

An Exploratory Study of Fourth Wave Ukrainian Immigration in Winnipeg:
Problems and Perspectives of Immigrants' Adaptation.

by

Oleksandr Kondrashov

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree
of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

FACULTY OF SOCIAL WORK

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**An Exploratory Study of Fourth Wave Ukrainian, Immigration in Winnipeg: Problems
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ABSTRACT

Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation in the Canadian society is a multifaceted and an ongoing process. Four waves of the Ukrainian immigration can be traced within Canadian-Ukrainian history.

The focus of this exploratory study is to examine the causes and the socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions in adaptation of the recent fourth wave Ukrainian immigration in Winnipeg. The fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada occurred after Ukraine became an independent country in 1991.

A literature review on Ukrainian immigration to Canada assisted in developing the starting point for understanding the causes for Ukrainian immigration and provided the overview of the major themes, which were traced in their socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation.

The study employed a qualitative research strategy and relied on primary data, collected through sixteen in-depth face-to-face interviews. Each interview explored a Ukrainian immigrant's adaptation experience in the areas of housing, education, employment, language and community connections. The research was designed to increase understanding about the recent Ukrainian immigrant's adaptation process in Winnipeg through determining their needs for community and social work services.

The study's findings strongly indicate that the problems encountered by Ukrainian immigrants in the process of socio-economic and socio-cultural integration are both personal and social, necessitating the formulation of policies to

facilitate the adaptation process and create desirable outcomes.

This thesis highlights the importance of developing a vigorous advocacy and community outreach informational programs to help Ukrainian newcomers in their adaptation in Winnipeg. These measures may help them cope with the isolation and occupational discrimination many of them experience during the first few years in Canada.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not be possible without a supportive Ukrainian community. I owe my deepest gratitude to the most recent Ukrainian immigrants who volunteered their time to share their stories. These people made it possible for me to complete this study about their problems and perspectives in adapting to the life in Winnipeg, Canada. Their contributions enriched the project with personal stories and made the results real and relevant. Their migration stories open a window to the minds and souls of Ukrainian immigrants. Some of the themes are universal and go beyond the national boundaries, thus, reflect and embrace the lives of all immigrants in Canada.

None of this could have been accomplished without the research direction and support offered by my committee members Professor Bruce Unfried, Dr. Brad McKenzie and Professor Iryna Konstantiuk. They challenged me to explore and discover strategies and methods for conducting this study as it progressed. Having the support of my Canadian Mama, Social Worker Audrey Lumsden, at each step of this journey was invaluable including being one of my first teachers of Social Work.

I also want to acknowledge Mrs. Lesia Szwaluk, President of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress Manitoba Provincial Branch, Professor Iryna Konstantiuk and Dr. Stella Hryniuk for guidance and help in recruiting some of my initial research participants. Many of those individuals provided resources while others offered the comfort of friendship that sustained me even when I was unsure of the outcome.

The research and writing of this thesis was facilitated by the University of Manitoba Graduate Fellowship and Shevchenko Foundation Award. Sessional

instructor teaching possibilities offered through the Faculty of Social Work and financial and moral support from Dean Dr. Bob Mullaly assisted in presenting my results at conferences in Ukraine and in Canada. I am deeply indebted to my Canadian institution, The Faculty of Social Work at the University of Manitoba.

During my studies I know that my advisors and members from the Faculty of Social Work have also prepared me exceedingly well to embark on a teaching career in social work with an emphasis on social work practice, policy and research. Moreover Dr. Tuula Heinonen has provided me with the opportunity to co-teach an International and Local Community Development course and Dr. Alex Wright has provided me with an opportunity to practice and develop, through careful guidance, my research skills, hiring me as a research assistant for various research projects.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all of my colleagues and friends who helped me through the difficult years of research and writing for their kind support.

On a more personal note, none of this would have been possible without my family's love and investment in my education. Thank you again for those named and unnamed who gave me the opportunity to produce the first Ukrainian Canadian Studies research in the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Manitoba.

DEDICATION

This Master thesis would have not been possible without the launching of the Canada-Ukraine "Reforming Social Services" CIDA-funded project that brought social work education under the direction of Dr. Brad McKenzie to Lviv, Ukraine in 1999.

This thesis is dedicated to the Ukrainian immigrants who were research participants and who made possible the completion of this much needed exploratory study by sharing their stories, their concerns and the ways in which they adapt with their new life in Winnipeg, Canada.

This work is also dedicated to my Ukrainian and Canadian families who have been a great source of support and inspiration to me during the time while completing my MSW degree. Especially I want to name my Ukrainian Mama Lidiya Krasun and my Canadian Mama Audrey Lumsden for their kindest support and love.

Дана робота стала можливою завдяки Канадсько-українському проекту «Реформування соціальних послуг», який фінансувався Канадською агенцією з міжнародного розвитку і сприяв розвитку освіти в сфері соціальної роботи у Львові. Проект започаткував Др. Бред Маккензі у 1999 році.

Цю магістерську роботу я хотів би присвятити Українським іммігрантам, які виявили бажання стати учасниками даного дослідження і зробили все можливе для успішного завершення цього потрібного проекту через висвітлення їх життєвих історій про власний досвід імміграції і життя у Вінніпезі.

Ця робота також присвячується моїй українській і канадській родині, які завжди підтримували і надихали мене під час роботи над отриманням ступеню магістра з соціальної роботи. Особливо я хотів подякувати своїй Мамі Лідії Красун і Канадській Мамі Одрі Ламсден, яка заслуговує отримання ступеню магістра з соціальної роботи, за їхню наснагу і любов.

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CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Immigration is viewed as the voluntarily or forced movement of a population from the country of permanent residence to other states. Economic, educational, social and cultural aspects are often reasons which initiate this process. Four waves could be traced in the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada; each having specific characteristics under which the Ukrainian Diaspora of Canada were formed and developed.

This thesis was an exploratory study of the recent fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation in Winnipeg, Canada with a view to determine their needs for the Ukrainian community and social work services.

Statement of the Problem

Canada is a nation which is open to immigrants from different countries. Through out its history, Canada because of various labour intense industries has relied primarily on an immigrant work force.

In contrast to the United States "melting pot" immigration policy, in Canada people from diverse cultural backgrounds are able to maintain their cultural integrity and family traditions. John Porter (1965) named Canadian immigration strategy a "Cultural Mosaic" to distinguish its uniqueness in preserving immigrants' cultural heritage. Implementation and promotion of the multiculturalism policy in Canada strengthened the immigrant's ability to have a constant interaction with individuals from different cultural backgrounds and provided learning opportunities to appreciate cultural differences.

Regardless of the cultural backgrounds, types of societies, and levels of social standards, adaptation to a new land is often a lengthy and difficult process. Ukrainian immigrants faced numerous issues that affected most immigrants in the process of adaptation in Canadian society.

From the time of Canadian Confederation in 1867, Ukrainian immigration to Canada has been a major reality for many people from Ukraine. The Ukrainian immigration to Canada has continued to increase even since the time when Ukraine became an independent state in 1991.

In order to understand the settlement process in Winnipeg for fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants, it was essential to understand the problems and perspectives they experienced during their initial adaptation. In this study the researcher identified major socio-economic and socio-cultural issues faced by the representatives from the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration during their settlement process in Winnipeg, Canada. A literature review on Ukrainian immigration to Canada developed the starting point in understanding the causes for the first three waves of immigration and provided the overview of major themes related to their socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation.

The Purpose of the Study

There were several reasons for conducting this exploratory research. There had been little recent adaptation research on Ukrainian immigrants conducted in Canada. The existing research was primarily focused on the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The identification of problems in adaptation by the Ukrainian community has changed since the arrival of the first

wave of Ukrainian immigrants and it was important to identify new trends and issues in recent Ukrainian immigration to Canada to understand their settlement process. The existing research on adaptation and Ukrainian Diaspora issues was predominantly quantitative and was based on the census information and not on qualitative in-depth data and observations, which is used to describe the breadth and depth of issues in analyzing Ukrainian immigration and settlement experience.

The purpose of this exploratory research was to describe and analyze the process of adaptation and settlement of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg, Canada. This study, by exploring the recent Ukrainian immigrant experiences, sought answers to the following three questions:

(1) What were the immigrants' reason(s) for migration and settlement in Winnipeg, Canada?

(2) What was the process of adaptation and the factors that have influenced the process and outcomes in areas such as housing, employment, education, culture and language, ethnic community and family connections?

(3) What were the Ukrainian immigrant perceptions of their migration and problems or opportunities in the settlement experience?

This study was guided by the following two research objectives:

a). To understand the problems of adaptation experienced by Ukrainian immigrants in Canada in socio-economic and socio-cultural perspective and the factors that contributed to their adaptation.

b). To explore Ukrainian immigrants perceptions of their needs, and the

kinds of assistance they required in order to help them with their adaptation.

The study employed a qualitative research methodology with an emphasis on exploratory framework and relied on primary data, collected through 16 in-depth face-to-face interviews. Each in-depth qualitative interview explored a Ukrainian immigrant's adaptation experience in the areas of housing, education, employment, language and ethnic community connections.

The exploratory framework was chosen because the study did not intend to generalize findings but aimed to provide in-depth information for social work practitioners about the current issues which immigrants from Ukraine were facing after their immigration and settlement in Winnipeg. Qualitative research methodology utilizing ground theory and phenomenology approaches for the purpose of data collection and analyses made recent Ukrainian immigrants personal experiences meaningful and created a possibility for future research in the area of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

This research attempted to make a two-fold contribution to the migration literature. Empirically, this study situated the experience of recent Ukrainian immigrants within the existing literature on the first three waves of Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation process, and complemented the existing studies in the area of Ukrainian immigration in Canada, which were mostly quantitative, by adding in-depth explorative qualitative reflection on recent Ukrainian immigrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation experience.

The focus of this present exploratory study was an attempt to extract the main problems and perspectives of Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation experience

and to develop an understanding of their initial settlement process and formation of a new Diaspora community of immigrants who have moved to Winnipeg, Canada from Ukraine after 1991.

Significance

This research seeks to make a contribution to helping professions knowledge about the situation of recent Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. It is intended to provide the recent data to the agencies serving Ukrainian immigrants and policy makers. The results may be beneficial for both Canada and Ukraine. For Canada this study provides updated information about the newcomers and their social characteristics, what needs they have, and what supports they might require during their settlement process. For Ukraine, this research provides an awareness of the Ukrainian immigrants experience in Winnipeg, Canada and creates an opportunity for future potential Ukrainian immigrants to make their decision based on the present Ukrainian-Canadian immigration realities.

This study also seeks to make a contribution to social work practice in areas of cultural diversity and immigration. Among other functions, social work is designed to help immigrants to deal with their initial settlement problems. Social workers and other helping professionals who seek to help Ukrainian immigrants need to be knowledgeable of their two worlds, Ukraine and Canada. Social workers, who provide professional settlement services for Ukrainian immigrants need to know these people's socio-economic and socio-cultural experiences prior to, during and following their immigration process to facilitate their adaptation in Canada. Moreover, they must gain an understanding of their needs as immigrants.

The study is also intended to contribute to the knowledge base concerning Ukrainian immigration. Although social work literature on general clinical practice, policy and research with immigrants is plentiful, it is limited in its review of study and application to Ukrainian immigrants in comparison to other Eastern European countries. To this extent, this study identified the experiences of a small sample of Ukrainians' migration and adaptation processes, and the relevant ethnic community social work practices to meet emerging needs.

The problems of adaptation that the Ukrainians revealed in this study should help professional social workers, policy makers and other human service practitioners to determine what services, in addition to the usual resettlement services, should be provided to help them adapt to the challenges presented by the Canadian environment. The findings related to recent Ukrainian immigrants early adaptation, in particular should determine what culturally appropriate interventions in addition to outreach are needed. Hopefully, the results of this study will be utilized by professionals and paraprofessional aides to further develop policies and practices that will assist Ukrainians with physical, social, economic and cultural adaptation in their host country.

Winnipeg was chosen as the focal point of this study because it has historically been one of the centres of Ukrainian Canadian immigration, socio-cultural, socio-economic life in Canada. It also served as the "gateway" to the West, as an immigration depot for the first two waves of immigration. Many Ukrainian immigrants during the whole process of Ukrainian immigration in

Canada settled in Winnipeg instead of going further west. Thus, it became the first major urban Ukrainian centre in Canada. In first half of the 20th century Winnipeg was the first and largest urban Ukrainian settlement in Canada, where centres of organizations were established and developed.

Definitions

Ukraine is a country of over 46.5 million people with ethnic and religious diversity. In this research the **Fourth Wave of Ukrainian Immigration** was defined as immigration originating in Ukraine after Independence Day which occurred on August 24, 1991. This research was confined to the first generation of Ukrainian immigrants, as defined above, 18 years of age or older, residing in Winnipeg, who were either permanent residents or Canadian citizens.

According to the Webster dictionary the term **Diaspora** was used to refer to people or ethnic population forced or induced to leave their traditional ethnic homelands; being dispersed throughout other parts of the world, and the ensuing developments in their dispersal and culture. In this thesis the new Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada referred to the community of Ukrainian people who had immigrated to Canada since 1991.

For the purpose of this research **Adaptation** was defined as a process of change and adjustment to new environmental conditions; **Socio-economic dimension of adaptation** included issues related to housing, employment and education; **Socio-cultural dimension of adaptation** included issues related to language, culture, family and ethnic community connections.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. Chapter two focuses on the existing literature in Ukrainian Immigration. It includes an analyses of the first three waves of Ukrainian immigration and the Ukrainian Diaspora formation in Canada and explored problems in adaptation which were experienced by Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada before 1991.

Chapter three describes the research methodology, including an overview of the research strategy, sample selection, data collection and data analyses techniques. In addition the research validity, reliability and critical analyses of the merits and limitations of this research were presented.

Chapter four and five present the findings and discussion based on the research questions and analyses of the Ukrainian immigrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation.

The final chapter identifies conclusions and recommendations from the study. It also offers suggestions for the future research in the Ukrainian immigration field.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review provided an opportunity to analyze the process of Ukrainian immigration from the early period of the Ukrainian settlement in Canada and to present day. Numerous publications from political, sociological and historical perspectives were devoted to the problems of socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation of Ukrainian immigrants to the multicultural Canadian society. These problems continue to be studied in the Ukrainian and Canadian social sciences, and also, to a lesser extent, in scientific literature of other countries, for example in the Russian Federation.

The history of Ukrainian immigration began at the end of the 19th century. During this period of time, the beginning of the existence, formation and subsequent development of Ukrainian Diaspora began in Canada. Immigration from Ukraine to Canada has occurred in four waves. Each wave characterized a period of Ukrainian-Canadian growth and provided a framework for adaptation processes. The first settlers laid the foundations of Ukrainian community life, formed the initial group outlook, and determined a public image. Succeeding waves introduced their own institutions and attitudes and adaptation styles, modifying existing arrangements which resulted in new challenges in the established Ukrainian community.

Most of the research for this study was conducted in Winnipeg, Canada, and in Lviv and Kyiv, Ukraine. The libraries at the University of Manitoba (primarily Elizabeth Dafoe and St. Paul's College) and the Ukrainian Cultural and

Educational Centre provided the primary document sources. The document delivery department at the University of Manitoba provided access to the books available from the University of Victoria and University of Toronto. Outside Winnipeg, the National Library by Stefanyk in Lviv and Theses depositary and Vygovskij Library in Kyiv were the most helpful, since they contained an abundance of primary source materials in the Ukrainian language, which could not be located elsewhere. During the literature review, the researcher found two similar extensive literature reviews on Ukrainians in Canada, which provided plenty of material and opportunity to locate all of the primary sources for writing this study. They were: Alexandra Pawlowska's (1997) thesis entitled "Ukrainian Canadian Literature in Winnipeg: A Socio-Historical Perspective, 1908-1991" in English and Vitaliy Makar's (2006) work entitled "Socio-political integration of Ukrainians in polytechnic society in Canada" in the Ukrainian language.

The major purpose for the literature review was to acquire the general understanding of the problems and opportunities facing Ukrainians during their immigration to Canada. This provided the basis for future analyses and preparation of the data collection tool for further exploration of those issues with a sample of respondents from the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration.

First Wave of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada

Reasons for Immigration and Canadian Realities

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada covered a period from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the First World War. The primary reason for mass migration of Ukrainians to Canada at this time was to improve

their socio-economic conditions. This influenced researchers such as Marunchak (1991a) and Martynovych (1991) to name this migrant wave as the "labour" wave of Ukrainian immigration.

The lack of material possession was not the only reason for migration. Although Stechishin (1992) named poverty as the number one reason for leaving the country, the author also discussed social, national, political, religious, and even psychological factors, which caused immigration. He noted that "many motives, either separately or in combination, played significant role for Ukrainian people in making their decision towards immigration" (Stechishin, 1992, p.82).

From the Canadian side at the end of the 19th century, the historical conditions of country's development were instrumental in making Canada an active recipient of immigrants. A whole number of factors were involved in the growth of European immigration to Canada, particularly to the Canadian West. Two factors which were outlined by numerous researchers as the key motivators for immigration were the existence of "free lands" (homesteads) and the building of railways. The improvement of agricultural techniques also vastly enlarged the potential of the prairie lands.

The formation of confederation in 1867 and the industrial revolution opened wide possibilities for economic development in Canada. The high rates of industrial development required the permanent wave of new workers, which Canada was lacking due to a very small population at that time.

In view of the powerful proprietors of the Pacific Railway, pressure was placed on the Canadian government and parliament. Due to their actions, a final

decision about lifting restrictions on Eastern European immigration was accepted in 1885. Up to that time immigrants from Eastern Europe were considered to be the immigrants of the "second sort", and a Conservative Press named them as "ignorant, dirty, priest-ridden moral degenerates, unfit to become citizens of a democratic state" (Lehr, 1987, p.3).

The special actions in the direction of attracting new immigrants to Canada were initiated by the Minister of Labour Clifford Sifton. It was his idea to bring Ukrainian immigrants to the Western part of Canada. The actions of the Minister directed the encouragement of Eastern European immigration, and were based on the Minister's belief that immigrants from Eastern Europe could easily adjust to the Canadian reality than those who were coming from Western Europe. He asserted that: "East-European element, including Ukrainians which named itself "Galychany" are more adjusted for settling in the West of Canada, than people from Western Europe" (Marunchak, 1991a, p.69).

However Sifton's tolerance toward Eastern European immigration were not based on the concept of equal treatment among the immigrants in Canada. He only believed that Eastern Europeans were more hard-working people than other immigrants. Sifton expressed his view on Ukrainian immigrants in such a way: "I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half-a-dozen children, is good quality" (Marunchak, 1991a, p.69).

Clifton's statement established a peasant-oriented attitude toward Ukrainian immigrants from the Canadian Anglo-Saxon population. This type of

attitude was maintained and reinforced by Canadian government officials and researchers during the time when first and second waves of Ukrainian immigrants were settled in Canada. It made the process of the first and second wave of Ukrainian immigrants adaptation very complicated, by placing immigrants in the framework of the working rural population, such as farmers and did not allow them to fully realize themselves in other areas of the Canadian economy.

At the same time some Ukrainians from the first wave of immigration to Canada chose to settle in urban areas such as Winnipeg, which also served as the central immigration depot for most incoming immigrants. Within a relatively short period of time the Ukrainians established a sizable ethnic community in the "North End" of the city and maintained their roots throughout the whole period of immigration.

The earliest statistical data regarding the Ukrainian population in Winnipeg dates back to the census year of 1911. The major source on Winnipeg Ukrainian census data as well as the general Ukrainian immigration to Canada was Darcovich and Yuzyk's (1980) "Statistical Compendium on Ukrainians in Canada 1896-1976". This compendium assisted in providing comprehensive statistical data on Ukrainians in Canada. It covered twenty subject matter fields beginning from age, gender, and provincial distribution of the population to various cultural and economic characteristics, including language knowledge and use, education and training based on information from Statistics Canada. The researcher used information from this Compendium to illustrate various issues in the development

of the Ukrainian Diaspora community in Winnipeg. According to the Compendium in 1911 there were 3,599 Ukrainians residing in Winnipeg making up 2.6 percent of the city's population of 136,035 (Darcovich & Yuzyk, 1980, p.66). This showed how extensive the first wave of Ukrainian immigration was to Winnipeg.

Socio-economic and Socio - cultural adaptation

It is generally believed that immigration in large numbers from Ukraine to Canada began with the arrival of Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak in 1891. However this did not mean that no Ukrainians could have come to Canada prior to this date (Stechishin, 1992, p.50).

The historical works of Oleskiv (1985) "About immigration" and "About free lands" provided a helpful description of the initial Ukrainian immigration in Canada. During his three month journey to Canada in 1895; Oleskiv established contact with the Canadian government authorities with the purpose of advocating for better treatment of immigrants from Western Ukraine. At that point in time, the immigration department was located within the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The material Oleskiv collected on Canada and published in his works incorporated data on the latest Canadian census, free homesteads, and employment opportunities, location of homestead and railway lands, climate, and precipitation, vegetation, and livestock prices (Kaye, 1964, p. 12).

Oleskiv's works were devoted to giving advice to Ukrainians who were mostly peasants from Galychyna and Bukovyna, about the ideas of where to immigrate, and what benefits people would receive after their immigration in Canada. Oleskiv's main intention was to establish some kind of order in a

migratory process, which at that time was spontaneous, and to protect migrants from abuses from the immigrant agents, provide them with the satisfactory conditions while settling in "The New Lands", as Canada was named at that time, unlike "The Old Lands", from where they moved (Marunchak, 1991a, pp. 31-40).

Oleskiv was conscientious in his attention to immigrant problems and after publishing his works continued to press the Canadian government for changes in dealing with issues, which Immigrants from Ukraine were faced with during their settlement in Canada. However, the Canadian government continued to be dilatory.

Though most of Oleksiv's recommendations included useful economic measures to aid settlers, he also focused on Ukrainian immigrants spiritual needs. In one letter Oleskiv asked the Canadian government to subsidize the support of a priest but received another refusal (Stechishin, 1992, p.98). But even Oleskiv, who was called "the father of the Ukrainian mass immigration movement to Canada", at that time, did not leave any record of the time of arrival of the first immigrants or of the area where they had settled (Stechishin, 1992, p.72).

However, Kaye (1964) created a valuable reference work entitled "Early Settlements of Ukrainians in Canada, 1895-1900". The author provided comprehensive analyses of Oleskiv's works, including numerous letters, which were sent to the Canadian government in order to support Ukrainian immigration to Canada (Kaye, 1964 p. 12). Based on his activities, Oleskiv was recognized to be the first Ukrainian immigration consultant and a high promoter of Ukrainian

immigration to Canada. His first work "About Free lands" which was published in Lviv contained 38 pages and was divided into three chapters with the headings: "Is your native soil unable to support you?", "Only not to Brazil" and "Where should one turn?" was a great example of promotional material which stimulated the immigration to Canada. All his future works were examples of the information on the resettlement services for Ukrainians newcomers.

Other Ukrainian originated books on this topic included a few small editions prepared by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitskiy. The best known one was the brochure under the title "To Canadian Rusyny" (Sheptitskiy, 1911), (in translation Rusyny was the name of Ukrainians in the old times), which was written by Sheptitskiy right after his journey to Canada in 1910. The book was printed in Zhovkva, Ukraine. In "To Canadian Rusyny", the author discussed the basic needs of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, mainly focusing on the needs in their spiritual life. Sheptitskiy (1911) also touched on other important sides of life of the Ukrainian settlers, including education, social and political life.

During the first wave of Ukrainian immigration, the Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation topic became one of the discussed themes in the works of authors who were from non-Ukrainian origin. In particular, John Woodsworth published a book in 1909 "Strangers within Our Gates or Coming Canadians". Another publication where he touched on Ukrainians was – "My Neighbour". It was first published in 1911. The researcher located reprints made by the University of Toronto Press in 1972. Both original works were published before the First World War. They were devoted not only to Ukrainians but also to all new immigrants to

Canada.

In "My neighbour" there was a section under the eloquent name "The seamy side or social pathology" (Woodsworth, 1972a, pp. 130-153), in which the author described the incidents of criminality among different immigrants groups in Canada based on the materials he collected from police and newspaper reports. The section contained tables of criminality incidence after 1910 among representatives from 36 nationalities. The author discovered on the whole 6,024 various crimes. From Woodsworth's data Eastern European immigrants committed 403 (6%) of all crimes (Woodsworth, 1972a, p.p. 133-134).

