobs teachers identified as good staff relations (86% consider these to be very satisfactory) and what they perceived as rapport with students (90%).

Conclusions

It would appear from this survey that there is a reassuring unanimity between teachers and pupils on the aims and purposes of Ukrainian schooling in Australia. These do not, as it happens, vary in spirit from the aim enunciated by the U.C.E.A. in its preamble to the 1981 edition of its curriculum: 'to strive to develop pupils' knowledge of the Ukrainian language and to educate their Ukrainian consciousness'.⁴

The major problem facing Ukrainian education is the loss of Ukrainian as a language of communication in the domestic environment of a large proportion of the pupil population. While the problem has long figured large in discussions of Ukrainian schooling and of issues of assimilation, its extent had not been suspected. It is now clear that the major source of Ukrainian language experience for children outside the school itself is no longer the parental home, but contact with Ukrainian-born grandparents – a factor that has strictly limited longevity. Pupils confess to a low level of skill especially in the area of oral communication in Ukrainian, and teachers confront the problem in the form of a perceived disparity in the level of language competence of pupils whom they must teach in the same classes. A need is perceived to reform the curriculum, taking these new demographic and linguistic factors into account. Textbooks may need to be changed, and extra reading materials, graded to various competence levels, are needed urgently.

Teachers, the survey has shown, are not a militant group. Most still see their occupation as a duty toward the Ukrainian community and are not interested in pressing for better pay or conditions, even though they regard both as leaving much room for improvement. They are aware of, though not greatly upset by, deficiencies in the curriculum that they must teach. Of greater concern to them is the problem of developing a good working relationship with parents.

The teacher population contains a substantial proportion of older teachers, whose positions will ultimately have to be taken by younger people. As non-native speakers of Ukrainian, these will require a much greater level of training and will have to expend a great deal more energy in preparing themselves for their teaching duties in order to function effectively. Whether they will be prepared to teach, given present levels of reward is questionable, and it may be that the school system should prepare to find extra resources to fund teachers at professional rates. It will, however, be interesting to discover how parents, who would have to foot the bill, regard this question.

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Jaroslaw Bojczuk, Teresa Kocaba, Linda Sydor and Slava Zabak (voluntary research assistants) and the secretarial, computing and printing staff of Monash University.

NOTES

1. For an early history of Ukrainian education in Australia, see Ivan Broznyts'kyi, "Ukrains'ke shkil'nytstvo v Avstralii," in *Ukrainci v Avstraliia. Materialy do istorii poseleння ukrainciv v Avstralii*, Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka v Avstralii, Biblioteka Ukrainoznavstva, No. 15 (Melbourne: Federation of Ukrainian Organizations in Australia, 1966), pp. 697-768.
2. For a full description of the design of the project, see Olga Bojczuk et al., "Explanatory Remarks on the Project to Study 'Ukrainian Schooling in Victoria: Perspectives, Needs and Planning,'" paper presented at the Third Conference on the History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia, Canberra, 4-6 October, 1986, jointly sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Foundation of Ukrainian Studies in Australia.
3. See Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach and Jeffrey G. Reitz, Questionnaire for Project # 206, Ethnic Pluralism in an Urban Setting: Determinants and Consequences, [Toronto], Survey Research Centre, Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1978.
4. *Ukrains'ka Tsentral'na Shkil'na Rada Avstralii, Prohramy navchannia dlia ukrainc'kykh shkil Avstralii* (Melbourne, 1981) p. 2.

Maria Kowalska

Introduction

At present, there are 14 Ukrainian Community Schools in five different States of Australia. One of the largest, the Ivan Franko Ukrainian Community School in Adelaide, is the only Ukrainian School in South Australia.

Its history from its establishment in 1951 till 1965 has been described by I. Broznyckyj in *Ukrainci v Avstralii*¹ Theodor Pasiczynskyj has been its director since 1958 to the present.

The present report gives a general overview of the current situation in Ukrainian education in South Australia.

Enrolments

According to I. Broznyckyj, the annual enrolment in the early 1950s was as follows:

Table 1

| | Students |
|------|------------------|
| 1951 | 41 |
| 1952 | 45 |
| 1953 | 67 |
| 1954 | 113 |
| 1955 | 258 ² |

By 1953-54 Ukrainian migrants had become more settled and organised. Family members, who were separated – in many cases due to the two-year contract policy – were reunited. Hence, the number of enrolments rose, as indicated in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 2

| | Students | | Students |
|------|----------|------|------------------|
| 1956 | 304 | 1961 | 341 |
| 1957 | 284 | 1962 | 360 |
| 1958 | 292 | 1963 | 337 |
| 1959 | 321 | 1964 | 353 |
| 1960 | 334 | 1965 | 359 ³ |

In 1963 grade 8 (a course in *Ukrainoznavstvo*) was introduced. By 1965, six students had completed this grade and had become teachers' aids. Soon after this, grade 9 was organised.

During the 1980s, yearly enrolments, according to M. Slipeckyj, were as follows:

Table 3

| | Students |
|------|------------------|
| 1983 | 167 |
| 1984 | 132 ⁴ |
| 1985 | 136 |
| 1986 | 140 |
| 1987 | 121 ⁵ |

In 1975 the Ukrainian language gained recognition as a Community language, and was accepted officially for matriculation purposes. From that year to the early 1980s there was an annual intake of between 13 and 16 students for matriculation courses⁶. During the last 5 years the number of students enrolled in the course has fluctuated between 8 and 10.⁷

The following are some of the factors which may have contributed to the decline in the number of enrolments:

- (1) a rise in mixed marriages;
- (2) assimilation;
- (3) apathy;
- (4) negative societal attitudes to ethnicity;
- (5) the decline in the birth rate in Australia in general.

At least some of these factors were the result, to a large degree, of the Australian governments' former policy of assimilation. The Australian governments' endeavour to assimilate migrants was indicated by the former Australian Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, in his inaugural address on Multicultural Affairs in Melbourne on 30 November 1981, when he said:

"Considerable social and political efforts were made to achieve the twin goals of maintaining an homogenous population and assimilating those who were different".⁸

Standard of achievement

In contrast to the 1950s when, except for a very small percentage, children were bilingual in 1st grade, in the later period about 25% spoke Ukrainian and 75% had only some understanding of it. In contrast to the past, it now takes two years, instead of one, to complete the *Bukvar*, the basic reader. Now more than half of the teaching time is spent on teaching to understand and to speak the language. Thus achievements have been of a lower standard in all subjects, including religion, in comparison with the earlier years.

Resources

1. Teaching material

In order to stimulate student interest in Ukrainian studies there is a need for some shift from traditional Ukrainian literature, i.e., from historical themes, to texts

with material which is relevant to the students' experience. Hence, the syllabus should be extended to include:

- (a) topics dealing with Australian cities, towns and the outback – comparisons can then be drawn with contemporary Ukraine;
- (b) topics dealing with the structure and functions of one's family, problems associated with youth and old age and welfare;
- (c) the role of individual members within the family – moral obligations towards the members of one's family and society should be stressed.

2. Teachers

During the earlier years the number of teachers in the Ukrainian Community School in Adelaide increased from 6 to 14.⁹

In the later period, according to Pasiczynskyj's records, the number of teachers fluctuated between 17 and 22, with assistance from 2 to 4 teachers' aids. Half to two-thirds of the teachers and aids were first generation Australians. Currently, seven teachers teach at secondary level, one is in her early 20s, one in her 30s, three in their early 50s and two in their early 70s. All of them, except one, have tertiary education qualifications, two having completed their studies in Europe before emigrating to Australia.

Furthermore, efforts were made by the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia to organise intensive courses in Ukrainian language and culture at tertiary level. These took place at the University of Adelaide (1979), Melbourne (1980) and at Macquarie University (1981-1982), prior to the establishment there of the Ukrainian Studies Centre in 1984.¹⁰ These courses were of assistance, performing the role of in-service teacher-training for local teachers of Ukrainian.

Conclusion

The results of this comparison indicate that with each consecutive generation born in Australia noticeable changes occurred. The intellectual, cultural and social benefit of the Ethnic Schools cannot be underestimated in the efforts to stimulate young Australians of Ukrainian descent to become involved in the community activities of their parents, thereby improving their self-image and increasing their responsibility to the family and society at large. However, in order to transmit mother-tongue/cultural heritage to the next generations there is a crucial need for:

- (a) new written material;
- (b) reinforcement of bilingualism through provision of translators and interpreters;
- (c) positive psychological and social attitudes to ethnic values within society in general.

Unless these needs are met, in our opinion, the multicultural and multilingual reservoir in Australia will evaporate in the near future, especially within the communities where there is no influx of new migrants, as is the case with the Ukrainian community.

NOTES

1. Broznyckyj, I., "Ukrains'ke shkil'nytstvo", in *Ukrainci v Avstralii*, Melbourne, 1966, pp. 697-768.
2. Ibid, p. 719.
3. Ibid, p. 720.
4. Slipeckyj, M., "Statystyka uchniv ukrains'kykh shkil Avstralii", in *Informatyvno-metodychnyi Lystok Ukrains'koi Tsentral'noi Shkil'noi Rady v Avstralii*, no. 26-27 (70-71), Melbourne, 1985, p. 51.
5. Ibid, n.32 (76) p. 63.
6. Teachers' matriculation record book.
7. Idem.
8. Fraser, Malcolm, the Right Honourable Prime Minister CH:MP *Multiculturalism: Australia's Unique Achievement*, Canberra, 30 November 1981.
9. Broznyckyj, I., op. cit. pp. 697-768.
10. *Budivnychi Katedry Ukrainoznavstva v Avstralii*, Ukrainian Studies Foundation, Sydney, 1984, p. 3.

UKRAINIAN TERTIARY EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Halyna Koscharsky

Ukrainian tertiary education in New South Wales has its beginnings in 1968 in the form of teacher training courses which were held in Lidcombe and organised by members of the Ukrainian community who had worked as lecturers and teachers before leaving Ukraine.

These courses were designed to train teachers for the Ukrainian Saturday morning primary and secondary classes and their syllabus included methodology, educational psychology, language and literature. No formal qualification was gained at the end of the two-year course since the project was an internal one, recognised within the community for its own purposes.

The first intake was made up of six students – some already working as teachers of Ukrainian and some preparing to take on such a position.¹ By 1977 the lecturers were mainly young professionals with relevant Australian qualifications, supplemented by schooling within the Ukrainian Saturday school system and the Ukrainian matriculation courses, the latter having been introduced in New South Wales two years earlier. The teacher training courses continued until 1985 with spasmodic funding from various bodies, including the Department of Adult Education and the Lubomyr Sklepkovych Foundation.

Their function was, in part, taken over in the previous year by a new and much more formidable entity – the Ukrainian Studies Section – which was established as a stream within the existing Slavonic Studies at Macquarie University.

Ukrainian Studies at Macquarie University

Ukrainian Studies at Macquarie University was established in 1984. In accordance with earlier planning in March of the following year, University Council approved the formal structure of the Ukrainian Studies Centre by appointing a Management Committee, an Advisory Board and Directors.

The Ukrainian Studies Section maintains as its main goal the teaching of Ukrainian language, literature, history and civilisation, while the Centre as a whole aims to further research and promote the advancement of studies in these and related fields. The Centre also aims to assist in the publication of material related to Ukrainian studies.

From the time of its establishment, Macquarie University has been the only body offering tertiary courses in Ukrainian subjects in New South Wales.

The only other body offering such courses in Australia is Monash University

in Victoria.²

The fact that the Centre is physically located in New South Wales does not limit its operations to this State. Because of the facilities for external study at Macquarie University, the twelve Ukrainian courses, as well as forty-five other Slavonic courses, are available to students throughout Australia. Through the medium of cassettes on which are taped specially recorded as well as live lectures and tutorials, supplemented by materials prepared by the lecturer, the student who would otherwise have no access to such study, is able to take part either by cross-crediting at his own university or by becoming a non-degree student who studies for his own satisfaction and development.

Financial support

For the establishment of a Centre which now offers twelve courses, employs three full-time and one part-time academic staff, and has this year entered the field of publishing, there obviously had to have been substantial funding from the very beginning. Although the Commonwealth Government had provided a grant for the establishment of Slavonic Studies at Macquarie University in 1983, the languages for which funds were made available were Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian and Polish. Ukrainian, as a language spoken by a smaller percentage of Australia's population, was to be given no financial assistance whatever, and would therefore have to be funded by the community itself.

In anticipation of such a need the Ukrainian community in Sydney had in fact already established the Ukrainian Studies Foundation, which set up contacts and branches throughout Australia for the propagation of the idea of a centre which would service the entire country by means of external study. Support, financial as well as ideological, grew steadily, encouraged by the regular appearance of articles in the national Ukrainian weekly newspaper *Vil'na Dumka* (The Free Thought). A detailed account of the development of the Foundation from its inception in 1971 has been given by its Chairman, Dr Ihor Gordijew.³ Early this year the interim target of one million dollars had been reached, proving the high value placed by Ukrainians on the retention of their native language and culture. In their wisdom the Directors of the Foundation from the outset invested all collected money. The interest gained from the capital sum has been paid into the University in the form of instalments for the maintenance of the Centre.

Organisation and enrolments

The Ukrainian Section opened in 1984 with four courses in language and literature. The staff of two – Section Head and Lecturer, Dr Natalia Pazuniak and Halyna Koscharsky, as Tutor – began teaching with an enrolment of 34. (The *enrolment figure* is the total of enrolments for each course. The question of the number of *individual students* will be addressed later.)

During 1985 the number of courses increased to seven, with an enrolment of 93 and additional staff in the form of two part-time Tutors – Luba Kaye and Rosa Kloczko.

In 1986 a total of ten courses was offered, with a total enrolment of 117. Staff numbers increased temporarily with the addition of Professor Wsewolod Isajiw, from the University of Toronto, as Visiting Lecturer in Civilisation.

In 1987 there was a change in the structure of the Section. Dr Pazuniak completed her three-year contract and returned to the United States. Halyna

Koscharsky was appointed to replace Dr Pazuniak as Section Head. She also became Temporary Lecturer in Literature. Marta Harasowska-Luelsdorff was appointed to the position of Lecturer in Language. During the first semester Professor Theodore Mackiw from Heidelberg University worked as Visiting History Professor, while Visiting Lecturer for the second semester was Serhii Cipko from the University of Alberta. No tutorial assistance was required in that year. The number of courses reached its peak at twelve. Enrolments however were halved to 57, due to the introduction by the Federal Government of an administration fee of \$250. This fee applies indiscriminately to all enrolling students, including those who take only one external non-degree course.

The Ukrainian Studies Foundation responded to this development by launching a new appeal to the community to cover the fee in the case of financial hardship on the part of the applicant.

There has been no change in the number of courses in 1988. The enrolment figure is 67. At this stage the only change in staff is the return of Luba Kaye as part-time Tutor in Literature.

Although the University deals in enrolment figures which are then translated into EFTS figures (Equivalent to Full-Time Students), the community is mainly interested in the number of students who have enrolled in any year, since this represents the number of individuals who have benefited from its donations. (See addendum for individual enrolments and total enrolments.)

Student categories

It is worthwhile asking the question: where do students come from and what motivates their enrolment? It was originally envisaged that Higher School Certificate students who take Ukrainian as a subject would form the bulk of the enrolments each subsequent year.

The pattern of enrolment is, however, somewhat different to this: students who are established in their undergraduate courses at Macquarie University or another of Australia's universities, tend to enrol in one or more Ukrainian courses in their second or third year, rather than the first. Some have gone on to complete three consecutive years of Ukrainian language and literature courses although not all of these have credited their studies towards a degree. Another category of student prefers to take one or more courses because of a special interest in some field of study, without any particular plan in mind. The motivation may also be provided by a Ukrainian spouse, friends or the encouragement of Ukrainian relatives. These students are generally professionals who wish to deepen their knowledge of some aspect of Ukrainian culture.

Future prospects

Plans for the future for the Ukrainian Studies Centre at Macquarie University include the development of the resource, research and publication activities. The Director, Dr Gordijew, has established close links with Ukrainian Centres at some overseas universities and has arranged for their scholars to visit the Macquarie Centre for the purpose of lecturing in highly specialised fields, co-operation in research projects both here and overseas and for the purpose of meeting with both Ukrainian and Australian communities.

The teaching side of the Centre is well established, with lecturers in language,

literature and history each taking responsibility for four courses, in both the internal and the external modes. Apart from teaching responsibilities, the academic staff is often called on by Federal and State education bodies as consultants on a variety of matters relating to Ukrainian subjects, such as the HSC examinations, translating and interpreting examinations, the awarding of grants for publications, to serve on a variety of committees, and to assess the Ukrainian component of various multicultural projects.

As a source of potential students, the five Ukrainian Saturday morning schools in New South Wales alone, and fourteen for the whole country, are still attracting an encouraging number of pupils each year. The figures for New South Wales have remained at over 300 enrolments annually. The 1986 statistic for the whole of Australia was 946.⁴

For the last ten years the teaching staff for Ukrainian for years 11 and 12 at the secondary school level in New South Wales has been composed entirely of graduates with close links with the Ukrainian Studies Centre. Some were full or part-time staff members of the Centre, others have been past students who completed three years of Ukrainian language and literature.

The future looks bright. The possible introduction of heavier administration fees or the reintroduction of tuition fees for non-degree as well as degree students, does, however, loom as a threat to student numbers in the future. For the moment, though, the Centre's potential is undeniable.

NOTES

1. Personal communication, E Barchinski, Chairperson, Board of Ukrainian Ethnic Schools of NSW.
2. See Marvan, J., "Towards Ukrainian as an Academic Discipline in Australia: the Monash Contribution" in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia* (ed. M. Pavlyshyn), Monash University, Melbourne, 1986, pp. 135-137.
3. See I. Gordijew, "The Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia: A Brief Survey" in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia* (ed. M. Pavlyshyn) Monash University, Melbourne, 1986, pp. 141-148.
4. Slipeckyj, M., *Informatyvno-metodychi Lystok Ukrainss'koi Tsentral'noi Shkil'noi Rady v Australii*, nos. 30-31 (74-75), Melbourne, 1987.

APPENDIX

Courses in Ukrainian studies

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1984 | Introduction to Ukrainian Ukrainian Language I, Ukrainian Literature I, Ukrainian Reading Course. |
| 1985 | Introduction to Ukrainian Ukrainian Language I, Ukrainian Literature I, Ukrainian Civilisation I, Ukrainian Reading Course Ukrainian Language II, Ukrainian Literature II. |
| 1986 | Introduction to Ukrainian Ukrainian Language I, Ukrainian Literature IA, Ukrainian Literature IB, Ukrainian Civilisation I, Ukrainian Reading Course, Ukrainian Language II, Ukrainian Literature II, Ukrainian Civilisation II, Ukrainian Language III. |
| 1987 | Introduction to Ukrainian Ukrainian Language I, Ukrainian Literature IA, Ukrainian Literature IB, Ukrainian Civilisation I, Ukrainian Reading Course, Ukrainian Language II, Ukrainian Literature II, Ukrainian Civilisation II, Ukrainian Language III, 19th Century Ukraine, 20th Century Ukraine. |

1988 The courses listed for 1987 were available in 1988, with the exception of Ukrainian Literature II and Ukrainian Language III, which were rested for that year only.

Third year students study Ukrainian literature in a comparative literature course which provides lectures on a cross-section of Slavonic literatures. In addition, the students in this course attend tutorials where the literature of their specialisation is discussed.

Student enrolments

| Year | Individual students | No. of Enrolments |
|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1984 | 23 | 34 |
| 1985 | 60 | 93 |
| 1986 | 77 | 117 |
| 1987 | *38 | *57 |
| 1988 | 38 | 67 |
| Total | <hr/> 236 | <hr/> 368 |

Note: *This figure includes the additional students, who enrolled later for second semester courses. At the time of the conference only the initial enrolment figure was available.

