

MCGILL UNIVERSITY
UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY LIFE IN MONTREAL:
SOCIAL PLANNING IMPLICATIONS

A Thesis Submitted to
The School of Social Work
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for
The Master's Degree in Social Work

by
Ann M. Tokar
Montreal, August 1992

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the members of the Ukrainian community, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal, the Ukrainian Mutual Aid Society of Montreal, the Ukrainian Residence, and the Ukrainian Villa for their interest and support in this research. The following deserve special mention in contributing their time and knowledge of the Ukrainian community. They are: (in alphabetical order)

Nadia Cecilmistro, Renée Chumak, Annie Dejneka, Irena Gerych, Helen Holowka, Orest Humeny, Marjerie Kaminesky, Ludmila Kocherha, Olga Kowal, Dr. Walter Kowal, Professor Yarema Kelebay, Yaroslav Kulba, Very Reverend Dr. Ihor Kutash, Maurice Mack, Nathalie Mack, Dr. Olga Overbury, Jenny Pidwzsocky, Natalia Olynec, Ivanka Paska, Bill Pawlowsky, Fran Ponomarenko, Oksana Rusyn, Peter Shesko, Andrij Shnurivsky, Dr. Daniel Solonyna, Tarac Stavnych, Stephan Trekowski, and Bill Tretiak.

Special thanks to Professors Sydney Duder, Eric Shragge, and Jim Torczyner of the McGill School of Social Work, whose courses were the catalysts for this research. Their assistance and support will always be greatly appreciated.

PREFACE

This research project of the Ukrainian community in Montreal came into being as a personal contribution to the centenary celebration of Ukrainian immigration to Canada in 1991. This brought about a quest for knowledge of my cultural heritage and an exploration of my role within the community. I had not been an active participant for many years, partly because of a need to distance myself from the community so that I could discover my own sense of self. The stories of Ukraine and its history in the struggle for independence were personified in an overwhelming sense of powerlessness that I felt and could not explain. Trained in the interventions of individual and family therapy, I progressed to the study of community development as a potential resource for group identity and power. As I researched the community's infrastructures, their services and the Ukrainian people, I began to understand the types of challenges and expectations of maintaining a community's ethnic identity and solidarity. It is no easy task, and requires many hours of volunteer work. There is a sense of accomplishment and gratification in the writing of this thesis. It re-enlisted my return to the community as a researcher and as an active participant in community affairs.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
PREFACE	iii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
RESUMÉ	x
CHAPTER	
1. UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN CANADA	1
1.1 Social-Political Events	1
1.2 Ukrainian Immigration to Canada	2
1.3 National Demographic Profile	4
1.4 Ethnic Community Identity	6
1.5 Organizational Life	10
1.6 Community Organizing	12
1.7 Summary	14
2. UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL	16
2.1 Direction of Research	16
2.2 Demographics	17
2.3 Organizational Structure of Community Services	18
2.3.1 Settlement Era	18
2.3.2 National	19
2.3.3 Provincial	20
2.3.4 Churches	20
2.3.5 Education and Youth	22

2.3.6	Associations	22
2.3.7	Business	23
2.3.8	Media	24
2.3.9	Cultural	24
2.4	Community Support Services	25
2.4.1	The Ukrainian Mutual Aid Society of Montreal	25
2.4.2	The Ukrainian Residence of Montreal	26
2.4.3	The Ukrainian Villa	27
2.5	Assessment of Support Services	28
2.5.1	Community Services	28
2.5.2	Senior Residential Services	29
2.6	Community Planning Initiatives	30
2.6.1	Ukrainian Canadian Conference	30
2.6.2	Ukrainian Summer Street Festival	31
2.6.3	Community Workshops	32
2.6.4	Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Planning Committee	33
2.6.5	Canada-Ukraine Ventures	34
2.7	Summary	35
3.	METHODOLOGY	36
3.1	Survey of Ukrainians in Community	36
3.2	Description of Questionnaire	36
3.2.1	Demographics	36
3.2.2	Ethnic Identity	36

3.2.3	Community Organizations	37
3.2.4	Planning Needs	38
3.2.5	Cultural Preservation	38
3.2.6	Future Plans in Quebec	38
3.3	Description of Sample	39
3.4	Administration of Questionnaire	40
3.5	Data Analysis	41
3.6	Interviews with Key Informants	42
3.6.1	Interview Questions	43
3.6.2	Description of Sample	43
3.6.3	Interviews	44
3.7	Data Analysis	44
3.7.1	Organizational Structure	44
3.7.2	Planning Objectives	44
3.7.3	Future Implications	45
4.	FINDINGS	46
4.1	Sample Demographics	46
4.2	Ethnic Identity	46
4.3	Community Organizations	48
4.4	Planning Needs	50
4.5	Cultural Preservation	57
4.6	Future in Quebec	59
4.7	Additional Comments	63
4.8	Interviews with Key Informants	64
4.8.1	Organizational Structure	64
4.8.2	Planning Objectives	66

	4.8.3	Future Implications	67
5.	DISCUSSION		69
	5.1	Summary of Key Findings	69
	5.1.1	Questionnaire	70
	5.1.2	Interviews	71
	5.2	Implications for Policy	71
	5.2.1	Planning Priorities	73
	5.2.2	Cultural Preservation	73
	5.2.3	Future in Quebec	74
	5.2.4	Organizational Structure	75
	5.3	Limitations of Study	75
	5.4	Issues in Community Planning	77
	5.5	Implications for Social Work	79
	5.5.1	Community Development	80
	5.5.2	Programs	80
	5.5.3	Liaison	81
	5.5.4	Education	82
	5.5.5	Media	82
	5.6	Conclusion	83

APPENDICES

1.	Ukrainian Organizations and Institutions in Montreal	86
2.	Covering letter to questionnaire	90
3.	Questionnaire	91

REFERENCES	97
----------------------	----

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Immigration Patterns of Ukrainians to Canada, 1896-1952	4
2.	Population of Ukrainians in Canada, using Figures for Multiple and Single Origin, 1986	5
3.	Ukrainian Institutions and Organizations in Montreal	21
4.	Demographic Characteristics of Sample	47
5.	Self-Definitions of Ethnicity for Ukrainians	48
6.	Membership in Ukrainian Community Organizations	49
7.	Degree of Importance for Planning Needs	51
8.	Rotated Factor Matrix	53
9.	Mean Values of Factors by Gender	56
10.	Factors in Cultural Preservation	58
11.	Future Plans for Quebec	60
12.	Future Plans by Age Groups	62
13.	Correlation Coefficients: Factor Scores with Age, Education and Activities Attended	62

**UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY LIFE IN MONTREAL:
SOCIAL PLANNING IMPLICATIONS**

ABSTRACT

This study focused on the challenges facing the Ukrainian community in Montreal, within the parameters of their support and mutual aid services. Key informants from the community were interviewed. A mail-in questionnaire was administered to a sample of Ukrainians (N=145), from the community at large. Key findings: (a) a high level of interest in community planning, (b) for women, social policy and health and social services were more important, (c) 18% were uncertain about remaining in Quebec, and (d) internal conflicts within community infrastructures. Areas of concentration for community development: (a) health and social services for independant elderly and others in need, (b) residential placement for elderly, and (c) counselling and information services for immigrants.

**VIE COMMUNAUTAIRE UKRAINIENNE À MONTRÉAL:
LES IMPLICATIONS DE LA PLANIFICATION**

RESUMÉ

Cette étude est centrée sur les défis rencontrés par la communauté ukrainienne de Montréal, à l'intérieur des paramètres de leurs services d'entraide et de support. Des personnes-ressources dans la communauté ont été interviewées. Un questionnaire, à retourner par la poste, a été soumis à un échantillonnage de la communauté ukrainienne dans son ensemble (N=145). Les principaux résultats: (a) niveau élevé d'intérêt dans la planification communautaire, (b) politique sociale et services de santé et des services sociaux considérés plus importants par les femmes, (c) 18% n'étaient pas sûrs de demeurer au Québec, et (d) conflits internes au sein des infrastructures de la communauté. Les besoins priorisés pour le développement de la communauté: (a) services de santé et des services sociaux pour les personnes âgées autonomes et autres dans le besoin, (b) placement résidentiel pour les personnes âgées, et (c) service d'information et de counselling pour les immigrants.

CHAPTER 1

UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN CANADA

1.1 Social-Political Events

Ukrainians in Canada represent an important ethnocultural group who have assimilated into Canadian society, while retaining their historical roots and traditions to pass on to succeeding generations. Their experience over the last one hundred years has been a collective process of individual adaptation and blending of different ideologies in the establishment of a community's legitimacy and value system within Canadian history. This process did not begin in Canada, but in Ukrainian history, with their struggle for self-government, their existence as a nation and as an ethnic identity. Ukraine means borderland, in the same way that being Ukrainian-Canadian, has entailed negotiating new frontiers for their place in Canada.

The recent changes in Eastern Europe, with the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), has had an immeasurable impact on Ukrainians and their ties to the homeland. As restrictions on visits were lifted between the Ukrainians of North America and Ukraine, there was a sense of renewal and rediscovery of ethnic identity. Ukraine's proclamation of independence with the people's

referendum of December 1, 1991 provided a national renaissance for all Ukrainians.

In Canada, Ukrainians expressed happiness in Ukraine's independence but there was concern about the country's ability to convert its economic system and government structure to a democratic system after years of Soviet Communist rule. There was an awareness that the price tag for independence and future development could be costly in terms of the creation of new services and their implementation without a concerted effort in effective planning. To assist their homeland, Ukrainians have offered their expertise in the fields of science, business, education, agriculture, computer technology and medicine through exchange programs, both in Canada and Ukraine. Ukrainians are also in the midst of another celebration, their centennial year of immigration to Canada (1891-1991). As a consequence of these changes in Ukraine and the involvement of the Ukrainian community in Canada, their visibility as an ethnic group has increased internationally.

1.2 Ukrainian Immigration

The first Ukrainians who arrived in Canada were not classified ethnically as Ukrainians but rather named after the geographic location of their provinces of origin. They became Galicians, Bukovynians, Carpatho-Ukrainians or by

their religious associations, such as Ruthenian, meaning Greek Catholic (Petryshyn, 1985). A national identity evolved during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-21, with Ukrainians declaring their independence from Russia. The impact of these events in the homeland led Ukrainians in Canada to be recognized as a nationality for the first time in the Canada Census of 1921.

Table 1 shows the three major waves of this group's immigration to Canada as presented through the research of Darcovich and Yuzyk (1980), who used census data from 1891 to 1952. The political events in Eastern Europe, both before and after the two World Wars, precipitated the departure of many immigrants in search of a new country, where there were better economic opportunities for employment and homesteading, and a desire for social and political freedom.

Regionally, the majority of the first arrivals settled in Ontario and the Western provinces because of the availability of farmland in the West, away from the developed urban centers. As the community began to grow, they established their churches, schools, university programs, communication media, cultural and artistic endeavors, and their community organizations. These structures and institutions provided the means towards the preservation of their heritage and identity.

Table 1.--Immigration Patterns of Ukrainians to Canada, 1896 to 1952

Years	Ukrainians	Provinces	%
1896-1914	170,000	Manitoba	41.0
		Ontario	12.0
		Alberta	9.0
1925-1930	57,900	Manitoba	66.6
		Alberta	13.0
		Ontario	7.0
1947-1952	33,347	Ontario	47.3
		Manitoba	12.0
		Alberta	6.0

Source: Adapted from William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., A statistical compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 500-2. The Compendium consists largely of special census crosstabulations with a special focus on Ukrainians.

1.3 National Demographic Profile

Demographic research and studies of ethnicity reveal the following trends for this group. They are the fifth largest ethnic group in Canada, representing 1.7% of Canada's total population (Statistics Canada, Census 1986), of which nearly 90% are Canadian-born (Wiseman, 1991). Table 2 presents the national and provincial population figures. In comparison to the Canadian labor force as a whole, they have

Table 2.--Population of Ukrainians in Canada, using Figures
for Multiple and Single Origin, 1986

Place	Total Population	Multiple Origin	Single Origin
Ontario	260,580	150,875	109,710
Alberta	238,965	132,210	106,750
Manitoba	158,320	78,385	79,940
Saskatchewan	125,775	65,220	60,555
British Columbia	143,345	95,140	48,200
Quebec	22,410	10,185	12,220
Nova Scotia	6,150	4,710	1,440
New Brunswick	2,180	1,690	485
Yukon	1,185	845	345
North West Territories	1,410	1,020	395
Newfoundland	585	480	105
Prince Edward Island	395	335	65
Canada	961,310	541,100	420,210

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, Canada Census 1986, Ethnicity by province. 93-154. Figures tabulated according to the following question: To which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors belong? Single origin denotes both parents are Ukrainian. Multiple origin refers to Ukrainians of multicultural origin, where one parent is of Ukrainian origin and the other of non-Ukrainian or mixed origin.

advanced in occupational mobility, e.g., managerial (10%), professional (17%), and clerical (20%), and educationally, 20% have some university education, with the majority (40%) having 9 to 13 years of schooling (Statistics Canada, Census 1986). As a group, they have become more like Canadians in general.

