This learning module, which is part of a three-block series intended to help human service workers develop the skills necessary to solve the problems encountered in their daily contact with elderly clients of different cultural backgrounds, deals with Ukrainian culture. The first two sections provide general information about the size and general characteristics of Canada's Ukrainian population and the module's general objectives. The next section examines Ukraine's historical past and several aspects of Ukrainian Canadian history that have helped shape the character of the Ukrainian people. The final sections discuss the importance of the Ukrainian culture for older adults of Ukrainian origin, the perception and role of the older adult in the Ukrainian culture, and several of the difficulties and risks that older Ukrainian adults experience within a multicultural society. Lists of selected readings and descriptions of seven films dealing with Ukrainian culture are appended. (MN)
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Faculty of Education
University of Manitoba
1987
FUNDING INFORMATION

PROJECT TITLE: ELDERLY SERVICE WORKERS' TRAINING PROJECT
PROJECT GRANT NUMBER: 6553-2-45
SOURCE OF CONTRACT: HEALTH AND WELFARE CANADA
CONTRACTOR: UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA, FACULTY OF EDUCATION

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UKRAINIAN CULTURE

MODULE B.1

THE ELDERLY SERVICE WORKERS' TRAINING PROJECT WISHES TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION OF THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "UKRAINIAN CULTURE" MODULE.

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Introduction

According to the 1981 census data, Ukrainians in Canada rank fifth in population size after the British, French, Germans and Italians. Therefore, they are one of the largest groups in Canada.

Although Ukrainians are assimilating into Canadian society, the process of assimilation has been slowed to a great extent by a particularly strong sense of national identity. For a good part of its history, Ukraine has been a captive at the hands of various nations. While dominating the Ukrainian people, these nations have sought to suppress and eliminate Ukrainian national identity. However, despite adversity, Ukrainians have maintained and strengthened their national identity.

In Canada, Ukrainians enjoy the freedom of life in a democratic society where they are able to nurture and manifest their own national identity within a Canadian framework. Ukrainian pioneers in Canada helped build the Canadian west and successive generations of Ukrainian Canadians have made positive contributions to all spheres of Canadian society. Most Ukrainian Canadians highly value the fact that they have the opportunity to be both good Ukrainians and good Canadians. In this module, a broad understanding of the Ukrainian identity as manifested by Ukrainian Canadian older adults will be
presented. The history of the Ukrainians in Canada is discussed in the first part of the module. In the remainder, the values, concerns and problems of Ukrainian Canadian older adults are recorded. Primary data forms the basis of discussion. The data was gathered through interviews conducted with fifteen Ukrainian Canadian older adults living in Winnipeg.
GENERAL OBJECTIVES

Upon completion of this module, you will be able to:

(1) describe Ukraine's historical past and several aspects of Ukrainian Canadian history that helped shape the character of the Ukrainian people.

(2) describe the importance of the Ukrainian culture for older adults of Ukrainian origin.

(3) describe the perception and role of the older adult in the Ukrainian culture.

(4) describe several of the difficulties and risks that older Ukrainian adults experience within a multicultural society.
The following section will present the history of the Ukrainian people in Canada, beginning with their historical background prior to emigration.

THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

Upon completion of this section, you will be able to describe Ukraine's historical past and several aspects of Ukrainian Canadian history that helped shape the character of the Ukrainian people.

Historical Background to Immigration

An understanding of Ukraine's historical past will help one understand the character of the Ukrainian people.

Ukraine, a country rich in natural resources, has suffered numerous invasions by various nations, who have coveted these for themselves. Frequent attempts to gain back independence have met with only sporadic success.
From 1795 till the early part of the twentieth century, the western regions of Ukraine belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the eastern regions to the Russian Empire. The lands of the western province of Halychyna, although formally belonging to Austro-Hungary, were now in the hands of wealthy Polish landlords. Having little land of their own, the majority of the peasants were forced to work for them. Life for the peasant was extremely difficult under these circumstances. In the other western provinces of Bukovyna and Transcarpathia, life for the Ukrainian peasants was also trying. Land holdings were extremely small and subsistence difficult. Thus, when they were given the opportunity to emigrate to Canada, where the Canadian government was actually giving away land, large numbers seized this as an opportunity to better their existence.
It was from these three western Ukrainian provinces that most of the early Ukrainian immigrants came.

The Ukrainians living in central and eastern Ukraine found it impossible to emigrate. The Russian Empire's borders were closed to all emigration. It was Russia's policy to subjugate Ukrainian culture. The use of the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian education and all Ukrainian language publications were forbidden. Ukrainians who dared to oppose Russian authority were either imprisoned or exiled to Siberia. After the first Russian Revolution in 1905 some rights were returned to the Ukrainian people. In 1917 Ukraine declared her independence, however, this independence was shortlived.
The eastern lands soon fell to the Communists, and the western lands were divided among Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Once again under foreign rule many Ukrainians living in the regions of western Ukraine sought to improve their destinies by emigrating to Canada. However, Ukrainians in the regions under the new Communist government were again unable to emigrate.

