

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN ETHNIC FOLK ART:
AN EXPLORATORY AND DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLOGICAL
STUDY OF TWO ETHNIC GROUPS IN WINNIPEG

By

J. Fletcher Mitchell

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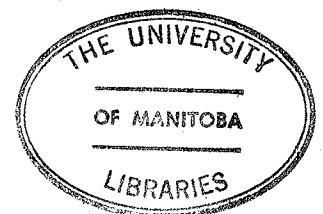
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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN ETHNIC FOLK ART: AN EXPLORATORY AND DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF TWO ETHNIC GROUPS IN WINNIPEG

The socio-cultural complex associated with ethnic folk art is explored in this paper. Two Canadian ethnic groups are studied. These are the Latvians and Ukrainians. In Winnipeg the groups are strongly differentiated by size and social organization.

The central problem is to determine the applicability of Milton C. Albrecht's institutional schema of art to Latvian and Ukrainian folk art.

Twenty-five Latvian and Ukrainian folk artists took part in the project. A case study approach was used. Personal interviews were conducted.

The material collected demonstrated the general applicability of the schema. The most important specific finding was the artists' utilization of their art as a means of identifying with their ethnic group.

An attempt was made to specify the types of relationships that may exist between three basic components of the schema.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to provide information on the socio-cultural complex associated with the folk art of artists from two ethnic groups in Winnipeg.

This work may be classified under the general field of the sociology of art. This field has suffered from "sheer neglect" on the part of sociologists (Etzkorn, 1973: 343). As a consequence, it is underdeveloped. A lack of basic empirical surveys is a major obstacle to progress in the sociology of art. It is necessary "... to undertake a great many frankly exploratory and descriptive studies in order to ascertain the over-all dimensions of this field. Only then will it be possible to formulate and test hypotheses that will yield generalizations applicable to all or to certain types of arts." (Barnett 1970:632). This thesis will be such an exploratory and descriptive sociological study. It will be concerned with the visual folk arts of contemporary Winnipeg Latvians and Ukrainians.

There are three problems involved in the analysis of the socio-cultural complex of folk art. First, it will be

necessary to develop a general, theoretical schema of art. This will act to direct research. The latter, in turn, will attempt to discover if the elements of the schema are associated with the folk art of the two groups. The second problem is to chart the relationships between the elements. The third is to ascertain the similarities and differences between the groups.

These problems are clear-cut. However, the research exigencies of this study will require their modification. The artist is the principal element in the eight element schema. Information about the elements will be gleaned from a sample of Latvian and Ukrainian artists. No attempt will be made to study the other elements directly, due to the necessarily limited scale of this study. Precedents may be found in the works of Wilson (1964), and Rosenberg and Fliegel (1970). The implications of this approach are discussed in Chapter IV.

The Latvians and Ukrainians are both Eastern European in origin. Both groups inherit centuries of folk art traditions. (Dzervitis, 1973; Burachynsky, 1955). The majority of Latvians in Canada arrived after 1946 (Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967). The Ukrainians began migrating to Canada in 1891. In 1961 there were 18,200 Latvians in Canada

(Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967). Of these, 14,800 were concentrated in Ontario and Quebec. The largest centre is Toronto with 7,500. Another 2,200 are resident in Alberta and British Columbia. The remaining 1,200 are scattered throughout the other provinces.

The 1971 census reports 580,655 Ukrainians in Canada. Of these, 114,415 are resident in Manitoba. Although the Ontario Ukrainian population is greater (159,875), the largest urban centre is Winnipeg with 64,305. From these figures, it is evident that the Ukrainian group outnumbers the Latvian many times over.

The groups may be compared with regard to social organization. The latter term refers to the formal associations by means of which an ethnic group maintains its native language and enables membership participation in religious, social, cultural, political and economic activities. (Breton, 1964; Driedger, 1974; Driedger and Church, 1974; Driedger and Peters, 1975).

The Canadian Citizenship Branch (1967) claims that there are eleven major Latvian associations in Canada. Although there are many branches of these associations, they appear to be largely concentrated in Ontario. The Latvian

National Federation in Canada is the largest organization. Its aims include: the maintenance of the Latvian language and culture, the supervision of school courses for Latvian children and adults, helping Latvian immigrants adjust to Canadian society. The Daugavas Vanagi is an organization dedicated to welfare work and the promotion of Latvian culture. There are three associations based upon professional interests. There are two art organizations. These are The Latvian Handicraft Guild and The Latvian Artists' Association. Sports clubs, youth organizations and The Latvian Press Club make up the remainder of the eleven associations.

There are three Latvian church denominations in Canada. These are: Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Latvian Baptist. The first is the largest.

The Latvians operated fourteen part-time ethnic schools in 1965-66. (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Volume 4, 1970:150). Twelve were located in Toronto. One was reported in Manitoba. However, the author discovered that this school is no longer functioning.

Latvian publications are largely centred in Ontario. There is a semi-weekly newspaper, a monthly sports paper, and a bi-monthly youth magazine. (Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967:325).

In Manitoba, there is but one voluntary organization, The Latvian Association, and one church, which is Lutheran. The former is relatively dormant. The latter does not possess its own building. It only meets once or twice a month. (This information was provided by the Latvian respondents interviewed for this study.)

With regard to the Ukrainians, the Canadian Citizenship Branch (1967) counts twenty-eight associations organized under The Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The latter acts as a co-ordinating body.

The two most significant member organizations are The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada. The former is drawn from the members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The latter is based upon the membership of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The other organizations are secular in background. Their aims are social, cultural and artistic. There are six national Ukrainian youth organizations. There are several Ukrainian libraries and museums.

The Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox churches have the largest membership among Ukrainians. About seventy percent of persons of Ukrainian origin adhere

to these churches. The remainder belong to Roman Catholic or Protestant denominations. (Canadian Citizenship Branch, 1967:323).

The Ukrainians supported 170 part-time schools in 1965-66. (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Volume 4, 1970:150). Ninety-four of these were located in Ontario. Nineteen were in Manitoba.

In 1965, there were fifty-four Ukrainian periodicals. (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Volume 4, 1970:173). Thirty-three of these were written in the Ukrainian language.

The Ukrainians support thirty-one voluntary institutions, twenty-seven churches and two parochial schools in Manitoba. (Driedger, 1975). Winnipeg has been the centre for much of Ukrainian cultural activity and development. St. Andrew's College, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre are located in Winnipeg. All three are educational institutions. The last possesses a valuable library and a museum.

The two groups can be compared further on language retention and endogamy.

The Ukrainians are noted for their high rate of retention of their ancestral language by immigrants and native

born alike. The rate was sixty-four percent for Canada in 1961 (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Volume 4, 1970:132). Data on the Latvian rate of retention does not exist as far as the researcher could find. However, one Latvian respondent who had recently moved from Toronto to Winnipeg noted a lower level of use among the Latvian children here. She explained that her own children were using the language less and less at home. This corresponded to a complete lack of use outside the home. In Toronto, they had participated in play activities with other Latvian children and in part-time language schools. This, in addition to almost exclusive use in the home, had contributed to the children's interest in the language. Other Latvians also complained that the language was losing ground here.

Endogamy has been relatively high among Ukrainians. In 1961 the rate of endogamy was about sixty-five percent. (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Volume 4, 1970:93). Data does not seem to be available for the Latvians. The respondents in this study reported their impression of a high rate of exogamy in Winnipeg. They attributed this phenomenon to their small population.

The Ukrainians are renown for their choral groups,

dance troupes, special religious customs and folk art. Ukrainian artists, scholars and political figures have already had a considerable impact on Canadian culture. The Latvians are known for their very large and diversified heritage of folk songs. These have been the focal point, for the Latvian song festivals in Latvia and the eastern United States. Latvians are beginning to make a significant impression on Canadian culture.

It is evident from the above comparison of the two groups that their Winnipeg populations differ considerably. The Ukrainian group is larger and more formally organized. It possibly has higher rates of language retention and endogamy. The Winnipeg Ukrainian population gives the impression of being a focal point for Ukrainian culture in Canada.

On the other hand, the Ontario Latvian population appears to be the focal point for Latvian culture in Canada. Indeed, several Latvian respondents reported a feeling of being out of the way. Cultural activities such as choirs and dance troupes were said to miss Winnipeg more than they ought. Some cultural exchanges were reported with the Latvian community in Minneapolis. Several persons felt

that much more communication with the Ontario community
would be desirable.

CHAPTER II

BRIEF HISTORY OF ART TYPES

Art has come to be divided into several broad categories by scholars. It is necessary to give some consideration to these categories. This is because works on folk art have, as their principal foci, museum type description and aesthetic analysis. Socio-cultural analysis is very rare. However, it is less rare for related arts, especially primitive and fine art. Therefore, certain of the other art categories will be discussed in order to develop a range of information and examples to use as sources of ideas in the present research. There are four relevant categories.

Kitsch refers to "predigested" art that does not require reflection (Greenberg, 1957). "It is fabricated by technicians hired by businessmen; its audiences are passive consumers, their participation being limited to the choice between buying and not buying." (Macdonald, 1957:60).

Examples are simulated batik and mass produced velvet paintings. The charges of immature symbolism, childish simplicity and crudeness often laid against folk art are more properly placed upon kitsch according to Finkelstein (1967).

Kitsch is mentioned here only to allay confusion between folk

art and so-called popular art such as hobby crafts, e.g. needlework kits.

"Primitive art refers to the artistic output of literally thousands of often small, areal cultures, each of which developed and nurtured its own art tradition." (Wingirt, 1962:8).

According to Wingirt, primitive societies are characterized by preliteracy and the lack of a concept of political organization. (Wingirt, 1962). Examples of such societies are the Negro peoples south of the Sahara in Africa; the Eskimo and the American Indians, excepting the high cultures of the Andean region, central America and Mexico; the island societies of the Pacific, and certain areas of the islands adjacent to Southeast Asia; Australia. (Some of these can no longer be considered primitive due to Western intrusion.)

Primitive art is especially characterized by isolation. (Harmon, 1959:454). Original local traditions predominate. There is a comparative lack of outside influences in the art.

Historically, the fine arts are products of the evolution of the western art academy. The latter has its

origins in the efforts of Renaissance artists to gain economic independence from the guild system and to raise their social status. (Kristeller, 1951; Munro, 1949).

Fine art is the art associated with the centres of western civilization and academic learning. It has grown with urbanism and industrialism. It has developed an ideology of purity. That is, the primary function of fine art is said to be the satisfaction of the aesthetic sensibilities. (Munroe, 1949). It has become highly individualistic and innovative. It is oriented to the impersonal marketplace. (Finklestein, 1947). It has attained a degree of institutional autonomy. (Albrecht, 1970).

The term Beaux Arts or Fine Arts was coined in the eighteenth century. It marked the climax of a debate begun in the Renaissance. This debate centred on the validity of the claim of some scholars and artists that the visual arts were peers of poetry and other liberal arts. From the eighteenth century on, such status was more and more acceded to drawing, painting, sculpture, architecture and closely related arts. These arts were, of course, those associated with the art academies that were recognized by the social and intellectual elite of western societies.

The art academies had first been created in the Ren-

aissance by humanists and artists. Their fundamental ideal was that visual design¹ should be taught in a formal and scientific manner. (Hauser, 1962:II,62). Previously, the guilds had taught apprentices by requiring them to replicate works of the masters until they could imitate them. The teaching of design by formal principles and scientific investigation has continued to predominate the art academies.

In part, the term, folk art, was developed to offset the notion of the fine arts. It was created in the nineteenth century. It was a spinoff of the elder academic study of folklore and of the interest of romantic fine artists in the countryside and common people. (Cocchiara, 1959:456).

