



<https://doi.org/10.15407/dse2019.03.086>

УДК 314.1

JEL CLASSIFICATION: J19

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UKRAINIAN DIASPORA IN CANADA: METHODOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF RESEARCH

The aims of this paper are the estimation of demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, and the description of methodological problems arising in the process of its implementation. Population censuses, which represent the entire population of Canada, including those of Ukrainian origin, are considered as the most comprehensive, informative and reliable source of information on Ukrainians in Canada. The paper shows that methodological problems are caused both by the specifics of the ethnic group and by changes in census procedures. The article focuses on the changes in Canadian ethnic terminology in early population censuses. It is noted that census statistics experienced a significant change in the definition of ethnicity. Starting in 1986, the question on ethnicity includes descendants of mixed ethnic marriages; this makes it impossible to compare numbers of Ukrainians in previous years. A map of the distribution of ethnic Ukrainians was constructed based on data from the 2016 Canadian population census. The paper analyzes changes in the age and sex structures of the population of Ukrainian origin and their language characteristics. Trends in the number of persons of Ukrainian origin, who consider Ukrainian as their mother tongue, are assessed. We show that the proportion of persons over 65 years of age with Ukrainian mother tongue is constantly increasing, while the respective proportion of younger persons is decreasing. The number of Canadian Ukrainians who know Ukrainian is decreasing. Their distribution by age groups has a clearly defined right-sided asymmetry, i.e., the top of the curve is constantly shifting towards the older age groups. The article shows that the overwhelming majority (90 % and more) of ethnic Ukrainians know and use English, while French is much less prevalent. The proportion

of persons who know both official languages is increasing and this proportion among ethnic Ukrainians is similar to the proportion for the whole population of Canada. The proportion of persons who do not speak any of the official language is decreasing and is less than one percent. We show that Ukrainians have fairly good socio-economic positions relative to the Canadian population as an ethnic group. For example, their position in the labor market is in some cases more advantageous compared to the national average.

Keywords: Ukrainian diaspora, ethnicity, ethnic Ukrainians, single ethnic origin, multiple origin, descendants of single ethnic marriages, descendants of multiple marriages, population censuses, age – sex pyramid, emigration, waves of emigration.

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УКРАЇНСЬКА ДІАСПОРА В КАНАДІ: МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ ТА ПРАКТИКА ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ

Мета роботи полягала в оцінюванні деяких демографічних та соціально-економічних характеристик української діаспори в Канаді, а також окресленні методологічних проблем його здійснення. Визначено, що найбільш комплексним, інформативним та надійним джерелом інформації є переписи населення, що репрезентують усе населення Канади, в тому числі – і українського походження. Доведено, що методологічні проблеми спричинені як специфікою етнічної групи, так і змінами у переписних програмах. Досліджено зміни в канадській етнічній термінології, зокрема в ранніх переписах населення. Акцентовано увагу на тому, що у переписній статистиці відбулась принципова зміна підходів щодо визначення етнічності: 1986 року для ідентифікації нащадків змішаних етнічних шлюбів введено поняття мультиетнічності, що призводить до некоректного порівняння даних у динаміці, особливо у кількісному вимірі. Побудовано сучасну карту розселення етнічних українців за даними останнього перепису населення Канади. Проаналізовано зміни у статеві-віковій структурі населення українського походження, досліджено його мовні характеристики. Оцінено тенденції щодо зміни чисельності осіб українського походження, що вважають українську мову рідною: виявлено, що постійно зростає частка осіб старше 65 років та зменшується частка молодших поколінь; знижується чисельність канадських українців, які знають українську мову: крива розподілу за віковими групами «просідає» та має чітко виражену правосторонню асиметрію, вершина кривої постійно зміщується в сторону старших контингентів. Визначено, що переважно (90 % і більше) етнічні українці знають та використовують англійську мову, французька не є поширеною; в динаміці зростає частка тих, хто знає обидві офіційні мови Канади. З'ясовано, що рівень знання офіційних мов серед етнічних українців відповідає середньому показнику населення Канади. Частка тих, хто не знає жодної офіційної мови, скорочується та становить менше відсотка. Обґрунтовано, що українці як етнічна група мають непогані соціально-економічні позиції на фоні населення Канади, становище етнічних українців на ринку праці є не гіршим, а можливо і вигіднішим за середнє у країні.

Ключові слова: українська діаспора, етнічність, етнічні українці, моноетнічне походження, мультиетнічне походження, нащадки одноетнічних шлюбів, нащадки змішаних етнічних шлюбів, переписи населення, статево-вікова піраміда, еміграція, хвилі еміграції.

