

THE ORGANIZED UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO

**THE ORGANIZED UKRAINIAN
COMMUNITY IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO: A CASE
STUDY OF FUTURE CORPORATE VIABILITY**

By

WOLODYMYR EWHEN KRYWULAK B.A., B.A. (HONS.)

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AUTHOR: Wolodymyr Ewhen Krywulak, B.A.(University of Manitoba)
B.A.(Hons.) (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor H.M. Brotz

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ABSTRACT

This thesis will investigate the question of whether the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario has instituted the necessary structural and attitudinal foundation in order to continue as a viable organized collectivity in the future. This question is of sociological importance, as it centers on the critical transitional phase of organized life being experienced by this sub-community and its ability and willingness to adapt to changing social reality. Internal and external assimilative pressures have challenged the future organizational integrity of this community--generating the need for a reappraisal of organizational goals, activities, and most importantly, membership composition. An analysis of the character of the secular organizations comprising this community will underscore its self-enclosed nature. This feature, in conjunction with assimilative social forces, has resulted in the development of two major schisms: one vertical, the other horizontal. The vertical schism refers to the inter-generational problem of leadership succession within these secular organizations. The horizontal schism refers to the relationship that currently exists between members of the 'organized', and

the numerically larger 'unorganized' components of the Ukrainian ethnic group. The latter, have been traditionally excluded from active organizational participation of the former. This thesis contends that in order for the Ukrainian community to remain a well-organized collectivity, it will need to incorporate members of the unorganized community. This task, however, presupposes both structural and attitudinal reform. The areas of organizational accommodation and barriers to reform will be explicated with reference to the two fundamental schisms operative in this community.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will begin by describing the methodological approach employed in assessing the changing nature and future viability of the institutional life of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario.

A). Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to elucidate the process by which the self-enclosed nature of the organized Ukrainian community, in conjunction with domestic assimilative trends, have operated to place the collective life of this community in a critical phase of transition. An analysis of the ideologies, goals and activities of the organizations comprising this community point to the need for both structural and attitudinal reform in order to secure its future as a well-organized ethno-cultural group. The degree of organizational accommodation to changing social reality and the major issues generating resistance to change will be explored.

B). Elements of the Problem

In order to accomplish the aforementioned task, this thesis will investigate the character of the

institutional life central to the 'organized' Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario. The social structure and social processes particular to the collective life of this community reflect the aspirations and concerns of the third Ukrainian immigrant wave to Canada. Arriving in the City of Hamilton as displaced persons in the post-1945 era, these immigrants complemented existing community organizations and formed new ones. The immigrants, moreover, secured and have dominated the leadership role within the secular and non-secular organizations comprising this community. Under the leadership of the foreign-born, the membership of these organizations have acted as the vanguards in the preservation of the Ukrainian ethnic identity in Canada. Their organizational ideologies, goals and activities will be shown to be of a highly nationalistic character, being influenced by and reacting to both domestic and foreign events affecting the political, economic and social well-being of the Ukrainian ethnic group.

The community organizations, while serving the cultural aspirations of this sub-community, have inadvertently disaffected the majority of persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin. This unaffiliated majority--referred to in this thesis as the 'unorganized' Ukrainian community, have succumbed to assimilative forces yet retain

an ethnic awareness and arms-length identification with the organized Ukrainian group. Their greater orientation toward Canadian values and goals and loss of fluency of the Ukrainian language have effectively excluded them from active participation in the secular organizations of the organized Ukrainian community--the latter, having relied largely, and in some quarters, almost exclusively on Ukrainian language use in organizational affairs. In short, a 'horizontal' schism has developed over the years between the organized Ukrainian sub-community and the numerically larger unorganized Ukrainian community.

In addition to the horizontal schism mentioned above, a 'vertical' schism has developed within the organized Ukrainian sub-community itself. The vertical schism refers to the problem of leadership succession within the secular and non-secular organizations. The aging foreign-born leadership has operated on the assumption that their native-born children will take over the leadership of the extensive community organizational network, thereby, preserving the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian ethnic group. However, increasing language loss, decreasing endogamy rates and defections from the traditional Ukrainian religious denominations--all domestic assimilative forces affecting the native-born, have intervened to seriously challenge this 'expectation'.

Jointly, the vertical and horizontal schisms have operated to place the organized Ukrainian community in a critical phrase of transition. It is the contention of this thesis that in order for this ethnic group to exist as a viable corporate entity in the future, it will be beneficial, if not essential, to organizationally incorporate the majority of presently unaffiliated Ukrainians. This task, however, presupposes both structural and attitudinal reform of current organizational ideologies, goals and activities. The preparedness and climate for such proposed reform will be explored through an analysis of the areas of organizational accommodation to changing social reality and areas of resistance. This discussion will be considered within the context of the two fundamental schisms posing a challenge to the future organizational viability of this ethno-cultural group.

C). Reasons for the Study/Previous Research Conducted

The organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario was selected as the unit of analysis of this thesis primarily because it provided an optimal natural setting for sociological inquiry. Prior to embarking on the field research necessary for this thesis, the organized Ukrainian community presented itself as a readily identifiable and purposive social unit: The social composition of the

members actively participating in the organized life of this community were posited to be a numerical minority with unique characteristics and aspirations, hence, providing a distinguishable sample of the total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin residing in the City of Hamilton.

Only a limited number of studies have been conducted on the Ukrainian ethnic group in specific urban Canadian centers. The authors of these studies have, of necessity, concentrated on the second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, given that the first immigrant wave remained predominantly rural. A brief review of three noteworthy studies--all concentrating on various aspects of urban Ukrainian communities in Canada, will be presented below.

The first study to concentrate on urban Ukrainians was Stephen W. Mamchur's thesis entitled "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to Ukrainians in Montreal". Mamchur proposed that the spatial and occupational segregation of immigrant groups determined the amount of their participation in broader Canadian society. He tested this proposition through a case study of Ukrainians in the City of Montreal--selected as a typical peasant Slavic immigrant group in the process of residential, occupational and social adjustment.¹

The second study that focused on the Ukrainian ethnic group in an urban environment was Charles M. Bayley's thesis entitled "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937." Bayley outlined three principle modes of immigrant adjustment: residential, occupational and social. While empirically interwoven, he analytically separated out and focused on the third principle line of adjustment, with reference to the Italian and Ukrainian immigrant groups. In his analysis, he emphasized the persistence of corporate life of these two communities through family units, neighbourhood and institutional life. Bayley concluded his study on the following note:

The outstanding result of the study has been an indication of how immigrants who came to Montreal in haphazard fashion without aforeconsidered planning or guidance, have moved toward each other and adjusted as groups, of how they have developed a social life which is amazingly and highly satisfying; of how they find a place in relation to Canadian society and will continue to hold this station for some time. These facts cannot be overlooked in a consideration of the consequences of immigration.²

Finally, a third thesis by Yarema G. Kelebay, entitled "The Ukrainian Community in Montreal", provided continuity in the study of urban Ukrainians by including a discussion on the post-1945 or third wave Ukrainian immigrants. In his thesis, Kelebay described three distinct waves of Ukrainian

immigration to the City of Montreal, emphasizing the impact on the established social structure with the arrival of the final wave in 1947. The arrival of this wave of political refugees generated "a process of cultural renaissance and ethnic re-affirmation".³ Their influx served to reinvigorate, shape and modify the social structure of this community--one that would have otherwise languished in its absence.

Given the fact that the City of Hamilton was a major urban destination of Ukrainians in the post-1945 era, research into the organizational life of this ethnic group has remained conspicuously absent. No studies known to the author have assessed the social forces leading to change in the structure and functioning of the organized Ukrainian community and their consequences for the future corporate viability. The transitional phase of collective life being experienced by this community has been precipitated by a combination of circumstances: self-imposed isolation from the majority of persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin; an aging foreign-born leadership; the unlikelihood of substantive forthcoming immigration and domestic assimilative forces affecting its native-born component. The intent of this thesis, therefore, was to assess the consequences of the cumulative effect of these factors on the future functioning of organized life of this ethnic

group. As a forerunner to this goal, this thesis investigated instances of organizational accommodation to these factors, as well as the issues surrounding resistance to organizational reform.

D). Hypotheses to be Tested

This thesis will test the following three hypotheses:

-That the governing ideologies, goals and activities of the institutions comprising the 'organized' Ukrainian community are not representative of, nor conducive to the needs of second and third generation Ukrainians.

-That the organizations comprising this sub-community are being affected by identifiable internal and external social forces that have, in turn, necessitated institutional accommodations to changing social reality.

-That the future organizational viability of this community will necessitate a major process of reassessment and readjustment in organizational priorities and activities. Furthermore, that this fundamental reform will entail the dismantling of the currently self-enclosed nature of Ukrainian corporate life, to one in which all persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin will have the opportunity for meaningful organizational participation.

E). Research Unit

This thesis will concentrate on the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants, who, in the post-1945 era, joined existing community organizations, established new ones and currently maintain the leadership of the organized Ukrainian community in the City of Hamilton. The research

sample includes both third wave Ukrainian immigrants and their native-born children. The difficulty in precisely determining the number of persons comprising this sub-community stems largely from the problem of multiple membership to existing community organizations: Excluding the membership to religious institutions, the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton has been estimated to be comprised of 1,000 families.

F). Limitations/Delimitations

It is instructive to note that in 1981, 11,620 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin resided in the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area. This thesis, however, will limit its investigation to the research sample mentioned above; this sample constitutes that component of the total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin who actively participate as members of the organized Ukrainian community. Second, this thesis will limit its description and analysis to those institutions functioning within the confines of the City of Hamilton proper. Third, whereas this thesis will describe the current structure and functioning of the institutional life central to the organized Ukrainian community, it will be necessary to extend the temporal framework to encompass relevant historical events of the post-1945 era, and in some cases,

refer to events prior to this era.

G). Research Design/Methods of Data Collection

This thesis has embraced a case study research design. This type of study is defined as one in which

...the background, development, current conditions and environmental interactions of one or more individuals, groups, communities, businesses, or institutions is observed, recorded, and analyzed for stages or patterns in relation to internal and external factors.⁴

Furthermore, a qualitative methodological approach was employed in acquiring information about the structure and functioning of organized community life of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Hamilton. Formal interviews were conducted with leading members of the Ukrainian community who possessed an indepth understanding of the community's organizational network and the issues of political, economic and social concern to this group. Subsequent interviews were arranged with community leaders via the "snowball" technique of interviewing. In the majority of cases, these interviews were conducted with third wave Ukrainian immigrants in their homes, lasting an average of two hours each. The remaining interviews were conducted with native-born Ukrainians of the second and third generation. The language of speech in which these interviews were conducted was Ukrainian, in the case of

second generation Ukrainians, and English in the case of third generation Ukrainians.

The nature of these interviews centered on the identification of the specific internal and external social factors currently challenging the ability of this community to sustain itself as a viable corporate entity. The long-term aim was use the information derived from these interviews as a springboard in projecting the future evolution of organizational efforts of this ethnic group--one that suggests a movement away from its currently self-enclosed nature, to one in which Ukrainian institutions are integrated into mainstream society. The benefits to this movement will be explicated in the final chapter of this thesis.

The Hamilton Multicultural Centre also provided a directory of the Ukrainian ethnic organizations located in the City of Hamilton with addresses, phone numbers and contact persons for the respective organizations. The information contained within this directory was reorganized and supplemented and may be viewed as Appendix 16.

Finally, recourse was made to the internal publications disseminated by the various religious and secular organizations, in order to gain information on organizational ideologies, goals and activities over and above the information derived through formal interviews.

It is timely to provide the following chapter delineation this thesis will encompass: Chapter I will provide an historical account of the political, economic and social factors leading to the three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, with an introduction to the post-1945 Ukrainian immigration to the City of Hamilton. Chapter II will provide a statistical profile for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin residing in the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area. Chapter III will investigate the following aspects of the structure and functioning of the organizational life of the Ukrainian ethnic group. While these aspects may be separated analytically, they will be presented in an imbricative manner:

-First, this chapter will identify the key institutions playing an important role in life of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario. Secular and religious institutions will be examined with regard to their arrangement vis-a-vis one another, as well as their external linkages to national and international parent bodies.

-Second, this chapter will describe the ideological orientations, goals and activities of the secular organizations and furthermore, identify the major religious institutions and the important role played by their respective lay bodies.

-Third, this chapter will investigate the patterns of social interaction generated as a consequence of the ideological and ecclesiastical duality that characterizes this community.

Chapter IV will explicate the nature of the vertical and

horizontal schisms that have operated to place the future organizational integrity of the Ukrainian sub-community in a state of uncertainty. This chapter will investigate the future viability of this self-enclosed community through an analysis of the areas of institutional accommodation in response to changing social trends, as well as isolate the fundamental issues generating resistance to structural and attitudinal reform. This thesis will conclude by enumerating the major findings of this research; indicate recent developments of integrating Ukrainian institutions within mainstream society and finally, identify areas of future research.

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Stephen W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to Ukrainians in Montreal." Master's Thesis, McGill University, 1935.
2. Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal." Master's Thesis, McGill University, 1939:7-8.
3. Yarema G. Kelebay, "The Ukrainian Community in Montreal." Master's Thesis, Concordia University, 1975:68.
4. James E. Mauch and Jack W. Birch, Guide to the Successful Thesis and Dissertation, Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1983:72.

CHAPTER I

**HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION
TO CANADA AND TO HAMILTON, ONTARIO**

History of the Ukrainian Immigration to Canada and to Hamilton, Ontario

This chapter is primarily intended to familiarize the reader with the Ukrainian ethnic community in Canada, as a forerunner to an analysis of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario. In order to accomplish the aforementioned task, this chapter will be structured according to the following format: The first section will describe the social composition of three distinct waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada; the second section will provide a theoretical account of the political socialization of the members comprising each of these immigrant waves in Canada. The information imparted in these two sections will be beneficial in appreciating the pattern of institutional development of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario--the central focus of Chapter III. This institutional structure reflects the cultural contribution of three distinct waves of Ukrainian immigration to this city. Moreover, this community will be shown to be patterned on the basis of ideological and religious differentiation, and comprised of members subscribing to a distinctly pro-nationalist orientation. Finally, the third section will briefly provide statistical

information describing the post-1945 Ukrainian immigration to the City of Hamilton.

Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada:

During the time period 1891 to 1967, a total of 277,800 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin entered Canada. The Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, which serves as a major source of statistical information for this thesis, indicates that of this number:

171,500 entered before World War I
67,700 in the inter-war years, and
38,600 after World War II. 1

Vladimir J. Kaye succinctly describes the political, economic and social characteristics of the Ukrainian immigrants who arrived to Canada as follows:

1) First Phase of Ukrainian Immigration (1891-1914)

The first immigrant phase formed a homogeneous group consisting almost exclusively of agriculturalists, who originated primarily from two key provinces of the Austro-Hungarian empire known as Galicia and Bukovina.² The Ukrainian settlers who came to Canada during this wave of immigration did so with the expressed intent of establishing permanent homes- the majority of whom "settled on homesteads in Western Canada".³ Economic factors were the driving force behind the emigration of these people from their homeland:

Economic burdens imposed on peasants after the abolition of serfdom in 1848, the payment of indemnities to their former landlords, the extremely low income earned by peasant holdings and the division of landholdings through inheritance, were the main economic stimulants to emigration. 4

While it is important to note that this immigrant phase was a 'voluntary' one, Kaye makes the following qualification:

Although the economic factor was the main reason which caused them to emigrate, discrimination in the social and political fields was also a strong factor contributing to the desire to look for a better place to live. 5

O. Woycenko explicates the political and social factors contributing to the first mass immigration to Canada. It is instrumental to quote her research findings at length:

There were as well other reasons for leaving. Deprived of its independence, Ukraine was denied the democratic way of life with participation in the affairs of the state. Lack of self-government impeded the growth of a full political life.

Degraded to a rural population of two classes-peasants and rural intelligentsia-with no other social strata, the Ukrainian society, especially in Austro-Hungary, was massed at the bottom. Because the clergy predominated in the intelligentsia, the social structure was mockingly referred to as khlop i pop- 'peasant and priest'.

Schooling was restricted to rural elementary instruction, rarely reaching high school level. Few enjoyed a higher education, except the theologians.

There were, of course, diverse personal reasons for leaving the homeland. One of them was the compulsory military service for the Austro-Hungary

monarchy. As there was no prospect of reaching the higher ranks, it was looked upon as sheer waste of a young man's life.

It may be said that poverty, hunger for food, lack of political freedom, no opportunities for education and self-advancement, social restrictions, and personal problems had contributed to the mass exodus overseas. 6

Moreover, in contrast to their subordinate political, economic and social position in their former homeland, these immigrants enjoyed vertical mobility:

In Canada he enjoyed equality of rights (at least theoretically), he could participate in self-government, his children could partake of education without restrictions. The settlers could establish schools with assistance of the government as soon as the number of school-age children warranted it. For the Ukrainian settlers it was definitely an upgrading and not a downgrading. 7

Finally, it is critical to note that these pioneers were confused as to their national identity-precipitated by centuries of domination of their homeland by foreign powers. Nevertheless, pioneer school teachers were credited, to a large extent, with raising the consciousness level of these immigrants with regard to their common ancestral heritage.⁸

2) Second Phase of Ukrainian Immigration (1922-1945)

The second phase group of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada differed in a number of important respects from the first phase group. Unlike the preceding wave, the second phase group was not composed exclusively of

agriculturalists, but contained a variety of social classes.⁹ While the agriculturalists still predominated, the intellectuals were next in number.¹⁰ Kaye notes a second important distinction between the first and second phase immigrant groups:

While the peasants came with their families intending to establish permanent homes in Canada, the other group displayed politico-refugee characteristics, remaining European-centered, expecting to return to their home country "whenever conditions change".¹¹

Kaye contends that the orientation of maintaining close ties with the homeland, while not wishing to become too deeply rooted in the new country, served to retard their integration as well as their economic adjustment.¹²

Third, in contrast to the members comprising the first immigrant wave who settled in the Prairie Provinces and remained predominantly rural, the second immigrant wave preferred urban life, particularly at the outset of the Second World War:¹³

They were inclined to urban living, and only a small number settled permanently on farms. Many looked on agricultural work as a temporary occupation for the transitional period until jobs in the city were available. Others, as soon as some capital had been accumulated, opened their own business establishments.¹⁴

Fourth, in contrast to the first immigrant wave, the second wave of immigrants possessed a deep national consciousness:

The rise and fall of the independent Ukrainian

State (1917-1921) had developed in them a deep national consciousness; they were well versed in the historical past of their country. Nor were they confused as to their identity, a state of mind not shared by earlier immigrants.¹⁵

This national consciousness was to have repercussions on the Ukrainian social structure. Some of the newcomers accepted the organizational life established over the years by the first phase immigrant group-however, a significant portion of the second phase immigrant group did not:

They thought that the first settlers and the Canadian-born, with their roots firmly planted in the new land, were 'too Canadianized'. Highly nationalistic in a political sense, and strongly attached to their Old Country political organizations, these partizans began forming branches of the parent bodies in Canada. To spread their ideologies, they published their own newspapers and periodicals.¹⁶

In the second immigrant phase, community leadership was attained predominantly by former officers who had served in the Ukrainian armed forces. They were instrumental in establishing Ukrainian language newspapers, serving as their editors, and forming new organizations which were patterned on those they left behind in Europe (e.g. Ukrainian Veterans' Association; the Ukrainian National Federation; the United Hetman Organization).¹⁷ In addition to Kaye's analysis, Woycenko asserts that the second phase immigrants were divided

...into political and ideological factions ranging from socialism to nationalism. Each faction competed in recruiting members and soliciting funds for the 'cause'. These new thrusts, in addition to

confessional feuds of the older settlers, disoriented some Ukrainians, and naturally, rivalry and friction within the community mounted in the 1930's.¹⁸

The Depression of the 1930's exacerbated the existing political and ideological differences harboured by the members comprising this immigrant group. The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism states the following:

When drought and the Depression hit the Prairies at the same time, many Ukrainians turned to radical protest both on the right (Social Credit) and on the left (C.C.F.). A prominent minority even joined the Communist party. This led to the adoption of a revolutionary line by the Ukrainian labour temples, which were closed by the Canadian government in 1940.¹⁹

Woycenko adds that the internecine political differences among the Ukrainians were not checked until the 1940's:

...on the suggestion of the Federal Department of National War Services and with the aid of several prominent non-Ukrainians, the leaders of the five emulative national organizations in Canada came together and formed the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.²⁰

The pivotal importance of the work of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee will be discussed in Chapter III.

Finally, the sharp decline in the immigration movement, precipitated by the Depression, marked the beginning of the end of the second phase immigration.

3) Third Phase of Ukrainian Immigration (1947-1965)

The third phase of Ukrainian immigration began in 1947 with the joint efforts of the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.) and Canadian immigration authorities in the processing and resettlement of post-war refugees:

The reservoir of the third phase immigrants was the displaced person camps on the European continent where refugees and former slave labourers were brought to await resettlement or repatriation.²¹

The third phase immigrant group differed from the two previous immigrant waves in the following respects: First, the third immigrant wave originated from the whole of the Ukrainian territory- from Kuban to Carpatho-Ukraine. It will be recalled that the two previous immigrant waves originated primarily from the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina. Second, with regard to this waves' composition, Kaye states the following:

It contained a considerably higher percentage of intellectuals than the two previous groups. The average educational level of this group as a whole was also higher. The percentage of agriculturalists was considerably lower. It was a predominantly urban group.²²

It is important to note that with the third migration a new facet to the organizational life of the Ukrainian Canadians was generated-namely, the 'scholarly sector of community life':²³

Not involved in ideological and religious antagonisms, the intellectual elite formed learned societies and research institutions..... In time they became coordinated in a body known as the

Ukrainian Canadian Council of Learned Societies. Thus in addition to church and secular organizations, scholarly institutions filled an important need, and 'globality' of the organizational life of the Ukrainian community was achieved.²⁴

Furthermore, Kaye contends that the process of integration of this group was completed at a much faster rate than was the case with the two previous waves:

Conscious of the fact that they may be obliged to remain permanently in Canada, they readily took advantage of facilities offered to them to learn the languages of the country, to attend professional courses, to complete internships, to obtain licences to practice medicine or dentistry, and to secure recognition of their European degrees.²⁵

Third, unlike the members comprising the two previous immigrant waves, who were 'voluntary' emigres, the third phase immigrants were compelled to leave their homeland- preferring exile to life under Communist rule. The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism states that as political refugees, this final wave of immigrants

... added a strong core of anti-Communist feeling to the Ukrainian political sub-culture.²⁶

Upon arriving to Canada, only a fraction of these victims of war accepted the established forms of the Ukrainian Canadian social structure:

... a situation developed similar to that which arose with the arrival of the second wave of immigrants: Most of the organizations which they proceeded to sponsor were branches of various political factions with exiled headquarters in

Western Europe, mostly Germany. New publications propagated the ideologies, and appealed for funds to support the various 'liberation' movements. Again feelings ran high, but the impact was not as effective as it had been in the nineteen thirties. Slowly some integration took place, and one of the largest and most vocal sectors of newcomers joined the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.²⁷

Finally, while Ukrainian immigration to Canada reached a peak of 8 percent in 1948, in relation to the total immigration to Canada, "it fell rapidly thereafter and since 1953 has remained well below one percent of the total immigration."²⁸

Theoretical Underpinnings

Sidney I. Pobihushchy contends that the traditional formulation of the term political socialization, as 'the induction of an individual or group into the political life of a community or society', may correctly be applied to "the integration of Canadian-born Ukrainians into the Canadian political culture".²⁹ However, this term, when utilized as "an explanation of the socialization phenomenon of adult Ukrainian immigrants to Canada will be adequate only if new conceptual tools are introduced into the existing framework".³⁰ As such, the author introduces the term 'resocialization'- which serves as such a tool. He adopts this concept from Dwaine Marvick's article entitled "The Political Socialization of the American Negro", and

uses it in his paper to refer to

...the socialization of those adults who have been inducted to a particular political culture, and then, due to displacement or migration to another country, have re-experienced the process in a completely new cultural and environmental setting.³¹

Given the author's contention that the study of socialization is to a large extent "the study of attitude formation, a theory must account for those kinds of experiences that have an effect on attitudes".³² He goes on to cite Herbert Hyman's concept of 'trauma' as one such experience common to certain Ukrainian immigrant sub-groups.³³ This concept

... suggests abrupt attitude formation at some point in time. The traumatic experiences which must be taken into consideration may have occurred prior to, during, or after migration.³⁴

Moreover, the author asserts that in addition to 'trauma' and 'former political culture', other factors must be considered in the study of Ukrainian immigrant political socialization:

Such things as occupations, and the environment of the various groups must also be given due consideration. Of utmost importance is the manner in which these people have viewed political objects. One should examine their past culture, and specifically the political cultures, as well as their earlier experiences to appreciate their cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations.³⁵

The author embarks upon testing his hypothesis that a strong relationship exists between "the nature and degree of Ukrainian immigrant socialization into the Canadian

political culture and the type of political culture from which they came".³⁶ In doing so, the author adopts Almond and Verba's threefold classification of political cultures: parochial, subject and participant, and applies this schema to the three phases of Ukrainian immigration to Canada as outlined at the beginning of this chapter.³⁷

First, Almond and Verba provide the following characteristics of societies subscribing to a 'parochial' political culture:

...there are no specialized political roles: headmanship, chieftainship, "shamanship" are diffuse political-economic-religious roles, and for members of these societies the political orientations to these roles are not separated from their religious and social orientations. A parochial orientation also implies the comparative absence of expectations of change initiated by the political system. The parochial expects nothing from the political system.³⁸

First Phase Immigration (1891-1914)

S. Pobihushchy contends that the political culture of the Ukrainian peasant society, from which the first phase immigrant group originated, approached what Almond and Verba described as 'parochial'. In their former society

... the peasant was alienated from politics, not by choice, but by custom and tradition. The peasant did not seem to distinguish between political and economic roles³⁹ ... The individual had few if any orientations toward his nation, the state or the government. He did not distinguish between various procedures involved in making

political decisions. Furthermore, he did not see how these could affect him personally, and normally he did not expect anything from government. His usual participation in government was in paying taxes and this was not voluntary.⁴⁰

Having had a European experience which was devoid of any meaningful participation in government, the political socialization of the first Ukrainian immigrant group in Canada was shaped by several factors:

Their desire to achieve material success, economic security, and education for their children forced them to seek governmental assistance. This assistance came from local governments and the group participated in local politics in so far as this was related to everyday life.⁴¹

It is important to note that as early as 1905 the Ukrainian immigrants began to take an active role in politics- an orientation that signalled a shift in their awareness of governmental output (i.e. assistance in the building of roads and schools) to an awareness of their active input to the governmental process.⁴² Pobihushchy states that up until the First World War "the orientation of the Ukrainians was mainly toward the provincial government".⁴³ Moreover, he states that

... their first input participation was almost completely on a group basis. The group decided to support the existing government and voted as a block.⁴⁴

The fielding of candidates of Ukrainian ethnic origin in local and provincial elections, was also an important factor influencing the voting behaviour of the first

Ukrainian immigrant wave:

In the early period Ukrainians ran for offices as independents, and relied predominantly on the block vote in areas thickly populated by people of their own origin.⁴⁵

Pobihushchy furthermore adds the following:

... it was not until political parties began to compete actively for the Ukrainian vote that these people started to view politics with an issue, rather than candidate orientation.⁴⁶

There were two additional factors which caused a shift in this group's local and provincial orientation to politics, to an awareness of the national government. First, World War I had a significant socializing effect upon the immigrant group:

Not only was the group concerned about its status in Canada, but individuals showed concern for close relatives in the old country.⁴⁷

Second, an awareness of the federal level of government was aided by virtue of its jurisdiction over immigration. Initially this group was concerned with any change in policy that might directly affect them. However, with the passage of time, they

... began consulting with Members of Parliament to influence either a general policy or a particular decision to let more Ukrainians into Canada.⁴⁸

Finally, the author notes that fear of discrimination- a sensitization that grew as a result of their subordinate status in their former homeland, caused this immigrant wave to view all politics with continued trepidation.⁴⁹

Second Phase Immigration (1922-1945)

S. Pobihushchy describes the second phase Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada during the inter-war years as having experienced a 'subject' political culture in their former homeland. Almond and Verba describe this type of political culture as follows:

Here there is a high frequency of orientation toward a differentiated political system and toward the output aspects of the system, but orientation toward specifically input objects, and toward the self as an active participant, approach zero. The subject is aware of specialized governmental authority; he is affectively oriented to it, perhaps taking pride in it, perhaps disliking it; and he evaluates it either as legitimate or as not. But the relationship is toward the system on the general level, and toward the output, administrative, and "downward flow" side of the political system; it is essentially a passive relationship, although there is ... a limited form of competence that is appropriate in a subject culture [Sic.].⁵⁰

In order to support his classification of this immigrant wave as a subject political culture, the author enumerates the following conditioning factors experienced by this group in their former homeland:

Because of their various experiences in independence movements, a short period of self-government, and the gradual democratization of their homeland, these people had learned to distinguish between political and non-political issues. They had acquired an awareness of government and law, and had learned to accept both. They had, however, little input awareness, and voting, especially for the less educated, was unknown. Participation in politics was something quite unfamiliar to most.⁵¹

Once in Canada, the political socialization of this immigrant wave was facilitated and accelerated by the well-established Ukrainian social organization and its community leadership.⁵² Furthermore, the author cites the Depression of the 1930's and the subsequent prairie drought as two 'traumatic' experiences that advanced the political socialization of both the first and second wave immigrant groups. It is important to note that the second immigrant wave had an equal percentage of rural and urban concentrations: Different political socializing effects came to bear on each of these groups. The rural component of the second wave group, faced with economic hardships precipitated by the 'traumatic' events mentioned above,

... were forced to look for work and in their travels learned of the various progressive movements which demanded political action to ameliorate the economic plight of the farmers. The Ukrainians also learned that only the national government could initiate the necessary reform for the survival of the marginal farmer. Consequently they joined existing political movements and sent delegations representing Ukrainian communities to Ottawa. This was the initial experience with the input side of politics for the second phase immigrants.⁵³

The author furthermore indicates that the efforts made by the rural component of this wave in redressing the widespread discrimination in the distribution of relief parcels to farmers, served to increase "immigrant awareness of and participation in both levels of government".⁵⁴ On the other hand, the urban component of the second wave immigration

became disillusioned with Canada when "the normal political channels were seen as inadequate to rectify the situation".⁵⁵ The political lobbying by a section of the urban component was directed toward all levels of government. It will be recalled from Kaye's description of the second immigrant wave, and reiterated by Pobihushchy, that they "came with the intention of earning sufficient money to comfortably re-establish themselves in the old country".⁵⁶ The failure of the national government to address their economic plight, resulted in unsuccessful attempts by some members of the urban component to return to their former homeland. Finally, two additional trends characterized the response of the second phase immigrant group to the effects of the aforementioned 'traumatic' events:

- A) A larger portion of the second phase immigrants became totally alienated from politics.
- B) A smaller number of the second group joined the Communist party. It should be noted that a portion of the first-phase Ukrainian immigrants also joined the Communist party at that time.⁵⁷

Third Phase Immigration (1947-1965)

S. Pobihushchy describes the post-1945 Ukrainian immigrant wave as having experienced a 'participant' political culture in their former homeland. Almond and Verba describe the members of a 'participant' political culture as possessing the following characteristics:

The third major type of political culture, the participant culture, is one in which the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole and to both the political and administrative structures and processes: in other words, to both the input and output aspects of the political system. Individual members of the participant polity may be favorably or unfavorably oriented to the various classes of political objects. They tend to be oriented toward an "activist" role of the self in the polity, though their feelings and evaluations of such a role may vary from acceptance to rejection....⁵⁸

It will be recalled that this final wave contained a large proportion of the intelligentsia; this group had an urban orientation; its members were fiercely nationalistic and "perceived government as a means to achieve at least some of their goals".⁵⁹ The author underscores that the two preceding immigrant waves became oriented first to local and then to federal politics, while the reverse was the case for the final immigrant wave:

The last group of immigrants came to Canada highly experienced politically. However, they were oriented quite extensively toward nationalism and accepted politics as a means to promote their national identity. Their orientation was first directed toward the federal government and only later did they become identified with local issues and interests.⁶¹

The reasons forwarded by Pobihushchy for this groups' lack of concern with local politics was because "it was secure in its employment; living conditions were satisfactory, and schools were available for the children's education".⁶² Finally, ethnicity as a force in the organized community life of this immigrant wave acquired a predominantly

foreign affairs orientation, which served to reinforce their collective effort in safeguarding a distinct national identity in Canada.