Folk art has been viewed as a rural counterpart to the more urban fine art in a given social system. (Harmon, 1959:452). This is in line with Foster's important interpretation of the concept of folk society. Foster says, "A

¹ "A framework or scheme of pictorial construction on which the artist bases the formal organization of his total work. In a broader sense, it may be considered as synonymous with the term, form." (Ocvirk, Bone, Stinson and Wigg, 1971:158). The term, form, refers to, "the arbitrary organization or inventive arrangement of all the visual elements according to principles which will develop an organic unity in the total work of art." (Ocvirk, Bone, Stinson, and Wigg, 1971:159).

folk society is not a whole society, an isolate, in itself. It is a 'half-society', a part of a larger social unit (usually a nation) which is vertically and horizontally structured." (Foster, 1967:5). Foster distinguishes the isolated primitive completely from the folk. There are alternative definitions of the term, folk. (Erikson, 1960:126-131). However, Foster's definition has proved to be highly useful in the empirical studies reported in Hansen's European Folk Art (1968) and in The World Encyclopedia of Art (1959). It will be used here as well. The term, folk art, will apply to the artistic activities and products of the partially isolated, largely or formerly rural segment of a population. Furthermore, folk art is done "in an environment ruled by an uncontested artistic tradition, but that tradition itself is continually renewed as it is recalled or accepted." (Cocchiara, 1959:464). It is also evident that although the tradition may be uncontested, outside elements are absorbed from the more progressive urban artistic activity in the cultural system. (Harmon 1959:452). For example, Duchartre reports that in pre-nineteenth century, France, "Costumes in the provinces naturally adopted features of Paris fashions from time to time, but varying

amounts and at varying speeds, according to the region."
(Duchartre, 1968:131).

Folk art is supposedly not pure for it resides largely in otherwise utilitarian or ritualistic objects. Furthermore, the artists have often remained anonymous. There have been few claims to absolute originality and little abhorrence of plagerism in folk art. (Finkelstein, 1947:34).

Folk art has retreated before urbanism and industrialism. (Bossert, 1953). It still exists in some regional and ethnic communities. Frisia, in the northwest of the Netherlands, is an example of the former. (DeHaan, 1968:248). The two Canadian groups in this study are examples of the latter.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

There have been a few efforts to articulate analytical sociological schemes of particular arts. An attempt has been made in cinema by Huaco (1970), in literature by Duncan (1953) and Wilson (1964), in music by Mueller (1951) and Nash (1956, 1964, 1970). The most comprehensive and complex schema appears to be that of Milton C. Albrecht. His concepts are intended to be applicable to any one or any combination of the arts depending upon the level of analysis and research exigencies. Albrecht's lead will be followed in this study.

Although Albrecht's work is broadly based, he is especially indebted to Duncan. Each author considers his schema to be an institutional² analysis. Both assume the

² For a definition of the term, institution, the principle author, Albrecht, refers to Hertzler's work. "A social institution is a complex of concepts and attitudes regarding the ordering of a particular class of unavoidable or indispensable human relationships that are involved in satisfying certain elemental individual wants, certain compelling social needs, or other eminently desirable social ends ... Every operative and controlling activity of a given society takes place through institutions." (Hertzler, 1929:67-68). Albrecht notes that institutions are marked by "...characteristic patterns of behavior in society. These patterns are structured by their specialized personnel, by special types of roles and activities, and by particular groupings and organizations, and are regulated by distinct norms, values, and beliefs, marked by appropriate symbols, implemented by certain types of physical equipment." (Albrecht, 1970:2).

validity of the type of analysis illustrated best in Parsons' work. "... The artist supplies a want or meets a need in his public and on the expressive level he receives 'appreciation' and admiration in return. He is highly sensitive to the attitudes of the significant others among his public. He has a responsibility for the maintenance of the standards which have been established, both to other persons and to himself, because these are institutionalized standards." (Parsons, 1967:409).

From a similar line of reasoning, Duncan derives three basic analytical elements. He forges the three, artist, critic, public, into a concise triadic relationship. Then he outlines five possible systems incorporating the three elements.

Albrecht does not explicitly endorse relationships among the elements he describes. However, he does incorporate a greater range of elements. To Duncan's three components, Albrecht adds five more. His scheme may be described as being structured in orientation and as being extensive in capacity. Duncan's paradigm can be seen as the dynamic core of the larger scheme.

Consider Duncan's five arrangements of the core elements. They are graphically presented in Figure I.

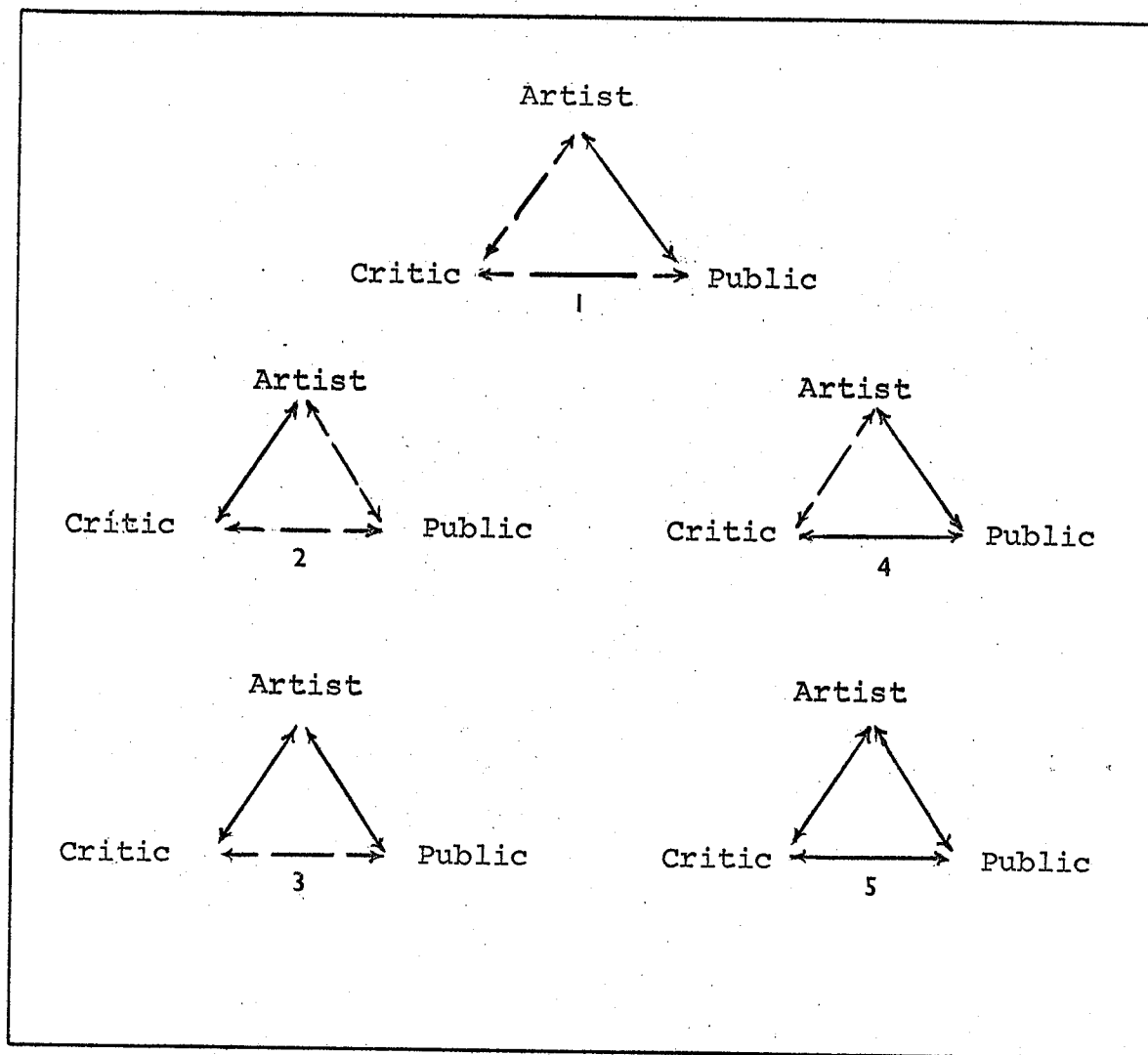


FIGURE I: DUNCAN'S TYPOLOGY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ARTIST, CRITIC, PUBLIC

Note: The solid lines indicate strong or direct relationships. The dotted lines indicate weak or indirect relationships.

No. 1, in this figure, represents a simple situation where the role of critic is almost non-existent. Critiques derived from given standards are not produced. Matters of simple factual discussion are the closest approximation to such, e.g. the labelling of a hue.

In No. 2, the critics act as a strong censoring force such as a priesthood might. This situation is said to exist, for example, where there is a class monopoly. The public is only remotely related to the artist.

In No. 3, the artist is strongly related to both critics and publics. The critics act as connoisseurs or men of taste. They disdain to interact with the public in artistic matters. The artist does, however, interact with the public.

No. 4 represents a situation where the artist feels distant from the critic, but both interact with the public. The artist may even be hostile toward the critic to some extent. This typifies the situation of newspaper reviewers.

In No. 5, artist, critic and public assume positions of mutual responsibility relative to each other.

In this exploratory effort, Duncan's paradigms will have the role of guiding the search for basic relationships.

The analysis that follows lays greater stress on Albrecht, however. The reason for this is that a structural approach is, necessarily, preliminary to the analysis of relationships.

Albrecht lists a minimum of eight structural elements of the art institutions. These are: technical systems, forms of art, artists, disposal and reward systems, publics, art critics, principles of judgment, and sustaining cultural values. (See Figure II) Some of these elements are, he feels, primarily social, some primarily cultural. Most are mixed. He draws upon the Kroeber-Parsons formulation in order to distinguish the concepts, society and culture. A society, or, more exactly, a social system is defined as "... the specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities." (Kroeber and Parsons, 1958:583). Culture refers to "... transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic - meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior and the artifacts produced through behavior." (Kroeber and Parsons, 1958:583).

Two of Albrecht's elements are less relevant to this study. They will be briefly reviewed prior to the

Technical Systems	Art Forms	Artists	Disposal and Reward Systems	Reviewers and Critics	Publics	Formal Principles of Judgment	Sustaining Cultural Values
Raw Materials	Types of Art	Socialization	Agents Patrons Buyers	Outlets i.e. Journals etc.		Aesthetics	Examples: A presumed function of refining the emotions or of producing social solidarity
Specialized Tools	Historical Styles	Roles	Museums and Galleries	Forms of Expression		Extra Aesthetic	
Techniques and Skills	Personal Styles	Associations	Home and Community	Professional Associations			

FIGURE II: THE ELEMENTS OF ALBRECHT'S SCHEMA

broader discussion of the more germane parts. The two elements are technical systems and sustaining cultural values.

The first refers to the complex of physical, mental and motor processes required to produce an art object from a base. Specifically, it subsumes raw materials, specialized tools, techniques and skills. The technical system is the least sociological element. It is, for the most part, material culture.

Although relationships exist among the sub-elements, their relationship to any given non-technical element is a particularly thorny issue. (Read, 1966:18-20). In his work, Primitive Art (1955), Boas notes the possible influence of technical considerations on the styles of art forms. Hauser, writing about medieval cathedrals, claims that the development of new techniques led to larger and loftier cathedrals. These took an increasingly long time to construct. These facts required a more stable and specialized work force. This was the lodge which, in turn, became the medieval guild. (Hauser, 1962:I:222-259). To investigate these problems requires a type of research that is beyond the scope of this study. Hence, the element of

the technical system will play a relatively minor role.

The element, cultural values, consists of "Broad cultural values sustaining art in society, such as the assumption of art's civilizing functions, its ability to refine the emotions, overcome prejudice or produce social solidarity." (Albrecht, 1970:8). Although it is an important element, it is, nonetheless, somewhat nebulous. Consequently, it will not be researched to the same degree as the remaining elements.

Albrecht's treatment of the elements is rather cursory. Therefore, other authors will be utilized as well. Furthermore, he has largely confined his discussion to the modern fine arts. He intends that his schema be applicable cross culturally. Indeed, examples will be drawn from the fine, primitive and folk arts.