OBSERVATIONS ON POTENTIAL AND PRIORITIES

Marko Pavlyshyn

Ukrainian studies at Monash and Macquarie Universities have one feature in common which distinguishes them from all other philological disciplines at university level in Australia: between them they engage no fewer than four full-time, and several part-time, academic staff, and yet they are wholly funded from community contributions.

It is a distinction which brings much credit to the Ukrainian community, and very little to decision makers in Australia's tertiary education bureaucracies. Successive reports to the Commonwealth Government between 1978 and 1984 recommended Tertiary Education Commission support for community language programmes and for the promotion of multicultural perspectives at University level,¹ and the 1980 *Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education* pointed to Ukrainian as one of the six languages available at HSC level but not at the time offered at any Australian university.² By the end of 1981 special government funds had been made available for tertiary education programs in Arabic, Croatian, Greek, Italian, Macedonian, Maltese, Pitjantjara, Portuguese, Serbian, Turkish and Vietnamese – but not in Ukrainian.³ Nor has there been any federal or state support in response to submissions for government funding assistance since the commencement of Ukrainian courses at Monash in 1983 and at Macquarie in 1984.⁴

This state of affairs bears witness to an inequity suffered by the Ukrainian community in Australia – it has been obliged to provide, at its own expense, what other groups have received at the expense of the public purse. It is an inequity that has since been aggravated by the imposition of a Commonwealth government student administration charge even in the case of single-subject enrolments. In the special case of Ukrainian, students whose families have often contributed heavily to foundations supporting Ukrainian studies are obliged in addition to pay the government for using an education facility which had cost the government nothing, but for which the Ukrainian community has sacrificed more than \$1.5million. Worse, the administration fee dealt a severe blow to not-for-degree enrolments in Ukrainian, especially in 1987.⁵

The existence of the Ukrainian programme in the Department of Slavic Languages at Monash University and the Centre of Ukrainian Studies within the School of Modern Languages at Macquarie University (let us call them both “centres” for the sake of brevity) reflects the historical commitment of Ukrainians to humanities scholarship – a commitment which made possible the emergence in the 1870s of the

Shevchenko Scientific Society, the co-sponsor of this conference, and, more recently, the establishment of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (1968) and Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto (1980) ⁶ The provenance of Australia's Ukrainian studies centres in the generosity and public-spiritedness of the Ukrainian community has given rise to the unusual combination of expectations with which these centres are confronted. On one hand, their roles are defined by normal academic objectives: research, scholarship and teaching. Their activities in these fields are determined in large part by the international context of scholarship – by the priorities and directions which prevail at a given time in the academic disciplines to which individual Ukrainian studies staff belong. On the other hand, the centres are the products of the conviction – expressed in formal documents as well as in discussion in the Ukrainian-language press – that tertiary studies in Ukrainian would further several of the Ukrainian community's central goals. The most important such goal is cultural maintenance. The centres, from the viewpoint of the community's interests, would create a reservoir of young graduates, well-informed about Ukraine and with a high level of competence in Ukrainian; they would contribute to the retention of the Ukrainian language and therefore of Ukrainian cultural identity within the community. Some would form the next generation of teachers of Ukrainian in the community schools.⁷ Second, the community, troubled by the constraints under which Ukrainian humanities scholarship is pursued in the U.S.S.R., is keen to support objective research and scholarship concerning various aspects of Ukrainian culture. Third, the community believes that a Ukrainian presence in the Universities would in itself enhance the public visibility and prestige of things Ukrainian, and that Ukrainian specialists would become authoritative sources of information on Ukrainian issues.⁸

That such community and academic aims may complement each other was emphasised in a recent address to the Ukrainian community of Melbourne by the Vice-Chancellor of Monash University, Professor M.I. Logan. The relationship between Monash and the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, Professor Logan pointed out, serves the interests of both groups very much in the spirit of recent calls for greater accountability by universities to the community.⁹

It is a common-sense insight that the cultural maintenance role of the centres – but also their academic function of identifying and fostering potential scholars in Ukrainian – will best be served if the maximum number of students enrolls in the available programmes. Between them, the two institutions have an extensive potential reach, Monash catering to the major concentration of persons of Ukrainian origin in metropolitan Melbourne, Macquarie reaching the whole of Australia with its specialisation in external studies.

It might be argued that present enrolments are in any case close to their maximum potential, that 17 first-year enrolments at Monash in 1988, for example, is a highly satisfactory figure, considering that there were 14 candidates for the Victorian HSC in Ukrainian in 1987. Yet such a view would be complacent. Among the young community "activists" – teachers in community schools and leaders of youth groups – many fail to take advantage of courses that would be of direct benefit to them in their Ukrainian activities, in part, paradoxically, through overcommitment in community affairs. A proposal that schools should encourage their younger teachers to enrol by releasing them from teaching duties and paying the administration charge has not been acted upon. Advertising of courses is concentrated too narrowly in the Ukrainian-language print and broadcast media, which reaches no non-Ukrainian

speakers and, research suggests, very few young Ukrainian speakers.¹⁰ A majority of the students in Monash's Introductory Ukrainian course, for example, become aware of the course through word of mouth. What is needed is rational, no doubt more expensive, but more broadly directed advertising.

Once students do enrol – at least, Monash experience suggests that this is the case – they tend to continue into second and third year. The average retention rate, expressed as a percentage of first-year equivalent full-time student units retained in third year over the 1983-87 period was 94% at Monash, compared with a general Slavic average of 80%. (Figures for French and German, by contrast, were much lower: 38% and 47% respectively in 1983-85.) Nonetheless, centres must be sensitive to student needs and expectations, and might do well to institute regular mechanisms for student evaluation of courses.¹¹

Special attention needs to be paid to talented students who wish to take higher degrees in Ukrainian. Centres should develop an explicit policy, closely related to their research profiles, on the areas in which they are prepared to supervise higher degrees, and to what level. The funding bodies, for their part, will have to be ready to make provision for some students to complete postgraduate studies at overseas universities.

As far as research is concerned, the smallness of the Ukrainian studies establishment in Australia precludes development on a broad front. The two centres need to develop, or to continue to develop, distinctive research profiles in a small number of fields of specialisation. At Monash, such specialisations are contemporary writing in Soviet Ukraine and Ukrainian writing in Australia, as well as contemporary synchronic Ukrainian linguistics. The 38 publications by Monash scholars in Ukrainian studies from 1983 to date have mainly been in these fields.¹²

It is, of course, preeminently published research that determines the repute of any given academic institution in the national and international scholarly community. This in turn affects the calibre of scholars who might wish to take up appointments there. It is my view that the two centres should give research activity a very high priority indeed.

One of the drawbacks of our discipline in Australia is the underdevelopment of basic research tools, such as libraries and guides to existing materials. The Monash Ukrainian collection is part of the university's main library, and it is available nationwide through the Australian Bibliographical Network and inter-library loans. In addition, research grants of \$17,000 were obtained in 1984-87 for cataloguing and making similarly accessible through ABN part of the holdings of the 12,000-volume Ukrainian Bishop's library in Melbourne.¹³ It is regrettable that no provision has yet been made by Macquarie University to include the catalogue of the valuable collection of the Ukrainian Studies Centre on some widely accessible data base.

One research area which the two centres might be singularly well-equipped to develop is that of Ukrainians in Australia. Serge Cipko of the Ukrainian Studies Centre at Macquarie has produced a bibliography for this field.¹⁴ The systematic collection of materials in the field of what Professor J.B. Rudnycky calls "Ucrainica Australiana" should become a priority of one of the centres. It is essential to establish a collection of Ukrainian books and serials published in Australia that would aim for completeness. In collaboration with the Shevchenko Scientific Society, conferences on the history of Ukrainian settlement in Australia have now been held at both centres. Monash has obtained \$9,000 in 1988, to research Ukrainian theatre in Australia, including \$5,000 from the Australian Research Council. The potential for

fruitful research in the cluster of disciplines that make up “migrant studies” is endless, and it is Macquarie, which has a commitment to social sciences appointments, which might well take the lead here. One project in particular – the collection of oral history data concerning the early days of Ukrainian settlement in Australia in 1948-53 – is a matter of increasing urgency, as the ranks of the pioneer generation are beginning to thin.

In the absence of alternative funds, the centres should set aside moneys specifically for research purposes. Collaboration with and, indeed, coordination of voluntary research is yet another potential area of development. The survey of Ukrainian schools in Victoria, which has already been discussed at this conference, was jointly run by the Shevchenko Scientific Society and Monash University, and benefited from the ideas and labour of about fifteen volunteers, while Monash provided secretarial, computing and research assistance.

As regards the relationship of Ukrainian studies in Australia to neighbouring spheres of academic endeavour, it appears to me that we should aim for a maximum degree of integration. If it is one of the intentions of the donors that awareness and discussion of Ukrainian issues should spread as broadly as possible through the academic community, and through it, to the community at large, then this intention is doubtless best met by extensive participation by Ukrainian studies staff in a range of professional activities within and across disciplinary boundaries. Such participation would include membership of, and active participation in, such professional organisations as the Australia and New Zealand Slavists Association and the Australasian Association for the Study of the Socialist Countries; attendance at academic conferences; and the integration of Ukrainian courses or parts of them into wider structures (e.g., the Centre for General and Comparative Literature, and the newly-formed Centre for European Studies at Monash). As finances become available for further development, joint appointments, partly funded by the Ukrainian foundations, partly by existing university departments or schools in such areas as politics, history, economics, visual arts or music should be considered. Isolationist pressures – including the notion that what is needed is a “monastery” of Ukrainian studies housed in its own building – deserve, in my view, to be regarded as misguided and to be strenuously resisted.

It might be appropriate, finally, in the case of matters that affect Australian Ukrainian studies as a whole – liaison with government and media, co-ordination of overseas visitors, possible joint research projects, pooling of resources – to establish a consultation mechanism between the two centres on a more formal level than the arrangements that exist at present.

Whatever the directions to be taken by Ukrainian studies in Australia, one thing is certain: the need for additional funds will not decline. The \$1.5 million capital will not sustain the present establishments from interest alone; constant topping-up will be needed. Accordingly, the “magic number” style of fundraising, so successful hitherto in generating \$0.5 million in Melbourne and \$1.5 million in Sydney, will need to give way to a more long-term policy for continuous fundraising. There is room for a more professional and imaginative approach, and one that reaches potential donors who are as yet largely dormant. In particular, ways must be found of making philanthropy attractive to the rich.

The issue of finances is, of course, too broad for anything more than a mention here; suffice it to say that, like Ukrainian Studies in Australia in general, it requires constant thought and discussion. The social and cultural function of the Ukrainian

Studies centres is remarkably complex. In them is invested a great deal of the Ukrainian community's secular emotion, not to mention substantial personal material sacrifices. The centres are important components of the community's hopes for the future. They are also the Ukrainian community's gifts to Australia at large: sources of a kind of knowledge which officialdom had decided that Australia could not afford.

Ukrainian studies in Australia, then, are a phenomenon that is as important as it is unique; in order that they might be the best and most effective that the available money may buy, they should constantly be the subject of informed, critical, imaginative and well-disposed debate - as much by members of the Ukrainian academic community as by the public at large.

NOTES

1. Australia, Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, *Migrant Services and Programs* [Galbally Report] (Canberra, 1978), pp. 107 and 108; Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, *Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services* (Melbourne, 1982), p. 133; Australia, Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, *Report on a National Language Policy* (Canberra, 1984), p. 231.
2. Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, *Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education* (Melbourne, 1980), p.61.
3. Smolicz, J.J., "Minority Languages and the Core Values of Culture: Changing Policies and Ethnic Responses in Australia," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 5 (1984), No. 1, 23-41, here p. 32.
4. Gordijew, I., "The Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia: A Brief Survey," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia*, ed. Marko Pavlyshyn (Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986), pp. 141-48, here p. 146. See also Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, *Submission to the Minister of Ethnic Affairs Concerning Funding for Ukrainian Studies at University Level in Victoria*, prepared by Marko Pavlyshyn ([Melbourne], 1985). For accounts of the prehistory and establishment of Ukrainian studies at Macquarie, see Gordijew, and at Monash - Jiri Marvan, "Toward Ukrainian as an Academic Discipline in Australia: The Monash Contribution," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia*, pp. 135-40.
5. See Halyna Koscharskij, Section Head, Ukrainian Studies, Macquarie University, to M.J. Young, Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 2 June 1987.
6. Magosci, P. R., *National Cultures and University Chairs. An Inaugural lecture, October 22, 1980* (Toronto, 1980).
7. See, e.g., Association of Ukrainian Associations in Victoria, *A Proposal for the Introduction of Ukrainian at Monash University*, prepared by Dr. M.L. Lawriwsky ([Melbourne], 1982), pp. 6-7.
8. Monash University, Vice-Chancellor, Address at the Ukrainian Studies Fundraising Dinner, 20 March 1988, Ukrainian House, Melbourne, p. 1.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
10. Pavlyshyn, M., "The Ukrainian Press in Australia, Some Observations," in Abe W. Ata, ed., *The Ethnic Press in Australia* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1988), forthcoming.

11. An example of what might be done on a regular basis exists in Linda Sydor. *Opyt pro kursy ukrainistyky v Monashi* [Survey on Ukrainian studies courses at Monash] ([Melbourne, 1987]), typescript.
12. Monash University, *Research Reports 1983-1987*.
13. For an account of the early stages of the project, see Monica Stecki, "The Ukrainian Bishop's Library, Melbourne," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia*, pp. 151-54.

APPENDIX: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES BY MONASH AUTHORS 1984-1988.

Note: Items 1-21 for 1983-85 are listed in Marko Pavlyshyn, ed., *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia* (item 23 below).

(a) Edited Collections and Conference Proceedings

22. 1988 Pavlyshyn, Marko, ed. *One Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine. Papers from a Symposium at the Australian National University, Canberra, 15 August 1987*. Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 72 pp.
23. 1986 Pavlyshyn, Marko, ed. *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia, Second Conference, Melbourne, 5-7 April 1985*. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, Library of Ukrainian Studies No. 54. Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, 1986, 167 pp.
24. Pavlyshyn, Marko, guest ed. "Avstraliis'ka poeziia," *Suchasnist'*, 26, No. 7-8 (303-04), 5-20.
25. Pavlyshyn, Marko, guest ed. "Avstraliis'ka proza," *Suchasnist'*, 26, No. 9 (305), 8-32.

(b) Articles

26. 1988 Pavlyshyn, Marko, "Aspekty ukrains'koi literatury v Avstralii," *Suchasnist'*, 28, No. 4 (324), 31-47.
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II. UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY NEEDS

Michael Lawriwsky

Introduction

The first part of this paper deals with some of the structural problems within the Ukrainian community in Australia, which are set out in three topics: demography, language and intermarriage.

Demography

There are about thirty thousand people of Ukrainian origin in Australia and presently they are divided fairly equally between the older, or first generation, and succeeding generations. Within ten to fifteen years, the prognosis is that approximately seventy five percent of the Ukrainian community in Australia is going to be Australian born. Furthermore, language usage is falling off at quite a rapid rate. There has been a fourteen percent decline in Ukrainian language usage over the decade '76 to '86, but that masks the actual decline in terms of the potential that could have been reached in that time.

There are fifteen thousand people who speak Ukrainian in the home in Australia. That is about half the total population of Ukrainian origin, and considering that some ten thousand people of the older generation who came to Australia would generally speak the language at home, it implies that only twenty five to thirty percent of the Australian born population of Ukrainian origin does so. That is not the "leading edge", because it takes into account the Ukrainian born population. At the leading edge, that is, children of Ukrainian origin being born today, only ten or fifteen percent will use the Ukrainian language.

Ukrainian language usage among children of Ukrainian origin born in South Australia and Victoria present an interesting picture. Between 1948 and 1952 about eighty children that would eventually speak Ukrainian were being born in Victoria, and roughly forty in South Australia. There has been a dramatic temporal decline in numbers speaking Ukrainian. Of those born between 1983 and 1986 only about ten or twelve born per year in South Australia would eventually speak Ukrainian as would thirty to thirty five born in Victoria. Over time there has been some divergence between Victoria and South Australia. Victoria has just over twice the Ukrainian population of South Australia, but three times the number of children now being born who eventually use the language.

There are few available statistics on the question of intermarriage, but it seems from the '86 census that the extent of intermarriage is strictly inversely proportional

to the size of the community. I would like to note that I am not biased against mixed marriages per se, in fact some mixed marriages are very good for the Ukrainian community. Some of the people involved, and their offspring, are among the most active in the Ukrainian community. But one must concede that intermarriage in general terms does lead to a disintegration of the community, and is therefore of some concern.

The situation is such that Victoria has the lowest level of intermarriage, South Australia has the second lowest level, and New South Wales has the third lowest level. The disparity between New South Wales and South Australia I would put down to the fact that the New South Wales community, while larger than South Australia's, is still not as concentrated as the latter's. There are many more (smaller) centres in New South Wales.

The sample statistics on intermarriage referred to in this paper are drawn from a questionnaire employed by Zachariak and Lawriwsky (1986) in their study of the needs of aged Ukrainian migrants in Australia. They relate to the offspring of 175 Ukrainian-born migrants over the age of 55. They show there is a great disparity between intermarriage rates in the city and in the country. The city sample comprised 126 people between 20 and 50 years of age. The endogamous marriage rate is 60 percent over all and is split in this way between males and females. It was a surprising result that males were slightly more endogamous than the females. Also, a fairly high proportion were married to other ethnics, relative to their proportion of the population. Twenty seven percent were married to partners of Anglo-Celtic background.

In the breakdown by religion we found that Catholics have the highest endogamous marriage rate, with the Orthodox at a slightly lower amount. I would put that result down to the fact that there are sub-communities within the Ukrainian community and the Orthodox parishes. While Orthodox comprise 40 percent of the total Ukrainian community there is a split within the group. On the other hand, the Catholics are a unified group comprising 60 percent of the population. Size of community appears to be the causal factor, particularly when one observes that virtually all of the Catholics in a place like Albury-Wodonga, with a small and isolated community, are marrying out of the community. Therefore, marriage out of the community is more likely to be based on the size of the community rather than on the religion per se.

I also have statistics which give an indication of social background, but of course this is subject to problems of definition. Furthermore, caution must be exercised due to sample size. There is a fairly low rate of endogamy among unskilled workers and also among white collar workers, while the offspring of tradesmen and semi-skilled people tend to marry within the community.

Another factor that might be important is the level type of activity of the parents within the community. There was not much of a consistent relationship, however, a low proportion of the children of inactive people married within the community.

I also examined the effects of outmarriage on the older generation in terms of visits to parents. Here one finds that visits were least frequent when the child was married to an Anglo-Celtic partner, but those people married with other ethnic partners tended to visit to a greater degree. Similarly, if one looks at feelings of loneliness among the older generation one finds that such feelings are more common when children have married Anglo-Celtic partners. In other words, there may be problems of identification with the grandchildren and generally communicating with

the partner of one's offspring if they married a non-ethnic partner.

Looking at the past one finds that in the older than 50 age category there has been 88 percent endogamy, about 60 percent between 30 and 49 years of age, and in the 20 to 29 years group we find only 36 percent endogamy. That is an alarming statistic to extrapolate into the future, but it does mirror the decline in language.

Now, another variable that was indicative of the type of factors that result in endogamy is whether a parent belonged to some Ukrainian political organisation, such as the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, or the Legion of Simon Petlura. There tended to be a higher proportion of endogamy where the parents were in those types of organisations, although it did not appear to be highly significant. The country data related to 35 people in Albury-Wodonga. Of the males, only one married endogamously, although the female proportion was somewhat higher.

