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Sandra Marie. Mudryj
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RESIDENTIAL CHANGE OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION IN THE
CITY OF WINDSOR, ONTARIO FROM 1951 TO 1991

by
Sandra Mudryj

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Geography
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1995

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ABSTRACT

The spatial residential patterns of Ukrainians in Windsor, Ontario are examined for the two census years of 1951 and 1991. In addition, comparisons are made between census Ukrainians and the three study groups of parishioners of Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church, parishioners of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and non-affiliated Ukrainians. The spatial residential patterns of the Ukrainian community have evolved from being highly concentrated in 1951 to significantly dispersed by 1991.

Three factors of personal, cultural and societal are studied for their effect on the choice of residential location of the three study groups. Employment of Ukrainians during the 1950s in the automotive industry resulted in residential locations in low class neighbourhoods near the factories. A Ukrainian community developed in which social and spiritual needs were met through the establishment of traditional institutions. Over time, with no new Ukrainian immigration and increased association with mainstream society, residential concentrations of Ukrainians began to disperse.

In memory of my Grandmother,
Paulina Mudryj

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I am especially grateful to the parishioners of Sts. Vladimir & Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church, the parishioners of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and other Ukrainians who completed surveys. Your support and participation were integral in the successful completion of this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

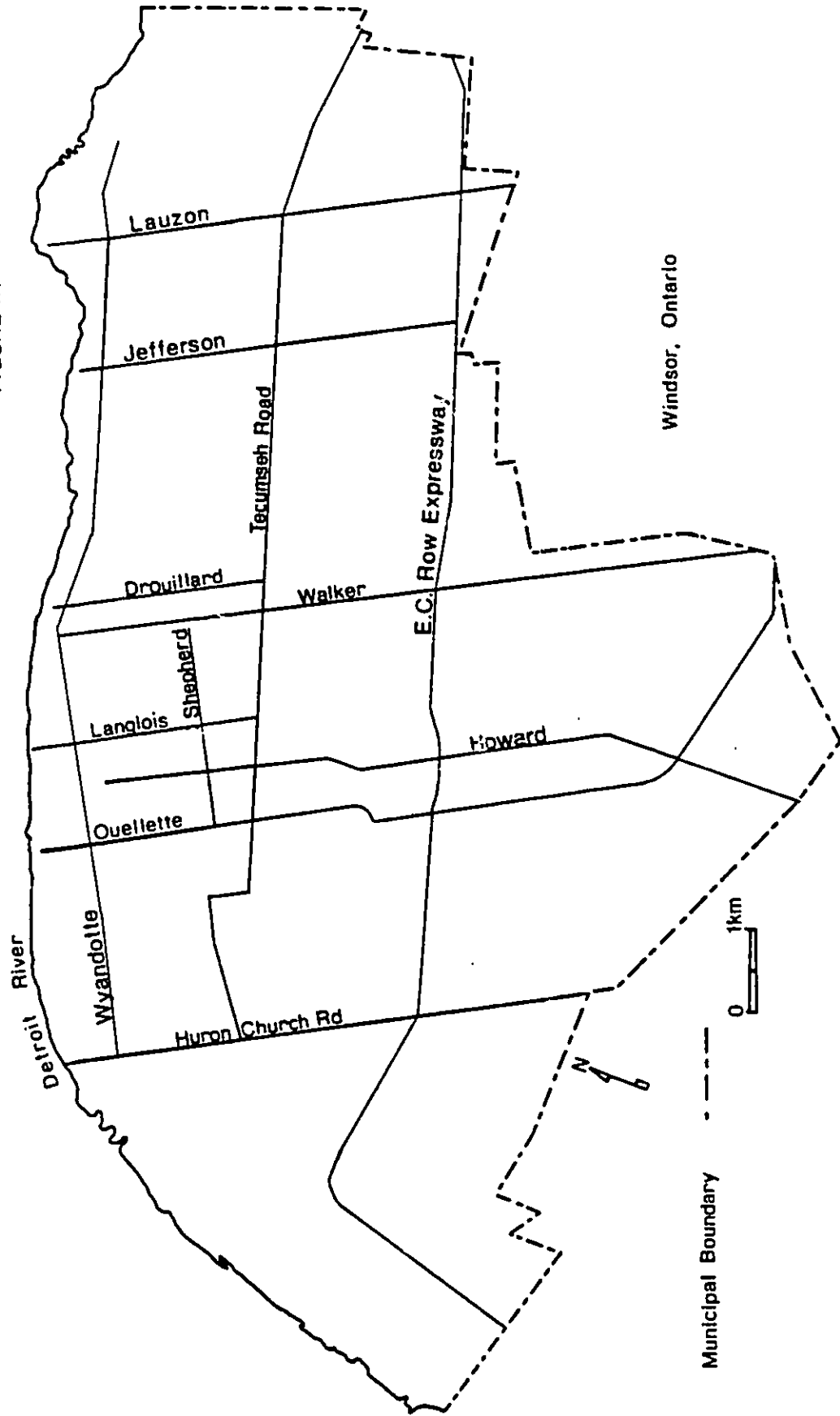
Residential migration and the subsequent concentration or dispersal of specific ethnic groups reflect the influences of various socioeconomic forces. Change in residence encompasses the examination of ideas, beliefs, values and opportunities as factors influencing movement at a given time. The resulting clustering or dispersion of residential patterns reflects the choice people make in search of a desirable social, economic or cultural environment where they would prefer to live.

The residential pattern of Ukrainians within the city of Windsor, Ontario will be examined spatially and temporally from 1951 to 1991. Decision regarding residential location of the Ukrainian population within the city will be examined as functions of personal, cultural and societal factors. The spatial outcomes of dispersal or concentration result in patterns which represent the description of the population at a specific point in time influenced by one or more of the previously mentioned factors.

STUDY AREA

The city of Windsor (see Figure 1.1) is located in the southwestern corner of southern Ontario, across the Detroit

FIGURE 1.1



Windsor, Ontario

0 1km

Municipal Boundary

River from Detroit, Michigan. In the early twentieth century it experienced immense industrial growth which turned Windsor and its surrounding area into one of Canada's major industrial centres (Price and Kulisek, 1992, 87). The industrial profile of Windsor was influenced by its border location, adjacent to the U.S. automotive capital, thus making Windsor Canada's Motor City. The prospect of employment, usually in the automotive industry, made this area attractive to new, ethnic immigrants in search of jobs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ethnic residential segregation and subsequent movement toward integration reflect the processes of social change and economic development (Massey, 1985, 316). The spatial patterns of ethnic residential location can be examined in two stages. Chain migration as proposed by J. MacDonald and L. MacDonald (1964) and Massey (1985) is seen as representing the initial establishment and maintenance of a clustering of an ethnic group. Social, cultural, religious and economic factors are influential in determining whether centripetal forces (encouraging clustering) or centrifugal forces (encouraging diffusion) are more dominant in the choice of residential location (Massey, 1985). Patterns of ethnic residential location are therefore examined as unfolding processes whose directions are determined by various factors and forces.