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УКРАИНСКАЯ ДИАСПОРА В КАНАДЕ: МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ И ПРАКТИКА ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Цель работы состояла в оценивании некоторых демографических и социально-экономических характеристик украинской диаспоры в Канаде, а также в определении методологических проблем, возникающих в процессе его проведения. Определено, что наиболее комплексным, информативным и надежным источником информации служат переписи населения, представляющие все население Канады, в том числе и украинского происхождения. Доказано, что методологические проблемы вызваны как спецификой этнической группы, так и изменениями в программах переписей. Исследованы изменения в канадской этнической терминологии, в частности в иммиграционной статистике и ранних переписях населения. Акцентировано внимание на том, что в переписной статистике произошло принципиальное изменение подходов к определению этничности: в 1986 году для идентификации потомков смешанных этнических браков введено понятие мультиэтничности, что может быть причиной некорректного сравнения данных в динамике, особенно в количественном измерении. По данным последней переписи населения Канады построена карта расселения этнических украинцев. Проанализированы изменения в половозрастной структуре населения украинского происхождения, исследованы его языковые характеристики. Оценены тенденции изменения численности лиц украинского происхождения, считающих украинский язык родным: выявлено, что постоянно возрастает доля лиц старше 65 лет и снижается доля младших поколений; снижается численность канадских украинцев, знающих украинский язык: кривая распределения по возрастным группам «проседает» и имеет четко выраженную правостороннюю асимметрию, вершина кривой постоянно смещается в сторону старших контингентов. Показано, что большинство (90 % и больше) этнических украинцев знает и использует английский язык, а французский не распространен; увеличивается доля лиц, владеющих двумя официальными языками. Определено, что уровень знания официальных языков этническими украинцами соизмерим со средним показателем населения Канады в целом. Доля лиц, не владеющих ни одним государственным языком, в динамике сокращается и составляет менее одного процента. Обосновано, что украинцы как этническая группа имеют довольно неплохое социально-экономическое положение на фоне населения Канады, на рынке труда состояние этнических украинцев в ряде случаев более выгодно, чем среднее в стране.

Ключевые слова: украинская диаспора, этничность, этнические украинцы, моноэтническое происхождение, мультиэтническое происхождение, потомки одноэтнических браков, потомки смешанных этнических браков, переписи населения, половозрастная пирамида, эмиграция, волны эмиграции.

Formulation of the problem. Studying the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada is of both scientific and practical interest. During the years of emigration, Canadian Ukrainians have accumulated a considerable amount of information about the first settlements of immigrants, their geography, achievements and failed attempts to assimilate in this country, relations with the Canadian government and indigenous populations. There is no shortage of data on cultural and political life for different periods, social movements, and activities of religious and non-governmental organizations. However, the most comprehensive, informative and reliable

sources of information are population censuses that represent all of Canada's population, including those of Ukrainian descent. In order to use census data, one has to determine first how to identify persons of Ukrainian descent. Identification criteria can be both direct (for example, answering questions of ethnic origin) or indirect; which trait to use depends on the purpose of the study and its objectives. There are some problems connected with this; the article is dedicated to an attempt to solve them and evaluate the particular characteristics of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Relevance of research. Canada is the country with the second largest diaspora of Ukrainians; it is second only to Russia in terms of the number of Ukrainians living in the country. Ukrainians have made a significant contribution to the economic, socio-cultural, and political development of this country, and Canada is still quite attractive in terms of emigration. Research conducted by Canadian Ukrainians and in Ukraine deals mainly with cultural and historical heritage, and religious and political issues. However, there is a lack of comprehensive research on the demographic and socio-economic aspects of life of Canadian Ukrainians, and this makes the article relevant.

Analysis of recent studies and publications. A number of studies, both in Canada and Ukraine, are devoted to the various aspects of life of the Canadian Ukrainians: issues of assimilation, self-identification and adaptation in a multinational environment. Relations between the state and ethnic minorities, including Ukrainians, are often raised and problems of the pioneer era are widely covered. Thus, the centennial history of the settlement of Ukrainians, causes of emigration, social, cultural, political, religious life, relations of Canadian Ukrainians with the Old Country are covered in the works of M. Borovyk [1], O. Voitsenko [2], N. Dmytriv [3].

Many studies were conducted by members of the Shevchenko Canadian Scientific Society and were combined into three Western Canadian collections. In particular, the third collection touched upon the problems of the Ukrainian language and literature, ethnographic, educational, museum activities, and multiculturalism [4]. The works of T. Lupul are dedicated to the main paradigm of the ethno-national development of the modern Canadian Federation, the impact of immigration on the transformation of its ethno-demographic composition and the formation of the modern Canadian political nation [5].