The Organisational Framework

The second topic which I would like to address is the Ukrainian Associations – the structure of 'Hromady', as they are called in Australia. Some of the organisational frameworks are actually suicidal in the way that they operate. For instance, in Brisbane there is a Ukrainian community of less than one thousand five hundred people which is split into two Ukrainian associations. Observing the difference between the Victorian and New South Wales structures, it seems that there is a greater centralization in the former. The Association of Ukrainians in Victoria has its branches, as in New South Wales, but in the latter there is no central dominant branch. I would submit that this is part of the problem of activism and renewal in New South Wales.

Looking at the Ukrainian associations in Australia, there has been a considerable decline of membership in most of them. In New South Wales there is only about half the membership that existed in 1966. The period 1966-1970 could be viewed as the zenith of the first generation's organisational activism. In Perth today the Ukrainian association has only a quarter of the membership there was in 1966. Victoria and South Australia are the only places in which the Associations of Ukrainians have more people today than they had in 1966 – the only ones to show growth. However, the average age of members in both of these associations, and particularly South Australia, has increased dramatically.

Currently the Ukrainian associations face a crisis of renewal. At times there have been young leaders of the community appointed prematurely. A case in point is in South Australia, where Mr. Orest Polatajko became president in a situation where 80 or 90 percent of his committee was composed of older generation people. He did not have the ability to put through any of the types of reforms that he might have envisaged.

Currently in Victoria, half of Mr. Steven Romaniw's committee belongs to the second generation but the base of the second generation is lacking. The histogram of the Essendon branch membership reveals that roughly 30 percent are below the age of 44, while approximately 40 percent are over the age of 65. The imbalance of this structure should be of some concern when one projects out ten or fifteen years. Unless significant numbers of younger people join, the absolute numbers will decline in Victoria as well.

Although there are some positive developments such as the Ukrainian Professional and Business Association in Melbourne which is fairly active in its work, and I think has been a very good development there, new forms of community

activism have been lacking elsewhere. Unfortunately, the younger generation do not, as yet, see themselves as being responsible for the continuation of the Ukrainian community in Australia. I feel that they have tended to look upon themselves as basically the children who have many other interests, but do not see themselves as being responsible for community development in the future.

I think that religion in terms of our community is fundamental to its identity. Unfortunately, here as well, we find that there has been a decline in attendance over time. Some statistics on that were gathered by Mr. Maletskiy in Canberra, although we can have some reservations to those statistics because Canberra does tend to be a fairly special place and not generally reflective of Australian society as a whole, and also the Ukrainian community in Australia as a whole. He found that 47 percent of the second generation never attend Ukrainian church, and regular attendance is fairly low. If you look at churches, just by casual observation, throughout Australia you find that most active parishioners are aging. You find very few young people generally. I would add that perhaps the exception again are the Catholics in Victoria in particular, where I think there has been some reversal of that trend. Considerable numbers of young families and children attend church every week.

However, even in Victoria, if you look at the Catholic lay organisation in North Melbourne, you find that there are only four people of the second generation in an executive body of about twenty five. There has not been that renewal in the lay organisation, while there has been in the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, in the Cooperatives and in the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organisations, where half of the membership is of the younger generation.

One of the major problems facing the community in the future is finding appropriately qualified personnel to carry on the tasks which the priests and the nuns carry out at the moment. If they come from Poland or Argentina, they may not have the basic skills required, or the knowledge or the background of the Australian society and culture, and the training to really contribute to their fullest potential. For example, they could be so much more effective if they were trained in social work or education. I think that is really required in the future.

Again, for the Orthodox the problems tend to loom larger than for the Catholics, because of the smaller base group that they have, and the split that they have. In Adelaide, for instance, there were at one time four or five Ukrainian Orthodox churches catering for about two thousand people, which is just suicidal.

One of the roles that has not been taken up enough by the churches in the past is youth work. There has been a problem between overcapitalising and underutilising human resources. Millions of dollars have been invested in the physical capital of the churches and other buildings, but too few people have been employed. For instance, there could be a role for full time youth workers and church activists working among the youth to try and stimulate interest in religious/community activity. Also, in the welfare area, I feel that there is a tendency for the churches not to retain all the responsibilities of the past.

I also want to make a few observations on education. I think that in relation to the day schools, the community has missed its chance, in the sense that originally there probably was the commitment and Bishop Prasko talked about establishing day schools in the 1960s. However, the knowledge of the Australian system, Ukrainian teachers who had studied in Australia, none of these were available at that time. While those skills are available today I question whether the commitment is there. Nor is there the sort of concentration of population that would probably be needed.

During today's sessions, several speakers have lamented that there are quite a few students coming in to the Ukrainian schools that do not have the Ukrainian language. On the contrary, I think that in today's situation a measure of success is the proportion of students that come in that do not know the Ukrainian language. For example, in South Australia, for the ten or twelve students that are going to be speaking Ukrainian at home, there are about seventy potential students out there who will not be exposed to the Ukrainian language. The measure of success, then, is how many of those can be brought into the system. Aggressiveness, in terms of recruiting, tends to be lower today than in the early days. I know that in the 1950s there was a lot of aggressive recruiting of students to Ukrainian schools among the first generation, because even among the first generation some people were asking: 'What do you need the Ukrainian language for in Australia?'

Ukrainian studies at Monash and Macquarie Universities are a great necessity and a great pride for the Ukrainian community, but unfortunately do little to bring new people in, at least not directly. These are the people that are required to go through the system and to get to tertiary institutions. One of the observations that Bishop Prasko made a while back was that we really do have the pinnacle established now, without the base behind it. We do not have that base, and we should be using some of our resources to try to widen that base.

Organisational membership has also been declining within the youth groups. There are only about half the number of people in SUM and Plast today, compared to 1966. One problem is that we tend to develop a parochialism that a youth organisation is an end in itself. Instead, those organisations should be training people in community leadership skills and courses of that nature, and to be feeding people through into other organisations in the Ukrainian community in order to take up leadership roles.

Unfortunately, the prognosis for press and publishing is also very bad in terms of Ukrainian language publications. Decreased identity through intermarriage, decrease in language competence, decrease in the number of the first generation, do not present a rosey picture for the Ukrainian press, particularly in the way that they are presented today. Mr. Onyufrienko has recognised this in the 'Vilna Dumka' some time ago. The press really hasn't adapted along with the way the community structure has changed. In ten to fifteen years' time, unless there is another mass migration, one would expect the maximum readership potential of the Ukrainian papers in Australia to be something in the order of one thousand or so.

The other problem is that the maintenance of identity is not being addressed in the current publications. Marko Pavlyshyn's study of Ukrainian newspapers has found that only about two percent of their total pages is devoted to identity maintenance in Australia, while 16 and 11 percent are devoted to Soviet rule in Ukraine for instance. I am not saying that is not important but there should be more of a balance.

In the publishing area there also needs to be a greater responsibility shown in some cases because there is an image problem in some areas. For instance, if you look at a study of the New South Wales Jewish community by Sol Encel and Bill Buckley, with the historical chapter by Susan Rutland, you find the following statement: "anti-semitism has become a problem of increasing concern for the community since the 1930s. The increase in anti-semitism has been stimulated by non-Jewish migrants coming from areas such as the Ukraine, where there is a long history of anti-semitism. The community has, that is the Jewish community, therefore

opposed migration which might be anti-semitic in nature.”

That statement borders on racism itself, but it does highlight a problem and unfortunately some writings by Ukrainians in Australia have only fuelled it. That is, they have been anti-semitic in nature, and have only played into the hands of those who would like to perpetuate old hatreds. Finally, I would like to present a picture which is a bit more positive, and this is the Ukrainian Credit Cooperative Movement in Australia. This movement is the only organisation, or structure, or group of structures which has been increasing its membership. It now boasts some fifty million dollars in assets and eight thousand five hundred members; it is the only organisation which has a balanced demography and also counts many young people as its members. The majority of the Board of Directors are, in many cases, second generation people. The important thing about the Ukrainian Credit Cooperative Movement is that the contact is still there, and is still there with a lot of people that are really marginal in relation to the Ukrainian community in Australia. Many are only there because it is in their financial interests. While they are still there, the Ukrainian Credit Cooperative Movement has a greater responsibility thrust on it to become more active in bringing those people into the community.

There are precedents in the United States, where the Ukrainian National Association is quite a focus of Ukrainian activity and is a fraternal insurance body at the same time. It is in the interests of the Ukrainian Credit Cooperative Movement and its current members to maintain and foster Ukrainian identity, because without a Ukrainian community in Australia, without that identity and commitment, the cooperative movement itself cannot exist. The credit cooperative movement is tied to the community, and I think the community has to look towards that movement for a measure of leadership.

Conclusion

The next ten to fifteen years will be crucial for the Ukrainian community in Australia given the demographic/structural problems. It is evident that the existing models need to be adjusted according to the situation which presents itself. The second generation Ukrainian-Australians who were born or grew up in Australia must be activated to operationalise these new models if the community is to develop and grow.

Sophia Matiasz

In preparing to address 'Ukrainians and Welfare' as a topic within this Australian Bicentennial Conference on the 'History of Ukrainian Settlement' my immediate concerns were (a) the very broad nature of the topic and within that (b) how to define welfare; (c) How to present Ukrainians in a non-stereotyped way that is both representative of, and acceptable to, Ukrainians living in Australia.

In the absence of systematic research data about Ukrainians the material presented here is that gained from participant observation within Ukrainian communities. Therefore all of the issues in welfare for all Ukrainians cannot be addressed here. It is but one perspective with an emphasis on the interaction of two cultures – the Ukrainian and the mainstream Australian. Further, in addressing Ukrainians as an ethnic minority group in both Australia and Canada what begins to emerge is a mosaic where the initial impact of the mainstream group upon the first Ukrainian migration group has profound repercussions upon the way Ukrainians have been seen to present themselves vis-a-vis the dominant culture. It is within this historical background that this representation emerges. The fundamental premises are concerned with collective Ukrainian perceptions and understandings of the 'host' culture and how this 'host' culture first received the Ukrainians; how this led to survival strategies of how, when and where to 'best fit'. The process taken on then is essentially a reactive one. Ukrainians reacted to the conditions on arrival and worked their strategies through from there. My premise therefore is that the way in which older Ukrainians perceive themselves in the Australian milieu *now* is largely influenced by their experiences *then*.

The Ukrainians who arrived in Australia in the immediate post World War II period were predominantly young (in their twenties or so) and healthy (in spite of their experiences in the War and immediately after). The infirm, not so young ones were left behind in Western Europe because the extensive medical examinations and selection process only allowed those most likely to contribute to the economic development of Australia to proceed. The opportunity to begin a new life away from the political upheaval at home and the devastation of war could be obtained if one was at least healthy.

Work contracts of two years or so, immediately upon arrival sometimes under harsh conditions, allowed no time nor opportunity for the development of English language skills. The new language was learned within the confines of the immediate workplace. There were few monetary rewards and even fewer structures in place to

facilitate smooth entry into the country's culture, its values and professions.

Ukrainians were thus thrust into post World War II assimilationist Australia. Many immigrants of that time still feel the brunt of the label 'New Australian' now, even though it is 40 years or so since their arrival. Ukrainians generally worked quickly towards formally establishing themselves as naturalised Australians. Some considered it an essential step as a social insurance policy against non-discriminatory practices towards their children in schools. Education, above all else, was seen as the all-important stepping stone to a better social and economic status for themselves as individuals, as families and in the Ukrainian community, and for both the individual and community in relation to the rest of Australian society. So it is these two areas of welfare – education and health – that are the focus here today. Ukrainians had to pass health screening to get here as Post-World War II immigrants and once here, the absence of certain skills (language, etc.) profoundly affected both their place in the workforce and their attitudes to, and aspirations through, education for themselves and their offspring.

Welfare

One approach to the definition of welfare is the broad framework proposed by Bernard Cazes (1979) who defines the welfare state as the 'sum total of civilian governmental furnishings of services, of formulating norms of behaviours and of providing transfer payments in order to increase the level of well-being of the community as a whole, or to change its distribution.'¹ Welfare, then, is a series of compromises.

Within the broad categories of consumption, investment, subsidies and transfers, designed to modify behaviours and alter the distribution of income, is a narrower traditional definition of welfare as the provision of entitlement to ensure the minimum standard of health, housing, education and income seen as a political right. Other orientations include the non-budgetary operations of the state, such as regulation and tax expenditures. In this perspective, tax expenditures are 'a reduction of expenditures for those who benefit from them and a loss of revenue for the body which grants them.'²

In addressing Ukrainians (in Australia) and Welfare here, the focus is on the more traditional stance of 'welfare as the provision of entitlement to ensure the *minimum* standards of health, housing, education and income as a *political right*. Before proceeding any further it is essential to point out that the Australian approach to welfare is couched in terms of Nineteenth Century liberalism in England and the framing of policies and the provision of services extending from the Poor Law (of England).

It has been argued that since there has been no Poor Law legislation at any level of Australian government there are no provisions for the establishment of a notion of 'rights' within Australian law. The contrast often employed is that of the United States where poor law legislation and therefore individual rights are established within legislative provisions. Therefore, to begin with, in Australia there are no 'rights' to welfare as such.³ To be fair there has been an unbroken chain of government responsibility. This commitment and expansion is confirmed by the more recent legislation which has imposed duties on agencies to meet this responsibility via the role of the Ombudsman.

Throughout Australia's history there has been a commitment to care for the poor. At different times there has been a selective process of assistance to 'worthy'

applicants, largely sustained by the State, but also supported by non-Government Welfare Agencies. There has been confusion, then, where there has been no Poor Law and therefore no community-legislated responsibility or burden, but the State has been the main provider of mechanisms and services in the redistribution of welfare provisions. The impact of the vagaries of policies and the political process can be illustrated by reference to the Age Pension which was originally means-tested to determine eligibility. Introduced from 1 July 1901, the first payments were made the following month. The relief provided was adjusted to the needs and means of the applicant at the discretion of the local pensions authority.⁴ The means test was subsequently withdrawn but reintroduced in 1973. Since the turn of the century individuals wanting to access Australian welfare provisions or services have been faced with the requirement of providing proof of worthiness or need. In the absence of an overall philosophy within Australian welfare, different Commonwealth, State and rarely Local Government initiatives have responded to the perceived need of the citizen. Within that, once a program is in place it is up to the individual, or his/her advocate to stake, if not prove his/her claim.

Having just put forward the proposition that there are no absolute rights in Australian welfare provisions, there is a need to note that some services or benefits have a universal dimension. The most notable of such services is that of education. This component of the public services is particularly significant to Ukrainians on at least two counts. First the service provided by the State (or by private substitutes) is one that must be used. Australia's education has been developed from a foundation set of principles that it (education) be free, compulsory and secular. Secondly, and more importantly, upon arrival Ukrainians were the recipients of the short end of the qualifications-recognition-stick.⁵ There was, as already noted, an emphasis on negating the experience and qualifications which individuals had in light of the absence of 'English' experience. The English knowledge that was emphasised (and noted as absent) included both knowledge of the English language and of English – (or West European) based philosophies or principles that led (hopefully) to an understanding of the institutions and professions. In pursuing this perspective all cultures and all languages other than English were devalued, denied and denigrated.

Education

Before proceeding with an examination of the formal education system it is important to appreciate the experiences of adults upon their arrival. In drawing attention to the experiences of Ukrainians upon arrival in the late 1940s and early 1950s it is essential to note that Ukrainians (along with all non-English speaking background immigrants) were assessed from an Anglo-Saxon point of view. This orientation still prevails in the 1980s, perhaps not as virilently but it is nonetheless still present. What options were open to Ukrainians then? How did they benefit?

As noted in the introduction, very little research has been conducted on the Ukrainian community as a separate group. Therefore all that is possible to present here is a sketch of some of the major concerns or issues that have confronted the community.

To begin with, Post World War II Australia was oriented to a one-way exchange of information, cultural awareness skills and knowledge. Everyone, including Ukrainians, was very much aware of the acceptance only of Anglo-Saxon valued practices and mores. Ukrainians, along with other Eastern European migrants were

given the added burden of the strong fear of being deported if they did not conform and contribute to Australia's development. Deported where? The prospect, real or imagined, of being returned to their original homeland of Ukraine, now part of the USSR, was anything but a positive one. Therefore, one of the first lessons to be learned in Australia was that of working hard, contributing (whatever that meant), not appearing to be too visible and where possible conforming to the 'Australian way'. In this sense Ukrainians made many efforts to go beyond welfare compromise to conform.

For those with professional qualifications there was an initial phase of having to accept work that denied the employment of their skills and knowledge, of say, medicine or law while they worked through their placements in anything from hotel trade, factory, railway, main roads construction, to other predominantly manual work. The majority remained in their first type of employment for the rest of their working lives. Others, of whom there are comparatively few, were able, through whatever means, to retrain and requalify.

The children were seen to be able to work through this by succeeding in the education system already in place. Education was compulsory. There are many accounts of what children of all ethnic groups, other than English, were subjected to while trying to succeed at school in the 1950s. Curriculum at high school level consisted of subjects such as English, Empire history, Latin, sometimes French. Students with a Ukrainian background entering high school immediately after the war had many obstacles placed in their way. Language, arguably, was the most difficult to overcome. Along with being able to communicate ideas and develop concepts there is a world view, a logic, an explanation that goes beyond mere words. Ukrainian immigrant parents had had little experience of English, let alone the English oriented school system. Therefore there would be little, if any, real support at home in handling issues such as homework, curriculum choice and therefore, later, career choice. There were no support structures, no ethnic community liaison officers and very few Ukrainian teachers who were able to practice their profession and to assist this younger generation.

For the children born in Australia to Ukrainian parents immediately after arrival, schooling was less traumatic. At least the Australian born were not traumatised by the War and its aftermath through migrant camps in Europe and resettling once more in Australia. Ukrainian parents were able to take comfort in the hope that being Australian-born, the younger children were automatically Australian citizens. Despite this, another fear arose. The future of the individual Ukrainian child (and therefore the future of the Ukrainian community) was seen to be dependent upon success in the education arena. At the same time the future of the Ukrainian community depended on the younger generation knowing, accepting, respecting and maintaining Ukrainian culture.

It was in the 1970's that Ethnic Schools began to reap some direct benefits from the Australian Government. Funds became available from agencies such as the Schools Commission. A watershed in policy thinking came with the release of the Galbally Report in 1978.⁶ From this four guiding principles formed the basis of the Post-Arrival Programs and Services over a three year period:

- (a) all members of a society have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;

- (b) every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;
- (c) needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision; and
- (d) services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help. These should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to teaching migrants to become self reliant quickly.

Post-Galbally initiatives meant that bilingual services, interpreters, community consultation by government and government agencies and other strategies were being adopted. Ukrainians in general benefited from this new perspective but the emphasis in many post-Galbally implementations was on language. Older Ukrainians had for many years struggled with 'making do', using their knowledge from earlier experiences to access services as best they could. After the initial post-World War II wave there were few new Ukrainian immigrants settling in Australia. Those few that did arrive had proceeded from an interim settlement in other countries such as England, Canada or the United States. Others arrived directly from Yugoslavia, or later from Poland.

The new language programs implemented in schools generally started too late for the bulk of Ukrainian immigrants to benefit. With the emphasis on language (and the emphasis was still on English) academics and teachers, with the best of intentions, encouraged parents to speak only English to their children (luckily not all accepted this advice). The then current theory was that speaking Ukrainian would interfere with English language acquisition. In the 1980s Marta Rado, and others, through their research are showing that the reverse is the case.⁷ In the contemporary model the emphasis is on how language works. Learning about how language works and transferring that understanding to another language is the model now preferred. Inherent in this view is also the subtle but very strong message that parental or home language is valued in a way that was not evident in the 1950s.