During the first wave of immigration Ukrainians were found registered as Galychany, Bukovynians, Austrians, Romanians, Hungarians, and Russians; some were registered as Poles and Russniaks. Many of these people were classified as Russians because of the interpretation attached to the word "Rusyn" and "Ruskyj." The term "Ukrainian" did not come into general use until after World War I. In the period between the World War I and World War II, Ukrainian immigrants were classified as "non-preferred," because of the Canadian government policy of encouraging immigration from the British Isles and from northern Europe (Yuzyk, 1953, p.36).

In "Strangers within Our Gates" Woodsworth (1972b) described Ukrainians as "people with a very small percentage who can read or write"; "the unskilled labour for which contractors and railway builders have been loudly calling" (p.111). Woodsworth (1972b) also admitted that as farmers they made progress in their adaptation. "They were settled in the poorest districts, where

they have succeeded in making their way, despite their disadvantages. They are purchasing modern machinery, and are gradually adopting Western machinery, and are gradually adopting Western methods" (pp. 111-112).

Swyripa (1978) summarized in the introduction to his book entitled "Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of their Portrayal in English-language Works" that the English-speaking writers in their works described the first wave of Ukrainian immigration "as a movement of peasant agriculturists, who were conservative in outlook, mostly illiterate, attached to the soil, and who were alienated culturally, linguistically, and religiously from the rest of Canadian society" (p.xii). They also characterized the Ukrainian settlers as "the most conspicuous and foreign of the "new Canadians" for their adaptability to British Canadian norms and standards". (p.xii). Motivated by a concern for Canadian national progress, these writers did not see Ukrainians as a legitimate collectively in themselves, and revealed little of value to an understanding of the historical development of Ukrainian community life in Canada.

As already mentioned, the specific characteristic for the first wave of Ukrainian immigration was its labour feature. Many Ukrainians, who arrived in Canada, settled on homesteads in the Prairie Provinces. The newly arrived immigrant had a right to own the homestead with a preliminary payment of 10 dollars. An immigrant was also required to reside on the homestead for at least three years, build a house, utility buildings and develop of 30 acres of land before it was considered his/her own property (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982, pp.43-47).

The move from homesteads stimulated the process of urbanization and

assimilation among Ukrainian immigrants. During the first wave of Ukrainian immigration these tendencies were still insignificant. Ukrainian immigrants were primarily trying "to eke out an existence on land hitherto untouched by the plough, and coping with unfamiliar socio-cultural and socio-economic factors" (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982, p.47).

Stechishin (1992) also characterized the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada as being predominantly village peasant-farmers. He noted that they were driven by the misery of their conditions and left their native villages to seek a better destiny in foreign lands:

After they had reached Canada and filed on their homesteads, they began farming with almost no resources: the majority did not even have sufficient capital to provide food for themselves and their families for the first year in the new land. After building a shelter, the man usually left their families for a short while to seek work in the cities, on the railways, in the mines, or on the farms of more prosperous neighbours of other nationalities. (Stechishin, 1992, p.184)

According to Woodsworth (1972b), young Ukrainian immigrant populations were adapting well to Canadian culture and customs intermingling with the people of other nationalities. Gender differences were also noted in the Ukrainian life of living in Canada in a way that "young men often find their way into the major towns, while the girls as a rule, make good domestics" (p.112).

By 1905, the model of Ukrainian settlement on the Canadian Prairies was definitely established; thereafter, settlement started to expand. Ukrainian colonies extended in a belt "north from south-eastern Manitoba to east of Winnipeg, and from there to Edmonton along the line of the Canadian National Railway" (Young,

1931, p.58).

The Ukrainians were the most rural-minded immigrants in Canada and that was not a surprise that the great majority of them were settled and continuously were moving in the rural areas of the country, mainly known as Prairie Provinces. In rural areas of the Canadian prairies the Ukrainian immigrants were known to favour "block" type settlement model, which facilitated adaptation to the new setting by providing the security of membership in one's own ethnic group and familiar institutions (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982, p.48).

The same type of settlement pattern repeated itself in Winnipeg for the same reasons. After settling in Winnipeg, Ukrainian immigrants began to look for work. Not knowing the language, and having no resources, they took whatever jobs were available, even though they often didn't pay very well.

The majority of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada started their economic life at the lowest occupational level. Families arrived in Canada, mainly as rural settlers with little or no cash reserve. Thus it was a common occurrence that the new homestead would be left in care of the wife and children, while the husband, was looking for a job to sustain his family (Woycenko, 1968, p.49).

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration had limited job prospects for a number of reasons: their skills were primarily in the agricultural field, they have limited ability to speak English and they were unfamiliar with Canadian customs. These limitations held them back from obtaining higher paid jobs. Ukrainian pioneer settlers were usually hired to work at the roughest jobs on railroads or construction. They were forced to move on from job to job, especially those who

had no homestead to return to (Woycenko, 1968, pp.49-50).

From a review of these sources it was easy to get the impression that life in Canada was filled with many hardships for the Ukrainian immigrants. This was true regardless of whether Ukrainian immigrants settled in cities or on farms. In rural areas the work involved clearing the land and planting the first crops. Those who chose not to farm usually had to perform physical construction labour in order to earn a living. The harshest conditions were encountered by those who worked in mines, lumber camps and on the railroad. They had minimal to no social protection and could only rely on their own.

Even though this was the pioneering generation of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, there was already a tendency toward native language loss among the Ukrainian Canadians. Even Woodsworth (1972b) noted that the assimilation of the Galicians into the Canadian mainstream was already beginning through interconnection with other community groups. There were, therefore, the beginnings of a very real fear that the Ukrainian Canadian community would not be able to sustain its separate ethnic identity in Canada.

Anderson (1981) defined the principal components of ethnic identity where ideally the traditionally bound ethnic group member will "value his/her ethnic origin, be fluent and primarily speak his/her traditional mother tongue, attend ethnic oriented church and follow various customs and traditions of his/her group"(p.37). Since the retention of the mother tongue was generally considered to be the most important of these components, the fear of loss of ethnic identity appears to have been justified.

The second largest issue related to the language was illiteracy rate among Ukrainians immigrants. Himka (1982) stated that "the great majority of Ukrainian peasants remained illiterate into the twentieth century" (p.22).

The loss of Ukrainian language and high illiteracy rates forced some immigrants, who identified themselves as Ukrainian community leaders, to develop specific programs to keep the Ukrainian community together and improve the quality of life and open new possibilities for Ukrainian immigrants that had been previously closed to them due to their inability to effectively communicate and maintain their culture.

The center of Ukrainian organizational and community life became Winnipeg as it had the largest Ukrainian urban population in Canada. Ukrainian immigrants wanted to keep organizations, which they formerly had in Ukraine and build new organizations to satisfy their needs. Ukrainian pioneers re-established Chytal'ni Prosvita (Ukrainian Reading "Enlightenment" Associations) which were common in Ukraine at that time and in 1905 build a Cultural and Educational organization to serve their educational needs (Martynovych, 1991a, p.176).

Education, like socio-political concerns, was of paramount importance to the Ukrainians. The school system in Manitoba was highly centralized with the provincial Department of Education in charge of such things as curriculum development, textbooks and teacher education. It created barriers for maintaining and promoting Ukrainian culture and language. Lupul (1982) noted "the problems regarding Ukrainian immigrants' education were much deeper, as their

examination in the most provincial jurisdictions shows" (p.216).

In order to promote Ukrainian culture, first wave Ukrainian immigrants put their efforts in the development of different libraries and reading associations, albeit with modest holdings, to attest to a definite interest in education among them. Ukrainian leaders in many communities also began to organize public schools on their own, since none existed in the early settlements. Realizing some of the difficulties which would have to be faced by organizing new educational system, other Ukrainian community leaders sought to convince the government that public schools needed teachers who could understand the newcomers and who were also willing to teach in the pioneer communities (Stechishin, 1992, p.188).

Manitoba's language act of 1897 allowed for the establishment of bilingual schools "when ten of the pupils in the school speak the French language or any language other than English as their native language" (Lupul, 1982, p.216). Ukrainians Canadians thus had an opportunity, when numbers warranted it, to educate their children in Ukrainian. As a result in 1905 the Canadian government opened the Ruthenian Training School in Winnipeg. It officially existed less than ten years when Canadian government decided to discontinue a bilingual system. As Lupul (1982) noted "Bilingualism was clearly not the weak link in Manitoba's school system, but so sensitive was the issue that no legal provision for any second language existed for almost forty years" (p.221). Although bilingual schooling was officially abolished, in some schools Ukrainian teachers continued to teach the Ukrainian language after regular school hours.

From the above analysis it was clear that the first wave of Ukrainian immigration were coming to the land where no one lived before and immigrants were forced to develop their own housing, school, ethnic community and other support systems. Through numerous pitfalls, some of the achievements made by the first immigrants from Ukraine needed to be acknowledged such as development of an initial education system, ethnic community life and maintaining Ukrainian national identity. The first wave of Ukrainian immigration created the initial base for the future waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

Second Wave of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada

Reasons for Immigration and Canadian Realities

The second wave of Ukrainian immigration covered a period between two world wars. World War I activated the process of migration of considerable masses of population from the European continent, which was overcome in military operations. Ukrainians, who lived on territories under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, had the additional view of war related problems which was complicated through mobilization in an army, deportation from the occupied lands, arrests and pursuits for political reasons.

After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ukrainians who lived on its territory came under the jurisdiction of the foreign states: Galychyna was reunited with Poland, North Bukovyna became part of Romania, and Zakarpattia became a part of Czechoslovakia.

World War I, and the political turbulence that followed, broke the flow of Ukrainian immigration for four years, and when immigration finally resumed it

was at a dramatically reduced pace. Between 1918 and the fall of 1925 only 3,700 Ukrainians entered Canada—mostly the wives and children of men who had come before the war, intending to send for their families as soon as they had earned the fare (Balan, 1984, p.8).

In 1925 mass migration in Canada was again allowed from the “non-preferred” countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. The Ukrainian Canadian community favoured the resumption of immigration. Aid societies were set up in major Ukrainian centres to facilitate the process of immigrants’ integration. Unfortunately most proved limited in their effectiveness. Between 1925 and 1930, 55,000 Ukrainians managed to settle in Canada before restrictions were tightened in response to the Depression (Balan, 1984, p.8).

The economic crisis, followed by a large depression in the 1930’s, substantially influenced the general rate of immigration in the world. Canada was no exception. The Government of Canada adopted a number of laws which limited the arrival of new immigrants, including those of Ukrainian origin. An economic crisis situation in the Canada negatively reflected on the attitudes toward new immigrants from Ukraine.

The concept of the Canadian Mosaic was firstly introduced by Gibbon in his work in 1938. The author made an attempt to describe the position of various groups of immigrants, and also analyzed the sources of immigration. The term “Canadian mosaic” in that time mostly represented the Diaspora composition of Canadian population and in future it was transferred into the Canadian concept of multiculturalism.

In the 1930's the first attempts were made by Canadian authors to estimate the contribution of migrants to the socio-economic development of Canada. For example a work by Young (1931) entitled "The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation" and the new work of England (1936) entitled "Colonization of Western Canada" appeared and included research on the modern landed settlement occurred from 1896 to 1934. Young (1931) objectively showed the hard life of farmers and those difficulties of prairie life, with which settlers were faced. The author acknowledged economic progress that the Ukrainian immigrants attained in Western Canada. Young was one of the first Canadian researchers who described the problem of the Ukrainian participation in the development of Canadian industry. In his work, there was the special section under the name the "City areas and industrial development", devoted to the immigrants settled in towns. According to his information, over 20% of the Ukrainian population of the Prairie Provinces in Canada in 1926 lived in towns (Young, 1931, p.105).

In summary, the make-up of the second wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, which spanned the years 1918-46, was somewhat different from that of the first wave. The immigrants once again came from Ukraine's western regions, primarily Galicia, Bukovyna, Volhynia and Carpatho-Ukraine. The first post-World War I group numbering 1,503, arrived between 1920-1924 (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982, p.23). The group consisted mainly of war refugees, political refugees who had fought for the short-lived independent Ukraine, and relatives of Ukrainians who were already Canadian citizens. During 1925-1934, 59,891 Ukrainians

immigrated to Canada (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982, p.33). This was the largest number during the interwar period. The numbers of Ukrainian immigrants dropped significantly in the 1930s primarily due to the economic crisis caused by the Depression, which effectively curtailed immigration. Over the entire period some 67,578 Ukrainians immigrated to Canada. (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982, p.33)

Manitoba's Ukrainian population grew from 44,129 in 1921, to 73,606 in 1931 and 89,762 in 1941 (Darcovich & Yuzyk, p.35). Winnipeg's Ukrainian population increased substantially as well. In 1921 it was estimated at 7,001; by 1931 it tripled to 21,459, and by 1941 it increased by almost one-third to 28,162 (Darcovich & Yuzyk, p.66). Thus the city's most significant population growth occurred in the 1920s. Some of this population growth is attributed to reproduction, while other coincided with the time, specifically the years 1925-9, of the greatest influx of Ukrainian immigrants into Canada during the interwar period. Winnipeg continued to be the Canadian urban centre with the largest Ukrainian population, largely due to both immigration and migration settlement patterns.

Socio-economic and Socio - cultural Adaptation

The second wave had quite different settlement pattern than the first wave of Ukrainian immigration. Kaye and Swyripa (1982) noted that whole families were encouraged to emigrate in the 1920's, but again many men came first. During the Great Depression some interwar immigrants, particularly those arriving around 1930, lost their jobs and faced deportation. In 1930, the Government of Canada decided to stop promoting immigration and farm workers and relatives of Canadian

residents were deleted from the classes of immigrants admitted to Canada. The interwar immigrants encountered a well-organized ethnic community life with churches, reading halls and other socio-cultural organizations to serve their needs.

The younger generation from the second wave of immigration, particularly those with secondary or university education, entered professional schools or universities. On completion of their studies they joined the ranks of Canadian professionals or were absorbed by the industrial sector. The older immigrants, less adaptable and with poor knowledge of English, became teachers of Ukrainian parish schools, choir masters, or small businessmen (Kaye & Swyrypa, 1982, pp. 51-52).

The majority of the Ukrainian population from the first and second waves were busy in agriculture and lived on farms. Between 1925 and 1930 the majority of newcomers were still single men who were supposed to keep to agricultural pursuits and jobs requiring unskilled labour—and to avoid congregating in urban centres, where they might compete for better-paying works in the factories. Ukrainian women on the other hand were much in demand in the cities as domestics for middle-and upper class homes. While some households treated their servants with respect, coming to regard them almost as members of the family, there were also employers who took advantage of them in more ways than one (Balan, 1984, p.8). Thus a lot of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, during the second wave of Ukrainian immigration were treated as the most exploited workers in Canadian society. This confirms that the attitude towards the Ukrainian immigration remained unchanged from the pioneer era

From the 1930's many of the Ukrainian immigrants passed from the agricultural orientation and were largely represented in commercial business and industry. In the 1940s, the depression and the World War II was instrumental in moving habitants from "sectional (block) settlements" in other districts of the country, which often resulted in the complete disintegration of the local Ukrainian community in Western Canada.

According to Woycenko (1982), during the interwar period organizational life continued to grow and diversify. Of the almost 70,000 Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada during this time, significantly more people were politically active than those from the pre-World War I immigration. This was largely due to the fact that many of the more recent group had participated in Ukraine's independence struggle. Thus, when they arrived in Canada, they soon became dissatisfied with the type of organizational life which they found because it did not focus on political issues. Instead, in the opinion of the new immigrants, it centred on what they considered to be concerns of lesser importance, such as language and culture, and involved itself in religious squabbles (pp.178-179).

The organizations that the new immigrants from Ukraine established in Canada were politically oriented and primarily were based on monarchist or Ukrainian nationalist ideas. These organizations better suited the interests of the new immigrants from Ukraine, and because of this factor a number of the organizations expanded its functioning to the national level.

This did not mean that pioneer organizations ceased to exist. Many, such as the Ukrainian National Home Association, Chytalnya Prosvita (the

enlightenment reading association), and the Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita (enlightenment), continued to exist and flourish. In fact their numbers grew because interwar immigrants joined them.

Organizations, which were formed by the second wave of Ukrainian immigration, had another advantage: they were not plunged into the unknown to build from nothing. The newcomers joined the first immigrant settlers and a new generation of Canadian-born Ukrainians was formed. Moreover, churches, schools, secular organizations, and the Ukrainian press, though differentiated, were established (Woycenko, 1968, p.13).

Successes, attained by Ukrainian Canadians in a political sphere, were a predefined creation of a unique leading centre which co-ordinated the activity of public organizations. In 1932, the Ukrainian National Federation was created in Canada, and in 1940 on the initiative of the government, the Committee of Ukrainian Canadians was created which united practically all socially-public not communist oriented organizations of Ukrainian Diaspora (Woycenko, 1982, p.186).

A considerable role in the consolidation of the Ukrainian Diaspora community in the first years of its existence was played by the Ukrainian-language press. According to Borovyk (1977), in many cases due to the Ukrainian editions, Ukrainian Canadians succeeded in promoting Ukrainian culture within Canadian society. In a period from the beginning of settlement to the World War II wide distribution was made by a nationally-public press which had the leadership role in describing the life in Ukrainian Diaspora.

The "Canadian Farmer" started publishing in 1903 due to the sponsorship of the Liberal party of Canada. In Manitoba the Federal Conservatives subsidized Slovo (The word) in 1904-1905 in an effort to neutralize the influence from "Canadian Farmer". In 1910 the Ukrainian Publishing Co. Ltd. (today Trident Press Ltd.) established Ukrainskij Holos (Ukrainian Voice) the most famous newspaper among Ukrainian community at that time (Daschko, 1982 p.266).

Thus, the first and consequently second wave of Ukrainian immigration, established durable grounds for subsequent development of Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada and created conditions for ethnic community development and growth. Having much in common, the experience of those who came during the second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada differs from the first wave through changes in the political structure of Ukraine. The second wave introduced a new political dimension in the history of Ukrainian Diaspora of Canada, which substantially changed the priorities in the development of the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

Although the reasons for Ukrainian immigration during the second wave were similar to those of the first settlers, Ukrainian immigrants during the second wave had the advantage of some form of schooling, and many had high school or more advanced education obtained before their immigration. The war and technological progress had equipped second wave Ukrainian immigrants with more knowledge and skills. 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 (Woycenko, 1968, p.10).

The general character of the second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada showed that a transformation had taken place among the Ukrainians in Europe. The second wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada had witnessed the rise and overthrow of the Ukrainian state and as a result were intensely nationalistic. A large number of these new immigrants had fought in the Ukrainian armies, and could not reconcile themselves to foreign domination of Ukraine. They were therefore preponderantly political refugees. As Yuzyk (1953) noted "unlike their kinsmen who came to Canada before them, the newcomers resented being designated by any other national name except Ukrainian (p.37).

In contrast with the high percentage of illiteracy and low education rates among the pioneer Ukrainians, second wave Ukrainian immigrants had very high percentage of literacy and educational achievements. The ethnic community education flourished during this period at the same time increasing the "Canalization" of Ukrainians in Canada.

The period of Ukrainian settlement between 1918 and 1946 in Winnipeg saw the arrival of more immigrants from Ukraine and the establishment of even more organizations, both religious and secular, ensuring that Winnipeg retained its prominence as the centre of Ukrainian social, cultural and political life in Canada.

Third Wave of Ukrainian Immigration

Reasons for Immigration and Canadian Realities

The beginning of the third wave in the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada coincided with the end of the World War II. Political direction for this wave was predetermined by events, which took place on the territory of Western

Ukraine on the eve of the World War II, with the signing by the Soviet and German sides of a peaceful agreement on September 23rd, 1939 uniting Western Ukrainian territories with the other Ukrainian lands. Establishment of the Soviet regime brought all negative aspects of the Stalin dictatorship into Western Ukrainian lands, which resulted in sharp opposition by the local population and mass migration to other states.

The composition of the third and the smallest wave of Ukrainian immigration differed from previous waves in a number of respects. Ukrainians who settled in Canada after the World War II were part of the Displaced Persons population and were much better educated and tended to come from urban backgrounds than the previous waves; furthermore, an unprecedented proportion--approximately 40%--came from Russian-dominated Greater Ukraine (Balan, 1984, p.12).

Since the arrival of these Displaced Persons a small number of other Ukrainians have found their way into Canada during the third wave of Ukrainian immigration. Some of them came individually or in families, but they cannot be said to constitute a significant influx. Many were Soviet pensioners or people with close relations in Canada, formally permitted to enter as part of an agreement allowing reunification of divided families (Balan, 1984). Exactly how many Ukrainians have entered Canada from 1950s to 1980s is difficult to determine, but the total probably does not exceed 4,000 (Balan, 1984, p.16).

The characteristics of Ukrainians who immigrated after the World War II were analyzed by Harold Troper (1992) in the article "The Canadian Government

and Displaced Persons, 1945-1948". Ukrainians were described by the member of the Canadian Military Mission in Germany during the assessment of Displaced Persons in Europe, as "unimaginative, industrious, conscientious peasants, very religious and without initiative". According to this description "if Canada wanted hard workers with strong backs and weak minds, then Ukrainians fit the bill" (Troper, 1992 p. 409). In 1948 Canada finally enacted a new Immigration Act officially revoking twenty-five years of discriminatory barriers affecting the immigration of Eastern Europeans. While statistics by ethnic background are notoriously bad, government figures indicate that in 1945-1950 approximately 26,000 or 17 percent of those admitted under the category of Displaced Persons were Ukrainians (Troper, 1992, p.410).

According to census data Winnipeg's Ukrainian population grew from 41,997 in 1951, to 53,918 in 1961 and 64,305 in 1971 (Darcovich & Yuzyk, 1980, p.66). According to 1981 census data, which tabulated ethnic origin differently from earlier censuses and now provided for mixed parentage as well as single ethnic origin, 58,970 residents indicated being of Ukrainian origin and 20,380 of mixed, Ukrainian and other ethnic group or groups, origin (Kordan, 1985).

During the post-war period Winnipeg waned somewhat in status as the centre of Ukrainian socio-cultural life in Canada. Thus by 1981, the Ukrainian population in Edmonton was larger than that of Winnipeg and Toronto's Ukrainian population was not far behind Winnipeg's (Kordan, 1985). Also, the demographics were changing within Winnipeg itself. Ukrainians living there no longer felt the need to live in a block type settlement in the city's North End. By

this time they were living in all areas of the city, although admittedly their institutions tended to remain in the North End.

Socio-economic and Socio - cultural adaptation

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration proved to be substantially different from the first two waves, foremost that the migrants of this wave found the agricultural direction to be absent. It resulted in Ukrainians settling throughout different regions in Canada, giving advantage to the province of Ontario, although traditional settling in the Prairie Provinces was preserved. The Ukrainian population in Manitoba increased moderately when compared with other Canadian Provinces. It resulted with the Province of Manitoba, having the greatest level of the Ukrainian population during the first two waves of immigration, giving its leadership to the province of Ontario, and Alberta, which became the province with the largest number of Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian immigrants of this wave, unlike the representatives of the first two waves, practically eliminated the possibility of returning to the country of origin, because of the Soviet expansion over Ukrainian lands, and consequently, counted on more rapid integration to the Canadian society.

In terms of organizational life some of the post-1945 Ukrainian immigrants joined existing Ukrainian institutions. Others, like the interwar immigrants, established their own organizations and followed trends and events in Ukrainian life from the homeland and from neighbouring European states. The new immigrants were highly politicized and, in general, strongly anti-Soviet and self-proclaimed missionaries on behalf of Ukrainian liberation (Kaye & Swyripa, 1982).

Successes, attained by Ukrainian Canadians in a socio-economic sphere, were instrumental to the main changes in the structure of social and political organizations within Ukrainian community and influenced the character and degree of participation of Diaspora in the political life of country.

A noticeable contribution to the socio-political research of Canadian Ukrainians was brought back by well-known state and public-political figure in Canada, Paul Yuzyk, who was born in 1913 in Canada. He represented the interests of the Ukrainian minority in the upper chamber (the Senate) of the Canadian parliament. Yuzyk produced numerous research works related to the Ukrainian settlement in Canada. One of them – “The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History” – was devoted to the Ukrainian people in Yuzyk’s native province (Yuzyk, 1953).