Main aspects of the life of Ukrainians starting in 1891 are covered in the works of O. Martynovych [6, 7]. Studies of the Canadian Ukrainian R. Petryshyn, which should be highlighted separately, focus on the integration of Ukrainians into the Canadian society and were conducted using population censuses data. His works also raises problems of ethnic identification and comparability of data from different censuses [8, 9].

A statistical compendium, published under the general editorship of V. Darcovich and P. Yuzyk [10], is arguably the most comprehensive work systematizing information based on population census data, handling methodological issues of data usage for different periods. It covers an 80-year period starting in 1891, when the first Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada, to 1971. As for the subsequent period, there are currently no publications which could serve as a comprehensive source of information, not only purely statistical but also methodological.

The purpose of the article is to evaluate the specific demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, and to outline the methodological problems of its implementation.

The scientific novelty of the article is distinguishing the problematic issues of methodological nature, which arise during the research into the persons of Ukrainian origin on the basis of censuses of the Canadian population, and attempts to solve them.

Research methods. To achieve the purpose of the article, a set of methods of research and analysis of empirical data was used. In particular: a) historical method, for studying the peculiarities of displaying persons of Ukrainian origin in the censuses and for substantiating the choice of data of the early censuses of the Canadian population; b) comparative method, for identifying similarities and differences in the results of population censuses, characteristics by which the persons of Ukrainian descent can be distinguished and comparison of individual characteristics with the general population of Canada; c) analytical method for gathering, processing and systematizing statistical information of persons of Ukrainian origin; d) graphic method, for illustrating the results of the research; e) abstract-logical method, for making conclusions and propose further research.

Statement of the basic material of the research. *Methodological problems of the research.* The primary task of studying any ethnic group in a country is to define two main aspects: sources of information and the way of identifying members of the group. The study is based on data of Canada's population censuses during the 1921–2016 period, which is the most complete and reliable source of information. However, when using census data, some methodological problems arise, which are caused by both the specificity of the ethnic group and changes in census procedures.

It is possible to identify representatives of different ethnic groups in censuses on the basis of information about the country of origin or the ethnic group to which the persons refer themselves (self-identification). For a long period ethnic Ukrainian lands were part of different states, so immigrants were recorded in censuses (especially early ones) as immigrants from Poland, Austria and later the USSR, which makes it impossible to use country of origin as an identifying feature.

As for the ethnic group, different names were used in the Canadian ethnic terminology and in immigration statistics and population censuses in particular. Between the late 18th century and the 1920s, terms like “Galicians”, “Bukovinians” and “Ruthenians” were used, and only later the name “Ukrainians” became popular in wide circles of Canadian society. For example, numbers in the “Galicians”, “Bukovinians” and “Ruthenians” categories decreased substantially in the 1931 census, and only the name “Ukrainians” has been used since 1941, which must be taken into account when using the data of the early censuses (Table 1).

A methodological problem in the construction of long time series is presented by the fundamental change in the definition of ethnicity in Canadian censuses. The concept of “single ethnicity” was used until 1981, according to which the ethnic group was defined by the ethnic origin of the father. The concept of “multiple ethnicity” was introduced in 1986,

Table 1. Dynamics of the number of different categories in the Canadian population censuses of 1901–1941, persons

Year of census	Name of ethnic group				Total
	Galicians	Bukovinians	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	
1901	5682	–	–	–	5682
1911	35158	9960	29845	–	74963
1921	24456	1616	16788	63788	106648
1931	1772	182	4286	218873	225113
1941	–	–	–	305929	305929

Source: [10].

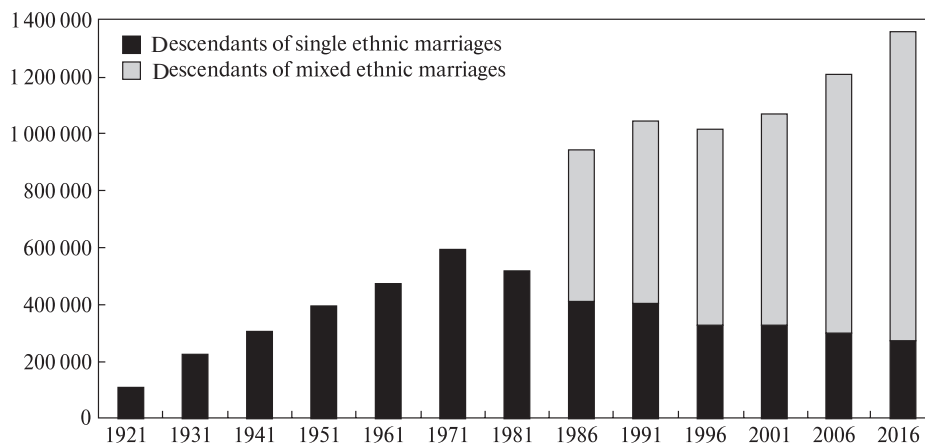


Fig. 1. Dynamics of the number of ethnic Ukrainians - descendants of single ethnic and mixed ethnic marriages, 1921–2016