As the 'baby boom' generation of Ukrainians struggled through language and culture shock they were also forced into accepting labels for themselves. At first 'refos', 'dagos'. 'D.P.s' were the order of the day. More subtle but equally stressful was the continual insensitivity towards Ukrainians at schools where they were told they were Russians, or if their parents originated from Halychyna that they were Polish. Ukrainian history was continually submerged into Russian history. By some peculiar quirk of logic Ukrainians were often presented in popular orientations as Russians merely because both languages use cyrillic script.

Ukrainians in Australia have not been subjected to a direct form of discrimination. They have not been denied access by legislation or similar law. They have, however, been subjected to a very strong pressure by mainstream society to accredit themselves in terms of mainstream values and institutions. So in this sense there has hardly been an equitable system for Ukrainians wishing to access services. The language difficulty alone has meant that filling in forms and understanding value orientations in the mechanism of institutions has indirectly but consistently excluded many Ukrainians. To survive the hidden agenda and become successful as businessmen, professionals and so on often meant that mainstream values had also to be adopted.

For the Ukrainian community one of the most insidious of these mainstream values has been that of competition and its concomitant of individualism. There is an element of self-improvement, of doing better, striving harder, at the heart of Ukrainian values. However, the need to strive for excellence to compete for marks for the betterment of oneself through accessing scarce opportunities (e.g., medicine and law) has meant that co-operative community support values have had to be left behind (temporarily at least). Yet Ukrainian communities throughout Australia cannot survive without some co-operation amongst all members regardless of age, occupation or level of education. Is there a danger that in taking on mainstream acceptable professions (and value orientations promoted therein) individual Ukrainians will move away from the traditional Ukrainian value base and community life?

Health

Another area of welfare of universal importance is that of health services. Education levels attained have a direct bearing on the procurement of knowledge of services and in asserting one's claim to services. The health services and access to them along with equal participation can be a critical issue to both individual and community.

As with access to and use of education services, so the supply of health services is based on a Western European middle class authoritative, if not bureaucratic structure. The language used in Australian health services is English. Some Ukrainians have successfully negotiated school and university to graduate as doctors, dentists, nurses, social workers and so on. Therefore there are individuals who are bilingual and bicultural and to whom Ukrainians can take their medical or health problems. If you are Ukrainian, in a large city (such as Sydney, Melbourne or Adelaide), mobile, and have the information about the service and the relevant professional expert, you will probably be able to access a culturally and linguistically appropriate service. However, even if all things are equal not all Ukrainians wish to be given assistance, advice or medical treatment by a Ukrainian. There are many factors to be considered.

Within the Ukrainian culture there is a strong emphasis on the separation of the private and the public worlds. Even though all Ukrainian health professionals would be bound by professional (and government instrumentality) ethics, some Ukrainians fear that somehow, someone will come to know about their concerns or problems. Ukrainian communities, as do most minority communities, experience issues that are divisive. The presence of different and differing groups within Ukrainian communities (as in all communities) may mean that an individual feels unsure, diffident or insecure about approaching another individual because of past associations or conflicts. These issues cannot be legislated upon or against. These concerns are internal to Ukrainian communities (in this instance). They do, moreover, have a direct bearing at times on the delivery and accessing of health or other services.

Ukrainians, as individuals from all backgrounds can present themselves at doctors' clinics, hospitals or whatever for appropriate care. Language barriers are an immediate concern for many of the older generation. The history of apparently sensitive health workers speaking slowly and very loudly in the attempt to bridge the lack of comprehension is hopefully behind us. The use of domestic hospital staff with Ukrainian language to liaise between doctor and patient is also on the decline.

At major hospitals interpreters are now available. But it should be remembered that for a long time Ukrainians have been made very conscious of the fact that they make better Australians if they conform and understand Anglo-Saxon terms. Therefore to be told 30 or 40 years down the Australian multicultural track that it is now acceptable to use interpreters reminds one of the 'speak English' past. Older Ukrainians can and do benefit from the initiatives to provide trained interpreters in hospitals but many are keen to say they can understand without assistance. There are those who really do understand, while others don't.

This need to be perceived to understand is at best brave, at worst, foolhardy. It is no doubt one based on pride but how much of this is the result of the Anglo-conformity stressed in the past? There are many Anglo-Saxon individuals who complain about the difficulty in understanding doctors' jargon, nurses' commands or bureaucratic decisions about a whole host of issues. The expectation then that individuals from other cultural backgrounds will understand is unreasonable. The demands that older Ukrainians, in particular, place upon themselves to be totally independent, self-sufficient and to understand English as well, is adding more stress to their lives.

With the devaluing of cultural knowledge, and languages other than English, Ukrainians found themselves in work situations that were physically stressful, at times harsh and certainly contributing to an accelerating ageing process. Years of working in factories, railway yards or workshops prior to the legislation for safe noise levels have left many with hearing impairments. Similar conditions have provided the scenario for individual accidents, chronic back problems and so on. But claims for compensation of any type have often been met with a suspicion of 'migrants' back' on the part of doctors, insurance assessors and other health area professionals.

The bureaucratic structures of Commonwealth and State health departments and services provide another examples of a peculiar orientation. One example is that service support personnel, programs, funding and initiatives appear to be based (in most States in Central Offices) in sub-sections called 'Migrant Health Units'. At what point in time does a 1949 Ukrainian arrival in Australia cease to be a migrant?

The Ukrainians who are reduced to relying on Migrant Health Units within State Health Departments have further insult added to their injury as they note the paucity of literature translated into their language. At a recently held Ethnic Health Policy Conference 'Health Policy for a Multicultural Australia - towards a National Agenda' different agencies from the larger, more populous States displayed a brilliant array of literature/pamphlets in different languages. These languages included Polish, Italian, Greek, Serbian, Croatian and Turkish. None in Ukrainian! Another dimension for concern emerges when some ethnic minority groups are selected as the focus for information translation and others are not. In the current economic climate (world-wide) and particularly in Australia, government agencies continually face budget restrictions. A priority for expenditure must be established. This is understandable but nonetheless cold comfort for Ukrainians who would also prefer to have the pamphlets, information sheets, hospital or other notices in their own language. Why is it that the needs of smaller ethnic minority groups are thus constantly overlooked?

In the struggle to be positive about what has changed, it is possible to note that Ukrainians are being recognised as a separate group. The 1986 Census provides data for those born in Ukraine. At least the indignity of being continually referred to as born in the Ukrainian SSR or, worse yet, the USSR has been removed.

Ukrainian health issues do not remain in the physical domain alone. Concerns for the well-being of the spirit or psyche are fundamental to the holistic approach to the individual's interaction with the environment. In this area the religious organisations have in many cases provided the core for maintaining a central and traditional value base which includes: meeting places for maintaining extremely valuable social contacts and cohesion in an alien environment; education not only in religious beliefs, rituals, traditions; filters for interpreting the mainstream reality; social workers and problem solvers and an essential central focus. Parish priests regularly announce from the pulpit the names of the sick (in hospitals or at home). They are also called upon to solve individual problems with a variety of government agencies on behalf of their parishioners.

The spiritual, educative and welfare work of the parish priests and their assistants has been greatly enhanced and expanded by the work of the Basilian Sisters now located in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Other work in the voluntary sector of the Ukrainian community is conducted by the Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods (lay organisations) in each of the (Catholic) parishes. This work is paralleled in most non-church based Ukrainian organisations. Voluntary workers in these organisations (religious and secular) are usually from the older age group. Younger members (particularly the 'baby boom' groups and younger ones still) are noticeable by their absence. The reasons for this are many, and, no doubt, complex. This area of Ukrainian community life alone could provide fertile ground for another paper.

Ukrainians today

Australia, Australian welfare agencies and Ukrainian communities in 1988 have all developed significantly since the initial Ukrainian migration in the late 1940s. With established community centres which include churches, presbyteries, community halls, ethnic school buildings, credit unions, nursing homes and convents there are many buildings to vouch for the consistently hard work and fund raising abilities of Ukrainian communities. Many of the older immigrants have completed retraining and requalifying courses; a part of this generation is now retired from the work force. More of the younger generation have entered professions such as higher education lecturing, medicine, law, engineering, architecture and especially teaching. However, closer examination of the vertical mosaic reveals both in Australia and Canada, that the power structures and systems still seem to favour the Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite. In Canada with almost 100 years of Ukrainian settlement and many Ukrainians successful as mainstream politicians, there are still no Ukrainian major corporation members 'of the board'. This situation is exacerbated in Australia since Ukrainians have no State or Federal elected politicians representing their communities.

Progress has been made - Ukrainian language classes are accredited at Secondary School level (albeit not in all States). Community effort has succeeded in Ukrainian University programs being established at Macquarie University (N.S.W.) and Monash University (Victoria). All these courses are open to non-Ukrainians. Now at last the exchange in education can be a two-way process where Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians are able to learn language, history and literature according to a curriculum established and taught by Ukrainians. Therefore, Ukrainians and Ukrainian culture can be presented in more than stereotyped symbolic images. In the past these concentrated on traditional dancing, Easter egg painting, and embroidery. These public displays in schools and other venues have been necessary entres in educating the wider community about Ukrainian culture. Hopefully they can be built

upon and placed in the context of the complexities of Ukrainian culture. Ukrainian issues can be presented to Ukrainians by Ukrainians through ethnic radio and community press media.

In the health field, as noted above, bilingual, bicultural Ukrainian doctors, dentists, nurses and social workers continue to meet the needs of all the people that present for care or treatment; that is, Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians. But the mainstream services are still riddled with culturally insensitive practices. Let me give two examples: providing bland hospital food alien to Ukrainian tastes (and furthermore chastising individuals or family members who bring in the culinary delights that patients prefer); Meals on Wheels persistently pursuing a narrow cultural focus in food preparation and delivery.

Ukrainian community volunteers are also being recognised by Home and Community Care funding. Reimbursements for transport etc. are available. The grants are usually made to Ukrainian women's groups but only in the larger cities with greater concentrations of Ukrainian residents.

But what of the Ukrainians located in very small numbers, say in Northam or Albany in Western Australia or Port Lincoln, or Mt Gambier in South Australia? Those isolated in (conservative) rural Australia will no doubt be serviced by programs and facilities that have not changed or adapted to their needs.

There is a different but equally important concern for individuals or families who have chosen *NOT* to participate in the mainstream of Ukrainian community life. For elderly isolated Ukrainians the welfare issues alone present potential nightmares as they are left to negotiate the kaleidoscope of service provisions and regulations without the support and/or assistance of the Ukrainian community, volunteer agencies or welfare workers.

Within the Ukrainian community there emerges also a dilemma for the generation now entering University studies or the workforce. The economic situation places stress on succeeding. Many realise the difficulties of even entering an education or employment situation. To this must be added community concern that they also pick up cultural values and become involved in community groups.

Another sub-group within the Ukrainian community to be exposed to this dichotomy of values are the women (in all age groups). Upon arrival the first generation worked in factories. Some members of the next generation moved into professions: teaching, nursing, medicine. While there are high expectations for success in the mainstream systems, the Ukrainian community also relies on women to continue traditional female roles in maintaining culture and language; in marrying and having families; in being active in church and community; and in nurturing the young, the old and the infirm. The gender role issue is also relevant if we take into account that both education and health or welfare are largely the province of women. In both traditional mainstream and traditional Ukrainian culture women are guided, counselled or encouraged to aspire to work for careers in these fields. But in both the health and education fields (and in both cultural systems) males are the decision makers or power brokers. A further interesting dimension to the gender longevity phenomenon is that there are more widows than widowers in the elderly age group.

In view of the variety and complexity of the issues involved it is impossible to account for all Ukrainians throughout Australia in their successes and sorrows in attempting to access and use health and education services. Community experiences vary according to level of education, inclusion/exclusion in relation to community;

English language ability, occupation, gender and geographical location. Individual and group experiences through time have been affected by the government policies and program orientations of the day. The assimilations of the 1950s were particularly harsh.

Today, migrant Resource Centres, Ethnic Affairs Commissions, Ethnic Communities Councils (or their equivalents) and the Office of Multicultural Affairs each provide some measure of support, advice, advocacy or funding for all ethnic minority groups. The presence of these organisations does not, however, provide a universal panacea for issues Ukrainian. To begin with many of the larger groups are seen to be more vocal and in receipt of more of the services of the funding dollar. The Office of Multicultural Affairs has been stressing a three-pronged agenda of cultural maintenance, social justice and effective use of economic resources. Is there a danger that small groups may be overlooked in the name of cost effectiveness? More importantly could it be that non-productive sectors of the community, e.g., the retired elderly may be neglected or ignored in a similar vein?

For the Ukrainian elderly who arrived in Australia to become factory fodder there is a need to be assured that they will no longer be overlooked as they were then. There will further be a continuing need for elderly Ukrainians in particular to receive ethno-specific services based upon the Ukrainian culture or the Ukrainian community organisations. In 1981 an estimated 45% of Ukrainians were aged 60 years and over. By 2001 this percentage is predicted to drop to 30%.⁸ Therefore there is particular need to address issues for the Ukrainian elderly now and not to delay until tomorrow.

NOTES

1. Cazes, B., (1979) 'The Crisis of the Welfare State in Western Economics' quoted by Martin Rein, 'Private Provision of Welfare' in Henderson, R.F. (ed.) *The Welfare Stakes*, Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1981, p. 18.
2. *ibid.*
3. For a discussion of 'rights' in Australian welfare provisions see the writings of Brian Dickey, especially *No Charity There. A Short History of Welfare in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981.
4. The complexities and variations in aged Pension allowances and conditions are discussed in Dickey (*ibid.*); R. Kennedy, *Australian Welfare History*, Macmillan, Sydney, 1982 and T.H. Kewley, *Social Security in Australia 1900-1972*, Sydney University Press, 1973.
5. It was not until the Fry Committee in 1982 released its findings on the review into the recognition of overseas qualifications that the Council of Overseas Professional Qualifications (C.O.P.Q.) was established.
6. *Migrant Programs and Services (The Galbally Report)*, Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Frank Galbally, Chairman), A.G.P.S., Canberra, 1978.
7. Dr Marta Rado and Dr Lois Foster, 'Language Environment of Children with a non-English Speaking Background', paper presented to the Ethnicity and Multiculturalism National Research Conference, May 14-16, University of Melbourne.
8. *Community and Institutional Care for Aged Migrants in Australia*; A.I.M.A., Melbourne, 1986.

WELFARE NEEDS OF UKRAINIAN AGEING

Andrew Barchinski

I would like to begin by way of defining some key terms. Firstly, the words 'aged' and 'ageing'. We all know that chronological age is not necessarily a true indicator to what is age in terms of an individual's self concept. I do not know for example when I will become 'aged'; perhaps it will be when someone tells me or perhaps it will be at some point in the future when I feel that the world is too fast for me. Furthermore, from our daily lives most of us have met or know of a 'young' seventy year old or an 'old' fifty year old. Nonetheless, although this is true, I will use the arbitrary age of sixty to indicate 'aged'. I have done this as most researchers in Australia have used this age in their studies. I personally prefer the term 'ageing', in that it indicates that growing old is usually an ongoing, gradual process of milestones rather than a state immediately reached by attaining sixty. Therefore, in my address both terms will be used interchangeably.

"Ethnic" is a term which of late has suffered somewhat. It is an adjective derived from the Greek 'ethnos', meaning "nation" (Fowler and Fowler, 1972). It is not a pejorative term, but used as a noun by many people in Australia currently, it has become one. Strictly speaking it is applicable to all migrant nationalities living in Australia regardless of linguistic heritage. I will, however, be using it only to refer to people of a Non-English Speaking Background (N.E.S.B.), who migrated here in the immediate post-war period.

Therefore having set some boundaries on the target group, let me turn to the needs of this group. I will use – where appropriate – Ukrainians as a case in point. The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (A.I.M.A.) in its publication "Papers on the Ethnic Aged" has listed the following needs:

- adequate income
- adequate housing
- access to information and advice
- the need for domiciliary services especially home help and home nursing
- aids and adaptations which will make it possible to stay in present dwellings where desired
- adequate public transport
- local shopping, library and other facilities close to where the elderly live
- carefully and sensitively designed special housing for those requiring it with adequate supportive care where necessary
- Nursing Home and Hospital care which provide the conditions for those

- who become frail, too ill or too disabled to be supported in the community
- adequate medical and health services
- appropriate venues where the elderly can socialise
- in general, the need for a community planned with some thought for the elderly people, e.g., as pedestrians.

It is interesting to note that the list closely parallels actual welfare agency figures as collected by the Ukrainian Welfare Association. (Attachment 1).

As can be appreciated, these needs are probably no different to those of aged persons born in Australia of an English-speaking background. However, what I will be asserting is that:

- 1) these needs for this particular ageing N.E.S.B. group of people are generally speaking greater and
- 2) that the methods by which these needs are met require special responses from welfare and health service providers.

The need for special services (Attachment 2)

Firstly, one has to examine the motives for migration of this group. During the period, 1947 to 1954 nearly all immigrants to Australia at this time were people either displaced from their homelands or persons who were refugees during World War II. For people of Eastern European or Baltic origin from the "Displaced Persons Camps" scattered across Western Europe, return to their country of origin was impossible, due to their opposition to the occupying Red Army (Darzins, 1979). These people of Ukrainian, Yugoslav, Estonian, Latvian, Russian and White Russian origin were forced to migrate, and migration to Australia was a means of escape from the dull life and uncertain prospects in the Displaced Persons Camps. (op. cit.) This in sharp contrast to the current situation where the majority of immigrants arriving have –with the exception of a number of South Vietnamese, Timorese and South Americans – made a choice. (op. cit.)

Added to this of course, were the actual life experiences of many of these migrants as Hammet states: "Clearly, it seems that this group would have a great number of displaced persons, with some persons in this group suffering in a special way from severe war stress, under conditions of severe oppression and persecution and life in a totalitarian regime of whatever type it may be. To that category would also belong those who served in the forces as well as those interned placed in concentration and slave labour camps, or generally persecuted, bereaved and dispossessed by war." (Hammet, 1965).

This first group of post-war migrants, then, can be seen to already have been 'at risk' in terms of their capacity to successfully adjust to settlement in Australia. Secondly, and directly related to the preceding point was the experience of these migrants on arrival and settlement in Australia. At the time of arrival and for decades afterwards the Australian government implemented either implicitly or explicitly a policy of assimilation. When the largest wave of immigrants came to Australia it was not recognised as it is now that: "if appropriate and adequate support and welfare services are not provided in the early stages of resettlement, these people will of necessity develop strategies which may often be inappropriate or anti-social. The welfare services required to deal with this will be long-term, costly and less effective." (S.A. Dept. for Community Welfare, 1984:70).

'Marginality' is a sociological term which refers to the lack of appropriate

adaption to a new environment. It is usually used in the context of migrants in their country of arrival. The severest manifestation of marginality is in the terms of the incidence of mental health problems.

Sanua (Sanua, pp. 321-329) in a review of studies into this phenomenon in Australia found that only one study indicated that there was a negative correlation between migration and incidence of mental health problems. However, he attributed this to the researchers defining anyone who had been in Australia for more than five years as a non-migrant. Eastern Europeans as a group unfortunately have higher incidence rates of mental health problems than either Australian-born or other migrant people. This indicates that they are more marginal, that is, have adapted less well than other migrant groups.