Post-1945 Ukrainian Immigration to Hamilton, Ontario

In order to properly discuss the post-1945 Ukrainian immigration to the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area, one must indicate the following demographic information: First, the Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada indicates that, in 1971, there were 580,660 persons of Ukrainian descent residing in Canada—comprising 2.7 percent of the country's population:

In relation to the other origins, the Ukrainians ranked seventh in 1971 after the English, French, Scottish, Irish, German and Italian origins.⁶³

Secondly, in 1971, the Province of Ontario contained 159,880 persons of Ukrainian descent or 2.1 percent of the provincial population (see Appendix 1).

According to the 1971 Census of Canada, the Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area (hereafter to be referred to as the Hamilton CMA) registered 4,245 immigrants of Ukrainian ethnic origin (see Appendix 2). This number constituted approximately 30 percent of the total Hamilton CMA Ukrainian population of 14,385 (see Appendix 3). An analysis of the total Ukrainian immigrant population, by period of arrival, indicates that the overwhelming majority

of immigration to the Hamilton CMA occurred in the post-1945 era. Specifically, the periods of arrival bearing the greatest influx of immigrants to the metropolitan area occurred during the years 1946-1950 and 1951-1960 (see Appendix 4). In the 1946-1950 period of immigrant arrival, the 1971 Census recorded a total of 1,285 immigrants of Ukrainian origin. The 1951-1960 period brought the arrival of 1,100 Ukrainian immigrants to the Hamilton CMA. In other words, approximately 90 percent of all post-1945 immigration by persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin to the Hamilton CMA occurred during these two periods of arrival. In addition, there were two final periods of immigrant arrival in the post-1945 era. They occurred during the years 1961-1966 and 1967-1971. In these final two periods of immigrant arrival, there was a noticeable downturn in the number of immigrants of Ukrainian descent settling not only in Hamilton, but also in other major Canadian cities of 30,000⁺ population: Only 190 immigrants arrived to the Hamilton CMA in the former time period, while 70 immigrants arrived in the latter time period. Stated alternatively, only 10 percent of all post-1945 Ukrainian immigration to the Hamilton CMA occurred during these final two periods of immigrant arrival. In addition to Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Calgary, the City of Hamilton was a major urban destination that attracted most of the

Ukrainian refugees of the post-1945 era.⁶⁴

Sponsorship to Canada

Many of the post-World War II Ukrainian refugees were sponsored by Canadian employers as a condition of their admittance to this country. In fact, this type of post-war resettlement was a matter of Government policy—requiring the immigrants to sign a one year contract with Canadian sponsors. The conditions of these contracts were to be fulfilled by working as labourers on farms throughout rural Ontario, as domestics in various urban Ontario centers or in mining communities such as Timmins. Having completed the required work-term, many of these people migrated to the City of Hamilton seeking employment in the industrial sector.

The established Ukrainian community in Hamilton assisted these new arrivals through the adjustment process to the Canadian way of life. Specifically, community assistance was provided in finding living accommodations and employment. Moreover, assistance in overcoming the difficult barrier of language came in the form of the creation of adult educational classes for the teaching of the English language, as well as for the preparation for citizenship:

Through time their cultural and religious needs were blended with the existing community. New organizations were formed to meet their individual needs...⁶⁵

The historical, theoretical and statistical information presented in this chapter has provided the necessary background for considering the character of the institutional structure and functioning of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton. However, prior to undertaking this task, a statistical profile of the Ukrainian ethnic group residing in the Hamilton CMA will be presented. It is to this profile to which this thesis now directs its attention.

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CHAPTER II
A STATISTICAL PROFILE OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY
IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO

**A Statistical Profile of the Ukrainian Community
In Hamilton, Ontario**

A). POPULATION

Appendix 5 provides information on the ethnic composition of the Hamilton-Wentworth population for the 1951, 1961 and 1971 census years. The table indicates that persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin constituted 2.7 percent of the total Hamilton-Wentworth population in the 1951 census year, and 2.9 percent in both the 1961 and 1971 census years. In 1981, 11,620 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin resided in the Hamilton CMA, constituting 2.2 percent of "all origins".*

B). AGE STRUCTURE

Table 1 provides 1981 census data on the population of Ukrainian ethnic origin, showing age groups, for the Hamilton CMA. A comparative analysis of the distribution of population for 29 selected ethnic origins residing in the Hamilton CMA, indicates that the Ukrainians were among

*"In earlier censuses, only the respondent's paternal ancestry was to be reported, theoretically resulting in one ethnic origin per respondent. For 1981, this restriction has been removed and a person may now have more than one ethnic origin".¹

-Total Hamilton CMA population in 1981: 537,645.

Table 1

Population of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin Showing
Age Groups, by Sex, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Based on 20% sample data
() Percent of Total

Ethnic Origin and Sex	Total Population	AGE GROUP									
		<15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-59	60-64	65+
Ukrainian	11,620 (100.0)	975 (8.4)	635 (5.5)	950 (8.2)	1,100 (9.5)	1,005 (8.6)	1,210 (10.4)	1,585 (13.6)	1,570 (13.5)	820 (7.1)	1,755 (15.1)
Male	5,820	500	360	450	555	490	655	606	805	430	915
Female	5,800	480	280	505	545	520	560	925	765	385	840

Source: Statistics Canada (1981 Census of Canada, Cat. 93-930:3-8).

those groups who reported a significant percentage of persons 45 years of age and over.* In relation to the other groups compared, the Ukrainians ranked fifth after the Baltic, Romanian, Russian and Austrian ethnic origins.+ Table 2 presents an age-sex pyramid for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin, showing 5 year age groups, for the Hamilton CMA. The table shows an inverse pyramidal age structure for the Ukrainian group. It is instructive to note that there were more males than females in the three highest age groups.

Table 3 presents an age pyramid comparing persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" for the Hamilton CMA, broken down by 10 year age groups. Persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin were found to differ significantly from all origins in their percentage distribution for the 8 age groups compared:** Relative to "all origins", the Ukrainian group had proportionately fewer persons under 50 years of age-- the greatest deviation occurring in the 0-19 year age group (all origins: 30.8% versus Ukrainians: 16.3%). The Ukrainians

* excludes the Charter groups.

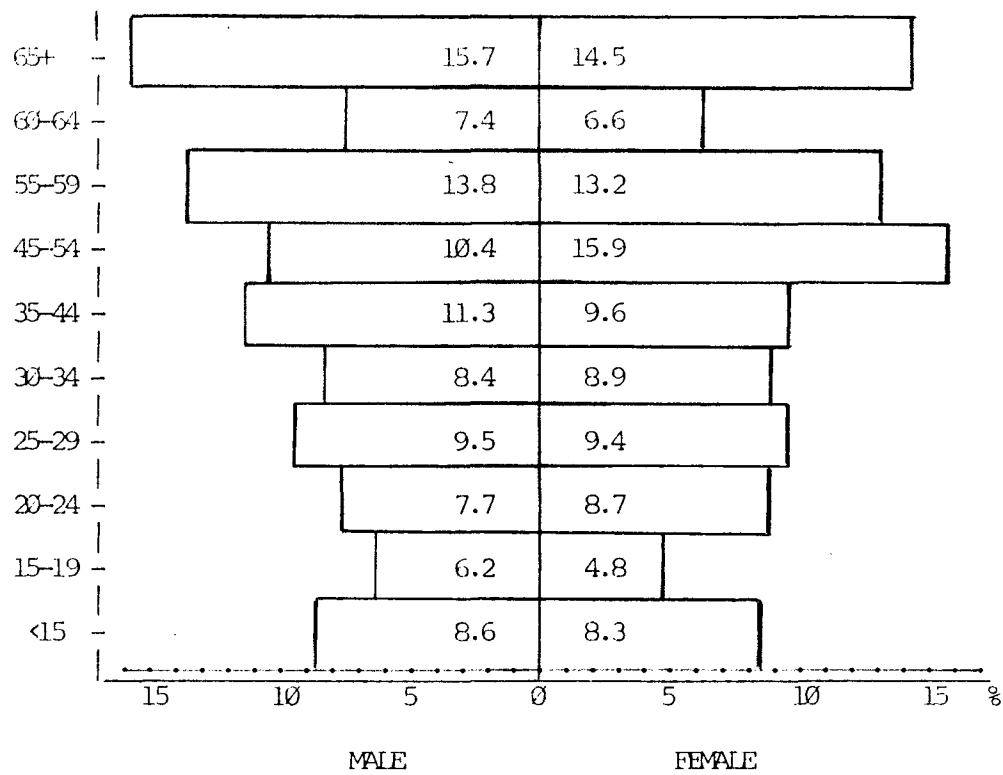
+ Persons 45 years of age and over: Baltic (57.7%), Romanian (56.9%), Russian (52.2%), Austrian (51.3%), Ukrainian (49.3%), Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada (Cat. 93-930:3-8).

** Chi Square 56.47 7 D.F. P < .001

Table 2

Age Pyramid for Persons of Ukrainian
Ethnic Origin, by Sex, 5 Year Age
Groups, Hamilton CMA, 1981

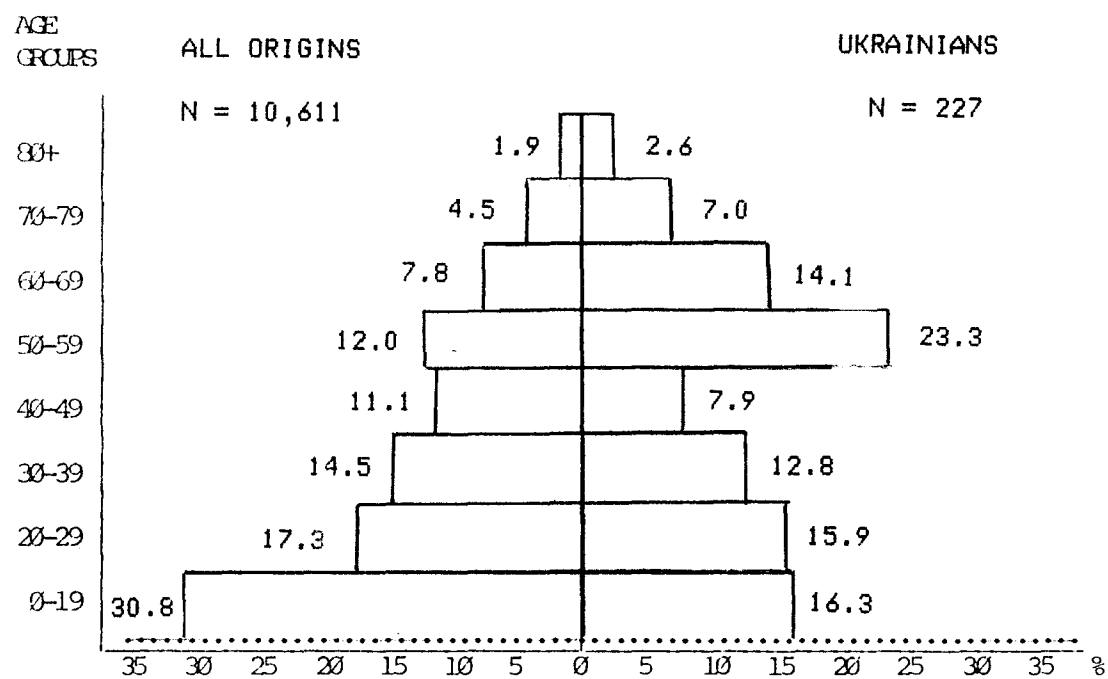
AGE
GROUPS



Source: Derived from the 1981 Census of Canada (93-930:3-8).

Table 3

Age Pyramid by Ethnic Origin, 10 Year
Age Groups, Hamilton CMA, 1981



Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Hamilton Individual File.)

had proportionately more persons who were 50 years of age and over--the greatest deviation occurring in the 50-59 year age group (all origins: 12.0% versus Ukrainian: 23.3%).

C). BIRTHPLACE

Table 4 provides census data on birthplace for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin who resided in the Hamilton CMA in 1981. The data consists of a sample of 227 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and is derived from the 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Individual File).

The table indicates that three discernible sub-groups comprise the population of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA. The sub-groups, with their respective percentage of total in parentheses, are as follows: the Western Canadian-born (16.7%), the Eastern Canadian-born (51.5%) and the foreign-born (31.1%).

The table provides evidence of a substantial migration stream of Ukrainians from the Western Canadian provinces--most notably, the Province of Manitoba, to the Hamilton CMA. Table 5 shows a frequency distribution, broken down by age and sex, for 38 interprovincial migrants who reported the Western Canadian provinces as their place of birth. In the sample, 50 percent were male and 50

Table 4
 Birthplace, Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin,
 Hamilton CMA, 1981

Province of Birth	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	T.I.*	Total
	Frequency	-	-	1	-	4	112	21	13	3	1	43	155
Percent	-	-	(.6)	-	(2.6)	(72.3)	(13.5)	(8.4)	(1.9)	(.6)	(27.7)	(100.0)

Country of Birth	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	Total
Frequency	1	2	4	7	3	15	38	1	1	72
Percent	(1.4)	(2.8)	(5.6)	(9.7)	(4.2)	(20.8)	(52.8)	(1.4)	(1.4)	(100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Individual File).

() Percent of Total

N 277

* Total In-migrants

Where: 1. Newfoundland
 2. Prince Edward Island
 3. Nova Scotia
 4. New Brunswick
 5. Quebec
 6. Ontario
 7. Manitoba
 8. Saskatchewan
 9. Alberta
 10. British Columbia

Where: 1. United States of America
 2. Europe (includes Belgium and Luxembourg)
 3. Germany (German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany)
 4. Austria
 5. United Kingdom
 6. Poland
 7. U.S.S.R.
 8. Asian
 9. South and Central America including Caribbean

Table 5

Frequency Distribution of Interprovincial
Migrants from Western Canada, by Age
and Sex, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Sex	AGE GROUPS								Total
	5-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-64	65+	
Male	- (0.0)	2 (10.5)	- (0.0)	- (0.0)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	11 (58.9)	4 (21.0)	19 (100.0)
Females	1 (5.3)	- (0.0)	- (0.0)	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	2 (10.5)	12 (63.2)	1 (5.3)	19 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Individual File).

() Percent of Total

* Reported for persons 5 years of age and over.

** Mean age: Males - 52.2
Females - 49.4

N 38

percent were female. Approximately 74 percent of the total number of migrants from the western Canadian provinces were 45 years of age and over. The majority (61%) fell into the 45-64 year age group. The mean age for the male migrants was 52.2 while 49.4 for the female migrants. Of the total foreign-born in the sample, 53 percent reported the Ukrainian SSR as their place of birth, followed by Austria (10%), Poland (6%) and the United Kingdom (4%).⁺

Appendix 6 provides population data on birthplace for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin, by sex, for the Hamilton CMA, 1931-1971. In 1971, 10,125 persons or 70 percent of the total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA reported Canada as their place of birth: Appendix 2 indicates that 70 percent of this native-born component reported the 'Province of Ontario' as their place of birth, while 30 percent reported 'other provinces'.

In addition to the native-born, 4,245 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin or 30 percent were foreign-born. A breakdown of this foreign-born component, by birthplace, yields the following information: In 1971, approximately 93 percent reported 'European Countries' as their place of

⁺ For persons born outside Canada, place of birth refers to the specific country of birth according to boundaries at the census date.²

birth. The United Kingdom was reported as place of birth by 4.4 percent of the foreign-born.

D). GEOGRAPHICAL CONCENTRATION

This section will provide information on the geographical concentration of the Ukrainian mother tongue group for the City of Hamilton proper, using 1976 census data. Ethnicity is not presented in the 1981 Census Tract books. Map 1 provides a graphical presentation of the City of Hamilton proper which has been divided into census tracts. The percentage breakdown of the urban concentration of persons reporting the Ukrainian mother tongue has been superimposed on Map 1 for ease in presentation.

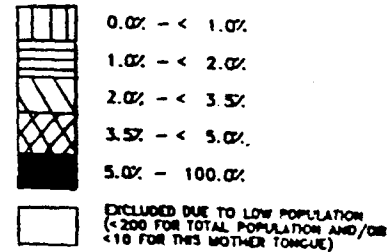
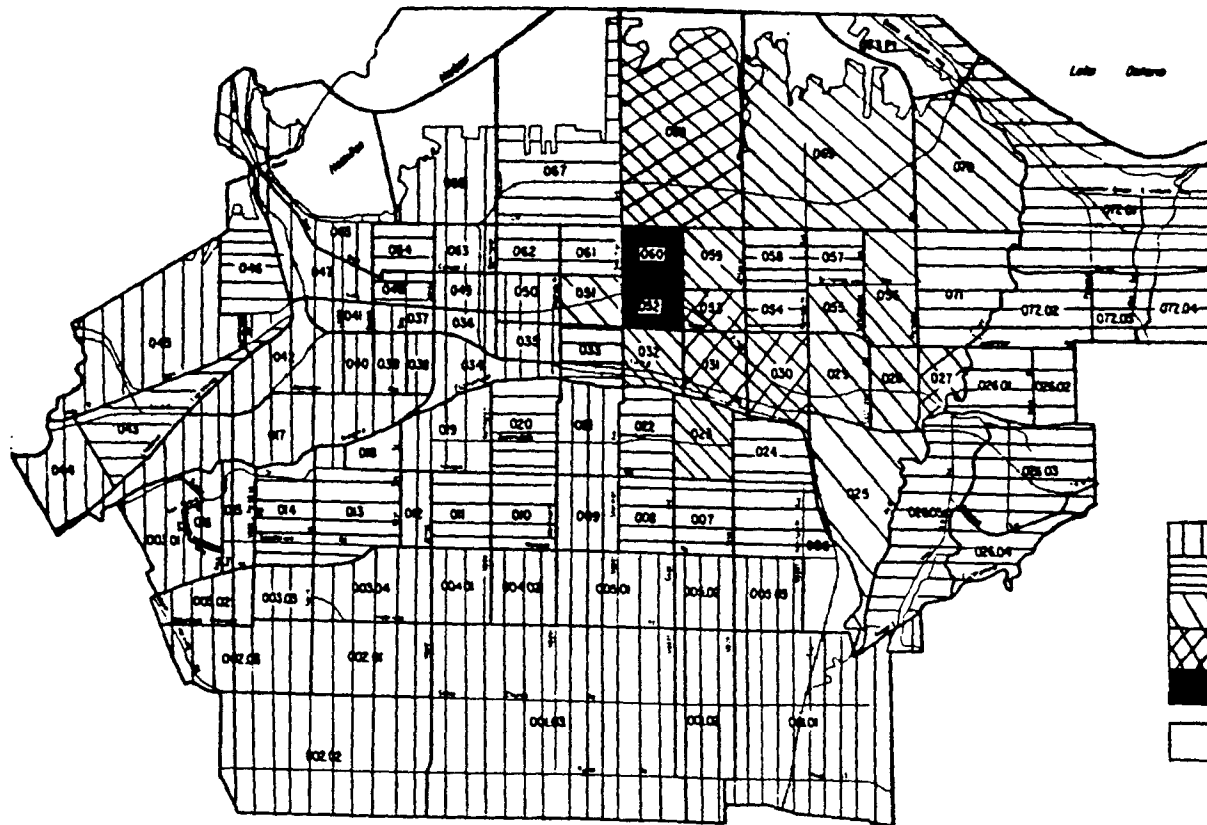
Map 1 indicates that census tracts 060 and 052 of the City of Hamilton proper contained the heaviest concentrations of persons reporting the Ukrainian mother tongue. That is, persons of this mother tongue group constituted 5 percent and over of the total population contained within each of these census tracts. The remaining census tracts, which contain less than 5 percent of the total population for this mother tongue group, are presented in Appendix 7.

Analysis of Tracts 060 and 052:

The information drawn upon in this section to

MAP 1

Population of the Ukrainian Mother Tongue Group
for the City of Hamilton Proper
by Census Tracts, 1976



MINIMUM %: 0.25
 MAXIMUM %: 6.06
 HAMILTON %: 1.30
 TOTAL THIS MOTHER TONGUE: 6,945

describe tracts 060 and 052 is derived from D. B. Chandler's thesis entitled The Residential Location of Occupational and Ethnic Groups in Hamilton. Chandler provides the following methodological background in his characterization of the occupational ranking of ethnic groups contained within the various census tracts of the City of Hamilton proper:

For each group of occupational scores within a census tract the mean and variance has been calculated. The mean at this point in the description is used to rank the population of the tract against all other tracts. In this way any tract or group of tracts can be characterized in terms of relative occupational position and their location provides a basis for a description of the occupational stratification in the city. The variance or spread of scores around the mean can be considered as a direct measure of occupational heterogeneity within the tract area. A high variance indicates heterogeneity of the population of the tract on the dimension of occupation and a low variance indicates homogeneity.³

Futhermore, it is important to note Chandler's division of the ranked distribution of census tracts into the following five occupational categories: upper; middle; lower middle; working; and lower. According to this classification schema, tract 060 (designated as tract 28 in his thesis) was found to be a 'lower' occupational tract:

Tract 28 ranks 60th with a mean of 44.4 It is quite homogeneous with a variance of 24 on an N of 69.⁴

The population contained within this tract, therefore, was

found to be quite similar on the dimension of occupation.

Geographically, tract 060 is:

... delineated on the north by heavy industry and the railroad tracks, on the west and east by Sherman and Gage Avenues and on the south by Cannon Street.⁵

Finally, this tract is predominantly industrial and commercial in land use. In contrast to tract 060, Chandler categorized tract 052 (designated as tract 27 in his thesis) as a 'middle' occupational tract. He described this tract as "a penetration of middle occupational residence", and specifically, as an extension of the middle ranked areas in tracts 033 (designated as tract 25 in his thesis) and tract 031 (designated as tract 32 in his thesis):

tract 27...ranks 14th with a mean of 50.5 and is less homogeneous with a variance of 73 on an N of 99.⁶

The population contained within the tract, therefore, was found to be more diverse on the dimension of occupation. Geographically, tract 052 is bounded on the north by tract 060, the east by Gage Avenue, the south by Main Street and the west by Sherman Avenue. Land usage in this tract is overwhelmingly commercial, with public land occupying a sliver running north to south in its eastern portion.

It is also important to note those census tracts that contained the second largest concentration of persons bearing the Ukrainian mother tongue (3.5%-5.0%).

Chandler classified these tracts on the dimension of occupation as follows:

Ø27 (29) - lower; Ø3Ø (31) - working; Ø31 (32) - middle; Ø53 (33) - middle; Ø68 (45) - lower middle.

Furthermore, Chandler indicates that in the majority of census tracts, persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin fell below the total group occupational mean:

They tend to share tracts with lower than average rank English and tend to be lower occupationally than the English in the same tract.⁷

Chandler also notes that when persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin were residentially concentrated they tended to be occupationally concentrated as well.⁸ It is instructive to note that the information contained within Chandler's thesis is based on 1961 Census data. A more up-to-date study is required to determine the socio-economic advancement of this ethnic group.

Finally, table 6 provides trend data showing the number of persons who reported the Ukrainian mother tongue, as a percentage of the total population in census tracts Ø52 and Ø6Ø, respectively.

The table shows that the Ukrainian mother tongue group decreased as a percentage of the total population contained in both census tracts over the 15 year time

*Chandler's tract numbers are presented in parentheses.

Table 6

Population of Ukrainian Mother Tongue in Census
Tracts 052 and 060, Hamilton CMA,
1961, 1971, 1976

Census Tract Number	Census Year			%Decrease
	1961*	1971**	1976 ⁺	
052	1). 5,337 2). 464 3). 8.7%	5,318 460 8.7%	4,542 275 6.1%	2.6%
060	1). 4,567 2). 478 3). 10.5%	3,988 255 6.4%	3,353 185 5.5%	5.0%

Where: 1). Total population of census tract
2). Total population of Ukrainian mother
tongue
3). Percent of Total

Sources: * 1961 Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of
Statistics, Population and Housing
Characteristics by Census Tracts, Bulletin
CT-8, Catalogue 95-523:7-8.

** 1971 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada,
Population and Housing Characteristics by
Census Tracts, Series B, Bulletin CT-9A,
Catalogue 95-739:6-7.

+ 1976 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada,
Population and Housing Characteristics by
Census Tracts, Catalogue 95-806, Vol. 6:
14, 17.

period. Tract 060 experienced the largest decrease. The data, therefore, provide some evidence of the changing residential pattern for this mother tongue group with possible implications for social mobility.

E). RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

This section will provide information on the ten most important religious denominations with which persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA affiliated, during the years 1931 to 1971. It is essential to consider this forthcoming information within an historical context. Prior to undertaking this task, it is instructive to note the following methodological consideration as stated in the Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada:

Major improvements were made in religious statistics by recourse to unpublished tabular material in 1931 to 1941 for the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic denomination. This made it possible to separate Ukrainian Catholics from Roman Catholics and to show the former, for the first time, on a comparative basis with the Greek Orthodox and other denominations with which Ukrainians are affiliated.⁹

In addition to the methodological consideration mentioned above, the Statistical Compendium suggests the following:

...it is useful to group the Greek Catholic and the Greek Orthodox denominations as being the native or "traditional" denominations ...although there are important dogma and jurisdictional differences between the Greek Catholic and the Greek Orthodox, they nevertheless have common concerns such as the

use of the Ukrainian language, the use of the Julian or Gregorian calendars, and the maintenance of Ukrainian traditions.¹⁰

Historical Background of the Religious Affiliations of Ukrainians in Canada

I. TRADITIONAL DENOMINATIONS

A). Greek Catholics (known historically as the Uniate Church)*:

Greek Catholicism forms the largest 'traditional' Ukrainian religious denomination in Canada. The adherents to this denomination "originally came to Canada mainly from Galicia, subsequently Western Ukraine, and Transcarpathia, subsequently Carpathian Ukraine".¹¹ The Statistical Compendium provides the following historical information regarding the factors influencing the changing membership of this denomination:

The Greek Catholic denomination lost some Ukrainian adherents to the Greek Orthodox Church when the latter was officially organized in Canada in 1918. After 1931 the assimilative pressures affecting the Greek Catholics came mostly from the Roman

*The Uniate Church has been known as the Ruthenian Church, later under Hapsburg rule (1772-1918) as the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church, and after 1918 as the Ukrainian Catholic Church. SOURCE: Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life" in M. Lupul, ed. A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), p. 144.

Catholics, though other denominations such as the United Church and the Anglican Church also gained Ukrainian adherents. Nevertheless, the number of Greek Catholics increased steadily in 1971, except for a decrease in 1961.¹²

B). Greek Orthodox:

The Greek Orthodox form the second largest 'traditional' Ukrainian religious denomination in Canada. The adherents to this denomination "came before World War I from Galicia and Bukovina under Austria-Hungary and in the inter-war period from Ukrainian territories under Poland, such as Volynia and Kholm".¹³ Since the close of the Second World War, many Ukrainian adherents to the Greek Orthodox denomination came from the Soviet Ukraine. The Statistical Compendium provides the following information with regard to the factors influencing the changing membership of the Greek Orthodox denomination:

An increase in adherents took place in 1918 when a significant portion of the Greek Catholics in Canada split off to organize the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. After 1931, ...the number of Greek Orthodox grew steadily until 1961, their growth being aided by the surge in Ukrainian immigration after World War II. However, their number fell off in 1971, as affiliation with the nontraditional denominations continued to grow, in spite of a substantial increase in the total number of Ukrainians in 1971.¹⁴

II NON-TRADITIONAL DENOMINATIONS

A). Roman Catholics:

In 1971, Roman Catholics formed the third largest denomination among Ukrainians in Canada. The majority of the Ukrainian adherents to this denomination, like those of the other nontraditional denominations, affiliated for the most part in Canada, with some coming from Europe.¹⁵ The contributing factors

...were the almost complete absence or an inadequate number of Greek Catholic clergy in the early decades, the extension by the Roman Catholic bishops of jurisdiction over the Greek Catholics, and the missionary activities which accompanied this jurisdiction. After World War I, assimilative pressures continued as a consequence of both churches being in union with Rome, the attendance of Ukrainian children at separate schools and the use of common facilities such as churches and schools.¹⁶

Finally, a considerable number of those classified as Roman Catholics were in fact affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic denomination--the result of improper enumeration.¹⁷

B). United Church:

According to the 1971 Census of Canada, adherents to the United Church formed the fourth largest group with which the Ukrainians affiliated in Canada:

This denomination is unknown to Ukrainians in Europe and affiliations with it in Canada began with the Presbyterian Missions. In 1975

the majority of Ukrainian Presbyterians were absorbed by the newly established United Church, which was a union of Methodists, Congregationalists and some Presbyterian parishes. Many Ukrainians were probably attracted to this Church because it was regarded as Canadian.¹⁸

C). Anglican Church:

Adherents to the Anglican Church formed the next largest denomination after the United Church: The number of Ukrainian adherents to this Church "increased from several hundred in 1931 to over 27,000 in 1971".¹⁹ Many of the adherents were attracted to this Church "because of the similarity of its liturgy, which is conducted in English, to that of the traditional Ukrainian denominations".²⁰

D). Presbyterian:

The Presbyterian Denomination attracted Ukrainian adherents in the early 1900's, particularly in the Prairie Provinces, due to the Church's missionary efforts in organizing and subsidizing "the Independent Greek Church". In 1913 support for the Greek Church was withdrawn but some of its adherents remained Presbyterian, forming their own parishes.²¹

E). Lutheran:

Only a few Ukrainians of the Lutheran faith emigrated from Europe and the increase in their numbers in Canada may signify the intermarriage of Ukrainians with Germans, Scandinavians and Finns.²²

F). Baptist and Pentecostal:

Some adherents to the Baptist and Pentecostal denominations came from the Ukraine and other parts of Europe, but many affiliated in Canada, as converts from other denominations.

Ukrainian immigrants after World War II reinforced these evangelical congregations and established new ones.²³

G). Mennonites:

Mennonites have not grown as rapidly as some of the other nontraditional Ukrainian denominations; its adherents are probably descendants of Mennonites who emigrated from the Ukraine and who still report themselves as Ukrainians, or persons of mixed marriages.²⁴

II. Religious Affiliations of Ukrainians in the Hamilton CMA

Appendix 8 indicates that in 1971, 33.7 percent of the total population of Ukrainian origin residing in the Hamilton CMA were adherents of the Ukrainian Catholic religious denomination, and 18.7 percent were adherents of the Ukrainian Orthodox religious denomination. Jointly, these two 'traditional' religious denominations captured 52.4 percent of the total Ukrainian population residing in the Hamilton CMA. The Roman Catholic denomination, as the largest 'non-traditional' religious denomination, captured 17 percent of the total population of Ukrainian origin. The remaining 30 percent were affiliated with numerous other religious denominations: The number of affiliates to these religious denominations, as a percentage of the total population of Ukrainian origin, will be presented in parentheses. These religious denominations include: United

Church (10.0%); Anglican (7.0%); Presbyterian (3.3%); Lutheran (.86%); Baptist (1.8%); Pentecostal (.38%) and Mennonite (.03%). Finally, 6.5 percent of the Hamilton CMA Ukrainian population were affiliated with 'other' (not specified) religious denominations.

Appendix 9 provides comparative data on the percentage breakdown of the total population of Ukrainian origin, by religious denomination, for the years 1931 and 1971. The table indicates that in 1931, 73 percent of the total Ukrainian population were affiliated with the two 'traditional' religious denominations. However, in 1971 this percentage was reduced to 52.4 percent. Conversely, the total Ukrainian adherents to the non-traditional denominations increased from 27 percent in 1931 to approximately 48 percent in 1971 -- hence, challenging to attain a majority position.

Since 1931, Roman Catholicism has maintained its position as the largest 'nontraditional' religious denomination among Ukrainians. In 1931, 69 percent of the total number of persons affiliated with the various 'non-traditional' religious denominations mentioned above, were adherents to the Roman Catholic faith. However, the numerical gains made by the other 'nontraditional' religious denominations reduced the Roman Catholic percentage from 69 percent in 1931 to 35 percent in 1971.

Moreover, adherents to Roman Catholicism decreased by 1.6 percent from 1931 to 1971. Nevertheless, in 1971, the Roman Catholic denomination seriously challenged the second largest 'traditional' religious denomination (Ukrainian Orthodox) for supremacy in number of adherents.

Finally, the table indicates that together, the 'traditional' religious denominations (Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox) suffered a 22.9 percent decrease in total number of adherents from 1931 to 1971. The heaviest loss in number of adherents occurred within the Ukrainian Catholic denomination, which experienced a 21.7 percent decrease in its share of the total population of Ukrainian origin from 1931 to 1971. On the other hand, significant gains were experienced by the following 'non-traditional' denominations: United Church (8.6%), Anglican (6.2%) and 'other' religious denominations (5.3%).

Appendix 8 provides data on the total number of adherents to the traditional Ukrainian denomination and, therefore, includes non-Ukrainians. On the basis of the data contained in the aforementioned table, Appendix 10 was constructed and provides the following information: In 1971, Ukrainians constituted the main ethnic group as a percentage of "all origins" adhering to the Ukrainian Catholic denomination. However, this majority position was attained only since 1951 and may be attributed, in part, to

the influx of third wave Ukrainians in the post-1945 era.

In 1971, persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin constituted only 27 percent of all origins adhering to the Ukrainian Orthodox denomination.* Only in 1951 did they approach a majority position (45.0%). Moreover, since 1951, there has been a steady decline in the number of Ukrainians adhering to this religious denomination as a percentage of "all origins". Finally, the table indicates a sharp increase in the total number of non-Ukrainians adhering to the traditional Ukrainian denominations. The proportion of non-Ukrainians achieved a majority position (52.0%) in 1971.

Table 7 is a crosstabulation of place of birth by religious denomination for the sample of 213 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin who resided in the Hamilton CMA in 1981. Statistically significant differences were found to exist with regard to the religious denominations reported by the native and foreign-born in the sample.

*"Some Ukrainians, particularly those from Bukovina, still adhere to the Russian Greek Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Russian Metropolitan of New York. A third group are adherents of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of America under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople." SOURCE: William Darcovich (ed.) and Paul Yuzyk (associate ed.), A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1976 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), p. 173.

Table 7

Crosstabulation of Birthplace by Religious Denomination, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Religious Denomination	Birthplace		Total
	Native-born	Foreign-born	
Roman Catholic	29 (20.4)	5 (7.0)	34 (15.9)
Protestant	46 (32.4)	4 (5.6)	50 (23.5)
Eastern Orthodox*	67 (47.2)	62 (87.3)	129 (60.6)
Total	142 (66.7)	71 (33.3)	213 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Individual File).

() Percent of Total

* Includes 'Other Catholics' i.e., Ukrainian Catholics

N 213

Missing Values 14

Chi Square 32.34 2 D.F. $p < .001$

The table provides an indication of the extent to which the native-born have assimilated to the "non-traditional" religious denominations. Of the total native-born in the sample, 52.8 percent affiliated with the non-traditional religious denominations: 20.4 percent were Roman Catholic, while 32.4 percent were Protestant. Only 12.7 percent of the foreign-born affiliated with non-traditional religious

denominations.* The Census Tape results, considered against the material described earlier, show the Hamilton Ukrainian population to be quite typical of the whole Ukrainian population, as 16.0 percent are Roman Catholic, 24.0 percent are Protestant and 61.0 percent adhere to the Eastern Orthodox religious denomination.

Finally, table 8 is a crosstabulation of husband's religion by wife's religion for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin residing in the Hamilton CMA, 1981. Of the total number of cases, 37 percent were religiously endogamous marriages (i.e., between persons adhering to either of the two traditional Ukrainian religious denominations). Secondly, 15 percent were religiously exogamous or mixed marriages. That is, one of the marriage partners adhered to one of the two traditional Ukrainian religious denominations while the other did not. Lastly, 48 percent were marriages between Ukrainians who adhered to non-traditional religious denominations: Of this percentage, 29 percent were pure Protestant marriages; approximately 10 percent were pure Roman Catholic marriages and approximately 10 percent were 'other' marriages.

*95% Confidence Intervals for Religious Denomination Categories:

A). Total Sample: Traditional- $.606 \pm .066$
 B). Native-born: Traditional- $.472 \pm .082$
 C). Foreign-born: Traditional- $.873 \pm .040$

Table 8

Crosstabulation of Religion of Husband
by Religion of Wife, Hamilton CMA,
1981

Wife's Religion	Husband's Religion			Total
	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Eastern Orthodox*	
Roman Catholic	5 (9.6)	0 (0.0)	3 (5.8)	8 (15.4)
Protestant	5 (9.6)	15 (28.8)	1 (1.9)	21 (40.4)
Eastern Orthodox	2 (3.9)	2 (3.9)	19 (36.5)	23 (44.2)
Total	12 (23.1)	17 (32.0)	23 (44.2)	52 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Household/Family File).

* includes 'other Catholics' i.e., Ukrainian Catholics
() Percent of Total

N 52

Missing Values 30

Chi Square 38.89 4 D.F. $p < .001$

F). LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE AND USE

The Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada indicates the following:

Language is one means of ethnic identification and it has been used in Canadian censuses to identify groups such as the Ukrainians and others for whom birthplace or other criteria are inadequate. It can be used as an expression of ethnic integration or of ethnic and cultural preservation of a minority in relation to a majority group.²⁵

This section will provide statistical information on A). knowledge of the Ukrainian mother tongue and B). the language most often spoken at home for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" in the Hamilton CMA. At the outset, it is instructive to note the relationship between knowledge of mother tongue and its use, both within and outside of the home. These two language concepts provide an indication of the extent to which the Ukrainian groups' ethnicity is being retained:

Retention can be considered to be stronger if the mother tongue is also the language of speech in the home in a high proportion of families.²⁶

Appendix 11 indicates that 6,860 persons, or 48 percent of the total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA had knowledge of their mother tongue in 1971:

The ratio of own language to the total population for the ethnic group can be used as a proxy for the extent of language retention by that group, with language retention being

understood as the converse of linguistic assimilation.²⁷

The figure mentioned above indicates a strong allegiance by persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin to their mother tongue: 48 percent of the total Ukrainian population in the Hamilton CMA reported knowledge of their mother tongue. This occurred despite the fact that the group had a low proportion of immigrants comprising its total population (30%). This means, therefore, that the maintenance of the Ukrainian language was achieved to a significant extent by the native-born component. The strength of the Ukrainian language will undoubtedly decline in the future, in part, due to the low percentage of Ukrainian immigration to the Hamilton CMA, and to Canada in general. Hence, the result will be that fewer persons will report Ukrainian as their mother tongue in subsequent census years.²⁸

Language Most Often Spoken at Home

In the 1971 Census, children were classified by mother tongue on the basis of language spoken at home.²⁹ Darcovich and Yuzyk also note that "the number of persons who speak Ukrainian at home can be expected to be less at any time than those who report it as their mother tongue, providing a mechanism for the increase of linguistic assimilation from census to census."³⁰ Most importantly, the authors state the following with regard to language

knowledge and use vis-a-vis the retention of an ethnic groups' identity:

Where mother tongue is only understood but not spoken in the home, it still can be an important measure of ethnic retention. It indicates exposure with the mother tongue in the past, which may have developed or can develop into an ethnic awareness extending beyond the language itself.³¹

Appendix 12 indicates that while 48 percent of the total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin had knowledge of their mother tongue, only 28 percent spoke Ukrainian as the language of speech most often in the home. Stated alternatively, 58 percent of those having knowledge of their mother tongue spoke Ukrainian as the language of speech most often in the home.

Ukrainian Mother Tongue and Language Most Often Spoken At Home--All Ethnic Origins

Appendix 13 provides information with regard to the Ukrainian mother tongue and language most often spoken at home for all ethnic origins residing in the Hamilton CMA in 1971. This table indicates that 7,455 persons reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue. However, given that 6,860 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, then 595 persons comprising other ethnic origins (i.e. non-Ukrainians) reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue:

Some of the non-Ukrainians reporting a Ukrainian mother tongue may, in fact, be

Ukrainians who were not classified properly because they interpreted country of residence, birth or citizenship as identifying their ethnic origin. They may comprise a large number of those shown as Poles, Austrians, Romanians and Russians, the traditional leakage groups for Ukrainians, and some Western European origins in 1971. Some may be offspring of mixed marriages and others may be as reported: Germans, Russians, Poles and Jews whose mother tongue may nevertheless be Ukrainian because they lived in Ukrainian territories.³²

Stated alternatively, the Ukrainian ethnic group constituted 92 percent of "all origins" who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue in 1971. By the same token, 4,290 persons representing "all origins" spoke Ukrainian as the language of speech most often in the home, while 4,005 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin or 93 percent did so. Hence, there was a difference of 285 non-Ukrainians who spoke Ukrainian as the language of family communication.

Knowledge of Mother Tongue: Native/Foreign-born Breakdown

Appendix 11 provides data on place of birth for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin residing in the Hamilton CMA, who reported Ukrainian, English and French mother tongues in 1971. The place of birth of individuals is a characteristic which has a large bearing on the language reported as mother tongue. The table indicates that 33 percent of the total native-born component reported knowledge of the Ukrainian mother tongue. Moreover, a much

greater proportion of the native-born component (65%) reported 'English' as their mother tongue. The table furthermore indicates that 82 percent of the foreign-born component reported 'Ukrainian' as their mother tongue. Approximately 270 persons or 6.3 percent of the foreign-born component reported 'other' (not specified) mother tongues:

Several possibilities may be advanced as to why Ukrainians would report a non-Ukrainian language (other than English or French) as a mother tongue. One is early exposure to a non-Ukrainian language from living or growing up in a community in Europe...that was not Ukrainian-speaking; another, the language recorded may be that of the mother in mixed marriages. On the other hand, some persons may not be of Ukrainian origin.³³

Finally, Appendix 14 provides data on knowledge of the Ukrainian mother tongue, constructed on the basis of Ukrainian family heads. Of the 4,090 families of Ukrainian ethnic origin, 2,585 or 63 percent of the family heads reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

Language Most Often Spoken at Home: Native/Foreign-born
Breakdown

Appendix 12 provides information on the 'language most often spoken at home' for the native-born and foreign-born components of the population of Ukrainian ethnic origin residing in the Hamilton CMA. The 1971 Census of Canada defined this language concept as

... 'the language presently being used most frequently by the person in his or her home'. It is a group rather than individual concept of language and in this regard it is useful as an index of linguistic assimilation or retention as it indicates actual usage of the mother tongue, one of the official languages or some other language.³⁴

The table indicates that only 12 percent of the native-born component spoke the Ukrainian language most often in the home. The remainder spoke the English language (86%) or other languages (2%). Furthermore, the table indicates that 66 percent of the population born outside of Canada spoke the Ukrainian language most often in the home. Not surprisingly, 31 percent of the foreign-born component spoke English most often in the home - providing an indication of the degree of linguistic assimilation to the English language.

Table 9 shows language retention ratios, home language percentages and usage/knowledge of mother tongue ratios, broken down by place of birth for the sample of 224 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA. The table indicates that while 62.5 percent of persons comprising the sample had knowledge of the Ukrainian mother tongue, only 27.7 percent spoke the language in the home.

A comparison of language retention ratios for the Western Canadian-born and Eastern Canadian-born indicates the following: the Western Canadian-born had a greater

Table 9
 Language Knowledge and Use by Place of Birth,
 Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin,
 Hamilton CMA, 1981

Language Knowledge and Use	Birthplace			Total
	Native-born		Foreign-born	
	Western Canada	Eastern Canada		
1). Knowledge of Mother Tongue (language retention ratios)	27 (71.1)	45 (39.1)	68 (95.8)	140 (62.5)
2). Own Language Spoken at Home	7 (18.4)	12 (10.4)	43 (60.6)	62 (27.7)
3). Usage/Knowledge of Mother Tongue Ratio	(.259)	(.267)	(.632)	(.443)
4). Total	38 (17.0)	115 (51.3)	71 (31.7)	224 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Individual File).

() Percent of Total

N 224

Missing Values 3

proportion of their total reporting knowledge of the Ukrainian mother tongue than the Eastern Canadian-born (71.1% versus 39.1%, respectively). They had, moreover, a greater proportion of their total who spoke the language in the home (18.4% versus 10.4%, respectively). However, it is instructive to note that both groups were found to have similar usage/knowledge of mother tongue ratios (.259 versus .267, respectively). This ratio measures the extent to which persons reporting Ukrainian as mother tongue actually spoke the language in the home.*

This means, therefore, that there was a greater percentage difference between usage and knowledge of the Ukrainian language by the Western Canadian-born than for the Eastern Canadian-born.** The act of migration, therefore, may be acknowledged as a factor contributing to the reduced language usage among the Western Canadian-born.

The language retention ratio for the foreign-born was .958. That is, 95.8 percent of the total foreign-born

* A usage/knowledge of mother tongue ratio of 1.0 indicates perfect congruence between those reporting Ukrainian as mother tongue and usage of same. The inverse holds true for a ratio of 0.0.

** Percentage difference:

Western Canadian-born- 52.7%
Eastern Canadian-born- 28.7%

in the sample reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Thus, 4.2 percent of the foreign-born reported English or other languages as their mother tongue--representing a proxy for the extent of linguistic assimilation for this sub-group. Furthermore, 60.6 percent of the foreign-born spoke the Ukrainian language in the home. Finally, the usage/ knowledge of mother tongue ratio for the foreign-born was .632. That is, 63.2 percent of the total foreign-born who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, spoke the language in the home.

Retention of Ancestral Language

The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism states the following:

The fate of a language depends on the persistence of its use by the native born. While immigrants provide immediate support to the language, it is the native born who determine its retention in the long run.³⁵

Given the above, table 10 was constructed in order to determine the correlation between the 'immigrant population' and 'those reporting the corresponding mother tongue', for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA:

The difference between the two, measured in relation to the total population in a particular ethnic origin category, gives a general indication of the extent to which the native born contribute to language maintenance.³⁶

Table 10

Retention of Ancestral Language

Percentage of immigrants and those whose mother tongue corresponds to their ethnic origin, for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA, 1981.

Ethnic Origin	N	Percentage of Immigrants	Percentage of those whose mother tongue corresponds to their ethnic origin
Ukrainian	224	30.4	62.5

Source: Adapted from the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups, Vol.4. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969:119).

Data derived from the 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Individual File).

The table indicates that the preservation of the Ukrainian language is being maintained to a significant extent by the native-born component: 32.1 percent of the total number of persons who reported knowledge of the Ukrainian mother tongue were native-born.

Finally, table 11 provides data on the retention of the Ukrainian language for upper and lower age groups. The table indicates a high rate of language retention in the upper three age groups. While this situation is favourable for language transfer to the native-born, "the survival of a language is greatly affected by the support it receives at the lower age levels, especially in the 0-14 age bracket"³⁷ The table shows a fairly strong mother tongue retention ratio of 41 percent for this age group.

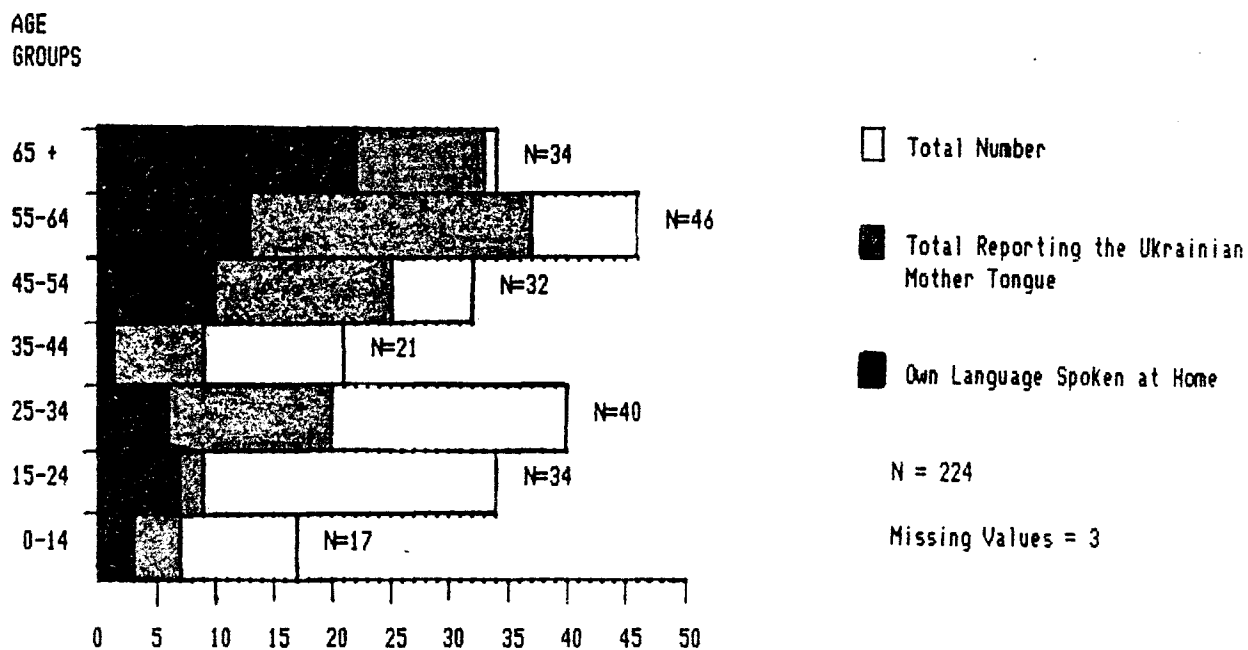
G). MARITAL AND FAMILY STATUS

Table 12 provides comparative data showing marital status categories, by sex, for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" in the Hamilton CMA. Persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin did not differ significantly from all origins in their percentage distribution for the marital status categories compared.

In the sample, 66 percent of Ukrainians were married, 2.9 percent were separated, 27.2 percent never

TABLE 11

**Retention of Ancestral Language by Age
Groups, Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic
Origin, Hamilton CMA, 1981**



Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Hamilton Individual File).

AGE GROUPS	N	MOTHER TONGUE (L.R.R.) †		HOME LANGUAGE *		USAGE/KNOWLEDGE RATIO **
		f	(%)	f	(%)	
0-14	17	7	(41.2)	3	(17.6)	.43
15-24	34	9	(26.5)	7	(20.6)	.78
25-34	40	20	(50.0)	6	(15.0)	.30
35-44	21	9	(42.9)	1	(4.8)	.11
45-54	32	25	(78.1)	10	(31.3)	.40
55-64	46	37	(80.4)	13	(28.3)	.35
65 +	34	33	(97.1)	22	(64.7)	.67
TOTAL	224	140	(62.5)	62	(27.7)	.44

† L.R.R. Language Retention Ratio or total reporting the Ukrainian mother tongue as a percent of total number in the designated age groups.

* Percent of total number in each age group.

** Home language divided by mother tongue.

Table 12

Ethnic Origin by Marital Status Categories,
Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin and
All Origins Aged 18 Years and Over,
by Sex, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Ethnic Origin and Sex	Marital Status Categories					Total
	Divorced	Married	Separated	Never Married	Widowed	
All Origins	208 (2.7)	5213 (67.3)	246 (3.2)	1550 (20.0)	528 (6.8)	7745 (100.0)
Males	70 (1.9)	2578 (69.3)	105 (2.8)	870 (23.4)	95 (2.6)	3718 (48.0)
Females	138 (3.4)	2635 (65.4)	141 (3.5)	680 (16.9)	443 (10.8)	4027 (52.0)
Ukrainians	- (0.0)	138 (68.7)	7 (3.5)	41 (20.4)	15 (7.5)	201 (100.0)
Males	- (0.0)	68 (66.0)	3 (2.9)	28 (27.2)	4 (3.9)	103 (51.2)
Females	- (0.0)	70 (71.4)	4 (4.1)	13 (13.3)	11 (11.2)	98 (48.8)
Total	208 (2.6)	5351 (67.3)	253 (3.2)	1591 (20.0)	543 (6.8)	7946 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Hamilton File).

N 7946

Missing Values 2892 Chi Square 5.64 4 D.F. p > .05

married, 3.9 percent were widowed.* Statistically significant differences were found to exist between males and females who reported themselves as being 'never married': 27.2 percent of Ukrainian males reported being never married while 13.3 percent of Ukrainian females reported themselves in this category.**

Finally, there were no divorced cases reported by Ukrainians in the sample: The adverse social attitudes toward divorce may have precipitated such persons to report themselves as single, married or widowed.

Table 13 shows the extent of inter- and intramarriage among persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin, by sex, for the Hamilton CMA, 1981. The table provides information on 75 persons that were derived from 58 cases, via a crosstabulation of husband's ethnic origin by wife's ethnic origin. The balance of cases (N=24) were persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin, who, in 1981 were single.

*95% Confidence Intervals for Marital Status Categories:

A). Married- .687 _± .064	C). Never Married- .204 _± .058
B). Separated- .035 _± .025	D). Widowed- .075 _± .036

**z= 2.49 prob-value <.02

Table 13
 Pure and Mixed Marriages, by Sex,
 Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic
 Origin, Hamilton CMA,
 1981

	Males	Females	Total
In-married	17 (41.5)	17 (50.0)	34 (45.3)
Out-married	24 (58.5)	17 (50.0)	41 (54.7)
Total	41 (54.7)	34 (45.3)	75 (100.0)

Source: Derived from the 1981 Canadian Census Public
 Use Sample Tape (1/50) Household/Family File).