As ethnic groups enter a new and foreign environment, especially urban centres, they group together in small ethnic islands and continue to simulate a community of the old country (Tremblay, 1979, 97). Using the Italian immigrants in New York as an example, J. MacDonald and L. MacDonald (1962, 1964) attributed the maintenance and continuation of these ethnic concentrations to chain migration. "Chain migration can be defined as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (J. MacDonald and L. MacDonald, 1964, 82). Massey (1985) also refers to chain migration as a factor influencing the continuation of ethnic residential clustering for all types of ethnic groups. The corollary is that chain migration will perpetuate ethnic residential clustering as long as new immigrants continue to come.

Massey (1985) suggests that ethnic residential clustering eventually results in one of two possible outcomes: either one of continued concentration or one of dispersion. Boal (1976), moreover, has as well identified four spatial outcomes of ethnic groups: dispersal, colony, enclave and ghetto with the last three reflecting various degrees of concentrations. Concentration may be attributed to such centripetal forces as social (Breton, 1964), cultural (the Ukrainians in Canada (Marunchak, 1970)), religious (the Catholics and Protestants

in Belfast (Poole and Boal, 1973)), and economic (the Cubans in Miami (Wilson and Portes, 1980)) reasons. "Ethnic clusters form through chain migration within particular areas of the urban environment, and then disperse over time as socioeconomic mobility and acculturation lead to dispersion" (Massey, 1985, 324).

Studies regarding the spatial trends of ethnic communities in urban centres have been pursued in various places around the world. Gabaccia (1984) examined the residential pattern of the Italians in New York; Phillips (1981), those of Asians in Leicester, England; Massey (1979), those of Spanish Americans in the United States; Burstein (1981), those of Irish and Germans in Philadelphia and Poole and Boal (1973), those of the Irish Protestants and Catholics in Belfast. These studies support the generalizations expressed by Massey (1985). In each study, the continuation of clustering or dispersal depended largely on the degree or strength of social, cultural or economic factors acting as centripetal or centrifugal forces. The residential patterns, examined within an American or European context, can offer guidelines for similar studies within a Canadian setting.

Although much attention has been focused on migration patterns of ethnic groups, studies focusing specifically on the spatial aspects of residential movements related to Ukrainians in urban centres in Canada are limited. Most of the material available traces the history and evolution of

Ukrainians as a group in Canada. The works of Marunchak (1970), Lupul (1982) and Luciuk and Kordan (1989) described the role of Ukrainian traditions, culture, politics, religions, heritage and organizations on the history of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, without reference to the spatial patterns in an urban landscape. Isajiw (1989) and Driedger (1980) did examine Ukrainians within a Canadian urban context, but, the emphasis was placed on social and cultural aspects rather than the spatial patterns created by the activity of Ukrainians.

The study of ethnic residential movement should focus on the processes and factors influencing changes in spatial patterns. Factors influencing centripetal and centrifugal forces, as suggested by Massey (1985), will be used to examine the residential location of Ukrainians in Windsor, Ontario. These approaches suggest that understanding of ethnic residential behaviour involves the examination of spatial patterns as outcomes of three factors.

The first factor is cultural, such as the institutionalization of ethnic neighbourhoods which encourages settlement and contributes to ethnic solidarity and community involvement (Massey, 1985, 318). The second factor is personal, under which the personality characteristics of individuals (other than those that can be included under cultural) have been influenced through community, school, or work (W. Scott and R. Scott, 1989, 20). The decision to stay

or move depends upon the fulfilment of the needs and choice of the individual (Phipps and Carter, 1985). The third factor is societal, which can encompass the processes of acculturation and socioeconomic factors (Massey, 1985, 320). Socioeconomic mobility may release certain ethnic group members from the ethnic residential cluster resulting in residential dispersal (Herbert and Johnson, 1976, 56).

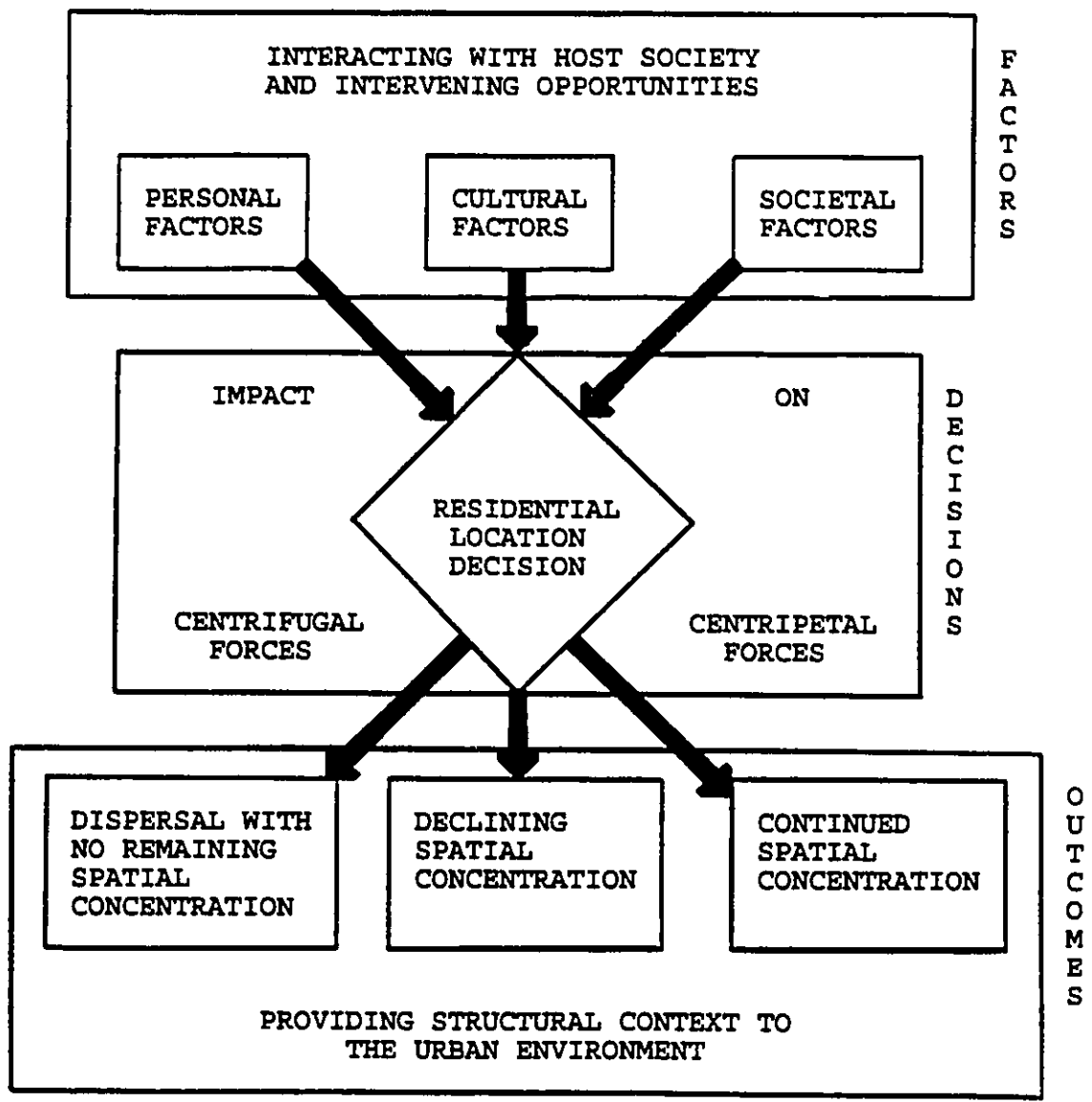
THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS

The spatial patterns of ethnic residential movement are the result of social, cultural, and personal factors acting as centripetal and centrifugal forces. Patterns of ethnic residential location are the expressions of processes acting within the urban landscape. Figure 1.2 illustrates the model being used to depict the processes influencing changes in the residential patterns of ethnic groups.

As ethnic groups enter a new and foreign environment, especially urban centres, they group together in small ethnic islands and continue to simulate a community of the old country (Tremblay, 1979, 97). Migration chains and institutionalization within these clusterings channel immigrants to particular urban neighbourhoods (Massey, 1985, 319). These clusterings are reinforced by the process of succession and over time the concentrations result in residential distribution segregated by ethnicity (Massey, 1985, 319).

FIGURE 1.2

FACTORS AFFECTING ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL LOCATION



The continuation of an ethnic concentration depends upon the rate and extent of acculturation. Acculturation refers to the gradual acquisition of the language, values and manners of the host society (Gordon, 1964). This leads to the first stage of the model, that of interaction with the host society and intervening opportunities. With greater interaction and more opportunities, three factors emerge which can influence the choice of residential location: 1. personal, 2. cultural, and 3. societal.

Personal deals with the individual choice of the resident. The neighbourhood's environment, the availability of services, and the fabric of its social life, all influence the peoples' decisions regarding whether or not to stay (Ahlbrandt, 1984, 39). Based on family and social ties the attraction to stay may be greater than the desire to move. The cultural factor deals with how successful an ethnic group is in holding its members' allegiance by preventing contact with the host community or by making such contact unnecessary (Herbert, 1976, 44). The societal factor generally involves socioeconomic factors such as education, social class and occupation (Lewis, 1982, 86). With a higher level of education and a better paying occupation, a person may be able to afford to live in a more affluent neighbourhood.

The three factors of personal, cultural and societal allow an individual to be exposed to both push and pull forces at both the current place of residence and at a different

residential location (Lewis, 1982, 101). This leads to the next stage of the model, in which these three factors have an impact on the residential location decision. Centrifugal forces, forces of attraction away from the ethnic concentration, may lead to greater residential dispersion and assimilation within the host society. Centripetal forces act as forces of attraction for continued cohesion and maintenance of ethnic concentration. The strength and direction of the forces involved lead to the next stage of the model, that of the spatial outcomes of the residential location decision.

The choice of residential location provides the structural context to the urban environment resulting in three spatial outcomes. The first is continued spatial concentration influenced by the dominance of centripetal forces. The maintenance of such a condition is likely to be the outcome of cohesion factors within the ethnic group and/or external pressures from the host society (Herbert, 1976, 57). The second spatial outcome, that of declining spatial concentration is a continuing process. The ethnic group continues to undergo interaction with the host society and intervening opportunities still have the potential to influence the concentration. The third spatial outcome is dispersal with no remaining spatial concentration. In this case, centrifugal forces pulling away from the concentration are greater than the centripetal forces that favour maintenance of the concentration.

Ethnic residential segregation reflects larger processes of social change, economic development and individual behaviour (Massey, 1985, 316). The spatial patterns created by the residential movement of ethnic groups are a result of the degree and extent to which an ethnic group associates or disassociates itself from the host society. One must also consider that a high degree of segregation existing at one point in time may only be an early phase in the acculturation of an ethnic group which appears separate for the moment but which may become dispersed within a generation or more (Herbert, 1976, 74). This is especially true when one considers the Ukrainians in Windsor, Ontario.

Unless immigrants continue to arrive and settle in the segregated ethnic community maintaining a balance between the inflow and outflow of the population, the spatial concentration of that ethnic community may dissipate over time. In the case of Ukrainians it is important to note that inflow of new immigrants, especially after World War II, dropped dramatically (Luciuk and Kordan, 1989; Stebelsky, 1991). Other ethnic groups, like the Italians who continued to immigrate to Canada and Windsor uninterrupted, allowed for maintenance of their ethnic residential community through a steady stream of new immigrants. Ukrainian ethnic residential communities, after World War II, did not have the benefit of a new immigrant population to draw to their concentrations.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of the study is to analyze changes in the residential patterns of Ukrainians and to identify how personal, cultural and societal factors influence the choice of residential location. More specifically, the focus of the study is the identification of factors that influenced the formation of the initial clustering of Ukrainians in Windsor.

Furthermore, factors contributing to the dispersion of Ukrainians from their clusters from 1951 to 1991 will be identified. Although the current trend of Ukrainian residential location is movement away from the traditional clusters, evidence of some continued clustering continues. Factors contributing to this continued concentration will also be examined.

NATURE OF DATA

Three sources were used to collect data to study the residential movement of Ukrainians in the city of Windsor, Ontario. The first source was data related to Ukrainians obtained from the Census of Canada from the census years 1951 and 1991. The data collected on Ukrainians in Windsor came from information at the census tract level. It enabled a

comprehensive description of the spatial distribution of Ukrainians in Windsor, including their concentration and diffusion over time.

The second involved identifying and generating a sample of Ukrainians in the city of Windsor. Using lists of names and addresses of parishioners obtained from both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic churches, the addresses were traced back through time using City of Windsor directories in order to recreate residential locations of parishioners and their spatial concentration or dispersal.