It is the paucity of coherent schemes and of information that make this mode of discussion necessary. The questions that will be directed to our respondents are drawn from the following discussion of the pertinent institutional elements.

I. Art Forms

This element can be analyzed by dividing it into two

major sub-elements, which are types of arts, and style.

Thomas Munro (1967) has developed a very complete and authoritative classification of the arts. He has provided a list of four hundred arts and types of art. This list is broken into categories according to

- a) sense primarily addressed
- b) medium, materials, instruments
- c) processes, techniques
- d) nature of products, as to form or mode of organization in space and time
- e) uses, functions and modes of operation

This method of classifying types of art leads to overlapping. However, Munro argues that this is unavoidable in any scheme. The arts are constantly changing, merging, redividing. This makes permanent and definitive divisions futile.

Not all of Munro's classification of the visual arts is useful here. Categories dealing with architecture, weaponry, machine made products and others will not be considered. The appropriate categories for this study are presented in Figure III. It is readily evident that the first two categories are those usually associated with the fine arts. The third is usually associated with crafts and folk art. (Abrahamson, 1974:6-11).

The second major sub-element under art form is style. Style is a means of evaluating consistency and change in the

PICTORIAL ^a	SCULPTURAL ^b	USEFUL AND DECORATIVE ^c
<p>1. Subtypes classified by materials, instruments, techniques. Examples are painting, drawing, batik.</p>	<p>1. Subtypes classified by materials, instruments, techniques. Examples are stone, sculpture, metal sculpture, gem carving.</p>	<p>1. Subtypes classified by hard, inanimate materials and soft materials that harden. To be carved, molded, hammered, etc. Examples are masonry, non-sculptural ceramics, metal work.</p>
<p>2. Subtypes classified by nature of product, i.e. form, size, location, genre. Examples are vase painting, miniature murals, figure painting.</p>	<p>2. Subtypes classified by nature of product, i.e. form, size, location, function and subject. Examples are bas relief, amulet, free standing, mask, figure.</p>	<p>2. Subtypes classified by soft and pliable inanimate materials. To be twisted, woven, knitted, sewed, pasted, etc. Examples are basketry, weaving, needlework, embroidery, costumes, beadwork, paperwork.</p>

FIGURE III: TYPES OF ART ACCORDING TO MUNRO

- a. Pictorial types refer to pictures which are often representative of objects, persons, scenes, etc. They may be abstract pictures too.
- b. Sculptural types refer to three dimensional forms which compose a design of surfaces and shapes that usually represent figures or natural objects.
- c. Useful and decorative types are also devised that serve some practical function. They are mostly three dimensional and non-representational. Both subtypes are classified by materials, instruments and techniques.

arts. It is a unit that retains its identity over time and locale. Yet, it does change and develop in reaction to influence in its environment. Ackerman says that the concept of style is "... a way of characterizing relationships among works of art that were made at the same time and/or place by the same person or group." (Ackerman, 1963:164). A style is an ensemble of characteristics associated with art objects. The most important characteristics are conventions. This term refers to "... an accepted vocabulary of elements - a scale of color, an architectural order, an attribute of a god or a saint - and a syntax by which these elements are composed into a still life, or temple or a frieze." (Ackerman, 1963:168).

The concept of style has both a personal and historical aspect according to Wolfflin (1932). Stylistic conventions are essential to the creation of socially meaningful works of art. They are, so to speak, the underlying vehicles for the communication of meaning. (Ackerman, 1963:168). Any social communication is variously interpreted by individuals depending upon their own repertoire of social definitions and experiences. (Berger and Luckman, 1967). Individual artists, then, will likely select conventions for their works differently. Hence, the artist's personal style, as abstracted from his works, will vary to some extent from that of his historical context.

A. L. Kroeber defines an historical style "... as the coordinated pattern of interrelation of individual expressions or executions in the same medium of art." (Kroeber, 1970:123). It is, in effect, a typification drawn from the personal styles of a set of artists. However, Kroeber also calls the historical style a traditional style. Ackerman likens a traditional style to a canvas that has been painted on by generations. It appears so to the artist he suggests. A historical style, then, can be viewed as an analysis of some historical events, or it may be viewed as a received artistic image that guides an artist in his own artistic creation. In this study, we will be principally interested in this latter interpretation of historical style, and in personal style.

II. Artists

Albrecht places two major elements in this category. They are role and training or socialization.

In modern North America, the role of the artist is weakly integrated into society. Nash describes the artist as one of our society's less necessary roles. (Nash, 1957:307). It has, he says, slightly greater status in Europe. (Nash, 1957:309). In modern western society, in general, the artist's role has little formal attachment to economic organ-

izations. This, of course, must be qualified in the case of artists who work for the advertising industry. In the case of artists who work in the tradition of the fine arts, there is little regular economic and social support. (Wilson, 1964; Nash, 1957; Pelles, 1963). Apart from public organizations, support is largely generated by a "tight" little art world. (Elkoff, 1970:322). Most artists must either do part-time work not directly connected with their art, or do part-time art! Mason Griff estimates that there are only about five to fifteen American painters who are able to make a living from the sale of their work. In his opinion, the position of the painter is morally and financially precarious. (Griff, 1964:89).

In the past, the folk artist probably occupied a position similar to western urban artists previous to the eighteenth century or to artists in primitive situations. The western urban artists served "... the vital needs of social institutions by making decorations for palaces or altar pieces for churches." (Pelles, 1963:23). They also produced or decorated a host of items for domestic and trade uses. These artists were well integrated into their society. The primitive situation is very similar. However, the traditional local market is very tiny in comparison.

A different example of the organization of artistic roles may be drawn from India. K. C. Aryan (1973) has doc-

umented the production of bronze religious figures in rural India. These are made for domestic use. The work is carried out by the family or their community priest with assistance from local potters and blacksmiths. Neither patronage nor compensation is involved.

On the more social psychological side, the role of the artist has at its core the personal characteristics of creativity and artistic sensitivity. Creativity "... is a process that involves the whole individual at his most alert level of activity. It demands great energy coupled with a capacity for probing and using the materials of one's own personality." (Wilson, 1964:6). Wilson notes that this capacity is associated with a heightened sensitivity. Not only must the artist master his personality and draw from it ideas for his work, he must also be similarly attuned to his experience of the world. "He experiences with a heightened keenness and selectivity." (Wilson, 1964:6-7). This perceptual selectivity is guided by the concepts relevant to his medium. It is essential that he be able to translate his concepts into the materials of his medium. Hence, he must also possess an adequate technical and intellectual training.

Today, an introduction to art is often included in

the curricula of public education systems. Mason Griff (1969), has studied the role of these systems. At a more advanced level the training of the artist is largely the preserve of formal art institutions.

In previous centuries individuals were apprenticed by a guild to a master. In return for a knowledge of the techniques and skills of the master, and of board and room, the apprentice assisted the master with his art work and his household chores. Alternatively, many artists were trained by their fathers, and in turn, trained their children.

In the case of the folk and primitive arts training may be more or less formal. For example, among the African Chokwe, "... most people learn most of their skills simply by emulation and occasional demonstration by a person more skilled than they, but not necessarily by an expert."

(Crowley, 1973:235). The other person may be a relative or a friend. However, these people also have other methods of training. One is the mukanda lodge. Here, for a time, boys are given a basic training in deportment and various practical and artistic skills. At this time a boy may decide to become a carver. If he can find a willing master

he may then apprentice himself. It should be noted that among these and several other African peoples there are both specialists and generalists. In many, especially smaller communities, there are people who can execute several different arts. D'Azevedo indicates that among the Gola, specialists are a result of apprenticeships. Generalists have learned by emulation.

In this study, the respondents will be studied with regard to their social contribution, the personal characteristics felt to be essential to their role, and their socialization.

III. Disposal and Reward Systems:

The element of disposal and reward systems consists of the social organization of the uses of art objects, for example, distributing and selling them. It also acts to mediate rewards, such as money and status, to the artists.

The earlier period in the development of the fine arts is marked by the patronage system. In the Renaissance major artists attempted to break the power of the guilds. These men accepted direct commissions from patrons, unregulated by the guilds. However, as the art academies arose they began to act as mediators. The academies came

to hold a monopoly on training and on the juried salons. By these, and by their power of recommendation to patrons, they effectively controlled the careers of artists.

However, the traditional patrons slowly disappeared during the industrial revolution. Concurrently the art dealer became an important factor. (Henning, 1970:360). In the modern west dealers are the principal means of transferring art works from artists to members of their publics. These persons are primarily owners of galleries. The large public museums also act in a similar capacity. It is the dealers who now principally set, or attempt to set, the price of artworks. (Elkoff, 1970:317). It is also the dealers and museum directors who introduce the artist to the art public. They attempt to urge the artist to work in the appropriate trend. They act as the artist's public relations men. (Elkoff, 1970:321). They bring the artist's products to the collectors and viewing public.

However, the entire complex is fraught with peril. Harold Rosenberg notes the trepidation that accompanies the appearance of a new style or personality. "The museum director finds himself under pressure to show works featured as the newest thing in the picture weeklies; but if he goes along he risks critical attack should the press buildup

collapse too soon. Similarly, the anxious dealer, collector, artist must weigh the advisability of a new move as against the likelihood that the style with which he is identified will continue to arouse interest. To take a wrong turn may prove fatal." (Rosenberg and Fliegel, 1970:390).

Among the primitives the situation is somewhat similar to the early European guild system. The difference is that direct local consumption is of prime importance. Trade is much more restricted than it was in Europe. The influence of the master craftsman is paramount; whereas in the guilds it was the entrepreneurial trader who was dominant. (Antal 1947:11).

In the case of folk art, consumption was almost completely local. Guilds and associations seem to be very marginal. In some places and times, there were associated specialists. (Vakarelski, 1968:184). For example, in Norway these persons were recruited from the class of small tenant farmers. Their art works were simply an additional source of income. However, it appears that the artists directly distributed their works to local clients. (Anker, 1968:17). On the other hand, much folk art was produced and

used by the same person or family. (Zoras, 1968:171; Markovic, 1968:183).

In Winnipeg, the public art gallery seldom presents displays of ethnic folk art. The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, however, has rotating multicultural displays that often incorporate local folk art. Two small commercial galleries are known to the author to handle folk art. Their wares seem largely drawn from other sources than the local. Apart from this scanty information, little appears to be known. Therefore, the folk artists will be asked to supply information on displays and other uses to which their art is put.

IV. Public

The public as consumers of art is divisible into three sub-categories. These are buyers or collectors, viewers, and critics. (Rosenberg and Fliegel, 1970:501). There is some degree of overlap between the first sub-category and the distribution system. For example, museums are both collectors and dealers. Dealers are often also collectors.

During the emergence of the fine arts, the principle collectors were the state, the aristocracy, religious institutions and the rising class of merchants. However, the

middle and lower classes constituted, at least, a viewing public. Many art works were displayed on or in civic buildings and churches. Many articles of daily use were artistically adorned. Also, domestic religious articles, such as altar pieces and icons were artistically decorated. All classes possessed such things.

It has become common to regard the modern public as "... a sullen anonymous, uncomprehending mass..." (Steinberg, 1970:520). Fine artists are said to be apprehensive of the motives and activities of the viewing public and of collectors. The artists are afraid that their works will be misunderstood and mistreated by persons with whom they have little contact and over whom they have no control. (Rosenberg and Fleigel, 1970).

Alvin Toffler (1970) has attempted to lift some of the anonymity from the modern public. He refers to the members of this public as culture consumers. They attend a variety of artistic presentations from concerts to exhibitions. They also participate, more or less casually, in a wide range of artistic activities. Toffler arrives at an estimate of between 30 million and 45 million members in the general American art public. These persons are not drawn from a cross section of the total population. They are representative inasmuch as their median

age and sex ratio approximates that of the population. However, they are from the upper middle income group, are relatively well educated and have professional, technical or business occupations. Farmers, service and blue collar workers form only a very tiny part of this public.