() Percent of Total

N 75

Missing Values 24

Chi Square .55 1 D.F. $p > .05$

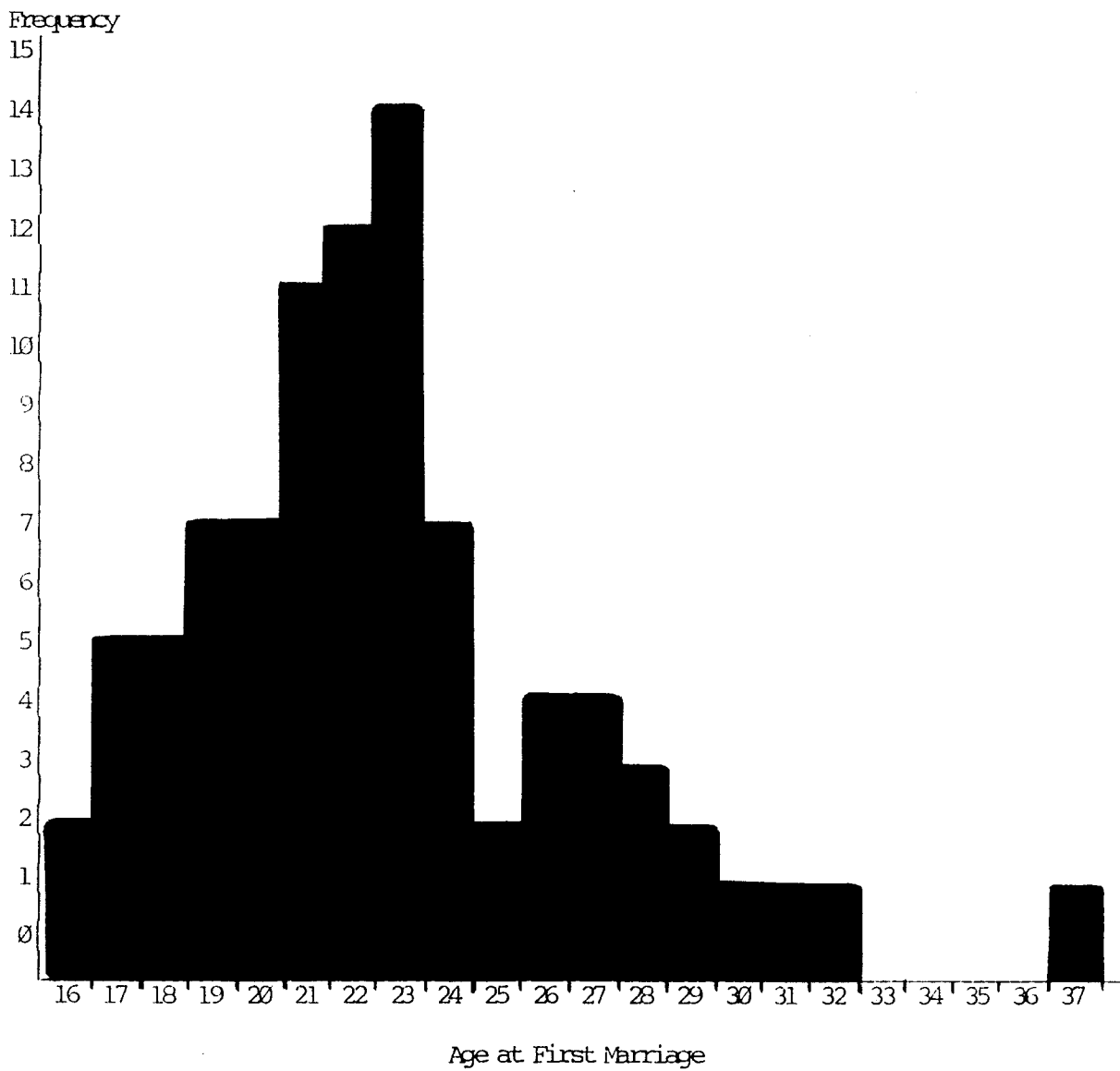
Of the 58 cases in the sample, 29 percent were pure marriages and 71 percent were mixed marriages.* No statistically significant differences in out-marriage were found to exist between Ukrainian males and Ukrainian females.

Tables 14a and 14b provide histograms showing the distribution of scores for the variable 'age at first

*95% Confidence Interval for Pure Marriages: $.293 \pm .12$

Table 14a

Histogram for the Variable 'Age at First Marriage'.
Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin, Native-
Born Only, Hamilton CMA, 1981

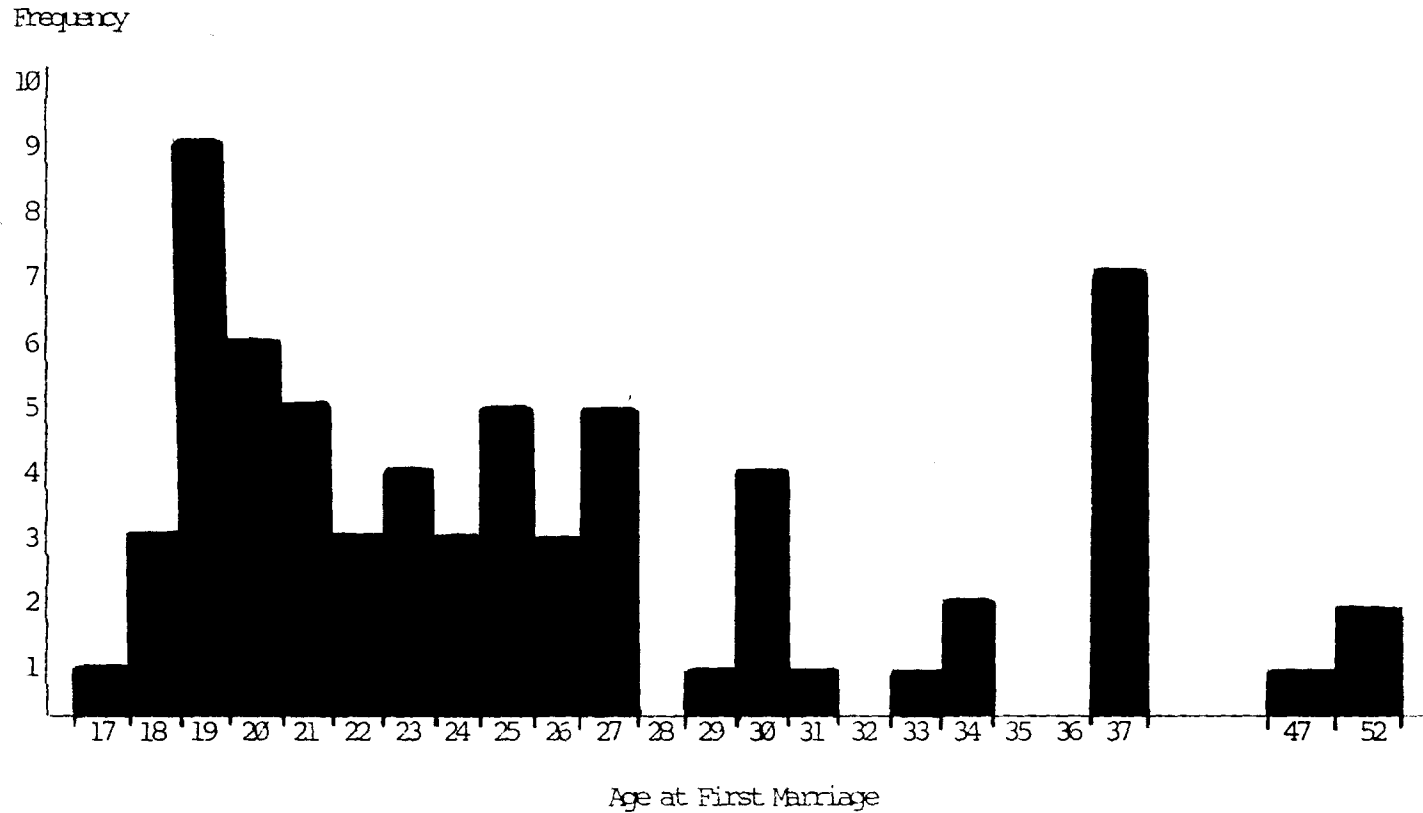


Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Individual File).

N 89 Missing Values 66
Median 22.125
Skewness .954

Table 14b

Histogram for the Variable 'Age at First Marriage',
Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin, Foreign-
Born Only, Hamilton CMA, 1981



Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Individual File).

N 66 Missing Value 6
Median 24.167
Skewness 1.472

marriage', broken down by place of birth, respectively. Of the 155 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin comprising the sample, 89 were native-born and 66 were foreign-born.

It is instructive to note that a previous crosstabulation performed of age at first marriage by place of birth resulted in statistically significant differences between the native and foreign-born in the sample.* Furthermore, the histograms indicate that the median age at first marriage for the native-born was 22.125, while 24.167 for the foreign-born. In addition to marrying at a later age than the native-born, the greater skewness in table 14b shows that the foreign-born had proportionately more of their total number who married in the older 'age at first marriage' categories: 15.1% of the total foreign-born in the sample were 37 years of age or older when first married, while only 1.1% were native-born.

The finding of delayed marriage in the case of the foreign-born points to an external disruption of the life-cycle stage. The foreign-born may have opted for delayed marriage due to economic insecurity, having arrived as displaced persons at the close of the Second World War. Geographical mobility is a second factor that may have acted to involuntarily delay marriage in the foreign-born component. This geographical mobility, also motivated by

*Chi Square 35.85 21 D.F. p < .02

economic necessity, was a characteristic feature of many of the foreign-born who sought employment in numerous centers in Ontario, prior to settling in the City of Hamilton. A significant amount of this geographical mobility occurred following the successful completion of a mandatory work-term that was a condition of their sponsored immigration. This period of economic and social adjustment to the Canadian way of life may have intervened to delay both marriage and subsequent family formation in the foreign-born component.

Finally, the later age at first marriage of the foreign-born did not affect family size, relative to the native-born. Table 15 shows a crosstabulation of birthplace by 'number of babies ever born' for the sample of 85 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin. No statistically significant differences in number of babies ever born were found to exist between the native and foreign-born in the sample.

Table 15

Crosstabulation of Birthplace by Number
of Babies Ever Born, Persons of
Ukrainian Ethnic Origin,
Hamilton CMA, 1981

Number of Babies Ever Born	Birthplace		Total
	Native-born	Foreign-born	
0	8 (15.1)	5 (15.6)	13 (15.3)
1	5 (9.4)	7 (21.9)	12 (14.1)
2	20 (37.7)	7 (21.9)	27 (31.8)
3	9 (17.0)	9 (28.1)	18 (21.2)
4 or more	11 (20.8)	4 (12.5)	15 (17.6)
Total	53 (62.4)	32 (37.6)	85 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Individual File).

() Percent of Total

N 85

Missing Values 142

Chi Square 5.71 4 D.F. $p > .05$

H). SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

i. Occupational Status

Table 16 shows a crosstabulation of birthplace by occupational status for the sample of 142 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA, 1981.* The 1981 Census of Canada defined "occupation" as

...the kind of work the person was doing, as determined by his reporting of his kind of work and his description of his most important duties. Data related to the job at which the respondent worked the most hours (if he had more than one job). If he did not have a job during the week prior to enumeration, the data related to the job longest duration since January 1, 1981.³⁸

The table indicates that, for the sample as a whole, 18 percent were employed in upper white collar occupations, 42 percent in lower white collar occupations and 40 percent in blue collar occupations.⁺ No statistically significant differences in occupational status were found to exist between the two categories of the native-born, and the foreign-born in the sample.

* Reported for persons 15 years of age and over who worked since January 1, 1980 (experienced labour force.)

⁺ 95% Confidence Intervals for Occupational Status Categories:

A). Upper White Collar-	.176 ₊	.063
B). Lower White Collar-	.423 ₊	.081
C). Blue Collar-	.401 ₊	.081

Table 16

Crosstabulation of Birthplace by Occupational
Status, Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin,
Hamilton CMA, 1981

Occupational Status	Birthplace			Total
	Native-born		Foreign-born	
	Western Canada	Eastern Canada		
Upper White Collar	5 (20.0)	15 (18.0)	5 (14.7)	25 (17.6)
Lower White Collar	12 (48.0)	36 (43.0)	12 (35.0)	60 (42.3)
Blue Collar	8 (32.0)	32 (39.0)	17 (50.0)	57 (40.1)
Total	25 (17.6)	83 (58.5)	34 (23.9)	142 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Individual File).

() Percent of Total

N 142

Missing Values 85

Chi Square 2.15 4 D.F. p>.05

Table 17 provides comparative data showing categories of occupational status for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" in the Hamilton CMA, 1981.

Table 17

Crosstabulation of Ethnic Origin by Occupational Status, Ukrainians and All Origins, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Occupational Status	Ethnic Origin		Total
	All Origins	Ukrainians	
Upper White Collar	1360 (23.4)	25 (17.6)	1385 (23.2)
Lower White Collar	2431 (41.8)	60 (42.3)	2491 (41.8)
Blue Collar	2026 (34.8)	57 (40.1)	2083 (35.0)
Total	5817 (97.6)	142 (2.4)	5959 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Hamilton File).

() Percent of Total

N 5959

Missing Values 4879

Chi Square 3.11 2 D.F. $p > .05$

No statistically significant differences were found to exist in the proportion of Ukrainians, vis-a-vis all origins, employed in the three occupational status categories compared.

Table 18 provides comparative data showing the distribution of population by occupational status groupings, for the Hamilton male labour force only. Given that the data contained in the table is based on 20 percent sample data, the actual sample size for the Ukrainian male labour force is 766. No statistically significant differences were found to exist between Ukrainian males and males of all origins, in their percentage distribution for the designated categories of occupational status--the exception being the unskilled category: There were proportionately fewer unskilled Ukrainian males (12.4%) compared to all origins (16.0%).* The table, moreover, indicates that the Ukrainian and British origins shared a similar percentage distribution of their respective male labour force totals in the designated occupational status categories, providing a general indicator of the socioeconomic advancement of the Ukrainian ethnic group.

ii. Educational Levels

Table 19 shows a crosstabulation of place of birth by educational attainment for the sample of 210 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin residing in the Hamilton CMA in 1981. The 1981 Census of Canada defined highest level of schooling as "the highest grade or year of elementary or

*Z = 2.35 prob-value < .02

Table 18
Occupational Status, Hamilton Male Labour Force (percents)

Group	Number	Upper White	Middle White	Clerical	Skilled Manual	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled
Total	154,885	15.3	17.8	14.6	21.1	15.1	16.0
Charter Groups							
British	84,635	16.5	18.5	16.1	20.0	13.2	15.7
French	6,235	8.7	17.6	10.8	23.7	20.6	18.7
Western, Northern Europe							
Dutch	5,100	15.1	21.3	14.1	21.8	12.5	15.3
German	6,910	16.3	18.9	12.4	24.3	14.5	13.7
Scandinavian	960	18.2	27.6	13.5	18.8	14.1	7.8
Baltic	1,145	18.3	20.5	10.5	22.3	18.3	9.6
Mediterranean							
Italian	13,240	9.0	13.8	12.5	25.4	18.5	20.8
Portugese	1,685	1.8	13.4	7.7	20.2	28.2	28.2
Other	1,215	8.2	23.4	13.6	16.5	29.2	9.1
Central, Eastern Europe							
Yugoslav	4,110	6.3	11.6	8.8	30.3	23.8	18.7
Hungarian	2,260	14.8	17.0	12.8	25.0	17.5	12.4
Jewish	1,210	39.3	26.4	19.4	5.8	4.5	4.1
Polish	3,985	11.9	17.6	14.8	21.6	18.1	15.9
Ukrainian	3,830	15.4	19.8	12.7	23.2	16.2	12.4
Racial Groupings							
Native Indians	950	7.8	11.1	13.2	23.7	19.5	24.7
Asian	1,485	27.3	16.2	13.8	10.8	22.2	9.8
Indo-Pakistani	1,255	37.0	10.4	8.0	16.3	17.2	11.2

Source: Special tabulation from the 1981 Census of Canada.

Table 19

Crosstabulation of Birthplace by Educational
Attainment, Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic
Origin, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling*	Birthplace			Total
	Native-born		Foreign- born	
	Western Canada	Eastern Canada		
Grade 8 or Less	11 (29.7)	7 (6.9)	32 (44.4)	50 (23.8)
Grades 9 to 13	17 (45.9)	56 (55.4)	19 (26.4)	92 (43.8)
Post-Secondary Non-University	2 (5.4)	25 (24.8)	15 (20.8)	42 (20.0)
University	7 (18.9)	13 (12.9)	6 (8.3)	26 (12.4)
Total	37 (17.6)	101 (48.1)	72 (34.3)	210 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Individual File).

() Percent of Total

* Reported for: Population 15 years of age and over, excluding
inmates.

N 210

Missing Values 17

Chi Square 41.01 6 D.F. $p < .001$

secondary school attended, or the highest year of university or other non-university completed."³⁹

Statistically significant differences in educational attainment were found to exist between the Western Canadian-born (migrants), Eastern Canadian-born (non-migrants) and the foreign-born. Overall, the Eastern Canadian-born were found to be the most educated among the three groups compared.

A comparison of "highest level of schooling" between the non-migrants and migrants revealed the following: The Western Canadian-born had a greater proportion of their total number in the lowest category of educational attainment than the Eastern Canadian-born. Moreover, they had a lower proportion reporting a high-school education and a substantially lower proportion reporting a post-secondary, non-university education. They had, however, a greater proportion of their total number reporting a university level of education than the Eastern Canadian-born.*

Part of the difference in educational attainment between the Western and Eastern Canadian-born may be

*95% Confidence Intervals for Educational Attainment Categories: A). Elementary - .238 \pm .058
 B). High School - .438 \pm .067
 C). Post-Secondary/Non-University - .200 \pm .054
 D). University - .124 \pm .045

accounted for by the different age distributions of the two groups. Age is a variable that is inversely related to educational attainment. After controlling for age, the basic relationship between the test variables was nullified ($p > .05$), meaning that differences in age acted as an important variable (although not the only variable) accounting for the discrepancies in educational attainment between the two groups: The mean age of the Eastern Canadian-born was 32, while 51 for the Western Canadian-born.*

Table 20 provides comparative data on levels of educational attainment for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" in the Hamilton CMA, 1981.

No statistically significant differences were found to exist between persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" with regard to levels of educational attainment.

iii. Income Levels and Distributions

Table 21 provides comparative data, showing "total census family income" groups for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" in the Hamilton CMA, 1981.

* 95% Confidence Intervals for the variable age:
Eastern Canadian-born - 28.52 to 34.99
Western Canadian-born - 45.67 to 55.91

Table 20

Crosstabulation of Ethnic Origin by Educational
Attainment, Ukrainians and All Origins,
Hamilton CMA, 1981

Highest Level of Schooling	Ethnic Origin		Total
	All Origins	Ukrainians	
Grade 8 or Less	1423 (17.3)	50 (23.8)	1473 (17.4)
Grades 9 to 13	3922 (47.6)	92 (43.8)	4014 (47.5)
Post-Secondary Non-University	1618 (19.6)	42 (20.0)	1660 (19.6)
University	1284 (15.6)	26 (12.4)	1310 (15.5)
Total	8247 (97.5)	210 (2.5)	8457 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Individual File)

N 8457

Missing Values 2381

Chi Square 7.016 3 D.F. $p > .05$

Table 21

Crosstabulation of Ethnic Origin by Total Census Family Income Groups, Ukrainians and All Origins, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Total Census Family Income Groups*	Ethnic Origin		Total
	All Origins	Ukrainians	
\$0 - \$11,999	1179 (12.8)	34 (16.7)	1213 (12.9)
\$12,000 - \$24,999	2756 (29.9)	49 (24.1)	2805 (29.8)
\$25,000 - \$39,999	3526 (38.3)	74 (36.5)	3600 (38.2)
\$40,000 and Over	1756 (19.1)	46 (22.7)	1802 (19.1)
Total	9217 (97.8)	203 (2.2)	9420 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape (1/50 Hamilton File).

() Percent of Total

* The total income of a census family is the sum of the total incomes of individuals 15 years of age and over that are members of that family.

N 9420

Missing Values 1418

Chi Square 6.15 3 D.F. p > .05

Persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin did not differ significantly from all origins in their percentage distribution for the income groups compared.

Finally, tables 22 and 23 show 'total income' groups for female and male persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins", respectively. Again, no statistically significant differences were found to exist in either the male or female sub-samples for the 'total income' groups compared.

Table 22

Crosstabulation of Ethnic Origin by Total Income,
Females Only, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Total Income Groups	Ethnic Origin		Total
	All Origins	Ukrainians	
\$0 - \$2,999	820 (24.6)	24 (27.6)	844 (24.6)
\$3,000 - \$5,999	824 (24.7)	24 (27.6)	848 (24.8)
\$6,000 - \$11,999	867 (26.0)	23 (26.4)	890 (26.0)
\$12,000 and Over	828 (24.8)	16 (18.4)	844 (24.6)
Total	3339 (97.5)	87 (2.5)	3426 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Hamilton File).

() Percent of Total

N 3426

Missing Values 2085

Chi Square 2.03 3 D.F. p > .05

Table 23

Crosstabulation of Ethnic Origin by Total Income
Males Only, Hamilton CMA, 1981

Total Income Groups	Ethnic Origin		Total
	All Origins	Ukrainians	
\$0 - \$6,999	852 (22.7)	33 (31.7)	885 (23.0)
\$7,000 - \$15,999	812 (21.7)	20 (19.2)	832 (21.6)
\$16,000 - \$22,999	1008 (26.9)	24 (23.1)	1032 (26.8)
\$23,000 and Over	1076 (28.7)	27 (26.0)	1103 (28.6)
Total	3748 (97.3)	104 (2.7)	3852 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Hamilton File).

() Percent of Total

N 3852

Missing Values 1475

Chi Square 4.66

3 D.F.

p > .05

Table 24 analyzes the relationship between place of birth and sex with regard to total income, for the sample of 191 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA, 1981.

The overall model (independent variables and covariates) was found to be statistically significant with regard to the dependent variable, total income.^a The joint effect of birthplace and sex on total income was also statistically significant. In terms of independent effects, birthplace was not found to be significant--explaining only 4 percent of the total variation in the dependent variable.^b The variable sex, on the other hand, was found to be significant, explaining 41 percent of the total variation in the dependent variable.^c Of the two covariates selected, only 'highest level of schooling' was found to be statistically significant.^d Finally, the multiple R^2 --which measures the proportion of variation in the dependent variable explained by the additive effects of all factors and covariates, was .173 or 17.3 percent.

$${}^a F_{5, 185} = 14.658 \quad p < .001$$

$${}^b F_{2, 185} = .172 \quad p > .05$$

$${}^c F_{1, 185} = 43.410 \quad p < .001$$

$${}^d F_{1, 185} = 28.509 \quad p < .001$$

Table 24

Multiple Classification Analysis of Total Income
by Place of Birth, Controlling for Age and
Highest Level of Schooling, Persons
of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin,
Hamilton CMA, 1981

Variable and Category

Birthplace	N	Deviations from the grand mean		
		Unadjusted	Adjusted ^a	Adjusted ^b
Eastern Canadian-born	88	-1.00	310.20	-172.45
Western Canadian-born	35	-852.30	-836.85	-712.37
Foreign-born	68	439.97	29.29	589.82

Eta and Beta .04 .04 .04

Grand Mean \$11,956.98 Multiple R² .284

^a Adjusted for Birthplace and Sex as Factors.

^b Adjusted for Birthplace and Sex as Factors with Age and Highest Level of Schooling as Covariates.

N 191 Missing Values 36

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Individual File)

The table indicates that in terms of unadjusted means, the foreign-born had the highest mean total income (\$12,396.95), followed by the Eastern Canadian-born (\$11,955.98) and the Western Canadian-born (\$11,104.68).

Controlling for sex changed the ranking of the three groups compared: The Eastern Canadian-born had the highest mean total income (\$12,267.18), followed by the foreign-born (\$11,986.27) and the Western Canadian-born (\$11,120.13). Further controlling for age and highest level of schooling as covariates re-established the original ranking: Foreign-born (\$12,546.80); Eastern Canadian-born (\$11,784.53) and Western Canadian-born (\$11,244.61).

The table indicates that no statistically significant differences were found to exist between the three categories of birthplace with regard to total income. Males and females, however, were found to differ significantly in terms of mean total income: Males - \$16,034.68 and Females - \$7,082.49. While not statistically significant, existing variations in total incomes for the three groups compared could be accounted for, in part, by differences in respective levels of education. It will be recalled that age differences were not found to be statistically significant. Finally, it is instructive to note that the migratory status of the Western Canadian-born did not translate into higher total incomes. In spite of their migratory status--a characteristic favourable in terms of income, they consistently ranked last relative to the other two groups. It appears that lower levels of educational attainment may

have intervened to offset the higher income earning potential of this group.

Table 25 is a multiple classification analysis of wages, controlling for ethnic origin and age, for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and "all origins" in the Hamilton CMA, 1981. For both categories of the variable ethnic origin, the sample data was restricted to males 15 years of age and over who were employed during the week prior to enumeration (June 3, 1981).

Table 25

Multiple Classification Analysis of Wages,
Controlling for Ethnic Origin and Age,
Hamilton CMA, 1981

Ethnic Origin	N	Deviations from the mean	
		Unadjusted	Adjusted*
All Origins	2,946	-20.36	-2.72
Ukrainians	67	895.12	119.78

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Hamilton File)

* Adjusted for Ethnic Origin as factor and Age as
covariate

Grand Mean \$18,521.31 Multiple R² .139

The overall model (independent variable and covariate) was found to be statistically significant.* In terms of main effects, the independent variable 'ethnic origin' was not found to be statistically significant.** Only the covariate age was found to be significant.*+

The table indicates that in terms of unadjusted means, wage income for all origins was \$18,500.95, and for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin \$19,416.43--the wage differential, therefore, being \$915.48 between the two groups compared. Controlling for ethnic origin as factor and age as covariate reduced the wage differential to \$122.50: "all origins" reported an average wage income of \$18,518.59, while persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin reported \$18,641.09.

The table shows that Ukrainian males were similar to males of all origins with regard to wage income. The existing variation in wage income (slightly higher for Ukrainian males) was not due to ethnic origin per se, but rather the older age distribution of Ukrainian males--as wage income covaries with age.

Finally, tables 26 and 27 provide comparative data on wage income for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin and

$$*F_{2, 3010} = 243.825 \quad p < .001$$

$$**F_{1, 3010} = .485 \quad p > .05$$

$$*+F_{1, 3010} = 487.164 \quad p < .001$$

all origins, broken down by sex, for the Hamilton CMA, respectively. No statistically significant differences were found to exist in either the male or female subsamples, relative to all origins, for the designated categories of wage income.

Table 26

Crosstabulation of Ethnic Origin by Wages,
Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin
and All Origins, Males Only,
Hamilton CMA, 1981

Wage Groups	Ethnic Origin		Total
	All Origins	Ukrainians	
\$0 - \$6,999	629 (20.1)	17 (23.6)	646 (20.2)
\$7,000 - \$15,999	636 (20.4)	9 (12.5)	645 (20.2)
\$16,000 - \$22,999	961 (30.8)	24 (33.3)	985 (30.8)
\$23,000 and Over	897 (28.7)	22 (30.6)	919 (28.8)
Total	3123 (97.7)	72 (2.3)	3195 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Hamilton File).

() Percent of Total

N 3195

Missing Values 2132

Chi Square 2.81 3 D.F. p > .05

Table 27

Crosstabulation of Ethnic Origin by Wages,
Persons of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin
and All Origins, Females Only,
Hamilton CMA, 1981

Wage Groups	Ethnic Origin		Total
	All Origins	Ukrainians	
\$0 - \$2,999	637 (27.0)	18 (29.5)	655 (27.1)
\$3,000 - \$5,999	412 (17.5)	10 (16.4)	422 (17.4)
\$6,000 - \$11,999	657 (27.9)	18 (29.5)	675 (27.6)
\$12,000 and Over	652 (27.7)	15 (24.6)	667 (27.9)
Total	2358 (97.5)	61 (2.5)	2419 (100.0)

Source: 1981 Canadian Census Public Use Sample Tape
(1/50 Hamilton File).

() Percent of Total

N 2419

Missing Values 3092

Chi Square .436 3 D.F. p > .05

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Statistics Canada, 1981 Census Dictionary (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1982) p. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 40.
3. D. B. Chandler, "The Residential Location of Occupational and Ethnic Groups in Hamilton" (Master's Thesis, McMaster University, 1965) pp. 52-53.
4. Ibid., p. 62.
5. Ibid., p. 63.
6. Ibid., p. 63.
7. Ibid., p. 126.
8. Ibid., p. 127.
9. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, A Statistical Compendium, pp. 4-5.
10. Ibid., p. 167.
11. Ibid., p. 168.
12. Ibid., p. 168.
13. Ibid., p. 168.
14. Ibid., pp. 168-169.
15. Ibid., p. 169.
16. Ibid., p. 169.
17. Ibid., p. 169.
18. Ibid., p. 169.
19. Ibid., p. 169.
20. Ibid., pp. 169-170.