The third involved direct responses obtained from questionnaires at individual household levels. Interviews were conducted with people from both the Catholic and Orthodox groups as well as the third group, non-affiliated Ukrainians, in order to identify and measure the importance of factors relating to the decisions on residential relocation.

STUDY GROUPS

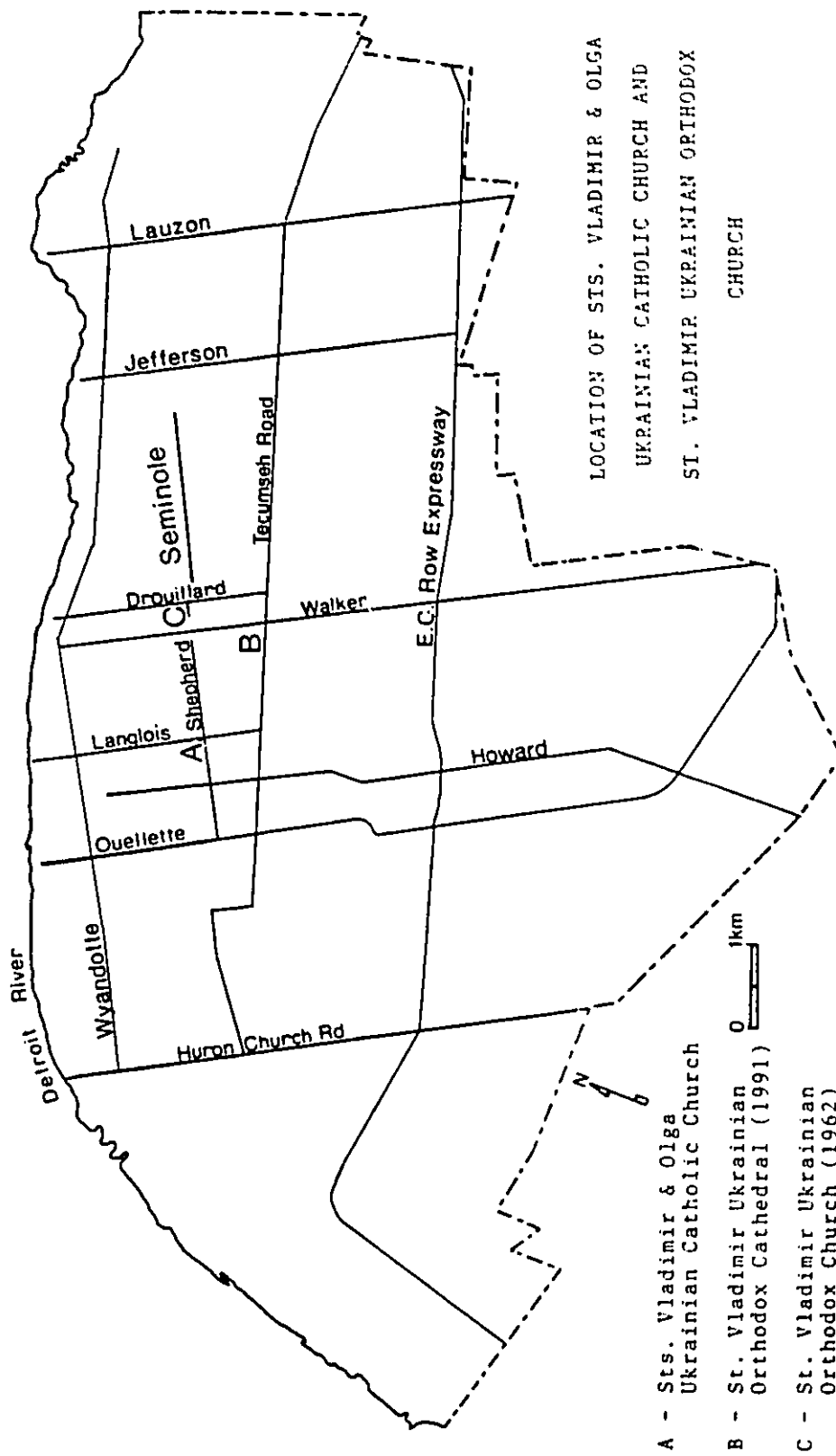
The study focuses on three groups within the Ukrainian community in the City of Windsor: Ukrainian Catholics, Ukrainian Orthodox and non-affiliated Ukrainians. Religion is an important component of an Ukrainian ethnic identity. Therefore, samples were drawn from the two largest and most representative religious groups, the Ukrainian Catholics and the Ukrainian Orthodox. A sample was also taken of those not affiliated with either of the two Ukrainian churches.

The first group consisted of parishioners of Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church whose church is located at the corner of Langlois Avenue and Shepherd Street (see Figure 2.1). The second group consisted of the parishioners of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral. In 1951, its predecessor, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church, was located on the corner of Seminole Street and Hickory Road (see Figure 2.1). In September of 1962, a new property for a larger church was purchased on the corner of Durham Place and Tecumseh Road, where the new cathedral is located today (see Figure 2.1). The third group consisted of people of Ukrainian origin who were not associated with either of the two churches and were referred to as non-affiliates.

TIME FRAME

The study included data from 1950 to 1994. The focus was on patterns of Ukrainian household locations and degree of residential segregation of Ukrainian households for the census years of 1951 and 1991. The 1951 data were included in order to compare the past patterns to the 1991 patterns. Analysis of factors relating to decision on residential location concentrated on the period from 1991 to 1994.

FIGURE 2.1



LOCATION OF STS. VLADIMIR & OLGA
UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND
ST. VLADIMIR UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX
CHURCH

- A - Sts. Vladimir & Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church
- B - St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral (1991)
- C - St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church (1962)

PART I**CENSUS DATA ON UKRAINIANS IN WINDSOR****CENSUS TRACT DISTRIBUTIONS**

Census tract data from the census years 1951 and 1991 were used to construct choropleth maps showing the distribution of Ukrainians in percentage values. Maps showing the distribution of Ukrainians as a percentage of the total population of census tracts were constructed for 1951 and 1991. This allowed for the examination of densities of Ukrainians for each census tract for the two census years. Another set of maps illustrated Ukrainians by census tracts as a percentage of Ukrainians in the city for 1951 and 1991. This allowed for the identification of the location of large percentages of Ukrainians by census tract.

The next set of maps illustrated the percentage of Ukrainian Catholics, Ukrainian Orthodox and non-affiliated Ukrainians by census tract, compared to the percentage of all Ukrainians in the city by census tract for 1951 and 1991. Maps illustrating the boundaries of the census tracts were superimposed onto previously constructed dot maps showing the household locations of the three study groups in order to determine the number of Ukrainian Catholics, Ukrainian Orthodox and non-affiliated Ukrainians in each census tract for the two census years of 1951 and 1991.