Between the years of 1921 to 1934, Ukraine experienced two demographic phenomena. The famine of 1921-22 and the artificially imposed Famine Holocaust of 1932-33 ordered by Stalin that took over seven (7) million innocent Ukrainian lives. This genocide, was a deliberate creation of a bureaucratic mind bent on the punitive destruction of an entire race of people.

After World War II all Ukrainian territories fell to the Communists. During the war many Ukrainians found themselves displaced from their homeland. Fearing official reprisals and life under Communism, many refused to return to their homes after the war's conclusion and emigrated to Canada.

Today Ukraine has the status of a republic of the Soviet Union and its name has been officially changed to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, (although most Ukrainians outside of Ukraine refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of this name). Under Communist dictatorship the Ukrainian people are deprived of many
of the civil liberties that Canadians take for granted and Ukrainian national identity is continually being suppressed. The ultimate aim of this suppression is the complete elimination of Ukrainian identity, russifying the populace and eliminating opposition to Soviet rule. Despite these pressures, Ukrainian national identity has survived.
Immigration and Settlement Patterns

The Ukrainians emigrated to Canada in four major waves. Each group varied from the others in terms of size and composition, and have made positive contributions to the development of Ukrainian Canadian community life.

The first immigration began in 1896 and continued until 1914. According to Kaye and Swyripa (1982), it was by far the largest. Approximately 170,000 Ukrainian immigrants entered Canada during this time. This group was mainly composed of illiterate farmers, who came to Canada for primarily economic reasons and once in Canada tended to settle in rural areas.

They soon developed an organized community life, established churches, cultural and political organizations and a Ukrainian language press.
Kaye and Swyripa (1982) pointed out that, the second wave spanned the years 1917-1939 and included approximately 60,000 Ukrainian immigrants. It also consisted mainly of peasant farmers who immigrated to Canada for economic reasons, though most were not illiterate. This group also included a significant number of political emigres. The majority settled in rural areas, but many also gravitated to the cities. This group, however, was dissatisfied with the type of organized life it encountered in Canada, finding it to be rather simplistic in scope. This led to the founding of organizations that reflected the broader interests of this group, including its interest in post-World War I Ukraine, and to the establishment of new churches and newspapers.

The third wave of immigration began in 1946 and continued until approximately the mid-1950's. It encompassed approximately 30,000 Ukrainian immigrants (Kaye and Swyripa, 1982), most of whom considered themselves political emigres. This group was much better educated than the previous two and included a much higher ratio of skilled craftsmen and professionals. The vast majority of this group chose to settle in urban rather than rural centres. This group, more politically and socially conscious than its predecessors added to the organizational life already in
existence among Ukrainians in Canada by establishing the types of organizations and press that reflected its concerns.

A fourth wave of immigration started in the late 1960's and carried on into the 1970's and 1980's. Emanating from the U.S.S.R. and Poland, it resulted from a relaxation in the U.S.S.R.'s emigration laws and Poland's relatively lenient emigration policies. Although exact statistics are not known, the fourth wave is very small in number. Probably due to its small numbers this group has not been a catalyst for any noticeable social change within the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Between 1896 and 1939 most Ukrainian immigrants settled in Western Canada. Initially, this was primarily due to the fact that both Canadian authorities and the railway companies were eager to populate the Prairie Provinces. Ukrainians settled primarily along a belt that stretched from southeastern Manitoba, to the Peace River district in Alberta. As the population tended to be predominantly rural, a large number of Ukrainian communities sprang up along this belt. However, the arrival of the third wave of immigration, combined with an overall trend to urbanization in Canada, drastically changed Ukrainian settlement patterns. Driedger (1983) pointed out that by 1971,
seventy-five percent of the total Ukrainian Canadian population resided in urban or semi-urban centres. According to the 1981 census data, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Toronto each have a Ukrainian population of approximately 60,000. Although Ukrainians are now interspersed throughout most of Canada, the majority still live in Western Canada. Furthermore, since the start of Ukrainian immigration to Canada the city of Winnipeg has usually held the largest Ukrainian urban population.
Newly arrived Ukrainian immigrants tended to settle in block type settlements in areas where other Ukrainians had already settled. This type of settlement pattern was reflected in both rural and urban areas. In eastern Alberta a rural block extended east from Fort Saskatchewan almost to the Saskatchewan border and an urban block was created in Winnipeg's North End. This type of settlement pattern greatly enhanced the retention of the Ukrainian language, customs and organizational and religious life, insulating them from outside intervention.