Thirdly, mention must be made of the actual demographic characteristics of this group. The two most significant characteristics are:

- a) percentage proportion of aged. In relation to Ukrainians the figures show that in 1981, close to half the persons born in Ukraine or the U.S.S.R. were aged sixty years or over. Although this is expected to decline by the year 2001, it will still be a very significant proportion. (Attachment 3).
- b) A.B.S. Census figures indicate that lack of English speaking ability is most significant amongst Eastern European and Baltic peoples. These statistics indicate that as a group, Ukrainian demand for health and welfare services would be high. It is generally acknowledged that demand for these services increases with age. Secondly, because of the significant number of Ukrainians with English language problems coupled with the general lack of interpreters or information in Ukrainian, Ukrainians would experience difficulties in gaining information about services or how to use them. Thirdly, when current service provision is examined in terms of what it offers to the ethnic aged it can be said that:
 - General Community Support Services largely lack the cultural and language components relevant to the needs of the Ethnic Aged Person. Elderly people are often forced into dehumanising adjustments as a result.
 - Ethnic groups which attempt to care for their "ageing" people provide specialised functions and attend to a special needs group. They are generally speaking, under-resourced with mainly voluntary workers and without adequate support and training to develop effective links with general community services and funding bodies. This is very apparent in the Ukrainian community.
 - General community services experience difficulty in linking into aged care resources present in some but by no means in all ethnic communities.

Summing up – when we look at Ukrainians as a group in Australia, we have to be aware that they had gone through very stressful experiences prior to their arrival. On their arrival and settlement adequate services were not in place further aggravating their marginality. There is a substantial body of research to indicate this. Furthermore, current services are largely inadequate to meet the needs of Ukrainians. Ukrainians have the second highest number of people who are over sixty in their community and also, they are one of the ethnic groups with the highest

proportion of people with an inadequate command of English.

The preceding indicates that from a welfare service delivery point of view a response is certainly in order. The response(s) however, must be substantially different from the way in which most services have been delivered till now. In a sense it ought to be closer to the fulfillment of the promise of multiculturalism made in the late 70's. Multiculturalism has as its *central tenet* the idea that ethnic groups have a right to maintain their ethnicity. Another way of looking at it is as cultural pluralism. However, for this to occur from a welfare service delivery point of view the often quoted phrase of 'access and equity' must be implemented. There have been some encouraging trends in this regard – most significantly perhaps, with the development of the Grant-in-Aid scheme and the Home and Community Care programme. Nonetheless, if the needs of the ethnic aged are to be met, more has to be done. 'Access and Equity' has as its main principle the concept of equality of outcome. That is, no matter what one's background is, the outcome of contact with a service provider or providers should be comparable to the benefits derived by anyone else using the service.

At the moment, I believe there is still a difference in service provision i.e., 'mainstream' versus 'ethno-specific', with the subsequent varying outcomes associated with such a division. What is required is an approach which seeks to meet the needs of ethnic aged people, identifying core functions necessary to do this comparing them with what is currently available and taking remedial action where a service gap is detected. The ultimate aim of this is as stated by Cameron in his book "Personality Development and Psychopathology": "In all aged persons the most important single consideration is to keep the individual in contact with others, and to keep him working at his optimal capacity, which is usually considerably higher than his lowered initiative and self-esteem indicate." (Cameron, p. 742.)

Margaretha Hanen, Ethnic Consultant Officer for the Commissioner for the Aged in S.A. (Hanen, 1986) identified five core functions that would achieve the individual's well-being, namely:

- a) Cultural relevance
- b) Relating in a confidential manner
- c) Taking role of "Cultural filter"
- d) Giving information about general community services
- e) Linking needs to general community services (Attachment 4)

Cultural Relevance

Culture and language must be acknowledged as integral parts of personality formation and identity and cultural relevance in services must be so applied as to enhance the meaning of and control over one's life.

Communication in the mother tongue is central to this, in that it distinguishes between the professional interpreter and the bi-lingual, bi-cultural worker or volunteer. He or she is not a professional interpreter but has other primary skills. The volunteer is fluent in one or perhaps more community languages and may be called upon to facilitate communication informally in everyday matters relating to household and personal management.

Relating in a confidential manner: role of confidant

A confidant can be a spouse, a close relative or a friend. Such an individual is not necessarily available in an elderly person's immediate environment. Some people have never married, have been widowed or don't have a close friend..Even if available, such a person may not be equipped to deal with the health and welfare systems or the needs of an older person..For these reasons people who can take on the confidant's role must be accessible..Of course, willingness to act in the role of confidant does not guarantee confidentiality,,a primary ingredient of a helping relationship. Nonetheless, the cultural commonality is a starting point. The presence of empathy and rapport may be assumed in a skilled helper but it must be noted that much work with elderly people in ethnic communities is done by volunteers who may need training, supervision and support to teach them to take the *role of the 'cultural' filter*.

The confidant acts as a 'cultural filter' for the ethnic aged person by helping him or her to understand how the helping system operates in Australia. It may seem paradoxical that people who have lived here for 30-40 years may need help in this regard, but it is nonetheless true. This may be due to premigratory background, lack of adequate services on settlement,.lack of English language proficiency and increasing ill health.

If the services are explained by a trusted person who has basic knowledge of them and who will assist whilst the elderly person deals with service providers, it is more likely that there will be a favourable outcome, i.e. equity and access principles are applied.

Giving information about general community services

The confidant with added training in aspects of preventative health and with information about the service network that can be used is in a good position to monitor the frail aged person's well-being. Activities such as providing transport to the ethnic senior's club, church, clinic, a regular visit to ensure there is enough food in the home and to have a chat can form part of the monitoring process.

The confidant provides cultural relevance and continuity in the relationship; this is enormously important when special needs arise and transfer of sensitive personal information to specialised agencies becomes essential.

Linking needs to general community services

The confidant's cultural perceptions and sensitivity to see the ethnic aged person's situation will need to be transferred to the appropriate agency and/or professional person. This requires skill in relating to professional people who will need to be made aware of reasons for certain attitudes and behaviours of the ageing.

I would like to conclude by giving an example of how these functions could be applied. In-home respite care is suitable to illustrate this. Think of a frail elderly person of N.E.S.B. living at home. Their health has deteriorated but with the care and attention being provided by a son or daughter on a continuous basis, they are able to remain there. Nonetheless, the carer at times needs to leave the mother or father unattended so as to do the shopping, visit the doctor, pay bills and so on..Respite care would be appropriate to allow them to do this, that is care and attention could be professionally provided whilst the usual carer is unavailable.

The frail elderly person has very little English and is housebound. What is required is a package of services such as those shown in Attachment 5.

Having in mind the five functions, an essential element would be the bi-cultural, bi-lingual respite worker. The worker would be able to relate linguistically and culturally to the elderly person mitigating feelings of isolation and alienation. Over time, when the worker gains the confidence of the elderly person, this would assist in linking his or her needs to general community services. Furthermore, the worker could give information about these services and explain how they operate, i.e. act as 'cultural filter'. Likewise it can be seen that if the availability of such a bi-cultural, bi-lingual respite worker could be guaranteed, an ethnic community with a group for seniors could be encouraged and assisted to cater for less frail and disabled persons where this was required.

Currently, this type of service is virtually non-existent. If principles of access and equity are to apply in service provision and the needs of ALL aged people are to be met, then the five 'core functions' which are outlined above must be implemented immediately - *anything less would be unfair to the aged.*

Attachment 1

**UKRAINIAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION
CLIENT FIGURES FOR THE PERIOD - JULY, 1985 TO DECEMBER, 1986.**

| REFERRAL REASON | PERCENTAGE NO. OF CASES |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Social Security - D.S.S. | 32 |
| Financial Problems | 26 |
| Counselling/personal problems | 13 |
| Home Care/Meals-on-Wheels | 6 |
| Health | 6 |
| Accommodation | 5 |
| Immigration | 3 |
| Legal | 3 |
| Insurance | 2 |
| Employment | 1 |
| Education | 1 |
| Total | 100 |
| Total number of clients seen - 256 | |

Attachment 2

FACTORS THAT INDICATE THE NEED FOR SPECIAL HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES FOR THE ETHNIC AGED:

1. PRE-ARRIVAL BACKGROUND
2. MARGINALITY
3. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
4. INADEQUATE LEVEL OF CURRENT SERVICES

Attachment 3

**USE OF ENGLISH (CATEGORIES "NOT WELL", "NOT AT ALL")
BY SELECTED BIRTHPLACE GROUPS, AUSTRALIA 1981***

| Birthplace | "Not Well" | | "Not at all" | |
|-----------------|------------|------|--------------|------|
| | Number | %** | Number | %** |
| USSR | 3,591 | 22.3 | 1,129 | 7.1 |
| Ukraine | 1,919 | 17.6 | 161 | 1.5 |
| Baltic States | 2,232 | 9.7 | 184 | 0.8 |
| Poland | 8,979 | 15.3 | 1,092 | 1.9 |
| Hungary | 2,696 | 9.7 | 405 | 1.5 |
| Czechoslovakia | 1,125 | 7.2 | 152 | 1.0 |
| Netherlands | 1,429 | 1.5 | 236 | 0.3 |
| Germany | 2,488 | 2.3 | 438 | 0.4 |
| Austria | 609 | 2.8 | 112 | 0.5 |
| Greece | 41,665 | 29.2 | 6,329 | 4.4 |
| Italy | 60,999 | 22.5 | 11,558 | 4.3 |
| Malta | 4,960 | 8.9 | 513 | 0.9 |
| Yugoslavia | 28,593 | 20.3 | 4,367 | 3.1 |
| Egypt | 2,318 | 7.8 | 357 | 1.2 |
| India | 548 | 1.4 | 101 | 0.2 |
| China | 5,711 | 22.6 | 3,490 | 13.8 |
| Total Australia | 252,546 | 2.3 | 46,443 | 0.4 |

* For population aged 15 years and over.

** Proportion of respondents to the Census English language question in that birthplace group.

Source Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1981 Census data as published in Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

Attachment 4

Core functions are:

- CULTURAL RELEVANCE, INCLUDING COMMUNICATION IN THE MOTHER TONGUE
- RELATING IN A CONFIDENTIAL MANNER: ROLE OF CONFIDANT
- TAKING ROLE OF "CULTURAL FILTER"
- GIVING INFORMATION ABOUT GENERAL COMMUNITY SERVICES
- LINKING NEEDS TO GENERAL COMMUNITY SERVICES

Attachment 5

ELEMENTS OF A RELEVANT DOMICILIARY CARE SERVICE FOR A FRAIL, ETHNIC AGED PERSON.

- * PROFESSIONAL ASSESSMENT
- * EQUIPMENT
- * SOCIAL WORK
- * PHYSIOTHERAPY AND OTHER RESOURCES
- * MEDICAL RESOURCES
- * NURSING RESOURCES
- * BI-CULTURAL, BILINGUAL RESPITE WORKER

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THE ROLE OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICY ON LANGUAGES AND BEYOND

Joseph Lo Bianco

Ethnic communities have played a considerable role in the development of the National Policy on Languages, and we expect and hope that they will continue to do so. Their role has been, on the one hand, an advocacy role, lobbying government and administrators about the need for a nationally coordinated languages policy to solve a range of language problems in Australia. On the other hand, ethnic communities are also the consumers of language education and language services.

This paper has three objectives: to provide some historical background to language planning in Australia and the development of the National Policy on Languages; to explain how the National Policy on Languages is currently being implemented; and to provide some suggestions on how ethnic communities might continue to be involved in the implementation of the policy.

Language planning activities in Australia in the past, both implicit and explicit, have been such that the language education and services that were provided have not always been the preferred option of those community groups most affected, nor necessarily in their best interests. Apart from some key moments when language planning became explicit and conscious (such as the active opposition to minority languages in the press between the two World Wars, the forced closure of bilingual schools between 1916-1918, the stigmatisation of Australian English and the longstanding denigration and opposition to Aboriginal languages), it has otherwise been unconscious and implicit. Decisions affecting language do not fail to happen simply because there is an absence of explicit declaration of the principles and purposes of such decisions.

Since the European colonisation of Australia, language planning has been characterised by the dominance of English, the pursuit of English monolingualism either by neglect of minority languages or active opposition to them and the stigmatisation or trivialisation of Australian forms of English and Australian dialectal varieties of English. Although there always was a disparity between the linguistic monolingualism of the controlling domains of public life on the one hand and the linguistic pluralism of the population on the other, this is now greater than ever due to the post-Second World War immigration program. This demographic factor, combined with broader social changes in which articulate and active ethnically and linguistically based organisations have become major players in language policy questions, and a slowly emerging realisation that the much sought after economic successes in Asia inevitably require attention to be paid to the linguistic aspects of

Australia's geography, have elevated language questions to the status of a 'problem'. Problems produce inquiries which produce reports which produce recommendations which elevate public expectations and which, sometimes, produce action. Language issues have entered this arena. Although the establishment of the Child Migrant Education Program in the early 1970s (now the English as a Second Language Program) and the Aboriginal bilingual programs in the Northern Territory in the early to mid 1970s, and the recent expansion of language teaching, especially in primary schools, have modified Australia's language planning to some extent, the overwhelming effort has been towards English with minor and declining commitment to languages other than English. Hence the dramatic decline in the HSC languages candidature in recent years, and, until 1987, the declining participation in language courses in the higher education sector.

Moves to develop a National Policy on Languages were a response to a large number of problems affecting language education, language use and language services in Australia.

A quick consideration of the long-term 'language problems' in Australia should be ample demonstration that concerted attention to a number of language issues is warranted.

- About half of Australian students of migrant background who need extra help and instruction in English at school do not receive any such instruction.
- Well over 300,000 Australians of immigrant non-English speaking background speak English poorly to very poorly. The majority of those of workforce age occupy jobs in industries undergoing the greatest degree of employment dislocation and attrition due to economic restructuring. The retraining of these workers, not to mention their economic and social prospects generally, are severely constrained by their inadequate proficiency in standard English.
- Whereas over 40% of Australian students completed HSC with a second language in 1967, that figure dropped to a national average of about 10% in 1986. This is a particularly acute problem when you take into consideration the recommendations of the Economic Planning Advisory Committee (EPAC) which has argued that Australia must move away from dependence on extractable goods and agricultural products in its exports and greatly improve its export of manufactured goods. It argues that we must select and create niches in the economies of trading partners and target goods at these. Inevitably this involves having a much more sophisticated knowledge of these societies, requiring us to be linguistically and culturally more competent than we are at present.
- Only 7% of Australian undergraduate students were enrolled in language courses in 1980, and although overall some 30 languages were taught, only 3 languages (French, German and Italian) accounted for 60% of students. The situation appears to have worsened since then. Only 2% of university students and less than 1% of CAE students studied any language, at any level, in 1987, although 40 modern languages were then offered in the higher education sector.
- Over 3.7% of Australians of English speaking background are functionally illiterate in English. A much higher percentage has only rudimentary reading skills and, when written skills are included, the proportion of the

population with literacy problems increases dramatically.

- Aboriginal languages are 'dying' at the rate of one per year. Over 50 are already extinct. Only a handful is likely to be still spoken by children by the year 2000.
- Higher education opportunities in this country for the deaf community using Australian Sign Language are limited to one small program in a Queensland College of Advanced Education. This compares unfavourably with the USA where deaf people can study a large number of subjects to PhD level using American Sign Language.
- Despite the potentially enormous impact which communications and information technology will have on literacy genres and the skills for and uses of literacy required in the future with such innovations as computers instructed by voice, and artificial intelligence, no serious attention has been paid to examining the implications of these developments for public education and particularly for teaching.
- Another problem is the reductionism which is rampant in decision-making circles – 'tell us the two key languages', they say, and 'we'll teach only them'.

Language problems are, therefore, both economically and socially costly to Australia. This litany of problems is a highly selected list. The life chances of many individuals and whole groups of Australians, the quality of many interpersonal and intergroup relations and our economic and cultural/intellectual life are all affected by language in important ways. Since you always get fewer resources than you can justify and far fewer than you think you need, difficult choices need to be made.

The development of the National Policy on Languages has been a response to these problems.

The policy itself has had a very lengthy gestation period. Following very strong advocacy by professional, ethnic and Aboriginal groups, the Senate decided in May 1982 to refer the question of a language policy to its Standing Committee on Education and the Arts. Their investigation produced the report entitled 'A National Language Policy' in October 1984. The first recommendation of the Senate's report was that:

'language policies be developed and co-ordinated at the national level on the basis of four guiding principles ...

- competence in English
- maintenance and development of languages other than English
- provision of services in languages other than English
- opportunities for learning second languages.'

Joseph Lo Bianco was engaged from July 1986 to draft a languages policy for the government in response to the Senate's investigations. This task consisted of, at its simplest, converting the best principles which have underpinned language planning in the past into explicit statements of desired objectives and the establishment of programs to take these towards realisation.

The Lo Bianco report, *National Policy on Languages*, was the culmination of this work. An integral part of the process of preparing the report, as with the Senate report, was consultation with interest groups. These included, for example, the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (FECCA) and some of its State member councils, State Ethnic Affairs Commissions, the then Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, State Ministers for Ethnic Affairs and bodies such as the Group for the Promotion of Community Languages.

The principles for language policy and planning in Australia espoused in the *National Policy on Languages* report could be summed up as follows:

- English for all
- support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island languages
- a language other than English for all
- equitable and widespread language services.

On 26 April 1987, in Melbourne, the Prime Minister announced the Commonwealth Government's endorsement of the report. Senator Ryan tabled the report in the Senate on 4 May 1987, reasserting the Government's endorsement. The Hansard of that date records a long discussion in which several opposition speakers endorsed aspects of the report and encouraged the government to 'put its money where its endorsement was' and provide a budget for its implementation. The Cabinet meeting held on 5 June voted a budget of \$15.1 million in 1987-88 and \$28.6million for 1988-89 towards the initial stages of the implementation of the National Policy on Languages. The announcement of these decisions was contained in the Government's immigration and ethnic affairs platform during the 1987 election campaign with the Prime Minister reiterating the Government's support for the policy.

The Treasurer, Mr Keating, also referred to the Government's monetary commitment during his budget speech on 15 September 1987.

It should be stressed in this summary of events that ethnic communities played a powerful role. At its annual conference in 1981, the FECCA's multicultural group resolved to focus on language issues. During late 1981 and early 1982, the FECCA convened a series of language conferences in each State/Territory, culminating in a national conference held in Canberra in 1982. This conference called for the development and implementation of a co-ordinated National Language Policy, spanning the spectrum of language-related issues and problems in Australia. The conference proceedings were submitted to the Senate Standing Committee considering the national language policy question.

The ethnic communities thus effectively pulled together the language lobby in Australia in the early 1980s. Their activities were probably instrumental in gaining the attention of the then Minister for Education, the Hon Ian Macphree, and the establishment of the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts inquiry into a national language policy.

The FECCA has also been responsible for the establishment of a loose coalition of organisations in something called the National Language Policy Liaison Group. This group was established informally in 1985 by organisations represented at the 1982 national language conference, with the aim of ensuring that the government implement at least a minimum program for action arising from the Senate report. The group brings together people interested in the National Policy on Languages from a number of different interest groups and organisations, including FECCA, the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, the Australian Federation of Modern Languages Teachers of Australia, the Australian Council of TESOL Associations, the Libraries Association of Australia, Aboriginal groups, school parent organisations (State and independent), the Federation of Ethnic Schools Associations, the Australian Teachers' Federation, and groups working with the communication-handicapped, particularly the deaf.

The group has tended to meet a couple of times a year since 1986, and discussed languages policy issues with the then Minister for Education, Senator Ryan. The

group also met Mr Dawkins, Minister for Employment, Education and Training, in August 1987. The activities of this group were important in ensuring that pre-election announcements were implemented. At its latest meeting (March 1988), the group resolved to continue its activities primarily to promote languages policy and to act as a co-ordination point for community interests. Literacy groups and ethnic broadcasters are now also becoming involved.