Source: Statistics of Canada, Census Profile. URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement>, [10].

which combines single and multiple (offspring of mixed ethnic marriages). By using only single ethnicity to identify Ukrainians in 1986 and later, we may underestimate the number of Ukrainians, as persons with a Ukrainian father may be now in the multiple ethnicity category.

On the other hand, the multiethnic group of Ukrainians may include persons who previously indicated their belonging to another ethnicity. Thus, in estimating the total number of persons of Ukrainian descent according to census data, it is possible to use the values up to 1981 inclusive, while from 1986 onwards the numbers are not comparable. This is clearly illustrated in Fig. 1.

Another methodological problem is the different presentation of data by the Statistics Service of Canada in different censuses. For example, the 2006 census files, which are accessible to a wide range of users, do not contain data on Ukrainians who consider themselves descendants of mixed ethnic marriages (multiple ethnicity), which complicates the construction and analysis of long time series.

The latest 2016 census data are only available as interactive spreadsheets on the Statistics Canada website, which significantly narrows the scope of the research. In addition, the tables show aggregated age groups, which makes it impossible to assess particular demographic characteristics of ethnic groups.

Separate mention should be made of the 2011 census, which was conducted by a simplified procedure. According to most researchers the quality of the data is rather poor and therefore their usage for research, especially for comparisons, is questionable.

Thus, due to methodological inconsistencies, different time intervals have to be used in the study of socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Ukrainians as an ethnic group, and access to the latest 2016 census data is significantly restricted for a wide range of researchers.

As a whole, it should be noted that the results of the census of Canada, as well as the analytical publications accessible on the official Statistics Canada website, contain relatively little information about Canadian Ukrainians. At the same time, PUMF (Public Use Microdata Files) databases are available to the general public, allowing the exploration of different characteristics of the population, including those of Ukrainian origin, at the individual, household and household members levels.

An Individuals PUMF file contains ethnicity data for individuals. In order to study the extended characteristics of the households with persons of Ukrainian origin, the information in the Individual file must be added to the household or family files, and this can be done if the variable “the household code” is available. This variable is not available in the public PUMF files, making it impossible to do this kind of research.

Canadian census data in PUMF format provide extensive opportunities for research into the Ukrainian diaspora, but unfortunately they are still little used.

Waves of immigration. Migration of Ukrainians to Canada can be divided into four waves. The first wave covers the period from 1891, when the first Ukrainians came to Canada, to 1914. It occurred purely due to economic reasons. Main reasons were the inability to obtain land for farming and improving the standard of living of peasant families, on the one hand, and the willingness of the Government of Canada to provide for a nominal amount of \$ 10 parcels of 160 acres in the steppe provinces, on the other. According to the 1921 census, 106.7 thousand people considered themselves ethnic Ukrainians [10]. The vast majority of them settled in the three western provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The second wave of Ukrainian immigration, which combined economic and political motives, took place during the interwar period and most of the immigrants were from Galicia and Bukovina. Not only the rural provinces, but also the more industrialized east, the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, became attractive to the immigrants.

The third wave was mainly political and lasted from around 1946 to 1954. According to estimates [11, 12], 37,000 Ukrainians came to Canada during this period and nearly a third of them settled in Ontario province.

The fourth wave began in 1988, when the departure from Ukraine became legal for certain groups persecuted for religious beliefs (e.g. Jews and Protestants). The main reason for emigration is economical and it is still ongoing. Ontario is also the most attractive province for fourth-wave immigrants, and especially Toronto city. Figure 2 shows the changing settlement patterns of immigrants by province between 1921 and 2016.