**Religion**

Yuzyk (1982) stated that, eighty-five percent of the Ukrainians in Canada can be divided into two major religious groups: Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox. The Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches display many similarities. Both follow the Byzantine or eastern rite, and both use the same traditions and the Ukrainian language in the celebration of the liturgy. The Orthodox Church, however, strictly adheres to the old Julian calendar whereas some Ukrainian Catholic churches now follow the Gregorian calendar. As well, the Orthodox Church does not allow the use of the English language in the liturgy, whereas the Ukrainian Catholic Church does. The Orthodox Church
allows married clergy, whereas the Catholic Church prefers celibate clergy.

In 1988 it will be one thousand years since Prince Volodymyr (the Great) declared Kievan Rus’ - Ukraine, Christian. The 1000th anniversary, of the arrival of Christianity in Ukraine, will be marked by Ukrainians all over the world.

988 - 1988
Of the fifteen percent of the Ukrainians that do not belong to either of these Churches, a small number belongs to other Orthodox Churches, such as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America and the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America. Others have joined United, Baptist, Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Jehovah's Witness and Seventh Day Adventist Churches. Initially, large numbers of Ukrainians were not attracted to the Protestant faith because most preferred the rituals of the liturgy and the national sentiments inherent to the two traditional Ukrainian churches. However, in recent years, the constantly increasing rates of mixed marriages and assimilation into Canadian society have caused a number of Ukrainian Canadians to be attracted to Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.

Organizational Life

The primary concerns of Ukrainian Canadian life have always been religious, educational, cultural and political.

The first immigrants tended to be most concerned with the spiritual and educational needs of the community. They established religious brotherhoods, reading clubs and national home associations. As well, the first politically oriented organizations were primarily Socialist.
During the second wave of immigration more politically and nationally conscious Ukrainians arrived in Canada. Many of these immigrants had been actively involved in the ongoing struggle for the liberation of the homeland. In Canada, they were still very concerned with the fate of Ukraine. This concern was often addressed by the organizations established during this time period.

Woycenco (1982) also pointed out that, the two major Ukrainian Churches: The Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox became actively involved in organizational life, establishing men's, women's and youth clubs, as well as educational and cultural associations. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League was established to nationally coordinate the activities of all such organizations affiliated with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, while the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood was established to do the same for the Ukrainian Catholic organizations. The chief aim of both of these national organizations was to aid the national aspirations of Ukraine within a Canadian context.

Mutual aid organizations and the Ukrainian National Federation also emerged during this time. These, together with national homes and reading clubs, functioned independently of the two church organizations.
The advent of the Russian Revolution brought with it the rise of Communism. The territories of eastern Ukraine fell into Communist hands and Communism was also actively promoted among Ukrainians in Canada. The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, a national association, whose chief aim was to promote Communism, was established in Winnipeg in 1918. It was also actively involved in cultural and educational activities. In the 1920's and 1930's it developed a sizeable following. This association was succeeded by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians in 1946. The association continues to exist today, however, from the 1950's onward its membership has declined. The decline was due in most part to the fact that with the passage of time the Communist regime in the Soviet Union came to be viewed as a highly negative force. Today the majority of Ukrainian Canadians oppose Communism. Today's membership in the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians consists primarily of older Ukrainian adults who have remained faithful.

In 1940 the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was established to coordinate the activities of all non-Communist Ukrainian organizations. It is headquartered in Winnipeg and continues to act in the same capacity today. It was from this body, also, that the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services which serves as a welfare
agency among Ukrainians in Canada was founded.

After World War II, even more Ukrainian organizations were established by the third wave of immigration. Most of these immigrants were highly nationalistic in orientation. They were, however, split into several factions. The more militant faction, whose chief aims are the liberation of Ukraine and the propagation of anti-Communism, established their own men's, women's and youth organizations. The moderates tended to join the already existing branches of The Ukrainian National Federation.
Although each Ukrainian organization in Canada may have certain specific aims which make it unique, generally speaking, most are also concerned with actively fostering the Ukrainian cultural heritage and thus Ukrainian identity in Canada.

**Prejudice and Discrimination**

From the time of their arrival to Canada Ukrainians have often had to suffer prejudice.

Isajiw (1982) noted that, as early as December 23, 1896, an article printed in Winnipeg's *Daily Nor'wester* under the title "Unwanted Immigrants" condemned Slavs for being dirty, uneducated and unfit for nation building. Prejudice toward the Slavs did not predominate in the press, however, until 1914. By that time newspaper articles were often referring to the Ukrainian immigrant in derogatory terms.