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration coincided with the publication of a number of new scientific works. Prepared on a professional level, they were important in highlighting Ukrainian-Canadian issues within the social sciences. The Canadian Institute of the Ukrainian Studies published a voluminous work by Orest Martynowych “Ukrainians in Canada: Formative Period, 1891-1924” (Martynowych, 1991), in which the author presented a detailed analysis of migratory processes from Ukraine to Canada at the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries. Martynowych (1991) discussed adaptations of Ukrainian immigrants to the new Canadian environment and their labour in the agricultural and industrial sectors of economy, formation of political and religious groups in the Ukrainian-Canadian community. His work utilizes the data collected from a

number of Ukrainian newspapers which were printed in Canada at the beginning of the 20th century. It is considered to be one of the most significant contributions to the research on the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada as a whole and immigrants early socio-political integration in Canadian society in particular.

New methodological approaches to the study of the Ukrainian-Canadian issues were used in a work of Frances Swyripa – “Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Diaspora Identity 1891-1991”, that was published at the University of Toronto in 1993 (Swyripa, 1993). Focusing on the question of transformation of Canadian-Ukrainian identity over time, the author used the gender analyses perspective and discussed changes in terms of the Canadian and Ukrainian aspects of the Ukrainian immigrants’ women identity during their adaptation in Canadian society.

In comparing the three waves of immigration Pawlowska (1997) in her research found that the social make-up of the third wave was different from that of the previous two waves. The third wave was composed mainly of war refugees, who considered themselves “political émigrés”; there was a significantly smaller number of peasant farmers and a much more significant number of skilled labourers and professionals. This group almost exclusively favoured urban over rural settlement.

This overview of organizational life, which was united under umbrella of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, would be incomplete without mentioning the relief and fraternal organizations. Even before these societies came into being, the settlers would band together in an emergency and mutually tackle their

problems (there were no government welfare or unemployment assistance agencies to turn to for help). The Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas of Canada was the first organization established by Ukrainians in Canada to promote welfare between its members. It was founded in Winnipeg in 1905 by a Ukrainian Basilian bishop Father Hura. Through the years, it gained in membership and expanded its services in Canada. The head office was located in its own building at 804 Selkirk Avenue, Winnipeg, and it had 50 branches across Canada. After their incorporation under the Insurance Companies Act, it began to offer various insurance plans to its members as well as other benefits. In 1966 its members carried insurance amounting to \$4,500,000 (Woycenko, 1968, p.71). Another organization, which was national in scope and provided social benefits to the Ukrainian community in Canada, was the Ukrainian Fraternal Society of Canada. Its headquarters were located in the Ukrainian National Home Building, 582 Burrows Avenue, Winnipeg, where it was founded in 1921. In 1943 the organization was incorporated under the Canadian and British Insurance Companies Act, and served the Ukrainian Canadians with 17 different insurance plans. It operated through its 60 branches across Canada, and in 1966 had more than \$5,000,000 dollars worth of insurance in force (Woycenko, 1968, p.70-72).

Another agency Ukrainian Canadian Social Services had its roots in the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, which was established in 1945 by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (currently the Ukrainian Canadian Congress). The Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund assisted Ukrainian refugees arriving in Canada

after the Second World War, as well as those still waiting in Europe. By the 1950's, as Ukrainian refugees arrived and settled in Canada, it became apparent that there was a need for general social services to better serve this group and over time, the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund was re-organized and became known as Ukrainian Canadian Social Services. The Head Office was in Winnipeg with branches in Thunder Bay and Toronto. The first president was Ostap Zurawsky. In 1970, the Head Office was re-located to Toronto. Ukrainian Canadian Social Services were incorporated by Letters Patent under the Canada Corporations Act in 1979. In addition, several branches (Montreal, Toronto and Edmonton) were incorporated under provincial legislation (Ukrainian Canadian Social Services, 2007).

The establishment of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg in 1944 was a significant milestone for the Ukrainian community. It houses a museum, library, art gallery and archives devoted to the preservation of the Ukrainian heritage and since its inception has continued to expand its holdings.

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (now the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada) was established in Winnipeg in 1949. Its aim is to continue the educational, research and publishing activities of the original Ukrainian Academy of Sciences established in Ukraine in 1918.

As to education, advances were made in the field of Ukrainian studies. In 1962 Manitoba's public schools started to offer the Ukrainian language as a course of instruction in grades nine through twelve (Lupul, 1982, p.221).

Since 1979 the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program of study, where subjects are taught in the Ukrainian language for up to fifty percent of the school day, for grades kindergarten through twelve has been in place. In 1949 the University of Manitoba, under pressure from the Ukrainian Canadian community, established the Department of Slavic Studies. Courses taught included language, literature, civilization and culture. The Department's long-time head was the noted scholar Dr. J.B. Rudnycky (Marunchak, 1991b, p.323).

At the same time Driedger (1980) analyzed urbanization of Ukrainians and its influence on Ukrainian language usage. The strong movement of Ukrainians to the city, especially after the World War II, has had consequences for maintaining Ukrainian language. Before the World War II the knowledge of Ukrainian language was high. After the war it declined (Driedger, 1980, p.131).

In the post-war period Ukrainian Canadian life continued to flourish and expand. The newcomers once again, as during the previous period, were not necessarily satisfied with the organizational life that they found upon their arrival in Canada. Therefore, they established new organizations to suit their needs. Furthermore, as Ukrainian community life evolved and needs changed, other new organizations were established as well. Many of the new organizations were national in scope and their headquarters were not always in Winnipeg, although branches of these organizations were also established in Winnipeg.

Besides the youth organizations which came into existence in the interwar period, namely, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth and the Ukrainian National Youth Federation, the

members of the third wave established several other youth organizations: the Ukrainian Youth Association - PLAST, the previously mentioned Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada, and the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association (Woycenko, 1982, p.189).

These new organizations were generally highly nationalistic and among their activities were working to preserve the Ukrainian culture and traditions. All of these organizations combined their efforts in the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Council in 1953. The aims of this umbrella group were to ensure that Ukrainian Canadian youth participated to the fullest extent in Canadian society and to foster the cohesiveness of Ukrainian Canadian community life.

As more Ukrainian Canadians began to attend university there developed a need for Ukrainian students' organizations. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union, established in 1953, was the umbrella group of post-secondary students' organizations. It encompassed such member groups as Alpha Omega, Gamma Rho Kappa - Obnova, the Ilarion Society, the Ukrainian Students' Association of Mikhnovs'kyi and the Ukrainian Academic Association "Zarevo." The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union also closely co-operated with the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Council (Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union, 2006).

Ukrainians were not only making inroads in politics and academia, they were active in all facets of professional life. Many became doctors, dentists, lawyers and even judges and accountants. Woycenko (1968) summarized different ways in which Ukrainians in Canada upheld their ethnic traditions. The

following dimensions in maintaining Ukrainian identity were mentioned: (a) Family life: Ukrainians maintained their mother tongue within the family circle; retained age-old customs and rituals in observing feast and Holy Days; developed all forms of craft indigenous to the Old Country; and practiced their own culinary traditions. (b) Religious life: traditional Ukrainian churches, Catholic and Orthodox, were established. (c) Education: they displayed a keen interest in education, not only in the Canadian public school system, but in the teaching of Ukrainian subjects; this was apparent in their exhaustive efforts to retain the bilingual school system, especially in Manitoba; (d) Ethnic community centres: narodni domy — officially known as Ukrainian National Homes —, prosvitas — centres for adult education, social and recreational activities — were established. All these 'national homes' played an important role in perpetuating Ukrainian folk culture: choirs, dramatic groups, and dancing ensembles. Most of them made an effort to assemble a library of books, periodicals, and newspapers, in the Ukrainian language, published in Canada and abroad (Woycenko, 1968, p.23).

The impact of the third wave immigrants on Ukrainian life in Canada was immediate. An intense Ukrainian spirit was instilled into the activities of organizations. The majority of Ukrainian Canadians came to feel it their duty to support-the-cause of Ukrainian independence in Europe and to combat the spread of communism. In the 1970's through the development of multicultural policy in Canada a wide-scale national revival took place in Ukrainian literature, drama, music, folk-dancing, and in organizational and religious as well as economic activities among the Ukrainians in Canada.

In summary the third movement of Ukrainians from Europe to Canada commenced after the World War II. It can be ascribed in a large measure to the humanitarian efforts of the Ukrainian organizations united in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian Relief Fund with headquarters in Winnipeg. The newcomers were reaching Canada from the displaced persons' camps in Europe. The government regulations concerning these people were stringent; humanitarian motives have not been sufficiently taken into consideration.

One of the well-known Canadian researchers in the 1950-1960's, Lower in the work "Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada" emphasized that Canadian government authorities were not in much of a hurry to provide immigrants with the needed help in order to settle successfully. He wrote: "Our Canadian misfortune has been the thoughtlessness, the superficiality, the arrogance, the instinct for exploitation, the greed, which we have manifested towards the immigrants" (Lower, 1958, p. 374).

The third wave immigrants, having lived through the horrors of a modern war, in which they saw their native land ravaged-and their national ideals crushed by the huge military forces of totalitarian Nazi Germany and totalitarian Soviet Russia, were fervently nationalistic and irreconcilably anti-communist. Most of them came from Galicia, but considerable percentages were from Soviet Ukraine. Among them were found a comparatively large number of highly educated persons.

The Fourth Wave of Ukrainian Immigration

The most recent of Ukrainian immigration started from the time when Ukraine received its independence, August 24, 1991 and continues to this day. There is not yet enough literature to analyze the current situation of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The recent census indicates that in 2001, 1.1 million people identified themselves as Ukrainians and Ukrainians are now on the ninth place among all ethnic origins who reside in Canada. About 16% of Winnipeg's population reported some Ukrainian ethnicity. A vast majority (96%) of those reporting Ukrainian origin were Canadian-born. Among major urban areas, Winnipeg was third behind Toronto and Edmonton in the number of total Ukrainian heritage.

The fourth wave of immigrants from Ukraine was a result of the break-up of the former Soviet Union. The majority of research on the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants has been done by Isajiw (2002) and it has focused on Ukrainian immigrant settlement in Toronto. Isajiw (2002) provided a basic profile of the Ukrainian immigrants in his presentation in 2002 at the University of Toronto. Unfortunately no publication was produced after Isajiw's presentation and the researcher primarily relied on the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies press release done by Makuch (2002), where the author revealed some of the Isajiw's findings from the 301 interviews on his study on the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. From Isajiw's study, recent Ukrainian immigrants were divided almost equally between males and females. Most (78.6 %) were married, while 11% were single and 9% divorced or separated. Their

average age upon arrival was 35.4, while their average age at the time of being interviewed was 39, indicating that they had been in Canada, on average, for just over 3.5 years. Isajiw (2002) noted that while Ukrainian immigrants were fairly well integrated into the Canadian economy, they generally tended to be overqualified for the work they were doing.

As noted above international immigration has played an important role in Manitoba's growth to date. Immigration has also contributed to the diversity of the province, broadening opportunities and bringing a unique international outlook to Manitoba communities. In 2005, Manitoba received 8,097 newcomers which constitutes 3.09% of all of Canadian immigration in 2005 (Canadian Immigration and Citizenship, 2006). The top provincial destination for newcomers was Winnipeg, receiving 76% (6,134) of Manitoba's arrivals. The top source country was the Philippines with 23% or 1,837 people. Ukrainians ranked in the top ten countries (being 9th) according to the Manitoba Immigration Facts in 2004, when 215 people emigrated from Ukraine to Manitoba (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2006).

In the 2001 census, 25,530 immigrants came from Ukraine and 3% settled in Winnipeg. Based on the immigration reports, from 100 to 200 people emigrate each year from Ukraine to Winnipeg. They come under different circumstances. Romaniv (2004) identified four major reasons in the recent Ukrainian immigration. They are:

- low wages and the economic crisis in Ukraine;

- a search for professional work among Ukrainian youth and educators;
- problems in self-realization in business sector through government corruption and criminal influences; and
- low level of national identity.

According to Romaniv, these are the major reasons why recent Ukrainians leave their homeland. Rozumnyj (2000) in his paper entitled "Root problems of Ukrainian the Diaspora in Canada" characterizes the newest, fourth wave of immigration from Ukraine after proclamation of its independence as "the least interesting and least useful to Ukrainian Diaspora immigrant wave" (Rozumnyj, 2000, p. 67).

Summary

The history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada indicates that reasons for immigration were different and followed the historical developments in Canada and Ukraine. People were looking for better living conditions, escaping the political pressure and governmental corruption, but whenever Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada, they worked very hard building their own Ukrainian community and preserving its culture.

From the literature review it was possible to trace major issues which were prominent in describing the life and adaptation patterns of the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg.

The question about settlement in Canada was a dominant issue in discussing Ukrainian immigrants' initial adaptation patterns. Because of the

different circumstances in Ukraine and changed circumstances in Canada, each of the first three waves of Ukrainian immigration produced a different type of settler. The first and the largest group, which arrived before the World War I, was primarily peasant-farmer in orientation. These pioneer settlers acquired homesteads and established new Ukrainian communities throughout the Prairie Provinces in Canada. Although being primarily agriculture-oriented, after their initial settlement some of the immigrants from Ukraine moved to the urban centers throughout Canada and started forming Ukrainian immigrants' urban communities.

The majority of the members of the second wave of Ukrainian immigration or so called "inter-war group" participated in the Ukrainian struggle for freedom at the end of the World War I and therefore were politically oriented and had higher levels of education than their predecessors. Some of them went into farming but most settled down in the urban centres in Canada. They formed various ethnic community organizations to satisfy their political and other needs.

The third wave, commencing in 1947 and tapering off in the late 80's, brought to Canada Ukrainian immigrants mostly from the Displaced Persons Camps in Western Europe. Composed of skilled professionals and scholars from the urban areas of Ukraine, they made their homes primarily in the industrial centres in Canada.

Common to all three categories of Ukrainian settlers and to the Canadian-born Ukrainians in general were consciousness of Ukraine's lost freedom, strong anti-communist tendencies, a profound appreciation of Canadian freedom and

democracy and a fervent desire to retain their identity as a distinctive component of their religion, language and culture. These characteristics created a unifying basis for the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada.

Based on the literature review of socio-economic and socio-cultural perspective of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, one can conclude that the nature of employment was highly interconnected to the level of education among Ukrainian immigrants during the first three waves. In the first wave settlers had a low level of education and were working primarily on rural lands. Immigrants who received some level of education generally moved to the urban areas to find better paid jobs and to achieve other benefits which they couldn't obtain living on the farm. The understanding of the relationship between immigrant's employment and education provided the researcher with the opportunity to explore the experience and interconnection between the level of education and employment opportunities among the recent Ukrainian settlers in Canada and to discover its influence on their adaptation process.

The education issue was by itself very crucial in Ukrainian adaptation. Through the first four waves, the literature showed that education was valued and recognized as one of the major factors for the successful adaptation in Canadian society. Ukrainians flourished their cultural roots, promoted the bilingual education system and maintained their own culture by participating in different Ukrainian community activities. From the literature review it was evident that education which immigrants receive in Canada and Ukraine played a major role in adapting to the Canadian realities. Ukrainian immigrant's knowledge of the

English language was also discussed in the literature. The level of English skills appeared to be crucial in enhancing positive outcomes from the settlement experience in Canada.

The history of the Ukrainians in Canada offered continuous evidence of a strong and spontaneous will to preserve their identity. This was evident in the Ukrainian community endeavours to retain its religious traditions, language, and folk customs through such media as the family, church, schools, secular organizations, the press and publications. Woycenko (1968) summarized Ukrainian immigrant's adaptation experience in their determination to succeed in Canada through their labour on the homesteads, the railroads, construction projects, and any other available jobs. In order to achieve their goals, Ukrainian immigrants also became involved in schools, Universities and other matters affecting their well-being and advancement. She stated that "Little by little they integrated into the general stream of the community at various social and economic levels. Yet they were extremely cautious and conservative in matters concerning their identity as a group" (Woycenko, 1968, p.19).

Literature on Ukrainian organizational life in Canada presented an overview of the services available for the Ukrainian immigrants and discussed its variety as well as the desire of Ukrainian immigrants to keep and promote its own culture in Canada. The persistence and desire of Ukrainian immigrants to maintain their organizations was a response to peoples' fundamental needs for group identity and the ability to locate in a structured niche of Canadian society while meeting the criteria of intergenerational organizations. The Ukrainian

community in Canada has survived to the present day in part because Ukrainian community organizations were meeting ongoing, basic human needs.

Another issue, which was investigated in literature, was the amount of research that had been written describing the initial settlement and development of Ukrainian immigration up to 1990. After such a plethora of publications, it was surprising to discover a huge gap in research or publications devoted to the period from 1991 until the present.

The literature review provided a framework for this research. It created initial understanding of Ukrainian immigrants experience in Canada during the first three waves of immigration. It also identified important areas in Ukrainian immigrant settlement in Canada. Ukrainian immigrant's experiences in socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation provided an overview and the starting point in analyzing various problems and locating possible solutions for recent Ukrainian settlers in Canada. It depicted issues which facilitated adaptation process for Ukrainian immigrants in the areas of housing (block settlement), employment (farming), language (developing and sustaining Bilingual education system), ethnic community connection (organized community life among Ukrainian immigrants).

The literature showed that while exploring Ukrainian settlement needs the researcher should focus on both socio-economic and socio-cultural factors of adaptation. The socio-economic perspective should include description of immigrant settlement pattern focusing on housing issues as well as their employment history in Canada and Ukraine. The socio-cultural perspective

should need to explore issues on the immigrants' connection to the Ukrainian community, support which they received/required from the Ukrainian Diaspora in Winnipeg as well as how they maintain their Ukrainian identity and the problems which arise from immigrating to Canada. Both perspectives are interrelated and should be built on the Ukrainian immigrants experiences in order to understand the wholeness of the adaptation for Ukrainian immigrants.

This review of the literature on the first three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada had a number of implications for this research. It provided the starting point in understanding the causes for Ukrainian immigration and showed how the Ukrainian Diaspora community and different ethnic community organizations were developed to serve the needs of the Ukrainian community. It also provided an understanding of the attitudes of the Canadian population towards newly arrived Ukrainian immigrants. It brought into focus several areas, which needed further research attention: (1) recent Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, had for the most part been ignored in migration literature; (2) although the number of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada had increased significantly in the past decade, there were no in-depth studies, in the area of Ukrainian immigrant's adaptation; and (3) literature on Ukrainian immigration to Canada relied heavily on "objective" and "measurable" aspects of adaptation, thus discounting the significance of the Ukrainian immigrants' experiential responses, such as immigrants feelings and overall satisfaction with their immigration experience. The literature did not focus on the importance of understanding Ukrainian immigration experiences and the role these experiences play in immigrants'

adaptation process.

The literature review was instrumental in developing the methodology for this research. Previous knowledge on the socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions in Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation was a key issue in understanding Ukrainian immigrants' attitudes and experiences about their adaptation. It also provided a direction in constructing this research through developing socio-economic and socio-cultural perspectives in understanding issues related to the Ukrainian immigrants adaptation process in Canada and applying them on the understudied forth wave of Ukrainian immigration in Winnipeg.

This study overall attempts to address the existing research gap in the literature on the recent Ukrainian immigration and to produce future directions for research focused on Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research strategy of this study. It presents an explanation of the methods employed, a description of sample selection, the type and significance of the collected data, and the process of data analysis.

Methods, Polkinghorne contends, "...are no longer considered correct or right in themselves," their appropriateness depends on "the kind of question being addressed" (Polkinghorne, 1983, p.273). He notes that the choice of "the data type, the model of sampling, and the process of treatment," is part of the researcher's strategy. The aim is to make "a knowledge claim that improves on the present state of understanding of some aspect of the human realm as seen from a perspective of a particular need that requires the increased understanding" (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 273). Marshall and Rossman (1999) note that, with an emphasis on experience, the researcher's goal in understanding the meaning of experience becomes "the description and analyses of context, interaction, and processes" (p. 46).

The exploratory focus of this research provided an opportunity to uncover the complex adaptation dynamics, and the interplay of the individual characteristics and the contextual elements of the process of adaptation of Ukrainian immigrants.

This study focused on White's (1974) description of adaptation as "neither a triumph over the environment nor total surrender to it, but rather is a striving toward acceptable compromise" (p.52). Adaptation is the active effort of

individuals over their life spans to achieve goodness of fit with their environments to survive, develop, and reproduce. White (1974) also stated that “adaptation is something that is done by living systems in interaction with their environment” (p.52).

Research questions and objectives

The research strategy and the choice of the methods in this study were guided by the research questions, the literature on Ukrainian immigration, social science research methodology, and the researcher's personal and professional life experiences.

Research questions represented general questions about the phenomenon. The researcher was willing to learn and develop its understanding. Maxwell (1996) suggests that research questions that are focused on understanding the meaning of the phenomenon for the research participants and their context are more appropriate for qualitative research. The author outlines three main types of research questions, as follows:

- Descriptive questions, which demanded answers about behaviour or events in a setting or situation;
- Interpretive questions, which asked about the meaning that situations or actions have for the participants and their feelings and intentions; and
- Theoretical questions, which were intended to provide reasons for actions or incidents in a particular situation (p.59-60).

This research, by exploring the immigration experiences from the fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants residing in Winnipeg, Canada, sought answers to the

following three questions: (1) What were the reason(s) for migration and settlement in Winnipeg, Canada?; (2) What was the process of adaptation and the factors that have influenced the process and outcomes such as housing, employment, education, culture and language, ethnic community connections?; and (3) What were the Ukrainian immigrant perceptions of their migration and problems or opportunities in the settlement experience?

This study was guided by the following two research objectives: (a) to understand the problems of adaptation experienced by Ukrainian immigrants in Canada from socio-economic and socio-cultural perspectives as well as the factors that contributed to their adaptation; and (b) to explore their perceptions of their needs, and the kinds of assistance that might help them with their adaptation.

Although most of the immigration studies on adaptation use quantitative methods and rely on the census and other standard data sets, social scientists were drawn to qualitative research. Norris (1997) contended, when he realized that "life was squeezed out of human experience" in an attempt "to make sense of it in a numeric, non contextual way" (Norris, 1997, p. 89).

Qualitative research as a form of social inquiry was chosen as the main framework for this research, because it focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live. A number of different approaches exist within the wider framework of the qualitative research methodology, but most of them have the same goal: to understand the social reality of individuals, groups and cultures. This study utilized the exploratory

framework, and focused on the recent Ukrainian immigrants experiences in the process of adaptation.

Qualitative methodology allowed for flexibility in designing this study. The researcher used qualitative exploratory framework to explore the behaviour, perspectives and experiences of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. Holloway noted: "the basis of qualitative research lies in the interpretive approach to social reality (Holloway, 1997, p.45).

Mayoux (2007) outlined advantages which favour selecting qualitative methodology for research which is focused on personal experiences. First of all qualitative research is holistic in nature. It is designed to promote an interconnected process with many different dimensions. A key focus of this study was not discussing the different dimensions of Ukrainian adaptation process in isolation, but understanding the interlinkages and tensions between the socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions of Ukrainian settlement in Winnipeg. Secondly, qualitative methodology is based on recognition of multiple realities where reality is seen as inherently subjective. The focus of this study was to understand Ukrainian immigrants experience in adaptation and it includes an understanding of different perceptions, aspirations and interests and how this influence accounts for "facts" and events rather than concentrating on how to reduce them to one version of reality. Thirdly, qualitative research is heuristic, interpretative and inductive. It evolves rather than restricts itself to predetermined questions or hypotheses. Because of the emphasis on understanding complexity of the scope and focus of the research are continually redefined as

understanding of different parts of the process increases and new issues arise. Immigration experience is difficult to conceptualize before the study and the use of qualitative methods is helpful in discovering different meanings of immigrants' settlement experiences. It also provides an opportunity to the researcher to record what was the Ukrainian immigrants experience before, during and after their immigration to Winnipeg. Qualitative methods seek to understand current events rather than intervening to change future events:

Although recording individual accounts may aim to empower people and influence policy through making them more visible, there is no attempt to integrate qualitative research with empowerment and policy development. This may make the data more reliable in some respects as people are less liable to manipulate information in expectation of beneficial outcomes or fear of unwanted consequences (Mayoux, 2007, p.5)

The exploratory framework in this study was not intended to claim generalizability in the Ukrainian immigrants adaptation experience in Canada. It only summarizes the settlement experiences of 16 recent Ukrainian immigrants to Winnipeg. The exploratory study included research process elements from the grounded theory and phenomenological qualitative approaches. The grounded theory data analyses approach was utilized in this study and the phenomenological focus on the Ukrainian life experiences guided the process of data collection. It is acceptable in qualitative exploratory research to use a "grounded theory approach" or similar for the aim of thematic analysis or conceptual ordering, but it should be noted that this research did not follow all the steps in grounded theory methodological framework.