Steinberg (1970) has addressed himself to the supposed lack of comprehension of the public. The poor reputation of modern public is largely due to its negative reaction to certain styles and works of art. Steinberg's study reveals a cyclic trend in public reactions to art. He observes that a certain style of art embodies a set of visual and philosophic values. People who are acclimatized to those values feel bewildered and frustrated when artists attempt to change these values and, concomitantly, the conventional styles. "Confronting a new work of art, they (the public) may feel excluded from something they thought they were part of - a sense of being thwarted or deprived of something." (Steinberg, 1970:521).

Steinberg argues that this does not represent a "... failure of aesthetic appreciation..." (Steinberg, 1970:521). He notes that the public does, so to speak,

catch up, although there is usually a time lag. Essentially, what occurs is a temporary failure of communication. The artist has taken time to determine what values he will sacrifice in his work and what new ones he will reveal. It is to be expected that the public will also take time to evaluate and assimilate the new presentation.

In the cases of the primitive and original folk arts, the consumers and artists interact face to face. (Albrecht, 1970:5). Most work is produced as needed or desired. To some extent the distinction between buyer and viewer holds among Africans. Tribal associations and wealthy individuals will order works. These are used in rituals, public processions and in house decoration. The greater the reputation of the artist, the greater the honor the owner obtains from admiring viewers. (D'Azevedo, 1973).

The critic is, ostensibly, interested in shaping the aesthetic judgments rendered in a society. (Kramer, 1970). In the modern west "... critics are in a position of decisive influence in fixing the artist's position,

particularly in relation to other publics - the collectors and the viewers." (Rosenberg and Fliegel, 1970:517). Critics are articulate. They publish in mass circulation magazines and in specialist journals. They transform the artist's images into phrases. Thus, critics give the public a way to conceptualize the artist's works and values. They can structure the artist's public image. Through their power of recommendation, they can influence collectors. Finally, critics represent the knowledgeable world, the advice and commendation of which an artist will need, personally, at some point in his career.

Among the Yoruba of Africa, Thompson recognized the existence of "appreciators" and critics. The former is a member of the viewing public. He is able to estimate the quality of an art product. The critic is distinguished by his ability to qualify his judgment. Only the critic is able to apply an aesthetic creed.

Yoruba critics do not earn their living as critics. Moreover, they were found in all classes. Thompson suggests that the Yoruba critics occupy a role similar to the connoisseur in our society. (Thompson, 1973:26).

In the case of Winnipeg's ethnic folk artists, it is expected that their major public will be their own ethnic group. Artists will be asked to assess the interest of three potential publics. These are: their own ethnic group, other ethnic groups, and the general public. Also, they will be asked about the presence and identity of critics.

V. Principles of Judgment

These principles subsume both aesthetic and extra-aesthetic intellectual concerns. "Aesthetic judgment is distinguished from simple enjoyment, for it demands reference to the qualities of the object." (Ladd, 1973:422). These qualities are not simply the physical facts of the object. They are patterns discerned in the facts. These patterns are articulated in terms of an aesthetic categorization. Furthermore, they are evaluated by criteria appropriate to the categories. (Thompson, 1973:29).

However, such judgments are not always explicitly rendered in a culture. (Merriam, 1973). Merriam argues that some cultures do not have an aesthetic. Seiber (1973) and Redfield (1971) feel that it is always there, though it may be more or less implicit. In our society there are volumes and disciplines devoted to elucidating principles of judgment. It is unnecessary to review them here. It may be illuminating, however, to give an example from a primitive situation.

Yoruba criticism is based upon "... an exciting mean, vividness cast into equilibrium." (Thompson, 1973: 58). Blue is a favored color because it is a mean between red and black. It is both bright and cool. Figures should be represented as midway between infancy and old age. Sculpture should be done in a style midway between absolute abstraction and absolute likeness. Light should balance shade and produce a rhythmic flow if the object is turned in sunlight. Furthermore, surfaces held to the light should shine because they are very smooth.

Art, of course, is judged on more than purely aesthetic grounds. Robert Redfield likens an art object to a window through which one sees a garden. He likens the window to the formally artistic aspect of an art object.

One may focus one's eyes on it exclusively. It is judged aesthetically. Then one may focus on the garden beyond. He compares the garden to a message or association that the art object induces. This aspect may be judged on didactic, iconographic, moral, or other grounds.

In this study, we will be concerned with the nature of the rules, how they function, and how they relate to tradition and imagination.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The data for this study will be obtained by means of case studies. The case study is applicable in four types of problem situations. According to Foreman, these are:

1. Where a field of research is to be opened.
2. Where further conceptualization of factors or functions affecting a given activity is needed.
3. Where the pattern of interpretation of a field as given by subjects is required.
4. Where a significant pattern of factors in a given case is sought.

These situations are those where more advanced actuarial techniques cannot appropriately be applied. In this particular study the field of research is very uncharted. The sociology of art, and of folk art especially, is weakly developed. The images and attitudes held by participants with regard to the field are almost unknown. Scientific knowledge of the factors or elements of the field is very general.

"A case study, basically, is a depiction either of

a phase or the totality of relevant experience of some selected datum." (Foreman, 1971:187). A datum may be a person, a group of persons, a clan of persons, an ecological unit such as a neighborhood, a cultural unit, such as an institution. The ideal datum in this study would be the last. However, as so little is known about a possible folk art institution a different datum must be used. The next most obvious choice is the folk artist.

Thus, as was mentioned in the introduction, only one element of Albrecht's schema will be directly studied. This element is the one pertaining to the artists. However, the artists must necessarily be at the heart of Albrecht's schema. Therefore, it will be possible to use them as informants with regard to the rest of the elements.

This contingency makes it impossible to study the relationship among the actual elements. Yet, under the circumstances, and considering the need for initial research, some suggestions may be derived for further research on these relationships.

There are three types of case study materials. These are personal documents, participant observation

records and third person reports. (Foreman, 1971:188). It is the first that will be used here. Such documents may be natural or custom made. The former are spontaneous records that often reveal a social situation to which the author is responsive. They contain his own point of view and attitudes. On the other hand, "Custom-made personal documents may be obtained by use of 'free response' questionnaires, by organization of interview schedules utilizing verbatim reporting or subject-written narratives, or by combinations of these devices." (Foreman, 1971:189). These documents also contain the informants own point of view and attitudes provided they are carefully done.

In this study "custom-made documents" were preferred. This is because they may be directed specifically to the problem at hand. An interview schedule was utilized therefore.

Selection of the Artists

Prior research with regard to the activities and whereabouts of ethnic folk artists in the Winnipeg area does not exist as far as the writer could find. Therefore, the first step was the construction of a list of such artists.

Because this study is exploratory and because the concepts of folk art and folk artist are, as yet, weakly defined, a purposive sample of definitely qualified persons was called for. (Selltitz and Jahoda 1959: 520-521; Honigmann 1970:268-270).

Under the circumstances, however, such an attempt was difficult indeed. The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature was approached. Their officials were able to supply the names of eight persons whose work was known to be authentic. Names supplied by a Latvian and an Ukrainian organization overlapped with the former list. The above artists were requested to refer the researcher to other qualified folk artists they might know.

The final group of respondents was selected from an estimated population of fifty. This number includes twelve Latvians and thirty-eight Ukrainians known to the informants. There is, in addition, a larger category of people (Latvians and Ukrainians) who practice the arts less strenuously and/or less authentically. Of the fifty, twenty-five³ were in the final tally. There were

³ This figure was deemed to be the maximum number of artists that could be intensively interviewed in the allotted time.

eleven Latvians and fourteen Ukrainians. These artists were judged to be the most qualified by the above officials and artists. Two criteria were used in this process. These were: a high level of involvement in ethnic folk art, and a high standard of artistic quality.

One Latvian decided not to participate. It is possible that there are two or three more Latvian artists who are not known to their peers.⁴ Nevertheless, the number of Latvian respondents does not fall too short of the estimated population in Winnipeg.

On the other hand the fourteen Ukrainians tend to be more like a purposely selected sample from their estimated total population.

It is important to keep in mind the fact that the results and conclusions are not to be taken as statistically typical and final. This is due to the limitations of the sampling design. However, it can be asserted that they represent the best thinking of qualified artists from the two groups in Winnipeg.

There were four persons younger than 30 years old. Eighteen years was the most youthful age. There were four persons between the ages of 30 and 49, nine persons between

⁴It was discovered that Latvian Folk Art tends to be an individual pursuit in Winnipeg.

50 and 59, and eight persons 60 years or older. Of the Latvians, three were male, eight female. Of the Ukrainians, five were male and nine female. The two youngest persons were single. Of the remainder, 18 were married and 5 were widows. (There were no widowers.)

There were two professional artists in the sample. The two youngest persons were students in the liberal arts. Two persons were retired. Six persons held professional jobs. These were nurse, community worker, librarian, statistician, museum worker, and manager. One person was a secretary. Twelve of the women were housewives.

Data Collection

An interview schedule consisting of thirty-one questions was used. The questions were designed to provide information on the elements, art forms, artists, distribution system, publics, and principals of judgment.

Operationalization of the elements as variables was not accomplished. This is because the inadequate development of the field would have undermined such an attempt.

The questions are reproduced in the Appendix.

Closed-ended questions were used where possible. Several open-ended questions were felt to be necessary. Basic information was sought on sex, age, ethnic group membership, place of birth, and occupation.

Information on art forms was sought in questions 7, 8 and 9. The emphasis was upon historical style. Questions 19, 20, 21, 23, 24 and 25 pertain to the artist. The interest here was in personal characteristics felt to be requisite to the role, associations and socialization. The artist's view of his public was sought in 15, 16, 26, 27 and 28. The artist's awareness of critics was probed in 30 and 31. Questions 17, 18 and 23 pertain to the distribution and reward system.

Questions 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 relate to formal principles. No direct attempt is made to discover cultural values. Instead an evaluation of cultural contribution is sought in questions 25 and 32. Technical systems only enter in questions 9 and 11.

Many of the questions sought a simple yes or no response. Two scales were used. Question 22 asked the artist to rank the contribution of folk artists to their culture on a continuum of importance.

Questions 26 to 29 used a scale with four categories. These categories were: all, most, some, none. In questions 26 to 28, the artists were asked to evaluate different possible publics with regard to an interest in their group's local folk art. In 29, the artists were asked to evaluate their own group with regard to its belief about the contribution of their folk arts to their ongoing culture.

Marginal notes were taken where artists made special comments on the topics of closed-ended questions. The remaining questions were open-ended. Questions 9, 19, 23, and 31 were provided with probes.

Personal interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents. On the average, interviews lasted three hours. The interviews took place during the months of February and March, 1975.

The original set of questions was submitted to a pre-test. Two members of the ethnic groups were interviewed. These persons were previously known to the researcher. They were deeply involved in folk art. Their responses were not included in the findings. As a result of the pre-test, several questions were reworded.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Tabulations were made where the data permitted. For the most part, percentages were not derived. This is because the number of interviewees is relatively small. In such an instance, percentages can be misleading. The descriptive approach was mainly used. Statistical analyses, such as correlations were inappropriate.

The results for each group will be presented concurrently.

I. Art Forms

The arts done by the respondents were classified using Munro's scheme. Four sub-types were discovered. Under types of pictorial art, two sub-types were found. These are egg decorating (pysanky) and stained glass. The former is classified here because it involves a batik technique. The second is in this category but distinguished as a separate type because it involved making pictures in a unique location; i.e. church windows. Both of Munro's sub-types of useful and decorative art were found.

Table I presents the figures for these categories. The useful and decorative arts greatly outnumber the pictorial arts. Furthermore, the pictorial arts are, for the most part, practised by the Ukrainians. Only one Latvian listed a pictorial art, which was egg decoration.