The announcement of the Government's commitment to the National Policy on Languages during the 1987 Federal election campaign also reflects the perception that languages are a politically important issue, particularly so for ethnic community groups. However, the rhetoric accompanying the various announcements of the National Policy on Languages has tended to focus on the apparent economic benefits and concerns of the policy rather than on community interests, and to interpret these from an external, balance-of-trade perspective rather than from the perspective of languages as a factor in improving the efficiency of service delivery within Australia. This suggests that 'social justice' arguments for language policy are not highly persuasive in political circles in the present economic climate. To be successful, community lobbying activities need to focus on community languages as economic resources and on language provisions as improving cost-efficiency and effectiveness of education and other services delivery, rather than on arguments couched purely in social justice terms.

December 15, 1987 was another milestone in the development of the National Policy on Languages. On this date, Mick Young as Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, and Clyde Holding as Minister for Employment Services and Youth Affairs issued a joint media release announcing firm details of the National Policy on Languages package. The policy since then has finally acquired a firm public shape. The policy package of programs as announced and as being implemented contains six programs plus the establishment of an advisory council. The six programs are:

English as a Second Language - New Arrivals Element

\$5.7 million has been allocated to supplement the existing ESL program for newly-arrived refugee and migrant children in 1987-88 (rising to an additional \$13.6 million in 1988-89). The aim is that eligible students should be able to participate for up to twelve months in intensive English courses both in language centres and in schools.

Australian Second Language Learning Program (ASLLP)

This program will enable State, Territory and non-government school authorities to introduce high quality language programs in priority areas (\$3.8 million in 1987-88, rising to \$7.5 million in 1988-98). Grants are to be made available direct to education systems which have been advised that they are free to allocate funds among languages in accordance with locally determined priorities and perceived needs. Certain guidelines have, however, been specified by the Commonwealth Government and education authorities have been asked to take note of the Commonwealth's view that due emphasis should be placed on languages relevant to economic development, trade and tourism, whilst recognising the associated need to develop community languages provision.

Informal advice from State education systems suggests that about 64% of funds will be spent on Asian languages with particular emphasis on Japanese and Chinese

(Mandarin) but the remaining 36% will be allocated to first language maintenance in a wide range of community languages and second language learning of major community languages. \$200,000 has been allocated at national level for implementation of national level projects associated with language curriculum development.

Two of the major national-level projects funded by ASLLP will directly benefit Ukrainian. These programs are the Year 12 National Assessment Framework for Languages of Senior Secondary Level and the Australian Language Levels project, which will produce very detailed specifications for syllabus design and Year 12 assessment in languages. Both programs will be applicable to all languages and will especially assist 'small' language communities.

Adult Literacy Action Campaign

Costing \$1.96 million over each of 1987-88 and 1988-89, the Adult Literacy Action Campaign is expected to improve levels of adult literacy among native English-speaking Australians and adults with native-like oral proficiency in English. The bulk of these funds are disbursed directly to TAFE and non-government authorities to spend on adult literacy projects which they identify as priorities. These are likely to include course provision, curriculum materials development and publicity of course provision. The Commonwealth has retained \$250,000 for implementation of national-level adult literacy projects.

Asian Studies

Administered by the Asian Studies Council, this program will provide a range of initiatives to boost the study of Asian languages and Asian cultures (\$1.85 million in 1987-88, rising to \$1.95 million in 1988-89). In the first year of the program a substantial proportion of the funds are likely to be tagged for curriculum development activities.

Multicultural and Cross-Cultural Supplementation Programs

This submission-based program aims to boost multicultural and cross-cultural studies in tertiary education institutions, particularly through the development of cross-cultural training within pre-service courses for intending professionals and para-professionals. \$750,000 is available for this program in 1987-88, rising to \$1.5 million in 1988-89.

National Aboriginal Languages Project (NALP)

With \$0.5 million in 1987-88 (rising to \$0.1 million in 1988-89), this submission-based program is expected to support language maintenance and language awareness activities in a range of Aboriginal languages.

The *Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAAME)* was also established as part of the \$15.1 million allocation for the National Policy on Languages in 1987-88. It consists of eleven members, including the Chairman, Joseph Lo Bianco. Members were nominated by the Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, the Australian Education Council, the Asian Studies Council, Aboriginal groups, the Business Council of Australia, the ACTU (education sector), the Australian Council for Adult Literacy, tourism groups, applied linguistics groups and the FECCA.

FECCA's nominee is Dr Heinrich Stefanik, the convenor of the National

Languages Policy Liaison Group, and a person who has been an active lobbyist for languages policy issues over a number of years. The Office of Multicultural Affairs has observer status on AACLAME and was a powerful bureaucratic advocate for the policy during 1987.

AACLAME has three terms of reference:

1. To advise the Minister for Employment, Education and Training on the implementation of the components of the National Policy on Languages, and on multicultural education;
2. To monitor the effectiveness of the National Policy on Languages program components;
3. To act as a forum for discussion on national needs and priorities relating to issues in languages policy and multicultural education.

ACCLAME is expected to meet four times a year, although it has various sub-committees which will also meet regularly. These sub-committees may include membership from appropriate expert bodies, which might include community groups. It is hoped, too, that AACLAME will be able to hold regular consultations in different states, which will enable it to meet various ethnic communities.

One of AACLAME's first activities, and perhaps its most public one, is the production of a journal. Called Vox, its first issue is expected in May, with two more in 1988. In each succeeding year, two issues are expected to be published. Some of these will be based on themes, which might include, for example, the role and status of community languages in Australia. Regardless of themes actually covered in each issue, Vox is expected to fill a major role in the dissemination of information relating to languages and multicultural education in Australia.

ACCLAME will bring forward action on a proposed review of ethnic schools and has already made representations to the inquiry into higher education advocating a place for a wider range of languages than would be there if current economic reasoning alone prevailed.

In all of this there is no prescribed role for ethnic communities. However, there is a clear role for enterprising and energetic groups to take advantage of those opportunities available to them.

Firstly, ethnic communities have direct access to AACLAME through the FECCA nominee, Dr Heinrich Stefanik. They should discuss with Dr Stefanik any issue relating to AACLAME's activities which are of interest or concern to them.

Secondly, ethnic communities could approach the relevant education systems in each State/Territory with regard to program implementation, particularly those program components for which State/Territory governments have responsibility. These are the Australian Second Language Learning Program, the English as a second Language Program and the Adult Literacy Action Campaign.

Thirdly, ethnic communities could discuss their interests and concerns with their parliamentary representatives, particularly Federal ones, and with each political party. Implementation of the National Policy on Languages was clearly the result of political pressure applied to Ministers over an extended period. Presentation of thoughtful, reasoned arguments which respect the differing roles of Commonwealth and State/Territory governments, does produce results. Commonwealth and State/Territory governments have clearly delineated and separate constitutional responsibilities.

Fourthly, ethnic communities could also approach the Office of Multicultural Affairs and its advisory body, the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs. These

bodies have direct access to the Prime Minister. The Office of Multicultural Affairs played a significant role in 1987 in the process of gaining government acceptance for the National Policy on Languages, and in the finalisation of the package of programs which have received funding.

Finally, ethnic communities can contribute very significantly to the implementation of the National Policy on Languages through a range of 'self-help' activities which underpin all Government activity in this field. The Ukrainian community has been particularly active in this regard and has been in many ways a catalyst for other ethnic groups. Ukrainian is supported through the Ethnic Schools Program in after-hours classes in all States and territories except Tasmania and the Northern Territory, with the funded participation of about 900 students nationwide. Nearly one half are in Victoria. Ukrainian is offered as an accredited matriculation subject in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, and taken by a small but relatively consistent number of students (34 in 1986). And, as a result of community 'self-help' initiative, Ukrainian is offered at Macquarie and Monash Universities.

While not at present receiving any direct funding under the National Policy on Languages, self-help initiatives, activities such as the Ethnic Schools Program, and student participation in languages at matriculation level and in higher education are of considerable interest to AACLAME. Such activities are essential for strengthening and diversifying Australia's linguistic resources.

The ethnic communities have played a crucial role in the development and preliminary implementation of the National Policy on Languages. We hope that they will continue to take an interest in the policy, to ensure that it is truly comprehensive.

OVERVIEW OF WOMEN'S ISSUES: A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Franca Arena AM, MLC

Thank you for asking me to your very important conference. I am delighted and honoured to be here. When I spoke in 1982 at one of the very first national conferences on immigrant women, I saw that as immigrant women we were confronted mainly by two problems: racism and sexism. While there have been some changes in the law, in our educational institutions and in the community generally since that time, I believe those problems are still with us today.

They are manifested in different forms and affect different groups, but they persist. They are damaging and destructive. They erode confidence and self-esteem and they provoke divisions in the community.

Racism is particularly insidious because it appeals to instinctive emotions about territory and property. It promotes an archaic view of the importance of being the same and a regressive view that differences are in themselves destructive and conformity is the only road to social harmony and progress.

In the last few years, we have witnessed a revival of baser national sentiments among certain sections in our society. The outpourings of Geoffrey Blainey cloaked in academic respectability; the venomous views of Bruce Ruxton protected by an established institution and the nonsensical and inane opinions of Ron Casey have all contributed to this revival and fuelled anti-immigrant and anti-Asian feelings.

The most disturbing aspect of their views is that they are not much different from the views that some Australians held of southern Mediterranean immigrants 40 years ago or of eastern Europeans in the early years of post-war settlement. The themes are the same, only the target changes. The words *reffos*, *wogs*, *dagoes* etc are now being replaced by "slopey eyed" and similar niceties.

Their right to express their personal prejudices is, of course, not in question. Their claim to be promoting an immigration debate, however, should be challenged. Debate implies that all sides will be given an equal right to express their views. It usually means that the discussion will be based on rational arguments and not insults or emotionally distorted portrayals of reality.

We welcome *debate* on immigration. We wish it to be fair and rational. It should not be merely an obsessive debate about a particular group, but a debate about national and international needs and how Australia's immigration policy can best serve these needs. Race or religion has no role to play in such a debate. People's skills, their openness to change, their commitment to democratic institutions, their desire for education, their will to work, to make a contribution to shaping Australia's future

should be at the heart of any debate; should be the major considerations.

It is important for all of us to be heard in this debate – men and women. It is vital that racist prejudices be dispelled and defused. When we have the opportunity as immigrant women, we must stand up and be heard. We must add our rational voice to this climate of high emotion and great nonsense.

People are not what they wear. The colour of their skin or their hair will not make them lesser or greater. People are what they do, how they behave, what they value and believe, how they treat others. It is on these qualities that we make judgments and there will be good and bad judgments to make of different people at different times.

As immigrant women, we have worked or lived side by side with women from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. There are differences between us in language, culture and religion. But, we also have much in common with all women. We experience a society where women's views and needs are still seen as secondary. Even within our immigrant advisory bodies, the voice of the women is not equal to the voice of the men; it is not accorded an equal place.

The reality in 1988 is that, despite many advances, the voice of immigrant women is not heard as loudly as it should be. The main bodies which deal with immigration and ethnic affairs in this state and in most states around Australia are still headed by men and often the second person in charge is also a male. Take, for example, the Ethnic Affairs Commissions, Ethnic Communities Councils, the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils, the new Human Rights Commission (which has a woman as Sex Discrimination Commissioner), the new office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA). There are a few exceptions such as the Anti-Discrimination Board of NSW and a few others, but as we say in Italy – *una rondine non fa primavera* – which translated means: a swallow does not herald springtime, or a swallow does not make a summer.

The Labor Council of NSW, for instance, which acts as an umbrella organisation for the many unions in this state, has employed an Ethnic Liaison Officer to help promote better understanding of the needs of immigrant workers. This officer has always been a male. It is true that it has also employed a women's officer but her concerns have been for all working women's needs and not just those of immigrant women.

The two abovementioned positions together with others dealing with Occupational Health and Safety, Employment, Training and Childcare programs are vital at a time when there is restructuring of industry and retraining proposals for many workers who will be displaced by such changes.

I mention the Labor Council positions because they have been funded by the State Government until recently through direct grants to the Labor Council. It will be interesting to see, now that the new Liberal Government in NSW has already indicated that they will not fund these positions, what will happen to the commitment of the Labor Council in these areas. We hope, of course, that all positions will be retained because they act as an avenue for women's and immigrants' workplace-needs to be highlighted and problems addressed. We trust the Labor Council will also recognise this as vital to maintaining and improving the participation of women and immigrants in trade unions.

It is of fundamental importance that immigrant women are encouraged to participate in their union. Many vital decisions about their future working environment are made in consultations between union representatives and the

employer. It is important that they understand their rights in a work situation and that they be in a position to argue for improvements.

I do not think I have to stress the importance of having immigrant women in visible and potentially very influential positions like those in the Labor Council, the Ethnic Affairs Commission, the ECC and of course in other structures. The younger generation needs role models. I hope greater recognition is given to talented immigrant women who could take up positions of responsibility and play a role in encouraging present and future generations of immigrant women to become activists in their unions, in the community and in society in general.

One of the developments of the last few years has been the "coming out" of immigrant women, their taking up responsibilities in many fields. Despite the difficulties already mentioned, immigrant women are making their voices heard, not only in the traditional structures, but also through their own organisations. We have seen in the last few years the setting up of many women's organisations, not ladies auxiliaries, but women's organisations which deal with problems and issues of concern, such as the Ukrainian Women's Association, the Italian Women's Association, the Vietnamese Women's Association, the Spanish Speaking Women's Association, the Muslim Women's Association and many others. The Labor Government funded in 1986 the first Immigrant Women's Resource Centre in Lidcombe which is doing a splendid job on behalf of all women and has given them a focus, a place where they can meet and work together.

Through the Clothing and Allied Trades Union, two women, Federal Secretary Anna Booth and Sonia Laverty (the National Outwork Co-ordinator) have secured for women outworkers the right to receive award wages and conditions so that outworkers, most of whom are immigrant women, are no longer exploited. I salute the work of Anna and Sonia. This is a shining example of how trade unions can stand up for their members. Their official journal RAGMAG is printed in some 11 languages and is a credit to the Union which has also committed substantial resources to promoting the new Federal award, including 4 months of intensive promotion on SBS. Credit should also be given to Arbitration Commissioner Joe Riordan for making a legal decision which has broken new ground.

Whilst women of non-English speaking background seem to be well organised at state level, at the federal level there is nothing more than an informal group of women of non-English speaking background. I regret that the National Working Group on Immigrant Women's Issues (NWGIWI) is being disbanded. We are waiting to hear from Canberra what will take its place. The reality is that at federal level there is confusion about which body has responsibility for immigrant women's issues. Is it OMA or the Office of Status of Women? I regret to say that immigrant women in Australia have little confidence in the work of the Office of Status of Women which has mostly ignored or paid lip-service to immigrant women's issues. There is a strong need to see changes in that office as far as immigrant women are concerned and I trust that Senator Reynolds will bring this matter to the attention of the Prime Minister and that some action will follow.

At the state level, during the term of office of the Labor Government, we saw many initiatives taken to improve the position of immigrant women as workers and members of the community. The NSW Government had endeavoured to put multicultural policies into practice giving recognition to the diverse cultural, linguistic, racial, religious and political backgrounds of people living and working in Australia. The government has protected this diversity against discrimination and

intolerance within the existing Australian system. We trust that the new government will preserve and extend these policies so that progress can continue because we have many difficulties still to overcome. There is need for legislation to outlaw incitement to racial hatred and I hope Premier Greiner will not renege on his election promises in this area.

Immigrant women workers are still concentrated in traditionally female low paid jobs which are susceptible to industry restructuring. They may suffer sexual harassment on the job. They may endure a level of domestic violence. They may experience discrimination in the community in the health system in gaining adequate education or training or child care. They may be injured at work due to repetitive movements required in some production processes. They may have difficulty in borrowing funds. These are problems they may have in common with many women made more acute by their recent arrival, their lack of understanding of their rights and the eternal language barrier.

As immigrant women, some of us who have been in Australia for many years, we have a great responsibility in this society which has an ageing population and a narrowing tax base. We must instil in our younger women the commitment that we have to social reform and progress. We must urge them to become involved; to recognise their cultural links, to assume a community profile and to make a contribution. The second generation has great responsibilities and they must be made to understand their important role.

We must encourage our children, particularly our daughters, to continue their education to tertiary levels, to enter the professions, to remain bilingual. Traditional women's roles and occupations should be questioned. The widest opportunities should be offered to our girls so that they enter wider fields than traditional teaching, nursing or clerical employment. As mothers, sisters and students, we should all take an interest in promoting the widest possible curriculum opportunities to enter non-traditional employment. Our daughters need to be exposed to the widest possible vocational and training opportunities; to look to engineering, architecture, medicine, technology, as well as the social and welfare services.

And the greatest challenge is of course how to maintain our language and culture and successfully integrate it into Australian culture. We women must participate in mainstream Australian structures. In the interests of community survival, it is imperative that we increase our involvement in mainstream affairs and shed our traditional mistrust of organisations and activities outside traditional ethnic networks.

Today immigrant women's issues are included on the agenda of political parties and community groups. Solving their problems is regarded as integral to social and other reforms. Slowly but surely we have seen immigrant women taking up responsible roles and contributing in all areas of society. We are part of this society. We want to make a contribution.

It is important that our contribution is recognised and celebrated. Because, as things change and improve, our sons and daughters should not forget that we women played our role in helping to build this nation; we contributed to its prosperity, its diversity, its rich cultural fabric and its political conscience.

We have helped create better choices for our daughters, forcing governments to introduce legislation for better working conditions, for child care, for teaching of community languages, for a more dignified status for all women.

Recently two women of non-English speaking background have been elected to

State Parliament – Helen Sham of the Liberal Party, the first Asian woman to be elected; and Sandra Nori, the daughter of Italian immigrants. I salute them, and I salute all our sisters who are struggling for their place in the sun, well aware of the excellent contribution that they will be making to Australian society in the coming years.

May I encourage your community, your women, to join the political party of their choice so that in the not too distant future we will be able to welcome to Parliament a Ukrainian-Australian.

And let us not forget that in this year of the Bicentenary of Australia, we must accord proper recognition and respect also to Aboriginal women. Their problems must be turned into challenges for us all as sisters to face.

I wish you success in your discussions and I hope my overview will stimulate you in new directions.

Eugene Seneta

1. Background

There was essentially just one major wave of Ukrainian migration to Australia which lasted for a few years beginning in about 1948. The number of Ukrainian arrivals in this wave was about 21,000 according to Australian naturalisation statistics (Seneta, 1986a).

Research into problems of ethnicity on the basis of post-war censuses up to 1981 has had to depend on ‘ethnicity surrogate’ questions which do not necessarily determine a given person’s ethnicity completely. This has been particularly problematical in determining the number of persons of Ukrainian origin in Australia, and the composition of the group which they comprise, which are the primary questions which we address here.

Examples of ethnicity surrogate questions from the 1981 census are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Australia, 1981 Census. Ethnicity surrogate questions

| | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------------|---|
| 11. | Where was each person born? | Australia | 1 |
| | | Overseas | 2 |
| | | Print country of birth | |
| | | | |
| 14. | Where were each person’s father and mother born? | Father’s country of birth | |
| | | | |
| | | Mother’s country of birth | |
| | | | |
| 17. | What is each person’s religious denomination? | | |
| | • This question is optional. | Religion | |
| | • If no religion write ‘None’ | | |

Responses which could be given to the question ‘Where was each person born?’ for a person of Ukrainian ethnicity would include Ukraine, URSR, USSR, Poland, Russia, Galicia, Austria, Bukovina, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, even for persons born in Ukraine, because of changing political structure. Additionally, persons born in Australia/Germany during the post World War II refugee period would be recorded accordingly; and, of course, by now a large proportion of persons

of Ukrainian ethnicity was born in Australia. More detail on the problem and value of ethnicity surrogate questions in past censuses is given in Seneta (1986b). The 1986 census form⁷ included, apart from questions of the type occurring in Table 1, the two questions shown in Table 2, the first of which may be regarded as a direct ethnicity question.