21. Ibid., p. 170.
22. Ibid., p. 170.
23. Ibid., p. 170.
24. Ibid., p. 170.
25. Ibid., p. 212.
26. Ibid., p. 213.
27. Ibid., p. 217.
28. Ibid., p. 220.
29. Ibid., p. 215.
30. Ibid., p. 220.
31. Ibid., p. 213.
32. Ibid., p. 219.
33. Ibid., p. 219.
34. Ibid., p. 221.
35. Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups, Vol. 4. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965) p. 119.
36. Ibid., p. 120.
37. Ibid., p. 121.
38. Statistics Canada, 1981 Census Dictionary, p. 36.
39. Ibid., p. 48.

CHAPTER III
THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE UKRAINIAN
COMMUNITY IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO

Institutions Playing an Important Role in the Life of the Organized Ukrainian Community in Hamilton

This chapter will provide a descriptive account of the organizations that play an important role in the life of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario. The term 'organized Ukrainian community', represented by the research sample mentioned earlier, is furthermore meant to include those persons who regularly attend the functions of their respective organizations; who participate in the formulation of institutional goals and actively propagate these same goals. It is instrumental to note that whereas the secular and non-secular organizations comprising this community are geographically concentrated, its members are dispersed throughout the City of Hamilton. (See Map 1). Nevertheless, the members affiliated with these local organizations may rightly be termed a 'community' - an assertion that departs from the traditional sociological conception of an ethnic community as the concentration of people in a limited territory.

Structural/Administrative Overview

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch) is the main coordinating body which encompasses numerous secular and non-secular community organizations. (See

Appendix 16). It is a non-profit organization that is headed by an executive, composed of the representatives of local member organizations. These representatives volunteer their time and effort in coordinating the activities of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch) was formed in 1941 and is one of six branches across Canada that operate under the auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee - the national "umbrella" organization which encompasses over thirty national organizations. The national organizations comprising this Canada-wide coordinating superstructure have local counterparts which are subsumed under the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch).

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch) assists its national body - the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, in discharging the following aims and objectives:

- (a) To act as an authoritative spokesman for the Ukrainian Canadian Community before the people and Government of Canada;
- (b) To strengthen and coordinate the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the Canadian Social and Cultural life based on Christian and democratic principles, and on justice, freedom and independence;
- (c) To render support to the justifiable aspirations of the Ukrainian people in their native land for independence and sovereignty of its ethnic territories;

- (d) To cultivate and maintain among the member organizations mutual respect and tolerance and to coordinate the work in all matters that are of common interest to them;
- (e) To plan and develop among the Ukrainian Canadians sound community life in all its aspects.¹

Item (d) mentioned above is particularly important, as it provides an historical reflection of the divided nature of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, that eventually led to the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1940. It will be recalled from Chapter 1 of this thesis that during the inter-war years, the organized Ukrainian Canadian community was marred by internal dissention - its institutions reflecting the political divisions of Europe:

The rapid growth of organizational life and the transformation of regional organizational structures into several national associations was punctuated by intense rivalry and factionalism, both religious and political.²

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, whose formation "was originally intended as a war-time ad hoc Committee aimed at facilitating the war effort of the Ukrainian Community in Canada", gained permanent stature in the post-war years.³ Its formation and subsequent role was of pivotal importance in A). consolidating Ukrainian-Canadian opinion and B). neutralizing the ideological and religious differences within the organized Ukrainian Canadian community.⁴ Today, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee functions as a single authoritative voice in representing the interests of all

non-Communist Ukrainian Canadians.

The supreme governing body of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is the Ukrainian Congress, which meets every three years:

Between 1943 and 1980, thirteen congresses have been held. There can be little doubt that the Ukrainian Canadian Congress is today the highest moral authority for the entire organized non-Communist Ukrainian community in Canada - a kind of parliament in which Ukrainian political and cultural ideals are reaffirmed or modified.⁵

The organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton should not be viewed independently, but rather as one that is inextricably linked to both a national and international, or global, Ukrainian community. In the latter case, this linkage was hallmarked by the convening of the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians in 1967, realized through the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee:

The first world congress was held in New York on November 16-19, 1967, with over 200 political, social, economic, and religious organizations participating. Of the 1,000 delegates, one-quarter came from Canada...The second congress was hosted by the U.C.C. in Toronto in 1973. The congress had two main purposes: (1) to coordinate and promote the activities of all democratically and nationalistically oriented Ukrainian communities in the non-Communist world which sought to preserve the Ukrainian identity outside Ukraine; and, (2) to inform world opinion of the violation of human rights in Soviet Ukraine.⁶

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians has held two

subsequent congresses: in 1978 and 1983. Members of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton have participated via delegate representation in each of these World Congresses.

Institutional Orientations, Goals and Activities

The secular and non-secular institutions comprising this community represent the cumulative cultural contribution of three waves of Ukrainian immigration to the City of Hamilton. The members of each immigrant wave, subsequent to the first, reinforced the established institutional network by joining existing community organizations and, moreover, reinvigorated it through the formation of new organizations.

An overriding purpose of this chapter is to show that the orientations, goals and activities of the institutions comprising this community, reflect the unique social composition and aspirations of three immigrant waves - a reflection that, in turn, is rooted in their respective political, economic, religious and cultural past.

This section begins by describing the ideological orientations, goals and activities of the secular organizations that currently exist and form the social foundation of the predominantly pro-nationalist organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton.

Nationalist Organizations

A). The Ukrainian National Federation

An important nationalist organization functioning as part of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, is the Ukrainian National Federation - UNF. Currently celebrating its 50th anniversary, the UNF was formed in 1935 by members of the first and second Ukrainian immigrant waves to Hamilton. Today, the UNF is composed of Ukrainian immigrants of the third wave and their offspring. This organization is domiciled within its National Home (narodnij dim) or community center, within which activities of a distinctly nationalistic character are pursued.

External Linkages:

The UNF in Hamilton is a branch organization of its national parent body - the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada. Bearing in mind the political, economic, religious and cultural composition of the first and second Ukrainian immigrant waves, a brief exposure to the reasons for the creation of this national body, its aims and activities will now be presented.

The parent UNF was formed in 1932, spearheaded by the united efforts of the members of the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association - a group of World War I Ukrainian Freedom Fighters who fought to maintain the shortlived

Independent Ukrainian state between 1917-1921. As implied by its name, the parent UNF played a major role in uniting existing nationalistically-oriented organizations in Canada:

The newcomers, mainly veterans of the Ukrainian armies who had fought for the independence of Ukraine in 1917-1921...denounced the prevailing religious controversy and intolerance. Appealing for unity to combat the Russian-inspired communist movement among the Ukrainian Canadians and to work for the common goal of winning liberty and statehood for Ukraine, they brought into being a new organization.⁷

In 1934, the First Nation-Wide Conference of the Ukrainian National Federation was held. Partaking of this conference were the following national organizations: "the Women's Organization of Canada - OUK; the Ukrainian Federation - UNF and finally, the creator of all these, the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association".⁸ In addition to uniting the aforementioned existing nationalist organizations during the inter-war years, the UNF of Canada was one of five nationally organized bodies that helped form the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

As a branch organization, the UNF in Hamilton embraces the following principles expounded by its national parent body. These principles reflect a combination of political, religious and cultural concerns:

- (a) Each nation has the right to live freely on its territories;

- (b) Ukrainians, members of the UNF in Canada, have a responsibility to their adopted homeland;
- (c) It is considered a duty to assist in attaining the goal of an independent Ukrainian nation;
- (d) The UNF in Canada seeks to cultivate among its members high principles of Christian morality;
- (e) In Canada, the UNF supports and develops the historical and cultural traditions of its homeland - the Ukraine;
- (f) The interests of the Ukrainian nation are considered to be above all personal and material interests.⁹

Professor I. Bobersky identified a twofold thrust in the idealistic aims of the UNF of Canada:

In matters pertaining to Canada the Ukrainian National Federation directs itself to a firm understanding of its privileges and its duties. In matters concerning Ukraine it adopted as its basis the re-education of the masses, and a close struggle for the restoration of the united independent Ukraine through the fortitude of our own Ukrainian people. The close collaboration of the church is essential.¹⁰

The "New Pathway" is the official press organ of the UNF of Canada. Historically this publication has reflected the ideological orientation of this parent organization, its national affiliates and its local branches:

The paper, as well as the organizations, were fully in agreement with the ideas proclaimed by the Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism in Europe that was under the spiritual helm of the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (O.U.N.) and headed by Col. Evhen Konovalets.¹¹

The O.U.N., formed in 1929, was the European-based parent

body of the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada. At the close of the Second World War, local branches of the UNF "were expected to benefit from the influx of nationalistically oriented immigrants" - members of the underground ideological-revolutionary movement known as the OUN.¹² However, members of the OUN in Europe were divided during and after the Second World War into several nationalist factions. These factions included: "the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, commonly known as Melnykivtsi (OUN m); the Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, commonly known as the Banderivtsi (OUN b) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad, commonly known as the Dviikari (OUN z)".¹³ O. Woycenko provides the following description of the ideological leanings of these respective factions:

OUN (b), which emerged as the largest faction, was a militant, disciplined, highly centralized, ultra right-wing group; OUN (m), second in terms of membership, was conservative but considerably more moderate and flexible in its internal organization; OUN (z), the smallest and youngest faction was the most liberal and democratic... These differences in temperament and orientation are rooted in social differences. OUN (b) originated among local activists and students in Galicia who were dissatisfied with the so-called leadership of the OUN in western Europe; it received its popular support from the peasant and lower-middle class masses. OUN (m) was composed of those elements who supported the Leadership; it drew its support from fairly well-educated, middle-class circles primarily. OUN (z), which was a splinter group from OUN (b), included

intellectuals, publicists, and others who were dissatisfied with the authoritarian tendencies within OUN (b).¹⁴

With the arrival of the third Ukrainian immigrant wave, the adherents of the OUN (m) - the Melnikivtsi, united with the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada. The adherents of the OUN (b) - the Banderivtsi, on the other hand, opted to maintain their independence.* They formed a new organization, incorporated nationally, known as the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation - the LVU. Hence, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, factionally divided in Europe, continued to remain ideologically separated in Canada:

This important intellectual-political division during the war had a divisive effect on the patterns of community organization, development and cohesion "in diaspora". However, this split did not affect the essential unity of outlook among the third fragment Ukrainians because the intellectual viewpoint of both factions was fundamentally similar. The differences were personal, generational and tactical with regard to the liberation of Ukraine, but it was not a fundamental schism in world views.¹⁵

* Not all members of the third Ukrainian immigration to Canada were members of the OUN, yet many subscribed to this organization's basic tenets. These tenets, moreover, were intensely debated while members of this political immigration were incarcerated in the many internment camps throughout Europe both during and after the Second World War. (Source: Yarema G. Kelebay, "Three Fragments of the Ukrainian Community in Montreal, 1899-1970: A Hartzian Approach" Canadian Ethnic Studies 12 no. 2, 1980, p. 84).

The alliance by adherents of the OUN (m) with the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, and the independence of the OUN (b) and their adherents, via the creation of a new and distinct organization - the LVU, generated a division that was reverberated in local Ukrainian communities across Canada - including Hamilton. Finally, whereas discord among the emigres dominated the post-1945 era, a second, albeit important source of friction occurred between the nationalistic newcomers and those Ukrainians who were firmly established and primarily oriented to Canadian objectives - particularly members of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada.

The UNF in Hamilton has two affiliates: a women's sector - the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (OUK) and a youth sector - the Young Ukrainian Nationalists (MYN). The OUK, like all of the Ukrainian women's organizations in Hamilton are organized nationally, and are coordinated locally through the Women's Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch). The OUK has been particularly active in three main organizational areas: in charitable work; as a major force in maintaining the Ukrainian cultural heritage; and in the cultural-educational upbringing of the UNF's "youth sector", MYN.

The charitable work performed by this women's organization encompasses a local, national and

international scope. At the end of the Second World War, close ties were maintained with European-based women's organizations in Germany, Switzerland, England and Belgium which served to extend the OUK's charitable work to an international level. In the post-war years, humanitarian work of the OUK was manifested in the form of financial aid to European countries for a) the overseeing of orphanages; b) the care of elderly men and women who had lost their ability to find employable work due to physical infirmity; and c) for the construction of geriatric hospitals.¹⁶ Finally, the OUK was active in raising funds for the so-called Central Committee Penny Fund. The money placed in this Fund was directed to help Ukrainians who found themselves interned in various camps across Europe during and after the Second World War.

The OUK has also been a mainstay in the preservation and development of the Ukrainian cultural heritage. Finally, the OUK has played an important role in instilling nationalistic pride within the UNF's youth sector, MYN. The OUK has developed child nurseries and organized Ukrainian schools wherein the Ukrainian language, cultural traditions and politico-historical ties to the Ukraine are transmitted.

The youth sector MYN has also had a long-standing record in the preservation and development of the Ukrainian

culture: In Hamilton, members of MYN have organized the Jr. Chaika Cultural and Educational Society and the Sr. Chaika School of Song and Dance. The "Chaika" Folk Dance Ensemble was formed in 1957, has performed in Europe, and is currently embarking on a U.S. tour.

B). The Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation - LVU

The Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation is a second important nationalist organization highly active in the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton. M. Lupul succinctly describes the goals of the LVU's nationally-organized parent body of the same name:

LVU was founded to inform Ukrainian Canadians and others about the political and military struggle for Ukraine's liberation and to disseminate information about the threat of Russian imperialism and Communist totalitarianism. LVU at the present time is the largest community organization. A greater emphasis is placed on the inculcation of ideology than in the other non-Communist organizations. This is achieved through the press, at frequent celebrations commemorating the heroic deeds of Ukrainian nationalists, and by mobilizing members for participating in political demonstrations.¹⁷

Organized in 1949, the parent LVU joined the ranks of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1956. The Toronto-based press organ of the LVU is "Homin Ukrainy" (Echo of Ukraine) which was established in 1948. This publication reflects to a great extent the political orientation of its readership:

As the journal of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (LVU), the paper viewed other newspapers, including Novyi Schliakh (The New Pathway), as insufficiently active in the struggle for Ukrainian independence. At the outset it was particularly concerned with publicizing the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Ukraine. Though still more nationalist and anti-leftist than most, it is gradually devoting more space to Ukrainian-Canadian affairs. (sic).¹⁸

The LVU is also preoccupied to a very large degree with monitoring human rights violations in Ukraine. This watchdog role is further reinforced by lobbying efforts, channeled through the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and directed toward the Federal Government of Canada for the release of prisoners of conscience in Soviet Ukraine.

The LVU in Hamilton has two affiliates: the Women's Association of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (ZhLVU) and SUM - the Ukrainian Youth Association. The ZhLVU was established on Sept. 25/1955. The lack of a permanent building within which to conduct their activities was one of this organization's initial setbacks. As such, the women's section of the LVU held their meetings in the private homes of individual members. The acquisition of a permanent building allowed the ZhLVU to pursue its work that soon adopted a twofold thrust: community-wide charitable activity and cultural-educational activity. The charitable work of the ZhLVU, like that of the other women's sections of nationalist organizations, extends

internationally. The ZhLVU of Hamilton has provided financial aid to post-war orphanages in Europe; to a Ukrainian school (Ridna Shkola) in Austria; to political prisoners that have been released from Siberia and finally, to invalids of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.¹⁹

A most important function played by the ZhLVU in the cultural-educational realm has been the organization of a Ukrainian School and the "nationalist" upbringing of the LVU's youth affiliate, SUM. The nature of SUM will be described later, in conjunction with other Ukrainian youth organizations in Hamilton.

C). Association of Ukrainian Victims of Russian Communist Terror

A third nationalist organization, organized Canada-wide with its local counterpart in Hamilton, is the Association of Ukrainian Victims of Russian Communist Terror - commonly referred to in the literature as S.U.Z.E.R.O. This organization has its national headquarters in Toronto, Ontario and is composed primarily of third wave political refugees from the Soviet Ukraine. M. Marunchak explicates the nature of this organization as follows:

This organization was composed mostly of those who had suffered from the communist terror in the Ukraine. The very name itself clearly denotes its political character. S.U.Z.E.R.O. stood on the principles of Christianity and democracy and directed its activities toward

the strengthening of the constitutional rights, and the propagation of peace among Canadians, condemning especially at every step, the terrible crimes committed by the Stalinist regime against the Ukrainian people in the occupied territories...In its statute book the S.U.Z.E.R.O. explains that all its anti-Communist struggle is also of great service to the new fatherland of Canada, so that it will not suffer the same fate, a victim to the communist experiment.²⁰

Through its national organization, the local branch of S.U.Z.E.R.O. is affiliated with the international counterpart known as "The World Federation of Ukrainian Former Political Prisoners and Victims of the Soviet Regime". This international body publishes an English quarterly, "The New Review" - a journal of East European history.²¹

Youth Organizations

The following section turns its attention to the various youth organizations that operate either independently, or as "youth sections" of the secular and non-secular institutions in Hamilton.

A). "Plast" - Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada (Hamilton Branch)

Plast is one of the leading educational youth organizations in Hamilton. Organized nationally, this organization is a product of the third Ukrainian immigrant wave to the City of Hamilton. The character, historical roots, aims and activities of this organization are

provided in the following quote:

The first branches of the Ukrainian Youth Association - Plast were organized in 1948. A non-denominational organization, unaffiliated with any of the national or political parties, Plast is the Ukrainian equivalent of the Boy Scout - Girl Guide movement. It was originally founded in Galicia in 1911. Unlike other Ukrainian youth organizations, it stresses camping, pioneering, and other wilderness activities. The organization has a reputation for developing well-rounded Canadian citizens who appreciate Ukrainian culture and traditions.²²

Finally, the youth in this organization participate in weekly activities that includes the attendance at Ukrainian evening classes in which the Ukrainian language may be learned and exercised. Like all youth organizations, summer educational camps are organized and directed by adolescents in their late teens who, as members of this organization, are provided the opportunity to develop organizational and leadership skills.

B). SUM - Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada
(Hamilton Branch)

A second youth organization active in the City of Hamilton is SUM. In many respects, the activities of SUM are similar to those of Plast mentioned previously. The work of SUM is aimed in two directions: Ukrainian courses and cultural-educational activity. However, an historical analysis of this organization's founding ideology demarcates it from Plast:

It formed spiritual ties with the Ukrainian Youth Association that was very active against the Bolshevik regime, which had organized itself on the eastern Ukrainian lands following the First World War. From this original source "SUM" was able to derive a more pungent type of political patriotism than the other youth organizations.²³

Furthermore, unlike the non-denominational character of Plast, SUM is affiliated with the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (Hamilton Branch).

C). ODUM and SUMK

ODUM - the Democratic Youth Association and SUMK - the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association are two youth organizations that are affiliated with St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Hamilton. Organizationally, ODUM and SUMK are "youth sections" that operate under the auspices of the local Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association or TUS, which is the major lay body of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Hamilton. All three of these local organizations maintain close ties with their respective nationally organized counterparts.

ODUM was formed nationally in 1950 by Ukrainian immigrants of the third wave from eastern or Soviet Ukraine:

Politically it stands close to the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror (S.U.Z.E.R.O.) and its organ in Canada is the monthly journal "Young Ukraine".²⁴

SUMK, on the other hand, was formed nationally by Ukrainian immigrants of the inter-war period. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association (TUS) became an affiliate of the national parent organization known as the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada - or SUS. SUS, also a product of the inter-war years, will be described momentarily.

Finally, an interesting sociological observation concerns the social composition of the parents whose children attend the youth organizations PLAST, SUM and ODUM:

The youth, whose parents come from the Western part of Ukraine, is organized mostly in PLAST and SUM, whose parents come from Eastern Ukraine, is organized in the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association (ODUM).²⁵

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association or TUS, is the major lay body associated with St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Hamilton. TUS's nationally-organized parent organization is the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada - or SUS, which embraces several organizations, each of which, which have local counterparts in the City of Hamilton. These affiliates include; TUS - an organization composed exclusively of male adults; SUK - or the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada; ODUM and SUMK - both youth associations previously mentioned. An analysis of the parent organization SUS, will yield substantial information

about the ideology of its local affiliates in Hamilton.

SUS was the second Canada-wide organization to emerge and moreover, one that was "indigenous to Canada with roots deep in the pioneer period".²⁶ O. Woycenko provides the following account of the governing ideology of this organization:

Canada is an adopted homeland; Ukrainians have settled here permanently, their children have been born and raised here, thus Canada is their native land; as full-fledged citizens with privileges and responsibilities, Ukrainians should participate in all spheres and all phases of the life of this country on an equal footing with their co-citizens; politically, there could be only one loyalty - to Canada; ethnically, Ukrainians should strive to perpetuate and cultivate their specific cultural attributes...within the framework of their Canadian citizenship, the Ukrainian Canadians should aid their kinsmen in Ukraine in their aspirations and struggle for freedom...they should help the cause morally and financially, but they must not affiliate formally with any of the political factions in the homeland or in exile.²⁷

This ideology is the one which the majority of Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin subscribe to - barring the Communist sector.²⁸ SUS was particularly dynamic and active in the 1920's and early 1930's:

Local missionary zeal coupled with a profound concern about the policies of Russia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia toward Ukraine brought mass protest meetings and appeals to the League of Nations and heads of state to condemn atrocities such as the forced collectivization of peasants and famine in Soviet Ukraine, the "monster trials" of Ukrainian intellectuals at Kharkiv, and the

"pacification" of Ukrainian areas in Poland.²⁹

Finally, it is important to note that SUS was one of the five founding members of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1940.

Private Ukrainian Schools

Private Ukrainian education constitutes a critical component of the work performed by the secular and non-secular institutions comprising this community. The education of Ukrainian adults and youths has had a long history of involvement in Ukrainian communities throughout Canada. It is timely, therefore, to provide the European-based historical roots of this educational system:

A mass movement for 'enlightenment' which meant striving for knowledge and education in general, was initiated in 1868 by the formation of a cultural-educational institution Prosvita in Lviv. A net of branches spread throughout the villages and towns of Western Ukraine...Many Ukrainian organizations patterned their program of activities after this parent body, even attaching the name Prosvita...to their community halls.³⁰

The members of the first immigration to Hamilton initiated educational and cultural programs in private homes "to perpetuate their heritage and to integrate into the Canadian way of life".³¹ In 1909, the first Reading Room - the 'Markian Shashkevich Cultural Center' was established, followed by a second Reading Room - the 'Prosvita of Taras Shevchenko' in 1910. The Taras Shevchenko Reading Room was

formed by members of the Ukrainian socialist movement. Affiliated with this Reading Room was a Women's Educational Organization, one of the first of its kind in Eastern Canada. These Reading Rooms were established in the name of two of the Ukraine's greatest literary figures.

Today, four Ukrainian schools exist in the City of Hamilton: two secular vernacular part-time schools and two parochial schools. The first secular part-time Ukrainian school is affiliated with the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation and is directed towards its youth affiliate, SUM. The second Ukrainian school is affiliated with the Ukrainian National Federation and is directed towards its youth affiliate, MYN. Of the two parochial schools, the first is affiliated with St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church; the second is affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Holy Spirit: The Catholic Ukrainian school has an enrollment of approximately 180 pupils and is staffed by six teachers. The Holy Spirit Ukrainian School was one of three in the Province of Ontario that successfully lobbied the Catholic separate school system to allow the Ukrainian language "to be taught as a subject during regular school time one-half hour each day from kindergarten through grade eight".³² The funding for this school comes partly from the Catholic separate school system in Ontario, and partly from the Ukrainian Catholic

Brotherhood - the major lay body of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hamilton.

Finally, one should note the progress made by the organized community in its effort to extend Ukrainian language-education to the public school system: First, by 1972, Ukrainian courses were offered at the high school level in Hamilton. Second, introductory, intermediate and advanced courses in Ukrainian grammar and literature are currently being offered by the Slavics Department of McMaster University, at the undergraduate level.

Mutual Aid Organizations

Mutual aid organizations constitute a highly salient feature of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton - playing an important cultural as well as economic role. Three types of mutual aid organizations currently exist: a) two credit unions, b) a social service agency, and c) a retirement home. These mutual aid organizations, which will be described in turn, underscore the essentially self-financing nature of the Ukrainian institutional life in Hamilton.

A). Credit Unions:

M. Plawiuk explicates the following reasons for the initiation of the Ukrainian credit union movement in Canada:

There is not the slightest doubt that organization of the Ukrainian credit unions was caused by the general movement on this continent towards the cooperative principle of using group savings of the members to satisfy their individual credit requirements. There were also social reasons.

The economic crises in the nineteen-thirties put many farmers and newcomers to Canada into a category of people whom banks regarded as a bad credit risk. At this time Ukrainians became an object of interest to the leftists, especially the Communist Party in Canada. It is interesting to note that in spite of the widespread Communist Party propaganda among Ukrainians, the party did not take the initiative to organize credit unions. This initiative may be credited to members of the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada.³³

The credit union movement has generated a debate among scholars - some viewing it as a manifestation of Ukrainian integration into Canadian life, others viewing this movement as "a separation of the Ukrainian element into a kind of ghetto".³⁴ M. Marunchak adopts the former view:

When we speak about the Ukrainian credit unions in Canada it does not mean that their existence represents some kind of ghetto establishments of exclusive enterprises reserved for the Ukrainians only. All of Ukrainian credit union branches are members of the central credit union offices in Canada and the U.S.A., and have people of other nationalities belonging to their branches as well as the reverse of this set up where many Ukrainians are members of credit unions that are in the hands of the people of other nationalities.³⁵

This view provides support for the contention that the "exclusivity" of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada is rapidly diminishing with time.

Two Ukrainian credit unions currently operate in the City of Hamilton. The Ukrainian National Federation - UNF operated its own cooperative that was founded in 1943 and had an initial membership of 121 persons. This was the first Ukrainian credit union established in Eastern Canada. Second, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Holy Spirit established its own credit union in 1950. It was comprised of 340 members, but later dissolved.

Whereas much of this thesis has focused on the ideological divisions historically rooted within this community, it is timely to point out the following instance of inter-institutional cooperation: The credit union representatives of a) the Ukrainian National Federation, b) the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Holy Spirit and c) St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church decided to amalgamate and formed the United Ukrainian Hamilton-Wentworth-Halton Credit Union. This credit union was temporarily housed in the Holy Spirit Parish before acquiring a permanent residence at 1252 Barton St. E. This credit union is celebrating its 10th anniversary since the amalgamation that occurred in 1975.

The "Wira" Hamilton Credit Union is the second Ukrainian credit union currently serving the community at large. This credit union is affiliated with the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, that opted to maintain its

independence. The membership and assets of the United Ukrainian Hamilton-Wentworth-Halton Credit Union and "Wira" Credit Union are presented below.

	<u>Membership</u>			<u>Assets</u>		
	1971	1980	1981	1971	1980	1981
United Ukrainian Hamilton-Wentworth- Halton Credit Union	241	1365*	1375	\$ 280,046	\$5,148,491*	\$5,201,072
"Wira" Hamilton Credit Union	—	396*	350	\$ 363,457	\$1,630,149*	\$1,556,984

* the rapid increase in membership and assets is primarily due to amalgamation

SOURCE: DATA DERIVED FROM M. MARUNCHAK, THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS, P. 853; AND THE "COORDINATOR", NO. 1-2 (35-36), TORONTO, 1982.

B). The Ukrainian Canadian Social Services Inc. of Canada

In addition to the credit unions in Hamilton, a second type of mutual benefit organization exists. This organization is known as the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services Inc. of Canada - UCSS, formed in the post-war years as an outgrowth of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund created in 1944 to aid in the resettlement of displaced persons and refugees:

In accordance with its constitution it also organized and coordinated welfare work among Ukrainians in Canada and was the nucleus out of which the Ukrainian Canadian Social Welfare Services emerged.³⁶

As a charitable organization, the UCSS brings aid to local Ukrainians in need, as well as to new immigrants who have

escaped from behind the Iron Curtain. It is instructive to note that this aid is not strictly localized to the Hamilton Ukrainian community, but extends internationally as well:

From time to time the U.C.S.S. arranges drives for needy Ukrainians in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and behind the Iron Curtain. It also provides direct necessities for political prisoners in Ukraine.³⁷

C). Senior Citizens' Home

A third mutual benefit organization that serves members of the local Ukrainian community, and is open to persons of all nationalities, is the senior citizens' home known as Villa Kiev. Rev. Ivan Waszczuk initiated such a home in Toronto and was instrumental in transplanting this concept to Hamilton. Villa Kiev was founded on August 25, 1982 and is affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Resurrection Parish.