Table II indicates the response to the question on traditional styles of art forms. There was overwhelming agreement on the importance of designs and colors. Four persons stated that they must be considered simultaneously. As one said, "The two always work together to make something unique." One person noted that the designs always differ even though the colors of different national groups may partially overlap. One stipulated the greater importance of color. Another noted that either one or the other will distinguish the style. Which one will depend on the particular piece.

In general, the artists are in agreement that the colors symbolize the nation. Thus, a combination of soft brown and green means a piece of folk art is Latvian. Red and black symbolize the Ukraine. However, in both cases, there is a great deal of regional variation.

TABLE I

TYPES OF TRADITIONAL ART DONE BY RESPONDENTS

Type	Ethnic Responses by		Total
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
I Pictorial arts			
a) Classified by materials, etc.			
- batik (pysanky)	1	6	7
b) Classified by form, etc. - stained glass	0	2	2
II Useful and decorative arts			
a) Hard, inanimate materials	7	6	13
b) Soft, inanimate materials	8	9	17
TOTAL*	16	23	

* The totals do not tally with the N's because nine persons practised more than one type of art.

TABLE II

ELEMENTS BY MEANS OF WHICH TRADITIONAL
STYLES ARE DISTINGUISHED

Element	Ethnic Responses by		Total
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Designs	11	14	25
Colors	9	14	23
Religious or Secular Symbols	7	7	14
Materials	1	1	2
Techniques	2	4	6

Two Ukrainians felt that there is a greater degree of internal complexity in Ukrainian designs than in other ethnic groups' designs.

Seven persons, four Latvian, three Ukrainian, felt that research was needed to clarify the origins and developments of designs. All seven contended that the original designs had been and still are being obscured by outside cultural influences. The Latvians were concerned about russification and germanification. The Ukrainians were concerned about russification.

In both groups the russification issue involved books of ethnic folk art published by the Soviet Union. As one Ukrainian said with regard to these books, "It takes a lot of research to weed out the russified designs from the real ones."

Latvian fears of germanification involve a unique issue. Before the Soviet Union conquered Latvia, the Germans exerted considerable influence. One person said, "The Germans formed a sizeable portion of the intelligentsia." The Latvian social fraternities became dominated by these people and sympathizers. Part of the function of these fraternities was to promote the folk traditions. Inevitably,

many German songs, dances and artistic customs were absorbed. Three persons claimed the problem still exists in the Toronto Latvian community. One individual expressed considerable bitterness about this.

Fourteen persons, slightly more than half the total, felt that symbols play a role in distinguishing their group's traditional styles. See Figures IV to VII.

The symbols that the respondents referred to are multifarious. Essentially however, they are design elements overlaid with social meanings. In their conversations, these artists did make a distinction between pattern and meaning. Thus they would refer to an arrangement of lines and colors only in terms of their composition and aesthetic effect. For example, they would describe an arrangement as pleasing or beautiful. Then they would also refer to the meaning of an arrangement. In these situations the designs or design elements were called "ornaments". (The term, ornament, is synonymous with the term, symbol.) Three persons, two Latvians, one Ukrainian, claimed that these ornaments could be read, much like a language. As the Ukrainian respondent said, "The ornaments in embroidery and on pysanky were ... a means of communication before writing."

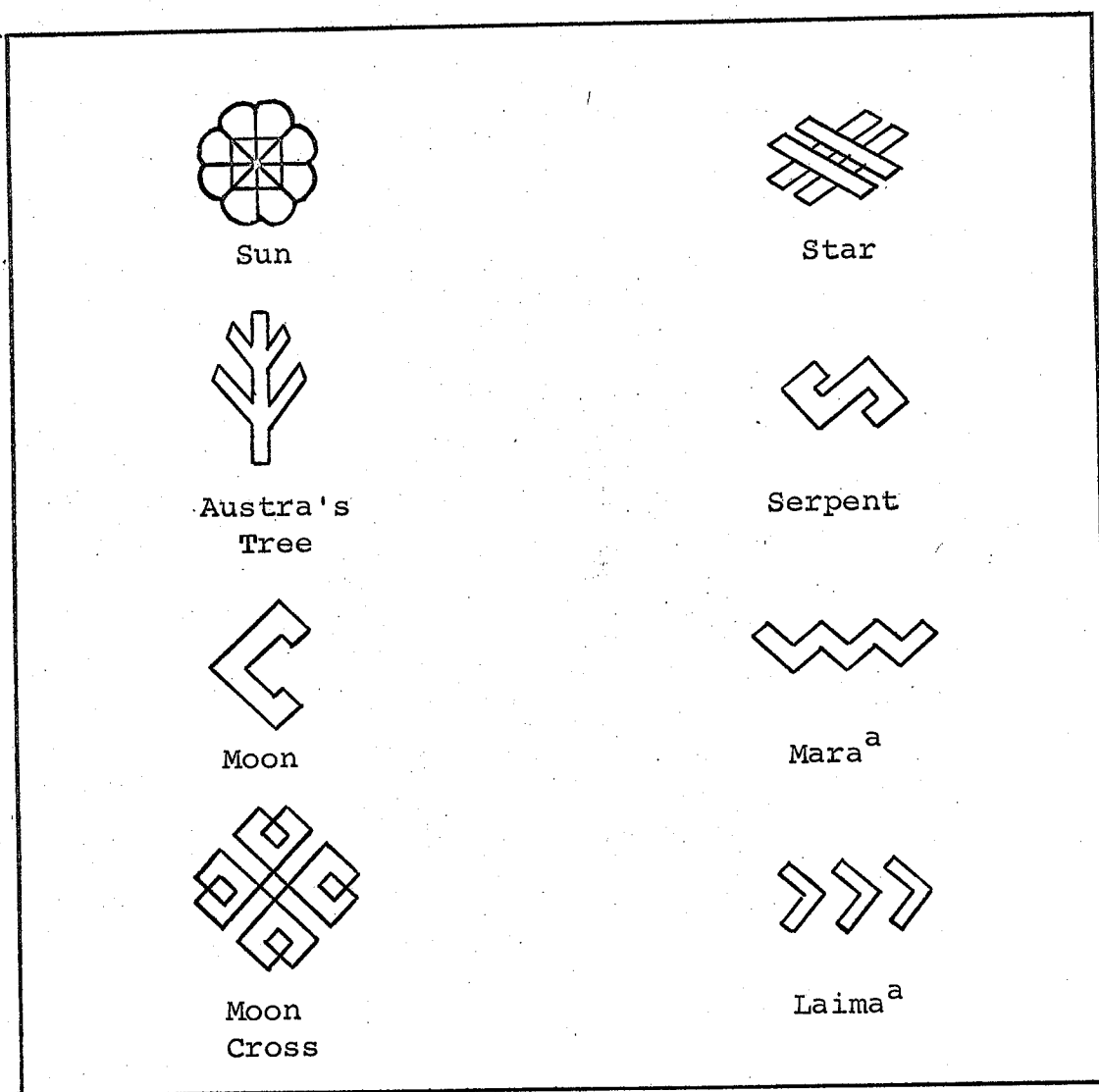


FIGURE IV: A SELECTION OF SYMBOLS TYPICALLY FOUND IN LATVIAN FOLK ART.

^aMara and Laima are benign deities.

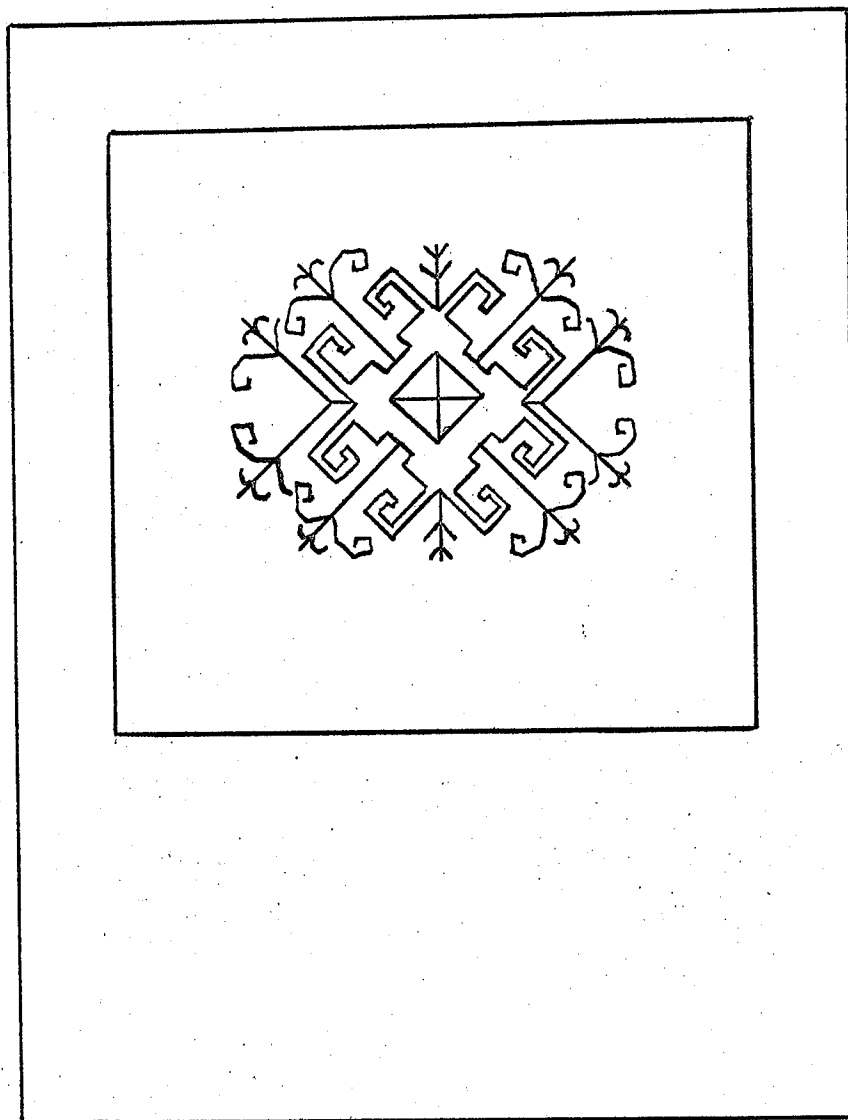


FIGURE V: A LATVIAN TYPE OF DESIGN INCORPORATING SEVERAL SYMBOLS.