Overall, the Ukrainian culture in Canada seems to have evolved over three stages : (a) resistance to change; (b) breakdown, due to change; and (c) reconstitution, adaptation to change (Klymasz, 1983). Old customs can be said to blend with new traditions that adapt more to the mainstream Canadian society, but at the same time, lend a distinctiveness as a unique cultural group.

1.4 Ethnic Community Identity

In order to study any one ethnic community, it is important to understand the different aspects of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Ethnicity refers to a collectivity of individuals, who share the same culture and/or identify themselves as belonging to the same ethnic group (Isajiw, 1974). The approach used in this study defines ethnicity as part of an individual's social-psychological reality that takes into account, both internal and external expressions of identity. For example: (a) internally--from the attitudes, images and feelings of what a particular ethnic group gives

one, in a sense of identity and commitment, and (b) externally--in the practice of certain traditions and rituals, and participation in community organizations and ethnic functions.

Ethnicity can then be said to provide the individual with a source of social identity (Driedger, 1975) and social interaction with other members in the cultural and organizational expressions of this identity (Isajiw, 1990). The impact of these two variables can vary in significance and usefulness for the individual, from one generation to the other, and between members of the same group. There are different variations of ethnic identity that have been identified in the literature as: (a) ritualistic identity--high degree of traditional practices, with low degree of group commitment; (b) ideological identity--high degree of group commitment, with low degree of traditional practices; (c) rebelling identity--high degree of knowledge of the ethnic group, with negative feelings toward the group; and (d) ethnic rediscovery--a positive attitude towards the ethnic group, with the practice of certain traditions, as seen in studies of later generations (Isajiw, 1990). These aspects of ethnic identity become a source of research into the meaning and practice of ethnic group culture and its influence on the individual in his/her everyday life.

The following studies demonstrate some of the factors

traditionally used in studying ethnic populations in their adjustment and integration to the larger multicultural community. Ethnic identity and ethnic organizational structures and practices undergo a transformation process between generations and within generations, involving different patterns of ethnic identity retention. The organizational patterns relate to the degree of the ethnic group's participation within the community and with the larger ethnocultural community.

Isajiw (1983) linked ethnic identity to a social-psychological phenomenon, that encompassed four basic dimensions: cognitive, moral, affective and fiducial. These included knowledge of the group's values, commitment to the group, feelings of attachment and expectations of support. The following study supports this view of ethnic identity.

In a comparative survey of ethnic identity retention among nine ethnic groups in Toronto, including Ukrainians, conducted in 1979-80, there was a marked difference for Ukrainians from one generation to the next in terms of loss of some customs and language and the degree of identification with that group (Isajiw, 1983). Using an Ethnic Identity Index, combining internal aspects of ethnic identity, (e.g., feelings and beliefs), 69% of first generation Ukrainians showed a high degree of identity, compared to 28% for the second, and 4% for the third. However, there seemed to be a

strong sense of obligation in the third generation to help other Ukrainians find work (53%), support Ukrainian group needs and causes (36%), and the belief that it is important for one's children to learn Ukrainian (37%). Results of external aspects of identity, (e.g., customs) retained by first generation was 78%, 57% for second, and 26% for third generation. Consumption of ethnic food, practice of customs and possession of ethnic articles were the most frequently retained pattern of external identity. Ethnic group participation decreased in later generations and an increase was noted in attending non-ethnic group functions.

Turning to a study of ethnic identity in a younger generation, Driedger (1980) compared seven ethnic groups of university students in Winnipeg, including Ukrainians. A series of Cultural, Identity, Self-Identity, and Religious Identity Indexes were comprised of both attitudinal and behavioral items. Ukrainians showed a moderate degree in the practice of cultural traditions, such as attending Ukrainian language schools (41%), compared to other ethnic groups. However, use of Ukrainian at home (22%) and participation in ethnic organizations (23%) was relatively low. Ethnic group belongingness seemed to be important, along with a sense of group commitment. Yet, the Ukrainian students showed high ingroup denial of their culture, for example, by trying to hide their ethnicity or experiencing feelings of inferiority, imposed by limitations associated with their ethnic culture

(Driedger, 1976). These attitudes may well affect the degree of involvement and interest, that these students will have in their ethnic community, and the desire in maintaining cultural identity.

1.5 Organizational Life

The impact of ethnic community life on the individual or group can vary with community participation, degree of social cohesion, and size of organized community. Breton (1990) proposed that as ethnic members become involved in their organizations and institutions, this encourages social interaction within the system, thus creating a variety of multi-functional organizations. These include volunteer groups, churches and schools. The community becomes institutionally complete, making it unnecessary for members to seek external resources. Further criteria for community involvement revolves around information of available community resources, active membership, accessibility to community leaders and their degree of openness to concerns and needs expressed by members.

Olsen (1970) suggested that members of an ethnic community develop a sense of social cohesion because of problems forced upon them by the outside. Feelings of isolation and cultural inhibition may then contribute to ethnic participation in voluntary groups. If the community

is socially and politically active, the members will become involved to improve their conditions by: (a) addressing special concerns to their ethnic community, (b) exerting social pressures on others to conform to the norms, (c) close identification with leaders, (d) reliance on collective, not individual solutions to common problems, and (e) political action. An example of community action would be mobilizing the Ukrainian community in seeking solutions to the growing need for senior residential facilities, in a population that is aging. On the other hand, if the community is not politically active, it may then choose to promote participation in causes of concern, such as fundraising for local community charities, through the use of media, community activities and cultural events.

The same process of social cohesion can take place with conflictual problems within the community. In the same Toronto study of nine cultural groups, conducted in 1979-80, results indicated that for Ukrainians, there were a number of perceived differences, particularly along religious and political lines, that could either mobilize the community towards some organized action or divide the community further. For some of the ethnic groups studied, there was support for community organized action where there were a number of perceived differences among their own members (Breton, 1990). In this way, internal conflict generates social interaction and debate, thereby increasing interest in

community affairs. For Ukrainians, an example of internal conflict would be the unification of their Catholic and Greek Orthodox religions, which already fragment their communities. Both religions further separate them from other Christian religions, because of their Byzantine or Eastern Greek rites (Driedger, 1978). Future research would be needed to see the community's course of action to resolve these perceived differences.

The size of the ethnic community is another important factor in community involvement. Driedger (1980) felt that concentrations of 10,000 to 15,000 members, in proportion to the size of the region or city, would be sufficient to maintain the Ukrainian community's ethnic institutions and organizations. Montreal's population of Ukrainians along with its organizational structures will be two factors, taken into account, in examining ethnic community maintenance and institutional completeness.

1.6 Community Organizing

Each wave of successive Ukrainian immigration brought a desire to retain ethnic roots and sense of communal responsibility to the homeland. Many of the early political and ideological community organizations maintained that group commitment. However, differences in ideology also split the community into divisive factions. Examples of these

differences were seen in the emergence of pro-communist organizations and those of the anti-Communist nationalists (Subtelny, 1991).

Changes in the structural network did occur with the third wave of immigrants, who were mainly political refugees, and well-educated (Pohorecky, 1978). They have been credited with bringing their experience in grass-roots organizing along with many of their established organizations and membership to the existing community network. In time, new types of organizations developed in the 1970s, namely the professional and business associations, as well as the advancement of university courses in Ukrainian studies. The trend was leaning towards non-political associations, emphasizing projects that unite a community, not divide.

Ukrainians played a crucial role in supporting multiculturalism, protecting cultural diversity in Canada. Their representation to the government for the social equality of all cultural groups was developed through a concerted lobbying effort.

The Ukrainian organizational network continues to evolve over the years to include more comprehensive, integrated and multifaceted organizations, that address a broad spectrum of interests, concerns and needs. An example of this movement, was the Ukrainian Canadian Community and

Group Development Project, initiated by the British Columbia Provincial Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in July, 1988, to pursue the following objectives:

1. A survey of Ukrainian community organizations identified the following as primary needs among its members: (a) the development of leadership training programs, and (b) increased networking among organizations, both locally and regionally, in terms of more professionally based services, programming and resources. Future projects included: (a) a youth commission, that would serve the needs and interests of youth, (b) a provincial newsletter, (c) resource directory, and (d) an arts council. The response rate of the community needs assessment survey was 65%, indicating interest and concern for the Ukrainian community in British Columbia.

2. A provincial conference entitled, Building the Future, was held in November 1990, attended by 136 delegates of Ukrainian organizations. Recommendations were put forward in the areas of education, arts and culture, social and professional societies, social services, communications and community resources.

3. The publication of a strategic planning document, in community development, based on the results of the survey and the conference recommendations, will concentrate on improving communication among its member organizations,

visibility in the larger community and in particular, the involvement of youth in community activities.

1.7 Summary

There has been a decrease of traditional cultural practices in maintaining ethnic identity in the later generations , while there has been an increase in attendance of non-ethnic functions. However, just as there are different forms of maintaining an ethnic culture, there are different interpretations of ethnic identity. The high ingroup denial of ethnic culture among one study of Ukrainian university students shows the extent of internal psychological conflicts towards maintaining links to a culture, that is restrictive. Isajiw (1990) suggests that the first generation depends on ethnic community interaction for maintaining their culture, whereas the later generations may be influenced more by family and in social interaction with other cultural groups in the larger community. Inter-ethnic competition for social status and employment or experiencing discrimination may stimulate ethnic identity revival or rediscovery. Further research on combinations of internal and external aspects of ethnic identity, such as group commitment and community participation, along with the influence of socio-economic variables, such as social class and education could further explain the role of ethnic identity retention or loss as part of an individual's or

community's social-psychological reality (Isajiw, 1990).

Community needs can be assessed through surveys. The results could be incorporated into programs that educate the community to become more cohesive and assume a leadership role (Kramer & Specht, 1969). Ethnic community organizations will need to look at programs for youth and a place for them within their organizations, where they feel welcome and can participate fully.

CHAPTER 2

UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL

2.1 Direction of Research

This research summarizes a three year study of the Ukrainian community in Montreal, its people, community organizations and services. It is not a large community, in comparison to other urban centers, with concentrations of Ukrainians in Ontario and the Western provinces, but it has been home to 19,440 persons of Ukrainian descent (Statistics Canada, Canada Census 1986). The following questions formed the background of this study:

1. How do Ukrainians define their ethnic heritage?
2. To what extent do they practice it, in terms of language, traditions, socialization patterns and community participation?
3. Is there a sense of community and continuity?
4. What are the needs of the community? Is there a planning process in place to meet these needs? If not, why not?

This research took place in three phases. In the first phase, information on the present organizational structure, were gathered from: (a) interviews with key informants, (b) attendance at cultural, social and educational functions, (c)

participation in planning committees, and (d) consultation services requested by community support services.

This led to the second phase, testing Ukrainian public opinion. In 1991, a mail-in questionnaire was designed to provide some direction for community planning, based on the respondents' factual information and perceptions toward five main themes: (a) ethnic identity, (b) the impact of organizations on community life, (c) planning priorities, (d) cultural preservation, and (e) the future of the Ukrainian community in Quebec.

Following this survey, the third phase, in 1992, was a series of interviews with key informants. The focus was on the strengths and limitations of the organizational structure and future planning objectives.

2.2 Demographics

The 1986 census listed 22,410 Ukrainians of multiple and single origin living in Quebec, of which 19,440 have settled in the Montreal area. Myhul and Isaacs (1980) presented a profile of Ukrainians in Quebec following the post war period, selecting census data on population growth, religion, language use, education and income. Their conclusions were that it was an aging community, highly urbanized, and concentrated in the Montreal area. There were

significant educational advances and occupational mobility, similar to other Quebec groups in 1971. It was seen to be a cohesive community. Use of the Ukrainian language had fallen in favor of English. The study predicted that a lack of the French language may contribute to smaller numbers of this group remaining in Quebec.

2.3 Organizational Structure of Community Services

2.3.1 Settlement Era

Bayley (1939) undertook a study of the social structure of the Italian and Ukrainian communities in Montreal during 1935-37. The structure of family life, organizational activities, residential patterns, religious and social traditions showed how these two groups came to Canada without planning or guidance and established themselves as growing communities. Some of the first recorded settlements for Ukrainians in Montreal took place in 1904. Their early institutions were classified into three categories: (a) religious, (b) mutual aid, and (c) national-political. Their development into community structures occurred over three stages:

1. The beginning stage was the creation of mutual aid societies, which were initiated by the immigrants to help themselves adjust to the new country. Boarding homes and

employment offices were in this category.

2. The second stage was the establishment of competitive organizations, where there were differences in ideology and viewpoints. Members and leaders were called upon to join and legitimize the organization's existence and sense of purpose. Examples were the national-political groups: the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization and the Ukrainian Farm Labor Temple.

3. The final stage was reached when immigrant organizations were able to function, not as a result of nationalistic trends, but from a sense of satisfaction of belonging to a unique organization. Some of these later organizations are seen in the present organizational structure of Ukrainian community services.