Special Interest Organization

The Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Hamilton is an important local organization, reflecting the socio-economic integration of persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin into Canadian society. This organization is a product of the third Ukrainian immigration to Hamilton. It will be recalled from Chapter 1 of this thesis that the social composition of the third

Ukrainian immigrant wave to Canada included substantial numbers of intellectuals, professionals, artisans and businessmen. Today, the native-born comprise a growing sector of this association.

Like most other branches or "clubs" in Canada, the Hamilton Branch operated independently until 1965.³⁸ In this year, the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation - the UCPBF was formed. Most importantly, the formation of this national coordinating structure and its local affiliates

...appeared to signify a change in the socio-economic structure of Ukrainian society. Ukrainians in Canada had become highly organized with a substantial middle class.³⁹

Representatives of the Hamilton Branch of the UCPBF were in attendance at a national convention held in Toronto in 1972 at which several important resolutions were approved. These resolutions reflect the important leadership role of the UCPBF in addressing the issues of concern to the organized Ukrainian community:

The Federation decided "to take steps to strengthen the social, economic and cultural life of its members", "to encourage the maintenance of the Ukrainian National identity in Canada and fully support the causes of Multiculturalism", "to encourage the clubs to participate actively in Ukrainian organized life and to support it morally and financially", "to support its members to play an active role in Canadian political life at all levels and also in non-Ukrainian organizations", "to increase the political activities and lines of communication between

the Federation and all levels of Government in Canada".⁴⁰

Many of the resolutions mentioned above serve to underscore the changing nature of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton. Chapter IV of this thesis will be devoted to a discussion of the internal and external factors contributing to this change as well as the institutional response to these social forces.

The Association of United Ukrainian Canadians

The Association of United Ukrainian Canadians - the A.U.U.C. has had a long history of activity as the lone communist organization in Hamilton. In order to understand the nature of this organization, one must consider the historical development of its predecessor organizations in Canada. This development encompasses Ukrainians of the first and second immigrant waves to Canada and begins in the Canadian Prairies.

The Ukrainian Branch of the Social Democratic Party of Canada was "the first organization of Ukrainian Canadians with definite political colourings..."⁴¹ The Ukrainians in the City of Hamilton formed such a labour organization on October 22, 1915. With the banning of this Party in September 1918, the members of the Ukrainian Branch of the SDP established their own organization known as the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. The

ULFTA was incorporated nationally in 1924 and established a network of branches across Canada to promote the communist cause among Ukrainian-Canadians.⁴² As a digression, the ULFTA is the name which is still enshrined on the building currently utilized by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians at 746 Barton St. E. in Hamilton.

The Workers' Benevolent Association - a fraternal society, was a second pro-communist organization to emerge in 1922 and later became an affiliate of the ULFTA. Another satellite to emerge was TODOVYRNAZU which was formed by the ULFTA due to the following circumstances:

Repressive measures against the native Ukrainian population in Poland and Romania aroused the post-war immigrants and particularly former Ukrainian soldiers who had participated in the armed struggle for an independent Ukraine. In an effort to exploit the circumstance, the Ukrainian communists launched the *Tovarystvo Dopomohy Vyzvolnomu Rukhovi na Zakhidni Ukrayini* (Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine or TODOVYRNAZU) in March 1931.

It was designed to appeal especially to the former Ukrainian veterans. Ostensibly its purpose was to render moral and material support to the radical movement in Western Ukraine, but the new organization also served to divert the attention of the Ukrainian immigrants from the struggle for Ukrainian independence and to extend communist influence among them.⁴³

O. Woycenko provides her own assessment as well as enumerates the observations of several authors with regard to the appeal of the aforementioned inter-war pro-communist organizations to Ukrainian-Canadians: Woycenko contends

that the Ukrainians who joined the ULFTA "were attracted by its socio-cultural activities; they gave little or no thought to its communistic leaning".⁴⁴ Furthermore, with regard to the Workers' Benevolent Association, Woycenko states the following:

As the weekly membership fees were modest, and the members were assured of assistance in times of illness, accident or death, it was successful in recruiting a good number of adherents.⁴⁵

Thomas Kobzey, who was a leading member of the WBA, identified a different reason, that also provides a clue to the rapid separation that occurred between the non-communist and pro-communist Ukrainian camps:

While the majority of Ukrainian Canadians were busily engaged in establishing their churches, and were absorbed in safeguarding their ethnicity, little attention was paid to the economic problems of the working class and poor farmers - at least they were not very vocal in this respect. In contrast, the communist sector was speaking out for better working conditions and higher wages for the labourers, and better deals for the farmers.⁴⁶

It will be recalled from Chapter 1 of this thesis that the Great Depression was one of the 'traumatic' events that helped shape diverse political leanings, including the communist, among Ukrainian-Canadians. C. H. Young observed that the success of the pro-communist organizations resided in their ability to meet "the social needs of the people" - perhaps more than any of the other existing Ukrainian

organizations.⁴⁷ Finally, Paul Yuzyk provides the following account for the ideological appeal of the pro-communist movement to Ukrainian-Canadians:

Tsarist Russia had suppressed every movement for Ukrainian autonomy and independence whereas Soviet Russia had recognized the autonomy of Soviet Ukraine...These events made a profound impression on many Ukrainians who had migrated to Canada because they could no longer tolerate the repressive regime of a foreign power in their native land. Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visty constantly depicted Soviet Ukraine as a land of freedom and prosperity, virtually 'a paradise', having the most amicable relations with Soviet Russia.⁴⁸

Whereas the ULFTA and its satellites - the WBA and TODOVYRNAZU, had a substantial membership on the 1920's and 1930's, several factors contributed to the decline of this leftist minority: First, with the outbreak of the Second World War, the ULFTA "was banned in Canada, its temples confiscated, its publications suspended".⁴⁹ The following statistical data provides information on the original cost, saleprice and indebtedness of the ULFTA's Hamilton Branch.

ULFTA PROPERTIES SOLD BY THE CUSTODIAN

Location of Temple	Original Cost	Amount of Sale	Balance to ULFTA	Liability Against Property
Hamilton	\$16,152.15	\$5,650.00	\$3,243.41	\$2,398.57

SOURCE: JOHN KOLASKY, THE SHATTERED ILLUSION, TABLE III, P. 38.

Second, a major diremption occurred within the leadership ranks of the ULFTA, precipitated by the following conditions:

Events in the USSR, especially in Soviet Ukraine, where famine and the liquidation of intellectuals disillusioned many, prompted a group of dissenters under Danylo Lobay, a long-time editor of *Ukrainski robotnychi visti*, to leave the movement.⁵⁰

Lobay eventually established the Ukrainian Workers' League - URO, and provided the following indictment against the ULFTA:

...the communistic organization carries a Ukrainian name and utilizes the Ukrainian language, but it works for the benefit of the Communist Party and the Russian State. Under a cover of cultural-educational activities, it rears its members and sympathizers in such a spirit that they are willing to become a blind tool of the Russian State in the case of war or revolution...⁵¹

Finally, in 1946, the successor to the ULFTA was incorporated and became known as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, inheriting the WBA as its subsidiary. The AUUC boasted a membership of 13,000 in 1946:

...even though this represented less than 5 percent of all Ukrainian Canadians, its leaders could influence public opinion on Ukrainian issues. It declined only in the fifties and sixties.⁵²

John Kolasky, a former activist within the ranks of the AUUC has written a book entitled "The Shattered Illusion" - regarded as "the first attempt to write a critical study of a major ideologically-oriented Ukrainian Canadian

organization".⁵³ As implied by the book's title, Kolasky depicts the internal dissention and disillusionment among the rank and file of the AUUC, that culminated in this organizations' loss of momentum and support in the 1950's and 1960's. The author draws up a "balance sheet" of 'credits' and 'debits' in an attempt to summarize the organizational work of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in Canada. On the credit side of the ledger, he states the following:

...one should not overlook the contributions of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations, or the positive work with children and youth, especially in the field of music. Nor can the fact be ignored that, during the depths of the depression, many who had lost all hope received a faith that carried them through the years of economic crises. It was also the members of these organizations who laid the foundation for many of the unions in the mass production industries in Canada.⁵⁴

However, Kolasky contends that on the other side of the ledger, the debits greatly exceeded the credits:

Many lives and vast resources were wasted in promoting hatred and strife. Activities and programs were carried out, not for their intrinsic value, but as a means to an end. Culture was exploited in the interests of an alien and hostile ideology; the various ensembles were merely resources used to promote the communist cause and win support for the USSR.⁵⁵

Kolasky identifies internal (intra-organizational); internal (domestic); and external (foreign) factors that caused the decline in moral and organizational activities

of the AUUC in the post-1945 era:

Internal (intra-organizational) Factors

- difficulty in attracting new recruits, especially the young who were considered to be "the most important reservoir of the A.U.U.C."; difficulty in maintaining existing membership:⁵⁶

Failure to hold the Canadian-born members and cadres had a most demoralizing influence on the older members, and contributed to the decline of the organizations. Each year the average age of the members increased, to maintain the tempo and carry out the tasks required of them decreased.⁵⁷

- financial difficulties experienced by local branches in maintaining their halls; financial difficulties in upholding their press organs, which served as a major tool of propaganda.
- shortage of personnel, particularly the important role of teachers to direct "cultural and educational" work. Kolasky notes that "by 1950 such a large center as Hamilton lacked a teacher".⁵⁸

Internal (domestic) Factors

J. Kolasky contends that on the domestic front, economic and sociological factors were primarily responsible for the steady decline of Ukrainian pro-communist organizations in Canada:

Full employment and the relative prosperity during and immediately after the war made it possible for Ukrainians to improve their economic and social status. As industrious and reliable workers, many moved upward from unskilled to the more skilled and better paying positions. Through their thrift and careful management most were able to acquire comfortable homes, the modest amenities of life, and a relative sense of security.

Some fared even better, amassing modest fortunes through various business enterprises. Want and poverty no longer conditioned their thinking or drove them to seek a radical transformation of society. Their improved status eliminated for them the condition which had been one of the root causes of their radicalism.

A party leader complained that many party members and sympathizers had become "small businessmen, landlords and a good many enjoyed high incomes" with the result that some found it "more convenient to become less active, less outspoken and spend more time enjoying their new economic positions".

This applied in no small measure to many members of the AUUC, a fact which had a whole series of adverse effects on the Association. In many cities, Ukrainians lived in compact areas giving their community what might be termed cohesiveness.

This was gradually destroyed by the growing prosperity of the members. As their material status improved they moved away from the areas of Ukrainian concentration with their modest dwellings to the more pretentious and exclusive sub-divisions with people of similar financial means. Even if such members still had an interest in the organization, distance separated them from the labour temples and their appearances there became less and less frequent.

Moreover, as their English improved, they became more integrated into the Canadian community, their feelings of alienation gradually dissipated and the need for an exclusively Ukrainian environment decreased. Economic advancement also raised their social status and made it easier to merge into Canadian society.⁵⁹

External (foreign) Factors

The following external factors severely affected the ideological foundation of the pro-communist AUUC:

- "Khrushchov's indictment of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1965".⁶⁰
- the invasion of Czechoslovakia by "half a million troops of the Warsaw Pact countries, led by the USSR".⁶¹

Upon the death of Joseph Stalin, the borders of the USSR were gradually opened to tourists. Many of the members of the AUUC made the pilgrimage to the Ukraine. However, the Soviet reality they experienced generated severe cognitive dissonance, disillusionment and, for some, ultimate abandonment of the communist ideology:

They came into contact with or were made aware of the shortages, the inefficiency, the deadening weight of the bureaucracy, the degrading poverty, the paralyzing fear of the dreaded Secret police and, above all, the Russification.⁶²

These pilgrims, moreover, were refused visas by the Soviet government to visit their native villages. Finally, the death knell for the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in Canada came with the arrival of the pro-nationalist political refugees, who challenged the communist ideology through organized community efforts.

In conclusion, only a handful of hard-core and predominantly elderly males comprise the last vestige of the AUUC branches in Canada. Today, their major area of interest lies "in the promotion of cultural relations with Soviet Ukraine".⁶³ Considered a pariah group by the larger pro-nationalist Ukrainian community, social relations

between the two groups is all but non-existent.

The Ukrainian Press

The ethnic newspaper is an important medium reflecting a diversity of political, national, cultural and religious concerns of the numerous Ukrainian communities across Canada. The Ukrainian press has experienced a long history of growth and development, beginning with the first Ukrainian immigrant wave to Canada. The following statistical data reflects this extensive development: First the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism notes that by 1965 there were 54 Slavic publications in Canada; 61 percent of this total number were Ukrainian.⁶⁴ Stated alternatively, Ukrainian publications constituted "21 percent of the total number of ethnic publications".⁶⁵ The RB & B furthermore notes the following provincial assessment:

Ontario's ethnic press was particularly large but was rarely proportionate to the province's population of a particular ethnic category.⁶⁶

Specifically, whereas "27 percent of those reporting Ukrainian origin lived in Ontario ... 48 percent of Ukrainian publicatoins originated there."⁶⁷

Many of the nationalist, leftist and religious publications read by Ukrainians in Hamilton are published in Toronto, as the former does not possess an independent

publishing house. Researchers have identified several salient features with regard to the content of the Ukrainian press: First, the Ukrainians have one of the most politically vocal presses, serving to both express and influence the political opinions of the members comprising the Ukrainian-Canadian community. These publications, moreover, reflect the ideological and religious differentiation characteristic of this community:

They have many publications representing different factions or approaches to politics in Canada and in their homeland. They all articulate the demands of nationally self-conscious and politically assertive ethnic communities.⁶⁸

Another highly salient feature of the Ukrainian press is its self-financing nature:

It has become public knowledge that Ukrainian publications exist with the support of the organizations or churches with which they are affiliated, and donations from the readers. Without these aids, publishers would be forced to curtail their publications.⁶⁹

A detailed analysis of the Ukrainian press is beyond the scope of this thesis. As such, the numerous and diverse roles played by the Ukrainian press in preserving the cultural identity of the Ukrainian-Canadian community will be described in point form below. The Ukrainian press:

- provides news items about the life of Ukrainian Canadians and their communities in all parts of Canada.
- it interprets general Canadian and world news from the Ukrainian Canadian point of view.

- it contributes, in the print medium, toward retention of the Ukrainian language and its acceptance and recognition within the framework of a multicultural Canada.
- it serves as a social link, joining major centres of Ukrainian population as well as smaller and isolated points.
- it provides a public forum for the interaction of views of individuals, groups and organizations within the Ukrainian Canadian community.
- it serves as a medium to provide direction and an intelligent awareness of the heritage of Ukrainian Canadians.
- it functions as a voice for the legitimate demands of Ukrainian Canadians for equality not only in the responsibilities but also in the privileges of Canadian citizenship.
- it is one of the important attributes of our Ukrainian Canadian identity.
- it is a continuing chronicle and a permanent record of the history of Ukrainian Canadians.
- it is a means of acquainting the Western World with the rich treasure-house of Ukrainian culture.
- it reflects the aspirations of the Ukrainian nation for its rightful place among the free nations of the world.⁷⁰

Finally, the Ukrainian press has not remained untouched by the numerous social forces operating both within and without the Ukrainian ethnic community. The rapidly transforming social composition of Ukrainian communities across Canada, have necessitated adaptive changes in both press orientation and content. The Ukrainian press has traditionally catered to the foreign-

born component of the organized Ukrainian Community. The Ukrainian press has changed its content to encompass more Canadian-oriented items of Ukrainian interest, in its bid to secure a greater percentage of the native-born readership. Furthermore, the gradual changeover to the English language has been recognized as being essential to the continued financial viability of these press organs, as increasingly more Ukrainians lose their ability to read and speak the Ukrainian language. The difficulty in recruiting Canadian-born editors and publishers has also plagued the Ukrainian press, compounded by competition in readership from English language dailies. In combination, these factors have left the future viability of some independent Ukrainian weeklies in doubt.

In concluding the section on the secular institutions, it is important to note the following commemorative event binding members of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton. This event concerns the 1932-1933 artificial famine that occurred in Ukraine during the Stalinist regime. The following quote describes this 'forgotten Holocaust' and the local community involvement in the sponsorship of a film, entitled "Harvest of Despair", which depicted this event:

Little has been recorded about the famine that wiped out more than seven million men, women and children in Ukraine during 1932 and 1933. Once considered "the breadbasket of Europe"

because its rich soils produced bountiful grain crops, the nation lost almost a quarter of its population.

Food shortages began after the 1932 harvest when Soviet ruler Joseph Stalin ordered the removal of produce and livestock from the Ukraine. The crops were dumped on Western markets in exchange for western machinery and technology.

The Ukrainians say it was a deliberate attempt by Stalin to break the national independence movement and to collectivize agriculture. In response to continued denial by the Russians about the inhumane efforts, a group of Ukrainians spent two years researching and documenting the days of what they call the forgotten Holocaust. The result, a film entitled Harvest of Despair...⁷¹

This film was shown in the auditorium of Scott Park Secondary School in Hamilton on Feb. 23-24/1985. This premiere was sponsored by 1) the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Hamilton in cooperation with 2) the McMaster University Ukrainian Students Association and 3) the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch). Members of the organized Hamilton Ukrainian community made financial contributions, both individually and organizationally to the producers of this film - the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee. Also, the Federal Secretary of State, Multiculturalism provided a \$50,000 grant to bring this project to fruition. Finally Mr. John Boyko, currently the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch) was instrumental in securing formal approval from the Hamilton City Council to mark the

50th anniversary of this historical event through a commemorative plaque which will be housed in Hamilton City Hall.

Religious Institutions

There are five Ukrainian churches in the City of Hamilton - three Ukrainian Catholic; one Ukrainian Orthodox; and one Ukrainian Presbyterian Evangelical. A brief description of the origins of these churches will now be presented.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Holy Spirit began in 1916 through the efforts of a building committee, which culminated in the completion of this church in 1918:

At the beginning, starting from 1911, Ukrainians of this city were members of the Polish Roman Catholic parish. Not until 1916 did they organize their own parochial committee headed by S. Stoykevych, and Rev. Y. Boyarchuk took over, under his personal care, the guiding of the first steps leading to the progressive growth of this new born community. Once the building plans were announced the Polish parish of the Holy Ghost Church refused to allow any further use of their premises. The only move left was to arrange for cohabitation with the Italian community and the use of their church of St. Anthony.⁷²

An important event for the pioneer Ukrainian community was the consecration of this church by Bishop Nikita Budka "who later became a martyr in Soviet prison camps".⁷³

In 1926, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Parish of St. Vladimir was established, with Rev. Peter Bilon as its

spiritual leader. Furthermore, the greatest activity in the church construction occurred in the post-1945 era:

In 1947 the congregation known as the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church was organized and Rev. Leo Buchak became its minister and the missionary. In autumn, 1959, the erection of the church building began and was completed in May 1960.⁷⁴

In the year 1954, St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church was completed. The Church of the Resurrection Parish, the third Catholic church, was established in February 1964. Finally, a Presbyterian Evangelical Church known as the Ukrainian Native Faith Church was founded in 1947. Its major lay body is the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance, which encompasses all Ukrainians in the City of Hamilton who adhere to local Protestant Evangelical churches. Finally, with the arrival of the third wave Ukrainian immigration to Hamilton, each of the hierarchies of the above-mentioned churches were strengthened by refugee clergy.

Historical Background

The Ukrainian ethnic community in Canada has historically desired an independent, traditional Ukrainian Church. However, several factors prevented the realization of this quest. The result has been the division in religious affiliation of Ukrainians into the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. The following paragraphs will attempt to historically retrace the major

factors that led to this division.

The Ukrainian pioneers who arrived during the first Ukrainian immigrant wave to Canada lacked the spiritual leadership of priests and nuns to pursue their traditional religious practices. The conspicuous lack of a Ukrainian Catholic See in Canada resulted in the Ukrainian parishes and priests falling under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic See in Canada. However, the Ukrainian immigrants became dissatisfied with this jurisdictional arrangement, as the Roman Catholic Bishops "were not familiar with the Byzantine rites of the Ukrainian Catholic Church".⁷⁵ It is timely to explicate the nature of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite:

The Ukrainian Catholics are the most numerous of the Catholic Church among the Eastern Rite. The Byzantine Rite developed in Constantinople, formerly called Byzantium...At first, the Byzantine Rite was used by Greek speaking Christians, thus the Byzantine is sometimes called the Greek Rite. In the 9th and 10th centuries Saints Cyril and Methodius with other missionaries brought Christianity and the Byzantine Rite to countries such as Moravia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Yugoslavia and others. Christianity in Ukraine was officially received in 988 during the reign of St. Volodymyr, the Great. In each of these countries the missionaries adapted the Byzantine Rite to the needs of the people. Consequently, in Ukraine, this worship came to be known as the Ukraine Rite.⁷⁶

The Roman Catholic bishops, furthermore, did not "sense this group's determination to safeguard its ethnicity".⁷⁷

They did not realize that, along with language and other ethnic distinctions, the traditional Ukrainian Church was absolutely essential if they were to retain their ethnic identity.⁷⁸

In the midst of this disaffection and "after years of appeals and interventions, the Catholic See in Rome appointed Mykyta (Nikita) Budka as the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop in Canada".⁷⁹ Budka incorporated the scattered Ukrainian Catholic parishes into a national ecclesiastical body known as the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church:

In 1913 the corporation was completed, and released from the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishops in Canada.⁸⁰

Budka remained, however, directly responsible to the Pope. In 1918, the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church became known as the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. However, in this same year, dissension climaxed within the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, and the result was the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. There were several factors that contributed to this disaffection: In spite of N. Budka's efforts, there was an overall fear of the 'Latinization' of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. M. Stechishin, one of the leaders of the dissenting group noted the following specific objections to Budka's church incorporation:

The most important 'church activity' during the past few years was the transferring of the church properties to the bishop, to his church

corporation. But such an activity can not be regarded as a work in the interest of the people, for quite different activity was necessary. After the transfer of church properties, came the turn of the civil institutions. Speaking generally the activities in this line had as their object the conversion of the Greek Catholics into Roman Catholics. Celibacy was introduced: Roman Catholic missionaries, Redemptorists, were induced to our church; in Liturgy the alteration of words were allowed; Roman Catholic rites were introduced to our church; registries recorded us as Catholics (Roman Catholics)...

Faced with this the Ukrainian intellectuals and prominent citizens met in confidential session, and decided that our people had no alternative but to sever relations with Rome and establish a Ukrainian National Church in Canada. Hence the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood was formed and its executive began negotiations with the representatives of the Orthodox Church in the U.S.⁸¹

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood, the organization that was charged with organizing the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, advanced the following demands:

the election of bishops and priests, with emphasis on the married clergy, and the right of laymen to manage church finances and secular activities. The new church, which emerged before the end of the war, was to be an independent, democratic, national Ukrainian Church.⁸²

An 'independent' national Ukrainian Church meant non-interference from Rome or Moscow, and furthermore, that religious services be conducted in the modern Ukrainian language: The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church held their services in Old Church Slavonic.⁸³ The quest for

independence was reinforced by the growing Ukrainian nationalism in Canada, precipitated by events in the Ukraine during the First World War:

The collapse of Russian tsardom in April, 1917, the establishment of the Ukrainian Central Rada (council) followed by the Ukrainian National Republic, and the emergence of a sovereign Ukrainian state on January 22, 1918, had an electrifying effect. The nationalistic spirit aroused was carried over into church affairs and support for an independent, national Ukrainian church, subject to no foreign interference and in charge of its own affairs, swiftly increased among the Ukrainians in Canada.⁸⁴

Finally, it is important to note the struggle that ensued between N. Budka and the lay intelligensia, over the 'bursa movement'. The bursa movement "became a serious point of contention with the Greek Catholic hierarchy, leading the founders to break with Catholicism and create the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada".⁸⁵ The bursa movement had its historical roots in the "populism (narodovtsvo) that emerged in middle-class lay and clerical circles during the 1860's in the Ukraine":⁸⁶

Its aim was to eradicate illiteracy, raise the educational and cultural level of the peasants, and develop a national consciousness in the process.⁸⁷

The populist movement was revived in Canada and encompassed not only bursas, but national homes and cultural centers - all of which were originally conceived "as non-denominational, non-partizan community institutions".⁸⁸

The attempt by N. Budka to extend clerical control over these national institutions generated much antagonism, culminating in the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

Implications of Religious Duality

The ecclesiastical duality existing among Ukrainians in Canada corresponds to a pattern that prevailed in the Ukraine. There are, however, two significant differences:

...in Ukraine, the majority belongs to the Orthodox faith, but in Canada the majority adheres to the Catholic church...There is another difference: in Ukraine, the Orthodox church is under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarch, but in Canada the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church is independent.⁸⁹

The intolerance and open animosity that existed between adherents of both Churches lasted for almost a quarter of a century. This ecclesiastical duality resulted in the following negative ramifications: First, it served to truncate the development of the non-secular life of the Ukrainian-Canadian community:

It paralyzed efforts to meet on common ground on important issues - vernacular schools, education, cultural endeavours (libraries, museums, research centers), and publication centers.⁹⁰

Second, the internal religious factionalism among Ukrainians was extended to members of other religious denominations; especially in the period of intense anti-

Catholic feeling that followed the split from the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church:

It prevented them from associating with other Slavic groups of Roman Catholic denomination, particularly the Polish people. They were mortally afraid that Latinization would denationalize their church, so they adopted a negative attitude to the Roman Catholic clergy in Canada...⁹¹

O. Woycenko provides the following general account of the attitude of Ukrainian Canadians to other religious denominations:

The Ukrainian Catholics favour the French Catholics, and, it follows, the entire French population. The Ukrainian Orthodox is favourably inclined towards the Anglican church, followed by such denominations as the United Church, Presbyterians, etc. Relations with the Russian Orthodox Church have always been strained because of the historical national antagonism between these two peoples - Russians and Ukrainians. Friendlier relations exist between the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and the Greek Orthodox Churches, and the Greek ethnic community in Canada.⁹²

Instances of Church Cooperation

During the Second World War, the Churches set aside their differences and, through their respective lay organizations: the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, helped form the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1941:

In supporting the Committee, the churches ceased open hostility for the duration of the

war, thereby greatly contributing to the success of military recruiting efforts, government campaigns to sell war bonds, the work of the Red Cross and the rehabilitation of war veterans.⁹³

Co-operation among the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in Canada accelerated in the post-1945 era. This cooperation occurred not only in the case where Canadian national interests prevailed, but also when 'nationalist' interests were at stake; during the Second World War, the Ukrainian Community in Canada was acutely aware of the loss of freedom in general, and religious freedom in particular, in the Ukraine:

The Ukrainians in Canada came to see the churches in the old country as a bulwark of liberal democracy against the twin forces of totalitarian fascism and bolshevism. (Sic).⁹⁴

A significant instance of religious cooperation and solidarity among the global Ukrainian religious community occurred in 1973 at the Second World Congress of Free Ukrainians:

An appeal on behalf of the hierarchies of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, the All-Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Alliance, the Ukrainian Evangelical Reformed Church in Exile was read by Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk. Declaring solidarity with the Ukrainian World Congress and offering prayers and blessing for its success, the statement concluded: "With one voice we urge all leaders of our national, cultural, and political life to unite their spiritual forces and means to achieve the goal common to all our Ukrainians: the freedom of the Christian Church and the Free, Sovereign, and Independent Ukrainian State."⁹⁵

The differences between the two traditional Ukrainian Churches in Canada are not marked. It is timely, therefore, to enumerate the similarities and differences between the two churches:

In Canada both churches maintain the same rite, traditions, customs, and the Ukrainian language in the liturgy (although until a few years ago, the Catholic Church used Old Church Slavonic). The Orthodox Church still adheres to the old Julian calendar, while the Catholic Church has allowed most of its parishes to change to the Gregorian calendar, the one officially in use in Canada. With the Orthodox Church in support of a married priesthood, the vast majority of priests are married and therefore cannot become bishops unless widowed; within the Ukrainian Catholic Church celibacy prevails in Canada, though occasionally married clergy have been admitted from Europe after receiving special Papal permission.⁹⁶

In recent years, a segment of the eccumenical movement in Canada has recognized the similarities between the two Ukrainian churches and have "raised the question of possible union under a common Ukrainian patriarch".⁹⁷ This initiative has not been realized primarily because of the historical fear by Ukrainian Orthodox adherents of an inevitable 'Latinization' under the Pope. However, the Ukrainian Catholic Church enjoys considerable autonomy from Rome in questions of ritual and discipline. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church favours an independent Orthodox patriarchate.