This type of unreserved prejudice resulted in often blatant forms of discrimination against the Ukrainians. In turn, the Ukrainians held a general mistrust of the Canadian government and its programs and retreated to the relative security of their own communities. Various Ukrainian organizations, wheat pools and co-operatives were created by Ukrainians to better serve the needs of the Ukrainian population.

With the outbreak of World War I, Canadians began to be suspicious of all recent immigrants from non-
allied countries. As a result, a great many Ukrainians lost their jobs. Furthermore, in 1914 the Canadian government invoked stringent anti-alien measures by passing an Act that made it extremely difficult to obtain a certificate of naturalization and by implementing the War Measures Act whereby all aliens were required to report to police on a monthly basis. Those who did not do so were sent to internment camps for the war's duration. Thus, among the thousands interned there were also a large numbers of Ukrainians.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought with it the fear that the Ukrainians might be guilty of spreading Communism in Canada. For a time all Socialist and Communist organizations were outlawed. These fears were unfounded, for although Communism did attract Ukrainian adherants, they formed a small minority of the Ukrainian Canadian population.

Due to their lack of knowledge of the English language, their lack of education, or lack of funds to do otherwise, Ukrainian immigrants that settled in urban areas were often forced to work as labourers or domestics. They formed the lowest wrung of the social ladder and were looked down upon as a result.

The situation worsened during the Depression of the 1930's. At that time not only the unskilled labourers, but also those attempting to enter the work force for the first time and even those Ukrainians with skills
found it almost impossible to find employment.

Historian, James H. Gray, writing about the city of Winnipeg during this time, assessed the situation in the following manner:

...anyone with a Ukrainian or Polish name had almost no chance of employment except rough manual labour. The oil companies, banks, mortgage companies, financial and stock brokers, and most retail and mercantile companies, except the Hudson's Bay Company, discriminated against all non-Anglo-Saxons. For the young Ukrainians and Poles there was a possible solution if they could beat the accent handicap. They could change their names. So they changed their names, sometimes formally and legally, but mostly informally and casually (Isajiw, 1982).
The advent of World War II renewed Canadian's suspicions about possible subversive activities of the Ukrainians. By this time, however, Ukrainians had become firmly entrenched in Canada and Ukrainian Canadians were serving in the Canadian armed forces in large numbers. No official sanctions were invoked against them as they had been during the previous war.

The third wave of immigration experienced the least amount of open prejudice. It arrived in Canada with many other post-war immigrant groups, and found a society, that through years of experience, had developed a sense of tolerance and acceptance to newcomers. This, coupled with the government's more recent policies of fostering multiculturalism, may not have completely eradicated the problems of prejudice, but they have eased them significantly.
The following section will present the importance of the Ukrainian culture for the older adults of Ukrainian origin.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UKRAINIAN CULTURE FOR OLDER ADULTS

Upon completion of this section, you will be able to describe the importance of the Ukrainian culture for older adults of Ukrainian origin.

Religion

Religion plays a crucial role in the lives of Ukrainian older adults. Their attachment to their religious beliefs tends to be strong and steadfast. All of the older adults stated that they have always been fervent believers, that religion is not something that they have turned to in their old age. Most older Ukrainian adults believe that everything that has happened in their lives, both good and bad, has been the will of God. They are grateful to God for all blessings, in fact, positive statements regarding health, family and other matters are often begun with the phrase "Diakuvaty Bchu" - "I thank god," and "I thank God, that I am still healthy," "I thank God that my children are good to me," and even "I thank God that I was able to plant my garden this year." They are also usually able to accept life's misfortunes, such as
illness, death, as the result of God's will, a will that mere mortals cannot fully comprehend.

In general, older Ukrainians tend to treat the clergy with extreme respect and deference. They believe that the clergy are man's direct link to God. Also the clergy were once the most well educated members of the community. As such they served as a major source of community enlightenment. They were not only spiritual but also community leaders. "Slava Isusu Chrystu" - this Ukrainian religious greeting is as important to older Ukrainians today as it was 100 years ago.
Family

The family may be regarded as the most important social and support group in the lives of the Ukrainians. Family ties are extremely important to most Ukrainians, and are especially so to older adults who often feel that they have nothing else to live for other than their family.

All of the older adults stated that they treasure family contact greatly and displayed love, pride and concern for each of their family members. They also took great pride in the fact that their children, grandchildren, and so on, not only kept in contact with them, but also kept in touch with each other, thus maintaining strong family ties.