2.3.2 National

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC), formed in 1940, represents an umbrella group of approximately forty community organizations across Canada. It is considered to be the sole representative of the Ukrainian Canadian community, whose primary role is to preserve and enhance the Ukrainian culture (Marunchak, 1982, p. 805). Their head office is in Winnipeg with branch offices in major cities. Their organization sponsors national congresses every few years in major Canadian cities, working on current issues affecting

Ukrainians. The UCC is also a member of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU), formed in 1967, an international organization, that lobbies for human rights and the political and religious freedom of Ukrainians. They play an active role in coordinating refugees to potential countries and organizations offering sponsorship programs.

2.3.3 Provincial

Quebec has a provincial office of the UCC located in Montreal. It presently represents a voluntary membership of 32 local organizations in the Montreal area, ranging from professional to cultural and religious affiliations. Their primary role is to coordinate activities for local and national Ukrainian causes.

Ukrainians in the Montreal region have established some significant community services, organizations and institutions, which cater to a Ukrainian-speaking clientele, as well as other language groups, who may not speak Ukrainian as their language of origin. Table 3 shows the range of services presently available, and reported by key informants to be active in the community. A more complete list of these organizations can be referred to in Appendix 1.

2.3.4 Churches

Churches are the foundation of Ukrainian community life, with their parish halls, choirs, women's leagues and

Table 3.--Ukrainian Institutions and Organizations in Montreal

Description of Organization	N
Religious Institutions	
Ukrainian Eastern Rite Catholic churches	6
Ukrainian Greek Orthodox churches	3
Bukowynian Orthodox (Russian) *	1
Slovak Eastern Rite Catholic *	1
Baptist church	1
Pentecostal church	1
Educational Institutions	
Primary schools (Catholic & Orthodox)	2
Secondary schools (Catholic & Orthodox)	1
Primary & secondary schools (Orthodox)	1
Organizations & Associations	
Youth	7
University	3
Women	16
Men	2
Professional	7
Foundations	4
National-Political	14
Cultural	3
Seniors	3
Community Support Services	
Social services	1
Seniors residence	2
Financial Institutions	
Credit Unions	3
Media	
Radio program	1
Television program	1
Newsletters, journals **	...
Artistic Groups	
Choirs, orchestras & vocal groups **	3
Dance ensembles & schools	4
Documentation & Specialty Services	
Museums & Archives	2
Bookstores & Gift Shops	3

* Founded by Ukrainians, now under other ethnic group direction.

** Incomplete, due to the number and variety of independant newsletters and music groups in Montreal.

church councils. They provide a central meeting place for exchange and the teaching and practice of religious rituals, culture and language. The six Eastern Rite Catholic and the three Orthodox churches have the greatest numbers. There are also two churches representing Baptist and Pentecostal congregations, that have a multi-ethnic following. Two churches of the Eastern Rite and Orthodox religions, were originally founded by Ukrainians, but are now under the direction of other ethnic groups, (i.e., Slavic and Russian).

2.3.5 Education and Youth

In 1975, Ukrainian schools in Montreal were organized under the Ukrainian School Council of Quebec (Marunchak, 1982, p. 753). There are presently four Ukrainian schools, offering Saturday courses in history, culture and language instruction, from primary to secondary schooling. The schools are not exclusive, for the most part, to any one religion and integrate students of both Catholic and Orthodox faith. There have been decreases in enrollment over the years, from a high of 1800 in the 1950s to 600 in the 1980s and now figures stand at approximately 250 students. For the youth, there exist a variety of associations, associated with some of the churches and also, scout organizations and four Ukrainian summer camps.

2.3.6 Associations

Some organizations have been in existence for many

years, arising from the early community settlements in Montreal. They have been revitalized over the years, as the community evolved, and as support for different causes motivated the creation of new organizations. Some support national-political causes, such as, the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. A more recent political organization has been formed in Montreal and other major cities, namely the Canadian Friends of Rukh, meaning movement in Ukrainian. Rukh originated during the 1980s in Ukraine, as a popular movement of social and political action, representing the voice of Ukrainians. Their members were affiliated with community organizations, supporting local causes, and were instrumental in the democratization of Ukraine, working towards independence.

There are a host of other associations, formed by later generations, that encompass the activities of women, university students, business people, doctors, artists and other professionals. Their associations have been particularly active in encouraging the visibility of Ukrainians by sponsoring educational, cultural and social events both within the community and the larger ethnocultural community. The charitable, cultural and scholarship foundations support various community causes, for example, the Montreal Ukrainian Foundation for Care and Services, established on behalf of the Ukrainian Villa, a senior's residential facility.

2.3.7 Business

The business community has established three Credit Unions, as well as a variety of consultant services, such as the travel industry and shops, specializing in Ukrainian books, artifacts and ethnic-type foods.

2.3.8 Media

The Ukrainian media is represented by a weekly radio show, called Ukrainian Time and a television program, Tele-Ukraina. There are a number of Ukrainian newspapers, (e.g. The Ukrainian Weekly) published outside Quebec, that are available for its readers. Several local newspapers went out of circulation (Marunchak, 1982, pp. 284, 639, 769): (a) Zoria, a short-lived daily publication, began publishing in 1914; (b) Montrealskyj Informator, produced monthly, 1958-70; and (c) Oko, a trilingual publication in 1979, (i.e., Ukrainian, French and English). Most of the churches and organizations continue to have newsletters, providing information on local and national events, (e.g., Echo, published by the Ukrainian Professional And Business Association of Montreal).

2.3.9 Cultural

The Ukrainian Reading Society or Prosvita, meaning enlightenment, is traditionally geared to cultural and social events. Seniors have organized their own interest groups,

under the auspices of local organizations, such as Prosvita, where excursions and social events take place.

Music and dance ensembles add sound and color to the many festivals, celebrating holidays and folklore traditions. There are a number of independant music groups and church choirs that perform at public concerts.

A number of churches are known for their architectural designs and classic wall murals and artifacts. Archival works are located in at least one Orthodox Cathedral and also, in the Ukrainian Residence of Montreal, a residential facility for seniors. Local and national artists regularly display exhibitions of their works, in collaboration with sponsored Ukrainian community events.

2.4 Community Support Services

The support service network is provided by three central organizations: (a) the Ukrainian Mutual Aid Society of Montreal, (b) the Ukrainian Residence of Montreal, and (c) the Ukrainian Villa. Community organizations, such as Meals on Wheels, and women's groups offer their services to supplement volunteer programs and fundraisers.

2.4.1 The Ukrainian Mutual Aid Society of Montreal

This is a branch office of the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services (UCSS), a national organization based in Toronto. The MAS was initiated in 1973 by members of the Montreal branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC). Its founders were all professionals and active in other organizations. Their charter and by-laws serve a mandate to help needy Ukrainians, especially the elderly. During the 1970s, funding was supplied by private donations and annual municipal grants of \$5,000. In 1987, financing came directly from the provincial government's budget under the Service de Soutien d'Organization Communautaire. Currently, the grant is set at \$10,000 annually. Annual donations are in the \$2,000 range.

The office is located in the Rosemount area, close to Ukrainian businesses, churches and residential facilities for seniors. Their office staff is comprised of one paid worker, who manages the programs, along with the Board of Directors. There are, in addition, forty volunteers concentrating on visits to homebound and hospitalized seniors. The volunteers are mainly women, who are active seniors themselves. Office hours are from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. A telephone answering machine is in service after hours.

Programs focus on counsel and assistance to the needy and the elderly. Home visits, translation, information and

referral, fund raising, volunteer recruitment and immigration sponsorship are among the primary interventions.

2.4.2 The Ukrainian Residence of Montreal

The Ukrainian Residence opened its facility for seniors in 1983. It is located in Rosemount, close to the Ukrainian churches and commercial area. There are 83 apartments, varying from bachelor size to one bedroom units. Rents are adjusted to 25% of the person's annual income. It is a not for profit organization, administered by a Board of Directors. Waiting lists can be as long as a few years, depending on the type of apartment and location desired.

The residence is often used as a meeting place for other Ukrainian community organizations and art exhibitions. The residents are also recruited to become volunteers for other community projects.

2.4.3 The Ukrainian Villa

In 1988, the original project for the Ukrainian Villa was to be a nursing home for seniors. It was presented to the provincial Ministry of Social Affairs, but funding could not be advanced until 1992. Community pressure for another residential facility for semi-autonomous seniors and available funding from the provincial Ministry of Housing, through la Société de l'Habitation du Québec, took precedence for the immediate construction of another residential

facility. The Villa opened in 1991 and is already at full capacity, with 54 residents, ranging in age from 75 to 94. The waiting list is administered by an admissions committee, which includes members of the Board of Directors and two residents. Rents are limited to 25% of annual income. Fundraising is directed by the Montreal Ukrainian Foundation for Care and Services. The same Board of Directors presides over the two residential facilities.

Services include dispensation of medication, meals, and referral for medical services. Support services are available through the Centre Locale Services Communautaire (CLSC), local community health centres, operated by the provincial government. Residents are mainly Ukrainian, but other ethnic groups have gained admission. There are other residences and nursing homes available to Ukrainians, administered by government, private citizens and other ethnic groups.

2.5 Assessment of Support Services

2.5.1 Community Services

In interviews with the management of the Mutual Aid Society in 1990-91, requests for immigrant and refugee sponsorship were the most time consuming and critical in terms of urgency. For example, in 1989, requests for sponsorships from the World Congress of Free Ukrainians

(WCFU) totalled 34 refugee families, awaiting deportation from the camps of Germany, Austria, Sweden and Spain. The MAS mobilized and enlisted the support of all local Ukrainian organizations, who could sponsor these top-priority cases.

Other requests dealt with: (a) information on immigration services for new arrivals to Canada, arriving at Mirabel airport seeking refugee status; (b) individuals and families, who had been abandoned by their sponsors, and were not receiving the necessary support services; (c) liaison with the business community in recruiting sponsors and employment for immigrants; and (d) setting up French and English language courses for those immigrants ineligible for government sponsored courses.

The MAS is severely limited in answering the needs of its community in the long term. There are several issues that need to be addressed in planning for organizational change, (a) the community structure, (b) its cultural norms, (c) client needs, and (d) an analysis of power and decision-making within the organization (Rothman, 1974).

Organizationally, their charter does not reflect the demands and expectations of their present day mandate. Their workload far exceeds what their staff can accommodate in terms of (a) personnel development, (b) volunteer recruitment and training, (c) liaison with government and community

services, (d) program evaluation and office management. Their relationship with the UCSS towards immigration demands, places expectations on the branch office for prompt delivery of services without financial or network assistance. The MAS may complain privately but they continue to accept these demands because of a moral obligation to help other Ukrainians. This commitment keeps the various programs operational, but builds up frustration and burn-out among its partners.

2.5.2 Senior Residential Facilities

The Ukrainian community is generally pleased to have their own seniors' residential facilities. Many of the community organizations have raised funds to purchase equipment and are active in many of the community programs. However, in interviews with members of the Board of Directors, limitations do exist. These include: (a) a lack of volunteers, (b) counselling and assistance to families of aging parents, (c) recreational programs, (d) volunteer training for evening and weekend office management, (e) networking with other Ukrainian community organizations, and (f) fundraising.

The availability of volunteers in the younger age groups is a problem, especially in a community where many of the younger families have left, or are busy with raising children and full time jobs. There is no formal training program for

volunteers, where recruitment and leadership skills could be developed, especially among the youth and university organizations. Conflicts and frustrations do exist between the younger and older generations, where ideologies clash in terms of expectations for mutual respect and familial obligations toward the care of elderly parents.

2.6 Community Planning Initiatives

2.6.1 Ukrainian Canadian Conference

There have been a number of community events that have mobilized the Ukrainian community to work together on projects, that would benefit the community. One particular event was a three day conference on the Future of Ukrainian-Canadians in Quebec, which took place in Montreal in June, 1972. The main theme was the preservation and development of Ukrainian culture and language in Quebec. Representatives from the federal, provincial and municipal governments were in attendance, as well as the press and media, along with delegates from other ethnic groups and organizations.

Workshops on education, science, arts and literature, organizations and communications media were held. Twenty-seven recommendations were put forward in the areas of (a) cultural preservation, (b) liaison with other ethnic groups, (c) representation to government on cultural affairs, and (d) education. These recommendations became a basis for

community planning.

The event brought recognition of the achievements of Ukrainians living in Quebec to the forefront. It provided an opportunity for the community to witness their adaptability to change and progress and the extent of their organizational structure and the range of activities on the local, national and international levels.

2.6.2 Ukrainian Summer Street Festival

Another community event was scheduled to take place in Montreal, June, 1990. The Ukrainian Summer Street Festival or Yarmarok, meaning marketplace in Ukrainian, was to be a fundraising project for community services, such as the Ukrainian Mutual Aid Society. The actual event was downsized to a local community fundraiser for Ukrainian schools. The original site for the festival at Parc Ukraine in Rosemount, contravened local municipal by-laws and alternate locations were inadequate.