Of major concern to the Ukrainian Catholic Church

has been the long-standing desire for the establishment of a Ukrainian partriarchate:

The movement has its current origins in 1963 when Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, Archbishop Major and head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was released by the Soviet government from a concentration camp after eighteen years of imprisonment. In 1965 at the Ecumenical Vatican Council in Rome, Pope Paul VI elevated Metropolitan Slipyj to the rank of cardinal.* Almost concurrently the Vatican Council issued a decree highly favourable to the traditional Eastern Christian institution of the partriarchate. Consequently, in 1969 a synod in Rome of twenty-eight Ukrainian Catholic bishops from various parts of the free world recognized the cardinal as the primate of their church and petitioned Pope Paul VI to erect a Ukrainian Catholic partriarchate. Although this initiative did not have the unanimous support of the laity, clergy, or bishops, lay organizations have strongly supported it, especially during the three visits of the cardinal to Canada in 1968, 1973, and 1976, and the latter after the cardinal had assumed the title of "patriarch" without papal authorization.⁹⁸

The Ukrainian Catholic community advocates the creation of a partriarchate for a number of reasons:

- "the Ukrainian Catholic Church is numerically the largest Eastern church".⁹⁹
- the estimated 4.3 million Ukrainians in "diaspora" require a unifying figure.
- the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic partriarchate would provide a "great moral boost to the underground church in Ukraine".**¹⁰⁰

*Only four Ukrainians have been elevated to Cardinal.

** In 1946, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin ordered the Ukrainian Catholic Church to become part of the Russian Orthodox church. "Priests and dissenters were deported, imprisoned or shot, their churches razed or burned".¹⁰¹

However, Ukrainian Catholics fear that the Vatican's "detente" with the Soviet Union, of which the late Cardinal Slipyj was an outspoken critic, will prevent the realization of their ambition.

Finally, the Ukrainian-Canadian community is currently celebrating the millenium of the Ukraine's adoption of Christianity in 988 A.D. On June 27, 1981 an historical document was signed between representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches to celebrate the millenium jointly in 1988.¹⁰² The leaders of both churches have urged all Ukrainian-Canadians to unite in this celebration, regardless of political or religious affiliation. Most recently, a service was held at St. James Anglican Cathedral in Toronto, Ontario where clergy from thirty Christian denominations were in attendance. Eight bishops and archbishops participated in this service, which was conducted in five languages: Ukrainian, English, Greek, Armenian and Arabic. The chief celebrant was Wasyly Fedak, acting primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

Summary

This chapter has provided a descriptive and analytical account of the institutional life and the social foundation of the 'organized' Ukrainian community in the City of Hamilton. It was noted that the ideological orientations, goals and activities of the organizations comprising this community reflected the social composition of three distinct waves of Ukrainian immigration to the City of Hamilton - each wave, moreover, having been conditioned by a unique political, economic, religious and cultural past. This assertion was borne out through an analysis of the governing statutes, external organizational linkages and activities of the secular and non-secular institutions comprising this community. In the course of this analysis, a number of salient features of the institutional life of the Ukrainian community in Hamilton were found to exist and will briefly be enumerated below:

- First, at the most macro level of analysis, this community was shown to have a high degree of 'institutional completeness'. The extensive organizational development is particularly impressive if one considers that only a segment of persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin comprise the organized sector.
- Second, a strong network of mutual aid was found to exist as part of the activities of the secular and non-secular institutions. The scope of these mutual aid activities, in the case of the secular institutions, and the charitable activities of the religious institutions, were found to encompass a local, national and most importantly, an international arena.

- Third, in addition to a strong mutual aid network, institutional self-reliance characterized the functioning of this community. This self-reliance was manifested in the self-financing, grass roots nature of institutional life. Furthermore, this local self-reliance was extended to support the national institutional super-structure of parent organizations - and in particular, the all-important Ukrainian Canadian Committee through financial and moral support.
- Fourth, private Ukrainian education was found to constitute a critical component of the activities of the secular and non-secular institutions. The reasons for the heavy emphasis on linguistic as well as cultural retention will be explicated in Chapter IV of this thesis.
- Finally, the existence of institutions such as credit unions; a university Ukrainian Students' Association and a Professional and Business Association are reflective of the rapidly changing socio-economic structure of this community - one that currently boasts a substantial middle class.

This chapter also revealed another important characteristic of the pattern of social interaction among the units comprising this sub-community. The political and religious differentiation characteristic of this community was found to have produced a socially distancing effect, manifested through the functioning of the secular and non-secular institutions in isolation of one another.

Three major divisions were identified: A). ideological divisions among the institutions comprising the pro-nationalist camp - particularly between the moderate Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) and the right wing Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (LVU). The former has traditionally advocated integration into all spheres of

Canadian life, whereas the latter remains exclusively pre-occupied with events in Ukraine and the major defender in the struggle to preserve a distinct national identity both abroad and in Canada; B). a severe ideological division between the larger pro-nationalist community and the negligible pro-communist sector and C). ecclesiastical duality between the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. Each of these divisions were presented within a politico-historical framework.

A most important finding of this research has been that, in the midst of the aforementioned ideological and religious differentiation, the institutions of this community conducted their respective activities as mutually-exclusive entities. Moreover, this 'isolationist' institutional social structure was perpetuated by the following factors:

- separate organizational activities, allowing for strong intergenerational socialization to the ideologies of the pro-nationalist organizations;
- verbal confirmations among the members of the respective institutions with regard to perceptions of ideological separateness and organizational distinctiveness;
- Finally, this unique institutional structure was reinforced through internal organizational publications as well as by external exposure to the Ukrainian press, which caters to the diverse political and religious leanings within this community.

Having identified the ideological and religious differences operating within this community, a key question

that arises is the following: What may be said of the cohesiveness of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, and furthermore, what is the nature of this cohesiveness? This chapter has attempted to show that cooperation on an inter-institutional level has increased in recent years in both the secular and non-secular domains. This cooperation has, of necessity, been coordinated through the efforts of the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Furthermore, this cooperation has primarily centered around 'nationalist' concerns that are rooted in this community's desire to preserve a distinct ethnic identity. Political events in Ukraine have traditionally provided a major source of social solidarity among members of this community: The acute sensitization to the preservation and development of a distinct ethnic identity took on added vigour with the arrival of the politically mature, third Ukrainian immigrant wave to the City of Hamilton. It is clear from an analysis of both the secular and non-secular institutions of this community that a foreign-affairs mindset, dominated by events in their former homeland, prevails.

It will be recalled that the members comprising the organized Ukrainian community included the foreign-born and their native-born children. Hence, the majority of persons

of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the City of Hamilton were not active participants in the organizational life of this community. The 'horizontal' schism between the 'organized' Ukrainian sub-community and the numerically larger 'unorganized' Ukrainian community is highlighted by the non-representative nature of organized life of this ethnic group. Support for this assertion comes from an analysis of the governing ideologies, goals and activities of the secular organizations of this community: These organizations overwhelmingly reflect the aspirations and needs of the foreign-born element, to the exclusion of those of the second and third generation Canadianized Ukrainian population. This fundamental disjunction in goals, values and mindset between the two components is rooted in the larger debate of assimilation versus integration. The question of whether the organized Ukrainian community can afford to function as a self-enclosed entity and continue to exclude the unorganized component will be explored in the forthcoming chapter.

In addition to this 'horizontal' schism, a 'vertical' schism has developed within the organized Ukrainian sub-community itself. This schism or generation gap has become manifested in the problem of leadership succession between the foreign-born and its numerically larger native-born successors.

A most striking demographic fact, determined in part by the absence of new immigration to Canada, is that 70 percent of the total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin in the Hamilton CMA are native-born. This percentage breakdown mirrors the foreign and native-born distribution in the 'organized' Ukrainian sub-community. This statistic bears heavily on such issues as current and future rates of language retention by the native-born; their level of community involvement; their willingness to continue within the institutional framework erected by the foreign-born and their continued adherence to the 'traditional' Ukrainian churches. The strength of each of these factors has traditionally provided the organized Ukrainian community with a source of group cohesion and cultural distinctiveness. These issues, moreover, have taken on increased importance for the future corporate viability of this ethnic group--a concern that has been fuelled by accelerating domestic assimilative trends.

Jointly, the vertical and horizontal schisms have placed the organized Ukrainian community in a state of institutional transition. An analysis of the nature of these schisms and the organized community's institutional response to these social forces, will serve as a forerunner in assessing the structural framework of the future corporate life of this ethnic group. It is to these

internal and external forces affecting the future organizational viability of this community to which this thesis now directs its attention.

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CHAPTER IV
THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY
IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO

THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO

This chapter will explore several aspects of the changing nature of the institutional life of the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton. In doing so, the following hypothesis will be tested: That the institutions comprising this community are experiencing changes due to specific domestic assimilative trends that have, in turn, necessitated a process of reassessment and readjustment in institutional priorities and activities. It is critical to consider this on-going accommodative process within the context of this community's overriding concern with preserving a distinct ethnic identity.

The preservation of a distinct ethnic identity, moreover, is a concern that transcends the internal cleavages characteristic of the Ukrainian ethnic group:

Some Ukrainians believe that the internal strife contributed to a healthy competitive spirit; others claim that it helped to crystallize certain Ukrainian concepts, especially in church life; some feel that the division restricted realization of their full socio-cultural potential. Yet despite the differences, there is common ground: the preservation of the group's identity; moral and financial assistance to Ukraine in its struggle for freedom; and participation in all phases of Canadian life.¹

At the domestic level, both language and religion have remained the bulwarks in the struggle to maintain a distinct Ukrainian identity. As political emigres, the members comprising the foreign-born component of the organized Ukrainian community have experienced Soviet policies of Russification and religious persecution in Ukraine. Their effort to resist assimilative pressures in both these areas is largely motivated by their past experiences of cultural genocide. Prior to discussing the nature of these domestic societal trends and their impact on the institutions of this community, a brief word must be said about the external fact of minimal immigration by persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin to Canada.

The Immigration Factor

The Ukrainian community in Canada, similar to, yet unlike many of the other existing ethnic communities, has experienced a conspicuous lack of new waves of immigration: Only a trickle of retired senior citizens and political emigres have arrived to Canada from various emigration centres of Soviet satellite countries-- particularly Poland. The issue of emigration from behind the Iron Curtain has remained an important concern for members of the organized Ukrainian community in Canada:

UCC briefs, reflecting humanitarian and political considerations, have also requested

Canadian authorities to urge the Soviet government to relax emigration policy and allow a freer exodus of Ukrainian citizens. Especially important has been the question of family reunions, as many Ukrainian Canadians still have relatives in Soviet Ukraine.²

A new influx of immigration would undoubtedly reinvigorate the organization of this community, allowing for the persistence of language, customs and tradition. However, the prospect for such a substantial inflow of immigrants does not appear to be imminent.

It has been argued in some scholarly quarters, albeit falsely, that ethnicity will disappear in those ethnocultural groups that have experienced the absence of a constant influx of immigrants. However, as W. Isajiw points out, many ethnic groups have "persisted for generations and have reinvigorated their interest in their own group without any significant new immigration":³

The Acadians in the Maritimes have retained their identity for a few hundred years without new immigration, as have the Mennonites, Hutterites, the French outside Quebec, and even the Irish. Many groups have regained interest in their ethnicity, not through new immigrants, but through direct contacts with the "old country" or as a result of events taking place within the mainstream society. Since 1967 many Jews have reinvigorated their identity not through new immigrants but on account of events taking place in Israel. Among the Carpatho-Rusyns in the United States, a group from Ukrainian territories, many have recently developed a new interest in their old identity without any new immigration joining their community for a hundred years.⁴

Hence, Isajiw underscores that an ethnic groups' identity may be maintained over generations by factors other than new immigration, such as the above-mentioned cases of 'ethnic rediscovery', among others. In addition to this external fact, the organized Ukrainian community has had to contend with internal (domestic) assimilative trends that have exerted significant pressure on the leadership of this community to consider adaptive institutional changes. It is to the impact of these social forces and the corresponding institutional responses to which this thesis now directs its attention.

Modes of Institutional Accommodation: Language Maintenance

The task of preserving the Ukrainian language has been borne primarily by members of the organized Ukrainian community. As a numerical minority, this task has become exceedingly difficult in the face of changing social trends. The organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton has fought to preserve the Ukrainian language on two major fronts: A) by establishing a co-ordinated system of part-time private ethnic schools, commonly referred to as the *Ridna Shkola* system and B) by lobbying the Ontario provincial government for the extension of Ukrainian grammar and literature courses in the public educational system. A brief characterization of the salient features of the former system will now be presented.

It will be recalled from Chapter III of this thesis that the two major nationalist organizations--the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation and the Ukrainian National Federation, as well as the two traditional Ukrainian Churches: St. Vladimir's Orthodox Church and the Holy Spirit Catholic Church* were shown to operate Ukrainian schools in the City of Hamilton.

These schools were formally organized by members of the third Ukrainian immigrant wave--a product of the post-1945 years. The Ridna Shkola system has served to counteract the prevailing trend toward language loss among the young, and has also been recognized as being the most conducive environment in which to mould a distinct Ukrainian cultural identity. Furthermore, this private network of schools represents a desire on the part of parents to provide their children with a distinctly Ukrainian cultural and educational upbringing, over and above that which is provided by mainstream public educational institutions.

In both the nationalist and parochial cases, the private part-time schools have been wholly financed by the members comprising the respective institutions. These institutions, moreover, own and operate the premises within

*The Holy Spirit Ukrainian school, founded in 1966, is accorded full-time status and operates under the aegis of the Ontario Catholic Separate school system.

which Ukrainian classes are conducted. Nominal monthly fees are paid by the childrens' parents to support the modest salary of the teaching staff, which usually consists of one or two teachers. The teachers within this system are predominantly third wave Ukrainian immigrants who are also active members of the respective institutions. Many of these teachers held similar positions in the Ukraine: Following an initial period of occupational dislocation characteristic of the majority of Ukrainian immigrants in the post-1945 era, these educators succeeded in finding a niche within this self-enclosed system. Today, the native-born, trained as teachers in the Canadian public educational system, are sharing the responsibility in maintaining this system.

The curriculum of these schools encompass more than just the teaching of Ukrainian grammar and literature. The schools that are affiliated with the pro-nationalist organizations also stress the teaching of Ukrainian history and geography as well as Ukrainian cultural and religious traditions. Most importantly, political awareness centering on the repressive political, economic, social and cultural conditions in the Ukrainian S.S.R. is conveyed to the children. This nationalist education, is further reinforced by important commemorative events that are part of normal organizational activities.

Generational differences exist with regard to the support given to the Ridna Shkola system and the extension of Ukrainian language education to the public school system. The foreign-born members of the organized Ukrainian community have traditionally favoured the private part-time Ukrainian schools. On the other hand, the Canadian-born have tended to support the extension of Ukrainian courses at the public high school and university levels:

Although the incorporation of Ukrainian into Ontario's public schools is the goal of Canadian-born leaders, others with influence from the last immigration have not always been entirely supportive, concentrating instead on the development of an extensive and vigorous ridna shkola system in the province.^{6*}

Finally, the future of private Ukrainian education remains uncertain. The longevity of this system will rely primarily on the numerical strength of the sponsoring institutions--the major source of new students. On the other hand, the future of Ukrainian courses offered in mainstream educational institutions appears promising. In this case, support is strong not only among the native-born members of the organized Ukrainian community, but also from the numerically larger unorganized Ukrainian community.

* The Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Hamilton, in conjunction with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch) cooperated to extend Ukrainian courses at McMaster University.

Religious Institutional Problems and Adjustments

The hierarchies of the two traditional Ukrainian churches--the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox, have not remained immune to assimilative pressures. It will be recalled from chapter 11 of this thesis that both churches, particularly the former, have been experiencing substantial losses in adherents over time. The statistical information presented in Chapter II, on intermarriage for the Ukrainian ethnic group in Hamilton, was confirmed by respondents as one of the major reasons for church defections. Language loss among the native-born is also associated with the trend toward increased affiliations to non-traditional churches, particularly the Protestant churches. It is also instructive to note that the church environment is one of the few arenas available for those Ukrainians excluded from the secular/private community organizations to interact with persons of their own ethnic origin. It represents, moreover, a transitional threshold which, if crossed, results in the cessation of organizational activity for many.

In the face of both increasing intermarriage and decreasing language retention rates, the ecclesiastical hierarchies of this community have been forced to make accommodative institutional changes. These changes have centered around the introduction and use of the English

language within religious services. However, the receptivity of English language use within the two traditional Ukrainian churches has been marred by controversy and intense debate. Moreover, these churches have dealt with this issue in opposing ways: On the one hand, the Ukrainian Catholic churches have incorporated the English language "in sermons and at times in the liturgy... in order to appeal to mixed marriages."⁷ The Ukrainian Orthodox church, on the other hand, has not followed suit: "being proudly Ukrainian and markedly nationalistic it claims that the Catholic Church has departed from Ukrainianism." [Sic]⁸ In fact, the issue of English language use within the context of religious services has been a serious point of contention between the two churches: At the national level, this disagreement has acted as a major barrier to their union under a common Ukrainian patriarchate.

The traditional Ukrainian churches have failed to attract the increasing native-born Ukrainian population in general, and members of the third generation in particular. Consequently a fundamental schism has resulted between the third generation Ukrainians and the leaders of the traditional Ukrainian churches. P. Yuzyk provides the following characterization of the factors contributing to the "world-view" of third generation Ukrainians-- one that

departs markedly from that of its church leaders:

The third generation, even more thoroughly educated in the Canadian system, did not, however, have the inhibitions of its parents, because it had not experienced the intense religious and ideological rivalry of the past. Influenced by the sixties, the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the emergence of multiculturalism as government policy, and the participation of prime ministers.... in Ukrainian affairs, and stimulated by the devotion of the new youth organizations of the recent wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Ukrainianism, this generation has generally come to identify itself as Ukrainian Canadians, similar to French Canadians. Having lost fluency in Ukrainian, they still respect it as a Canadian language and are often concerned that their children study it in the public schools. They take pride in Ukrainian culture as part of the Canadian cultural mosaic. Although not actively religious, this group regards the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches as part of their precious cultural heritage. It is a generation with an open mind, interested in the Ukrainian churches becoming more Canadian, with Canadian-born clergy and bishops to serve Canadian needs.⁹

In contrast to the factors conditioning the more liberal outlook of the third generation Ukrainians, "the church and lay organizations have been dominated in the main by immigrant and older elements, which have generally resisted change".¹⁰ This resistance has been most strongly felt in the case of the Ukrainian Orthodox church. Again, the two traditional Ukrainian churches have responded in opposing ways to the grievances, aspirations and demands of both second and third generation Ukrainians:

The Orthodox Church has emphasized its essentially Ukrainian character, electing bishops not fluent in English from Ukrainian hierarchies outside Canada, who, in turn, have found it difficult to comprehend the problems of the Canadian-born generations. Only a fraction of the clergy is Canadian-born and educated, but this is gradually being rectified at St. Andrew's College, few concessions, however, are made to the use of English in liturgy and sermons and to mixed marriages. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been trying to adapt itself to the needs and demands of the second and third generations. Some of the bishops are Canadian-born as are an increasing proportion of the priests, monks and nuns.¹¹

Future Community Viability

In the preceding chapter, it was shown that the institutional network developed by the third Ukrainian immigrant wave in the post-1945 era was patterned on, and reinforced by ideological and religious differences. This institutional structure served to create social cleavages, not only among the various sectors comprising the organized Ukrainian community, but between it and the larger 'unorganized' Ukrainian community.

In order to discuss the future corporate viability of this community one must consider the relationship that currently exists between the 'organized' and 'unorganized' components of this ethnic group. These components have traditionally been demarcated from one another: The organized community has functioned as a sub-community, in

isolation of the larger unorganized community. The strong emphasis- in fact, requirement of the Ukrainian language and the conspicuous foreign-affairs outlook, have served to restrict members of the unorganized Ukrainian component from participation in the institutional life of the former. This exclusion has been further compounded by the factional nature of the organized Ukrainian community:

Creative and imaginative individuals, universal in outlook, who could elevate the prestige of the group, who could contribute to the realization of its cultural aspirations, are outsiders unless they identify with one of the factions.¹²

The inclusion of the younger, native-born members of the unorganized Ukrainian community has been seen by several progressive observers as essential to the continued future viability of this ethnic group. This observation has merit in the light of current assimilative trends and the unlikelihood of forthcoming immigration. In his address, delivered on March 16, 1985 at the National conference of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, M. Bociurkiw stated the following:

The numerical growth of the Ukrainian community depends on welcoming Canadian-born Ukrainians who are consciously and continually searching for their roots. Can we afford to turn away young Ukrainians who speak little Ukrainian or speak it poorly; who do not fully understand why Ukraine should be free, let alone want to fight for it; who have not graduated from the traditional Ukrainian youth organizations such as SUM or PLAST; who do not

approve of the archaic framework of the community or those who have not achieved social, political or financial success?¹³

Hence, the challenge confronting the organized Ukrainian community, for its continued viability as a well-organized ethno-cultural group, is to recognize the benefits in organizing members of the 'unorganized' community.

Structural and Attitudinal Barriers To Overcome

The foreign-born component of the organized Ukrainian community has thus far resisted the institutional inclusion of the unorganized Ukrainian sector by virtue of the structural barrier of language. Moreover, the prevalence of language loss among members of the unorganized Ukrainian sector has served to reinforce their view of assimilation as a degenerative process. In all likelihood, this view stems from their dichotomizing of the following two dimensions that are common to all minority groups:

- (1) the issues of survival of the group as a distinct identity;
- (2) the issues of a groups' integration into the mainstream society.¹⁴

However, treating ethnicity and assimilation as a unilinear relationship is clearly incorrect:

Assimilation and retention of the ethnic identity are not necessarily contradictory, zero-sum processes, that is that the more one assimilates, the less one retains identity,

and vice versa, so that in the beginning or the end we have either one or the other. Rather, assimilation and the retention of ethnic identity usually, for a long time and across generations, take place at the same time. Only the form of identity changes from generation to generation. Ethnic identity is retained precisely through a process by which one form of ethnic identity gives way to another form. It should be understood clearly that the retention of ethnic identity does not mean the retention of all cultural forms or traditions as they existed generations ago. Assimilation is also not something static. What one assimilates into also changes over time. Assimilation and retention of ethnic identity are processes that are dynamically interrelated.¹⁵

It is clear that the exclusive use of the Ukrainian language within an institutional context will need to be addressed by the leaders of the organized Ukrainian community. Whereas current assimilative trends have engendered several significant institutional accommodations, the organized Ukrainian community of the future may be forced to fully embrace the concept of 'non-linguistic' Ukrainianism:

Non-linguistic Ukrainianism is prevalent among the younger Canadian-born generation who do not consider language an essential element of its Ukrainian identity; they insist on being known as Ukrainian Canadians, but they speak only a 'Canadian' language- English-- convinced that all ethnic groups should use this language as the most convenient tool for communication. Their goal is to versed in, and to use only the English language, remaining Ukrainian in all else.¹⁶

It has been estimated that 50 to 75 percent of Ukrainian Canadian youth cannot speak the Ukrainian language

fluently. At one and the same time, they do not feel that this fact should act as a barrier to their full participation in the activities of the organized Ukrainian community.¹⁷ Thus far, however, this exclusion has been the rule. The result has been the creation of a longstanding social cleavage between members of the organized and unorganized sectors of the Ukrainian ethnic group, and a concurrent generation gap between the foreign and native-born. Much of the problem in attracting local members of the unorganized Ukrainian community, particularly the younger, Canadian-born members, may be attributed to the lack of an adequate role model provided at the national level. At issue here, is the petrified structure of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee-- the national coordinating body. Over the years, the national UCC's professed role as the major body acting on behalf of the interests of all Ukrainians in Canada has been challenged. It has been pointed out that the UCC's Executive has been dominated by the so-called "Big-Six" organizations.* M. Lupul has recently proposed that at least 80 percent of the UCC's Executive be Canadian-born:¹⁸ This figure represents the current native/foreign-born breakdown for persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin in Canada.

* BUK, SUS, UNO, UCVA, UCPBF AND LVU

This proposal effectively alters the prerequisite for membership on the national UCC's Executive to one based on representation in line with demographic reality. It has been argued that loyalty to one of the Big-Six organizations has been the prevailing criterion. This proposal, moreover, reflects insight in preparation for the inevitable transfer of community leadership between the generations. Most importantly, it reflects an implicit drive to include the younger native-born members of both the organized and unorganized sectors of the Ukrainian Canadian community at the policy-making level.

It is clear that the structural foundation for the transfer of future community leadership, both at the national and local levels, has not been addressed in a systematic manner. Both structural and attitudinal barriers have thus far prevented constructive discussion of this issue: Whereas the native-born are "expected" to take over the community's institutional helm, they are simultaneously removed from positions of leadership that would aid in this inevitable transfer of responsibility. The inclusion of the younger native-born into the active decision-making process, currently dominated by the foreign-born, would serve to ensure the future organizational viability of this ethnic group.

The cumulative effect of the internal and external

social forces discussed in this chapter have operated to place the organized Ukrainian sub-community in a transitional phase of organized life. The institutions have responded to these social forces in a sporadic manner, underscoring the absence of a definitive plan for ensuring this community's future corporate viability.

In concluding the text of this thesis, it is instructive to note that the Ukrainian ethnic group will enter a new phase of organizational life with the passage of leadership from the foreign-born to the native-born generation. The importance of planning for this transition has taken on increased urgency, based on an aging foreign-born component and the unlikelihood of forthcoming immigration. It appears that movement toward substantive reform of the current institutional framework will occur only with the passage of the foreign-born generation.

It is the contention of this thesis that the organized Ukrainian community of the future, governed by the native-born generation, will be more amenable in accepting the concept of non-linguistic Ukrainianism than have their forebearers. Furthermore, this future collectivity will, in all likelihood, be free of the ideological differentiation and ecclesiastical duality that has served to generate a socially distancing effect among the numerous sectors of this community.

The acceptance of the former, and the neutralization of the latter, will be beneficial in attracting members of the 'unorganized' Ukrainian community. In short, the future organizational viability of this ethnic group, based on demographic reality, will necessitate a revamping of current institutional goals and activities with those that are consonant with the needs of second and third generation Ukrainians. This population includes both the native-born members of the organized and unorganized Ukrainian communities.

Finally, it will be essential for the new generation of native-born leaders to avoid the currently self-enclosed nature of organizational life. The survivability of corporate life of this ethnic group will be ensured only through the development of an attitudinal and structural framework, within which all persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin will have the opportunity for equal and meaningful institutional participation.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to provide both a descriptive and analytical account of the institutional structure and social processes particular to the organized Ukrainian community in Hamilton, Ontario. It is timely to review the major findings of this thesis and identify areas of future research to be conducted in light of the above.

The organized Ukrainian community has been treated as an identifiable and purposive social unit comprised of an immigrant-born component and their native-born children. The foreign-born component - members of the third Ukrainian immigrant wave to Canada, generated a unique institutional structure that also complemented the established institutions developed by the two preceding immigrant waves.

This thesis began with an identification of the major secular and non-secular institutions playing an important role within the organized Ukrainian community. This description emphasized the numerous "actors" associated with each, as well as institutional orientations, goals and activities. During the course of this review, several salient features with regard to the structure and functioning of this community's institutional network were found to exist: First, this community was characterized as possessing a relatively high degree of

institutional completeness, reflecting the cultural contribution of three distinct waves of Ukrainian immigration to the City of Hamilton. Second, an analysis of the secular and non-secular institutions indicated a network of organizational linkages extending nationally and internationally. Internally, the institutions were found to be clearly delineated into male, female and youth sectors - each having linkages to nationally coordinated bodies. In terms of organizational activity, a strong emphasis on mutual aid was found to exist, encompassing a local, national and international level. In addition, the organized Ukrainian community extended this function by developing independent organizations such as credit unions, a social service organization and a senior citizens' home.

The institutional structure of this community was found to be patterned on ideological differentiation - moulded by political conditions in the Ukraine both during and after the Second World War, as well as religious duality. The ideological differences among the major nationalist organization - the LVU and the UNF (UNO), were found to be differences in degree. The members comprising these organizations were shown to be united on issues of common interest in the maintenance and development of the Ukrainian ethnic identity. On the other hand, differences in kind were shown to characterize the relationship between

the pro-nationalist and pro-communist sectors of this community. Ecclesiastical duality was also manifested between the two traditional Ukrainian Churches - the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox. In light of this differentiation, the secular and non-secular institutions of this community were found to conduct their respective organizational activities in a self-enclosed manner--generating a distancing effect among the relevant sectors of this community. This distancing effect was prevalent among the members comprising the major nationalist organizations and the adherents to the two traditional Ukrainian Churches. Virtually non-existent relations were found to exist between members of the pro-nationalist and pro-communist camps. In both the secular and non-secular cases, the historical antecedents for these social cleavages were explicated.