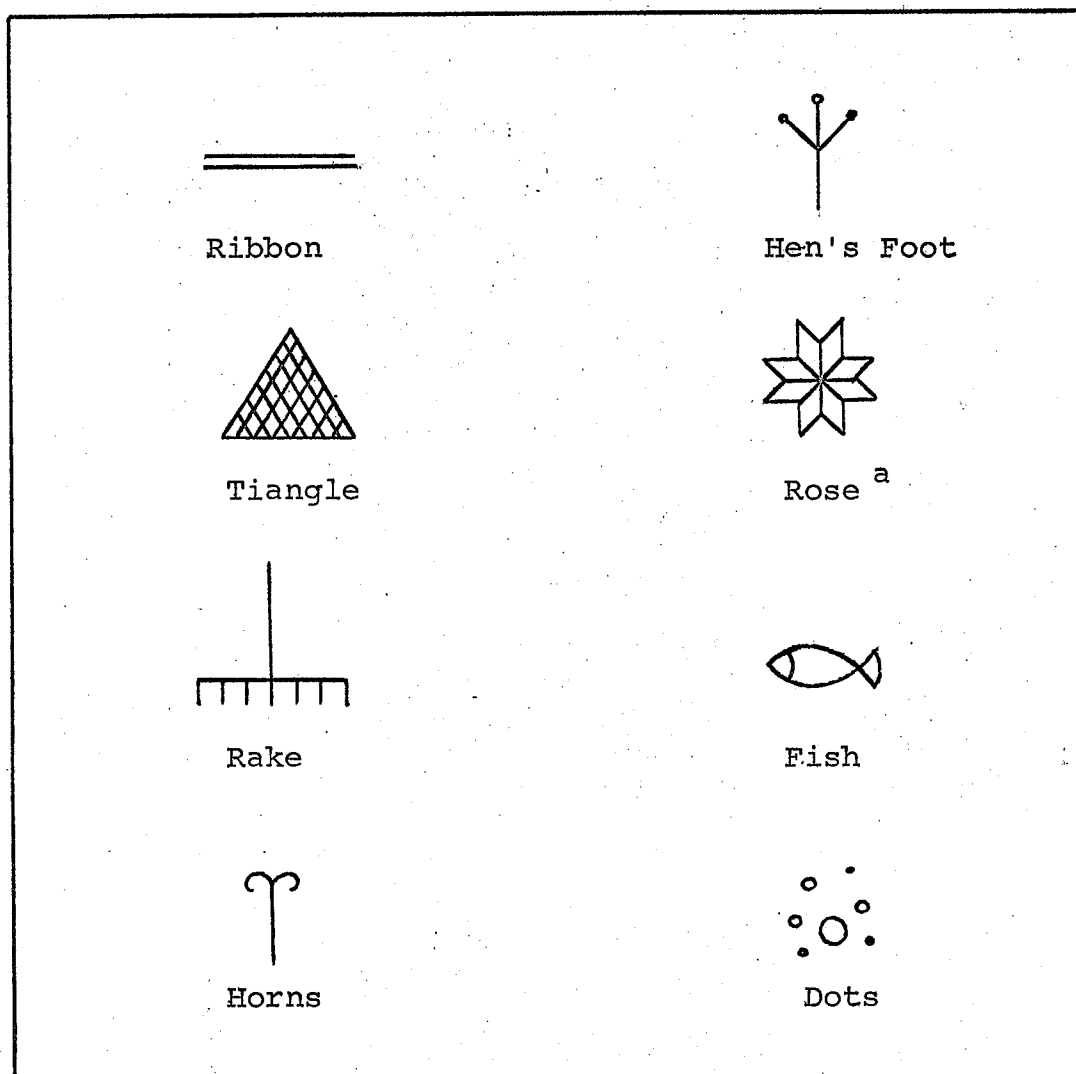


FIGURE VI: A SELECTION OF SYMBOLS TYPICALLY FOUND IN
UKRAINIAN FOLK ART

^aThis ornament is also interpreted as a star or sun depending upon its context and rendering.

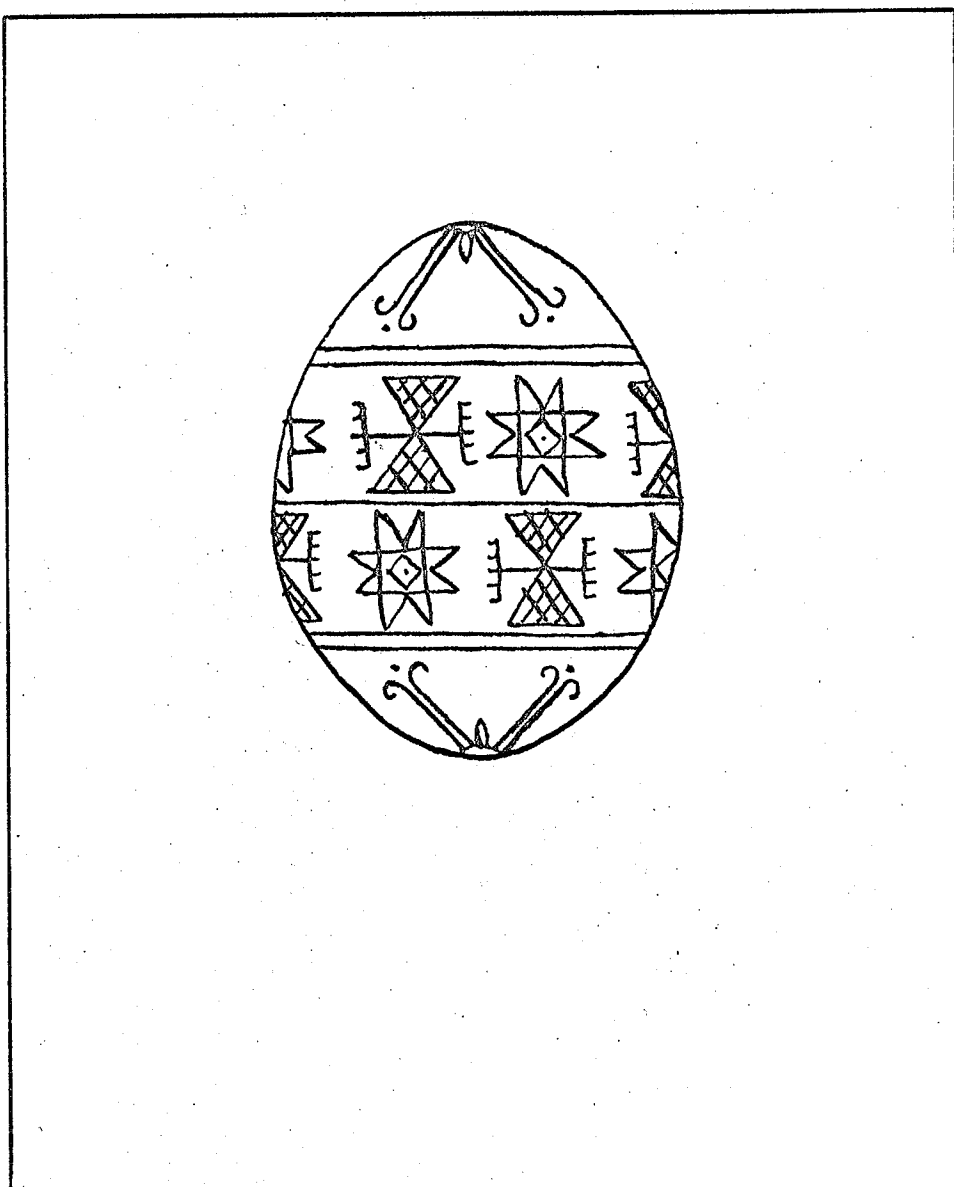


FIGURE VII: A UKRAINIAN TYPE OF DESIGN FOR A PYSANKA INCORPORATING SEVERAL SYMBOLS.

Nine persons connected the meanings of these ornaments with religious and superstitious beliefs. Five of these persons were Latvian, four were Ukrainian. The Latvians emphasized pagan associations exclusively. The Ukrainians made both pagan and Christian associations. The Christian tended to predominate. References to natural objects were also made.

Some examples of those associations are as follows. Certain arrangements of lines were said to symbolize the sun, moon, stars and gods. The triangle symbolizes the trinity. The unbroken line or ribbon around a pysanka symbolizes eternity. (See Figures IV and VI.)

Some of the respondents provided sophisticated explanations of the symbols. Others simply assigned the property of bringing luck to the ornaments. One person lamented that the meanings of the symbols were dropping out of common knowledge. On the other hand, the books shown to the author contained sections devoted to explaining these meanings. Thus, the knowledge seems to be available, although, perhaps, not common.

There are other levels of symbolic meaning in the folk art. One Latvian artist explained that their colors

should be warm in order to symbolize brightness and happiness. Another claimed that the colors were used to communicate events to the community. Thus, hand woven blue ribbons were placed outside a house where someone had just died. This custom is waning however.

The folk costume is an elaborate nationalistic symbol. All the female respondents possessed one. Only one Latvian and one Ukrainian male respondent possessed one.

Materials do not seem to play a significant role in distinguishing traditional styles in folk art. The two people, one Latvian, one Ukrainian, who mentioned them said the same thing. That was that linen and wool predominate in Latvian and Ukrainian textile folk arts.

Techniques were a little more important, but not as significant as designs, colors and symbols. Two Latvians specified incision as a typically Latvian technique in decorating ceramic pieces. Four Ukrainians distinguished the cross-stitch as a typically Ukrainian embroidery technique. Two of the latter persons described the batik technique of applying colors to an egg as typical of and unique to Ukrainian pysanky.

II. Artists

Table III presents the characteristics requisite to the role of folk artist. The elements 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, were suggested by the researcher. The others were derived from the artists' responses. The last three, however, were not very important.

The elements of ethnic loyalty and interest in other ethnic cultural activities drew the largest response. Twenty-three people named the first, nine being Latvian, fourteen being Ukrainian. Twenty-one people named the second, eight being Latvian, thirteen being Ukrainian. The two groups were very close on both elements.

Under interest, six Latvians designated language as important; five, other activities, especially singing folk songs; three, social meetings. On the part of the Ukrainians, eight mentioned language; eleven, other activities (three of these specified Ukrainian literature); three, social meetings.

Latvian comments were brief. "You have to maintain a feeling of being Latvian..." i.e. through cultural activities. Such interests help "... to keep up the spirit."

TABLE III

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS FELT TO BE
REQUISITE TO FOLK ARTIST ROLE

Characteristic	Ethnic Responses by		Total
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
1. Interest in other ethnic cultural elements	9	14	23
2. Ethnic loyalty	8	13	21
3. Artistic sensitivity	5	7	12
4. Patience	4	8	12
5. Love for the work	5	4	9
6. Dexterity	1	1	2
7. Keeping busy	2	0	2
8. Family background	0	1	1
9. Being different	1	0	1

The Ukrainians made more lengthy comments. "You have to know a little about everything because everything is interwoven. If you don't have a general acquaintance with the various aspects of the culture, you'll miss the meaning of any one element even if it's your specialty."

"It is important to maintain the language and interest in other aspects of Ukrainian culture and church in order to keep the spirit of the Ukraine up and so put it into the eggs."

On loyalty, one Ukrainian person said, "You must have a will to survive with your identity, to be loyal and in harmony with your national identity. Not to die as a Ukrainian. I feel strongly connected with my past. It is a calling like a poet." Another said, "Ethnic loyalty is not so important nowadays, but it is good to have or save the old identity because it has historical roots." The Ukrainians tended to comment more in the vigorous style of the first. The second quote is from one of the professional artists. The Latvians made simpler comments, such as, "It is very important to be loyal."

Artistic sensitivity and patience were felt to be

relevant by almost half the total. The former element was given the interpretation of an eye for composition and color combinations by the researcher. The two groups were proportionately very close in their responses here. A love for the work was moderately important. Proportionately, more Latvians named this element.

Table IV represents the sources of satisfaction the folk artists might find in their work and role. The least important source was victory in contests. The most important was a feeling of pride because they were maintaining their ethnic art traditions. Of the twenty responses here, eight were Latvian, twelve Ukrainian. On this point the groups were very similar. The two were also very close on the source, a feeling of achievement, but differed pronouncedly on a feeling of relaxation. The two types of compliments seemed to be of minor importance.

The results in this and the preceeding table indicates that a national consciousness plays a large role in the artistic lives of the respondents.

Table V lists the responses to the questions on the artist's involvement in associational artistic activities. With regard to ethnic associations the difference between

TABLE IV

SOURCES OF SATISFACTION ENJOYED BY THE ARTISTS

Source	Ethnic Responses by		Total
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
A feeling of pride because one is maintain- ing Latvian/ Ukrainian art traditions	8	12	20
A feeling of achievement	7	11	18
Relaxation	2	7	9
Compliments from the general public	2	2	4
Compliments from other Latvian/ Ukrainians	1	2	3
Winning contests	2	0	2

the groups is large. Only one Latvian affirmed involvement. However, this was in the capacity of trying to revive artistic activities. Apparently, there had been such in the Winnipeg Latvian Association several years ago. However, the association does little more than provide social evenings at present. On the other hand, ten of the fourteen Ukrainians said they were involved.