The project was a collaborative process by a committed group of members of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal and other volunteers, recruited from local Ukrainian organizations and the community at large. The purpose of the festival was fun and entertainment, that would draw Ukrainians of all ages and groups to join in a celebration of culture with other ethnic

and non-ethnic groups, as well as raising funds for Ukrainian charities. The scope of the event may have been too large for the planning committee to undertake, without experience and sufficient time to implement the street festival. The idea was successful in mobilizing Ukrainians to become involved in their community. A larger project can build on the success of smaller events.

2.6.3 Community Workshops

Community workshops are useful tools in training members to take on leadership roles and a more active standing in the community. One such workshop sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal (UCPBA) in 1991, invited a former Executive Director of the Allied Jewish Community Services-Combined Jewish Appeal to give a talk on strengthening the ethnic community by examples of community organizing strategies in (a) fundraising, (b) maintaining ethnic institutions, (c) lobbying government, (d) communication skills, and (e) creating a volunteer network. This demonstrates how ethnic groups can help each other in effective community organizing and development by sharing mutual resources.

A national Senior's Conference on Aging in May, 1992 was organized by three national congresses, (a) the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, (b) the Canadian Polish Congress, and (c) the German Canadian Congress. A series of one day mini-

conferences were held in six major Canadian cities, including Montreal, to discuss common issues of interest to seniors from the three ethnic communities. The theme for the local conference in Montreal dealt with minority language groups and rights. This collaborative venture was organized to assess the needs of immigrant seniors and their participation in the community. Financial support for the national conference was administered by the Secretary of State, and the local conferences by New Horizons, a federally-based organization for seniors.

2.6.4 Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee

In 1991-92, the organizers of the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Planning Committee in Montreal have been successfully organizing a host of activities, including concerts and art exhibitions commemorating the one hundred years of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Using the media of television, radio and publicity campaigns, events have been well attended by Ukrainians and the general public, as well as various levels of government representatives. These opportunities have been valuable in teaching Ukrainians how to express their identity and unity in modern times.

2.6.5 Canada-Ukraine Ventures

Other community projects have been realized due to the events both preceding Ukraine's independence and their present reorganization. Local community meetings with a

Canadian representative of the Council of Advisors to the Presidium of Ukraine in 1991 gave first hand knowledge of the mechanisms in place to assist Ukraine, and the types of intervention that would bring about a partnership between Canada and Ukraine. These include virtually every area of development, from manufacturing to travel.

Other joint ventures involving members of the Ukrainian community in Montreal sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation are: the Liaison Committee of Scientists and Engineers and the Canada-Ukraine Business Council. Both groups are in the process of establishing links with their counterparts in Ukraine to promote research contacts, business, trade, and investment opportunities.

2.7 Summary

The Ukrainian community in Montreal supports a variety of community services and institutions for its population, providing ample opportunity for maintaining an ethnic community life. However, organizationally, there are concerns about the inadequacy of support services for seniors and immigrants, at the local community level. Some of the management issues center on methods of: (a) promoting volunteer work and providing leadership training; (b) reaching more of the non-participating Ukrainians in the

community; (c) improving the visibility of Ukrainians in Quebec, and (d) gaining recognition and additional government support in the delivery of services.

The Ukrainian-Canadian Conference of 1972 brought the community together to develop a long term action plan, in preserving ethnic culture and social cohesion. The professional and business associations have been particularly active in developing a leadership role and promoting Ukrainian activities on a larger scale, locally, nationally and internationally. Their experience in community planning and availability of an active membership may be key to assisting local community support services in fulfilling their mandate.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Survey of Ukrainians in Community

The second phase of the research was to explore public opinion toward selected aspects of (a) ethnic identity, (b) the impact of community organizations on ethnic community life, (c) planning needs, (d) activities that promote cultural preservation and (e) future plans in Quebec.

3.2 Description of Questionnaire

The questionnaire, in Appendix 2, consisted of 20 questions, including:

3.2.1 Demographic information

Nine questions were asked concerning gender, age, marital status, highest education attained, religion, languages spoken and written, place of birth, and number of years in Quebec.

3.2.2 Ethnic Identity

One question examined self-identification of what it meant to be of Ukrainian origin, related to external aspects of ethnic identity: ancestry, parents' background, church and community organization membership, languages, and the

practice of religious and cultural traditions.

3.2.3 Community Organizations

Four questions examined the internal and external aspects of belonging to ethnic community organizations, in both attitudes and behavior patterns: (a) the benefits of membership, (b) reasons behind membership, (c) frequency of attendance and (d) reasons for non-attendance at activities sponsored by community groups.

3.2.4 Planning Needs

One question evaluated 10 areas of potential priorities for community services, using a three point rating scale, (very important, important, not important). Areas of concern were selected from earlier field work in the Ukrainian community, based on interviews with community leaders, members of the community and the directors of support services: (a) residential placement for elderly, (b) health and social services for independant elderly and people in need, (c) immigrant aid in employment, housing and emergency funding, (d) centralized charitable foundation, library and archives, (e) volunteer bureau, (f) counselling and information services for immigrants, family violence, alcoholism, mental and physical illness, and bereavement, (g) links with Ukraine through economic ties, student exchange, tourism, and immigration, (h) Ukrainian centennary celebrations, and (i) Quebec's political future in Canada.

3.2.5 Cultural Preservation

Two questions dealt with the area of cultural preservation. The first considered activities that would develop a Ukrainian identity and unity, such as (a) church attendance, (b) community organization membership, (c) having friends or associates of same culture, (d) language schools, (e) artistic events, (f) visits to Ukraine, (g) having a national anthem, and (h) the practice of cultural traditions. The second dealt with a choice of potential opportunities, that would contribute to cultural values and feelings of obligation to the community. Examples presented were: (a) visiting Ukraine, (b) living in Ukraine, (c) sponsoring individuals and families emigrating to Canada, and (d) volunteering time or expertise in community activities.

3.2.6 Future Plans in Quebec

Three questions addressed the area of future plans in Quebec, examining future trends for this community. The first examined intention to remain, in terms of time references. The second dealt with reasons in choosing to leave Quebec, with the focus on: (a) the uncertainty of Quebec's political future, (b) the recession, (c) to be with family outside the province, (d) retirement, and (e) climate. The third dealt with the reasons in deciding to remain in Quebec, with the focus on: (a) current employment, (b) care of relatives, (c) family and community ties, (d) Quebec is home, and (e) having no other choice.

3.3 Description of Sample

Three hundred questionnaires were distributed in February 1991. The sample was a selection of self-identified Ukrainians, residing in the Montreal region. All age groups were considered for representation, from those attending high school or college to retirement age. In order to assist in the distribution of questionnaires, a list of groups and organizations in the community was compiled, that would reach a cross-section of age groups and diversified interests. Representatives of these groups were contacted. They were known to be active in community organizing and had accessibility to a number of these groups.

Three goals were sought:

1. The use of representatives, who were known in the Ukrainian community, would encourage a higher percentage of returned questionnaires.

2. The use of questionnaire surveys would create interest in the community, toward discussion of community needs and further research.

3. Reliability of the sample being of Ukrainian origin would be ensured, if the personal distribution of questionnaires was directed towards those, who were known to be of Ukrainian origin.

Representatives of the following Ukrainian organizations and business groups, that had contact with Ukrainians, were:

1. McGill University Ukrainian Students Association - president.
2. Concordia University Ukrainian Students Association - president.
3. Ukrainian Youth Association - president.
4. Ukrainian Canadian University Students Union - vice-president.
5. Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Club - president, vice president and members.
6. A travel agency - owner and staff.*
7. A firm of Chartered Accountants - partners and staff.*
8. A dentist.*
9. Radio program Ukrainian Time - broadcaster.

* Denotes businesses owned by Ukrainians and known to have a number of Ukrainian clients.

The representatives are believed to have approached Ukrainian church organizations, as well as women's groups and seniors.

3.4 Administration of Questionnaire

Each representative was approached, individually, by phone or in person to participate in the research and

volunteer his/her time. Instructions were given that questionnaires were to be given to self-identified Ukrainians, both male and female, from those of high school age to seniors, and who could understand English well enough to answer the questions.

A covering letter and a stamped, self-addressed envelope was enclosed with each questionnaire. The letter explained the purpose of the research, and that the questionnaires were anonymous. A telephone number was included for further information, if needed. Each representative was given as many questionnaires as they were able to distribute. Follow-up with the representatives on the distribution of questionnaires was maintained throughout the months of February and March, 1991.

As the distribution of questionnaires was proceeding, representatives of the Ukrainian radio and television programming network requested interviews concerning the study. A taping of the televised interview, in Ukrainian and English, took place on March 12, 1991 on the program, Tele Ukraina, on the ethnic television cable network.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data were analyzed , using the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (Norusis, 1990). The following statistical

procedures were used:

1. Frequency distribution of responses to all variables.
2. Crosstabulations of future plans to leave Quebec by gender, age, marital status, education, and religion. Chi-square tests of significance were performed.
3. Factor analysis of responses to question 15, (areas of concern), to determine possible themes, or groupings of concerns. Factor scores were calculated as simple averages of the importance ratings for items included on each factor, recoded to a scale from 1 (not important) to 3 (very important).
4. T-tests to measure the significance of gender differences for each of the factors.
5. Oneway analysis of variance of each factor score by marital status, religion, and future plans to leave Quebec. The Duncan multiple range test was used.
6. Coorelation coefficients of age, education, and activities attended with factor scores.

3.6 Interviews with Key Informants

The third phase occurred in 1992. Two events took place in 1991, that could have a potential impact on the Ukrainian community, in terms of existing planning activities and resources: Ukraine's independance and Quebec's decision to hold a referendum on sovereignty-association in the year

ahead. Further interviews with key informants took place to look at the limitations and strengths of the organizational structure of the Ukrainian community and direction that the community should take for its future.

3.6.1 Interview Questions

The three questions were:

1. In your opinion, what are the strengths and weaknesses of the present organizational structure of the Ukrainian community in Montreal?
2. In your opinion, what should be the community's planning objectives?
3. From what you have mentioned, what do you believe are the implications for the future of the Ukrainian community in Montreal?

3.6.2 Description of Sample

Ten Ukrainians, who were known in the community as community leaders, by their positions held in the organized community and/or by their knowledge and contribution to community life were telephoned or spoken to personally, to explain the purpose of the research. Participation in the interviews was voluntary. All ten people accepted to be interviewed. The participants and their areas of expertise in Ukrainian community life included:

1. A representative of the clergy.

2. Executives of University Students Association.
3. Members of National-Political community organizations.
4. Academics of Ukrainian history.
5. Director of Ukrainian Professional Association.
6. Managers of Ukrainian businesses.
7. Executives of women's community organizations.
8. Directors of community support services.

3.6.3 Interviews

There were six women and four men, ranging in age from 30 to 65. Separate interviews took place by phone or in person, between February and July, 1992. In general, the interviews lasted about one hour, depending on the availability of the participants. Information was recorded by researcher's note-taking.

3.7 Data Analysis

Categories were established from the answers of each respondent to the questions. Common themes emerged for each question.

3.7.1 Organizational Structure

Four main areas were identified in the first question: (a) youth in the community, (b) internal conflicts among Ukrainians, (c) weaknesses of organizations, and (d) strengths in the community.

3.7.2 Planning Objectives

Three main areas were identified in the second question: (a) socialization opportunities, (b) education, and (c) organizational change.

3.7.3 Future Implications

Three main areas were identified in the third question: (a) assimilation into Canadian culture, (b) future immigration, and (c) rediscovering ethnic identity.

To preserve the confidentiality of those interviewed, individual comments and quotes were not attributed to key informants.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Sample Demographics

One hundred and forty-five mail-in questionnaires were returned during a three-month period. Table 4 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the sample. Most respondents were well-educated, with a majority having attained post-secondary education. Many had lived all their lives in Quebec. A significant majority were trilingual, for example, English, French and Ukrainian.

4.2 Ethnic Identity

Table 5 shows responses to the statement on self-definitions of ethnicity for Ukrainians. The majority felt that (a) ancestry, (b) parents' background, (c) church and community organization membership, (d) language and (e) observance of religious and cultural traditions were significant. Categories were developed from responses volunteered in the Other category. They were grouped under feelings of nationalism, with the importance of one's roots and culture being taught at home and at school.

Table 4.--Demographic Characteristics (N=145)

Variable	N	%	Variable	N	%
<u>Gender</u>			<u>Lang. spoken*</u>		
male	62	42.8	English	140	97.5
female	83	57.2	French	121	83.6
			Ukrainian	135	84.4
<u>Age</u>			Polish	18	12.6
16-20	20	13.8	Russian	15	10.5
21-39	29	20.0	other Europe	19	13.2
40-49	35	24.1			
50-59	19	13.1	<u>Lang. written</u>		
60-69	17	11.7	English	137	94.8
70+	3	2.1	French	99	68.3
			Ukrainian	115	79.5
<u>Marital status</u>			Polish	12	8.4
single	64	44.1	Russian	12	8.4
married	71	49.0	other Europe	15	10.0
sep/div	8	5.5			
widowed	1	0.7	<u>Birthplace</u>		
no response	1	0.7	Canada	103	71.0
			USA	3	2.1
<u>Education</u>			Ukraine	17	11.7
primary	3	2.1	other Europe	21	14.5
secondary	39	26.9	no response	1	0.7
CEGEP	23	15.9			
university	53	36.6	<u>Years in Quebec</u>		
postgraduate	27	36.6	all	92	63.4
			0-5	7	4.8
<u>Religion</u>			6-19	7	4.8
Catholic	90	62.1	20-39	20	13.8
Orthodox	50	34.5	40+	18	12.4
agnostic	4	2.8	no response	1	0.7
no response	1	0.7			

* Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple answers.