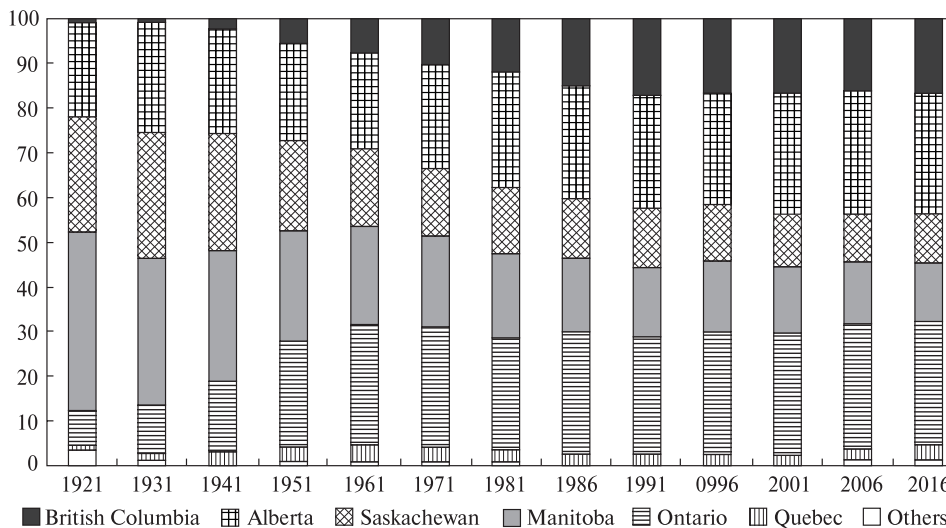


Fig. 2. Resettlement of Ukrainians of the single ethnic origin by Provinces of Canada, 1921–2016

Source: Statistics Canada. Census Profile. URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement>, [10].

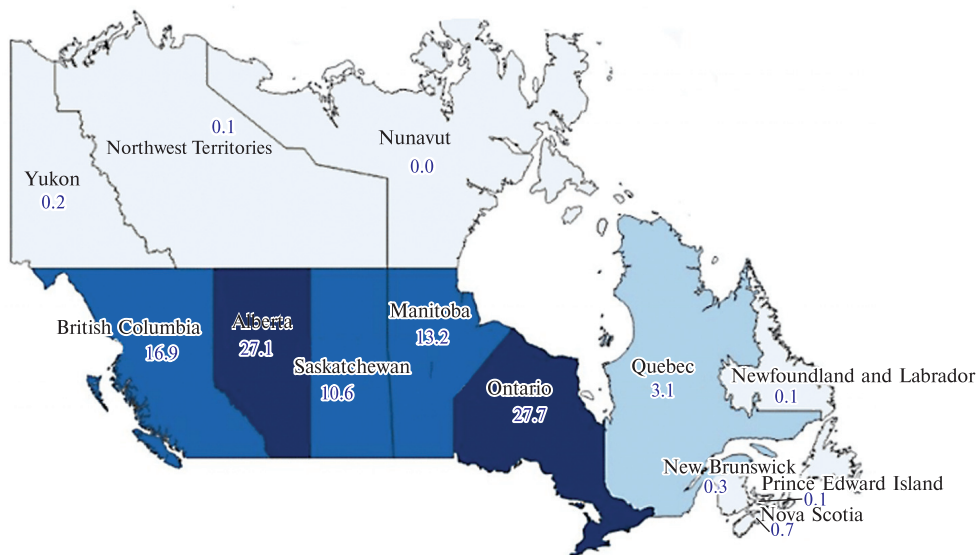


Fig. 3. Distribution of ethnic Ukrainians by province, with percent of total number of Ukrainians, 2016

Source: Statistics Canada. Census Profile.

URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-d/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E&HPA=1>

Contemporary map of ethnic Ukrainian settlements. According to the 2016 census, there are 1,359,660 persons of Ukrainian ancestry in Canada; 273,625 of them are of single ethnic origin and 1,086,035 are descendants of mixed ethnic marriages. Most Ukrainians live in six provinces.

Ontario with 376,440 persons (27.7 % of the total Ukrainian community) residing in Toronto, London, Hamilton, Ottawa, Oshawa, Thunder Bay, Sudbury, Bradford.

Alberta with 369,095 persons (27.1 %), mainly in Edmonton, Calgary, Vegreville and Lightbridge.

British Columbia with 229,205 persons (16.9 %), residing mostly in Victoria, Kelowna and Vernon.

Manitoba with 180,055 persons (13.2 %) with most of them in Winnipeg;

Saskatchewan with 143,700 persons (10.6 %) in Saskatoon, Regina and Yorkton.

Quebec with 42,550 persons (3.13 %) and mostly in Montreal (Fig. 3).

Age-sex structure. The age-sex structure of the population of Ukrainian origin has undergone significant changes. In 1931, and after 40 years of immigration, almost 70 percent of Ukrainians were under 30 years of age, and in the older age groups the proportion of men was higher than the proportion of women (Fig. 4). This age-sex structure was different from that of the total Canadian population. In 2001, however, their age-sex is very similar to that of all Canadians (Fig. 5).