The adaptation of Ukrainian immigrants is a multifaceted and an ongoing

process. However, migration literature has mostly relied on quantitative methods in search of the public, measurable, and observable aspects of socio-economic integration, and has for the most part overlooked the private, familial, and the subjective dimensions. Thus, it has failed to investigate the Ukrainian immigrants' integration experience holistically. This study, utilizing exploratory qualitative research strategies, not only detailed the collective Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation experience but also brought into focus the Ukrainian immigrants' individual categories and the mediating role they play in the integration process. It is argued that often it was the lingering subjective dimension of migration experience that ultimately impacted the outcome, and determined the immigrants' success or failure in the new society.

This study contributes to the social work migration literature both empirically and theoretically. First, this study situated Ukrainian immigrants' migration and settlement experience, their socio-economic and socio-cultural integration within the existing literature on Ukrainian immigration to Canada, and complemented previous studies on the Ukrainian immigration, which have been based primarily on quantitative data. Second, the study provided insight into Ukrainian immigrants' needs for developing appropriate social services.

The study focused on the recent Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation in Winnipeg. It represented 16 Ukrainian immigrants' experiences and their perception of the needs of Ukrainian immigrants related to socio-economic and socio-cultural settlement in Winnipeg.

Data Collection

Data collection involved the gathering of information through a variety of data sources. Qualitative researchers sometimes reject the term "collecting" data. Instead they use terms like "generating" data (Mason, 1996) or even "making" data (Koch, 1994). These terms sometimes seem suitable in qualitative approaches because researchers do not merely collect and describe data in a neutral and detached manner but are involved in a more creative way. Because of this "the researcher is seen as actively constructing knowledge" (Mason, 1996, p. 36).

For studies that investigate human experiences, such as the present study, data "consists of words or actions of the participants, which the researcher hears and observes" (Holloway, 1997, p. 43), and can be collected from various sources (Yin, 2003; Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Mason, 2002).

This research utilized a phenomenological approach as a framework for collecting data from recent Ukrainian immigrants residing in Winnipeg. Semi-structured in-depth face-to-face interviews focused on Ukrainian immigrants' life experiences. The research participants in this type of interview described the situation in their own words and in their own time. The researcher did not intend to ask questions in the same way and form of each participant. It was important to ensure through the structure of these semi-structured interviews that all important information about the research topic was collected and at the same time to give research participants the opportunity to report on their own thoughts and feelings. The durations of these qualitative interviews varied from about 45

minutes to an hour and a half or more, depending on the time and stamina of the participants.

Open-ended in-depth interviews are a "favoured strategy of data collection" and are primarily used to gather facts, opinions, and insights that enabled researchers to explore various topics and maintain focus on cultural nuances, first hand encounters, perceptions, meanings, and interpretations (Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Yin 2003; Holloway, 1997). The face-to-face interview, which seeks to explore human experience, is "a conversation with purpose in which the interviewer aims to obtain the perspectives, feelings and perceptions from participant(s) in the research" (Holloway, 1997, p. 94). Another advantage of using in-depth interviews in qualitative research is that use of open-ended questions which gives participants the opportunity to respond in their own words, rather than forcing them to choose from fixed responses, as quantitative methods do. Open-ended questions have the ability to evoke responses that are both meaningful and culturally salient to the participant, unanticipated by the researcher and rich and explanatory in nature

The consequent interaction "provides the richest data source for the human science researcher seeking to understand human structure of experience" (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 267). Therefore, when one investigates the life experiences of an individual the in-depth interview plays an important role in the data collection strategy.

Sample Site

An ideal (but seldom attained) research site, according to Marshall and

Rossmann (1999), should have the following characteristics: " (a) entry is possible; (b) there is a high probability that a rich mix of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and structures of interest are present; (c) the researcher is likely to be able to build trusting relations with the participants in the study; and (d) data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured" (p, 69).

Winnipeg was the geographical focus of this research project and satisfied the key requirements outlined above. The researcher's engagement with the Ukrainian immigrant community went beyond the already established friendship circles and social groups. The researcher joined formal and informal organizations and social groups that is, the Canadian Ukrainian Congress Manitoba Provincial Branch and the Ukrainian Student Union at the University of Manitoba. Therefore, the researcher was able to gain important insights about the Ukrainian community and improve his access to a varied group of Ukrainian immigrants.

In order to contextualize the study within the Winnipeg Ukrainian immigrant community and to have more in-depth understanding of its functioning, the researcher expanded his involvement with non-local Ukrainian organizations and groups and subscribed to Ukrainian language online publications and e-mail lists. This provided a broader context for this study. This context, according to Holloway (1997), refers to: "the environment and the conditions in which the research occurs, and includes the social and cultural system of participants... the researcher must have awareness and knowledge of the context, that is, to have context sensitivity and context intelligence" (p. 36).

Sample Selection and Size

The sampling process is a very important issue in every qualitative research. Marshall and Rossman (1999) indicate that, "researchers cannot study all relevant circumstances, events, or people intensively and in depth; they select samples" (p.68).

There are various methods for sample selection. Qualitative sampling is generally purposive or purposeful. Le Compte and Preissle (1993) prefer the term criterion-based sampling, because qualitative researchers choose certain criteria in advance of their study on which the selection of a sample is based. In purposive sampling generalizability is less important than the collection of rich data and an understanding of the ideas of the people chosen for the sample.

Patton (1990) lists 15 types of sampling in qualitative research. The choice is dependant on many factors, and must fit into the overall research design and strategy. Since the research objectives of this study aimed to understand the process and outcome of adaptation of Ukrainian immigrants using qualitative, exploratory framework, with no statistical generalization of the results, a purposive sample was most appropriate.

The purposive type of sample selection, "seeks cases that represent specific types of phenomenon," thus, allowing the researcher "to study the range of types rather than determine their distribution of frequency" (Reinharz and Rowles, 1988, p.8). Therefore for this study, research participants were selected based on the following characteristics:

- 1) Gender.
- 2) Age at migration
- 3) Geographical area of migration

For the purpose of this research and in order to include as much variation among recent Ukrainian immigrants as possible the researcher selected these three characteristics as the primary criteria in conducting research on the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

The researcher aimed to maintain balance while selecting the participants in areas of gender (male / female), age at migration (1991-2005) and geographical area of migration (Western / Central / Eastern Ukraine). In purposive sampling researchers seek to gain as much knowledge as possible about the context, the person or other sampling units.

The researcher did not restrict sampling size because of a lack of a comprehensive list of Ukrainian immigrants residing in Winnipeg. Research participants were contacted and selected through multiple-entry snowball sampling in combination with purposive sampling. This combination of sampling methods allowed access to groups difficult to reach as well as avoiding the pitfall of interviewing only informants within personal networks for which the traditional snowball sampling approach has been criticized (Massey, 1999).

Once a person was contacted and had agreed to an interview. (S)he was asked to provide the researcher with the names of other possible contacts, and the branching continued. Overall, in the selection of the sample all possibilities were made to include variations among the informants.

The sample size in qualitative research is relatively small but consists of 'information-rich' cases. Utilizing an exploratory framework and in-depth interviews to extract Ukrainian immigrants experience made a large sample size unnecessary, particularly as qualitative researchers rarely seek to generalise.

For qualitative research Morse (1994) suggested a sample of about six in phenomenological studies because researchers search for the essence and richness of informants' experience, and a larger sample of around 30 to 50 for grounded theory. A smaller sample is sufficient when the researcher chooses a homogeneous group or when one is investigating unusual or atypical phenomenon. As qualitative researchers often do not know the number of people in the sample before the start day for the research, the use and type of sample can be changed during the research. Alternatively, the researcher can predetermine the number of respondents (Holloway, 1997).

In conducting this exploratory research the researcher set a limit of 15 participants to be interviewed, but included the of expanding the limit in order to include more variation in the experiences of Ukrainian immigrants.

Sampling in qualitative research can continue until the saturation is achieved; that is, until no new information is generated and informational redundancy occurs (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.202). According to Rubin and Rubin (1995), one of the main principles of sampling in qualitative research is completeness. Sandelowski (1995) recommends that researchers use their judgement about the numbers in the sample. She also reminds us that samples do not consist merely of people but also of events and experiences. People in

qualitative research should be chosen mainly for their knowledge of an experience and condition or event about which they are able to speak.

Legal and Ethical Guidelines

Ethics in research is related to moral standards. Researchers apply the ethical principles to protect participants in the research from the harm or risk. They followed established ethical guidelines and legal rules. The primary ethical rights of the individuals should be guided by the principle of no harm. Research participants should give their consent on the basis of information and knowledge about the research; understand that their participation is voluntary, and that the researcher will follow rules of confidentiality and anonymity (Couchman & Dawson, 1995).

In conformance with the University of Manitoba requirements for studies involving human subjects, the researcher followed the requirements in the protection of human subjects in order to assure and preserve the legal and ethical rights for every participant in interviews conducted during this study. The ethics approval form was approved by the Internal Review Board at the University of Manitoba.

The ethical protocol submission form included detailed information about the study. Participants in the in-depth interviews were asked to sign an informed consent form (Appendix A1, A2) that assured them of confidentiality and gave the researcher permission to digitally record the interviews. Also, participants were informed that their names would not appear in the research document. The consent form was separated from the questionnaire and only the ID number was

used as an identifier on the transcription of each interview. Participants received a signed copy of the consent form which clearly stated that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. The form provided information about the process of the research and briefly described the potential implications for the research participants. They were made aware in writing that the decision to participate in the research would not jeopardize any community services they might be currently receiving. This information was also stated orally. Informants were reminded that neither the researcher nor the University of Manitoba would be responsible for any follow-up treatment sought by participants because of any difficulties experienced as a result of the issues raised in the interviews or focus groups.

Participants were informed that their involvement in the research would be based on the voluntary informed consent decision and they could withdraw at any time. The researcher was as clear as possible in stating the demands on the time of the participants and about the general direction of the research so that research participants could agree or refuse to take part on the basis of information about the research.

Interviewing Process

Having lived in Winnipeg for two years, the researcher had established connections, and gained the initial level of trust in the Ukrainian immigrant community. This became one of the crucial factors in gaining the ethnic community's support and cooperation, and proved exceedingly critical in securing a sample interviews. The researcher's access depended on the cooperation of

the gatekeepers and others within the Ukrainian community for the provision of names and phone numbers of potential participants.

This study depended on truly willing participants; reluctant interviewees, even though voluntary, would not have produced an in-depth and honest response. As Polkinghorne (1983) noted, establishing trust and creating a comfortable setting could assure a greater possibility of open and willing sharing of experiences, "we are able to reveal our experiences to another person but also to hold back and disguise them," since the interaction "takes place in the context of a relationship" (p.267).

As indicated above, in-depth interviews were the primary means of collecting data for this study. Each interview took place either in the participants' homes if they invited the researcher to their homes, or in a comfortable place which was determined by the research participant. Timing depended on the wishes of the informants. The researcher tried at the commencement of each interview establish or re-establish rapport and trust and to assist the informant to relax and feel comfortable.

In-depth personal interviews were conducted, each lasting close to two hours, with 16 respondents. It was initially planned to have 15 interviews. One additional interview was conducted to ensure that saturation had been reached and it was determined that information in the 16th interview did not generate new themes in Ukrainian immigration experiences. The goal for each interview was to gain an in-depth understanding from recent immigrants about their experiences and feelings related to settlement in Winnipeg.

The interviews for this study were provided in English and Ukrainian. For this purpose the consent form was translated into Ukrainian and all future documentation was translated from Ukrainian into English. The researcher ensured the appropriateness of translation by doing reverse translation with a certified translation specialist from the Faculty of German and Slavic studies at the University of Manitoba.

To enhance participation rates, interview participants were given the choice of being interviewed in English or Ukrainian. Although all participants were offered the option of being interviewed in English none selected this option. The researcher conducted all in-depth interviews in the Ukrainian language.

The interview questions, presented in appendix B and B1, were grouped into sections. The interview questions were formulated mostly on the basis of the existing literature review findings on the process of Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation in Canada. However, there were several questions, both structured and open-ended, which were added to generate data to expand the analyses beyond the limits of these conceptual perspectives. For example, a question was added about immigrants' desire to return to Ukraine.

There were two major parts of the interview guide: 1) demographic questions about Ukrainian immigrants background (Appendix B and B1 first section), and 2) closed and open ended questions, which were broken in four sub-parts including education, employment, language and ethnic community connection (Appendix B and B1, sections two, three, four, and five). Each participant was asked to complete an informed consent form agreeing to

participate in the interview and to allow the digital recording of the interview. The demographic form included questions on age, family background, length of time in Canada, and marital status. This form was completed with every participant at the beginning of the interview process. Closed and open ended questions related to immigrants adaptation experience were discussed after the initial demographic data was collected and became the basis for the rest of the interview. Participants were invited to share their stories about personal experience before, during and after immigration in the areas of socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation.

The questions explored various aspects of the research participant's life in Canada as well as their perceptions of personal needs before, during and after immigration. The set of open and closed - ended questions enabled the researcher to paint a realistic and holistic picture of the Ukrainian immigrants' migration experience, which is contextualized in a particular time and place and is sensitive to the participant's cultural background.

The interviewees, who ranged in age from eighteen to sixty and had arrived in Winnipeg after 1991, were identified by Ukrainian community leaders. To ensure that participation in the interview was voluntary, all eligible participants were called by Ukrainian community leaders, primarily by the head of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress Ms. Lesya Szwaluk (5 initially agreed participants), and from two Ukrainian Language and History Instructors from the University of Manitoba Dr. Stella Hryniuk (1 initially agreed participant) and Ms. Iryna Konstantiuk (2 initially agreed participants), who described the goals and

design of the study, the voluntary nature of the participation, the guarantee of confidentiality, and the opportunity to withdraw from the study at anytime. The researcher asked Ukrainian community leaders to provide him with information about the first few participants. Each Ukrainian community leader had been given sampling criteria for the research participants and asked to initially contact the participants. The basic criteria for the first initial participants were that they should be a legally arrived immigrant from Ukraine after 1991 and lived in Winnipeg for more than one year. Then, if the person agreed to the interview, the Ukrainian community leaders provided the researcher with their contact information and the researcher contacted the person directly. Once a person was initially contacted by the Ukrainian community leader and had agreed to an interview, (s)he was asked to provide the researcher with the names of other possible contacts, and the branching process continued. The procedure was the same for all other participants. Firstly, the participant should contact the person who could be a potential participant and asked for permission to give his/her contacts to the researcher and then when the respondent agreed the researcher contacted him/her directly. Overall, in the selection of the sample, every care was taken to include variations among the informants. The script which was delivered by Ukrainian community leaders and included detailed information about the research is attached in Appendix C.

The researcher contacted the potential participant approximately one week after the Ukrainian community leader had contacted the participant who had agreed to participate in the study. Further clarification about the study was

provided whenever requested. It should be noted that not all the participants who gave initial consent to the Ukrainian community leaders, decided to proceed with the interview after the researcher contacted them. Four potential participants felt that they did not have time to meet with the researcher and their stories were “typical immigrants’ experiences”. Only after mutual agreement between researcher and potential participant was established was an interview scheduled. Consent was also requested for digital recording of the interview at that time.

The qualitative interviews were conducted by the researcher. Interviews were conducted during May and June 2006 in Winnipeg with 16 Ukrainian participants who came from both urban and rural areas as well as the central and western parts of Ukraine. There were no apparent legal or physical risks associated with the interview process. The researcher had no intention to report the information to any authorities and use participants’ names in any context. Due to the nature of the questions regarding recent Ukrainian immigrants’ adaptation experiences, which included information on their immigration status, some research participants undoubtedly felt considerable discomfort responding to such questions and were advised that they did not have to respond if they did not want to. In addition, a list of Ukrainian community services for immigrants (Appendix D) with Ukrainian speaking staff had been prepared for participants. It was done in order to minimize risk and to ensure that participants were informed about the availability of counselling and other supportive services. None of the participants requested this information.

Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research is described as breaking down the data and searching for codes and categories which are then reassembled to form themes. Data analysis starts from the beginning of the data collection process. The focus of data analysis became progressively clearer after conducting all of the interviews.

In the data analysis the researcher revisited the purpose and the initial research questions. The process of analyses, which the researcher used for this study involved several steps, similar to the grounded theory perspective identified by Holloway (1997). These include:

- (1) Ordering and organising the collected material;
- (2) Re-reading the data;
- (3) Breaking the material into manageable sections;
- (4) Identifying and highlighting meaningful phrases;
- (5) Building, comparing and contrasting categories;
- (6) Looking for consistent patterns of meanings;
- (7) Searching for relationships and grouping categories together;
- (8) Recognising and describing patterns, themes and typologies; and
- (9) Interpreting and searching for meaning (p.44).

The data was scanned and organized from the very beginning of the study. If gaps and inadequacies occurred, they were filled by collecting more data or refocusing on the initial purpose of the study. While this process continued the researcher selected particular aspects which he examined more

closely than others, because they seemed more important for the emerging ideas.

The first interview - or the first detailed description of observation — was scanned and marked off into sections of data which were then given codes: words or short sentences which contained the general idea of the sentence or paragraph. The second and third interview transcripts were then analysed and compared with the first interview. Commonalities and similar codes were sorted and grouped together. That is, the researcher looked for recurrent ideas and consistent patterns in the data. This happened throughout data collection and analyses. Thematically similar sets were placed together. The researcher then tried to find the links between the categories and described and summarized them.

When data was gathered the digitally-taped interviews were transcribed, and the summary face sheet was organized. The face sheet of the interview transcripts included the time, date and place of the interview as well as ID code of the participant. A brief description of the setting in which the interview took place was noted. All pages were numbered. Wide margins were used in order to facilitate the coding process and insert notes on the transcript. Transcribing a one-hour interview took nearly six hours or sometimes longer, depending on the researcher's typing skills, the quality of the recording and the language and terms used. Printouts were used for coding of categories which reflected the meanings of what was happening in the data. Each transcript was read carefully and key words were noted as well as phrases to indicate incidents, events and facts. A

highlighter facilitated this process.

Coding continued until saturation occurred, that is, all levels of codes appeared complete with no new conceptual information available to indicate new codes or the expansion /elaboration of existing codes.

Validity and Reliability

From the beginning of this study the researcher worked diligently to ensure that the research process was rigorous. In addition, review of the qualitative exploratory study literature was thoroughly completed before commencing the study to ensure that the researcher was familiar with its methodology and purposes. As this exploratory research used qualitative methods and particularly phenomenological and grounded theory approaches the process of the research interview was carefully planned and executed.

Reasonable accommodations were made for research participants. Eleven in-depth interviews were held at the respondents' homes, two at the respondents' work places, and another three at various places in Winnipeg. All locations were convenient for public transportation. To minimize fatigue to respondents, no interview took place prior to 8 am or after 9 pm. Reliability of the interviews was monitored by using a digital recorder during these sessions.

Two types of validity in qualitative research are important in ensuring reliability and trustworthiness in this study: descriptive and interpretive validity (Burke-Johnson, 1997; Maxwell, 1992).

Descriptive validity refers to accuracy in reporting descriptive information through collecting required information and transcribing the transcript (Maxwell,

1992). Descriptive validity forms the base on which all the other forms of validity should be constructed. In order to maintain descriptive validity Brink (1991) suggests that common guidelines for each interview to be conducted should be developed. The initial interview guidelines for this research identified topics to be covered in accordance to the issues related to the Ukrainian immigrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation. Each conducted interview followed the specific set of questions, which were designed and approved by the Ethics Board prior to the interview.

The researcher ensured through applying active listening skills and clarifying questions to discuss the main areas of the Ukrainian immigrants experience outlined in the interview guide. The digitally-taped data was then transcribed by the researcher, who then checked that the transcriptions were an accurate record of the interviews.

The researcher transcribed and compared the data with original recording several times during the research process to ensure that all phrases were outlined correctly. Transcribed data was compared with recorded data immediately following transcription and six months after the initial interview took place. This strategy allowed cross-checking of observations over certain period of time to make sure the researcher was in agreement about the data collected. This comparison over time ensured that researcher not only focused on the descriptive validity but also focused on the interpretive validity through analyzing his own interpretations of research findings.

Interpretive validity captures how well the researcher reports the

participants' meaning of events, objects and/or behaviours (Maxwell, 1992). Interpretations are not based on the researcher's perspective but that of the participant. "Interpretive validity is inherently a matter of inference from the words and actions of participants in the situations studied" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 49).

The researcher's bias usually constituted the main concern in maintaining interpretive validity and reliability of data in qualitative research. It could potentially be overcome through the principle of reflexivity, which means that the researcher is actively engaged in critical self reflection about his or her potential biases and predispositions.

As Holloway (1997) maintains, "Researchers are affected by their culture, education, group membership, gender, personal disposition or other personal and environmental factors, such as age and personality traits" (p.27). The author further maintains that researchers "try to counteract bias by reflexivity and self-criticism and by converting subjectivity into a resource for the study" (1997, p.27). Thus, the type of the questions raised in this research was not only informed by the existing literature on immigrant adaptation, but also partly due to who the researcher was. The multiple identities that the researcher maintains as a Ukrainian, immigrant, student, son, instructor, researcher, and social scientist, has contributed to his commitment to the issue of the recent Ukrainian immigrants adaptation in Winnipeg. Together with the membership in Ukrainian community, this provides excellent sources of personal energy and guidance in conducting this research.

The researcher was able to distance himself and become an outsider and

a critical investigator. Moreover, command of the Ukrainian and the English languages, and knowledge of the Ukrainian culture, enabled him to traverse the two ideational worlds that these Ukrainian immigrants reside within, and facilitated an understanding of their migration experience and their perception of that experience.

Interpretive validity was also ensured by reviewing and reflecting on the data analyses process six months after each interview was conducted. The researcher re-read all transcripts and initially identified categories. This provided an opportunity for a different look on the research data and allowed the researcher to reflect on his own interpretations. Researcher reflexivity ensured that the categories which were initially identified reflected the same meanings over time.

Interpretive validity was enhanced through utilizing research participant feedback process. This strategy has also been called "member checking" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.314). By sharing the transcribed interview with research participants the researcher had an opportunity to clear up areas of miscommunication. While this strategy is not perfect, because some participants may attempt to put on a good face, useful information is frequently obtained and inaccuracies are often identified (Burke-Johnson, 1997).

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) the researcher who is planning to conduct member checks is required to return to the study sites and discuss findings with participants. Not every research participant engaged in the full member checking process in this study. All of the participants were offered an

opportunity to read their transcripts and provide any corrections if necessary. Thirteen of 16 participants told the researcher that they did not have time, and had already relayed everything about their immigration process. Three participants took an opportunity to read their transcripts and provided more feedback on their immigration experiences. They also asked to receive a copy of final thesis to learn about other Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation experiences.

In addition to conducting member checks, the researcher presented initial research findings at the Centre of Refugee Studies Graduate Student Conference 'Redefining Borders: Dialogues of Displacement, Identity and Community' hosted at the York University in Toronto. Conference participants, who conducted similar research with other ethnic groups, confirmed that Ukrainian immigration experience had similarities with their personal research experiences.

Another possibility to reflect on the interview data occurred during the translation of the selected quotes with the professional translator from the German and Slavic Department at the University of Manitoba. This procedure ensured that meanings and experiences of the research participants were adequately translated in English. Although all of these methods were utilized in this research it should be noted that it was difficult to maintain the high level of interpretative validity through translating participants stories and organizing data generated during in-depth interviews.

It is important to provide a thorough description of the translation-related issues, problems and decisions involved in the different stages of the research

process (Temple, 1997, p.613). Larkin (2007) noted that different languages construct different ways of seeing social life, which poses methodological and epistemological challenges for the researcher. Collecting data in one language and presenting the findings in another involves researchers making translation-related decisions that have a direct impact on the validity of the research. Birbili (2000) outlined factors which affect the quality of translation in social research. They include: the linguistic competence of the translator/s; the translator's knowledge of the culture of the people under study; the autobiography of those involved in the translation; and the circumstances in which the translation takes place.

This study was conducted by a bilingual researcher. All interviews were transcribed in Ukrainian language. The coding process and data analyses were also conducted in Ukrainian and selected quotes were translated into English with the help of a professional translator from the Department of Slavic and German Studies Ms. Iryna Konstantiuk. It involved looking for equivalents through a) the translation of items from the source language to the target language, b) independent translation of these back into the source language, and c) 'the comparison of the two versions of items in the source language until ambiguities or discrepancies in meaning were clarified or removed.