Comments included:

It is important to keep Canadians aware of the Ukrainian fact until Ukrainians have an independant country.

Table 5.--Self-Definitions of Ethnicity for Ukrainians.
(N=145)

Ethnicity	N	%
1. My ancestors come from Ukraine.	115	79.3
2. One or both of my parents are Ukrainian.	125	86.2
3. I belong to a Ukrainian church.	106	73.1
4. I speak and/or write Ukrainian.	108	74.5
5. I belong to one or more Ukrainian community organizations.	96	66.2
6. I observe the religious and cultural traditions during the holidays.	113	77.9
7. I have feelings of nationalism as a Ukrainian.*	18	12.4

Note: Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple answers.

* Summarizes a variety of individual responses to the Other category in the questionnaire.

4.3 Community Organizations

Table 6 shows responses to four statements about membership and attendance in Ukrainian community organizations. The first item dealt with what community organizations can offer the individual. The first five possible responses indicate benefits, and the last two, dissatisfaction with community organizations.

Comments from the open-ended response were negative, for the most part:

They are poorly organized, with few committed, well-informed members and unmotivated leaders.

They offer very little solidarity with other Ukrainians.

Community organizations should be limited.

Table 6.--Membership in Ukrainian Community Organizations
(N=145)

	N	%
Benefits from community organizations		
1. Identification with cultural heritage.	120	82.8
2. Socialization.	103	71.0
3. Learning opportunities.	82	56.6
4. Knowledge of events in local, national, and international community.	99	68.3
5. Solidarity with other Ukrainians.	95	65.5
6. They offer very little.	10	6.9
7. They are poorly organized.*	11	7.6
Reasons for membership		
1. Publicity.	10	6.9
2. Information from family, friends, colleagues.	100	69.0
3. Common interests.	68	46.9
4. Home & parents.*	15	10.3
5. Referral & recruitment.*	7	4.8
6. Non-members.*	6	4.1
Attendance of activities in last year		
1. Never.	12	8.3
2. Once.	12	8.3
3. 2-5 times.	35	24.1
4. 6 plus.	86	59.3
Reasons for non-attendance		
1. Lack of interest.	15	10.3
2. Insufficient publicity.	11	7.6
3. Timing of activities.	19	13.1
4. Other priorities.*	7	4.8
5. No response.	107	73.8

Note: Percentages are all calculated on a base of 145.
Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple answers.

* Summarizes a variety of individual responses to the Other category in the questionnaire.

The second item dealt with how membership originates in community organizations. Information from family, friends and colleagues was primary, followed by common interests.

Responses in the Other category identified reasons of home environment, parental guidance and recruitment.

Comments recorded were:

Ukrainians are born into organizations.

My parents made us experience being Ukrainian in the home and community, when we were young. Now that we are adults, we choose it for ourselves.

Parents were always involved and never lost their idealism and commitment, at the same time, knowing the difficulties in their community.

The third item dealt with the frequency of attendance at activities sponsored by community organizations in the last year. A significant majority had attended at least six activities and more.

The fourth item dealt with the reasons for not attending activities. Reasons for non-attendance indicated timing of activities and lack of interest. Responses in the Other category identified other priorities.

Comments included:

Usually, too political.

Commuting distance, I live off the island of Montreal.

4.4 Planning Needs

Table 7 shows responses to the question dealing with planning needs. Ten areas of concerns were subdivided into

Table 7.--Degree of Importance for Planning Needs (N=145)

Areas of concern	very imp.		imp.		not imp.		no resp.
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1. Residential placement	103	71.0	36	24.8	3	2.1	3
2. Health & social serv.							
a) ind. elderly	104	71.7	37	25.5	4	2.8	4
b) people in need	85	58.6	48	33.1	4	2.8	8
3. Immigrant aid	66	45.5	69	47.6	5	3.4	5
4. Charitable foundation	59	40.7	66	45.5	15	10.3	5
5. Library & archives	45	31.0	74	51.0	22	15.2	4
6. Volunteer bureau for community services	48	33.1	78	53.8	15	10.3	4
7. Counselling & inf.							
a) immigrants	78	53.8	58	40.0	4	2.8	5
b) family violence	55	37.9	49	33.8	34	23.4	7
c) alcoholism	58	40.0	47	32.4	33	22.8	7
d) mental & physical illness	61	42.1	48	33.1	27	18.6	9
e) bereavement	47	32.4	51	35.2	33	22.8	14
8. Links with Ukraine							
a) economic ties	51	35.2	62	42.8	24	16.6	8
b) student exchange	65	44.8	60	41.4	16	11.0	4
c) tourism	54	37.2	63	43.4	24	16.6	4
d) immigration	61	42.1	67	46.2	11	7.6	6
9. Centenary celebrations	58	40.0	71	49.0	14	9.7	2
10. Quebec's political future	75	51.7	55	37.9	13	9.0	2

Note: Percentages are all calculated on a base of 145.

18 individual items. A three-point rating scale (very important, important, not important) was used for each item.

The question was: "Could you identify the degree of importance of the following areas for the Ukrainian

community?" Some of the most important concerns noted: (a) health and social services for elderly persons living independantly, and people in need, (b) residential placement for elderly persons, (c) counselling and information services for immigrants, and (d) Quebec's political future in Canada for the community.

There were a number of missing responses for each item. Some respondents noted that services for some areas were already available in government departments and did not see a need for them in the Ukrainian community. Some did not understand what was meant by specific items such as bereavement and people in need.

Factor analysis of responses to these items yielded four factors. Table 8 shows the rotated factor matrix. The factors were:

1. Community Structures/Nationalism.

Items loaded on this factor were (a) immigrant aid in employment, housing and emergency funding, (b) centralized charitable foundation, (c) volunteer bureau for community services, (d) counselling and information services for immigrants, and (e) promoting links with Ukraine via economic ties, student exchange, tourism, immigration.

Table 8.--Rotated Factor Matrix (N=145)

Areas of concern:	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
1. Residential placement	.18	.08	.78*	-.04
2. Health & social serv.				
a) ind. elderly	-.06	.27	.77*	.05
b) people in need	.20	.33	.61*	.15
3. Immigrant aid	.59*	.04	.50	.02
4. Charitable foundation	.47*	-.01	.40	.39
5. Library & archives	.41	-.07	.40	.47*
6. Volunteer bureau	.57*	.10	.33	.43
7. Counselling & inf.				
a) immigrants	.67*	.16	.24	.09
b) family violence	.14	.92*	.08	.05
c) alcoholism	.11	.92*	.08	.09
d) mental & physical illness	.29	.83*	.22	.06
e) bereavement	.21	.79*	.28	.18
8. Links with Ukraine				
a) economic ties with Ukraine	.73*	.14	.03	.12
b) student exchange	.78*	.12	.10	.07
c) tourism	.67*	.30	-.02	.20
d) immigration	.75*	.15	.06	.05
9. Centenary celebrations	.30	.09	.10	.68*
10. Quebec's political future	-.04	.19	-.09	.78*

Note: Factor analysis performed by SPSS program, FACTOR, using default options and VARIMAX rotation. Sixty-five percent of the total variance was explained by these four factors.

* Items most significantly loaded for each factor.

2. Social Policy.

Items loaded on this factor were counselling and information services for family violence, alcoholism, mental and physical illness, and bereavement.

3. Health and Social Services.

Items loaded on this factor were residential placement for elderly persons and health and social services for elderly persons living independantly and people in need.

4. Community Activities/ Political Action.

Items loaded on this factor were (a) community lending library and archives, (b) Ukrainian centennary celebrations in Montreal, and (c) Quebec's political future in Canada for the community.

Factor scores were calculated as a simple average of the items included on each factor. Mean scores for each factor, on a scale from 1 (not important) to 3 (very important) were:

Factor 1.	Community structures/nationalism:	2.34.
Factor 2.	Social policy:	2.17.
Factor 3.	Health and social services:	2.68.
Factor 4.	Community activities/political action:	2.30.

Health and social services received the highest score, followed by community structures/nationalism and community

activities/political action. The lowest rating was for the social policy factor.

Table 9 shows a comparison of mean scores on the four factors for male and female respondents. Mean factor scores for health and social services and for social policy were higher for women than for men, and this difference was very significant. The only factor where scores were higher for men than for women, was for community activities/political action; this difference was not statistically significant.

In a series of twelve oneway analyses of variance--each of the four factor scores by three demographic variables: marital status, religion, and future plans--very few significant effects were found. In only one case, Factor 1 by religion, were the results of the overall analysis of variance close to statistical significance, $F(2,139) = 3.05$, $p = .0504$.

However, using the Duncan procedure, the following pairs of means were significantly different at the 0.05 level.

1. The mean score for Factor 1 (community structures/nationalism) was higher for married respondents ($M = 2.40$) than for singles ($M = 2.24$).

2. The mean score for Factor 1 was also higher for Catholics ($M = 2.38$) than for agnostics ($M = 1.79$).

Table 9.--Mean Values of Factors by Gender (N=145)

Factor	Gender	N	Mean	t	p (2-tailed)
Community Structures /Nationalism	Men	61	2.25	1.86*	.065
	Women	82	2.40		
Social Policy	Men	60	1.93	3.38	.001
	Women	78	2.33		
Health & Social Services	Men	61	2.54	3.58	.000
	Women	81	2.77		
Community Activities /Political Action	Men	61	2.35	1.10	.273
	Women	83	2.26		

* T calculated using separate variance estimate; variance of male sample was significantly higher than variance for female sample.

3. The mean score for Factor 3 (health and social services) was higher for those planning to remain in Quebec ($M = 2.75$) than for those planning to leave in the next year ($M = 2.44$).

4. The mean score for Factor 4 (community activities/political action) was higher for those planning to remain in Quebec ($M = 2.36$) and planning to stay a few years ($M = 2.30$)

than for those planning to leave in the next year ($M = 1.96$).

(Use of the Duncan procedure in this way, where the overall F value is not significant, is questionable. These results should be interpreted with caution).

4.5 Cultural Preservation

Table 10 shows the importance, that respondents attach to various ways of promoting Ukrainian identity and unity. The first item dealt with ways of promoting Ukrainian identity and unity. Most significant were (a) the practice of cultural traditions, (b) having friends of the same cultural background, and (c) belonging to a Ukrainian community organization. Responses in the Other category were grouped under intercultural activities and unity within the community.

Comments included:

Promotion via radio and television, news to non-Ukrainians about Ukrainians and their identity and traditions.

Enabling cultural and religious celebrations to be held bilingually, (i.e., for mixed marriages and for those who do not understand Ukrainian), and according to the new calendar for those who desire.

Need a Youth Club that is non-partisan, regardless of religion, political beliefs, based more on the Canadian constitution, democratic in nature, Canadian in design, along the lines of the YMCA, where our youth could meet and share their ideas, socialize through sports, discussion and parties.

The second item dealt with potential opportunities in promoting culture and unity. Response was significantly higher for visiting Ukraine, followed by volunteering time or expertise in community activities. Least desirable was living in Ukraine.

Table 10.--Factors in Cultural Preservation (N=145)

	N	%
Ways of promoting Ukrainian identity & unity		
1. Regular attendance at church.	97	66.9
2. Belonging to a Ukrainian community organization.	118	81.4
3. Having friends or associates of same cultural heritage.	121	83.4
4. Attendance at Ukrainian language schools.	104	71.7
5. Supporting the Ukrainian arts & artists.	101	69.7
6. Visits to Ukraine.	89	61.4
7. Having a national anthem.	73	50.3
8. Practicing cultural traditions.	130	89.7
9. Advocating intercultural activities.*	12	8.2
10. Unity within the community.*	11	7.5
Opportunities presented		
I would like to:		
1. Visit Ukraine.	121	83.4
2. Live in Ukraine.	16	11.0
3. Sponsor individuals & families emigrating to Canada.	33	22.8
4. Volunteer time or expertise in community activities.	89	61.4

Note: Percentages are all calculated on a base of 145. Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple answers.

* Summarizes a variety of individual responses to the Other category in the questionnaire.

Comments included:

Visits to Ukraine are of great importance. However, as much as the political climate allows such visits, they should be private, i.e., visits to family or by invitation or organized through local organizations via connections with organizations in Ukraine. Meeting with the active individuals in Ukraine helps visitors to better understand what Ukrainians live through.