Table 2. Australia, 1986 Census. Ethnicity questions

| | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 15. | What is each person's ancestry? • For example, Greek, English, Indian, Armenian, Aboriginal, Chinese, etc. | Ancestry |
| 17. | Does the person speak a language other than English <i>at home</i> ? | No, speaks only English. Yes. If yes, please print language spoken |

2. Persons of Ukrainian ethnicity in Australia

Up to two answers to the above ancestry question per person were accepted. We refer for convenience to those persons who gave only the answer: Ukrainian as 'Pure', and those who gave an answer such as: Ukrainian-Australian or Australian-Ukrainian, as 'Mixed'. Table 3 gives a breakdown by State/Territory⁴.

Table 3. Australia, 1986 Census. Ukrainian ethnicity by State

| | NSW | VIC | QLD | SA | WA | TAS | ACT | NT | Total |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Pure | 6730 | 7716 | 1669 | 3469 | 1514 | 292 | 441 | 57 | 21888 |
| Mixed | 2600 | 2324 | 798 | 1173 | 637 | 156 | 276 | 33 | 7997 |
| Total | 9330 | 10040 | 2467 | 4642 | 2151 | 448 | 717 | 90 | 29885 |

There was a (rather high) 6.8% non-response to the ethnicity question overall². Taking this (for the moment) to be the non-response rate for persons of Ukrainian ancestry as well, the total number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry is approximately

$$32,065.$$

According to a sample survey analysis carried out in 1983 on data of Radion (1981), and described in Seneta (1986a), the estimated number of Ukrainians by descent in Australia was 31,510, with a corresponding 95% confidence interval $31,510 \pm 2,590 = (28,920, 34,100)$. The results are thus in close accord.

The results of Table 3 show that a proportion of $7997/29885 (= 27\%)$ of persons of Ukrainian ancestry are of 'Mixed' ancestry.

Further information of interest available from the 1986 census is a breakdown of the 29,885 persons by *stated* country of birth⁴:

Table 4. Australia, 1986 Census. Persons of Ukrainian ancestry. Stated country of birth

| Country of Birth | Number | % |
|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Australia | 13596 | 45.5 |
| Ukraine | 9363 | 31.3 |
| Austria/Germany | 2937 | 9.8 |
| Poland | 1041 | 3.5 |
| Other USSR (incl. Baltic) | 482 | 1.6 |
| Total America (Nth. & Sth.) | 463 | 1.5 |
| Other | 1705 | 5.7 |
| Not Stated | 298 | 1.0 |
| Total | 29885 | 100.0 |

Thus the number of Australian-born Ukrainians is approaching half the total, illustrating the effect of lack of recent migration.

In fact the number of persons who reported³ their Country of Birth as Ukraine was about 10470. It follows that $10470 - 9363 = 1107$ of those did not report as Ukrainian in the ethnicity question; probably they did not respond to this question at all. If we take all these to be of Ukrainian ancestry, we obtain the estimate for the total number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry as $29885 + 1107 = 30,992$ (which suggests a lower rate of non-response to the ethnicity question than the national 6.8% – see our Section 2.)

Finally, Table 4 illustrates the heterogeneity of *reported* Countries of Birth of 15991 persons (taken as 100%) born outside Australia: Ukraine (59%), Austria/Germany (18%), Poland (6.5%), Other USSR (3%).

At the time of writing of this article it was not envisaged that tables other than those listed⁴ would be available from the Australian Bureau of Statistics in relation to ancestral origin. Thus a highly desirable breakdown of the entire group by age, religion, income, and educational status, for example, is not presently available. It would make for an interesting comparison with the data¹ for the entire population of Australia.

3. The language question

A total of 15,167 persons answered that they spoke Ukrainian at home⁵ (see Table 1). A similar question in the 1976 census (Seneta 1986b) brought about 17,584 such responses.

Table 5. Australia, 1986 Census. Age distribution of Ukrainian speakers.

| Age | 0-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35+ | Total |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| No. | 339 | 475 | 488 | 527 | 576 | 690 | 1002 | 11070 | 15167 |

There thus seems to be a decline of 14% in the total in these 10 years, although the questions in the two censuses were not identical.

The figures of Table 5 are disturbing on several counts. We would expect the age group '35+' to contain only few Australian-born (those born 1948-1951); to contain the 10,470 who reported their country of birth as Ukraine (see Section 2), and those 4,460 who reported their country of birth as Austria/Germany, Poland and Other USSR (see Table 4). The deduction would seem to be that only a proportion of about $11,070/14,930 = 74\%$ of these overseas-born use Ukrainian at home.

On the other hand most of the Australian-born Ukrainians (a total of 13,596 in numbers – see Table 4) would be in the age group 34 or less; the proportion of Ukrainian speakers is here $4,097/13,596 = 30\%$.

4. The Ukrainian-born. Religion

The following Table 6 complements Table 7 of Seneta (1986b) which gives the total age distribution over the 10 year intervals 1961, 1971 and 1981. In Table 6 it should be borne in mind that e.g. persons of age group 25-34 in 1976 became persons of age group 35-44 in 1986.

Table 6. Country of birth: Ukraine
Total age groups: Censuses of 1976⁶ and 1986³

| Age | 0-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-59 | 60-64 | 65-69 | 70+ | Total |
|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| 1976 | 66 | 356 | 1013 | 5119 | 2017 | 1279 | 779 | 805 | 11434 |
| 1986 | 59 | 60 | 406 | 1018 | 1042 | 4067 | 1771 | 2050 | 10473 |

The above table shows the almost total lack of new migration in the 10 years' period (there has been a net increase of $406 - 356 = 50$ persons in the 25-34 age group of 1976). It gives the net decrease in the age group 45+ in 1976 as $9999-8930 = 1069$. This is mainly due to deaths in the 10-year period, among persons of the single-wave of migration.

The table reveals graphically that by 1991 a proportion of about $7881/10473 = 75\%$ of the Ukrainian-born will be retired or deceased, and has important consequences for the provision of aid and welfare services, an issue addressed elsewhere in this conference.

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians are of the Ukrainian Orthodox or Ukrainian Catholic religions. A question of considerable interest to the Ukrainian community in Australia pertains to the actual proportions, and has never been properly addressed. Radion's (1981) data which, as we have seen, predicted accurately the total number of persons of Ukrainian descent, gives the ratio of Catholic to Orthodox surnames as 2925: 1492 (that is: about 2:1) but this may underestimate the number of Orthodox because church attendance/record keeping (Radion's sources) may differ from the Catholic. Bishop I. Prasko (see Shevchenko Scientific Society (1966), p. 136) gives the educated guess that the proportion of Orthodox is between 40% and 45%, and inclines to 45%.

It would be optimal to address this question on the 1986 Census data through a breakdown of the answer to the religion question for all persons of Ukrainian

ancestry, but such data is not at present available (see our Section 2). However, such a breakdown is available³⁾ for the Ukrainian-born, and is given in Table 7.

**Table 7. Australia, 1986 Census
Ukrainian-born. Classification by religion**

| Religion | Catholic | Orthodox | Other Christian | Non-Christian |
|----------|----------|----------|-----------------|---------------|
| Persons | 5283 | 3596 | 735 | 43 |

| Religion | No Religion | Not Stated | Other | Total |
|----------|-------------|------------|-------|-------|
| Persons | 244 | 462 | 103 | 10466 |

Thus the proportion of Orthodox in the Catholic-Orthodox group is 40.5%. If we apply the proportions given by Table 7 to the grand total of about 32,000 persons of Ukrainian ancestry, we obtain the estimate of 16,150 Ukrainian Catholics.

We may suppose that the 'Other Christian' group largely consists of adherents of the Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Church.

In conclusion, the reader may be puzzled by the slight discrepancies in the total number of Ukrainian-born in 1986 given by us as 10470, (10473 and 10466.) This arises because of perturbations introduced in small-cell data by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, to protect confidentiality.

Acknowledgement.

This article owes much to the cooperation of Mr Denys (Danny) Kozak in locating and providing the relevant data from the 1986 Census.

Note on Referencing.

Publications of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, are referenced by superscript numbers above, and are given in List I below. Other works are referenced by author and year, and are given in List II below.

List 1. Publications of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra

- 1) *ABS 1986 Census of Population and Housing - Australia. Small Area Data, Format CSC 07 page.*
- 2) *ABS 1986 Census of Population and Housing - Australia. Small Area Data, Format CSI 01 page.*
- 3) *ABS 1986 Census of Population and Housing. Table CX0003 - Total Persons - Religion by Birthplace by Age by Sex.*
- 4) *ABS 1986 Census of Population and Housing - Australia. Table VF035 - Total Persons - Ancestral Origin (First Response) by Birthplace (Cont). Ancestry (First Response): Ukrainian./Table VF036 - Total Persons - Ancestral*

Origin (Second Response) by Birthplace (Cont). Ancestry (Second Response): Ukrainian./Table VF039 – Total Persons – Ancestral Origin. Ancestry (First Response) by Ancestral Origin (Second Response) by Sex (Cont) Ancestry (First Response): Ukrainian.

- 5) *ABS 1986 Census of Population and Housing*. Table VF017 – Total Persons – Languages Spoken by Age.
- 6) *ABS 1976 Census of Population and Housing*. Microfiche Series 76.900 (Canberra: 1980), Table 80: Population – Age by Birthplace by Marital Status by Sex, pp. 16, 34.
- 7) *ABS Information Paper. Census 86 – How Australia Takes A Census*. Catalogue No. 2176.0.

List II. References

Radion, S. (1981) *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Australia*. UMMAN, Melbourne.

Seneta, E. (1986a) On the number of Ukrainians in Australia in 1979. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 21, 33-38.

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Shevchenko Scientific Society (Eds.) (1966) *Ukrainci v Avstralii (Ukrainians in Australia)*. Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia, Melbourne, 1966.

Lawrence Cross

When Saul the Pharisee, that ruthless persecutor of the first Christians, was struck down on the road to Damascus, he heard a voice speak to him in a light which shone from heaven itself. It asked, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?" He asked, "Who are you, Lord?" The response came, "I am Jesus and you are persecuting me." [Acts 9]. This text bears upon the first essential feature of Orthodox and Catholic Christianity and is perhaps its most distinctive feature since it is to do with its understanding of the nature of the church itself.

Orthodox tradition does not see the church as something "tacked-on" to Christ, so to speak. It does not think of the Church as some appendage to Christ. Taking its stand on the bible and the Fathers, the church is so closely identified with Jesus Christ that it is his very body, such that the Lord says, "I am Jesus and you are persecuting me." It follows that Christianity is not a collection of ethical teachings or moral maxims. It is not merely a philosophical doctrine or mystical gnosis. It is not merely following Christ as a type, a symbol, or role-model. Rather, Christianity is to do with life-in-Christ. It is to do with an enlargement of life; with fullness of life, with transfiguration of life. The Church is essential to this view. This understanding of Christianity as the overflowing abundance of life-in-Christ is earthed and given shape in time and space in the Church.

The next feature of Orthodox and Catholic Christianity is to do with Jesus himself. What he does for man is quite disarmingly simple. In John's Gospel Jesus says that he comes that "they might have life and have it to the full." [Jn 10.10] Jesus is also the course of this life. The gift that he gives is his own gift. This is clear when the texts to do with fullness of life are connected with his description of himself as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life." [Jn 14:6] and with his eucharistic discourses in which he says that "my flesh is real food" and that "my blood is real drink" and that "anyone who does not eat my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I shall raise him up on the last day." (Jn 6:54) Christ, then, is the Source and the fullness of that life. If the Church is Christ, then the Church is concerned with sharing and communicating this life. It is striving to bring men and women into this fullness of life. It proclaims Christ in both word and sacrament. To know Christ is to encounter the Church, such that anything which claims to be an experience of Christ, but in which the Church is not also encountered or experienced, is either a very partial experience of Christ, or not an experience of Christ at all. If it was possible to destroy the Church, to expunge it from the world, the redemption itself would have been plucked out of our midst,

taken from mankind.

This view is very simple, yet it has great existential power. It values the preaching of the gospel, the spreading of the church, and the flourishing of her mission, as the most serious and most urgent work that can ever be undertaken. Here, perhaps, we connect with the whole matter of the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. Some writers have suggested that men such as St. Constantine in the fourth century and St. Volodymyr in the tenth came to Christ for cynical political reasons. But is it at all cynical or blameworthy that Constantine sensed the new direction of the future in Christians and desired to partake of their energy? In fact he was a sincere believer who saw that paganism was dead and that his Roman world was suffering a kind of exhaustion. It could be suggested that Volodymyr turned to the Byzantine form of Christianity because of the Caesaro-papist style of Byzantine Christianity. In other words, it could enhance his power. While not denying that there were benefits in Ukraine becoming a Christian people, benefits such as membership of a Christian fellowship of nations, this view would fly in the face of facts such as the distinctly more democratic and popular tradition and ethos of Kievan Rus', and the fact that the authority of the early Metropolitans of Kiev was greater than even that of the prince and was used to keep the princes from bloodshed and to teach them obedience to the spiritual authority in spiritual matters. Volodymyr had clear spiritual reasons and Metropolitan Hilarion said as much when he declared that Volodymyr "believed in Christ, the life of the world." Perun was cast into the Dnieper not only because he was false, but because his cult was exhausted. It could not bestow new life. New life and existence could come only from Christ.

The way in which the new life in Christ would be incarnated and given expression in this new society would have its own particular features and there arose a Ukrainian expression of the Church. Metropolitan Hilarion touches this theme in his great oration, "The Sermon on Law and Grace".

"[As] Rome praises Peter and Paul thanks to whom she believed in Jesus Christ Son of God, Asia and Ephesus and Patmos [praise] John - the Evangelist, India - Thomas [Apostle], Egypt [praises] Mark; all countries, cities and peoples praise and honour their own teachers who taught them Orthodox Faith."

There is one Orthodox Faith, but a myriad of possible styles of life in Christ. It is interesting that this is one of the first notes sounded in Ukrainian theological literature; the theme of diversity of styles of life in Christ in the one Catholic faith. Orthodoxy, therefore, is responsive to culture and seeks to express itself in the cultures in which it finds itself, but it also seeks to transform and transfigure culture; to stamp, ever more deeply, the impress of her Master's image upon the life of the society in which she dwells.

II. The new context and the theme of the Church

We must now turn to an examination of some aspects of Australian culture which bear upon the situation and the role of Orthodoxy in contemporary Australia. Beyond questions of history or heritage, it is now a fact that contemporary Australia has become part of the grid of the modern western world and is open to all sorts of influences, ideas, movements and even crises which arise for or are generated by that world.

As well as that, the idea of pluralism, appeals to consensus, the sheer facts of life in this country, including general affluence, an all-encompassing social security

system, and a pragmatic form of hedonism, suggest that the cause of religion or of divine truth will be difficult. A recent cross-sectional survey reveals that Australians are more religious than they were previously thought to be. Such a result is very easy to misinterpret. Some have prematurely taken heart from this and look forward to a new dawn, to a Christian resurgence of some sort, but there is no comfort in the knowledge that 57% of Australians describe themselves as religious if that 57% may include anything from occultists and theosophists to Witnesses of Jehovah. From the point of view of Orthodox Christianity this is not a consoling statistic. Even the 22% of Australians who declared that they attend Church must contain a good proportion of those who do so, not for its intrinsic truth, but because it is good for one, it is the right thing to do, or it makes for a happier life. There is little support for what Cardinal Newman would have called the cause of 'dogmatic truth' or 'dogmatic religion'. There is no comfort whatsoever in the knowledge that 43%, almost half the population, disavow being described as religious.

While noting that facile conclusions about the process of secularisation are only too easy to make due to the lack of uniformity in much of social change,¹ it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that unbelief is now entrenched in Australian society and a substantial part of a whole generation has grown up without any significant contact with christianity or loyalty to its memory. It has been noted that even the broad agreement that Christian morality is worth living by is dissolving.² The residual Christianity of the unchurched majority is definitely slipping away. There seems to be a new irreligion emerging which substitutes moral convictions for religious belief; community truths for universal truth [truths which guide one but which do not describe facts], and which substitutes the ethic of self-gratification for the ethic of unconditional love.

From an examination of some significant works in Australian literature there seems to be a dichotomy in the religious mind, a certain split in religious consciousness. Religion is understood as either a kind of naturalistic mysticism or else as a kind of fundamentalism and pietism. These are roughly the two modes of religious response and they are evidence for a kind of interior religious division. One a kind of mystical experience, the other a kind of voluntarist revivalism, perhaps pietism. In this split and given this dichotomy, something of the utmost importance is missing. This missing term is the Church. It is curiously absent. Perhaps it was already associated with respectability and the status quo in the popular mind. The reasons for anything like a Catholic understanding or idea of the Church being weak in Australian consciousness are quite complicated. There is not enough time for a full analysis here. Let it be enough to say that at present there is a strong drift to secularisation, matched by a drift to various cults and sects of one sort or another. Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Pentecostals are the fastest growing religious organisations in the country.³ The most depressing feature of the lastmentioned is that the kind of Christianity that Pentecostals represent is largely without history or an historical sense, without sacraments, and without intellectual demands. In the case of the Mormons and Witnesses, however, there are not grounds at all upon which they can even be regarded as Christians, even in the most charitable Orthodox sense. It would seem that the church and its faith, "which comes to us from the Apostles" as the Roman liturgy puts it, is very poorly understood. The people of the church know that there is much gravely wrong. They deserve a deeply theological response from their pastors, but such a response seems slow in coming.

There seems to be a crisis of theology and of religion at the level of society itself.

The first task of the Orthodox church will be to find a way of speaking to this society, of being heard by it. While what has been said of Australian society is perhaps a little bald, we must now move to having a look at the distinctive contents of Orthodoxy, and in particular of Ukrainian Orthodoxy (in its Orthodox and Catholic forms) to discern the shape and direction of the church's mission.

III. The Ukrainian expression of the Church

There is a distinctively Ukrainian expression of the church and it has four chief features as they have emerged in history. In another place I've elaborated on these.⁴ but briefly these features are the development of a theology of beauty in the ability to see truth in concrete forms; a heightened sense of history and of the historical nature of Christianity; a kenotic approach to the spiritual life, emphasising repentance and self-emptying love; and finally, a heightened consciousness of the universal church in a corresponding spirit of religious tolerance. Together these make up the soul of the church of Ukraine. Time and history have only served to deepen them. The Church of Ukraine also took the whole theological spiritual and liturgical tradition of Byzantine Christianity as its own inheritance, such that the true countenance of Ukraine's Church, including her particular features, finds its highest and a most perfect expression in the divine liturgy. In Byzantium the divine liturgy was not a by-product of civilisation. It was its very heart. This is true of her daughter, the Ukrainian Church. In celebrating the holy liturgy the Church is being filled with the divine life of Christ, with his holy mystery. Permitted to celebrate this liturgy, the Church is able to present and to share the fullest encounter with Christ that is possible in time and in this life. This is the foremost role that the Church of Ukraine is called upon to play in contemporary Australia. It is the living out of the liturgical mystery, the highest and best expression of the mystery of salvation.⁵ This is only another way of saying that the Church of Ukraine's vocation in this new country is to bring Australia to Orthodoxy; to the fullest possible encounter with Christ in the divine liturgy in the Church who lives and celebrates it.

I hope that my portrayal of both the direction of the religious currents in Australian society and the nature of Orthodoxy is a true one. If it is true, these constitute two poles which guide our course in thinking about the Ukrainian Church in Australia: the state of the culture and the nature of Orthodoxy.