In spite of lingering ideological and religious differences, the members comprising this community displayed an intense concern with the preservation of a distinct cultural identity: Language maintenance and religion were identified as the focal points in this struggle. However, the desire to maintain a distinct Ukrainian identity through an institutional environment was shown to be challenged by assimilative social trends (language loss, inter-marriage; defections from traditional

churches), generating the need for institutional accommodations. First, the effort to curtail the increasing language loss among the native-born was fought on two fronts: A). through the establishment of a private, part-time Ukrainian school system (Ridna Shkola) and B). by efforts to extend Ukrainian language-education to the public school system. Second, the two traditional Ukrainian religious institutions were found to be less successful in their efforts to retain adherents, particularly among the native-born. The two churches were also found to differ in their responses to meet the needs of second and third generation Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin. The Ukrainian Catholic church was found to be more flexible in its institutional response to changing social trends than was the Ukrainian Orthodox church.

In the light of increasing integration, an aging foreign-born component and the unlikelihood of forthcoming immigration, the future organizational viability of this community was assessed. This analysis was considered within the context of two major social schisms - one vertical, the other horizontal. While analytically separable, these axes operated simultaneously. The vertical schism was presented via the difference in aspirations, goals and mindset between the foreign and native-born elements of the organized Ukrainian community.

This 'generation gap' was shown to be exacerbated by changing social trends and manifested in the form of a loss in language fluency by the native-born and by defections from the traditional Ukrainian churches. It was furthermore shown that the issue of succession in community leadership, currently dominated by the foreign-born, was not addressed in a systematic manner. The native-born, while expected to take over the institutional helm of this community, were simultaneously excluded from positions of influence. The foreign-born have resisted reform of the current institutional structure, considered by many of the native-born, as being archaic.

The horizontal schism was coined in reference to the relationship that currently exists between the members comprising the organized Ukrainian community and the larger unorganized Ukrainian community. The latter collectivity has traditionally been excluded from the organizational life of the former. It was the contention of this thesis that, in order for the organized Ukrainian community to remain a viable ethno-cultural entity, it will be essential to incorporate members of the unorganized Ukrainian community into the active organizational life of the former. Thus far, however, the prevalence of language loss, the desire to avoid entanglement in factionalist controversy and a strong commitment to Canadian goals, has

served to isolate members of the unorganized Ukrainian community from active participation in the organized community. It was further contended that both structural and attitudinal barriers would have to be addressed prior to the successful incorporation of the unorganized Ukrainian community. In fact, successful incorporation of the unorganized Ukrainians would necessitate a revamping of the current institutional orientation - one that is foreign-oriented, to one that is more in line with the needs of second and third generation Ukrainians. This population represents those persons who are well integrated into mainstream Canadian society, yet desire to meaningfully participate as members within an institutional context.

This thesis has hopefully opened up a major area of research that should be addressed in the future. That is, more research must be conducted on the members comprising the majority of Ukrainians in Hamilton - the members of the unorganized Ukrainian community. There are important reasons why the overwhelming majority of social research has been conducted on members of the organized Ukrainian community: One reason has been the difficulty in identifying members of the unorganized Ukrainian community - a situation precipitated by the absence of a point of anchorage to identifiable Ukrainian institutions.

Moreover, the lack of up-to-date statistical data has complicated fruitful research into this sector of the Ukrainian ethnic group. Indeed, statistical data on the number of persons comprising the organized Ukrainian community has traditionally been gauged in terms of crude estimates.

In conclusion, it will be important for future researchers to remain vigilant of organizational efforts directed toward members of the unorganized Ukrainian community. If the benefits to organizing the unorganized are recognized, the Ukrainian ethnic group will continue to remain one of the most well-organized and articulate ethno-cultural communities.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

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2. Oleh W. Gerus, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee", in Manoly R. Lupul, ed. A Heritage in Transition, p. 209.
3. Wsevolod Isajiw, "Multiculturalism and the Integration of the Canadian Community", Canadian Ethnic Studies 15 no. 2, 1983, p. 110.
4. Ibid., p. 110.
5. Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN), 1982) p. 869.
6. Manoly R. Lupul, "Ukrainian - language Education in Canada's Public Schools", in Manoly R. Lupul, ed. A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, p. 238.
7. Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life", in Manoly R. Lupul, ed. A Heritage in Transition, p. 165.
8. Ibid., p. 165.
9. Ibid., p. 165.
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11. Ibid., pp. 168-169.
12. Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, p. 220.
13. Myhailo Bociurkiw, "The role of today's youths in the Ukrainian Community," The Ukrainian Weekly no. 14 Jersey City, New Jersey. Sunday, April 7, 1985, p. 12
14. Wsevolod Isajiw, "Multiculturalism and the Integration", p. 109.

15. Ibid., pp. 109-110.
16. Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, p. 218.
17. Myhailo Bociurkiw, "The Role of today's youths", p. 5.
18. Ibid., p. 12.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Ukrainians by Designated Names and Sex, Canada and the Province
of Ontario, 1901 to 1971

Year	Gali- cian	Buko- vinian	Ruthe- nian	Ukrai- nian	All Ukrai- nians	All Origins	Gali- cian	Buko- vinian	Ruthe- nian	Ukrai- nian	All Ukrai- nians	All Origins	Gali- cian	Buko- vinian	Ruthe- nian	Ukrai- nian	All Ukrai- nians	All Origins	
Both Sexes						Male					Female								
<i>Canada</i>																			
1971	..	..	..	580,660	580,660	21,568,310	..	..	..	295,725	295,725	10,804,125	..	..	..	284,935	284,935	10,764,185
1961	..	..	..	473,337	473,337	18,238,247	..	..	..	246,520	246,520	9,218,893	..	..	..	226,817	226,817	9,019,354
1951	..	..	..	395,043	395,043	14,009,429	..	..	..	208,294	208,294	7,088,873	..	..	..	186,749	186,749	6,920,556
1941	..	..	..	305,929	305,929	11,506,655	..	..	..	162,600	162,600	5,900,536	..	..	..	143,329	143,329	5,606,119
1931	1,772	182	4,286	218,873	225,113	10,376,786	1,001	89	2,221	119,461	122,772	5,374,541	771	93	2,063	99,412	102,341	5,002,245	
1921	24,456	1,616	16,861	63,788	106,721	8,787,949 ¹	13,392	893	9,010	34,559	57,854	4,529,643	11,064	723	7,851	29,229	48,867	4,258,306	
1911	35,158	9,960	29,845	—	75,432 ²	7,206,643	21,117	5,514	16,366	—	43,057	3,821,995	13,981	4,446	13,470	—	31,906	3,384,648	
1901	5,682 ¹	—	—	—	5,682	5,371,315	—	—	—	—	—	2,751,708	—	—	—	—	—	2,619,607	
<i>Ontario</i>																			
1971	..	..	..	159,880	159,880	7,703,105	..	..	..	82,120	82,120	3,843,620	..	..	..	77,760	77,760	3,859,490
1961	..	..	..	127,911	127,911	6,236,092	..	..	..	67,611	67,611	3,134,528	..	..	..	60,300	60,300	3,101,564
1951	..	..	..	93,595	93,595	4,597,542	..	..	..	50,581	50,581	2,314,170	..	..	..	43,014	43,014	2,283,372
1941	..	..	..	48,158	48,158	3,787,655	..	..	..	26,766	26,766	1,921,201	..	..	..	21,392	21,392	1,866,454
1931	619	—	84	23,723	24,426	3,431,683	349	—	48	13,897	14,294	1,748,844	270	—	36	9,826	10,132	1,682,839	
1921	2,748	179	806	4,574	8,307	2,933,662	1,644	106	476	2,725	4,951	1,481,890	1,104	73	330	1,849	3,356	1,451,772	
1911	1,299	176	1,603	—	3,078	2,527,292	1,186	161	1,191	—	2,538	1,301,272	113	15	412	—	540	1,226,020	
1901	31	—	—	—	31	2,182,947	—	—	—	—	—	1,096,640	—	—	—	—	—	1,086,307	

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:41-42, SERIES 20.63-80).

APPENDIX 2

Birthplace of the Population, Hamilton Census
Metropolitan Area, by Ethnic Origin
and Sex, 1971

(Sex: M = male, F = female)

Ukrainians Canadian-born				
Sex	Total	Province of Residence	Other Provinces	Immi- grant born
Hamilton				
M	7,390	3,590	1,440	2,350
F	6,995	3,525	1,570	1,895

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:629, SERIES 52.102-109).

APPENDIX 3

Population by Ethnic Origin for Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), Other Major Urban Areas (UAs) and Other Urban Centers of 7,500 or Over with a Ukrainian Population of 500 or More in 1971, 1911 to 1971

Series No.	Census Metropolitan Areas, Urban Areas, Cities (c) or Towns (t)	----- 1971 -----		----- 1961 -----		----- 1951 -----		----- 1941 -----		----- 1931 -----		----- 1921 -----		1911 (or 1916)	
		Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins
243	Winnipeg, CMA	64,305	540,262	53,918	475,989	41,997	356,813	28,162	302,024	21,459	294,905	7,001	229,212	3,599	136,035
244	Edmonton, CMA	62,655	495,702	38,164	337,568	19,111	176,782	6,668	100,452	5,025	81,133	547	60,660	692	24,900
245	Toronto, CMA	60,755	2,628,043	46,650	1,824,481	30,366	1,210,353	12,313	960,353	5,138	861,950	1,247	648,607	61	376,538
246	Vancouver, CMA	31,130	1,082,352	18,712	790,165	11,584	561,960	2,923	393,933	759	336,678	177	222,294	19	100,401
247	Montréal, CMA ¹	18,050	2,743,208	14,519	2,109,509	11,238	1,471,851	6,643	1,191,111	3,850	1,062,811	1,092	773,351	322	489,164
248	Calgary, CMA	15,850	403,319	8,033	279,062	3,384	142,315	1,164	93,954	807	83,761	153	63,305	522	43,704
249	Saskatoon, CMA	14,390	126,449	9,072	95,526	4,257	54,597	2,499	43,915	1,846	44,439	332	26,700	..	12,004
250	Hamilton, CMA	14,390	498,523	10,931	395,189	7,463	280,293	2,552	214,705	1,390	196,847	400	159,632	36	81,969

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:66, SERIES 21.243-294).

APPENDIX 4

Immigrant Population by Period of Arrival, Ethnic Origin and Sex,
Census Metropolitan Areas and Cities of 30,000 and Over, 1971

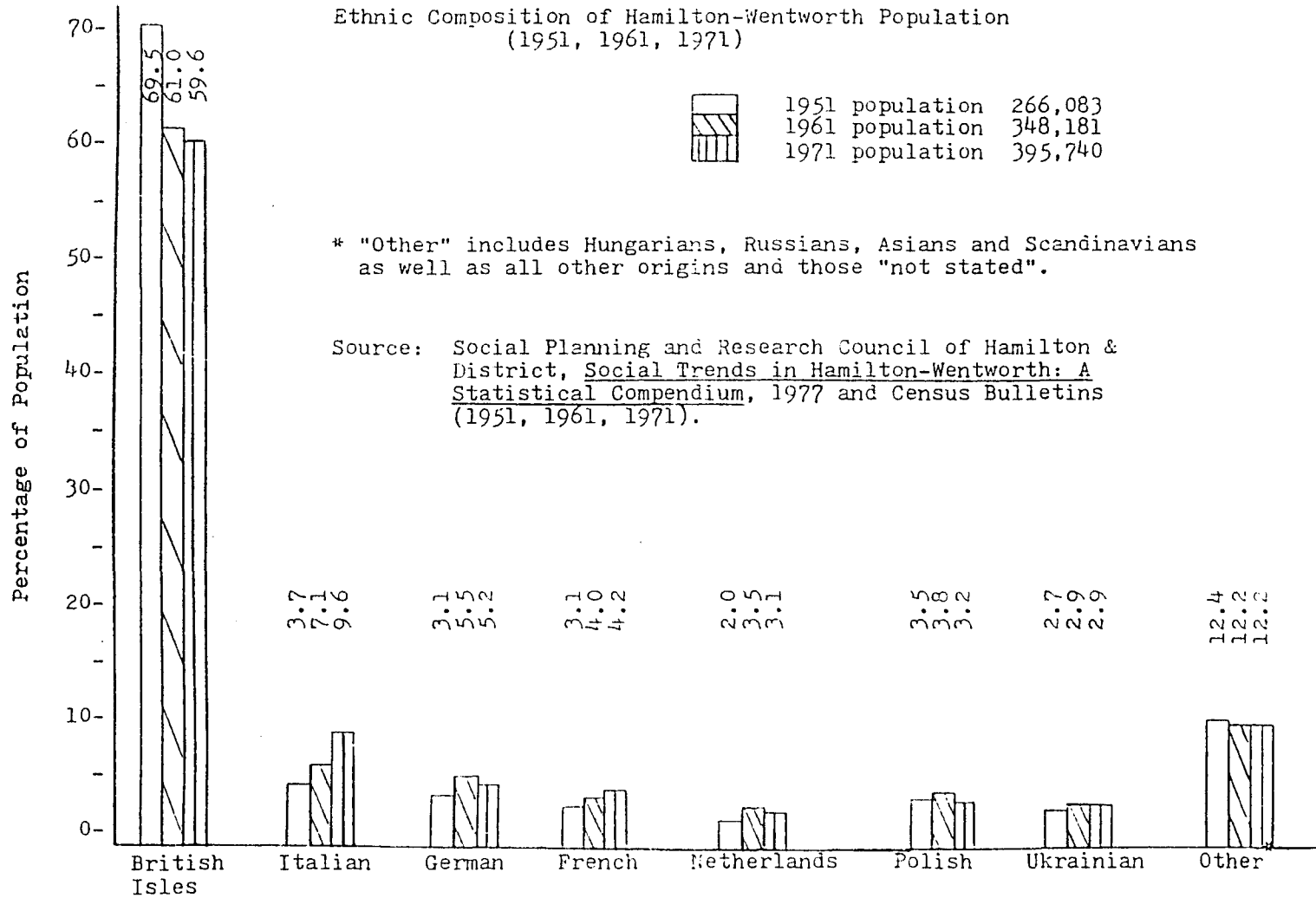
(Sex: M = male, F = female)

Metropolitan Area or City	Sex	Total Immigrants		Period of Arrival											
				1971-1967		1966-1961		1960-1951		1950-1946		1945-1931		Before 1931	
		Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins
85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98		
Winnipeg	M	5,620	52,770	55	8,880	130	4,805	700	13,920	1,200	5,065	180	1,045	3,350	19,055
Edmonton	"	4,010	46,795	60	7,375	110	5,220	410	16,160	750	4,000	270	1,095	2,410	12,950
Toronto	"	11,580	445,995	270	99,135	410	82,085	3,485	161,645	3,730	35,415	450	7,780	3,230	59,950
Montréal	"	3,655	203,865	80	41,215	95	42,155	1,305	73,250	895	13,095	140	4,850	1,140	29,305
Vancouver	"	2,260	143,045	45	25,290	30	17,885	195	44,240	275	9,395	135	2,990	1,570	43,250
Saskatoon	"	855	8,505	10	1,135	5	900	100	1,775	115	475	35	155	590	4,070
Hamilton	"	2,350	65,075	30	9,130	90	10,535	625	24,410	285	7,310	85	1,435	740	13,250
Winnipeg	F	5,060	54,660	85	8,960	135	4,890	530	12,495	835	5,470	235	1,565	3,235	21,275
Edmonton	"	3,490	44,125	70	7,170	125	5,155	310	13,690	555	3,955	300	1,570	2,130	12,550
Toronto	"	9,675	447,315	400	100,110	565	84,095	2,655	147,330	2,665	32,050	610	11,940	2,750	71,675
Montréal	"	3,150	201,815	35	40,555	150	41,415	960	66,295	755	12,365	245	6,410	1,000	34,785
Vancouver	"	1,915	143,440	100	25,110	50	19,330	215	37,890	195	10,705	210	4,925	1,150	45,485
Saskatoon	"	720	9,085	20	1,175	15	930	35	1,535	60	685	65	265	505	4,490
Hamilton	"	1,895	66,855	40	9,125	100	10,525	475	22,355	500	6,550	150	2,650	625	15,635

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:574-575, SERIES 51.85-98).

APPENDIX 5

Ethnic Composition of Hamilton-Wentworth Population
(1951, 1961, 1971)



APPENDIX 6

BIRTHPLACE OF THE URBAN POPULATION, BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, SEX,
FOR THE HAMILTON CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA, 1931-1971
(SEX: M MALE, F FEMALE)

Year	Sex	Canada		European Countries		United Kingdom		British Possessions		United States		Other Countries and Not Stated		All Countries ¹	
		Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins	Ukrai- nian	All Origins
<i>Hamilton</i>															
1971	M	8,030	181,660	2,180	37,905	26	21,935	..	..	25	2,460	50	3,760	7,390	247,750
1961	"	3,530	140,373	1,377	30,958	42	21,646	4	434	11	2,118	5	694	5,636	196,883
1951	"	1,856	72,958	1,444	12,075	7	15,840	—	186	11	1,539	—	427	3,327	103,025
1941	"	682	56,273	540	7,269	1	17,027	—	262	4	1,684	1	299	1,228	82,814
1931	"	275	45,446	466	8,153	—	21,227	—	257	3	1,865	—	404	744	77,352
1971	F	5,095	183,890	1,745	33,866	20	26,140	..	..	15	3,200	45	3,650	6,235	250,755
1961	"	3,803	143,705	1,434	26,044	39	24,655	3	553	11	2,837	5	502	5,295	198,306
1951	"	2,017	76,651	936	8,748	6	17,393	—	183	12	2,052	3	269	2,974	105,296
1941	"	609	58,482	342	4,975	1	17,599	—	261	4	2,116	—	90	1,037	83,523
1931	"	281	49,134	226	4,832	—	21,720	—	267	5	1,130	—	112	512	78,195

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:622-623, SERIES 52.88-101).

APPENDIX 7

Percentage Distribution of the Ukrainian Mother Tongue
Group by Census Tracts for the City of Hamilton
Proper, 1976. (Total Population: 6,945)

% of the Ukrainian Mother Tongue Group/Census Tract	Census Tract Numbers
1. 5%-100%	052; 060
2. 3.5%-<5.0%:	027; 030; 031; 053; 068
3. 2.0%-<3.5%:	023; 025; 028; 029; 032; 051; 055; 056; 059; 069; 070
4. 1.0%-<2.0%	006; 007; 008; 010; 011; 013; 014; 020; 024; 026.01; 026.02; 026.03; 026.04; 026.05; 033; 043; 046; 048; 054; 057; 058; 061; 062; 064; 067; 071; 072.01; 072.02; 072.03; 072.04 073
5. 0.0%-<1.0%:	001.01; 001.02; 001.03; 002.02; 002.02; 002.03; 003.01; 003.02; 003.03; 003.04; 004.01; 004.02; 005.01; 005.02; 005.03; 009; 015; 017; 019; 021; 034; 035; 036; 037; 038; 039; 040; 041; 042; 044; 045; 047; 049; 050; 063; 065; 066.
6. Excluded due to low population (200 for total population and/or <10 for the Ukrainian mother tongue.)	016; 018

SOURCE: Derived from Map 1, Ministry of citizenship and Culture:
Ethnocultural Data Base Materials Series 11 (1982:-
Table 1.16).

APPENDIX 8

POPULATIONS OF UKRAINIAN ETHNIC ORIGIN BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION,
SEX, FOR THE HAMILTON CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA, 1931-1971
(SEX: M MALE, F FEMALE)

Year ¹	Sex	Ukrainians											All Origins		
		Greek Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Roman Catholic	United Church	Angli- can	Presby- terian	Luthe- ran	Bap- tist	Pente- costal	Menno- nite	Other	Total	Greek Catholic	Greek Orthodox
<i>Hamilton</i>															
1971	M	2,580	1,440	1,195	720	500	205	60	140	20	—	530	7,395	2,910	5,340
1961	"	1,731	1,321	1,085	709	345	130	36	100	14	5	160	5,636	2,330	3,553
1951	"	1,230	890	571	233	164	87	11	54	..	—	87	3,327	1,766	2,051
1941	"	465	311	246	92	24	41	2	18	8	—	22	1,228	1,037	1,069
1931	"	429	124	135	14	6	10	—	16	3	—	7	744	1,200	968
1971	F	2,265	1,250	1,250	815	505	265	65	120	35	5	410	6,595	2,710	4,675
1961	"	1,473	1,107	1,149	724	361	164	46	99	15	2	155	5,295	2,006	3,071
1951	"	953	708	624	278	176	106	16	39	..	—	74	2,974	1,393	1,493
1941	"	343	259	232	98	45	51	2	13	4	—	12	1,037	732	744
1931	"	268	96	99	13	4	9	—	15	—	—	8	512	684	647

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:185, SERIES 30.13-26).

APPENDIX 9

Affiliations to Religious Denominations as a Percentage of the Total Population of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin in the Hamilton CMA for 1931 and 1971

Religious Denominations	1931	1971	Percent increase/decrease
Ukr. Catholic	55.40%	33.70%	-21.70%
Ukr. Orthodox	17.50%	18.70%	-1.20%
Roman Catholics	18.60%	17.00%	-1.60%
United Church	2.10%	10.70%	8.60%
Anglican	0.79%	7.00%	6.21%
Presbyterian	1.50%	3.30%	1.80%
Lutheran	0.00%	0.86%	0.86%
Baptist	2.40%	1.80%	-0.60%
Pentecostal	0.23%	0.38%	0.15%
Mennonite	0.00%	0.03%	0.03%
Other	1.19%	6.50%	5.31%

SOURCE: Derived from Darcovich and Yuzyk (1980: 185, Series 30.13-26).

APPENDIX 10

Denominational Groupings, Hamilton Census
Metropolitan Area, 1931 to 1971Adherents of All Origins toTraditional
Ukrainian Denominations

Year	Ukrainian Catholic	Ukrainian Orthodox	Total	Non- Ukrainians
Number				
1971	5,620	10,015	15,635	8,100
1961	4,336	6,934	11,270	5,638
1951	3,159	3,544	6,703	2,922
1941	1,769	1,813	3,582	2,204
1931	1,884	1,615	3,499	2,582
Percent Ukrainian				
1971	86.2	27.0	48.0	
1961	74.0	35.0	50.0	
1951	69.0	45.0	56.0	
1941	46.0	31.0	38.0	
1931	37.0	14.0	26.0	

SOURCE: Adapted from Darcovich and Yuzyk (1980: 173 and 175, Table 30.1 and Table 30.2).

APPENDIX 11

MOTHER TONGUE, POPULATION OF UKRAINIAN ORIGIN, BY PLACE
OF BIRTH, SEX, FOR THE HAMILTON CENSUS METROPOLITAN
AREA, 1971

MOTHER TONGUE

Born in Canada						Born Outside Canada					
S	E	FR	UKR	O	T	S	E	FR	UKR	O	T
M	3,340	5	1,595	90	5,035	M	260	-	1,965	135	2,365
F	3,225	5	1,755	105	5,095	F	210	-	1,545	135	1,895

KEY: S- SEX
M- MALE
F- FEMALE
E- ENGLISH
FR- FRENCH
UKR- UKRAINIAN
O- OTHER
T- TOTAL

*Total population for this ethnic
group- 14, 390

SOURCE: Darcovich and Yuzyk (1980:237, Series 31.50-59).

APPENDIX 12

Language Most Often Spoken at Home, Population
of Ukrainian Origin, by Place of Birth and
Sex, Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area,
1971

(Sex: M = male, F = female)

Sex	LANGUAGE MOST OFTEN SPOKEN AT HOME									
	Born in Canada					Born outside Canada				
	Eng- lish	French	Ukrai- nian	Other	Total	Eng- lish	French	Ukrai- nian	Other	Total
	Hamilton									
M	4,440	-	560	35	5,035	767	-	1,515	80	2,365
F	4,430	-	630	35	5,095	535	-	1,300	55	1,895

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:257, SERIES 31.178-187).

APPENDIX 13**UKRAINIAN MOTHER TONGUE AND LANGUAGE MOST OFTEN SPOKEN
AT HOME, ALL ORIGINS, HAMILTON CENSUS
METROPOLITAN AREA, 1971**UKRAINIANMOTHER TONGUE

7,455

SPOKEN AT HOME

4,290

*Total population for this ethnic group- 14,390

SOURCE: Darcovich and Yuzyk (1980: 263, Series 31.241-242).

APPENDIX 14

Families by Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue of the Family
Head, Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area, 1971

Urbanized Area	Number of Families		
	Ukrainian Origin	Ukrainian Mother Tongue	All Origins

	Hamilton		
Total	4,090	2,585	125,010
Urbanized Core	3,595	2,260	107,135
Fringe	495	320	17,880

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:779, SERIES 62.193-198).

APPENDIX 15

Households by Ethnic Origin and Language Most Often
Spoken at Home of the Household Head,
Hamilton Census Metropolitan
Area, 1971

Urbanized Area	Ukrainian Origin	Ukrainian Language	All Origins
	Hamilton		
Total	4,690	1,605	146,320
Urbanized Core	4,165	1,425	127,115
Fringe	525	185	19,210

SOURCE: DARCOVICH AND YUZYK (1980:777, SERIES 62.177-182).

APPENDIX 16

Ukrainian Community Organizations in Hamilton, Ontario

Secular Organizations- operating under the auspices of
the Ukrainian Canadian Committee
(KYK): national headquarters-
456 Main St., Winnipeg, Manitoba,
R3B 1B6

1) Ukrainian Canadian Committee
Hamilton Branch
762 Barton St. E.
L8L 3B1

- Ukrainian Canadian Committee Men's Council
762 Barton St. E.
L8L 3B1

- Ukrainian Canadian Committee Women's Council
41 Rideau Crescent
L8T 2T4

Member organizations of the Women's Council of the
Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Hamilton Branch):

- Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (OUK)
- Women's Association of the Canadian League for
Ukraine's Liberation (ZhLVU)
- Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, "Kalyna"
Branch (SUK)
- Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, "Lesia
Ukrainka" Branch
- Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, Holy Spirit
Parish, Local No. 1 (LUKzh)
- Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, Holy Spirit
Parish, Local No. 2
- Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, Church of

Resurrection Parish

- Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, St. Nicholas Church
- Women's Council of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance

2) Member organizations of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Hamilton Branch:

- A) Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (o.u.n. (b))
241 Kenilworth Ave. N.
L8H 4S4
 - Ukrainian Cultural Centre of Hamilton (same address as above)
 - Ukrainian School (same address as above)
 - Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) (same address as above)
- B) Ukrainian National Federation (o.u.n. (m)).
Hamilton Branch
170 Parkdale Ave. N.
L8H 5X2
 - Ukrainian National Youth Federation (M.U.N.O.) (same address as above)
 - Ukrainian War Veterans' Federation (same address as above)
 - Ukrainian Community Centre (same address as above)
 - Ukrainian School
 - Jr. Chaika Cultural and Educational Society (same address as above)
 - Sr. Chaika School of Song and Dance (same address as above)

- C) McMaster Ukrainian Student's Association
P.O. Box 303
McMaster University
L8S 4K1
- D) Plast-Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada
Hamilton Branch
57 Blenheim Dr.
(Stoney Creek)
L8E 1W3
- E) Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Ass'n
of Hamilton (Branch)
724 Barton St. E.
L8L 3A8
- F) Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (BUK)
- G) Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance
- H) Association of Victims of Communist Terror (SUZhero).

Other Organizations:

- A) Ukrainian Canadian Social Services Inc. of Canada
(UCSS)
1252 Barton St. E.
Contact Person: Mr. Z.R. Doszczyn
- B) Villa Kiev
Senior Citizen's Home
18 Mall Road
Contact Person: Pastor Iskat
- 3) Ukrainian Communist Organization (not under the
auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee)
 - Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (TOUK)
746 Barton St. E.
- 4) Credit Unions:
 - United Ukrainian Hamilton-Wentworth-Halton Credit
Union
1252 Barton St. E.
L8H 2V9

- Wira Hamilton Credit Union
239 Kenilworth Ave. N.
L8H 4S4

5) Churches and associated lay bodies

1) Ukrainian Catholic Churches:

Holy Spirit Catholic Church
15 St. Olga

Ukrainian School

St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Parish
260 Melvin St.

Church of the Resurrection Parish
821 Upper Wentworth St.

2) Ukrainian Orthodox Church:

- St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church
855 Barton St. E.

Associated Bodies:

- Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.K.).
(same address as above)
- Ukrainian School
(same address as above)
- Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association (T.U.S.-
formerly S.U.S.).
- Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association
(O.D.U.M.).
(same address as above)

3) Presbyterian Evangelical:

- Ukrainian Native Faith Church
21 Munn St.

SOURCE: Supplemental to the Multi-Cultural Directory.
Ethnic Composition of Ontario, 1971. Multi-
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pp 21-22.

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