4.6 Future in Quebec

Table 11 shows responses to statements about the respondents' future in Quebec. The first item dealt with actual plans to remain in Quebec. The majority said they were planning to remain in Quebec, at least for a few years. Only a small group were planning to leave.

The second dealt with the reasons for leaving Quebec. Most significant was the response to an uncertain political situation. Other reasons were categorized from the Other category to include employment and educational opportunities outside Quebec and feelings of discrimination and isolation in not being able to communicate in French.

Comments noted:

Lack of friendship in society. Stratification in society is based on cultural background and language.

I would like to live where the everyday topic is not hate (for the Anglos). This has gotten to my psyche and I feel uncomfortable much of the time in Quebec. I don't feel welcome here by most francophones--there's the underlying current.

Table 11.--Future Plans for Quebec (N=145)

	N	%
Future plans		
1. I'm not planning to leave.	52	35.9
2. Yes, I'm staying, at least for next few years.	57	39.3
3. No, I'm leaving in the next year.	9	6.2
4. I'm not sure.	27	18.6
Reasons for leaving		
1. The political future of Quebec is uncertain.	71	49.0
2. The economy is suffering from a recession.	20	13.8
3. I want to move closer to my family, living outside the province.	15	10.3
4. My retirement plans include a move out of the province.	8	5.5
5. I would like to live in a more stable temperature and climate.	36	24.8
6. There are other employment & educational opportunities.*	10	14.5
7. I am feeling isolated & discriminated by Quebec.*	10	14.5
Reasons for staying		
1. I have a job.	62	42.8
2. I have the responsibility for the care of elderly relatives.	23	15.9
3. There are family & community ties that are important to me here.	99	68.3
4. Quebec is my home.	60	41.4
5. I have no other choice.	18	12.4
6. I have educational commitments.*	6	4.1
7. I am frustrated.*	12	8.2

Note: Percentages are all calculated on a base of 145.
Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple answers.

* Summarizes a variety of individual responses to the Other category in the questionnaire.

The third dealt with reasons for remaining in Quebec. Family and community ties were significant, followed by having a job. Responses in the Other category were grouped

under educational commitments and feeling frustrated, living in Quebec.

Comments included:

I am third generation Canadian, have little in common with most Ukrainians here in Quebec. They and I don't seem to be on the same wave length. Most of them do not understand me, nor accept me and I cannot sell my Canadian soul because I have lived here (Canada) and I am first and foremost a Canadian. However, I feel strongly about my ancestry and partake of many Ukrainian affairs and traditions. I have stopped running away from whom I am.

Table 12 shows a crosstabulation of intention to stay in Quebec by age groups. Results show that groups over the age of 40 think that they are more likely to stay in Quebec and have not made plans to leave in the next year. Age groups under 40 were more uncertain about their final plans. Overall, 18% of the respondents were uncertain about their plans.

Table 13 shows the correlation of the four factor scores with age, education and attendance at activities, sponsored by Ukrainian community organizations. Results show that:

1. All factor scores were positively correlated with age group; scores were higher for older respondents. None of these correlations was statistically significant.

2. All factor scores were negatively correlated with educational level, only for Factor 2 (social policy) was the correlation statistically significant. Ukrainian community

Table 12.--Future Plans by Age Groups (N=145)

Age	Remain		Stay a few years		Leave in next year		Not sure	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
under 20	4	20.0	11	55.0	1	5.0	4	20.0
21-29	6	20.7	9	31.0	6	20.7	8	27.6
30-39	6	27.3	8	36.4	2	9.1	6	27.3
40-49	18	51.4	12	34.3	...	...	5	14.3
50-59	10	52.6	7	36.8	...	...	2	10.5
60-69	6	35.3	9	52.9	...	...	2	11.8
70 plus	2	66.7	1	33.3	...	...	...	...
Total	52		57		9		27	

Note: Percentages are all calculated on a base of 145.
Percentages are of row totals.

Table 13.--Correlation Coefficients: Factor Scores with Age, Education and Activities Attended (N=145)

Factor	Age	Education	Attendance
1. Community Structures/ Nationalism	.16	-.14	.34 **
2. Social Policy	.11	-.21 *	-.05
3. Health & Social Services	.13	-.07	.18 *
4. Community Activities/ Political Action	.11	-.07	.17 *

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

services and structures decrease in importance as the educational level increases.

3. Factors 1, 3 and 4 were positively correlated with attending community activities. All their correlations were statistically significant--highly significant for Factor 1.

4.7 Additional Comments

Although the questionnaires were anonymous, several respondents wrote their names, telephone numbers, and even included donations of stamps in the returned questionnaires. The level of interest was significant, shown by the number of comments written on the actual questionnaire, and phone calls with requests for a synopsis of the survey and advice for future research.

Comments included:

1. Correction to the use of the term, "the Ukraine", in the wording of the questions. Ukraine is the only acceptable term, according to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), because the usage of "the" indicates a colonial or regional entity.

2. Suggestion to the question relating to marital status, information on the ethnic identity of spouse, would make a difference in the commitment to the community.

4.8 Interviews with Key Informants

In phase three, the following themes were gathered from interviews with key informants and grouped into categories:

4.8.1. Organizational Structure

Youth in the Community.

The youth are leaving for employment outside the province because of lack of employment opportunities in Quebec, and inability to speak French. Their participation in community organizations is limited, because of differences of opinion in organizing ideology between the younger and older generations. The youth become disenchanted, while the older members retain control of their organizations.

Internal Conflicts among Ukrainians.

Conflicts erupt within generations and from one generation to the other. Accusations of exploitation between immigrants and settled residents lead to divisions. Ukrainians compare themselves to others, based on a scale of success and achievement. Those who become successful and leave are criticized for having abandoned the community. There is difficulty in being accepted as a member if one is not of Ukrainian descent or a newcomer to the community.

Reasons for conflict are a lack of trust and confidence

as a community. In spite of this, oppression has kept Ukrainians together. One participant commented, "Everywhere, Ukrainians fight and criticize each other. It's normal. But between Ukrainians, in the end, we always co-operate."

Shortcomings of Organizations.

Organizational methods are outdated, hierarchial, with no communal goal setting. This may well be a deterrent for the younger generation in joining and feeling welcome. Boards of Directors have an unbalanced representation of members, among certain age groups and gender. Much of the historical documentation is in the Ukrainian language, making it difficult for those who may not speak the language well enough to participate.

Membership in organizations is usually separate for men and women, whereby both run parallel structures that could be combined and become more efficient in the sharing of expertise. Women in their thirties and forties are not present in some of the organizations. Their absence will affect the continuity of existing organizations. One participant described the future of community organizations as, "Trees without leaves cannot give nurturance to the roots".

There is an old saying among Ukrainians in regards to their multiple memberships in organizations, " Two Ukrainians

make five organizations". Organizations can be possessive with their membership and ideology, making it difficult to belong to other competitive groups. Volunteers are also inundated with the demands of service delivery, they cannot be easily replaced. Their work for the community needs to be appreciated.

There is a lack of organizational structure to help newly arrived immigrants with socialization and new contacts. There are different expectations from each new group, that the community cannot easily fulfill.

Strengths in the Community.

Culture is the backbone of Ukrainians. Community causes and language become unifying factors for a community that has values, scripts for traditions and occasions for celebrations. The community structures that are in place are helpful, family-oriented and deliver the services.

4.8.2. Planning Objectives

Socialization Opportunities.

Social events are a time to meet new people, exchange ideas and experience the similarities between people, and not the differences that breed hate and conflictual relationships. Religion is one example that divides people.

Education.

Education can help to liberate hatred and examples of bigotry and discrimination. The media could be used more extensively in reaching the community, particularly if French and English are the language of choice and of the majority.

Ukrainians are not present in Canadian history and research. More is needed in the recognition of new world accomplishments, and not a collection of their sufferings and discrimination from the pioneer era.

Organizational Change.

Leaders with progressive ideas and training in organizational techniques are needed to motivate an apathetic community and provide the youth, the support they need to carry on community affairs.

One participant commented, "Ukrainians should not sit in their ethnicity, they should move outward and make their mark on the Canadian scene, along with other groups".

4.8.3. Future Implications

Assimilation into Canadian Culture.

Culture is lost as Ukrainians become more Canadian, but that is the price to pay for integration. A participant commented, "One cannot live in a Ukrainian cocoon". There is

concern that there may not be another community in the next generation, as the youth are not interested in continuing the traditions. The active members have been too busy being the sandwich generation, taking care of their aging relatives, suddenly realizing that their children have left Montreal.

Future Immigration.

New immigration is necessary for the continuity of the community, but government policies can be restrictive in this direction. Sources from the Ukrainian business sector, that are responsible in issuing invitations to Ukrainians abroad, state that the Canadian Embassy in Kiev are limiting visas to people over 60 years of age. There have been adaptation problems and differences with each successive wave of immigrants into the community. The newly arrived immigrants are not always choosing to join existing organizations. They are forming their own groups, that meet their particular needs.

Rediscovering Ethnic Identity.

Ukraine has opened its borders to visitors. That contact may help to revitalize the Ukrainian sense of community. As more professional and trade ventures take place between the two countries, partnerships evolve and ethnic roots are strengthened. One participant commented, "There's lots of optimism. We may feel defeated, but let's not get discouraged."

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

5.1.1 Questionnaire

Results of the questionnaire survey indicate the majority were well-educated, functionally trilingual, and were born in Quebec or had been residents for many years.

Community organizations were seen to provide an important identification with cultural heritage through socialization opportunities by attendance at community functions, that could channel information and events from the local, national and international forum. Reasons behind membership focused on common interests and support from friends, family and colleagues.

Four factors were derived from a cross section of potential community concerns. They were: (a) community structures/nationalism, (b) social policy, (c) health and social services, and (d) community activities /political action. Activities rated as most important were services for elderly and people in need, as well as counselling and information services for immigrants and concern about Quebec's political future.

Cultural preservation was noted in the practice of traditions and having friends of the same culture. Opportunities for knowledge of culture and the ethnic community were significant for visits to Ukraine and volunteer work in the community. Membership and participation in community life seem to provide a sense of belongingness and continuity for the group's culture.

Respondants over the age of 40 were more likely to remain in Quebec, while those under 40, were more uncertain. Family and community ties were a significant factor in choosing to remain. Quebec's political future was a factor in leaving the province.

5.1.2 Interviews

The limitations of the Ukrainian organizational structures were: (a) in developing programs for youth, (b) the existence of divisions, caused by internal conflicts in the community, and (c) outdated organizational methods and programs. Community strengths were based on a distinct culture and history that potentially unite people.

The community planning objectives should concentrate on: (a) socialization opportunities, (b) education, and (c) organizational change.

Future implications for the Ukrainian community in

Montreal: (a) assimilation into Canadian culture, (b) future immigration and adaptation concerns, and (c) ethnic identity renewal.

5.2 Implications for Policy

5.2.1 Planning Priorities

Women assigned greater importance to social policy and health and social services. For the most part, the woman's role in the Ukrainian family and community has focused on traditional female concerns, such as maintaining cultural practices and the care of children (Subtelny, 1991, p. 163). Their expertise is called upon for the type of direct services required in the community. It would be an advantage to the community, if their role in policy formation and decision-making, be reflected through representation on Boards of Directors, especially in some of the male-dominated organizations.

The married group indicated that, of the four factors, community structures/nationalism was more important. There may be more expectations placed on this group to participate in the community because it is seen as a family based structure that will invest time and interest in areas affecting the family unit. They become an available resource for potential new members through socialization, and help to maintain ethnic identity through their solidarity function

and as a socio-economic and political unit (Ishwaran, 1980). The singles group could be approached by the community in ways that encourage their participation and expertise, for example social functions and community fundraisers.

For those planning to remain in Quebec, the areas of health and social services and community activities/political action were important. These services require the availability and dedication of volunteers. Those who have integrated into the Ukrainian community and Quebec society, may be more prepared to invest time and energy in their long term future in Quebec. A community awareness campaign and regular publicity may attract new members for a variety of activities, including volunteer work.

Higher education was a factor in the diminishing importance of social policy, which included counselling and information services for family violence, alcoholism, mental and physical illness, and bereavement. Possible reasons may be that these respondents were more aware of other non-ethnic resources, available in the community, and/or may see less need developing these services in the ethnic community. Isajiw (1991) suggests that those who become more educated, become ethnically mobile, and are in a later stage of structural assimilation. They may not be interested in preserving some of the ethnic community services, if this diminishes their chances to be socially more mobile. For

some, ethnic identity and culture may be seen as obstacles to social mobility (Porter, 1965). However, there are variations of ethnic identity, that may be more functional for entering mainstream society and yet have some sense of traditional practice or group commitment. Those who are rediscovering their roots, might be looking for an opportunity to find a place in the community, for example in business, that essentially improves the community's standing economically and socially.

5.2.2 Cultural Preservation

Preserving a culture needs to look at the catalysts for its promotion and opportunities for growth. Suggestions of: (a) intercultural activities, such as bilingual, cultural and religious celebrations, (b) the unification of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox religions, (c) lobbying Ukrainian Canadian politicians on multicultural policy and (d) creating non-partisan youth clubs, can be incorporated into a viable relationship either with groups of the same ethnic origin or other multicultural groups. These occasions also provide the community a broader scope and understanding of the context of culture and its diversity.