If concentrations of Ukrainian population are simply

examined at the tract level, internal variation within each of the census tracts can be easily overlooked. Dot maps allow for the identification of patterns, such as large concentrations along certain roads.

Of importance to note in the comparison of census data from 1951 and 1991 are the changes in the boundaries of the census tracts between these years. The study focused specifically on Ukrainians found within the boundaries of the City of Windsor and therefore only 25 census tracts were studied for the 1951 census year. Annexation of Riverside, Sandwich East and South Windsor by the City of Windsor did not occur until the 1960s. In 1951 therefore, these areas were not included within the borders of the City of Windsor.

UKRAINIAN HOUSEHOLD LISTS

Data regarding the spatial distribution of Ukrainians was generated by obtaining names from the church records of Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church and St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and determining their addresses for the 1951 and 1991 census years by using the appropriate directories of the City of Windsor. Church records that were used included baptismal, marriage and death registers along with the 1991 parish membership lists. Addresses from these registers were used to supplement the addresses missing from the 1991 parish membership lists.

Since complete address lists were only available for the

study year of 1991 for both churches, it was necessary to recreate the address lists for 1951. Information regarding the residential location of the parishioners was organized into households with each household representing all the individuals living at that specific location. The address lists were recreated by working backwards from the 1991 address list. City directories from 1951 were used to trace back each of the 1991 addresses to 1951. This procedure was followed for the parish membership lists for both the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox churches. Since actual lists of addresses of parishioners were not available for 1951, the method of tracing addresses backwards through city directories and church records for any additional addresses was the most accurate method.

The 1951 parish list of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral was created using names from the death registry only, since records of baptisms and marriages for that parish were unavailable. Therefore, the Ukrainian Orthodox parish list created for the 1951 study year is not as complete as the one made for the Ukrainian Catholic parish.

Non-affiliated Ukrainian households were obtained by asking both the Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox interviewed, as well as other members of the Ukrainian community if they knew anyone of Ukrainian ethnic origin who did not belong to one of the two Ukrainian churches. Only 25 households were surveyed as part of the non-affiliated

Ukrainian study group. This was due in part to a lack of interest in completing a survey and a difficulty in finding Ukrainians who were not associated with one of the two Ukrainian churches in some way. Of the 25 non-affiliates for 1991, only 2 of them could be traced back to 1951. The reason for this low number is that the remaining 23 were too young to have been homeowners and were either still living at home or had not been born.

INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS

The addresses for the two years were mapped onto two separate dot maps of Windsor: one for 1951 and another for 1991. A base map of Windsor was used with a solid dot representing one household of a member of Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church and a hollow dot representing one household of a member of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral. The households of the non-affiliated Ukrainians interviewed were represented by a solid square. The maps provide a means of examining the changing spatial patterns of the three study groups.

PART II

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The questionnaire contained 21 main questions with several subordinate questions based on whether or not the respondent was employed or retired (see Appendix I). The

questions covered a range of items from simple background information to questions regarding mobility, community involvement, church involvement and perceptions regarding the location of residence.

The survey questions can be grouped into one or more of the three categories of personal, cultural and societal in order to reflect the factors to be tested in the a priori model. Certain variables in the personal category covered in the questionnaire encompassed points such as age, marital status, number of children and whether the respondent was born in Canada or not. Cultural variables covered within the questionnaire included membership and degree of participation in various cultural organizations, church attendance and extent of knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Societal variables included those of occupation, education and extent of knowledge of host society language (i.e., English).

The design of the questions themselves required respondents to identify the level of importance of certain factors or statements using a scale based on the degree of importance. Other questions required that the respondents simply mark boxes reflecting their opinions. Questions related to participation in various activities and membership in organizations required the respondents to list those activities.

One subdivision in the questionnaire divided the respondents into two categories: employed and retired. Those

who were retired were asked questions related to their life when they were working as well as those which reflected their current retired status. Those who were employed answered questions similar to those posed to the retirees regarding their situation when they were working.

SAMPLE SELECTION

The sample from which the respondents were chosen consisted of three sources. The first, for the Ukrainian Catholics, came from the parish registry of Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church. The second, for the Ukrainian Orthodox, came from the parish registry of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral. The third group, non-affiliated Ukrainians, came from asking Ukrainians if they knew of anyone of Ukrainian origin who was not affiliated with any of the two churches.

The samples were chosen by taking the parish registry and beginning with the first person on the list and moving down to every tenth person on the list. If the person declined to answer a questionnaire then the next person on the list was chosen. Only those residing within the study area, that is the city of Windsor, Ontario were considered. Those residing outside the study area were omitted and the next person on the list was contacted. In the case of the Orthodox group, there was some difficulty in reaching people. Some of the respondents were contacted by visiting the Orthodox cathedral

on Wednesday afternoons when many of the parishioners meet to make perogies.

ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

A total of 119 questionnaires were completed: 54 for the Catholics, 40 for the Orthodox and 25 for non-affiliated. The majority of the respondents were contacted first by phone in order to explain the questionnaire as well as to determine an appropriate time to visit. However, in many instances, since a majority of the respondents lived relatively close to each other, it was more convenient to just stop and see if anyone was home. This method proved to be quite useful in that some respondents were more welcoming at seeing a familiar face.

In order to insure that the questionnaires were fully completed, most questionnaires were answered right away. Since many of the respondents were not comfortable with the English language some translation and explanation of the questions were required. In almost all the cases information was given by the heads of the household. In the case of the non-affiliated group, the questionnaires could be simply left and picked up later, because of this group's ease with the English language.

CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

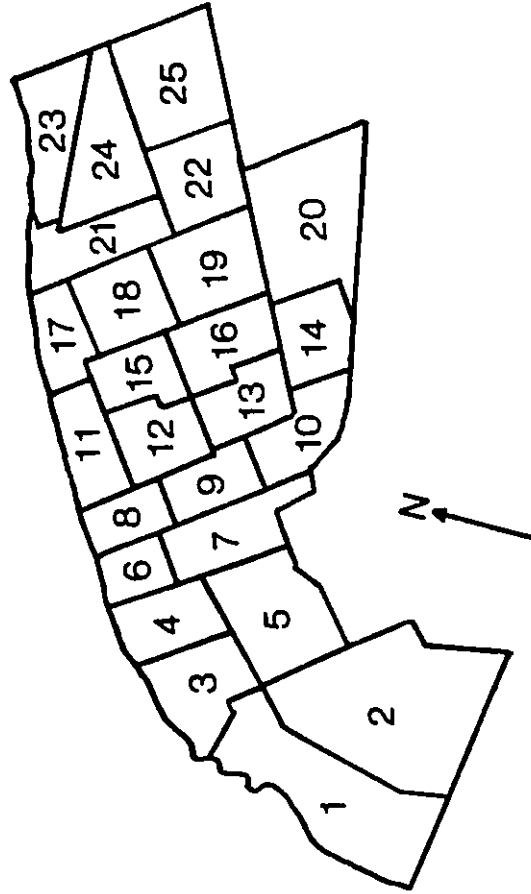
In this study, the distribution of Ukrainians will be compared for the two census years of 1951 and 1991. Figure 3.1 illustrates the boundaries of the 25 census tracts of the City of Windsor for 1951. Figure 3.2 illustrates the boundaries of the 46 census tracts of the City of Windsor for 1991.

UKRAINIANS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF A CENSUS TRACT

The first distribution examined consisted of maps and tables which depicted Ukrainians as a percentage of the total population in each census tract. These maps provided an indication of how concentrated the Ukrainian population was in Windsor.

In 1951, Ukrainians comprised 3.15% of the total population of the City of Windsor. An examination of Figure 3.3 indicated three concentrations of the Ukrainian population which clearly exceeded this value in 1951. In the west end of the city, the 227 Ukrainians made up 4.01% of the total population of census tract 1 (see Table 3.1). This percentage made census tract 1 the fifth most intense concentration of Ukrainians in the city.