The older adults display a selfless love toward their family. They often sacrifice a great deal for the benefit of their families. An older female adult, for example, had been widowed at a young age and was left with five young children to raise and support. She stated that rather than "degrade" her family name and risk instilling negative values in her children by accepting social assistance, she did menial domestic work in order to support them and was proud that she managed to feed, clothe and educate them all by herself. Having given so much to their families, it is, therefore, usually an incomprehensible and devastating
experience to the older adult when they in turn are neglected by their offspring.

Community Involvement

Most Ukrainian older adults have at some point in their lives taken some part in organized Ukrainian community life. All of the older adults either had been or were still active to some degree in various community organizations. All had belonged to organizations affiliated with their religious groups and considered this to be a part of their religious responsibility. Most had been actively involved in secular organizations as well.

Those that were born and/or raised in Canada tended to belong to religious, cultural and educational organizations. They did not belong to political organizations. Although almost all of them stated that they felt some concern for the fate of their homeland, the consensus seemed to be that from their position in Canada they could not in any way affect its fate. They were primarily concerned with Ukrainian life in Canada, and not with the politics of the "old country".

Those who came to Canada as adults generally arrived after World War II. This group tended to belong to all types of Ukrainian organizations: religious,
cultural, educational and political. These older adults expressed a great deal of concern with the fate of their homeland. Although they realized that they would never be returning to live there themselves, they believed they had a moral obligation to be concerned with the politics of Ukraine.

**Traditions**

The maintenance of Ukrainian traditions is generally considered to be an important part of the Ukrainian identity. All of the older adults stated that they had always practiced as many Ukrainian traditions as "were possible" in Canada. Some stated, that once in Canada, they began to follow the new calendar and abandoned the old, since this was the practice of Canada's majority. Christmas and Easter, the major religious holidays, were celebrated the most traditionally.

Their ability, even in old age, to practice some Ukrainian traditions was highly valued. Those older adults who resided in a personal care home stated that they were able to maintain a few traditions in that setting. Most said that they appreciated the traditional Christmas and Easter meals prepared by the
cooking staff and looked forward to visits by Ukrainian Christmas carollers.
All of the older adults also displayed an interest in traditional Ukrainian handicrafts, such as embroidery, weaving and woodcarving.

Many of the older adults' children had married non-Ukrainians. As a result they no longer maintained Ukrainian traditions. The older adults considered this to be a great loss and one of the most unfortunate consequences of mixed marriages.

**Language**

The retention of the Ukrainian language is another major component of Ukrainian identity.

All of the older adults were completely fluent in Ukrainian. Approximately one-half were either completely or fairly fluent in English also. Those who were completely fluent in English were either born in Canada or came to Canada at a young age and all learned to speak English by attending school in Canada. Those who were not completely fluent in English arrived in Canada as either teenagers or adults and did not attend school in Canada. The reason why many did not become proficient in the English language was that their work, home and social environments were not always conducive to developing such skills. For example, the type of jobs that they worked at did not require such knowledge.
their family and friends all spoke Ukrainian and Ukrainian was the primary language used in the churches and community organizations. All of these older adults, however, had at least enough knowledge of the English language for basic communication. All regretted their lack of knowledge since they were often unable to fully express themselves in English and could not always completely understand what others were saying to them in English.

Some of the older adults, primarily those whose offspring had married non-Ukrainians, stated that most of their grandchildren either could not speak or spoke very little Ukrainian. This was a cause of great disappointment as they feared that their grandchildren would no longer consider themselves Ukrainian. Those older adults who could not speak English well were also upset that they themselves were unable to effectively communicate with their grandchildren and believed that this substantially weakened family bonds.

Most of the older adults also stated that Ukrainian language education was as important to Ukrainian children as English and French. As well, they believed that today's children required the knowledge of English and French in order to get ahead in Canada. However, most also believed that they required formal Ukrainian language education in order for them to be considered complete Ukrainians.
Education

Although today's Ukrainian older adults may not, for the most part, be well educated themselves, they all tend to highly value education. They believe that if an individual is well educated then he or she will not have to work hard to earn a living and see this as the primary reason for acquiring a good education. All of the older adults who had raised a family stated that they wanted their children to be as well educated as possible, and in most cases many sacrifices were made in order for this to happen.
Because the average older Ukrainian adult is not well educated, they tend to see themselves as being inferior to others who are well educated and will often defer to them since they are "educated" while he or she is not.

The Press

Most Ukrainian older adults stated that they, either now, or at one time, regularly read the Ukrainian language press. The consensus seemed to be that the Ukrainian language press does not appear to take enough interest in the specific needs of older adults. However, they all found the press worthwhile reading since in this way they could keep informed about Ukrainian Canadian community life. All stated that they read newspapers affiliated with either of the two major Ukrainian religious groups. Those who took an active interest in Ukrainian politics also read newspapers affiliated with political groups.
The following section will present the perception and role of the older adult in the Ukrainian culture.