Some interesting comments were made concerning the art activities of the Ukrainian ethnic or church associations. These activities were largely carried on by church groups. One person said, "I show my embroidery, gather material for displays, do articles on arts and crafts. Above all we are trying to insert this love of Ukrainian art in children." One person explained that many activities are held at the religiously affiliated St. Andrew's College on the University of Manitoba campus. Here she teaches non-curriculum classes on the decoration of pysanky. These classes are for young people. Another person said that she, like many others, are involved with dance troupes and choirs. Their function is to make folk costumes. Apparently, the larger troupes can pay for costumes. Smaller groups rely on volunteers.

TABLE V

ARTISTS' INVOLVEMENT IN ART ASSOCIATIONS

Type of Involvement	Ethnic Responses by Latvians Ukrainians (N=11) (N=14)		Total (N=25)
Ethnic associations			
Involvement	1	10	11
Non-involvement	10	4	14
Non-Ethnic Associations			
Involvement	2	4	6
Non-involvement	9	10	19

One person revealed a spirit of rivalry among church groups. "Scouts from different church groups go out to other church groups to see what they are doing and then report on it so they (their own group) can do better." Another noted that "Everyone who does something new will not show you for fear you may take something of the design."

Membership in non-ethnic art associations was much lower than in the ethnic associations. There was much less difference between the groups on this point.

Table VI shows how the respondents obtained their initial training. Almost all the middle aged Latvians (6) were taught folk arts in public schools in Latvia. This relates to a short period of independence for that country between the two world wars. During that time, there was a vigorous attempt to revive, purify and perpetuate Latvian culture. However, all these persons and three others reported early home training too. Eight of these described their mother and grandmother as major influences. One person designated his grandfather. One Latvian attended a professional art school. Two persons learned their arts on their own. Both relied heavily on historical and design books. Incidentally, every single Latvian had the same

TABLE VI
SOURCE OF INITIAL TRAINING IN FOLK ART

Source of Training	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Public school, old country	6	0	6
Public school, Canada	0	0	0
Professional school, old country	1	2	3
Professional school, Canada	0	1	1
Ethnic association courses, Canada	0	2	2
Family	9	8	17
On Own	2	4	6

volume on Latvian folk art. This was Latvian Design by Aleksandra Dzervitis. It is written partly in Latvian, partly in English. It is published in Toronto.

None of the Ukrainians were trained in public schools. The two professional artists were trained in European academies. One took further training in Canada. Two persons received their initial training in ethnic association courses. (These were the two youngest.) Eight persons obtained their training at home. (These eight exclude the four just mentioned.) All eight claimed that everyone in their family of orientation did art work. Not one person was more influential than another. Four persons learned on their own by using books. Two, however, admitted informal help from friends. Several of the Ukrainians had large numbers of various books on Ukrainian folk art. Most were in Ukrainian.

Table VII shows the other members of the artists' families who do artwork. The Latvians show a proportionately larger figure than the Ukrainians.

Several people lamented that young people today are only mildly interested. The Latvians seemed more con-

TABLE VII

OTHER MEMBERS OF ARTISTS' FAMILIES WHO DO ART WORK

Member	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Husband	1	1	2
Wife	1	2	3
Mother	2	2	4
Son	1	0	1
Daughter	3	4	7
TOTAL	8	9	17

cerned than the Ukrainians. The artists noted that at one time everyone was involved. As one said, "In the old days, you had to do it - everybody had to do it. No choice because no stores." However, they distinguished between people who were able and those who excelled.

III. Distribution and Use of Art

Table VIII reveals the responses to questions about the uses to which the artists' works are put. All the respondents said they decorate their homes with them. Twenty persons said they use their art as gifts at showers, Christmas and other festive occasions. The usual recipients were their children and neighbors. Both groups were very close in their responses. The Ukrainians donate their works proportionately more than the Latvians. Typical recipients are church teas, bazaars and dance troupes. Also, the Ukrainians sell their works and enter contests and exhibitions much more than the Latvians. Eleven Ukrainians enter art contests and exhibitions compared to only one Latvian.

Of the fourteen people who sell their work, twelve are Ukrainian; only two are Latvian. Most of the work is sold to members of the ethnic group. Pysanky form a dis-

proportionate volume of the sales. They were alleged to be fairly profitable. However, the preferred markets are the international ones in Europe and America. It was said to be difficult to get a good price locally. Other items are sold at token prices. This is because their true value in labor expended would result in astronomical prices.

TABLE VIII

USES TO WHICH ARTISTS' WORKS ARE PUT

Type of Use	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Decoration of home			
Yes	11	14	25
No	0	0	0
Gifts			
Yes	9	11	20
No	2	3	5
Donations			
Yes	6	10	16
No	5	4	9
Sale			
Yes	2	12	14
No	9	2	11
Contests and Exhibitions			
Yes	1	11	12
No	10	3	13

When probed, the respondents identified major contests and exhibitions that were largely outside the Winnipeg area. Six Latvians named Toronto, two Chicago and one Vancouver as sites. Four Latvians were not sure if there were major contests in North America. Of the Ukrainians, twelve named Dauphin, two Edmonton, as places where major contests and exhibitions are held.

Some of the respondents reported that folk art objects have a major symbolic use in social rituals. The Ukrainians who do pysanky take them to an Eastertide ritual. One person said, "The majority still take a basket with an egg for each member of the family to church to be blessed at Easter. The traditional belief was that the egg would never spoil if it was blessed." Another said, "If a pysanka breaks you can't throw it away because it belongs to the church. You must burn it, crunch it and scatter it to the wind or put it on flowing water." The meaning behind the ritual of the pysanka was not clearly revealed. Patterns to be worn on costumes and displayed on articles in the home are rotated according to season and festivity. In general, the Ukrainians placed more emphasis

on such matters.

Table IX lists the artists' responses as to whether their work has ever been displayed. In general, the Ukrainians have displayed much more than the Latvians. Of the 20 persons who have displayed at an exclusively Latvian or Ukrainian occasion, six were Latvian, fourteen were Ukrainian. All of the Ukrainians had displayed. The responses to the second category largely relate to Winnipeg's Folklorama. Only one Latvian had displayed. The Ukrainian response was also low. This may reflect the large use of collectors' items and museum pieces at such displays. Under the third category, six of the sixteen who displayed at non-ethnic occasions were Latvian. Most of these six had participated in a group show a few years ago at the Manitoba Legislative Buildings. The remainder and the Ukrainians had participated in the rotating Multicultural displays at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. The last category relates to displays at shopping malls and local public schools. The Ukrainians heavily outnumber the Latvians here.

IV. Publics

Table X reports the artists' assessments of three

TABLE IX

DISPLAY OF THE ARTISTS' WORKS

Location	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Latvian/Ukrainian festival, association, church, museum			
Yes	6	14	20
No	5	0	5
Other ethnic festival, association, church, museum			
Yes	1	3	4
No	10	11	21
Non-Ethnic festival, association, museum			
Yes	6	10	16
No	5	4	9
Other locations			
Yes	1	10	11
No	10	4	14

TABLE X

ARTISTS' ASSESSMENT OF VARIOUS PUBLICS'
INTEREST IN LOCAL LATVIAN/UKRAINIAN FOLK ART

Public interest in Folk Art	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Latvians/Ukrainians			
All or most	9	12	21
Some or none	2	2	4
Other ethnic groups			
All or most	3	9	12
Some or none	8	5	13
General public			
All or most	0	3	3
Some or none	11	11	22

possible publics. Their own groups scored the highest. Nine Latvians felt that most or all of their group is interested in local Latvian folk art. Twelve Ukrainians felt very similarly. On a proportionate basis, the two groups are virtually identical. Two persons of each group felt that only some of their group is interested.

Nine Ukrainians felt that most or all of the people from other groups are interested in their folk art. Only three Latvians felt the same. Eight Latvians and five Ukrainians felt that some or none of these people are interested. In general, the Ukrainians assessed the interest of other groups in their folk art to be higher than did the Latvians.

The two groups were somewhat closer in their assessments of the general public. However, three Ukrainians said most of the general public is interested. None of the Latvians felt that most or all of the general public is interested in their folk art.

In the artists' opinions, the largest proportion of interested people come from their own group, then other ethnic groups and finally the general public.

Table XI shows the artists' perception of the existence of critics of Latvian or Ukrainian folk art. Critics

TABLE XI

ARTISTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE EXISTENCE OF FOLK ART CRITICS

Do Critics Exist	Ethnic Response by		Total
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Yes	9	12	21
No	2	2	4

were defined as people who interpret and make comments on folk art. Twenty-one persons felt that there are people who play such a role. Nine of these were Latvian, twelve Ukrainian. The two were almost identical here. Only two people from each group felt that there are not any critics.

Some important differences were revealed when the artists were asked to identify the critics (See Table XII). On a proportionate basis the two groups were very close on three out of six personages. These were museum officials, other artists, and University scholars. Ten Ukrainians named ethnic association officials. None of the Latvians felt likewise. Four Ukrainians designated church officials. Again, none of the Latvians felt the same. However, a considerably larger proportion of Latvians named newspaper writers than did Ukrainians. Only the ethnic press was considered. In the case of the Latvians this press is located in Toronto.

V. Principles of Judgment

Table XIII reveals the results of the question on the existence of rules by which folk art might be judged in contests and exhibitions. Fifteen persons said there

TABLE XII

ARTISTS' IDENTIFICATION OF CRITICS

Personage	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Museum officials	5	9	14
Newspaper writers	6	5	11
Ethnic Association officials	0	10	10
Other artists	4	6	10
Church officials	0	4	4
University scholars	1	2	3
Do not know	1	1	2

TABLE XIII
EXISTENCE OF A SET OF RULES

Existence of Rules	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Yes	1	14	15
No	10	0	10

were such rules. All the Ukrainians but only one Latvian replied affirmatively. Ten Latvians said no.

Several respondents observed that the rules by which folk art objects are made are generally given. However, the rules by which they are judged are more specific to the occasion. The former are available in books and from master workers. The latter are selected for the occasion by persons whom an advisory board or committee appoints as judges for a contest or exhibition. One Ukrainian artist explained how she would ascertain the authenticity of submissions. "If I were a judge, first I would check the kinds of entries. I mean where in the Ukraine the article design comes from. Then I would look up the articles in books and collections to see how they are properly made." From this study she would derive guidelines for the contest at hand. It should be noted that this person and three others said that contests usually have a classification for original designs, children's designs and adaptations of traditional patterns to modern articles.

Another person noted that, "... the procedures of judging and organizing contests are not written down." He

went on to say, "Patterns are sorted into geographic regions where they come from, then into intricate or simple designs, then judged on neatness of work ... then on craftsmanship and then how intricate the design is." There seems to be a lack of standardization of rules in contests.

Table XIV is concerned with whether the rules of production are directed more to authenticity or technique. The latter term was intended to refer to the craftsmanship involved in art work. Proportionately more Ukrainians felt that both were involved. Of the total seventeen that said both, six were Latvian, eleven Ukrainian. However, the Latvians exhibited a greater range of opinion. Four designated authenticity and one named technique as having the greater role. None of the Ukrainians said that authenticity was the greater concern of the rules, but three named technique. To the artists, there did not seem to be an issue here.

Tables XV and XVI reveal the responses to probes on the complex issue of the combining of imagination and tradition. Table XV shows a straightforward and almost unanimous response. Twenty-two artists felt that the two can be combined. The two groups are almost identical here.

TABLE XIV

RULES DIRECTED TO AUTHENTICITY OR TO TECHNIQUE

Orientation of Rules	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Authenticity	4	0	4
Technique	1	3	4
Both	6	11	17

TABLE XV

DO THE ARTISTS FEEL IMAGINATION
AND TRADITION CAN BE COMBINED

Combination of Tradition and Imagination	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Yes	10	12	22
No	1	2	3

Table XVI reveals the responses to a probe on how imagination and tradition can be combined. Four categories were turned up. The two largest categories were "blend free or personal style into traditional" and "rearrange internal elements of patterns." These accounted for 12 and 11 responses respectively. On a proportionate basis, the Latvians were quite a bit more responsive than the Ukrainians on the first topic. Most of the people responded cautiously. One said, "Change is normal. But it must be carefully done because it can be changed so much until it is no longer recognized as Latvian." Another person said, "The forms and shapes and the designs are faced by the individual artist in a decision to maintain an artistic balance between innovation and tradition."