Language assimilation and official languages. The descendants of the first two waves and representatives of the third wave and their children are deeply integrated into the Canadian society, and language assimilation is gradually taking place. Although up to 1961 the number of persons who considered Ukrainian as their mother tongue was steadily increasing, the 1971 census shows, for the first time, a sharp decrease in their numbers: - 62,235 persons or 22 percent (Fig. 6).

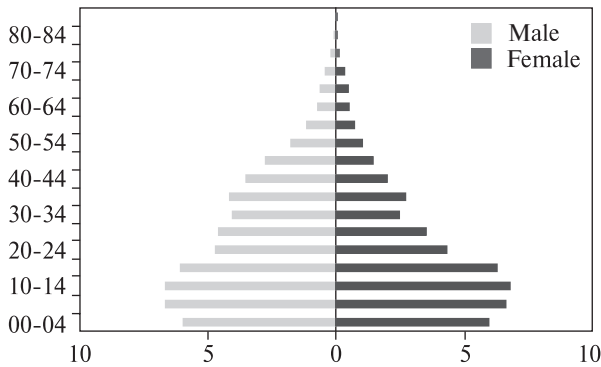


Fig. 4. Age-sex pyramid of the population of Ukrainian origin, percent, 1931 (single ancestry)

Source: [10].

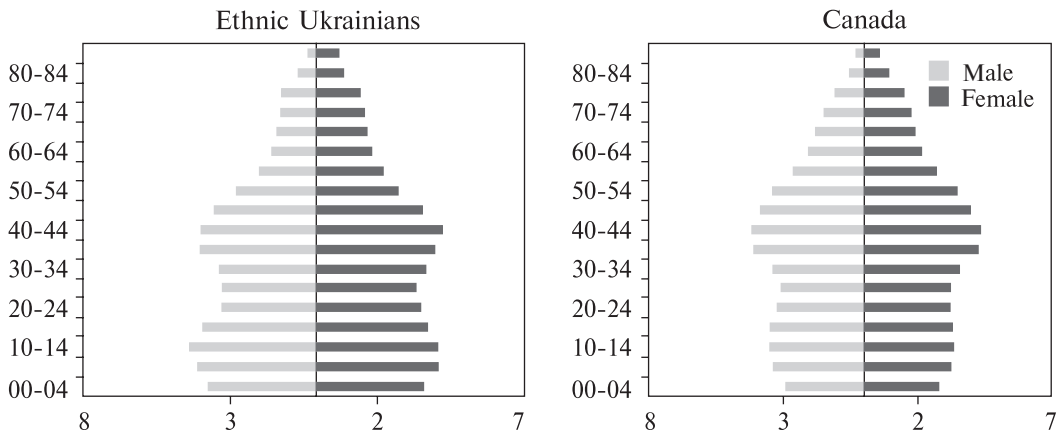


Fig. 5. Age-sex pyramids of the Canadian population and persons of Ukrainian origin, percent, 2001 (single and multiethnic)

Source: Statistics Canada. Census Profile. URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement>.

If we include all persons who indicated Ukrainian single or multiple ethnic origin in censuses between 1986 and 2006, the downward trend of the number of persons who consider Ukrainian as their mother tongue persists and is clear-cut. Compared to 1981, the number of persons of Ukrainian origin increased by 1.8 times in 1986, due to the introduction of the question about multiethnic origin, while at the same time the number of persons who considered Ukrainian as their mother tongue decreased by 7,200. As expected, the proportion of people over 65 years of age was steadily increasing, while the proportion of younger persons was decreasing. According to data for 2006, almost half of those who considered Ukrainian as their mother tongue were 65 years of age or older.

The number of Canadian Ukrainians, who know Ukrainian, is constantly decreasing. The distribution curve by age groups “subsides” and has a clearly right-handed asymmetry, and the top of the curve is constantly shifting towards the older cohorts (Fig. 7).

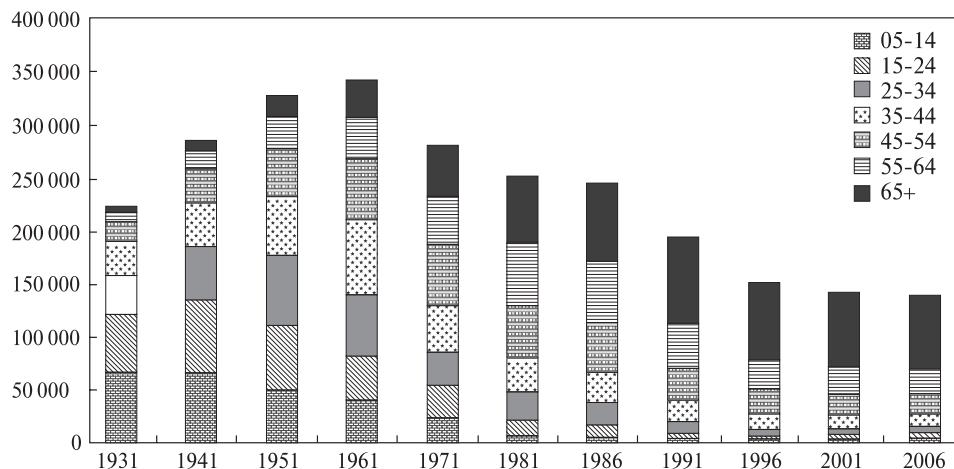


Fig. 6. Number of persons who considered Ukrainian as their mother tongue by age groups *