Use of all of those strategies together with the verification of translation with a professional certified translator made this research credible and the data which was carefully collected through in-depth interviews reliable for further analyses.

Critical Analyses of the Merits and Limitations

All methods of collecting and interpreting knowledge have their own limitations. The method used in this research had no exception. This study had been designed to be exploratory descriptive and to produce a substantive understanding of the experiences in adaptation and formation a new Diaspora community of the Ukrainian immigrants to Winnipeg. The exploration reflected the experiences of the several participants from the recent Ukrainian immigrant population and due to the small sample these results couldn't be generalized. In addition, it was recognized by the researcher that based on all qualitative research designs much of the analyses which was completed in this study was a product of the researcher's mental activity and the naming of categories occurred as a result of the researcher's own use of words and language. This was of particular salience to this study, because the researcher was required to translate from one language and conceptual scheme to another. Other limitations were related to the depth-breadth dilemma, which was typical to exploratory qualitative framework. Opting to conduct in-depth, resource-consuming interviews limits the feasibility of collecting data from a large number of respondents and eventually limits diversity.

Awareness of the possibility to be heard was critical for the research participants, as it is a common understanding that all research is an interpretive act grounded in a particular perspective. This work with Ukrainian immigrants, who experienced adaptation and the formation of a new Diaspora community in Winnipeg, Canada, in the end, represents only the researcher's interpretation of

the stories he has heard.

As a result of informal discussions and the author's personal observations and experiences, it became evident that Ukrainian immigrants were generally reluctant to participate in the research. This presented some difficulties in data collection. As a result, a number of strategies were devised to gain access to the Ukrainian community. By using the snowball sample method, the author enlisted the support of Ukrainian community leaders in Winnipeg, described the study and asked for their support and assistance. This led to their recommendations of additional referral sources. In addition, an agreement was reached to present the study findings to the Ukrainian community upon its completion.

In spite of several limitations in the present exploratory study, this qualitative research on adaptation and Diaspora formation of Ukrainian immigrants provides a valuable contribution to the study of adaptation and Diaspora development in various ways. The main contribution of the present study is that it gives voice to new Ukrainian immigrants who had experienced adaptation in Canada. Secondly, to this researchers' knowledge, it was the first qualitative exploratory research of adaptation experienced by recent Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg. Thirdly, because all interviews were conducted by a person who spoke Ukrainian language fluently, the information provided is likely to be more accurate and authentic to the Ukrainian immigrant's experiences. Also the qualitative approach enabled the researcher to explore the process of adaptation in greater depth than would have been possible if a quantitative survey approach would have been used.

In the next chapter all data from the in-depth interviews are presented to provide a story about the migration and settlement experience of these immigrants. Throughout the chapter, key passages from the interviews are used to illustrate certain shared experiences, points of views and perceptions.

The goal of the analyses was to paint a picture of the research participants' migration experience — the life experiences contextualized within the appropriate time and place. Thus, the data were intermixed, grouped, sequenced, and analyzed based on the emergent patterns.

The analyses of the interviews created a landscape of human experience of migration by weaving the life stories of the sixteen Ukrainian immigrants interviewed into a collage which portrayed not only the outcome of the Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation, but provided insights and greater understanding of its complex process, and more importantly opened a window onto the Ukrainian immigrants perception of their migration experience.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

In this chapter data from the in-depth interviews were combined to provide up-close and detailed information of the participants' migration and settlement experience. The quantifiable data, gathered on various aspects of participants' socio-economic and socio-cultural integration, were categorized and presented in the general table. Key passages from the sixteen interviews were organized to illustrate certain shared experiences or points of views and perceptions. It should be noted that all of the interviews were conducted, transcribed and analyzed in Ukrainian language and then all the selected quotes were subsequently translated into English. In translation, every effort was made to maintain the intended meaning and convey the embodied emotions. It was done through the reverse translation with the University of Manitoba Ukrainian language instructor Iryna Konstantiuk. However, unavoidably, some nuances of Ukrainian language were lost in the process. Moreover, the written words could not completely capture all of the emotions and passions which were often expressed by the respondents.

Quotes in this chapter were used for the following reasons (Holloway, 1997, p. 122-123):

- to confirm and support the findings of the research and claims that were made
- to help the reader understand where categories or themes originated and how the researcher came to interpret the data

- to illustrate the experiences of the participants and their perceptions and feelings

The function of quotes is not only to indicate Ukrainian immigrants' specific experiences but also to demonstrate and give examples of patterns that have emerged in their process of adaptation in Winnipeg. The researcher carefully selected those sections of participant interview which best represented the general ideas of Ukrainian immigrants adaptation experience as well as their specific interpretation.

The researcher took all effort to make participants' words accessible and understandable. At first the researcher decided to go with the literal word by word translation which was seen as doing more justice to what participants have said and "make one's readers understand the foreign mentality better" (Honig, 1997, p.17). But after discussing the difference in Ukrainian language structure with this thesis committee it was decided to go for with the free translation in order to make the quotes understandable for English speaking readers. However Rubin and Rubin (1995) noted that editing quotations always involves the risk of misrepresenting the meaning of the conversational partner. In translated quotations the risk of losing information from the original is greater (p.273).

In-depth individual interviews were focused on questions about recent Ukrainian immigrants' adjustment reactions to life in Canada and how they experienced their new role as immigrants. This was followed by questions about their background in Ukraine, their immigration process and their adaptation to the life in Canada, with a focus on whether they were satisfied with their life, housing

conditions, employment, education, ethnic community connections and language ability. The researcher also asked how they defined "being satisfied" and what made them feel "dissatisfied" with their adaptation process and their life in Canada. Each section was concluded with the opportunity for participants to provide some further recommendations for new immigrants based on their immigration and adaptation experiences in Winnipeg. The interviews were structured in the way that the researcher first collected general demographic data and then proceeded to the major topics which related to the participants' socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation.

Background Data on Participants

The background demographic data on participants was categorized and this summary presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Background Information on Participants

Variable	N of participants
1. Durations staying in Canada	
a) 1-3years	3
b) 4-7years	10
c) More than 7 years	3
2. Area of immigration from Ukraine	
a) Western Region	13
b) Central Region	3
d) Eastern Region	0

3. Visa status at arrival	
a) Permanent resident	13
b) Work Visa	2
c) Visitor Visa	1
4. Current status of respondents	
a) Permanent Residents	7
b) Canadian Citizens	9
5. Gender	
a) male	8
b) female	8
6. Age	
a) 18-34	5
b) 35-49	9
c) over 50	2
7. Highest level of Education	
b) College	7
c) University	9
8. Marital status	
a) single	2
b) married	14

9. Number of children	
a)0	3
b)1	6
c)2	6
d)3	1

Note: Compiled from data collected through face-to-face interview with sixteen first-generation Ukrainian immigrants residing in Winnipeg.

The data in Table 1 shows that on average the Ukrainian immigrants in the sample had lived continuously in Canada for about six years. The shortest period of residency was one and the longest was sixteen years. The gender composition of the research was equally balanced: eight participants were males and eight were females. The majority of Ukrainian immigrants, who were contacted and agreed to participate in the interviews were from Western Ukraine. Only three participants were from the Central Region and no one was from Eastern Ukraine. In summary, this sample primarily represents the experience of immigrants from Western Ukraine.

Problems in recruiting the Eastern Ukrainian immigrants occurred because of the nature of language spoken in this part of Ukraine. The Russian-Ukrainian language mix among the recent arrivals, to some degree an object of derision among local Ukrainian Canadians, is still very common and unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. This trend also has an historical explanation. The majority of the Ukrainian immigrants from previous waves of immigration to Canada left

Ukraine because of the country's political situation. Those immigrants maintained the perception that speaking Russian language characterized Ukrainians who supported Soviet regime. It should again be noted that the research participants had primarily emigrated from the Western part of Ukraine and only three were from the Central part of Ukraine.

Thirteen of 16 participants had obtained permanent residency status under skilled workers and family reunification streams at the time of arrival; the rest had work or visitor visa status. Usually it took an average of four to six years for recent Ukrainian immigrants to change their status and to become Canadian citizens. At the time of the interview, nine of the participants were Canadian citizens, the rest were permanent residents intending to become citizens.

Fourteen of 16 participants were married and had from one to three children. All families had at least one child. Although not all of them came to Canada with their partners, when the interviews were conducted all of their immediate family were present in Winnipeg.

These immigrants received initial training and education before coming to Canada. All of them completed high school and have some professional training through college or University.

Primary reasons given for migration were political, safety and security, economic opportunities, marriage, family reunification, visit, work related and children's future or some combination of these reasons. The demographic data provided the foundation for the future analyses and gave some insight into the background of these immigrants.

Process of Analysis

Each of the 16 interviews lasted close to two hours and has produced an enormous amount of data for analysis. As previously noted data analyses involved ordering and organising the collected material, based on the sections (socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation) of the interview guide. Then data was re-read, and broken down into manageable segments (before, during and after immigration experience) within major sections. When this task was completed the researcher then identified and highlighted meaningful phrases, which created material for building, comparing and contrasting categories within each segment of the research.

The last process of data analyses involved recognition and description of the identified patterns, themes and typologies, finding appropriate quotes to illustrate them, interpretation and a search for meaning. This was done for each interview and then combined to summarize the participants' views on the five major categories of questions related to housing, employment, education, language and culture and ethnic community connections. Findings are mentioned by topic in the order outlined in the initial interview guide.

Housing

Ukrainians came to Winnipeg from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. Some respondents arrived in Winnipeg as family units. Some came as single males or females looking for opportunities and a better life. What they all had in common when they arrived in Canada was a need for housing. A series of specific questions were asked of the recent Ukrainian migrants about

their circumstances and living conditions in their former country of residence to establish whether these were factors that gave rise to migration:

We were lacking the basic necessities: water, electricity was provided on an hourly basis. Income was primarily used to purchase food. It was impossible to dream about anything intellectual, cultural or recreational.

Six research participants expressed that their living conditions in Ukraine lacked very basic human living conveniences, however it is interesting to note that the other ten participants expressed that their housing situation after arrival to Canada became worse for the first few years. Respondents described that the lack of family, social connections and initial job offers were the reasons of the initial decrease in living conditions after their immigration to Winnipeg. Even immigrants who had decent living conditions in Ukraine noted that at the beginning of their settlement process in Winnipeg it was hard to maintain the same living standard as they used in Ukraine:

We had been residing there for a long time. We had good living conditions. When we moved to Canada, we couldn't retain the same standard of living. We had to work a lot to accomplish a present standard of living which is better at the moment. I am not saying the living conditions are perfect and we required a lot of time to improve them.

In order to save some money immigrants from Ukraine ended up living in inexpensive houses in unsafe areas of Winnipeg. Those, who came to Canada primarily on a work related visa or being nominated through the Provincial Nominee skill worker program without family support had little or no financial resources, and only a few household possessions. They had problems in obtaining such living necessities as beds, mattresses, cooking utensils, table,

chairs, and appliances.

Another issue which prevented Ukrainian immigrants from obtaining a reasonable level of housing was a lack of credit history. Immigrants from Ukraine commented that they had no credit history, because of the developed mistrust to banks and financial institutions after living through the collapse of the banking system in Ukraine during the 1990's.

Despite the difficulties in accessing housing in Winnipeg, most immigrants considered the city to be a good place to live. It offered a safe environment, a low cost of living, and in general a supportive ethnic community. To a certain extent, the city offered the cultural diversity and amenities sought by immigrants.

The initial problems in securing adequate accommodation created additional problems for immigrants from Ukraine. These issues are closely connected to immigrants' employment.

Employment

Employment was one of the most important issues in analyzing recent wave of Ukrainian immigration to Winnipeg. The fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration was usually called the employment seeking wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The primary reason for immigration was to seek a better life for the Ukrainian immigrants' children and to escape the high level of corruption in Ukraine. The following responses from participants were typical of those who immigrated for economic reasons:

- The major problem is that I was not sure what would happen in the future. If you lose the job, you wouldn't know what kind of work you will get next. The job I had in

Ukraine was sufficient only to cover the travel expanses to get to work and to come back home.

- The problem was that the main job did not provide with the sufficient salary therefore I had to get an extra job. If I knew where to get the money, the taxes were incredibly high. There was no stability.

Eleven Ukrainian immigrants identified economic reasons as the major cause of their decision to immigrate. They said there was no job security and extremely low wages in Ukraine, which made them work two or more types of jobs in order to survive and meet their basic needs in Ukraine.

After arriving in Winnipeg, participants faced new challenges in finding a job. It usually took them from two weeks to three months to find their first job and start earning some money. This factor depended on profession, family and ethnic community connections. The first jobs were primarily minimum wage jobs. As one of the participants noted: "When I came to Canada I delivered newspapers, looked after elderly people, doing something on the side to earn some money". Employment was highly connected to the level of education. It was hard for newcomers to find time to work and advance their language skills and education. The following quote illustrated problems faced by Ukrainian immigrants who tried to combine their employment with education and family maintenance:

It was not easy, because we need to work and study along with having a family and children. But many people go through the same process. I primarily work in the evening and sometimes at night.

Eleven Ukrainian immigrants, who had no pre-arranged employment after their arrival in Winnipeg, were looking for the job and those who had families

were working two or three part-time jobs in order to survive in Canada. The hardest period in their adaptation was the first couple of years living in Winnipeg:

It was very difficult, especially the first 2 years. We were lacking financial resources. Work was hard. Due to lack of funds I couldn't go back to school.

Immigrants from Ukraine faced various employment and housing problems during their initial settlement in Winnipeg. Two research participants discussed the issue discrimination related to their occupation. The following passage illustrates how Ukrainian immigrants experienced discrimination in the field of employment:

If you want to immigrate to Canada as a doctor you need to know that you are required. There is prejudice towards immigrant doctors. Canadian doctors are protecting their market. It looks like there is no shortage of doctors in Canada considering the fact that many immigrant doctors passed the Canadian exams but could not practice. I am a doctor and passed equivalency exams but I can not find a job.

The above quotation illustrates the type of occupational discrimination which some of the Ukrainian immigrants underwent after their arrival in Canada, and passing the equivalency examination in their field of practice. These factors also caused stress and increased the level of dissatisfaction with Canadian realities. These societal barriers are at odds with the image which Canada promotes as a "land of promise" in attracting immigrants from around the world.

Prior to immigration to Canada I knew about some problems. However I can't believe how much discrimination immigrants experience in Canada. I always thought of Canada as a country that preserves social justice and equality but it is not true. I was under the impression that I would get back to my occupation in a few years. However I was mistaken. I am still trying to achieve this goal.

Three Ukrainian immigrants who were seeking employment in Canada

indicated that they experienced unequal treatment at the workplace based only on the notion that they were immigrants. It resulted in negative attitudes and behaviour from the co-workers, who have the same level of qualifications:

If you are an immigrant in Canada you feel like an immigrant especially at work. I have experienced discrimination from Canadians to Ukrainians by their attitude towards immigrants.

Discrimination combined with language barriers, the need for family support and the lack of appropriate training were the most important characteristics in defining initial settlement experience and finding a secured job. The next section outlines some of the issues related to the education which could also be classified as socio-economic characteristics in the Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation in Winnipeg.

Education

Education was another reason for some Ukrainian immigrants to come to Winnipeg. Three research participants described that they came to Canada for the sake of their children and that education was the major factor.

It was difficult for our daughter to obtain high quality education in Ukraine; it cost a lot of money in Canada as well but it is valued here. Unfortunately education is not valued in Ukraine. Sometimes Medical School graduates worked at the markets. For example my relatives in Ukraine: husband works at 3 jobs, his wife has 2 jobs just to support their family. Both of them are professional doctors.

All Ukrainian immigrants had completed their initial college or/and University education in Ukraine. The value of a University diploma was noted to be very low in Ukraine and it did not guarantee a job after graduation. Participants who had children strongly believed that in Canada that education

was valued and their children, after completion of their training in Canada, would be recognized and valued as professionals.

The issue of networking and hiring local people was expressed by a number of respondents. Three Ukrainian immigrants were also disappointed that in nursing and medicine, where Canada has a shortage of qualified medical staff that there was a bias against Ukrainian immigrant workers. Even after confirming their diplomas in Canada they were not allowed to work in these areas of practice:

In Ukraine I never had a problem of getting a job. In Canada many people feel prejudice towards immigrants. I am under the impression that if you have the Canadian education you wouldn't experience any problems with employment. Foreign education is not recognized.

Five Ukrainian immigrants found it helpful to complete educational training in their area of specialization in Canada. It provided more opportunities to secure employment if you had local training. All respondents positively commented on English as Additional Language (EAL) program accessibility and opportunity to learn the language:

English language instruction is well established in Winnipeg providing help to immigrants in learning the language.

The ability to access EAL and other educational services in Winnipeg were related to immigrants' initial knowledge of English language.

Language

Thirteen Ukrainian immigrants talked about problems they encountered, because they could not speak English. Ukrainian immigrants commented that

they did not receive proper training while learning English at school in Ukraine. During the process of immigration there was not enough time to start learning a new language. It was interesting to note that not all of the Ukrainian immigrants experienced problems with language after initial arrival in Winnipeg. Instead, some of them denied that language was a problem for them. They came to Canada to work and earn their living by doing construction work, where language proficiency, at least in written form was a less important issue. Ukrainian immigrants' frustration with their process of adaptation was apparent for those who had issues in speaking and learning English:

- I started realizing that mentally I was not ready for the immigration. I didn't know that it wouldn't be that simple. I didn't do any preparation work, meaning learning English. I should have just started taking it in Ukraine. I regret about that every single day. Language was the first shock and barrier for me.
- Even people, who had some English, saw differences in pronunciation. We need to be more prepared for immigration. With time we can improve our English through reading, writing, and communication. However, when we get our mail we need to deal with basic things, like filling out the application form, registration and preparation of other documents.

The language problem for eight immigrants was wrongly explained in Ukraine. For example, immigrants were told that in Winnipeg almost everyone knew how to speak Ukrainian or at least every Winnipegger had some understanding of the Ukrainian language.

Another eight immigrants from Ukraine who had a basic understanding of the English language had better opportunities to acquire services available for

newcomers in Canada and were better able to cope with the initial level of depression during their settlement in Canada.

Eleven of the Ukrainian immigrants came to Winnipeg under the skilled category with experience and training in a profession or trade but some of them were unsuccessful in securing employment in their chosen field. English language proficiency was one of the key determinants in an immigrant's ability to attain employment commensurate with his/her competencies. Speaking Ukrainian was helpful in a way of establishing ties with the Ukrainian speaking community in Winnipeg.

Ethnic Community Connections

This section of the interview guide was designed to explore the supports available for newly arrived Ukrainian immigrants from the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg. It was noted that immigrants who came to Winnipeg with a family or friend support were more satisfied with their adaptation experience than those who came by themselves.

Two immigrants used other techniques to acquire information about their new home country before coming to Canada. They conducted some research about the Winnipeg Ukrainian community prior to their immigration. Immigrants who used internet resources, such as government information about the country and ethnic community web forums found them helpful in learning about a newcomer's life in Canada. This information also helped to establish first contacts with the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg:

In Ukraine, while preparing for immigration I read a lot of

articles about immigrants who came to Canada 100 years ago. We can't underestimate what they have done for the development of the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg. It is surprising that Ukrainians could survive all those hardships. We knew prior to immigration that someone would help us at the beginning. When we moved we couldn't find the organization, but we met people who helped us a lot and that was our understanding of the community.

The majority of recent immigrants from Ukraine expressed thoughts about the individual help provided by Ukrainian Diaspora members in their initial adaptation. Ukrainian immigrants primarily received support from close friends or individuals whom they met in Winnipeg, and who were not members of the Ukrainian community organizations:

We knew that there were many Ukrainians in Winnipeg, but we did not realize boundaries of that community. Our relatives helped us at the beginning. They took us to the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and we had a chance to see Ukrainian organizations. However we were disappointed with the range of their services and decided to rely on ourselves.

Ten Ukrainian immigrants described their involvement in Ukrainian Diaspora organizations as very limited due to the constraints of securing their work and having primary responsibility to maintain their families' well-being. They also explained that they were dissatisfied with accessing initial newcomers' informational support from the major Ukrainian organizations, such as the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and Canadian Ukrainian Social Services. Their failing attempts in receiving support from the Ukrainian community organizations made them rely primarily on themselves in the process of their adaptation:

I believe we can't expect too many things from the community. We need to believe in ourselves, finding our own community. We can't expect that everyone will be greeted in

Canada with bread and salt.

Ten immigrants were disappointed with a lack of ethnic community support received in Canada from Ukrainian Diaspora. They felt that there is misunderstanding which leads to miscommunication between Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada and newly arrived immigrants:

- I got frustrated with the Ukrainian Diaspora after living in Winnipeg for a few years. All I saw were conflicts, between the fourth and the other waves of Ukrainian immigration. However I would rather say that it was not exactly a conflict but misunderstanding and mistrust which created the wide distance in communication. The Ukrainian community is very large, but also clustered and disintegrated and it is hard to find your personal cluster, where you will fit.
- The previous waves of immigration view the fourth wave as people who have high level of aspiration and needs. Unfortunately they don't realize that some guidance in the beginning would be a great help. By guidance I mean some referral services on resettlement, housing etc.

Three immigrants discussed the reasons for these attitudes in the Ukrainian community as a historical pattern which relates to misinterpretation of the rationale for a new wave of immigration, which is based on economic reasons. As it was previously noted the second and the third waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada were politically oriented and were fighting for Ukrainian Independence. When Ukraine received its independence in 1991, the reasons for leaving Ukraine changed. This shift created tensions between new and old Ukrainian community members in Winnipeg.

The absence of unity in the Ukrainian community created a division of people's beliefs and values, which creates the barrier between generations. Six

participants who received initial Ukrainian community support in the interview expressed their vision on these differences inside the Ukrainian Diaspora community:

I heard several times from the fourth wave immigrants that "Our Ukrainians do not want to help us". However this issue has very different aspects. For example, my ESL instructor spent more time with me because I was Ukrainian. I believe that many newcomers have very high expectations from the Ukrainian community. Sometimes they are too high and it is hard to meet them. The whole perception in Canada is different from the Ukrainian one. In Canada relationships are build on the process of competition which defines the views and attitude of people of the society. I do believe that Ukrainians will help us if we ask for help. However, many people have extremely high expectations.

Ukrainian immigrants who received support from the Ukrainian community stated that based on their experiences of other Ukrainian newcomers felt that they were entitled to receive help but did not feel obliged to provide something in return. This factor also made the Ukrainian Diaspora community sometimes reluctant in providing services:

I agree with the fact that Ukrainian Community organizations do exist and deliver services. However in order to be heard sometimes it is essential to participate in those organizations.

Another interesting finding from the research was that people who know English well were primarily going to and utilizing Winnipeg immigration services, omitting the Ukrainian community:

As an immigrant I primarily dealt with Canadian organizations, such as the International Centre. I did not request any help from the Ukrainian community. I obtained lots of information about services in Winnipeg at the Red River ESL. The school provided me with all the answers regarding adaptation and

services in Winnipeg. I believe the Ukrainian community would help but I never asked for help.

It was also noted from the discussion that people who spoke English fluently found it easier to adapt to the Winnipeg community way of life, finding jobs and connections outside the Ukrainian community. Respondents who had children expressed that their children primarily have friends among English speaking youngsters. Ethnic community connections played a prominent role in maintaining Ukrainian culture and learning about Canadian culture.

Culture

The question about the meaning of culture was one of the most challenging questions for Ukrainian immigrants to answer. They discussed various dimensions of Ukrainian culture and differences between cultures.

All immigrants agreed that they experienced cultural shock after immigration to Canada. This is related to the socio-economic issues and how Canada is organized as a social, economic and political entity. Adaptation to the Canadian culture was another factor which made the settlement process for newly arrived immigrants harder than they initially expected:

In the beginning when it was hard we wanted to go home. We couldn't adapt easily to the taxation system, living conditions and society as a whole. Everything is structured and functions in a different way. In Ukraine if you have the money you can easily get access to everything. Canada is organized differently.