THE PERCEPTION AND ROLE OF THE OLDER ADULT

Upon completion of this section, you will be able to describe the perception and role of the older adult in the Ukrainian culture.

In general, Ukrainian Canadians tend to positively assess and respond to the needs of the Ukrainian older adult.

Traditionally, older family members, respected for wisdom gained through years of life experience, served as the heads of their families and their care and sustenance was provided by younger family members, usually offspring. Traditional values and lifestyles have undergone tremendous change in contemporary society and family members are not always willing or able to provide for the needs of the older adult. Today, some Ukrainian older adults still live with their children and in these situations the children are usually the primary care givers. However, ever increasing numbers of older adults live independently, relying on either family members, friends and/or social service agencies for the care they require, if any. Still others, usually for reasons of infirmity, reside in institutions
such as personal care homes.

The Ukrainian community has, to an extent, undertaken the provision of certain services to its older adults. Some churches have established clubs for senior citizens. These clubs fulfill social and educational functions. The latter functions are conducted through the attendance of doctors, nurses, nutritionists, social workers, and others who educate club members on matters of health and social welfare.

Segments of the community have also initiated and/or supported the building of low-cost housing developments and personal care homes for the disabled and older adults. Although not primarily an agency for older adults, the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services (a branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee), when requested to do so, will act on behalf of individual Ukrainian older adults to secure required social services or assistance.

The Ukrainian language press, radio, as well as the clergy, have also attempted to address the concerns of older adults. Although the Ukrainian community has taken steps to administer to the needs of older adults, the scope of the services provided could be broadened substantially. Those who come into direct contact with the largest numbers of older Ukrainians, should work harder at informing older adults as to the types of
social services available to them, as there continue to be large numbers who are not aware of these services.
The following section will present the difficulties and risks that older Ukrainian adults experience within a multicultural society.

THE DIFFICULTIES / RISKS THAT OLDER UKRAINIAN ADULTS EXPERIENCE WITHIN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Upon completion of this section you will be able to describe several of the difficulties and risks that older Ukrainian adults experience within a pluralistic and diverse society.

Assimilation

The Ukrainian identity is quite strong among Ukrainians in Canada. Although assimilation is causing increasing numbers of Ukrainians to forsake their national identity completely, there is no immediate fear of cultural genocide on a very broad level.
Most of today's older adults have maintained their national identity. Those whose offspring have partially or totally assimilated express deep regrets over this fact. The older adults fear the loss of the Ukrainian national identity and subsequent assimilation of future generations. They blame intermarriage with non-Ukrainians as the primary cause of Ukrainian assimilation in Canada.

**Discrimination**

Of all the older adults interviewed only those who were born in Canada or who arrived prior to World War II stated that they had experienced discrimination. Those who arrived after World War II stated that they had never personally experienced it, although they were aware that others had.

Those who had experienced discrimination believed that it stemmed from the fact that Canadian society of the time was not yet accustomed to large influxes of immigrants, who spoke a different language and practiced different traditions. They blame the Anglo-Saxons for most of the discrimination against them, as they consider them to have been the "ruling class" of the time. None claimed to hold any grudges for this intolerance, as they, personally, did not suffer unduly because of it. The popular feeling was that the
positive aspects of life in Canada vastly outweighed these negative ones.

The older adults were reticent to speak about the prejudicial sentiments they might harbour toward other nations or races. Most stated that they were not prejudiced against anyone. The belief was that old country prejudices should not be fostered in Canada since all members of Canadian society are free and equal.
Language

Ukrainian language fluency rates are declining with each subsequent generation of Ukrainians raised in Canada. Difficulties arise when older Ukrainians are not able to communicate with family members and those who act in the capacity of caregivers. See Module B.1.1 for more information regarding Communication and Adjustment and the Ukrainian older adult.

When a language barrier exists between the older Ukrainian adult and his or her family members, it evokes strong feelings of frustration, regret and at times even resentment on the part of the older adult. The frustration arises out of failed attempts to express oneself, and the regret of the fact that he or she did not acquire sufficient English language skills to be able to effectively express themselves. Feelings of resentment are also often aimed at their own grandchildren, who do not have the necessary Ukrainian language skills that would enable them to effectively converse with their grandparents. Since the older adults did not bother to teach their grandchildren the Ukrainian language, they only had themselves to blame for this.

Those older adults who were not at least fairly fluent in English, stated that they would prefer if the
doctors, nurses, social workers and the like, who came into direct contact with the older adults could speak at least some Ukrainian. They often felt intimidated by these individuals because of their lack of English language skills. Furthermore, they believed that if they could make their needs completely understood the quality of the care that they received would improve.
SUMMARY

The Ukrainians are one of the largest groups in Canada. Although they are assimilating into Canadian society, the process has been slowed by a particularly strong sense of national identity. National identity is and always has been an important element for Ukrainians all over the world. While Ukrainians in Canada are able to nurture and manifest their own identity within a Canadian framework, Soviet Ukrainians are deprived of many of the civil liberties that Canadians take for granted.