Opportunities for growth have an international, national and local component. Visiting Ukraine can stimulate a sense of belonging to an ethnic origin, encourage links with the people that have maintained their cultural roots in

the face of adversity in its history, and provide a first hand look at the changes presently being undertaken in the Commonwealth of Independent States towards the restructuring of the independant republics. Locally, volunteering time and expertise in the community organizations provide a sense of fellowship and future continuity.

There was less interest noted in living in Ukraine at that time (i.e., February, 1991) and in sponsoring individuals and families to immigrate to Canada. Possible reasons may be a sense of urgency in establishing a long term action plan that provides for its present members first, and then looks at future sponsorship. Inter-group conflicts do exist with each wave of immigrants, particularly in the competition for scarce resources, such as employment and housing. Stereotypical views that have been held for generations between Ukrainians abroad and North America, based on lack of information and communication, give rise to expectations that these views can be easily reversed (Subtelny, 1991, p. 260). In time, both sides may come to see each other as having much in common.

5.2.3 Future in Quebec

A significant number of people in their forties, fifties and seventies intend to remain in Quebec, while those in their twenties and sixties plan to wait a few years before making final plans. Those who have chosen to remain,

emphasized family and community ties, having employment and a general feeling that Quebec is home. They could be considered the potential seniors group who may require future care and services within the community at large. There seems to be an indication that younger people will leave due to lack of employment or political unrest. The focus on youth may well be a priority for the community. Their departure would have an impact on services for the community, as in the care of aging parents and cultural preservation.

Myhul and Isaacs (1980) predicted that a lack of the French language may contribute to smaller numbers remaining in Quebec. This study showed that a significant number of respondents were trilingual, French, English, and Ukrainian. It is expected that this group is integrated into Quebec society and prepared to remain. Knowledge of French, as a working language, would help to integrate and adapt into Quebec society. Language training courses are essential.

5.2.4 Organizational Structure

The community is weakened by internal conflicts, experienced in: (a) generational issues, (b) religious divisions in church groups and other organizations, and (c) immigrant arrivals. The community needs effective leadership that would mobilize the community, socially and politically.

5.3 Limitations of Study

The questionnaire survey revealed important information on Ukrainian community life and planning objectives. Its limitations were in the sampling distribution. The 145 returned questionnaires formed a small sample and certain age groups (e.g., 16 to 20 and over 70) were under represented. A significant majority were well-educated, and may not reflect the views of the general population. The return rate was low considering that the sample was self-selected and distributed by community representatives. However, the findings do give some indication for future planning.

Although some studies have suggested that the use of ethnic media for information has declined (Reitz, 1985), radio and television appearances could have been used more extensively in the beginning of the distribution. People could have identified with more of the reasons behind the research and encouraged more discussion surrounding community needs. Personal appearances at community functions or targetting certain organizations for distribution may have helped.

The three point rating scale used for determining planning needs was limited in its range of possible answers. Its format was kept simple to ensure a higher response rate. The scale could be expanded for future research to

incorporate other choices.

In studying ethnic group identity, other studies mentioned a decline in some of the traditional factors of ethnic identity (Driedger, 1980 & Isajiw, 1983), suggesting that there was a marked difference in retention of ethnic identity from one generation to the next. This survey showed a high level of maintaining ethnic identity practices and traditions, but did not test for the generational impact. This would be important for future research, comparing indicators of identity among different generations.

5.4 Issues in Community Planning

Planning in the Ukrainian community has largely concentrated on cultural preservation and ethnic identity. Their ethnic community structures have not been as well organized on economic interdependence, except in the establishment of low risk ventures such as credit unions (Isajiw, 1980). Progress has been made in the area of professional and business development, through the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association (UCPBA), which has links nationally and provincially with other ethnic and non-ethnic professional and business associations. The local Montreal Association has been active in promoting the growth of the Ukrainian community by conducting projects, such as community development workshops

and fundraising, that attract Canadians of Ukrainian descent from a variety of professional backgrounds.

Internationally, projects have been initiated by various Ukrainian organizations that provide technical assistance to Ukraine in the form of professional exchange and training, advisory consultants in management, science, medicine, education, agriculture, and the formation of a Canada-Ukraine Business Council (Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation, 1992).

Nationally and locally, planning for the centennial year of Ukrainian immigration has increased the visibility and achievements of this group and facilitated the collaboration among its many member organizations to consolidate their efforts in the celebration of this event, via social and cultural events, documentaries and books on Ukrainian history and invitations to the larger ethnocultural community and government.

In the support and mutual aid services, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Mutual Aid Society of Montreal, immigrant sponsorship programs have enlisted the participation of local Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian businesses, that act as potential employers and consultants. Further developments are needed in establishing a resource bank of community expertise, including social services, and

an employment network for students and entrepreneurs. Joint discussions have also taken place with other cultural groups in discussing the needs and services available to elderly persons in terms of residential placement and community interventions (Senior's Conference on Aging, May 1992).

Enlisting support for groups varies according to the individual's economic and social status, education, generation and circumstances of migration (Norris, 1971). There may be little interest in joining organizations for youth, who may see it as being a foreign image or for those who have their main occupation outside the ethnic framework. Participation in voluntary associations require membership drives, community workshops and leadership training (Stenzel & Feeny, 1968). The benefits would be directed toward increasing the competency and satisfaction of volunteers in understanding the aims and objectives of the organization and recruiting others to join. Other benefits include: (a) developing a more positive self-image, (b) decreasing feelings of powerlessness, and (c) increasing tolerance of different attitudes (Rothman, 1974).

5.5 Implications for Social Work

Social work professionals can have an impact on communities in promoting interdependancy among its member organizations and the larger community in the process of

growth and development. Support in the form of volunteer training, student placement opportunities, research and policy formation, conferences with other ethnocultural groups and consultation on matters affecting social services benefit self-help groups in their organization building. Groups become a source of community influence, through a group building process, that allows for individual and community growth, developing skills in policy management and service delivery (Brager, Specht & Torczyner, 1987).

The following recommendations advocate services that enhance the partnership between community groups to develop community strengths in the following areas that were considered priorities in the survey and interviews with key informants: (a) health and social services for elderly persons living independantly, and people in need, (b) residential placement for elderly persons, and (c) counselling and information services for immigrants.

5.5.1 Community Development

Organizing a meeting of all community groups to coordinate information and form a central planning committee, through the auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, that could provide the expertise and strategic planning needed for a community model of services to immigrant families, the unemployed and elderly. Workshops in community planning, volunteer training, leadership skills and

fundraising could be obtained through continuing education programs.

5.5.2 Programs

Students in social work and other disciplines could seek placement opportunities within Ukrainian community services and organizations, in order to develop the following programs:

Social Services.

1. Setting up a user's advisory committee that would help mediate conflicts in sponsorship programs and improve service delivery.

2. Implementing contracts of reciprocity of services between the immigrant and the provider either in becoming a volunteer or contributing expertise to the community.

3. Resource bank of employers and professionals that could offer internship or expertise in translation, tutoring, law and social work.

4. Support groups for sponsors and immigrants for orientation and follow-up of sponsorship agreements.

Services for Seniors.

1. Counselling services to seniors and their families, in the event of residential placement or illness.

2. Social action through improving the representation of seniors on Boards of Directors in community organizations.

5.5.3 Liaison

1. Liaison with the larger multicultural community in forming a coalition to lobby for equal rights and improved accessibility to services, (e.g., Ethnic Relations Council, Seniors Citizen Forum).

2. Developing therapeutic alliances with groups and organizations that serve immigrants and multicultural groups for a better understanding of the needs of various populations and the type of interventions used.

5.5.4 Education

1. Promoting the need for cross-cultural training and sensitization in the delivery of services to immigrants and ethnic minorities in the provision of multilingual resources in mental health services and rights under the Charter of Rights and Freedom, (e.g., as part of orientation package for new immigrants).

2. Encouraging funded research and pilot projects to improve service delivery that can meet the needs of various groups. An example of future research in ethnic identity is currently taking place at McGill University. A funded study of six of Canada's ethnic groups, using 1991 census data, is developing an ethnically-sensitive demographic data-base at the McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning (MCESSP).

5.5.5 Media

Television, newspapers, radio and conferences can present an educational role in promoting the contribution of ethnic communities to Canadian life, some of the problems that can occur and the existing community resources, (e.g., series of interviews on ethnic television programs dealing with impact of immigration on the community or accessibility of services for elderly).

5.6 Conclusion

Ukrainians have remained a viable ethnic group with a distinct culture and language since their settlement to Canada one hundred years ago. There has been a decline in some of the traditional methods of cultural preservation as any group integrates into the larger mainstream society. Some of the dilemmas of building a community are common to many ethnic groups. The ability to attract new members and respond to their concerns has its challenges. Planning and community development need to take into account increasing the visibility of the ethnic community to attract new members and attain recognition of their status and activities. An analysis of the community would also concentrate on organization-building, the conflicts and potential for change and formation of policy for future community development.

Ukrainians are entering an era of structural

assimilation. Their organizations have reached many levels of local, national and international planning. As they become better educated and assimilated into Canadian society, they become more competitive and representative in Canadian society. The future lies in the diversity and progress of their professional and business associations. There is a particular duality of purpose, in the expression of their ethnic identity, as they offer their expertise to help Ukraine develop its resources, in the form of professional exchange and in business and trade ventures, and at the same time, reaffirm their own identity as Ukrainian-Canadians, with the landmark of the centennial year of Ukrainian immigration. The national outlook looks promising as they become more professionally based and reach outwards without losing sight of their ethnic identity.

Quebec is a special concern for Ukrainians, as the province may be issuing its own provincial referendum on its future within Canada. There has already been an exodus of Ukrainians to other provinces and future growth is limited. The impact of any political or social action can affect the survival of the Ukrainian community if there are no safeguards to protect its institutions and links with their national associations. The challenge is to empower community organizations, by increasing user competency and responding to changes in policies and programs.

Extended research into attitudes and behavior patterns towards ethnic identity and future plans in Quebec are needed. Services for elderly people and immigrants along with the volunteer network require expansion. Ukrainian youth represent the continuity of the community and are urgently needed to play a more active role.

It is hoped that in providing an overall plan for a community's future, its prospects for growth and continuity will strengthen their contribution to communal life. This study has attempted to document this interest in community development and has offered some goals towards their completion.

- - - - -

APPENDIX 1

Ukrainian Institutions and Organizations in Montreal

Churches

Catholic:

Assumption of Our Lady - Rosemount
Holy Ghost - Point St. Charles
St. Michael - Iberville
St. Basil the Great - Lachine
St. Josaphat - Ville Emard
St. John the Baptist - Park Extension
Church of Ascension - Slovak Eastern Rite - Montreal*

Orthodox:

St. Mary the Protectrice - Rosemount
St. George - Lachine
St. Sophie's Cathedral - Rosemount
St. John of Sochawa - Bukowinian Orthodox (Russian)-Lachine*

Baptist: (multi-ethnic)

New Canadian Baptist - Montreal

Protestant Pentecostal: (multi-ethnic)

Evangelical Pentecostal - Montreal

Community Support Services

Ukrainian Mutual Aid of Montreal
The Ukrainian Residence of Montreal (seniors)
The Ukrainian Villa (seniors)

Youth

Ukrainian Youth Association (CYM/SUM)
Ukrainian Youth Association (PLAST)
Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (CYMK/CUMK)
Ukrainian Student's Club of Concordia University
Ukrainian Student's Association of McGill University
Ukrainian Canadian University Students Union (SUSK/SUCK)

Ukrainian Schools:

The Ukrainian School of Metropolitan Ilarion - Orthodox
 Ukrainian School of Montreal - (Metropolitan A. Shepticky -
 Orthodox & Catholic)
 Ukrainian Secondary School - (Metropolitan A. Shepticky -
 Orthodox & Catholic)
 Prosvita (Lachine) - Taras Schevchenko School - (Orthodox &
 Catholic)

Ukrainian Summer Camps:

St. Sophie's Camp - Laurentians
 Camp Baturyn - Scouts (PLAST) - Eastern Townships
 Camp Werchowyna (SUM) - Laurentians
 Camp Ukraina - Laurentians

Associations:

Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of
 Montreal
 Ukrainian Medical Association
 Ukrainian Artist's Association of Quebec
 Ukrainian Historical Association
 Shevchenko Scientific Society
 Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society
 Liaison Committee of Scientists and Engineers

Women

Association of Ukrainian Catholic Women
 League of Ukrainian Catholic Women (churches)
 Ukrainian Women's Association - Lesia Ukrainka (churches &
 organizations)
 Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada - Daughters of
 Ukraine
 Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada - Olga Bazarab
 Ukrainian Women's Group - (CYM/SUM)
 Women's Association for the Liberation of Ukraine
 Ukrainian Meals on Wheels Committee

Men

Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics - Rev. Markian Shaskewych
 The Ukrainian Catholic Young Men's Association of Montreal

National-Political

Ukrainian Canadian Congress
 The Canadian Friends of Rukh - Quebec branch
 Brotherhood of Ukrainian Insurgent Army
 Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine
 Brotherhood of Ukrainian National Army - First Division
 Ukrainian Self Reliance League
 Royal Canadian Legion - Mazeppa Branch 183
 Ukrainian Democratic Republic Auxiliary of Canada - Montreal branch
 Ukrainian National Federation of Canada - Montreal branch
 Association for Liberation of Ukraine
 Ukrainian Veterans of Canada
 Information and Anti-Defamation Committee
 Association of Ukrainian United Ukrainians**

Cultural

Cultural Development Fund of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Association of Montreal
 Ukrainian Reading Society - Prosvita (Lachine & Verdun))

Foundations

Montreal Ukrainian Foundation for Care and Services
 Father Josaphat Jean Foundation
 Kyiv Christian Millenium Film Foundation
 Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies

Ukrainian Dance Groups:

Marunczak Folklore Ensemble
 Troyanda Dance Ensemble
 Moloda Ukraina Dance Ensemble
 Barvinok School of Ukrainian Dance

Independant Music Groups:

Cheremshyna Ensemble
 Veselka Ensemble
 Rushnychok Ensemble

Museums and Archives:

The Ukrainian Residence
St. Sophie's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral

Seniors

Trident Golden Age Club (Rosemount)
Prosvita (Lachine)
Ukrainian Golden Age Club - Dnipro (Verdun)

Business:

Ukrainian National Montreal Credit Union
La Caisse Populaire Ukrainienne de Montréal
Mazeppa Credit Union

Media:

Ukrainian Radio Program - "Ukrainian Time"
Ukrainian Television Program - "Tele-Ukraina"
Church bulletins
Newsletters (organizations)

* originally founded by Ukrainians, now under the direction of other ethnic groups.

