

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

by

Oleksandr Kondrashov

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree
of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

FACULTY OF SOCIAL WORK

University of Manitoba

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

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

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

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

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

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

facilitate the adaptation process and create desirable outcomes.

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DEDICATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

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

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

Statement of the Problem

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

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

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

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

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

The Purpose of the Study

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

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

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

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

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

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

This study was guided by the following two research objectives:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Significance

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

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

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

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

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

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

Definitions

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

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

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

Thesis Structure

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

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

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

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

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

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

First Wave of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada

Reasons for Immigration and Canadian Realities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Socio-economic and Socio - cultural adaptation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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