Since 1795, Ukraine has been a captive at the hands of various nations, who while dominating the Ukrainian people have sought to suppress and eliminate Ukrainian national identity. In fact, it was Russia's policy to subjugate Ukrainian culture. The use of the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian education and all Ukrainian language publications were forbidden. By 1917, Ukraine declared her independence, however, this independence was shortlived. Between the years of 1921 to 1934, Ukraine also experienced two demographic phenomena. The famine of 1921-22 and the artificially imposed Famine Holocaust of 1932-33 ordered by Stalin that took over seven (7) million innocent Ukrainian lives. After World War II, all Ukrainian territories fell to the Communists.
Today, Ukraine has the status of a republic of the Soviet Union and its name has been officially changed to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. However, most Ukrainians outside Ukraine refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of this name.

It is against this background that we are able to see why, when the Ukrainians were given the opportunity to emigrate to Canada, they seized this as a chance to better their existence. The Ukrainians came to Canada in four major waves: 1) 170,000 Ukrainian immigrants, mainly illiterate farmers, arrived between the years of 1896 to 1914, 2) 60,000 Ukrainian immigrant farmers and political emigres, this time mostly literate, arrived between the years of 1917-1939, 3) 30,000 Ukrainian political emigres, better educated than the previous two waves with many skilled craftsmen and professionals amongst them, arrived between 1946 and the mid-1950s, and 4) a rather small undetermined amount between the late 1960s and into the 1980s.

Despite the prejudice, the discrimination, and the many other hardships that Ukrainian immigrants faced, to a large extent, they became successful in their own adjustment to and settlement of the Western prairies. They settled primarily along a belt that stretched from southeastern Manitoba, to the Peace River district in
Ainborta. Most of the Ukrainian immigrant population tended to be rural, but by 1971, seventy-five percent of the total Ukrainian Canadian population resided in urban or semi-urban centres across Canada. Since the start of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, the city of Winnipeg usually held the largest Ukrainian urban population.

There are many Ukrainian organizations in Canada. The primary concerns of Ukrainian Canadian community life have always been religious, educational, cultural and political. In 1940, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was established to coordinate the activities of all non-Communist Ukrainian organizations. It is headquartered in Winnipeg and continues to act in the same capacity today.

The two major Ukrainian churches: The Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox became actively involved in organizational life. Both churches follow the Byzantine or eastern rite and both still use the Ukrainian language in the celebration of the liturgy, though some Ukrainian Catholic churches permit the use of the English language in the liturgy as well. Most of the older adults had been active or were still active to some degree in various community organizations and most still believe that religion plays a crucial role in their lives. They have always practiced as many Ukrainian traditions as "were possible" with Christmas
and Easter, being celebrated the most traditionally. When the older adults find themselves in a personal care home like setting, they appreciate traditional Christmas and Easter meals prepared by the cooking staff and look forward to visits by Ukrainian Christmas carollers. They also continue to display an interest in traditional Ukrainian handicrafts, such as embroidering, weaving or woodcarving. The Ukrainian language media (press and radio in particular), the Ukrainian community, as well as the clergy attempt to address many of the concerns of older Ukrainians. However, it is felt that the scope of the services provided could be broadened substantially.

The family may be regarded as the most important social and support group in the lives of Ukrainians. Older adults often feel that they have nothing else to live for other than their family. In most cases, many sacrifices were made on the part of the older adults to give their children a good education. Most believe that today's children require the knowledge of English and French to get ahead in Canada. However, most also believe that they require formal Ukrainian language education as well in order for them to be considered complete Ukrainians.

When elderly Ukrainians are not able to communicate in their own language with family members and those who act in the capacity of care givers,
difficulties arise. See Module B.1.1 for more information regarding Communication and Adjustment and the Ukrainian older adult.

In serving older adults of Ukrainian heritage, we must look closely at all these aspects: history, language, family, religion and food.

We also need to remember that Ukrainian pioneers in Canada helped build the Canadian west. Successive generations of Ukrainian Canadians have become a positive, integral and visible part of Canadian society.
APPENDIX
Selected Readings


Additional Resources

Place: National Film Board of Canada
245 Main St.
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3C 1A7

Settlement Of The Western Plains

A good black-and-white documentary on human geography which examines the movement of different peoples to the Prairies and the development of this region into one of the greatest wheat-producing areas in the world. The film complements Kurelek and Teach Me to Dance because of its background information about Ukrainians, but it points out that Chinese and Maritimers were also among the pioneers.