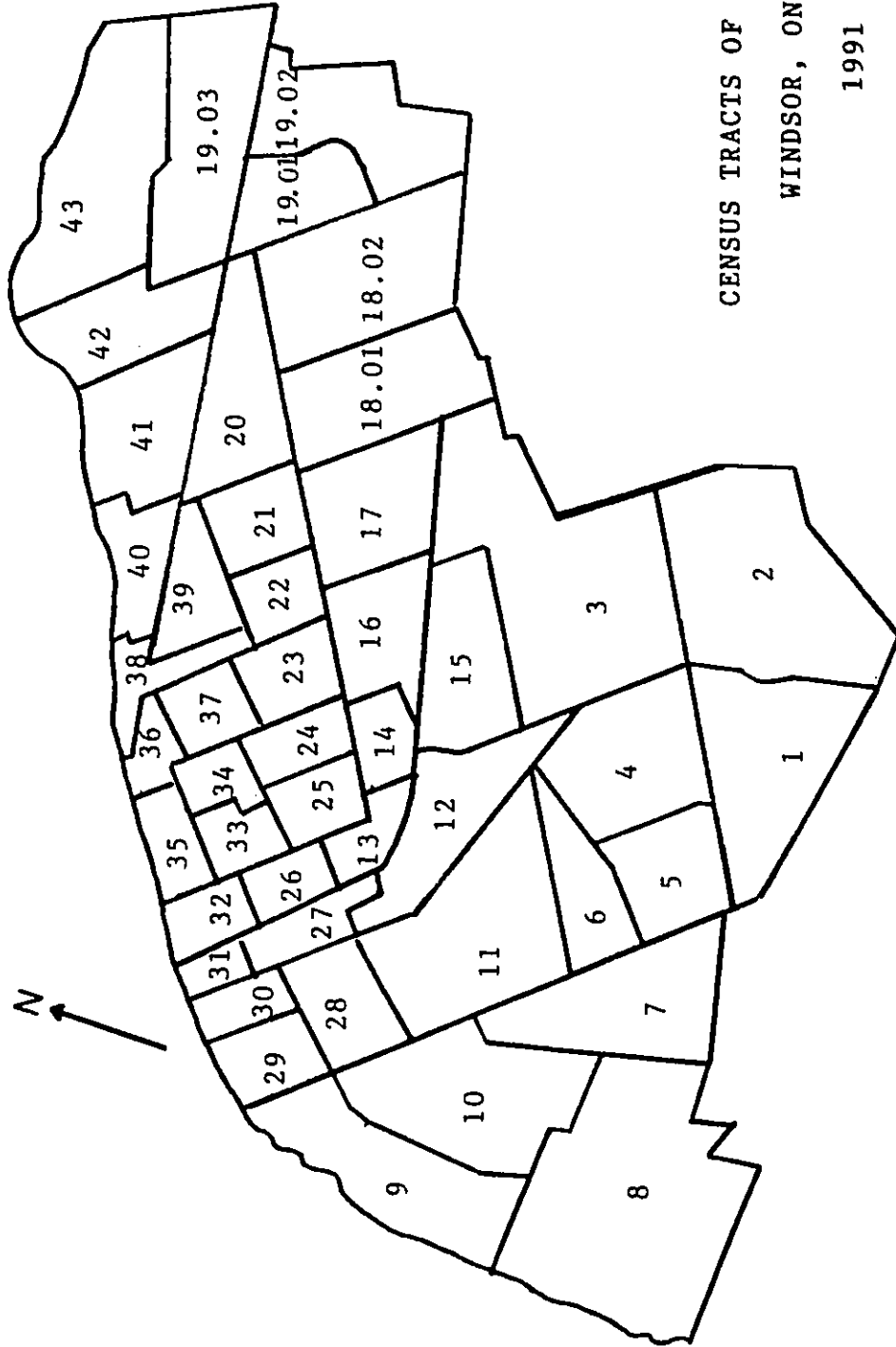
Figure 3.1



CENSUS TRACTS OF THE CITY OF
WINDSOR, ONTARIO
1951

Source: Census of Canada, 1951

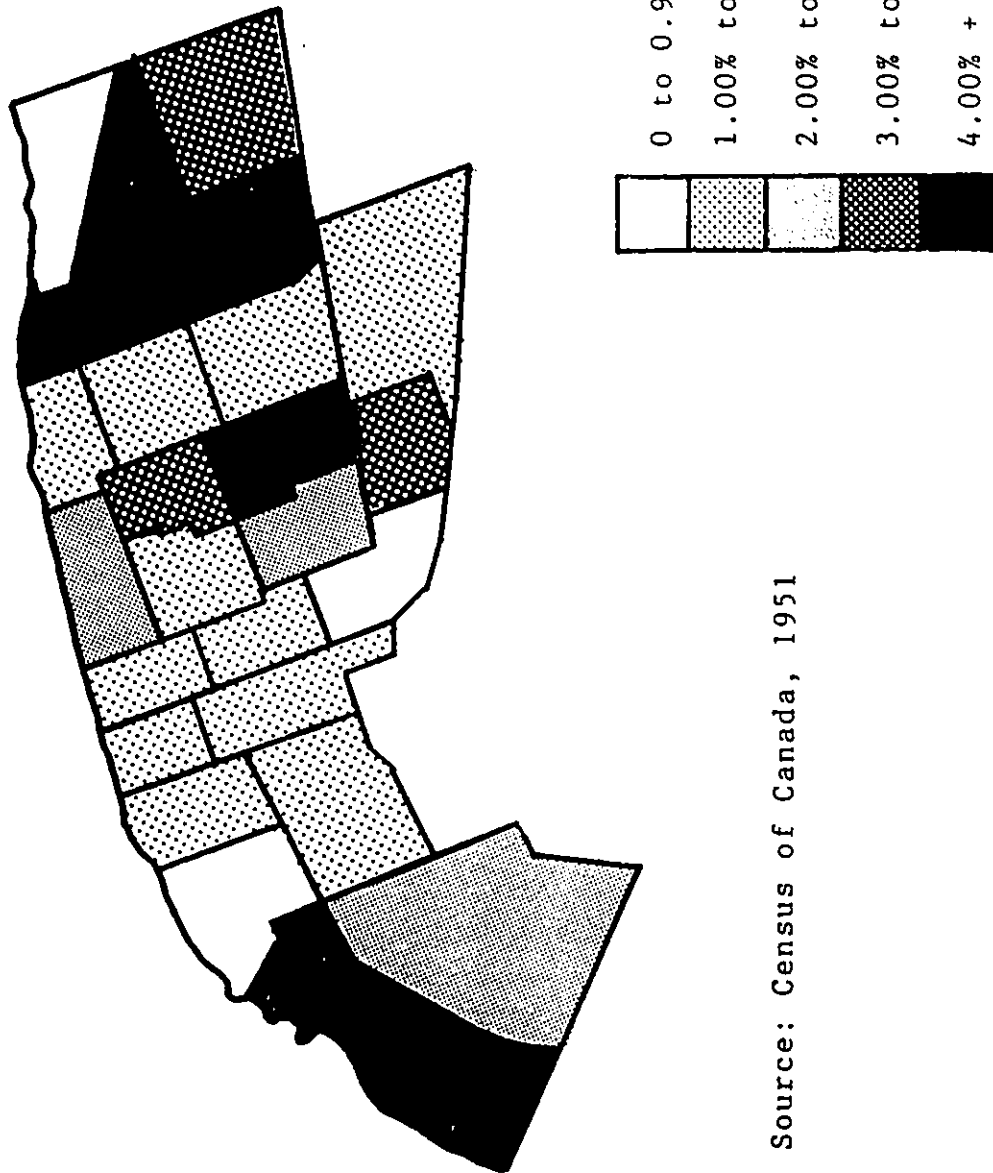
Figure 3.2



Source: Census of Canada, 1991

DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIAN POPULATION
AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACT
1951

Figure 3.3



Source: Census of Canada, 1951

TABLE 3.1

UKRAINIAN POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACT, 1951

| CENSUS TRACT | UKRAINIAN POPULATION | TOTAL POPULATION | PERCENTAGE |
|--------------|----------------------|------------------|------------|
| 1 | 227 | 5665 | 4.01 |
| 2 | 99 | 4641 | 2.13 |
| 3 | 27 | 4775 | 0.57 |
| 4 | 75 | 5430 | 1.38 |
| 5 | 75 | 4039 | 1.86 |
| 6 | 29 | 2814 | 1.03 |
| 7 | 31 | 2310 | 1.34 |
| 8 | 105 | 5893 | 1.78 |
| 9 | 85 | 5644 | 1.51 |
| 10 | 37 | 3822 | 0.97 |
| 11 | 147 | 6116 | 2.40 |
| 12 | 119 | 6288 | 1.89 |
| 13 | 75 | 2886 | 2.60 |
| 14 | 162 | 4575 | 3.54 |
| 15 | 258 | 7109 | 3.63 |
| 16 | 558 | 6248 | 8.93 |
| 17 | 71 | 4053 | 1.75 |
| 18 | 111 | 5794 | 1.92 |
| 19 | 79 | 4053 | 1.95 |
| 20 | 72 | 4202 | 1.71 |
| 21 | 405 | 5249 | 7.72 |
| 22 | 451 | 3810 | 11.84 |
| 23 | 25 | 3026 | 0.83 |
| 24 | 198 | 3612 | 5.48 |
| 25 | 262 | 7995 | 3.28 |
| TOTALS | 3783 | 120049 | 3.15% |