The recent Ukrainian immigrants wanted to keep their own Ukrainian culture, but at the same time were eager to learn Canadian values, which helped them to adapt to the Canadian realities. Some of their thoughts about Ukrainian

and Canadian cultures are presented below:

- I will always value my culture. However I am willing to accept the Canadian culture as well. Winnipeg has its own traditions and customs: people are very friendly, open minded and patient to immigrant's accents. This is a very respectful culture.
- Canada provides a high level of comfort to its citizens. For example when I will go to the washroom, I don't need to look for a toilet paper. When I say: "Excuse me, can you help me" I will get a very positive response.

Ukrainian immigrants found that Canada had developed a strong notion of multiculturalism. The multicultural policy was noted by the majority of Ukrainian immigrants to be a very helpful tool in establishing toleration among various cultural groups and facilitating their adaptation to the Canadian society:

Canadian culture is comprised of many cultures. When we arrived, we were under stress and could see only the negative side of Canada. But in a few years all negative things became unnoticeable and we started seeing positive aspects. In addition Canadian people are very friendly.

In summary, cultural shock experienced by the newly arrived Ukrainian immigrants influenced their initial adaptation. After spending some time in Canada and establishing ties with other cultures within the framework of multiculturalism, these Ukrainian immigrants became more satisfied with their process of adaptation.

Satisfaction with Life

It was hard for these participants to define life satisfaction based on the initial adaptation in Winnipeg. Through the interview process it became possible to identify some of the issues which made adaptation a more satisfying

experience for some people and issues which created barriers in adaptation. Lack of reliable information about Canada was the most dissatisfying experience at the initial settlement:

The major issue was lack of information. Despite the fact that we were getting information from friends, primarily through the "word of mouth" it was desirable to obtain services in Ukrainian. Ukrainian immigrants need to be able to apply for services to a specific Ukrainian organization which would provide referrals and initial information on housing and settlement. It is even better to have an information centre in Ukraine which would provide reliable information on settlement in Canada.

Thirteen Ukrainian immigrants described the inability to find information about basic necessities, such as housing and employment opportunities to be the most challenging experience. They suggested various ways to solve this issue through creating information centers in Canada and Ukraine.

Research participants commented on the Winnipeg potential to accommodate their initial settlement needs. It required some time to adjust to the Winnipeg realities:

I was under the impression that life in Canada would be much easier than in Ukraine. However having come to Canada I started realizing that in order to accomplish your goals you need time. Winnipeg has a potential to meet those goals."

Many Ukrainian immigrants had a very idealistic view of Canada prior to their arrival and reported that most of their information was about general things, such as friendly people and a high standard of living. The immediate problems these participants experienced upon arrival to Canada concerned factors such as

language barriers, finances, housing, medical, as well as transportation needs. Over half of the respondents reported that their friends helped to solve these problems and in general contributed to their life satisfaction. Language issues, the lack of social supports and financial difficulties were the most frequently mentioned challenges.

Dissatisfaction with life develops numerous negative feelings among these Ukrainian immigrants. Feeling of being depressed accompanied lots of Ukrainian immigrants after their initial settlement in Canada. It was related to the difference in Ukrainian immigrants initial expectations prior their immigration and realities in becoming immigrants in Winnipeg. The following quote reinforced the feeling of depression expressed by respondents about their initial settlement experience in Winnipeg:

Immigration was very hard, I was depressed for the first three month and couldn't do anything about that. I compare my immigration to a train which goes faster and faster and then stops. I had hard times evaluating my situation.

Ten of the sixteen recent Ukrainian immigrants in this sample arrived with high expectations of succeeding quickly in Canada, and seeking housing was their first disappointment. Those immigrants, who had better housing conditions in Ukraine, had higher expectations in successful settlement in Canada. They expected to come to Canada and without difficulty to find a place to stay and employment in their field of specialization and to make a decent living. But when they arrived in Winnipeg, they realized that they underestimated their ability to cope with the adaptation process often accompanied by feelings of depression

which usually developed during this time of settlement process:

When you are going to Canada, you have an ideal image in your mind. However when you actually move and live in an unsafe neighbourhood, you start speculating about Canada. Dreams and realities sometimes are different.

After arriving in Canada nine Ukrainian immigrants found that their degrees were also not recognized and valued here and they couldn't find employment in the area in which they were trained. This situation enhanced extensive feelings of depression and anger. One participant outlined his/her frustration this way:

I am very frustrated that our diplomas were not recognized and we didn't know about that while being in Ukraine. I couldn't even get an equivalent to a Canadian one.

The level of frustration rose for those immigrants from Ukraine who confirmed their Diplomas but still couldn't secure their job in professional areas:

The fact that you confirmed your Ukrainian diploma in Canada did not mean that you would be hired. The priority was always given to people they know.

Eight Ukrainian immigrants were frustrated after coming in Winnipeg and realizing that English language had such paramount importance in their adaptation to life in Canada. They under estimated the importance of knowing the English language in adaptation process.

Loneliness as a consequence of losing friends and acquaintances from Ukraine was described by a number of these immigrants. They noted that it was hard to find people with whom to establish communication and friendly relationships when they arrived to Canada. This also increased their level of

stress:

It was hard to adapt to the Canadian way of life. It took us a lot of time to accept certain things. In the beginning my wife wanted to go back to Ukraine. I had many friends in Ukraine and I missed them. For some time I didn't have any friends in Canada and that was very hard. However I understand that there was no future for us in Ukraine or we needed to work enormously hard in order to get something done.

During the initial settlement many of the respondents, in addition to the feeling of loneliness were experiencing feelings of nostalgia for the home country. This increased the level of stress among these Ukrainian immigrants. This homesickness was described by one respondent in the following way:

Ukraine is a beautiful country; the weather is nice and warm. It is our native land and we had many friends. In Canada I need to build my life again, that is a challenge and I feel alone in this process.

Three participants identified stress, after being deceived by an immigration officer in Ukraine. Unfortunately, there were some respondents who used help from independent immigration officers who didn't provide accurate information about life in Canada. These respondents also felt overcharged for the immigration consultant service, which was not adequately provided. All of these issues made adaptation experience and satisfaction with life in Winnipeg for Ukrainian immigrants very difficult

Despite these negative perceptions, Ukrainian immigrants were satisfied with various aspects of their life in Winnipeg. Personal motivation to become successful in the Canadian environment was key factor for six of sixteen participants in adapting to Canadian way of life:

I think I was a strong person after spending a one year in Canada I simply survived that year. I put aside my depression and my previous life. They simply stopped to exist. I started accepting life on the everyday basis that allowed me to slow down, look at my life and live further. I stopped crying.

Ukrainian immigrants compared their life in Ukraine to the Canadian way of living:

- I am feeling content here in everyday living. In Ukraine on an everyday basis we experience more challenges, while in Canada everything related to everyday needs is more accessible. Immigrants have a chance to think about their careers, education or better programming for their children.
- In Canada we experience more stability and rule of law. It is a wonderful country and I am happy for people who feel at home here.

In order to achieve a higher level of satisfaction from their adaptation process time was a crucial factor for Ukrainian immigrants. Those immigrants who had spent longer time in Canada were more satisfied than those who came recently. Ukrainian immigrants who lived three or more years in Canada suggested that their friends who were in Ukraine and who did not have an opportunity to immigrate would probably benefit from immigration:

Sometimes you need to wait. It wasn't a mistake to move to Canada. However I am very concerned about people in Ukraine, my family, my relatives. At the same time I am happy that my children live in Canada now. Many of my friends who graduated from the universities of Ukraine and have a good occupation in a real life live under the poverty line. I think if they lived in Canada their life would be very different and when I think about that it makes me sad.

Ukrainian immigrants named various factors which contributed to

improved satisfaction. Among them were personal motivation factors, the rule of law and stability in the Canadian economic, political and social areas of life, the accessibility of services, and the value of education, job security, and cultural diversity

When the researcher asked a question about the interest of participants in returning to Ukraine, respondents usually were surprised and their answers ranged from not now to never:

- I am hoping that the situation in Ukraine will change to better. I am so sorry that nothing has been changed in Ukraine. Unfortunately there is no way one can honestly earn money in Ukraine. It prevent me from coming back to live there.
- Life in Canada is far easier than in Ukraine. If someone wants to become the doctor, which might take many years of studies, he/she may still do it even if there is no money in the family. Currently my daughter studies at the University and I feel absolutely relaxed. I didn't feel the same way while in Ukraine. I had to pay for everything. In addition I didn't know what to expect from the future.

Ukrainian immigrants said that the situation in their home country prevents the development of their full potential. Canada provided more possibilities for personal growth as well as maintenance of their own culture, values and beliefs.

Time in Canada affected the expressed level of satisfaction with their immigration experience. The research participants described their experience before, during and after their process of immigration to Canada. The duration of each period influenced these immigrants perception of being satisfied.

These findings brought into the focus the significance of the complex process of Ukrainian immigrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural integration.

The findings strongly indicated that the problems encountered by Ukrainian immigrants in the process of socio-economic and socio-cultural integration were not only personal, but social. This suggests a need for specific policies that will facilitate the integration process and lead to a smoother transition to adaptation in Canada.

It was also noted that Ukrainian immigrants experienced a high level of stress during initial settlement. The lack of housing, the inability to find employment or speak English and the lack of support from the Ukrainian community or family members increased and deepened their level of stress. They became more isolated and very unsatisfied with their immigration. Those Ukrainian immigrants who had family support were more successful in coping with their initial depression than those who came without family.

In the next chapter the researcher describes in detail each of the sections on the Ukrainian adaptation which was reflected in literature review and included in the in-depth interviews with the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants about their socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Findings in the previous chapter summarized the immigration experience of sixteen recent Ukrainian immigrants to life in Winnipeg. It is important to present a holistic view of the Ukrainian fourth wave immigrant's adaptation, which focuses on the process as well as outcomes, and emphasizes the significance and interdependence of economic, political, historical, social, cultural and familial contexts of the Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation.

This qualitative exploratory framework produced personal stories, biographic and quantitative data on various measures of research participants' socio-economic and socio-cultural integration, and revealed their experiences, perceptions and emotions. Several of these factors had profound effects on immigrants' integration experiences. The following quote captured the complexity of the process and the interrelatedness of the factors involved:

The process of adaptation and acculturation is not linear... Individuals will experience these changes at their unique paces. The specific circumstances surrounding the migration also impinge on the process of adaptation. Besides the characteristics of the context of exit and the degree of support or rejection provided by the context of reception, other factors act as modifiers of the experience. These include the possibility of returning to the home country for periodic visits; the magnitude of the differences in culture, values, and religion between home and host countries; previous knowledge of the language of the home country; opportunities for upward mobility and maintenance of one's occupational and social class identity; and racial status as a member of the "majority" or "minority" group. Age is of particular importance in this process. (Espin, 1999, pp.21-22)

This chapter includes answers to the major research questions: (1) What were the immigrants reason(s) for migration and settlement in Winnipeg, Canada;

(2) What was the process of adaptation and the factors that have influenced the process and outcomes such as housing, employment, education, culture and language, ethnic community and family connections; and (3) What were the Ukrainian immigrant perceptions of their migration and problems or opportunities in settlement experience.

Ukrainian immigrants choose to immigrate to Winnipeg for a variety of reasons. Probably the most important one is steady, well paid employment. The respondents described a lack of stability in the economic situation in Ukraine, including high levels of corruption and poverty, the devaluing of education and the health system. These factors influenced migration from Ukraine. Immigrants to Winnipeg wanted to seek a better life for themselves and their children, enhance their education, and reunite with families. Depending on the reason and personal situation, each immigrant had experienced initial settlement differently. Some immigrants had the ability to speak English but others did not on arrival. Some immigrants had family support in Canada whereas others did not. Some immigrants had pre-arranged employment and others did not. Some had opportunity to bring family from Ukraine but this was not true for everyone. The combination of personal factors was multifaceted, and this affects the variation in experiences among Ukrainian immigrants in adapting to life in Winnipeg. However, despite the different reasons for immigration, the majority of Ukrainian immigrants shared a number of attributes about their initial settlement experiences in Canada.

Although in reality various dimensions of the integration process and their outcomes were interconnected, for analytical clarity, the socio-cultural and socio-

economic aspects of integration were identified. Given the prevalent pattern in Ukrainian migration literature and based on the first three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Winnipeg, the research used ethnic community integration, English language adoption, and friendship ties as measures of socio-cultural integration, whereas labour market outcomes — labour force participation, occupation, housing and education — were criteria for assessing socio-economic integration.

Socio-economic Adaptation

The first group of factors, which were addressed in this research, emphasized the importance of housing, employment and education in Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation experience. Ukrainian immigrants outlined that these factors were the most important contributors in initiating their immigration process. In Ukraine lack of adequate housing conditions, unemployment and a devalued education system constitute serious problems for Ukrainian people in their everyday life.

Housing conditions for research participants in Ukraine ranged from excellent which included owning a house, cottage and two cars to conditions which were described as marginal including residing in inadequate housing. When first arriving, five research participants temporarily lived with relatives, or in some cases, with someone they had just met, who was willing to share their house with them for a few days. There were six cases where the Ukrainian community or family members knew about immigrants coming to settle in Winnipeg and assisted them in providing initial housing and basic appliances. In

other cases, recent immigrants from Ukraine usually found local Ukrainian people through coming to church. Ukrainian immigrants who utilized this method in order to find a place to stay usually got initial help. Immigrants from Ukraine who lived with members of their extended family or close friends tried to pool their resources for the future to afford some type of housing. Other Ukrainian immigrants were forced to live in lesser conditions in order to save and send money back to Ukraine for various reasons ranging from providing support for their families in Ukraine and to paying off their debts related to the immigration process.

As Schill, Freidman and Roseenbaum (1998) noted, based on their research in the New York City, immigrants might adopt various types of settling strategy depending on their personal situation. As soon as they can, some sent back money to family and friends in their country of origin. However others, after savings, prefer to advance their own socio-economic status in the country where they immigrated. The research participants used both of these methods, some of them sent money back to support their families or pay off debts, which they borrowed to come to Canada while others made savings to improve their living conditions in Canada. In some cases Ukrainian immigrants used both strategies.

This researcher found patterns similar to those reported by Massey (1985) who noted that Ukrainian immigrants might live disproportionately in poorer-quality housing because they preferred to live among others of the same national origin. The researcher conducted interviews in Winnipeg where three families from the same neighbourhood came to talk with the researcher about their

adaptation experience and shared that they stay in the same neighbourhood together in Winnipeg because lots of their relatives and friends were settled on the same street.

The ability to satisfy housing needs largely depended on the resources, which immigrants brought to Winnipeg. This includes financial, social, human capital, which people had before coming to Canada. Ukrainian immigrants with high incomes had the most freedom in choosing where to live in Winnipeg, and those with high levels of education and good knowledge of the English language were better able to obtain information about housing opportunities. Twelve participants were presently living in apartment blocks and condominiums or were renting houses. At the same time, one of the participants, who came to Canada without any support and through meeting people in Canada, got a loan and bought a very cheap house in Winnipeg. He renovated this house, working days and nights and over the next three years had an opportunity, after learning Canadian housing legislation and the real-estate process, to rebuild three more houses. At the time when the interview was conducted, the research participant was staying at his fourth renovated house valued at half a million dollars. During the interview process it was emphasized that being a hard worker in Canada was a highly rewarding experience. This participant noted that hard work and ingenuity tremendously facilitated the adaptation process in Winnipeg.

As expected, Ukrainians who had relatives or friends already in Winnipeg at the time of their immigration had some form of accommodation arranged before their arrival to Winnipeg. Those who did not have any kin or friendship

network in Winnipeg arrived without secured accommodation.

When asked about their future plans regarding housing, Ukrainian immigrants noted that given an opportunity they would like to purchase a home. However, a major obstacle to home ownership was the lack of financial resources. Another issue, which was raised by these immigrants, was lack of information or guidelines for purchasing homes and accessing housing in Winnipeg. Such information, it was argued, would improve Ukrainian adaptation in Winnipeg.

In addition to housing problems, employment was a dominant theme that affected socio-economic adaptation. In some instances immigrants were the sole support of their families and some even left children behind in Ukraine. Therefore, work was central to their survival, to their ability to be self-sufficient, and to their need to send money to their children's caregivers in Ukraine.

Other observations related to adaptation indicated the marginal employment experiences for many immigrants in Winnipeg. Their jobs were primarily concentrated in manufacturing, a sector where total employment had been declining. Ukrainians usually earned minimum wages. The phenomenon of "Starting Over" was traced by all of the immigrants from Ukraine, which meant that Ukrainian immigrants who received educational training in Ukraine were faced with the prospect of retraining to re-establish their credentials in Canada. This was a time consuming process. During that time Ukrainian immigrants were usually out of work. Persons in "hard" or so called "physical labour" professions had an easier time because of different factors such as labour shortages in key

areas; less need to speak English; the availability of clear testing to prove qualifications; and fewer risks (i.e., where failure to perform leads to immediate harm to people).

At the same time re-establishing credentials in some professions was difficult due to the need to speak English well, the lack of key labour shortages, differences in the teachings and execution of the professions themselves (e.g. Law, Education and Medicine) and the lack of definitive testing protocols. These issues were prevalent for those Ukrainian immigrants who were trained in the human service professions.

Ukrainian Immigrants from these professions had two courses of action:

- Full time engagement in re-qualification for the profession the new immigrant left (long sojourns from the work force were often taken); and/or
- Acceptance of a lower qualified position in the same field, e.g., lawyers and doctors who become paramedics and paralegals.

The issue of the under utilization of immigrants' skills, although by no means new, was still increasingly pressing. Reitz (2001; 2005; 2007) conducted various studies on the economic issues of new immigrants. In one of his articles he analyzed immigrants' skill utilization and stated that because of changes in recruitment and hiring practices, qualified immigrants appeared to be having increasing difficulty gaining access to work in the knowledge occupations. As a result, they ended up working in less-skilled occupations. According to Reitz (2001) the under-utilization of immigrant skills is defined "as any employment of immigrants in work below a level of skill at which they could function as

effectively as native-born Canadians” (p.348).

Reitz (2007) outlined causes and potential outcomes of current immigration problems in the employment sphere, which created gaps between skilled nature of Canadian immigration and the actual role of immigrants in Canadian labour markets. Two of them are relevant to this study. These are skill under-utilization which created “brain waste”, and significant demand for less-skilled immigrants to meet labour shortfalls in lower-level occupations in Canada. These gaps produced inequality in earnings between Canadian-born workers and immigrant workers in Canada. Reitz (2001) suggested that the deficits of incomes of the immigrants can emerge from: (i) lower competence among immigrants, (ii) underutilization of immigrant qualifications, and (iii) injustices in wages for immigrants who perform the same work but secure less pay. Inequalities in compensation or underutilization of their skills represent employment discrimination.

Some of the research participants, who were recognized doctors in Ukraine, could not find similar jobs in Canada and used various coping strategies to maintain their status. One decided to pass the recognition exam and after its completion still couldn't find a job because of occupational discrimination. Another immigrant from Ukraine made a decision to go to the University of Manitoba and completed second degree in a related area. Both of them were not employed in their primary professional field.

The failure to recognize foreign education and experience in the labour market complicated these respondents job search as it was more difficult for

them to prove their skills to potential employers. In some cases, this led Ukrainian immigrants to accept jobs for which they were overqualified or to accept jobs different from their area of expertise. This was particularly common with participants, who were professional doctors and teachers from Ukraine. They became delivery drivers or janitors.

The employment prospects for these Ukrainian immigrants were often diminished due to difficulties acquiring Canadian recognition for qualifications obtained in Ukraine. The licensing bodies of various trades and professions (especially among doctors) did not accept foreign obtained certification, and employers had difficulty assessing educational credentials or simply undervalued foreign work experience.

The educational issue was highly interconnected with the immigrant's employment opportunities and results were similar to the Isajiw's (2002) findings about Ukrainian immigration to Toronto. Those Ukrainian immigrants who had opportunity to receive education in Canada had a better chance of receiving employment in their field of training than Ukrainian immigrants who were trained in Ukraine.

All of the respondents completed high school and at least three years of post-secondary education in Ukraine; the majority had University degrees. The problems which they faced in Ukraine were often related to the fact that education, when Ukraine received independence, became under devalued. This meant that lots of degrees were earned not by knowledge but through money, bribes and corruption within the educational system. For those, who gained

degrees through knowledge, there were little to no employment opportunities relevant to their skills.

From the educational standpoint Reitz (2001) identifies a number of situations where immigrant skills are not fully utilized in the labour market. These are:

- 1) Non-recognition of foreign professional or trade credentials by Canadian licensing bodies for professions and trades.

- 2) Non-recognition of foreign professional or trade credentials by employers, for immigrants who have received Canadian licenses.

- 3) Non-recognition of foreign occupational credentials by employers in non-licensed occupational fields.

- 4) Discounting foreign-acquired skills not specifically credentialized, but nevertheless deemed relevant to the ability to perform a job.

- 5) Non-recognition of general foreign education by Canadian employers.

- 6) Discounting of foreign experience by Canadian employers (pp. 9-11).

All of these situations were experienced to some extent by the sample of Ukrainian immigrants in this study during their initial adaptation in Winnipeg. All immigrants from Ukraine, particularly those with University qualifications from Ukraine, found it difficult to obtain employment in their own field. It was broadly agreed that the three most important factors in finding appropriate employment (or conversely, finding the appropriate employee) were education, language (or communication) skills, and prior relevant experience. It appears that in today's Canadian marketplace, employers are unable to properly assess these factors

when screening Ukrainian applicants into jobs and immigrants from Ukraine are having difficulties promoting themselves as having the appropriate skills for jobs that are available.

In summary it is important to note that work experience and educational accomplishments of Ukrainian immigrants were not completely recognized. Each Ukrainian immigrant experienced barriers in socio-economic adaptation and was disappointed with the current immigration system. It was impossible during initial settlement to obtain a position similar to that held in Ukraine for those who had professional qualifications.

The socio-economic adaptation process presented above shows that factors, which related to the initial settlement experience, were common to the majority of immigrants who were coming to live in Canada. Recognition of foreign credentials and educational background were coupled with difficulties in obtaining housing, education and employment for newly arrived Ukrainian immigrants. Ukrainian immigrants experienced numerous problems in getting access to the above mentioned services. This created a high level of frustration and stress among immigrants. Because they were unable at the beginning stages of the adaptation process to realize their main goals pertaining to immigration, Ukrainian immigrants were often dissatisfied with the level of adaptation to the socio-economic sphere of Canadian life.

It was impossible to totally disengage two major spheres of immigrants' adaptation. Socio-economic and socio-cultural integration were very interrelated. In the next section of this chapter the researcher discusses the connection

between these two spheres, the importance of such socio-cultural factors of adaptation as language, culture and ethnic community connections are discussed.

Socio-cultural adaptation

Socio-economic adaptation represents one dimension examined in the settlement process for Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg. The literature on immigration and adaptation highlights the significance of language in adaptation, and socio-cultural achievement in the new country. As Lum (1996) states: "the immigrant must overcome the language barrier and learn alternative cognitive expressions" (p.195) in order to achieve success in his/her adaptation. In the current study, Ukrainian immigrants primarily mentioned their limited knowledge and comprehension of English as an example of one of the problems in their first year living in Winnipeg. Language proficiency was also a determining factor in how quickly immigrants from Ukraine were integrated into the labour market.

Participants who were in the age group 22-44 with good English skills expressed the highest satisfaction with life in Winnipeg. Fourteen of the sixteen immigrants from Ukraine noted that current training in EAL provided them with the language skills required for social interaction and employment in service and industrial contexts where advanced language skills were not required. All of the participants attended some type of English training in Winnipeg. They named numerous organizations, which provided educational and language skills for immigrants. Among them were Success Skills Centre, Immigration Centre, and Red River College EAL programs.

English language ability was identified as one of the most important aspects in the adjustment of these immigrants. The time needed for adaptation was longer for immigrants from Ukraine who were deficient in English than for those who were able to communicate in English. Non-English speaking participants were not only faced with the burden of learning the language, they have had difficulty in accessing some settlement services, understanding the Canadian culture, and establishing themselves in order to become independent.

The responses indicated that newly arrived immigrants needed to learn English quickly because in Canada the need for knowledge of the English language is very high. The ability to speak English was important for communicating with others, seeking information, securing employment as well as developing friendships.

The majority of respondents graduated from English as an Additional Language (EAL) program, which meant that they had mastered the more complex grammatical structures and had expanded vocabulary to speak and write on a wide variety of everyday topics. They also learned how to offer opinions and advice properly and start to use language for academic purposes.