On the second topic one person explained "If I make a Latvian folk costume, I must adhere to the pocket of traditions from a given area. The designs are set - but I have a choice from a set and how I compose them." Another said, "If I can't incorporate a whole traditional pattern, I use a part." Proportionately, the difference between the groups was slightly less on this topic.

TABLE XVI

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HOW IMAGINATION AND TRADITION CAN BE COMBINED

Ways of combining Tradition and Imagination	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Blend free or personal style into tradition	7	5	12
Rearrange internal elements of patterns	6	5	11
Mix patterns of different national regions	1	5	6
New applications	1	4	5

In the last two categories, "mix patterns of different national regions" and "new applications", the situation was reversed. However, the overall response was somewhat lower. "New applications" refers to transferring a folk costume pattern to, say, a pillow or to a modern dress.

Table XVII reflects the artists' assessment of their ethnic groups' reaction to alterations of traditional patterns. Ten felt they would object, fifteen felt they would not. The two groups are close. A slightly greater proportion of the Latvians were affirmative; while a slightly greater proportion of the Ukrainians felt their people would not object. Seven people said they would criticize the artist if the work was publicly called traditional but looked very different. Three of these persons were Latvian, four Ukrainian. Four people simply said their people would express criticism. Two of these were Latvian, two Ukrainian. One Latvian also said that his people would not buy the object if it happened to be for sale.

The artists were asked to assess the contribution of traditional folk artists to their ethnic culture in

TABLE XVII

ARTISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THEIR ETHNIC GROUP'S
REACTION TO ALTERATIONS IN TRADITIONAL DESIGNS

Would Their Ethnic Group Object	Ethnic Responses by		Total (N=25)
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Yes	5	5	10
No	6	9	15

Canada. They were also asked to assess their ethnic group's feeling. The scales do not allow direct comparison. Nevertheless, it may be noted that, relatively, the artists rated their public slightly lower than themselves.

Table XVIII reveals the artists assessment of the folk artist's contribution to his culture. A greater proportion of the Ukrainians assessed the contribution at a higher level than did the Latvians.

Table XIX shows the artists' assessment of their public. In this instance, they were asked what proportion of their ethnic group felt that the folk artist was making an important contribution to their culture. In general the Latvians felt that fewer of their ethnic group believed their folk artists to be making an important contribution.

TABLE XVIII

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ARTISTS' EVALUATIONS OF FOLK ARTISTS'
CONTRIBUTION TO OWN ETHNIC CULTURE

Evaluation	Ethnic Responses by		Total
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
Important	7	14	21
Uncertain	2	0	2
Not important	2	0	2

TABLE XIX

ARTISTS' ASSESSMENTS OF THEIR ETHNIC GROUP'S BELIEF
THAT THE FOLK ARTIST IS MAKING AN IMPORTANT
CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR CULTURE

Assessment	Ethnic Responses by		Total
	Latvians (N=11)	Ukrainians (N=14)	
All/Most	7	11	18
Some	4	2	6
None	0	1	1

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This paper reported on a sociological study of the ethnic folk art of Winnipeg Latvians and Ukrainians. The two groups are very similar in that they both possess a vibrant, ongoing folk art. However, they are very different in terms of their size, social organization and in other respects.

In general, the theoretical schema based on the work of Albrecht and Duncan proved to be useful. Five structural elements of the schema were studied. These are: artist, public⁴, distribution system, art forms and formal principles. Following is a brief review of the main findings.

In the opinion of the author the single most important finding was the unanimity of the artists in their emphasis on ethnic solidarity. This was expressed by their interest in their ethnic cultures, their pride in maintaining their cultural heritages, and their avowed loyalty to their ethnic groups. Furthermore, the artists' ethnic identification took precedence over artistic sensitivity in

⁴Here this term is used generally. It includes viewers, collectors and critics.

their role characterizations.

The viewing public and critics were said to be mostly from the artists' own ethnic groups. The latter were evaluated as being positive in their attitude to the folk artist. The distributive system appears to consist of a familial and (ethnic) associational matrix.

It seems that the most important aspect of the art forms is their symbolic nature. This especially refers to the capacity of the art forms to express the ethnicity of their creator. They are far more than pure objects of beauty; although their beauty is also carefully tended. As well, the formal principles are only partially directed to craftsmanship and to the aesthetic quality of the art. How and when the traditional designs may be altered seems to be an important issue governed by subtle rules. The attachment of the folk artists to traditional patterns seems to be due, in part, to a profound respect for them as national insignia. For the present it is probably safe to assume that the artists' attachment to and identification with the insignia is echoed in their ethnic critics and publics.

It is suggested that the most plausible pattern of

relationships between artist, critic and public would be Duncan's fifth mode. In this case, these three basic elements act in a mutually reinforcing manner. In a modern complex society the three may seldom be in a face-to-face living situation, however. (Albrecht, 1970: 5). The distributive system acts as a mediator in the form of a third party. (Albrecht notes that in a more primitive situation the function of the system may be annexed to the roles of the basic elements.)

In the case of the Ukrainians such a system exists in the form of voluntary and church organizations. The Ukrainian group is characterized by a higher level of formal organization in Winnipeg. Their folk art is more socially organized. The Latvians are characterized by a lower level of formal organization in Winnipeg. Their folk art appears to be more of an individual pursuit.

However, in both groups it appears that the critics exist in organizations, such as universities. This largely removes them from direct contact with the artists. Also, the publics are relatively large and scattered. This means that times and places must be specially set for displays and sales. In the original peasant village setting for folk art, interaction between the elements was probably open and continuous. This contrasts with the some-

what bureaucratically organized interaction now.

Yet, even though the elements are structurally separated, they are hypothesized to exhibit solidarity in their interests, role definitions and formal principles.

The findings and the projected mode of relationships suggests that the function of contemporary folk art is to embellish its people's ethnic identity. This conjectured function provides a potential explanation for the discovered pattern of structural elements. It could also constitute a rationale for the mode of relationships should the latter be substantiated.

Folk art derives from a time prior to the period of nationalistic movements. Fishman notes that nationalism is associated with the struggle of ethnic groups to achieve a unity premised upon ethnocultural characteristics that they believe are unique to themselves. (Fishman, 1972). This process is largely a modern phenomenon. Previous to its occurrence folk art probably served very different functions.⁵ Now folk art is part of a large

⁵It would be useful to explore this historical transformation further. Also deserving study are the impact of an industrial culture on the folk art of a peasant culture and the effects of acculturation on the folk art of ethnic immigrants.

deposit of cultural traits. These are mined by the ethnic group and molded into an unfolding national identity.

At the most basic level folk art serves the identity by providing it with a material image in the form of art. This image gives the identity a visibility and texture that assist in differentiating it from other national identities. Folk art also involves the people in social relationships relative to the image. These relationships further reinforce the identity by precipitating social commitments to the image. These commitments are embodied in the structural elements that we have been studying.

It should not be concluded that folk art produces nor, by itself, maintains identity. It is only suggested that it reinforces an identity that may be pillared on more general factors. Examples of the latter are: religion, endogamy, language use, ethnic organizations, parochial education and choice of friends. (Driedger, 1975).

Further research possibilities may be pointed out. One is that a larger sample of artists be examined. It was learned too late for use in this study that the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok)

has been collecting a list of hundreds of Ukrainian folk artists. Their survey is nation wide. In studying a larger sample, it is suggested that more emphasis be placed upon identity factors, e.g. religion, endogamy, language use, etc.

Another study could directly examine the other elements apart from the artist. It would be a further contribution to compare the views of artists, critics, publics and persons concerned with the distributive system on the ideas initially explored in this paper.

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APPENDIX
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

GENERAL

1. Name _____
2. Male _____ Female _____
3. Age _____
4. Ethnic Group: Latvian _____ Ukrainian _____ Other _____
5. Place of birth: country _____
6. What work do you do (including housewife)? _____

ART-FORMS

7. What types of arts do you do - by types I mean such things as wood carving, pottery, embroidery, knitting, and so on?
 1. _____ 2. _____
 3. _____ 4. _____
 5. _____
8. Which of these are traditional (Latvian) (Ukrainian) types of artwork?

9. How can a person recognize (Latvian) (Ukrainian) traditional styles in folk arts?

(Interviewer, probe: 1. design, 2. colors, 3. religious and secular symbols and tales, 4. materials, 5. techniques)

10. Is there a set of rules by which traditional (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk arts are judged in contests and exhibitions?

Yes _____ No _____

11. Are the rules more concerned with how authentic the (Latvian) (Ukrainian) designs are, or are they more concerned with techniques?

Authenticity _____ Technique _____ Both _____

12. Please elaborate.

13. An artist can work with his imagination or he can work with his traditions. Do you feel that imagination and tradition can be combined?

Yes _____ No _____

14. Please explain.

15. If a (Latvian) (Ukrainian) artist changed a traditional pattern because of something he imagined, would other (Latvian) (Ukrainian) people object?

Yes _____ No _____

16. What would they say or do?

17. Do you

a) use your creations to decorate your home?

Yes _____ No _____

b) use your creations as gifts for family and friends?

Yes _____ No _____

c) use your creations as donations to organizations?

Yes _____ No _____

Please specify type of organization _____

d) sell your creations: Yes _____ No _____

e) enter art contests and exhibitions?

Yes _____ No _____

18. Has your work ever been displayed at:

a) (Latvian) (Ukrainian) festival, association,
church, museum? _____

b) Other ethnic festival, association, church,
museum? _____

c) non-ethnic festival, association, museum?

d) Other? _____

THE ARTIST

19. What personal character must a person have to be a (Latvian) (Ukrainian) traditional folk artist?

(Interviewer, probe: 1. dexterity, 2. patience, 3. artistic sensitivity, 4. ethnic loyalty, 5. interest in other (Latvian) (Ukrainian) cultural elements, e.g. language maintenance, folk dancing, singing, etc.)

20. Would you tell me how you came to practice traditional (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk art?

(Interviewer, probe: 1. training, 2. family environment.)

21. Does anyone else in your family do art work? Please specify.

22. Do you feel that the traditional (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk artists are making a

very important _____

important _____

uncertain _____

not very important _____

contribution to (Latvian) (Ukrainian) culture in Canada?

23. Of the following, which do you find most satisfying?

a) compliments from other (Latvians) (Ukrainians) for your art work. _____

b) compliments from the general public for your art work. _____

c) a feeling of relaxation while doing your art work. _____

d) a feeling of achievement in doing your art work. _____

e) a feeling of pride because you are maintaining the (Latvian) (Ukrainian) tradition. _____

f) winning art contests. _____

24. Are you involved in the art activities of your ethnic or church associations?

Yes _____ No _____

25. Do you belong to any non-ethnic art associations (e.g. Manitoba Society of Artists, Manitoba Craft Guild)?

Yes _____ No _____

OTHERS

26. How many (Latvians) (Ukrainians) in Winnipeg do you think are interested in local (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk art?

all _____
most _____
some _____
none _____

27. How many people from other ethnic groups in Winnipeg do you think are interested in local (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk art?

all _____
most _____
some _____
none _____

28. How many of the general public in Winnipeg do you think are interested in local (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk art?

all _____
most _____
some _____
none _____

29. How many (Latvians) (Ukrainians) in Winnipeg believe that local (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk artists and craftsmen are making an important contribution to their culture?

all _____
most _____
some _____
none _____

30. Are there any people who could be called critics of (Latvian) (Ukrainian) folk art? By critic, I mean a person who interprets and comments on folk art.

Yes _____ No _____

31. (If yes) Who are these people?

(Interviewer, probe: 1. other artists, 2. church officials, 3. ethnic association officials, 4. museum officials, 5. newspaper writers.)