IV. Evangelisation and orthodoxy

What then is the role of the Ukrainian Church in Australia? It is the evangelisation of this country, achieved by living the mystery of the Church. What does this mean? It means to make Jesus Christ known, not in some narrowly intellectual sense, but to give to men and women the fullest possible relationship with Christ, an all-embracing, life-giving relationship with Christ. The role of the Ukrainian Church is to live the mystery of the Church, to make the Church known and accessible to Australian men and women. This is the most difficult task because the Church is so poorly understood in this country.

Within the general work of all the Orthodox Churches, the Ukrainian Church has a particular role which derives from three things. The first is its particular openness to the West. The second is the loss of the homeland of Ukraine. The third is the exceptionally warm and fraternal relationship that exists between Catholics and Orthodox in the Church of Ukraine. These three things contribute to the Church of Ukraine's special role. I would like to develop this theme, but a little later. We need to

say a little more about the dimensions of the evangelical task.

The task is to bring Australia to Orthodoxy, but the necessary prelude to this evangelisation is a thorough critique of the culture in which the Church finds itself. The critique needs to be rigorous and fearless such that the church comes to the deepest possible understanding of the kind of lives that men and women actually live in contemporary Australia, and receives insight into how to speak to these lives. As a prelude to the task, although it is really part of the task itself, there must be a re-finding of tradition, a plunging back into Holy Tradition so as to be renewed for the task of evangelisation. This means, of course, living the Eucharistic and communal mystery more deeply.

What has the finding of Tradition to do with liturgy? It has everything to do with liturgy because the teaching of the Fathers is still alive, as it ever has been, precisely in the liturgical practice of the Church. True theology does not arise from any amount of sociological or psychological insight, though it does not discount them and may embrace them. True theology, Orthodox theology, can only spring from a deep liturgical experience.⁶ Attention to the liturgy, turning to the liturgy, is essential for a rediscovery of tradition.

In attempting to bring Australia to Orthodoxy, the aim is not to make Australians into Serbs, or Greeks or Ukrainians, but to make Orthodoxy Australian. Sts. Cyril and Methodius offer a model. St. Volodymyr offers another. In any case, the spirit of Christian mission everywhere is the total identification of the Church with the people and with their real needs, spiritual as well as material. The people with whom you, the Church, are called to identify are Australian men and women who wait to hear the Gospel. You must tell them, in the words of Hosea, that "In the very place where they were told 'you are not my people', they will be told they are 'Children of the Living God'" [Ho 2:1]. Of course there may be some who would find this whole idea uncomfortable. I can only reply in the words of a great Orthodox churchman, who may be revealed as a martyr on the day of the judgment. On the occasion of his coming to lead the infant American Church in San Francisco in 1903, he asked, "Is the word of God good only in the old country and not in the entire universe? Is not the Church of Christ Catholic? Is not the Orthodox faith the foundation of the universe?" Not only is the task of the Orthodox Church the evangelisation of this country and the winning of men and women to Orthodoxy, but it is also the most serious, urgent and loving task that can be undertaken. "Is not the Orthodox faith the foundation of the Universe?"

Orthodoxy's vocation is also the preservation in the world of the idea of spiritual beauty, which is a redemptive act and a sign of faith in God's power and the future.⁸

V. Orthodox unity

The next problem facing Orthodoxy in this country, quite apart from the religious state of Australia and its poor reception of the Church, is the problem of the Orthodox Churches themselves. The chief problem of most Orthodox Churches in Australia is that they are all still largely communities in transition in search of their self identity, as Churches in need of theology, in need of a living world so that they might live anew in this land. Very largely, one must honestly admit, most orthodox christian communities are concerned with ethnic maintenance and give little of their attention and energies to the larger task of living Orthodoxy in this new context. Some Orthodox may find it almost incomprehensible to hear it said that diaspora is not an

exile but that theologically it is a privilege. It is to be returned to the world, to the entire world which is the Lord's.⁹ Being sent abroad is an opportunity for abundance for the Orthodox Churches, but so far in Australia Orthodoxy is a melange of ethnic church colonies all serving the interests of various nationalisms or overseas mother Churches. As long as this kind of nationalist fragmentation and isolation continues, Orthodoxy is not yet fully present, not yet fully itself in Australia. The Orthodox Church, who would unite all her treasures in herself and present them as one treasure to the West, cannot fulfil her task until she finds her own unity. It is unarguable that jurisdictional multiplicity, a weird innovation which has been foisted upon the Churches by circumstances, is contrary to Orthodox tradition.

Finding an antidote for this debilitating situation is urgent, particularly when we realise that we are living in a time when almost everywhere in the world the Church seems mainly to be utilised for all sorts of causes, national, ethnic and political, sometimes quite unscrupulously, in the midst of an unprecedented crisis and a truly universal rebellion against God, which makes squabbles about respective rights and privileges, which the Orthodox seem to pray to, look a little self-indulgent.¹⁰ The sheer indifference of the Churches to each other seems downright reprehensible. Consequently, what we look to, what we long for in Australia, is the appearance of Australian Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy as a local Church which, when it emerges, will not be the extension of a national Church, or of an ethnic Orthodox identity, but which will be the fulfilment of Orthodoxy: Orthodoxy as the common identity of all Orthodox. Such an Australian Orthodox Church would strive to be a local Church for all Orthodox Christians. Ethnic particularism must die in order that the church may be renewed and bear fruit. We are confronted with Jesus' words, "He who wants to save his life will lose it, but anyone who loses his life for my sake, will save it." [Lk 9:24]

VI. Ukrainian orthodox and orthodox unity

A clue to the future was given to the Orthodox in Australia as long ago as the 7th of March, 1924. On that day the Oecumenical Patriarch attempted to make use of his canonical authority over Orthodox Christians living in the diaspora by establishing the Archdiocese of Australia New Zealand, "for the better organisation of the Orthodox Church in that country". The patriarch's initiative of 1924 stressed that all the Orthodox communities in Australia were to form "one ecclesiastical whole", regardless of ethnic origin. Such would have constituted the ideal pattern of church administration, a pattern in accord with the universal practice of traditional Orthodoxy. If the Orthodox communities had been sufficiently mature to follow the Patriarch's direction, the scandalously irregular state prevailing today with the existence of more than one jurisdiction and more than one ruling bishop, would have been prevented. The initiative of the Patriarch has been ignored by the churches. To some degree it has been ignored by the Greek church as well. The Australian Archdiocese has become a Greek Archdiocese. Nevertheless there is a model and pattern here. After all, the ancient council gave the patriarch of New Rome the supervision of the wider Orthodox mission in the world, of Orthodoxy in new lands.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Australia, precisely as a church expelled from her homeland, has a particular role to play in the Orthodox search for the realisation of unity. It is her charism to seek, to promote, to urge one fold. This is not to abandon one's fellows living the faith in the underground of the much suffering

church of Ukraine. This does not mean that they are no longer held close to the heart, or that they are not prayed for and supported, but it does mean that we have to take our present context, Australia, very seriously. The stages of the search for Orthodox unity, upon which depends the salvation of men and women in this country, is at first in one Orthodox Archdiocese and later in the one Australian Orthodox Church. I think that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Australia has that particular role of provoking, seeking for, and urging one fold, without abandoning either her brethren in Ukraine, or her sister, the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

VII. The Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Catholic Communion

It is now time to consider the role of the Ukrainian Catholic Church particularly in the Catholic Communion. This is what I would call her Orthodox witness. As Orthodoxy in communion with Rome, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, along with the Melkite Church of the East, is one of the principal instruments whereby the Western world can be enriched by a deeper knowledge of the Eastern Church and her liturgy. It is a truism to say that the West needs this experience of liturgy. As I have argued elsewhere, the Byzantine liturgy is not a by-product of Byzantine civilisation, rather it is its very heart.¹¹ It is this kind of depth of liturgical theology and approach that the contemporary West needs – a light from the East if you like – to address the problem of a certain liturgical nominalism which has arisen. The Eastern approach to liturgy is that the liturgical rite expresses the very essence of faith. It is its concrete embodiment and no mere symbol.¹² This kind of witness is provided by Eastern worship. Consequently, Eastern Christians such as the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Melkites are generally called to realise the Catholic dimension of their faith by putting themselves both between and beyond East and West for the benefit of the Western brethren, so that they might expose the first basic layer and the greatest treasure of Catholic tradition, which is to say, the tradition of the Christian East. The Latin tradition, as rich as it is, proceeds from that first basic layer. It is not its parallel.¹³ Catholics who know nothing of the Byzantine inheritance are ignorant therefore of a considerable aspect of the Catholic tradition of prayer itself and may run the risk of misconceiving certain essential elements with which they are familiar. In other words, they may get their own faith wrong. That is a serious and an important role for Eastern Christians to play in the Catholic communion. It is only one aspect of their witness and their work.

While Popes of this century have all been concerned to foster knowledge of Eastern Christianity for the reasons I have given, as well as for reasons of charity and ecumenism, it seems to me that Catholics are not really interested. They are largely indifferent at the level of knowledge, and often hostile at the level of practical life. I know that in this country we have had no tragedies such as occurred to the Carpatho-Rusyns in the U.S.A., and we have had no incidents equivalent to Father Toth, but there is still unwarranted pressure placed upon Eastern Catholics and intrusions upon their traditions and time-honoured customs over such matters as married clergy and sacramental practice. This being the case, one of the first duties laid upon the Ukrainian Catholics is the defence of the ancient rights of their church and the fearless exercise of those ancient rights. This is a most important work for their Orthodox brethren, who could be forgiven for still thinking that reunion would be Latin domination and eventual Latinisation. While boorish behaviour on these matters can still be expected from Latins, the Orthodox have a legitimate fear.

To be equal to the task before her, the Ukrainian Catholic Church must

repudiate Uniatism, not only in words, but in mental habits and practices. This might sound a little shocking, but what is Uniatism anyway? It is the spirit of a person who uses the external forms of a rite, while being animated by the spirit of another. In other words, merely using the Byzantine rite while really having the mentality and the approach to the living of the faith of someone who really belongs to the Western Church. In as much as uniatism persists as a mental habit and is manifested in some practice, it hampers the Ukrainian Catholic Church from fulfilling its role in the Catholic communion, which is as Orthodoxy in communion with Rome. A uniate mentality will also fail to see that the Orthodox Church is the mother church of Ukrainian Catholics. The Orthodox Church has given them their theological, liturgical, ascetic and monastic inheritance. That same Orthodox Church may seem poor by the world's standards, like Christ her Master, but in her use of economy, she has shown a compassion for man and for sinners not found as readily in the West. These are enormous and painful problems for Ukrainian Catholics. As Cardinal Slypyj himself once exclaimed almost in tears before his fellow bishops in the Vatican council: "Have pity on us, my brothers, who are Easterners in the Catholic Church." A uniate mentality must also be actively counteracted because it will prevent the Western Church from receiving that life-giving contact with the tradition of the Christian East, that first basic layer and treasure of Catholic tradition in its wholeness.

We can now see that the role of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Catholic communion is of great importance, as is that of the Ukrainian Orthodox in the Orthodox communion. The Ukrainian Orthodox have a particular vocation to promote Orthodox unity in this country and to support initiatives for it, whilst the Ukrainian Catholics, who ought to support their sister church at every point in this work, have a particular vocation to witness to Orthodoxy in the Catholic communion. But above all else and all other priorities, there is the matter of winning Australia to the Orthodox faith. Everything else is subordinate.

VIII. The mind of the fathers and the way forward

The situation that confronts this church is familiar in a certain way. The Church has been in this situation before, at the beginning. Its chief problem in the Graeco-Roman world of the apostolic age was that there was no place for it. It could find no way of entry into the life and consciousness of that world which provided its own rationale and was perfectly well served by all the therapies and institutions that such a sophisticated society provided and developed for itself. Only a deep, fearless and constructive evaluation of the situation in the light of the genuine tradition of the Church and a creative return to the springs of dogma can help us to overcome this present crisis in which secularism threatens to smother what's left of a theological pastoral life. All the Orthodox Churches need to undertake this evaluation in the light of tradition. It is here that lack of unity is seen for the scandal that it really is.

Why go to the springs of dogma? Naturally we do not mean dogma to be understood in the deteriorated modern sense of the word. Rather, it is to be understood in the patristic sense, in the way that a St. Basil or a Newman used it. The 'dogmata' of the Church, in Basil's thought, come down to us from the apostles and are particularly encountered in the sacred mysteries, by which he meant the sacraments. He most specifically meant the sacraments of initiation, the awe-inspiring mysteries. 'Dogma' is to do with the contents of the Church's very consciousness. It is not to do with lifeless doctrinal propositions. 'Dogmata' are the

Church's self-understanding. Kept in silence and manifested in the life-creating sacraments, 'dogmata' must not be confused with dead formulae. The 'kerygmata' are for public proclamation; 'dogmata' for realisation in the sacramental mysteries of the Church.¹⁴ We have made rather a mess of this heritage. 'Dogma' has been confused with dogmatic theology and doctrine, thereby being deprived of its symbolic meaning as everything to do with the truth of religious life, of religious experience received in the sacraments.

The challenge is to find the patristic mind and patristic note of the Church. These are not limited to the great patristic ages. They can be refound and activated by the Holy Spirit in all ages. This is chiefly what oecumenical councils seek to do. But why the patristic note of the Church before all else? The reason lies in the essentially existential nature and preoccupation of patristic theology which did not admit any split between idea and praxis. This is not to advocate some antiquarian rediscovery of the Fathers, including all the culturally contingent aspects of their work, be it the exegesis of Antioch or the allegory of Alexandria. But it certainly is a plea for the recovery of Christian theology's existential nature to which the Fathers were so committed, which is to say, their total commitment to the actual salvation of real men and women. This commitment made their work vital and serious theology precisely because it was a pastoral commitment. The first step to recovering the patristic note of the church therefore is a certain facing of the facts. It also involves a thorough critique of the culture(s) in which Christians find themselves, such as contemporary Australia, since this culture has by and large made Christianity irrelevant. This critique needs to be of the most serious theological kind so as to head off mere flirtations with culture and other ratbagery. To succeed, the critique must be a work of the local church.

The use of the English language is germane to this critique of culture and to its result. English must become the language of the Church. Both the critique of culture and the use of English are overdue. While I could not urge the use of English more fervently, I am obliged to say that theologically it is to be seen as a means to something. It is not an end in itself. English is part of the process, a tool in the process of more attentively listening and participating in the holy mysteries. It is an evangelical instrument. It does not necessarily mean that hearing in one's own language equals understanding. It does, however, lead one to the threshold of understanding. Consequently the conversion of Australia to Orthodoxy can't happen in any other way. It will be in the medium of Australian English or not at all. This revival, this challenge to the Church to refind the patristic mind and note of the church by going to the springs of dogma, is linked to the use of English.

IX. Andrew Sheptytsky: symbol and model

The Ukrainian Church is particularly blessed in the face of this enormous work by having in its history such a figure as the great metropolitan of Lviv, Andrew Sheptytsky. Metropolitan Andrew's interests and his vast energy touches upon almost all of the matters and themes that I have raised today. He was squarely against Uniatism in all its forms. He initiated a rediscovery of the Byzantine inheritance of Ukrainian Catholics and an appreciation of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy sensibility. He is a sign of the patristic note of the church being sounded, in some ways almost by one man. Like the ancient fathers he strove to give the Gospel the most powerful existential application in reality by whatever means were to hand, be they theological, pastoral, cultural, monastic or liturgical. Sheptytsky sounds the patristic note of the

Church in that his work was both serious and pastoral, full of urgency for the salvation of actual men and women, and inspired by the conviction that it is the salvation of men and women that matters profoundly.

Like that of John Henry Newman, his spirit had an enormous amount left over for man and for life outside the church, for his fellows at large. I suppose it is common knowledge that he sought to restore the old Eastern tradition and to purify the rite. He favoured the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches and never ceased to work for it. At every opportunity he initiated and participated in meetings of churchmen of the various Slavic peoples to promote and discuss the reunion of the churches. He tirelessly worked for the development and enrichment of theological knowledge amongst laity and clergy in Ukraine, fostering a whole range of publications, learned and popular. He restored the ancient order of St. Theodore of Studion. He cared for the first Ukrainian settlers in the United States and was active in sending them a bishop. He patronised Ukrainian cultural, educational and humanitarian institutions. He urged the clergy to participate in national life and even initiated the infant Russian Catholic church and supported its first exarch, Leonid Fedorov. Above all, he strove for a return of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to its original character, which is, of course, to the Byzantine tradition. Sheptytsky was at the centre of that movement and as such he is a symbol for us of renewal. In him the patristic mind and process reveals itself as vital, active, and energetic. It is important to notice that this is not "activism", which is something rightly shunned by Orthodox spirituality and wisdom, since activism is an attempt to pre-empt the work of the Holy Spirit and, in some senses, even to cut out the Holy Spirit from life. Activism in church life is often about the Church cutting a great figure in the world. It is rightly to be abhorred and the Orthodox, by and large, have always loathed it. Andrew Sheptytsky's activity, his energy and his vitality were always subject to a theological pastoral vision which is still largely fresh and appropriate in the Australian situation, though naturally with considerable adjustments. If he reminds me of anyone he reminds me of St. Basil the Great, the very model of Orthodox bishops. Theological revival, sacramental revival, and evangelical outreach are all to be found in him. There is so much in Andrew Sheptytsky that is still fresh for Australian Ukrainians in the 1980s.

The author of Ecclesiastes tells us that "There is a season for everything, a time for every occupation under heaven" (Qo 3:1). I believe that the times and the Spirit call for energy and for a certain daring from the church of Ukraine.

Finally, may I say that my studies of the Ukrainian Church in this year of her millennium leave me deeply impressed by the richness of the heritage of that Church and by the love and fervour of its peoples. I am left with the conviction that though the future of the Ukrainian church in Australia will be difficult and demanding with challenges, the future contains immense promise of spiritual richness.

I wish you, on the occasion of the millennium, "Many years!"

NOTES

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CONTRIBUTORS

The Hon. Franca Arena A.M., Member, Legislative Council, New South Wales.

Mr. Andrew Barchinski is a Social Worker, Department of Social Security, New South Wales.

Mr. Lawrence Cross is Lecturer in Religious Education, Institute of Catholic Education, Christ Campus, Victoria.

Mr. Myron Danylak is Lecturer in Law, Department of Technical and Further Education, New South Wales.

Dr. Olga Dudinski is Development Pharmacist, Sigma Pharmaceuticals, Clayton, Victoria.

Dr. Ihor Gordijew is New South Wales Chairperson for the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia. He is also Acting Director of the Ukrainian Studies Centre at Macquarie University and a Senior Lecturer in the School of Economic and Financial Studies.

Mrs. Halyna Koscharsky is Section Head of Ukrainian Studies (now also Head of Slavonic Studies) and Lecturer in Ukrainian at Macquarie University, New South Wales.

Mrs. Maria Kowalska is a Gallery Attendant at the Adelaide Festival Centre and a teacher at the Ivan Franko Ukrainian Community School, Adelaide, South Australia.

Dr. Michael Lawriwsky (now Professor) is with the Economics Department of La Trobe University, Victoria.

Mr. Joseph Lo Bianco is Chairman, Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, Australian Capital Territory.

Ms. Sophia Matiasz is an anthropologist and Senior Projects and Evaluation Officer, South Australian Health Commission.

Dr. Roman Mykytowycz is President, Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, Australian Capital Territory.

Dr. Marko Pavlyshyn is Lecturer in Ukrainian at the Department of Slavic Studies at Monash University, Victoria.

Professor Eugene Seneta is Professor and Head of the Department of Mathematical Statistics, University of Sydney, New South Wales