* Data of 1931–1981: descendants of single ethnic marriages, of 1986–2006: single ethnic and mixed ethnic marriages.

Source: Statistics Canada. Census Profile. URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement>, [10].

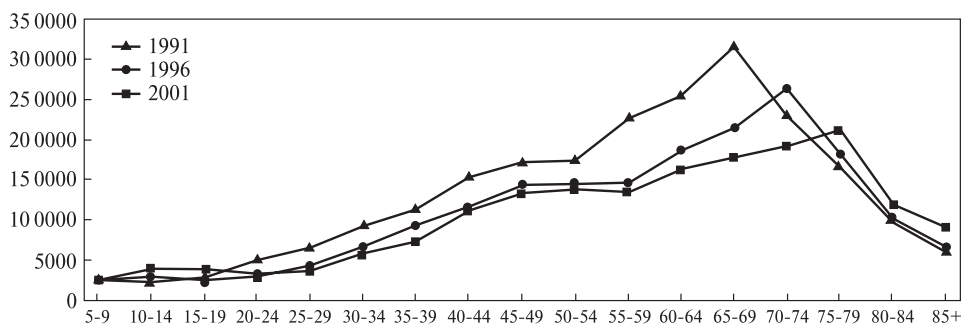


Fig. 7. Number of persons of Ukrainian origin who know Ukrainian, by age group (single and multiple ethnicity)

Source: Statistics Canada. Census Profile. URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement>.

The number of Canadian Ukrainians who can speak Ukrainian and consider it their mother tongue, and especially those who use it at home, will obviously decrease in the future, provided that migration trends remain constant and the Canadian government's migration policy remains unchanged. These trends are not desirable from the point of view of preserving national identity, culture and customs and opportunities to pass them on to the next generations, but they are natural processes for any migration group and it is practically impossible to influence them.

The use of English or French as a language of communication is also widespread among newcomers, driven by the desire to adapt as soon as possible to the new linguistic and social environment, since the success of the assimilation process depends largely on the knowledge of the official languages. The vast majority (90% or more) of ethnic Ukrainians know and use English, while French is not common. Comparing the figures of 2006 and 1971, the number of those who know both official languages of Canada doubled, and the proportion of those who do not know any language has decreased from two to 0.4 percent (Fig. 8).

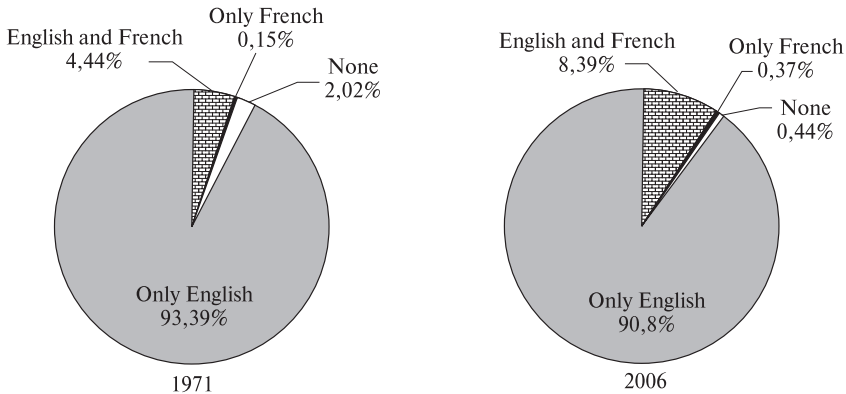


Fig. 8. Knowledge of Canadian official languages by ethnic Ukrainians, 1971 and 2006 *

* Data of 1971: descendants of single ethnic marriages, of 2006: single ethnic and mixed ethnic marriages.

Source: Statistics Canada. Census Profile. URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement>.