13 minutes:41 seconds 106B 0165 120

Kurelek

A quiet and engrossing story that many immigrant homesteaders might have told had they the talent and the detachment of William Kurelek whose paintings made this film. Self-taught Kurelek painted prairie farm life as well as that part of the Ukraine of which his father often spoke. The film is a portrait of a life that is past, of a father and a son, all depicted with gentle pride and humor.

10 minutes:7 seconds 106C 0166 081

Teach Me To Dance

Lesia convinces her English-Canadian friend Sarah to perform a Ukrainian dance with her as part of their school's Christmas pageant. However, Sarah's father objects. Angry at the growing number of Ukrainian settlers, he will not allow his daughter to do the Ukrainian dance with Lesia. But in spite of the prejudices of their parents, the girls' friendship remains strong, and they meet in Sarah's barn to celebrate Christmas Day together. Support material available.

(Award: Milan.)

28 minutes:35 seconds 106C 0178 295
Additional Resources Cont'd

Place: National Film Board of Canada

Ukrainians in Quebec, 1890-1945
By means of commentary, interviews with some of the earliest immigrants, and still photographs taken in the first years of this century, this film traces the Ukrainians' arrival in Canada and their determination to survive in their new homeland.

28 minutes 106C 0180 188

I've Never Walked The Steppes
A visit to a family of Ukrainian-Canadians at Christmas, a time when the rich traditional customs are most in evidence. The family is that of a prosperous Winnipeg lawyer, a son of immigrants who has reason for pride in his accomplishment. From the carols and folk tunes at the gathering, from pictures in the family album, from the midnight Mass and the Christmas feast, there emerges a warm, compelling portrait of Ukrainian-Canadians at home in Canada.

28 minutes 106C 0175 018

Luchak's Easter
A Ukrainian Easter tradition is celebrated by a Ukrainian-Canadian family in Alberta. Coinciding with the time of Christ's Resurrection, ceremonies are held in anticipation of the resurrection of those ancestors who have died. The family graveyard is decorated, religious rites are performed, and a family feast is held.

26 minutes:37 seconds 106C 0178 438
Harvest of Despair

It is called the forgotten holocaust - a time when Stalin was dumping millions of tons of wheat on the Western markets, while in Ukraine, men, women, and children were dying of starvation at the rate of 25,000 a day, 17 human beings a minute. Seven to 10 million people perished in a famine caused not by war, or natural disasters, but by ruthless decree.

The film probes the tragic consequences of the Ukrainian nation's struggle for greater cultural and political autonomy in the 20s and 30s. Through rare archival footage, the results of Stalin's lethal countermeasures unfold in harrowing detail.

Highlighting the film are intensely moving eye-witness accounts of survivors of the famine, as well as such noted individuals as Petro Grigorenko, a former Soviet General, British journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, Ambassador Johann Von Herwarth, the then German Attaché in Moscow and Andor Hencke, then German Consul in Ukraine and others.

HARVEST OF DESPAIR explores the reasons why this man-made famine remains so little known. Blinded by radical leftwing ideals, world statesmen, such as Edouard Herriot, Pulitzer prize-winning journalists, and celebrities such as George Bernard Shaw, all contributed to the regime's campaign of concealment. Even the democratic governments of the depression-hit West preferred to remain silent over Soviet Russia's atrocities in order to continue trading.

55 minutes. 16mm color and/or videocassette
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Elderly Service Workers' Training Project wishes to express appreciation of the following individuals whose knowledge and expertise in the aging sector has contributed to the overall effort of the Project.

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ELDERLY SERVICE WORKERS' TRAINING PROJECT (ESWTP)

TITLES OF THE TRAINING PROJECT'S MODULES

Block A: Basic Knowledge of Aging Process

A.1 Program Planning for Older Adults **
A.2 Stereotypes of Aging **
A.3 Human Development Aspects of Aging **
A.4 Social Aspects of Aging **
A.5 Physiological Aspects of Aging **
A.6 Death and Bereavement **
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A.8 Confusion and the Older Adult **
A.9 Nutrition and the Older Adult **
A.10 Listening and the Older Adult **

Block B: Cultural Gerontology

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B.1.2 Communication and Adjustment *
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B.4.1 Communication and Adjustment *
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Block C: Work Environment

C.1 Work Environment I *

Resource Materials:

Handbook of Selected Case Studies
User's Guide
ESWTP Authoring System
ESWTP Final Report

Please Note:

ALL MODULES ARE AVAILABLE IN THE PRINT FORMAT. THE CODE FOR IDENTIFYING OTHER FORMATS IS LISTED BELOW.

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