One of the observations expressed by these immigrants was that improvement in English speaking skills came with time. Ukrainian immigrants increased their language skills significantly after coming to Canada. However participants identified that they experienced more problems in writing English, than in orally communicating in English. Fewer problems were expressed in reading and understanding of the English language.

Scassa (1994) argues that non-native speakers of the dominant language encounter discrimination in employment and in access to services on the basis of their language abilities, and that their lack of fluency, their accent, and their deviations from the language standard of the dominant group can be used as a basis for unfavourable treatment.

The researcher observed that those immigrants from Ukraine with poor or no English language skills did not venture out into the larger ethnic community other than to the neighbourhood where only Ukrainian was spoken.

In order to connect Ukrainian immigrants with resources it is important to have strong ethnic community connections. This represents the next component in socio-cultural adaptation. Most Ukrainian immigrants felt that coming to Canada was like being given a second chance to re-establish one's own life. The family and the Ukrainian community was the critical arena for a better understanding of the dynamics of immigration and adaptation.

An important aspect of Canadian immigration policy has been the reunification of family members and support for development of ethnic communities. Family and ethnic community networks facilitate immigration as well as the process of adaptation in Canada. When immigrants are under pressure to assimilate, the immigrant family and ethnic community can make a difference by mobilizing resources and providing social capital (Coleman 1988, 1990, p.300-302).

There was an expectation in immigrant communities that new immigrants ought to parallel the settlement experiences of their antecedents. This issue was

addressed in the literature review, as it was traced during all waves of Ukrainian immigration. When newer Ukrainian immigrants did not choose the course of the previous wave, new tensions in the Ukrainian community were created. The new immigrants were accused of "thinking they are better" or "knowing more" than those who populated the previous wave. This tension was observed during the interview process with a number of fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Winnipeg. However, in six cases ethnic community and family support facilitated the settlement and adaptation process and integration appeared to be a smoother process for these individuals.

From a socio-cultural perspective Ukrainian immigrants who experienced initial settlement in Winnipeg were removed from many of their relationships and predictable contexts — extended families and friends, ethnic community ties in Ukraine, culture, living situations and customs. The phenomenon through which Ukrainian immigrants become acculturated immigrants is discussed by Berry (1990). He noted that "the acculturating immigrant is confronted with economic changes, moving away from traditional pursuits toward new forms of employment" (p.91). Berry (1997) stated that immigrants are stripped of many of their sustaining social relationships as well as of the social roles that provided them with culturally scripted notions of how they fit into the world resulting in acculturative stress.

The set of questions covered in this section were designed to uncover the model of acculturation used by Ukrainian immigrants in their adaptation. Acculturation was firstly introduced by the anthropologists Redfield, Linton and

Herskovitz (1936, as cited in Berry, 1980) to describe the mutual process of influence and exchange resulting from the interaction of two culturally distinct groups. Thus, it describes the process of change as a group level phenomenon. Acculturation is defined as the process by which a minority group assimilates cultural values and beliefs of a majority community. The minority group's adaptation to the majority culture's customs, values and traditions can be voluntary or forced. Acculturation of a minority individual can be measured on two dimensions: the degree of involvement or interaction with the majority culture and the degree of retention of the minority culture (Berry, 1980).

Berry (2001) proposed a two-dimensional model of acculturation with four modes: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization, depending on the degree to which people maintain or relinquish their culture of origin in combination with the degree to which they adopt or reject the host culture. Minority group members in the assimilation mode want to attain positive relations with the majority culture and do not want to retain their ethnic identity whereas those in the integration mode wanted to attain positive relations with the majority culture while retaining their original ethnic identity. Members in the separation mode are characterized by a desire to retain their ethnic identity, with no interest in attaining positive relations with the majority culture and those in the marginalization mode do not want to identify with either the majority or their own ethnic community. Based on Berry's (2001) findings it was possible to conclude that recent Ukrainian immigrants were in the integration mode in respect to maintaining their own culture as well as learning about the Canadian culture. This

reflects a common and generally acceptable model for adaptation to Canadian societal expectations.

At the same time respondents also discussed that their circle of friends became quite narrow after coming to Winnipeg. In general the involvement of these respondents in Ukrainian community activities was found to be marginal. This was primarily explained through work pressure and need to support their families. What is clear is that these new arrivals have not linked up with the Ukrainian community in any significant way. Even informally the new immigrants have maintained a certain social distance from their ethnic community.

Based on the results from this study newly arrived immigrants were approached differently by the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg. Some immigrants received initial support from the Ukrainian community in finding housing, and employment in Canada whereas others appeared to have difficulty accessing Ukrainian organizations. All of the respondents named the problem of accessing information about initial settlement to be the most urgent in facilitating Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation.

In summarizing the results on socio-cultural adaptation, it is clear that those who spoke good English and had close friends and/or relatives living in Winnipeg were most likely to report that their needs were being met and adaptation was generally positive. Those who had a support system appeared to have an easier time adjusting. The importance of assistance from the nuclear or extended family was stressed by these participants and, not surprisingly, those Ukrainian immigrants without family members in Winnipeg encountered more

difficulties in their adjustment.

General participation in ethnic community activities, such as involvement in Canadian-Ukrainian organizational life and participating in Ukrainian community gatherings was at a low level. This has ongoing implications for preserving Ukrainian community organization life in Winnipeg. At the same time it is noted that some respondents said they wanted to participate in the Ukrainian community life but felt rejected by older, established Ukrainian members. Some said they participated in different ethnic community networks or expressed an interest in establishing their own fourth wave Ukrainian community connections. The next section discusses life satisfaction for these immigrants and the factors which influenced their perception of the settlement process in Winnipeg.

Immigrants' Life Satisfaction and Social Work Practice

The basic design of the present study was exploratory, guided by a desire to increase an understanding of the major issues in adaptation of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants to the life in Winnipeg. The literature review suggested looking at the socio-economic and socio-cultural issues as a means to understanding a new Diaspora community. Obviously, these constructs were not just the only ones responsible for the eventual outcomes of migration on a personal or societal level. However, there were indications in the literature that they could play a significant role in Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation process. The adaptation experience of a given Ukrainian immigrant did not necessarily determine the adaptation strategy that was put in place as that individual adjusted to life in a new cultural environment. Rather, the adaptation strategy

held by the migrant interacted with other factors, including the support provided to immigrants by the host culture, to determine a strategy for adaptation.

It seemed apparent from the analyses, that language ability and connection with social networks (which could be friends, family or ethnic community) had the most direct influence on the development of a successful adaptation strategy and satisfaction with life. This meant that the actions and attitudes of the organizations providing resettlement services which included housing, education, language, ethnic community connection and family support could be expected to have some impact on the adjustment of Ukrainian immigrants, for better or for worse. Many Ukrainian immigrants, who were in general satisfied with the services they received, noted that it was important for them to have some staff who spoke their own language.

Most of the newcomers had a positive, and to some extent, an idealized view of life in Canada prior to immigrating. They saw Canada as a developed country, with a democratic system in which people had freedom to choose. Some also commented on the good social welfare and medical systems, the stable economy and the better living standards.

To examine ways to improve services to Ukrainian newcomers, immigrants identified many problems in both the information and services they received during their settlement process. The response to the question what makes you dissatisfied with your immigration experience showed that the absence of language-specific information made Ukrainian immigrants settlement experience difficult. Immigrants from Ukraine mentioned that most of the

information they received was not in their language and they did not understand where they could receive appropriate service. Newcomers noted that they needed information about where to buy food, how to apply for documents, such as SIN and health cards and how to get around the city. They suggested that information, including maps, should be in their own language and available in different locations, such as airports, and Ukrainian and other ethnic community centres.

The majority of respondents were somewhat satisfied with their life in Canada, although several expressed considerable ambivalence. Many had hoped they would have achieved more for themselves. They were satisfied that their children were progressing in school, that loved ones were healthy, and that they were able to provide them with financial support. Their ambivalence was about not achieving what they set out to do or knowing that they could do better for themselves. This phenomenon, according to Brody (1990) can contribute "to the migrant's sense of marginality in the response of the receiving society in terms of cultural exclusion" (p.311).

Bhugra (2004) stated that the immigration process places "the individual under considerable stress" (p.13). Eysenck (1990) as cited in Bhugra (2004) argued that "there is sufficient evidence to show that personality factors and stress can lead to feelings of helplessness and hopelessness and finally to depression" (p.13).

All of the negative feeling responses by Ukrainian immigrants were expressed with some sadness that indicated regret or depression. The major

reason according to Igoa (1995), is that during immigration you may experience "homesickness, grief, uncertainty about the future, and frustrations as they attempt to establish themselves in the new country" (p.41). Similarly, Carlin (1990) found that "... the anxieties associated with being uprooted that immigrants are likely to feel are pervasive fear and uncertainty about one's future. . . ." (p.7)

This gap between expectations and realities was easy to trace from the first wave of immigration when Oleskiv was promoting life in Canada on the excellent lands for farming. When people came and realized that they would live in the swamp or rocks rather than fertile land, people endured much hardship. The feeling of being stressed was common throughout the different waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and usually provoked during the first few years of residing in Canada.

The change in social status when compared to Ukraine was especially disconnecting for them. This was coupled with unhappiness about not working to their full potential and not having sufficient earnings to take care of their needs. But even this did not make Ukrainian immigrants want to return to their home country.

Social work in Canada with immigrants is quickly becoming one of the more central fields in the profession. Canada has one of the fastest growing immigrant communities and should be concerned over their integration into surrounding society. In the profession, service responses within this evolving area have been referred to as multicultural or anti-oppressive practice,

depending upon whether the mandate is seen in terms of cultural issues or as addressing questions of equity.

This research outlined main areas where social work intervention should be addressed. These include linking people to housing, language, employment and ethnic community connections or advocating for these services. It is also important to understand the immigrant's knowledge about social work and its role in providing social services.

During their initial contact participants asked the researcher about his area of specialization and after hearing social work, they asked what exactly being a social worker means in Canada. Their understanding of the social work profession was initially based on American movies and included the perception that the social worker's role was limited only to the removal of children from their families.

This initial observation suggests that education about the social work role should be provided to all newly arrived immigrants during their initial settlement process to facilitate the process of establishing working relationship between the social worker and newly arrived immigrants.

The next section discusses some of implications of this research and presents some general recommendations not only for future policy and practice but also for improving services for Ukrainian immigrants in their adaptation to life in Winnipeg.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Migration is the process by which individuals move from one place of residence to another, usually for long periods of time. The causes or the purpose of Ukrainian immigration was identified primarily as economic, but other issues such as social, political, and educational reasons contributed to the decision to immigrate. This movement from Ukraine to Canada places the individual under considerable stress.

When recent Ukrainian immigrants came to Winnipeg, they were faced with many differences between their past life in Ukraine and their new one in Canada. There were differences in climate, environment, customs, language, and worldviews. The newly arrived immigrants from Ukraine needed to adapt to Canadian reality in order to survive. All of them took their first steps, which were not always easy to make, towards building their home in a new land.

Although new Ukrainian immigrants were forced to change in some ways, each immigrant had an opportunity to make his or her own choices about other changes. The immigration experience required many kinds of adjustments. Sometimes change was for survival. Other times it was to achieve harmony, and at other times it was a matter of individual choice. Change can be an exciting and wonderful experience. It can also be difficult and confusing. For these immigrants it was often quite lonely, as the new life often required an adjustment to separation from loved ones.

The purpose of this exploratory study was to describe and analyze the

process of adaptation of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg, Canada. The research findings were guided by two major research objectives related to understanding the problems of adaptation experienced by Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. These objectives also focused on factors that contributed to Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation, perceptions of their needs, and the kinds of assistance they required to help them with their adaptation in socio-economic and socio-cultural perspective.

The study involved semi-structured interviews with sixteen Ukrainian immigrants. Results were organized as themes, which were initially suggested from the analyses of the literature on first three waves of Ukrainian immigration in Winnipeg. It needs to be emphasized that this exploratory study had a limited number of participants and this researcher made no effort to generalize these findings for all Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg or elsewhere.

Results highlight different dimensions of adaptation to life in Winnipeg for fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants. Themes related to socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation included issues pertaining to housing, employment, language, culture, family support and ethnic community connections.

This thesis highlights the importance of understanding the historical origins of Ukrainian immigrants and their migration experiences and the need to advocate for a comprehensive Ukrainian community outreach program to help newcomers in their adaptation to Canada which will help to avoid the isolation that many of them experience.

The main reasons for migration and settlement in Winnipeg, Canada by

the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration were identified as those which were related to socio-economic factors, such as improving living conditions, finding employment in their field of training, looking for enhanced education, escaping corruption in their home country and building a successful future for themselves and their children. As well socio-cultural factors, such as family reunion and ethnic community connections were cited as reasons for migration.

Reasons for immigration vary but the process of initial adaptation was similar for the majority of research participants. Ukrainian immigrants were concerned about housing, securing employment, improving language skills, acquiring appropriate education and maintaining ethnic community connections. The process of adaptation and the factors that influenced outcomes in these areas varied somewhat but the difficulties experienced in these central life tasks created barriers and reduced the success of initial adaptation for these immigrants.

This study concludes that the process could be made more manageable and less traumatic by such things as adequate preparation in Ukraine and the provision of more social support in Canada. Specific issues related to whether individuals traveled alone or with family, and how the Ukrainian community in particular and Canadian community in general welcomed them were important to adjustment and must be given special consideration.

Ukrainian Immigrants' perceptions of migration and problems or opportunities in settlement experience were quite varied. For example, Ukrainian immigrants experienced a continuum of different feelings from being dissatisfied

and to complete satisfaction in their early adjustment experience in Winnipeg.

The researcher found little evidence of previous research or data related to the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration. As this was the first exploratory study on the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Winnipeg it is apparent that there should be more studies done in the future to assess immigrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of newly arrived immigrant from Ukraine.

This thesis provided an in-depth exploration of sixteen Ukrainian immigrants' settlement experiences in Winnipeg. It has helped to increase knowledge and understanding about the situations of new Ukrainian immigrants during their initial adaptation period in a new country.

The research participants in this study experienced a broad range of difficulties in adaptation, including discrimination, to Canadian society. These included problems in accessing the job market, experiencing language barriers, experiencing the isolation and loneliness in this environment. A barrier to credential recognition and lack of clear information about recognition of their educational qualifications was a common concern. Many of them needed to upgrade or change their job skills in order to obtain employment or to build a new career in Winnipeg. Improving job skills for some immigrants from Ukraine was an imperative to be able to support their families.

Although there were institutional difficulties a number of respondents found it easy to adjust to life in Winnipeg, with the support of family and/or local residents. The majority felt that the city was welcoming – the people were very

friendly, there was help provided by immigrants' serving agencies, and free access to EAL.

The majority of Ukrainian immigrants who choose to stay in Winnipeg found opportunities for work or to further their education. They became part of an ethnic community and developed a network of supports - family, community, religious and cultural. At the same time several immigrants went through an initial period of adjustment characterized by under-employment and disappointments.

These participants identified a need to have better language and communication skills training, as well as needs related to the issues of unemployment/under employment. For new arrivals, job search skills and connections with professional associations were suggested as important elements to a more seamless adjustment process. In order to find employment, keep jobs and receive promotions, many immigrants needed vocational EAL, professional courses, and assistance in finding jobs. The respondents in this study voiced an urgent need for information about training programs. This included knowledge about the different programs, requirements, licensing, and costs.

Education is the key to success for most Ukrainian immigrants. English and job training courses were the foundation of that success for most respondents in the initial period. Access to affordable housing and family support programs for their kids was also outlined as high priority needs. The existence of housing help services was not widely known to the Ukrainian immigrants who were most in need of them. Most immigrants from Ukraine obtained housing-

related information through their friends rather than through formal housing or settlement service agencies.

The need to access information and initial resettlement services for newcomers within Ukrainian community was outlined as one of the most disappointing experiences for these immigrants. Everyone admitted that there was a lack of this type of service provision within Winnipeg's Ukrainian community.

Employment discrimination was also experienced by many of these immigrants. There were numerous instances of discrimination, including problems related to recognition of educational credentials, and access to equal employment opportunities.

Immigrants used numerous strategies to make their adaptation experience easier. Alternative help-seeking methods included the internet as a new tool for gathering information, seeking support from local residents and making initial inquiries to immigrant serving agencies, distributing tasks among family members and staying positive as a self-help strategy.

Recommendations for the Ukrainian Community in Winnipeg

To realize the economic, social and cultural benefits from immigration, new immigrants must integrate successfully into a receiving society. Integration and settlement programs are also crucial in helping new immigrants from Ukraine to attain and enjoy the same quality of life as Canadians. In Canada, welcoming newcomers and helping them integrate is viewed as an ethnic community effort, supported by partnerships with the provinces and territories, municipalities and

other community organizations.

Since most Ukrainian immigrants come to the host country to improve their social status and their life chances (gains they feel they could not achieve in Ukraine), they have to engage with core Canadian institutions. To gain a position in Canadian society, and play a role in its socio-economic and socio-cultural institutions and systems, Ukrainian immigrants must obtain the required cognitive, cultural and social competences through their initial adaptation process in Canada. Immigrants can only feel satisfied with their adaptation and assume positions in their new society if they acquire the core competencies both in socio-economic and socio-cultural areas of their lives.

In Winnipeg many existing resources provide excellent services to immigrants. However, most Ukrainian community members and agencies did not know where to refer immigrants from Ukraine when they needed assistance in specific areas. Such information should be provided to every new Ukrainian immigrant. A resource guide could be created by the Ukrainian community and then regularly updated, improved and distributed among newcomer Ukrainians.

In the Ukrainian community there is a need, which was expressed by all Ukrainian immigrants, to establish a service provider in order to deliver direct services to Ukrainian immigrants such as reception, orientation, translation, interpretation, referral to community resources, individual counseling, general information, education and employment-related services.

Having one of the largest communities in Winnipeg, Ukrainian community members should also establish an initial immigrants' host program which would

be directed in helping immigrants from Ukraine to overcome the stress of moving to a new country. Volunteers, who were familiar with Canadian customs, could potentially help newcomers learn about available services and how to use them, practice English with newcomers, provide information about the contacts in their field of work and engage new immigrants in Ukrainian community organizations. At the same time, host Canadians would have an opportunity to learn about new developments in Ukrainian culture. This might revitalize and strengthen Ukrainian community life.

Other important recommendations for Ukrainian community organizations from the research findings should be directed to the main research themes, such as housing, employment, education, and language and immigrants life satisfaction.

The first recommendation is directed to improve housing conditions for Ukrainian immigrants. Ukrainian immigrants noted that they lack information about existing housing opportunities and basic knowledge about real-estate market in Canada. Information leaflets should be created to explain housing possibilities for immigrants in Ukrainian languages. Some immigrants had an opportunity through their friends to receive some support in getting household necessities. In the Ukrainian community there are some supports available through charity organizations and churches for this type of assistance. These services should be advertised more fully to the Ukrainian community, particularly to newcomers.

The second recommendation is directed to improve access to employment opportunities for Ukrainian immigrants. Ukrainian immigrants indicated that more information is required about existing job banks and employment services available for Winnipeggers which might help them secure employment. An awareness campaign should be launched in Ukrainian community organizations and churches about employment hiring practices in Canada, including information about how to write a resume, cover letter, who can write you a reference letter, where you can post your resume, what documents you will need to show during your first interview.

The third recommendation is aimed to educate Ukrainian immigrants about financial resource management in Canada. Research participants expressed their frustration in accessing bank services, opening bank accounts, using debit/credit cards, building their credit history and locating co-signers in order to have a loan. The recommendation is directed to the Ukrainian Credit Unions which could conduct an outreach campaign educating Ukrainian immigrants about basic financial services in Winnipeg. For example specialized seminars could be organized and brochures in the Ukrainian language could be developed.

The fourth recommendation is directed to promote EAL education among Ukrainian immigrants. Research respondents in general were satisfied with EAL services in Winnipeg; however, it is important to note that more efforts should be directed into developing informal support services for Ukrainian immigrants to help them learn English. Churches and other Ukrainian organizations should

create more EAL-related programs through promoting reading clubs, theme discussions to engage immigrants from Ukraine to learn English and at the same time to participate in Ukrainian community life. This opportunity will strengthen immigrants' ability to communicate in English and develop a sense of belonging and increase support system among newly arrived Ukrainian immigrants.

The fifth recommendation is aimed to fight discrimination which Ukrainian immigrants are faced in Winnipeg. Many Ukrainian immigrants from this small sample study noted that they experience discrimination in terms of securing employment and in recognizing their credentials, Ukrainian community organizations in cooperation with other ethnic communities should develop a media campaign to combat discrimination through ongoing messages about how the rights of immigrants are being violated and what actions Canadian society should take in order to stop these discriminatory practices. This awareness campaign should highlight the contributions immigrants make to Canadian society and the hurtfulness of stereotypes and related problems that these practices foster. In addition to media campaigns, Ukrainian community organizations should launch an education campaign to inform newly arrived immigrants about their human rights and how to protect their rights.

The final recommendation is directed to help prepare Ukrainian immigrants for Canadian realities while still in Ukraine. All immigrants in this study noted that they lacked information about Canadian life, while they were preparing for their immigration. This recommendation is directed to those Canadian-Ukrainian organizations that have their offices in Ukraine, such as the

Canadian Ukrainian Congress, Canadian Ukrainian Social Services and the Canada-Ukraine Foundation. These organizations should work in partnership with the Canadian embassy in Kyiv in order to provide informational workshops for potential immigrants in Ukraine. This would help potential immigrants to develop a more realistic sense of the Canadian way of life. It would also promote Ukrainian Canadian collaboration and help to reduce stress and uncertainty for potential Ukrainian immigrants once they arrive in Canada.

Concluding Recommendations and Social Work Practice

This research has generated important insights into the understudied recent Ukrainian immigrant population in Canada. However, little is known about the effectiveness of the social work services in this immigrant community and how well these institutions help them adapt to their new environment.

In helping Ukrainian immigrants in their adaptation to life in Canada, social workers and other human service workers involved with this population should assist them to access formal support systems that could be of assistance to them. In order to do this, it is essential that these workers be knowledgeable about these research and cross-cultural intervention models.

Acquiring English language skills, securing employment, accessing social services and medical institutions were among the needs Ukrainian immigrants identified in this study. It is critical that social work practice with newly arrived Ukrainians incorporate an understanding of the social, economic and ethnic diversity among this population and the primary factors that contribute to these differences.

Education is another important strategy to raise awareness of newly arrived immigrants about social workers and their role in supporting immigrants with their adaptation. Social work education could promote further research about issues related to the adaptation of immigrants including studies on depression and other stress related issues for newcomers.

In addition to practical community recommendations articulated in this thesis, three immediate measures are necessary to implement:

- Make research findings widely available to policy makers, researchers, Ukrainian community service providers and the new Ukrainian immigrants themselves to facilitate much needed discourse on these issues and action;
- Initiate further research on these policy questions in Ukrainian and other ethnic communities in Winnipeg to break the “silence” and gain better understanding of the challenges for social integration of new immigrants and problems and opportunities in successful socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation;
- Work with service providers, ethnic community leaders and social policy makers to define alternatives for affordable housing provision, employment related EAL training, diploma recognition process in ethnic communities through advocating for and building partnerships with ethnic associations and government policy developers.

Future Research Approaches

Because the current research was an exploratory study, only a small number of participants were selected to take part in the research. The purposive

sampling of participants with specific demographic characteristics does not allow for generalization to all Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg or elsewhere. The current study focused mainly on the immigration experiences of the people who were recent arrivals and mostly all of them did not perceive themselves as having fully undergone the process of resettlement. Thus, the findings based on these interviews may be idiosyncratic to this specific group.

It would be necessary to study a variety of aspects of the experiences of Ukrainian immigrants, especially the children, women and the elderly. It would be helpful to learn about their attitudes towards and the use of social workers and other helping professionals, in turn how these professionals relate to them. This could help in the development of new techniques and methods in working with immigrants.

Future research could investigate samples of migrant populations with different characteristics in order to produce a representative picture of the patterns of adaptation and acculturation employed by immigrants from various ethnic backgrounds.

Despite the limitations which were discussed in the Methodology chapter of this study, which include the limited sample size, translation problems and researcher's objectivity, the data revealed thoughtful, in-depth answers to the interview guide questions. Thus results provide information relevant to future studies on Ukrainian immigration in Canada. In addition these findings lead to some tentative recommendations about how current services could be improved to make adaptation a less stressful experience for newly arrived Ukrainians.