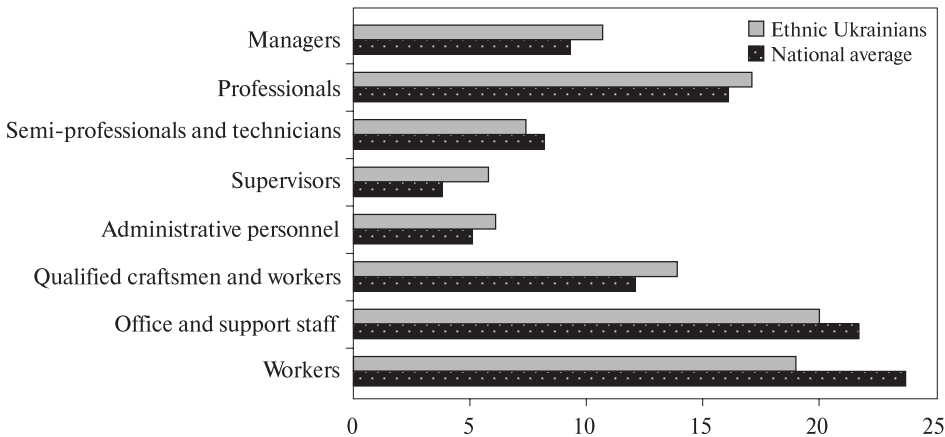


Fig. 9. Distribution of Canada's population and ethnic Ukrainians (single ethnic origin) by occupation, 2006

Source: Statistics Canada. Census Profile. URL: <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement>.

Knowledge of both official languages offers greater opportunities for ethnic Ukrainians to choose their place of residence and employment. A number of posts in the civil service require knowledge of both English and French, although in 2006 only 17 % of the population of Canada was bilingual [13]. At the same time, 55 % of bilingual Canadians live in French-speaking Quebec; and in the rest of Canada bilinguals make up only 10 % of the population. Consequently, ethnic Ukrainians are not very different from all Canadians in terms of their knowledge of both official languages.

In terms of educational attainment, according to 2006 data, 25.8 percent of Ukrainians aged 25 years or more did not have a higher education, compared to an average of 20.7 percent for the Canadian population. At the same time, 2.3 percent of ethnic Ukrainians have a university degree higher than bachelor, while the respective percentage for the total Canadian population is 2.1 percent. To name a specific example, 0.8 percent of Canadian

Ukrainians have degrees in medicine, veterinary and ophthalmology, compared to 0.5 percent for the total population [14].

The situation on the labor market. A comparison of the distribution by occupation shows that Ukrainians as an ethnic group occupy good positions in relation to the total Canadian population. Thus, their proportion of managers, including top managers is 10.7 percent, compared to a national average of 9.3 percent. Respective percentages for professionals are 17.1 and 16.1, and 5.8 and 3.8 percent for supervisors (Fig. 9).

The proportion of low skilled and unskilled workers, on the other hand, is lower among Ukrainians than the total population, 19 and 23 percent, respectively. Percentages for office and support staff are very similar, with 20 and 21 percent. Thus, the position of ethnic Ukrainians in the labor market is somewhat better than the national average. At the same time, it should be noted that recent immigrants from other countries make up a significant proportion of the total Canadian population, while the relative size of Ukrainians has diminished. These recent immigrants are rarely engaged in highly skilled jobs, and thus their proportion in this or that population group affects group-wide indicators.

Prospects for further research. This study is just a first step of a comprehensive research into the situation of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in Canada based on census data and migration statistics. Insufficient elaboration of this topic, on the one hand, and the interest in the life of the Ukrainian community in Canada, on the other, outline the prospects for further research. Only some characteristics of ethnic Ukrainians are analyzed in this paper, while the available data base allows one to study in more detail the socio-economic status and other characteristics of Ukrainians. Using migration statistics one can analyze different characteristics of immigrants by period of arrival, like their age-sex structure, professional and educational status, etc. Of special interest is the last, or fourth, wave of immigration.

Systematic studies of Ukrainians in other countries are a necessity both for Ukrainian communities in these countries and for Ukraine itself. Communities abroad need objective data for their internal needs and for more reliable interaction with the governments of these countries with regards to Ukraine. The Government of Ukraine requires accurate information on persons of Ukrainian descent in other countries for at least two purposes: a) to have detailed and precise information on the diaspora as a basis for a comprehensive diaspora policy; b) to provide various types of assistance and services [15]. Such studies can also answer important questions in the social science ethnic literature like: which model better describes the Ukrainian experience of integration into Canadian society, what are their further prospects for immigration, what areas of the country are attractive for settlement, what niches in the Canadian labor market they may occupy and many other issues that are interesting and useful to both a narrow range of researchers and the general public.

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Стаття надійшла до редакції журналу 8 липня 2019.

The article was received by the journal on July, 8, 2019.