** formerly three Ukrainian Labour Temple Associations.

APPENDIX 2

February 1991.

Research Questionnaire

To Whom It May Concern:

This research is being addressed to Ukrainians living in Quebec. I am a professional social worker of Ukrainian origin. My interests are in community organization and I am currently studying at McGill University towards my Masters of Social Work. It is important that each person have an opportunity to express themselves in any future planning in our community. I am interested in your opinion. This questionnaire is anonymous. Once my research is completed, I will be more than happy to share the results with the community.

Thank you for your participation. Please return the completed questionnaire to me without delay. If more information is needed, I can be reached at -----.

Sincerely yours,

Ann Tokar p.s.w.

APPENDIX 3

Directions: Please circle the number that corresponds to your answer.

1. Sex: 1. Male

2. Female

2. Age: 1. under 20

2. 21 to 29

3. 30 to 39

4. 40 to 49

5. 50 to 59

6. 60 to 69

7. 70 plus

3. Marital status: 1. Single

2. Married

3. Separated or divorced

4. Widowed

4. Education: Please circle highest education attained. 1. Primary school

2. Secondary school

3. CEGEP or technical school

4. University

5. Post graduate studies

5. Religion: 1. Catholic

2. Orthodox

3. Other. Specify: _____

6. Languages spoken: 1. English

2. French

3. Ukrainian

4. Other _____

7. Languages written: 1. English

2. French

3. Ukrainian

4. Other _____

8. Place of birth: 1. Canada

2. U.S.A.

3. Other. Specify: _____

9. How many years have you lived in Quebec?

1. All my life

2. 0 to 5 years

3. Other. Specify: _____

10. I identify myself as being of Ukrainian origin because: Please circle as many answers as apply.

1. My ancestors come from Ukraine.

2. One or both of my parents are Ukrainian.

3. I belong to a Ukrainian church.

4. I speak and/or write Ukrainian.

5. I belong to one or more Ukrainian community organizations.

6. I observe the religious and cultural traditions during the holidays, eg. Christmas & Easter.

7. Other. Specify: _____

11. In my opinion, Ukrainian community organizations can offer me: Please circle as many answers as apply.

1. Identification with my cultural heritage.
2. Socialization.
3. Learning opportunities.
4. Knowledge of events in the local, national and international community.
5. Solidarity with other Ukrainians.
6. Very little.
7. Other. Specify: _____

12. I became a member of a Ukrainian organization through: Please circle as many answers as apply.

1. Publicity, eg. radio, newspapers & bulletin boards.
2. Information from family, friends or colleagues.
3. Common interests.
4. Other. Specify: _____

13. In the last year, I attended activities sponsored by Ukrainian organizations. Please circle only one answer.

1. Never
2. Once
3. 2 to 5 times
4. 6 plus

14. If you did not attend activities, why not? Please circle as many answers as apply.

1. Lack of interest.
2. Insufficient publicity.
3. Timing of activities.
4. Other. Specify: _____

15. Could you identify the degree of importance of the following areas for the Ukrainian community? Please circle one number from the scale below for each area.

	very important 1	important 2	not important 3
1. Residential placement for elderly persons.			
2. Health & social services for:			
a) elderly persons living independantly	1	2	3
b) people in need	1	2	3
3. Immigrant aid in employment, housing & emergency funding	1	2	3
4. Centralized charitable foundation for the community.	1	2	3
5. Community lending library and archives	1	2	3
6. Volunteer bureau for community services.	1	2	3
7. Counselling & information services for:			
a) immigrants	1	2	3
b) family violence	1	2	3
c) alcoholism	1	2	3
d) mental & physical illness	1	2	3
e) bereavement	1	2	3
8. Promoting links with Ukraine via:			
a) economic ties	1	2	3
b) student exchange	1	2	3
c) tourism	1	2	3
d) immigration	1	2	3
9. Ukrainian centenary celebrations in Montreal	1	2	3
10. Quebec's political future in Canada for our community	1	2	3

16. Ukrainian identity & unity can be promoted by: Please circle as many answers as apply.

1. Regular attendance at a Ukrainian church.
2. Belonging to a Ukrainian community organization.
3. Having friends or associates of same cultural heritage.
4. Attendance at Ukrainian language schools.
5. Supporting the Ukrainian arts & artists.
6. Visits to the Ukraine.
7. Having a national anthem.
8. Practising the cultural traditions.
9. Other. Specify: _____

17. If given the opportunity, I would like to: Please circle as many answers as apply.

1. Visit Ukraine.
2. Live in Ukraine.
3. Sponsor individuals & families emigrating to Canada.
4. Volunteer time or expertise in community activities.

18. Are you planning to remain in Quebec? Please circle one answer.

1. I'm not planning to leave.
2. Yes, I'm staying, at least for the next few years.
3. No, I'm leaving in the next year.
4. I'm not sure.

19. If you were planning to leave Quebec, please circle the answers that would apply to your decision.

1. The political future of Quebec is uncertain.
2. The economy is suffering from a recession.
3. I want to move closer to my family, living outside the province.
4. My retirement plans include a move out of the province.
5. I would like to live in a more stable temperature and climate.
6. Other. Specify: _____

20. If you were planning to remain in Quebec for a period of time, please circle the answers that would apply to your decision.

1. I have a job.
2. I have the responsibility for the care of elderly relatives.
3. There are family & community ties that are important to me here.
4. Quebec is my home.
5. I have no other choice.
6. Other. Specify: _____

REFERENCES

- Bayley, C. M. (1939). The social structure of the Italian and Ukrainian immigrant community in Montreal, 1935-37. Unpublished master's thesis, McGill University: Department of Sociology.
- Brager, G., Specht, H. & Torczyner, J. L. (1987). Community organizing. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Breton, R. (1990). The ethnic group as a political resource in relation to problems of incorporation: Perceptions and attitudes. In R. Breton, W. W. Isajiw, W. E. Kalbach, & J. G. Reitz, Ethnic identity and equality: Varieties of experience in a Canadian city (pp.196-255). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cheetham, J. (1972). Social work with immigrants. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Darcovich, W., & Yuzuk, P. (Eds.). (1980). A statistical compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976 (pp.500-2). Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Driedger, L. (1975). In search of cultural identity factors: A comparison of ethnic students. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12: 150-62.
- Driedger, L. (1976). Ethnic self identity: A comparison of ingroup evaluations. Sociometry, 39: 131-141.
- Driedger, L. (1978) Ukrainian identity in Winnipeg. In L. M. Kovacs (Ed.), Ethnic Canadians: Culture and education. (pp. 147-165). Saskatoon: Modern Press.
- Driedger, L. (1980). Urbanization of Ukrainians in Canada: Consequences for ethnic identity. In W.R. Petryshyn (Ed.), Changing realities: Social trends among Ukrainian Canadians (pp.107-133). Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Isajiw, W.W. (1974). Olga in wonderland: Ethnicity in a technological society. In L. Driedger (Ed.), The Canadian ethnic mosaic: A quest for identity (pp. 29-39). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Isajiw, W. W. (1980). Participation of Ukrainians in business occupations in Canada. In W.R. Petryshyn (Ed.), Changing realities: Social trends among Ukrainian Canadians (pp. 97-103). Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Isajiw, W. W. (1983). Identity retention among second- and third-generation Ukrainians in Canada. In J. Rosumnyj. (Ed.), New soil- old roots: The Ukrainian experience in Canada (pp.208-221). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts & Sciences in Canada.

Isajiw, W.W. (1990). Ethnic-identity retention. In R.Breton, W.W. Isajiw, W.E. Kalbach, & J.G. Reitz, Ethnic identity and equality: Varieties of experience in a Canadian city (pp.35-91). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Isajiw, W. W. (1991). The changing community. In L. Luciuk & S. Hryniuk. (Eds.), Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an identity. (pp.254-268). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ishwaran, K. (1986). Family, ethnicity, and religion in multicultural Canada. In J. C. Turner & F. J. Turner (Eds.), Canadian social welfare (2nd ed.) (pp.1-19). Canada: Collier Macmillan Canada.

Klymasz, R. B. (1983). Culture maintenance and the Ukrainian experience in Western Canada. In J. Rosumnyj (Ed.), New soil- old roots: The Ukrainian experience in Canada (pp. 173-182).Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts & Sciences in Canada.

Kramer, R. M. & Specht, H. (Eds.). (1969). Readings in community organization practice, Prentice-Hall Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

- Marunchak, M. H. (1982). The Ukrainian Canadians. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- Myhul, I. & Isaacs, M. (1980). Postwar social trends among Ukrainians in Quebec. In W. R. Petryshyn (Ed.), Changing realities: Social trends among Ukrainian Canadians (pp. 225-37). Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- Norris, John. (1971). Functions of ethnic organizations in strangers entertained: A history of the ethnic groups of British Columbia, Vancouver. In Howard Palmer, (Ed.) (1975). Immigration and the rise Of multiculturalism (pp.38-41). Copp Clark Publishing: Toronto.
- Norusis, M. J. (1991). SPSS-X introductory statistics guide, SPSS Inc: U.S.A.
- Olsen, M. E. (1970). Social and political participation of Blacks, American Sociological Review 35 (August): 682-97.
- Petryshyn, J. (1985). Peasants in the promised land, Toronto: Lorimar.
- Pohorecky, Z. (1978). The changing role of ethnocultural organizations in Saskatchewan: Case studies with statistical data cast in historical perspective. In M. L. Kovacs (Ed.), Ethnic Canadians: Culture and education. (pp.189-228). Saskatoon: Modern Press.
- Porter, J. (1965). The vertical mosaic: An analysis of social class and power in Canada (pp.60-103). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Reitz, J. G. (1985). Language and ethnic community survival. In R. M. Bienvenue & J. E. Goldstein (Eds.), Ethnicity and ethnic relations in Canada (2nd ed.) (pp.105-123). Toronto: Butterworth & Co.

- Rothman, J. (1974). Planning and organizing for social change, Columbia University Press: New York.
- Statistics Canada. (1986). Canada Census. Ethnicity by province. Catalogue 93-154.
- Statistics Canada. (1986). Canada Census. Ethnic diversity in Canada. Catalogue 98-132.
- Statistics Canada. (1986). Canada Census. Profile of ethnic groups. Vols. 93-154.
- Stenzel, A. K. & Feeney, H. M. (1968). Volunteer training and development, A manual for community groups, Seabury Press: New York.
- Subtelny, O. (1991). Ukrainians in North America. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ukrainian Canadian Committee. (1973). The future of Ukrainian-Canadians in Quebec. Report of the Montreal Conference. June 9, 10, 11, 1972.
- Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal. (1989, Fall). Echo, 1.
- Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal. (1989-90, Winter). Echo, 2.
- Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal. (1991, Easter). Echo, 4.
- Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation. (1992). Federation News and Views, Premiere Issue: Toronto.

Ukrainian Community Development Committee of BC & the
Ukrainian Canadian Congress. (1990). Building the future.
Preliminary Conference Report, Ukrainians in British
Columbia Conference, BC Provincial Council.

Wiseman, N. (1981). Ukrainian-Canadian politics. In L. Luciuk
& S. Hryniuk (Eds.), Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an
identity. (pp. 342-361). Toronto: University of Toronto
Press.