In summary it should be noted that immigration is a vital part of the Canadian economy. A sensible immigration policy must be part of any national strategy to promote growth in the labour market in Canada. It is therefore clear that research on immigration issues, particularly related to the ethnic community integration, will continue to grow in order to improve the adaptability of potential immigrants to Canadian life.

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APPENDIX A1: CONSENT FORM ENGLISH VERSION

Research Project Title: **The Fourth Wave of Ukrainian Immigration: Problems and Perspectives of Their Adaptation and Formation a New Diaspora Community in Winnipeg. An exploratory study.**

Principal Researcher:
Oleksandr Kondrashov
Social Work Faculty
University of Manitoba

Tel:

E-mail:

Primary Advisor:
Bruce Unfried
Social Work Faculty
University of Manitoba

Tel: 474-8316

E-mail: unfriedb@cc.umanitoba.ca

This research project is a part of my MSW program and focuses on the issues relating to the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The main purpose of this study will be to discover common problems or opportunities of Ukrainian immigrants who have experienced the adaptation process in Canada and at the same time were forming a new Diaspora community in Winnipeg.

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

As a participant in this study, I am requesting that you participate in a face-to-face semi-structured interview of approximately 1-2 hours at a mutually agreed upon time and place about your experience of being a Ukrainian immigrant in Winnipeg, Canada. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time, or to refuse to answer a specific question or to speak about specific topics. **Declining to participate will have no negative consequences for you.**

The interview will be digitally recorded and later transcribed using laptop and Windows related programs for the analyses purposes only. At any time during the interview you have the right to ask for the digital recorder to be turned off. After the interview I will transcribe it and you will be asked to review and change any of the information you provided. All the information you provided will be completely confidential and your name will not appear on any research material other than this consent form. During the project all digital data will be stored in a password protected folder in the researcher's laptop and no one except me will have access. All print materials will be kept under the lock and key in the researcher's office. Following the completion of this theses all raw data will be destroyed at the end of 2007

During your involvement in the research no remuneration will be paid for your participation in this project.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. By signing this form you become the participant in this project. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

If you wish to receive the summary of the research findings please indicate so in the space below and how you wish to receive the research summary? (e.g., email, fax, surface mail)

____ Yes, I would like to receive the research summary. Please send the findings to: _____

If you choose yes to receive the research summary it will be provided to you after the completion of theses at the end of 2007

This research has been approved by the Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

DATE

DATE

Participant

Principal Researcher
Oleksandr Kondrashov

APPENDIX A2: CONSENT FORM (UKRAINIAN VERSION)
ЗГОДА НА УЧАСТЬ У ДОСЛІДЖЕННІ

Тема Проекту Дослідження: **Четверта Хвиля Української Імміграції: Проблеми і Перспективи Адаптації і Формування Нової Діаспори у Вінніпезі.**

Основний дослідник:
Олександр Кондрашов
Факультет Соціальної Роботи
Університет Манітоби Тел:

E-mail:

Керівник роботи::
Брюс Анфрід
Факультет Соціальної Роботи
Університет Манітоби Тел: 474-
8316
E-mail: unfriedb@cc.umanitoba.ca

Цей проект дослідження пов'язаний з вивченням питань, які мають відношення до четвертої хвилі імміграції до Канади, та є частиною моєї програми на здобуття ступеня Магістра Соціальної Роботи. Головна мета цього дослідження - виявлення загальних проблем і перспектив в житті українських іммігрантів, які пройшли процес адаптації в Канаді і в той же час стали основою для формування нової Діаспори у Вінніпезі.

Ця згода, копія якої буде залишена з вами для ваших записів і посилок представляє частину процесу інформованої згоди. Метою даної згоди є загальне інформування про дане дослідження і Вашу участь у ньому. Якщо Ви хочете дізнатися більше про деталі, які не згадані в даній згоді, Ви маєте право ставити будь-які роз'яснювальні запитання. Будь ласка ретельно перечитайте і обдумайте інформацію, яка подається нижче

Як учасник(ця) в цьому дослідженні, я прошу, щоб Ви взяли участь в інтерв'ю, яке займе приблизно 1 годину у взаємно узгодженому проміжку часу і зручному для Вас місці та стосується Вашого досвіду адаптації як українського іммігранта у Вінніпезі, Канаді. Ваша участь в цьому дослідженні цілком добровільна і Ви маєте право відмовитися від участі у дослідженні у будь-який час, або відмовитися відповідати на певні питання або говорити про окремі теми. **Відмова від участі не несе для вас негативних наслідків**

Інтерв'ю буде записано в цифровому форматі і пізніше оброблено з використанням портативного комп'ютера і операційних програм виключно з ціллю аналізу. У будь-який час протягом інтерв'ю ви маєте право попросити вимкнути записуючий пристрій. Після того, як інтерв'ю буде описано, Вас попросять переглянути і де необхідно змінити будь-яку інформацію. Вся інформація, яку Ви надасте є конфіденційною і Ваше ім'я не з'явиться в жодному з матеріалів дослідження окрім цієї згоди. Протягом проекту всі цифрові дані будуть занесені в портативний комп'ютер і ніхто окрім

основного дослідника не матиме доступу до них. Всі друковані матеріали будуть знаходитися замкнені в офісі дослідника. Після завершення магістерської праці в кінці 2007 року, всі дані інтерв'ю будуть знищені.

Протягом Вашого залучення в дослідження жодної винагороди не буде сплачено за Вашу участь в цьому проєкті.

Ваш підпис на цій угоді вказує, що ви зрозуміли інформацію щодо вашої участі в проєкті дослідження і згодні стати його учасником(цею). Жодним чином це не є відмовою від ваших законних прав, ні звільненням дослідників, спонсорів, або установ від їх законної і професійної відповідальності. Ви вільні у виборі залишити дослідження у будь-який час, і / або утриматися від відповідей на ті чи інші питання, які ви вважаєте недоречними. Підписуючи цю форму Ви стаєте учасником даного дослідження. Ваша участь повинна бути, завжди інформована, так само як і ваша початкова згода. Ви не повинні соромитися, просити роз'яснення або надання додаткової інформації щодо вашої участі.

Якщо Ви хочете отримати звіт про результати дослідження, будь-ласка вкажіть нижче у якій формі Ви бажаєте отримати звіт? (наприклад, електронною поштою, поштою, факсом)

_____ Так, я хочу отримати звіт про результати дослідження. Будь-ласка надішліть результати за адресою:

—

Якщо ви обрали Так, то результати дослідження будуть надіслані Вам після завершення написання магістерської праці наприкінці 2007 року

Це дослідженням є схвалене етичною радою по питанням соціології та психології. Якщо ви маєте будь-які питання або скарги на цей проєкт, ви можете скontaktуватися з будь-ким з вищезазначених людей або з етичною радою за телефоном 474-7122, або по електронній пошті margaret.bowman@umanitoba.ca. Копія цієї згоди буде надана вам, для ваших записів і посилань

ДАТА

Учасник

ДАТА

Основний дослідник

Олександр Кондрашов

APPENDIX B1: INTERVIEW GUIDE ENGLISH VERSION

PART 1 DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Date and the place of the interview:
2. What is your gender?
3. Which region of Ukraine are you come from?
4. Date of arrival in Canada: Years of residence in Canada:
5. Marital status at migration:
6. Marital status at present:
7. Place of marriage: Date of marriage:
8. Respondent's age:
9. Husband/ Wife Age:
10. Husband/Wife nationality:
11. Number of children:
12. Visa status at the time of arrival:
13. Present immigration status if different:
14. Reason for migration and settlement?

Work Related, Family Reunion, Nominee Program, Other

Part 2 EMPLOYMENT / HOUSING

Before immigration.

Can you describe your housing conditions in Ukraine?

Including yourself, how many adults, 18 or older lived in your household in Ukraine?

Have you been employed in Ukraine, if yes in what sphere and for how long.

In your household how many people worked?

How can you characterize your family income?

What benefits could you see in your employment and housing in Ukraine?

Did you have any problems regarding your employment and housing in Ukraine?

What was your last occupation in Ukraine?

During immigration

Can you tell me more about your immigration experience when you were leaving Ukraine and during first months after your arrival to Canada?

Who helped you to obtain housing and employment in Winnipeg?

Can you describe the process of getting settled in Winnipeg?

What problems and opportunities did you experience during the first month living in Winnipeg regarding housing and employment?

What was your first occupation in Winnipeg?

Current Situation

What is your current situation in employment sphere?

Can you describe differences from your experience between employment in Ukraine and in Canada?

Can you describe differences in housing in Canada and Ukraine?

How many adults, 18 or older, including yourself live in your household now?
What are your plans for the future regarding housing and employment?

Part 3 EDUCATION

Before immigration.

Can you describe your education received in Ukraine?

Did your education in Ukraine help you to get employment?

What was the last grade in school or university obtained in Ukraine?

During immigration

What type of educational services did you use during your initial settlement in Winnipeg?

What can you tell about educational services for newcomers in Winnipeg?

Have your education qualifications in Ukraine been accepted after your arrival in Winnipeg?

What problems and opportunities did you experience during the first month living in Winnipeg in the area of education?

Current Situation

What is your current situation in terms of education?

Can you describe some differences from your experience between educational services in Ukraine and in Canada?

What are your plans for the future in terms of education in Canada?

Part 4 LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Before immigration.

Can you tell me what does culture mean to you?

How do you try to preserve your main culture?

What language do you use in Ukraine?

How many languages did you speak before immigrating to Canada?

What was your knowledge of English before leaving Ukraine?

During immigration

Did you participate in any cultural events in Winnipeg during your settlement process?

What was your experience in trying to preserve your culture in Winnipeg?

What language did you use during your settlement process at home and outside the house?

Did you have a language barrier?

Who helped you to overcome the language barrier?

Current Situation

How do you preserve your culture now and how do you plan to preserve your culture in the future?

Can you describe the differences from your experience between Ukrainian and Canadian culture?

How fluent are you in the English language now, in understanding, reading, writing, and speaking?

What language do you use now at home and outside the house?

From your experience, what would be helpful for immigrants from Ukraine in adjusting to language requirements in this community?

What are your plans for the future in learning languages?

Part 5 COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS

Before immigration.

What does community mean to you?

Do you have a wide family and friendship network in Ukraine?

What types of activities did you participate with your family and friends in Ukraine?

Were you a member of any social or community organization in Ukraine?

During immigration

What did you know about Ukrainian Diaspora community before you immigrated to Winnipeg?

Have you contacted any organization before you immigrate to Canada?

Who helped you in immigration process?

Do you have friends in Winnipeg before you immigrate?

Have you received any help from your friends and/or Ukrainian community organizations during your initial settlement? If yes please describe what type of help you have received.

Have you become a member of any Ukrainian organizations after your initial settlement in Canada?

Current Situation

Tell me about your current perception of a sense of community among Ukrainian immigrants in Winnipeg?

Tell me about social activities you are now attending in the Ukrainian community?

Do you feel you receive support from Ukrainians who have lived a longer time in Winnipeg than you?

Do you have close friends in Winnipeg with whom you meet frequently? If you say yes, could you tell me about the sort of activities in which you are engaged?

Having had the experience of moving and adjusting to living here, what suggestions might you have in order to assist future immigrants from Ukraine in the area of community support?

Part 6 CONCLUDING QUESTIONS:

What were your immigration goals and have you achieved them?

Do you feel generally satisfied with adaptation in Winnipeg

Give me an example of what you mean by being satisfied.

Now, tell me what makes you generally dissatisfied with adaptation in Winnipeg.

Give me an example of what you mean by being dissatisfied?

Are you planning some day to return to Ukraine and if yes under what conditions?

What are your general recommendations to potential future immigrants from Ukraine to Winnipeg?

THANK YOU

Перелік питань на інтерв'ю

Частина 1 ДЕМОГРАФІЧНІ ДАНІ

1. Дата і місце проведення інтерв'ю:
2. Ваша стать?
3. З якого регіону України Ви приїхали?
4. Дата приїзду до Канади: Тривалість проживання в Канаді:
5. Сімейне положення під час імміграції:
6. Сімейне положення в даний час:
7. Місце одруження: Вік одруження:
8. Вік респондента:
9. Вік Дружини / Чоловіка:
10. Національність Чоловіка / Дружини:
11. Кількість дітей:
12. Статус візи під час приїзду до Канади:
13. Теперішній імміграційний статус якщо різний:
14. Причина імміграції ?

Пошук роботи, Сімейне об'єднання Номінаційна програма, Інше

Частина 2 ЗАЙНЯТІСТЬ / ЖИТЛО

До імміграції.

Опишіть будь-ласка Ваші умови проживання в Україні?

Скільки дорослих, 18 або старше, включаючи Вас, проживали у Вашій сім'ї в Україні?

Чи Ви працювали в Україні, якщо, так, то в якій галузі і як довго.

Скільки людей працювало у Вашій сім'ї?

Як Ви можете охарактеризувати Ваш сімейний дохід?

Які переваги Ви можете виділити щодо Вашого працевлаштування і умов проживання в Україні?

Які проблеми Ви можете виділити щодо Вашого працевлаштування і умов проживання в Україні?

Ваша остання професія перед імміграцією з України?

Протягом імміграції

Розкажіть будь-ласка про Ваш досвід імміграції і протягом перших місяців після Вашого прибуття до Канади?

Хто допомагав Вам отримати житло і працевлаштуватися у Вінніпезі?

Чи Ви можете описати процес адаптації у Вінніпезі?

З якими проблемами Ви зіткнулися протягом перших місяців адаптації і які можливості їх вирішення Вам були надані

Яка була Ваша перша робота у Вінніпезі?

Теперішня Ситуація

Яка Ваша теперішня ситуація в сфері зайнятості?

Чи Ви можете описати з Вашого досвіду відмінності між сферою зайнятості в Україні і в Канаді?

Чи Ви можете описати відмінності в умовах житла в Канаді і Україні?

Скільки дорослих, 18 або старші, включаючи себе, проживають у Вашій сім'ї зараз?

Які Ваші плани на майбутнє щодо житла і зайнятості?

Частина 3 ОСВІТА

До імміграції.

Чи Ви можете описати рівень Вашої освіти в Україні?

Чи Ваша освіта в Україні допомогла Вам працевлаштуватись?

Який останній рівень освіти Ви отримали в Україні?

Протягом імміграції

Які освітні послуги Ви використовували протягом Вашої адаптації у Вінніпезі?

Що Ви можете сказати про освітні послуги для новоприбулих у Вінніпезі?

Чи Ваші освітні кваліфікації в Україні були визнані у Вінніпезі?

Які проблеми і можливості Ви мали змогу пережити протягом перших місяців перебування у Вінніпезі щодо визнання Вашої освіти ?

Теперішня Ситуація

Яка Ваша теперішня ситуація в освітній сфері?

Чи Ви можете описати декілька відмінностей з вашого досвіду між освітніми послугами в Україні і в Канаді?

Які Ваші плани на майбутнє щодо освіти в Канаді?

Частина 4 КУЛЬТУРА І МОВИ

До імміграції.

Що для Вас означає культура?

Як Ви намагалися зберегти свою головну культуру в Україні?

Якою мовою Ви користувалися в Україні?

Скількома мовами Ви володіли перед імміграцією до Канади?

На якому рівні було Ваше знання англійської мовою перед еміграцією з України?

Протягом імміграції

Чи Ви брали участь в будь-яких культурних заходах у Вінніпезі протягом Вашого процесу поселення?

Яким був Ваш досвід щодо збереження Вашої культури у Вінніпезі?

Якою мовою Ви спілкувалися протягом поселення вдома і поза межами дому?

Скажіть мені чи Ви мали мовний бар'єр ?

Хто допомагав Вам, його подолати?

Теперішня Ситуація

Як Ви зберігаєте Вашу культуру зараз і як Ви плануєте зберігати Вашу культуру надалі?

Чи Ви можете описати з вашого досвіду відмінності між українською і канадською культурами?

Який Ваш теперішній рівень знання англійської мови в розумінні, читанні, написанні, розмові ?

Якою мовою Ви спілкуєтеся зараз удома і за межами дому?

З Вашого досвіду, що було би корисним для іммігрантів з України в процесі адаптації до вимог мови в цьому суспільстві?

Які Ваші плани на майбутнє щодо вивчення мов?

Частина 5 ЗВ'ЯЗКИ З ГРОМАДОЮ

До імміграції

Що для Вас означає громада?

Чи Ви мали широке родинне і сімейне коло в Україні?

В яких громадських заходах Ви зазвичай брали участь разом з Вашою родиною та друзями в Україні?

Чи Ви входили до складу громадської організації в Україні?

Протягом імміграції

Що Ви знали про українську діаспорну громаду перед тим, як Ви іммігрували до Вінніпегу?

Чи Ви контактували з будь-якою організацією перед тим, як Ви іммігрували до Канади?

Хто допомагав Вам в процесі імміграції?

Чи Ви мали друзів у Вінніпезі перед тим, як Ви іммігрували?

Чи Ви отримували допомогу від своїх друзів та/або організацій Української громади протягом Вашого початкового поселення? Якщо, так, опишіть, який вид допомоги Ви отримали?

Чи Ви були залучені в будь-якій українській організації після Вашого початкового поселення в Канаді?

Теперішня Ситуація

Розкажіть мені про Ваше теперішнє сприйняття почуття громади серед українських іммігрантів до Вінніпегу?

Розкажіть про культурні заходи, які Ви зараз відвідуєте в українській громаді?

Чи Ви відчули, що отримали підтримку від українців, які прожили довший час у Вінніпезі, ніж Ви?

Чи Ви маєте близьких друзів у Вінніпезі з якими Ви зустрічаєтеся часто?

Якщо так, то, розкажіть про види діяльності, в яких Ви берете участь з своїми друзями?

Маючи досвід переселення і адаптації до життя у Вінніпезі, які пропозиції, ви могли б надати, щоб допомогти майбутнім іммігрантам з України в сфері громадської підтримки?

Частина 5 ЗАКЛЮЧНІ ПИТАННЯ:

Які були Ваші цілі імміграції і чи вони досягнуті?

Чи Ви загалом задоволені своєю адаптацією у Вінніпезі?

Надайте приклад, що для вас означає бути задоволеним(ною).

На даному етапі, скажіть мені будь-ласка, що робить Вас незадоволеним(ною) процесом адаптації у Вінніпезі.

Надайте приклад, що для Вас означає бути незадоволеним(ною)?

Чи Ви плануєте коли-небудь повернутися до України і якщо, так, то за яких умов?

Які Ваші загальні рекомендації майбутнім іммігрантам з України до Вінніпегу?

ДЯКУЮ

APPENDIX C: UKRAINIAN-ENGLISH TRANSLITERATION FORMAT

Ukrainian letter	English letter	Note	Example
А	A	-	Алушта - Alushta
Б	B	-	Борщаківка - Borschahivka
В	V	-	Вишгород - Vyshhorod
Г	H, gh	H-in most cases, gh - when recreating the combination "зг"	Гадяч - Hadiach;Згорани – Zghorany
Ґ	G	-	Ґалаган - Galagan
Д	D	-	Дон – Don
Е	E	-	Рівне - Rivne
Є	Ye, ie	Ye - at the beginning of words, ie - in other positions	Єнакієве - Yenakiieve;Насенко – Naienko
Ж	Zh	-	Житомир - Zhytomyr
З	Z	-	Закарпаття - Zakarpattia
И	Y	-	Медвин - Medvyn
І	I	-	Іршава - Irshava
Ї	I	Yi - at the beginning of words, i - in other positions	Їжакевич - Yizhakevych;Кадіївка – Kadiivka
Й	Y, i	Y - at the beginning of words, i - in other positions	Йосипівка - Yosypivka;Стрий – Stryi
К	K	-	Київ - Kyiv
Л	L	-	Лебедин - Lebedyn
М	M	-	Миколаїв - Mykolaiv
Н	N	-	Ніжин - Nizhin
О	O	-	Одеса - Odesa
П	P	-	Полтава - Poltava
Р	R	-	Ромни - Romny
С	S	-	Суми - Sumy
Т	T	-	Тетерів - Teteriv
У	U	-	Ужгород - Uzhhorod
Ф	F	-	Фастів - Fastiv
Х	Kh	-	Харків - Kharkiv

Ц	Ts	-	Біла Церква - Bila Tserkva
Ч	Ch	-	Чернівці - Chernivtsi
Ш	Sh	-	Шостка - Shostka
Щ	Sch	-	Гоща - Hoscha
Ь	‘	(see commentary)	Русь – Rus’; Львів - L’viv
Ю	Yu, iu	Yu - at the beginning of words, iu - in other positions	Юрій - Yurii; Крюківка – Krukivka
Я	Ya, ia	Ya - at the beginning of words, ia - in other positions	Яготин - Yahotyn; Ічня – Ichnia
‘ (apostrophe)	“	(see commentary)	Знам’янка - Znamianka

From Government of Ukraine web page retrieved online on December 30, 2006 at <http://www.rada.gov.ua/translit.htm>

On 19 April 1996, an official Ukrainian-English transliteration system was adopted by the Ukrainian Legal Terminology Commission (Decision N 9).

Use of the approved system is not mandatory for the transliteration of foreign names into Ukrainian.

Transliteration should be made directly between Ukrainian and English without the use of any intermediary languages.

Decision 9, in accordance with the Legal Terminology Commission's express authority, is binding only for the transliteration of Ukrainian names in English in legislative and official acts.

For brevity's sake, the system routinely allows for names such as the city of 'Zaporizhzhia' to be given as 'Zaporizhia,' 'L'viv' as 'Lviv,' etc. Also included is a short list of official spellings for miscellaneous terms: 'Ukraine' (no use of the article 'the'), 'Crimea' (as opposed to 'Krym'), 'Black Sea,' and 'Sea of Azov'. In certain cases, 'traditional' forms may be shown in parentheses after the official form: 'Dnipro (Dnieper).'

In addition, apostrophe marks and softening marks may be omitted upon transliteration into English.

APPENDIX D: COMMUNITY LEADER SCRIPT SAMPLE

The research project, for which I want you to consider becoming the participant is a part of Oleksandr's Kondrashov's Master Social Work program and focuses on the issues relating to the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

The main purpose of his study will be to discover common problems or opportunities of Ukrainian immigrants who have experienced the adaptation process in Canada and at the same time were forming a new Diaspora community in Winnipeg. The Diaspora is the community of all the people who immigrated from Ukraine to Winnipeg after 1991.

Oleksandr asked me to find participants for the research and I think you meet his basic criteria for the participants because you are a legally arrived immigrant from Ukraine after 1991 and have lived in Winnipeg for more than 1 year. As a participant in his study, he is requesting that you participate in a face-to-face semi-structured interview of approximately 1-2 hours at a mutually agreed upon time and place. He will ask you about your experience of being a Ukrainian immigrant in Winnipeg, Canada.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time, or to refuse to answer a specific question or to speak about specific topics. Declining to participate will have no negative consequences for you. If you will agree I will provide your contact information to him and he will contact you for further details

APPENDIX E: IMMIGRANTS' SERVING AGENCIES IN WINNIPEG
(Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian)

International Centre of Winnipeg

406 Edmonton Street

943-9158

It provides a wide range of services to new immigrants including: settlement integration support, employment, career counseling, and basic counseling in the context of cultural adjustment and adaptation. Ukrainian speaking staff is not available in this location

Welcome Place

397 Carlton Street

977-1000

It provides a wide range of services to refugees and new immigrants including initial housing, settlement, documentation, in-land refugee support, and sponsorship. Services provided in various languages. Ukrainian speaking staff is not available in this location.

Immigrant Women's Counseling Services

200-323 Portage Avenue

953-4100

It provides assistance and counseling to newcomer women and women in cross cultural relationships facing domestic violence. Ukrainian speaking staff is not available in this location

Cross-Cultural Counseling Program

885 Main Street

582-2311

It provides counseling and support for immigrants, refugees, victims of torture and other newcomers experiencing mental health difficulties and acculturative stresses resulting from cultural change or traumatic events prior to their migration. Ukrainian speaking staff is not available in this location

Ukrainian Canadian Social Services

235 McGregor Street

582-0138

It assists individuals and families of Ukrainian ethno cultural background through community-based social service programs. ***Ukrainian speaking staff is available at this location***

Ukrainian Canadian Congress

Suite 647, 167 Lombard Avenue

942-4627

It represents the Ukrainian Canadian community before the people and Government of Canada, promotes linkages with Ukraine and identifies and addresses the needs of the Ukrainian community in Canada to ensure its continued existence and development for the enhancement of Canada's socio-cultural fabric. ***Ukrainian speaking staff is available at this location.***