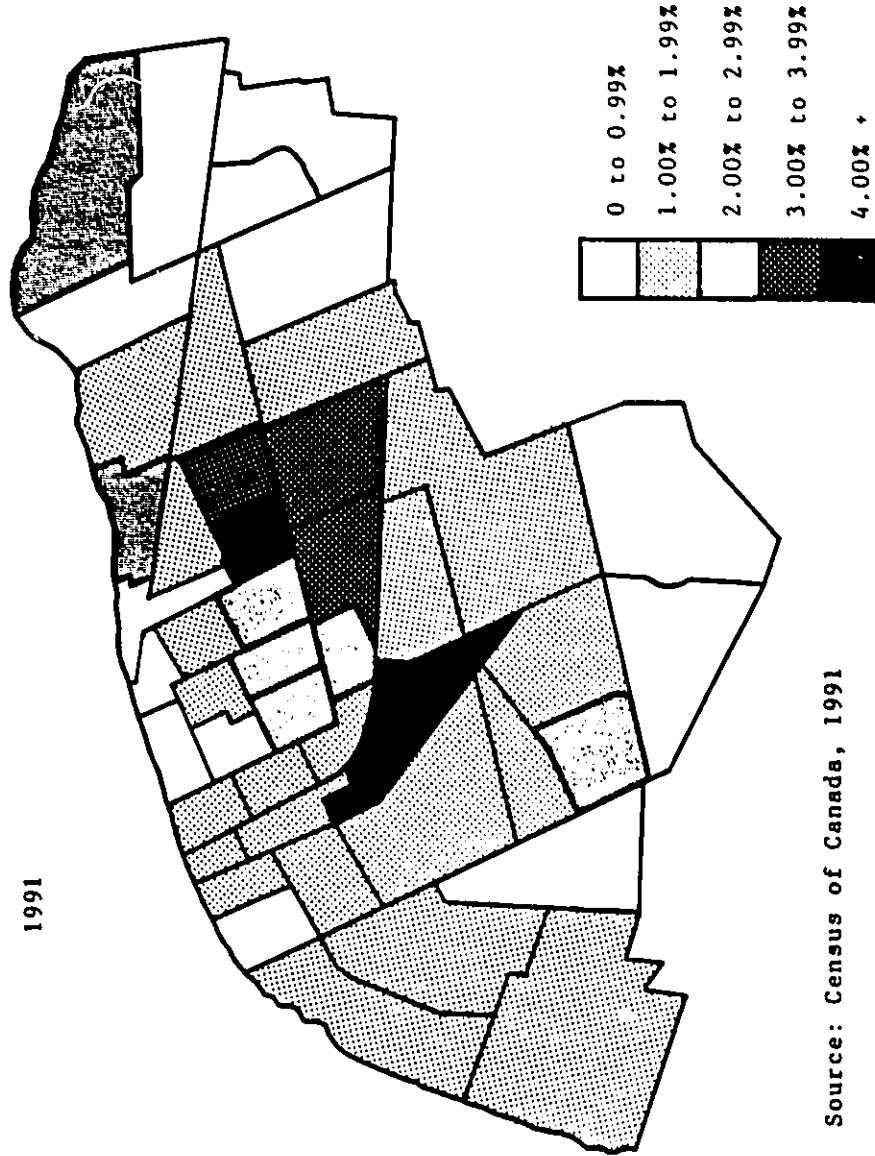
Source: Census of Canada, 1951

The central concentration, which included Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church, 558 Ukrainians which comprised 8.93% of the total population in census tract 16 (see Table 3.1). This census tract had the second highest concentration of Ukrainians in it. To the north and south, census tracts 15 and 14 recorded 3.63% and 3.54% respectively. These percentages ranked census tract 15 as the sixth highest and census tract 14 as the seventh highest in concentration.

The third concentration, identified as the Drouillard Road area consisting of census tract 21 with 7.72% and census tract 22 with 11.84% (the highest concentration of all census tracts) was most highly visible (see Table 3.1). This census tract contained St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1951. Included also in this concentration was census tract 24 with 198 Ukrainians who comprised 5.48% of its population (see Table 3.1; Figure 3.3). The highest concentrations of Ukrainians were located in areas close to Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Drouillard Road area near St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

By 1991, Ukrainians comprised 1.54% of the population of the City of Windsor. Now, a different pattern of concentrations of Ukrainians emerged (see Figure 3.4). Of the three concentrations identified previously, only one, in census tract 22 with 4.30% of the Ukrainian population remained (see Table 3.2). This percentage is the highest for all census tracts and is located in the previously identified

DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIAN POPULATION
AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACT
1991



Source: Census of Canada, 1991

TABLE 3.2

**UKRAINIAN POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACT, 1991**

| CENSUS TRACT | UKRAINIAN POPULATION | TOTAL POPULATION | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1 | 30 | 4210 | 0.71 |
| 2 | 10 | 2420 | 0.41 |
| 3 | 75 | 5010 | 1.50 |
| 4 | 95 | 5695 | 1.67 |
| 5 | 100 | 3990 | 2.51 |
| 6 | 70 | 4255 | 1.65 |
| 7 | -- | 970 | -- |
| 8 | 10 | 575 | 1.74 |
| 9 | 80 | 6195 | 1.29 |
| 10 | 85 | 6180 | 1.38 |
| 11 | 55 | 4285 | 1.28 |
| 12 | 10 | 235 | 4.26 |
| 13 | 70 | 3555 | 1.97 |
| 14 | 90 | 3020 | 2.98 |
| 15 | 45 | 4295 | 1.05 |
| 16 | 130 | 3945 | 3.30 |
| 17 | 145 | 3940 | 3.68 |
| 18.01 | 105 | 7905 | 1.33 |
| 18.02 | 25 | 5245 | 0.48 |
| 19.01 | 15 | 4620 | 0.32 |
| 19.02 | 50 | 7225 | 0.69 |
| 19.03 | 25 | 4180 | 0.60 |
| 20 | 70 | 6085 | 1.15 |
| 21 | 180 | 5175 | 3.48 |
| 22 | 125 | 2910 | 4.30 |
| 23 | 60 | 2490 | 2.41 |
| 24 | 100 | 4190 | 2.39 |
| 25 | 70 | 2380 | 2.94 |
| 26 | 70 | 4155 | 1.68 |
| 27 | 20 | 1310 | 1.53 |
| 28 | 60 | 4510 | 1.33 |
| 29 | 15 | 3155 | 0.48 |
| 30 | 65 | 3820 | 1.70 |
| 31 | 25 | 1440 | 1.74 |
| 32 | 60 | 4270 | 1.41 |
| 33 | 30 | 4920 | 0.61 |
| 34 | 70 | 4855 | 1.44 |
| 35 | 40 | 4235 | 0.94 |
| 36 | 15 | 2695 | 0.56 |
| 37 | 40 | 3680 | 1.09 |
| 38 | -- | 1650 | -- |
| 39 | 55 | 3715 | 1.48 |
| 40 | 105 | 4560 | 2.30 |
| 41 | 75 | 7520 | 1.00 |
| 42 | 60 | 6205 | 0.97 |
| 43 | 175 | 7095 | 2.47 |
| TOTALS | 2905 | 188970 | 1.54% |

Source: Census of Canada, 1991

Drouillard Road area. With the expansion of the city, concentration of Ukrainians in this area has therefore spilled over to the south and east, into adjacent census tracts 16 and 17, which have registered values of 3.30% and 3.68% (see Table 3.2). The second highest concentration, located in census tract 12, was based on small numbers, with 10 Ukrainians representing 4.26% of the 235 people (see Table 3.2). The second, central concentration, which was prominent in 1951, was considerably diluted by 1991. Census tracts 14, 25, 24 and 23 had relatively high proportions of Ukrainians with 2.98%, 2.94%, 2.39% and 2.41% respectively (see Table 3.2). Census tracts 24 and 23, where the two churches were located, retained some importance.

With the exceptions of the near absence of Ukrainians in the extreme southern portion of the city consisting of census tracts 1 and 2, census tracts 35, 36 and 38 to the north which comprised the downtown area, and the extreme eastern portion consisting of census tracts 19.01, 19.02, 19.03 and 18.02, the percentage of Ukrainians appeared to be between 1.00% and 1.99% throughout the city (see Figure 3.4). This distribution suggests that the Ukrainian population was dispersed throughout the city as very low percentages of the total population.

The 1991 pattern indicates that there was significant change in the proportion of Ukrainians in areas of the city from 1951. By 1991, the only highly identifiable

concentration was in the Drouillard Road area. The proportions of Ukrainians in the census tracts for 1991 were quite low, a large difference from the strong concentrations recorded in 1951.

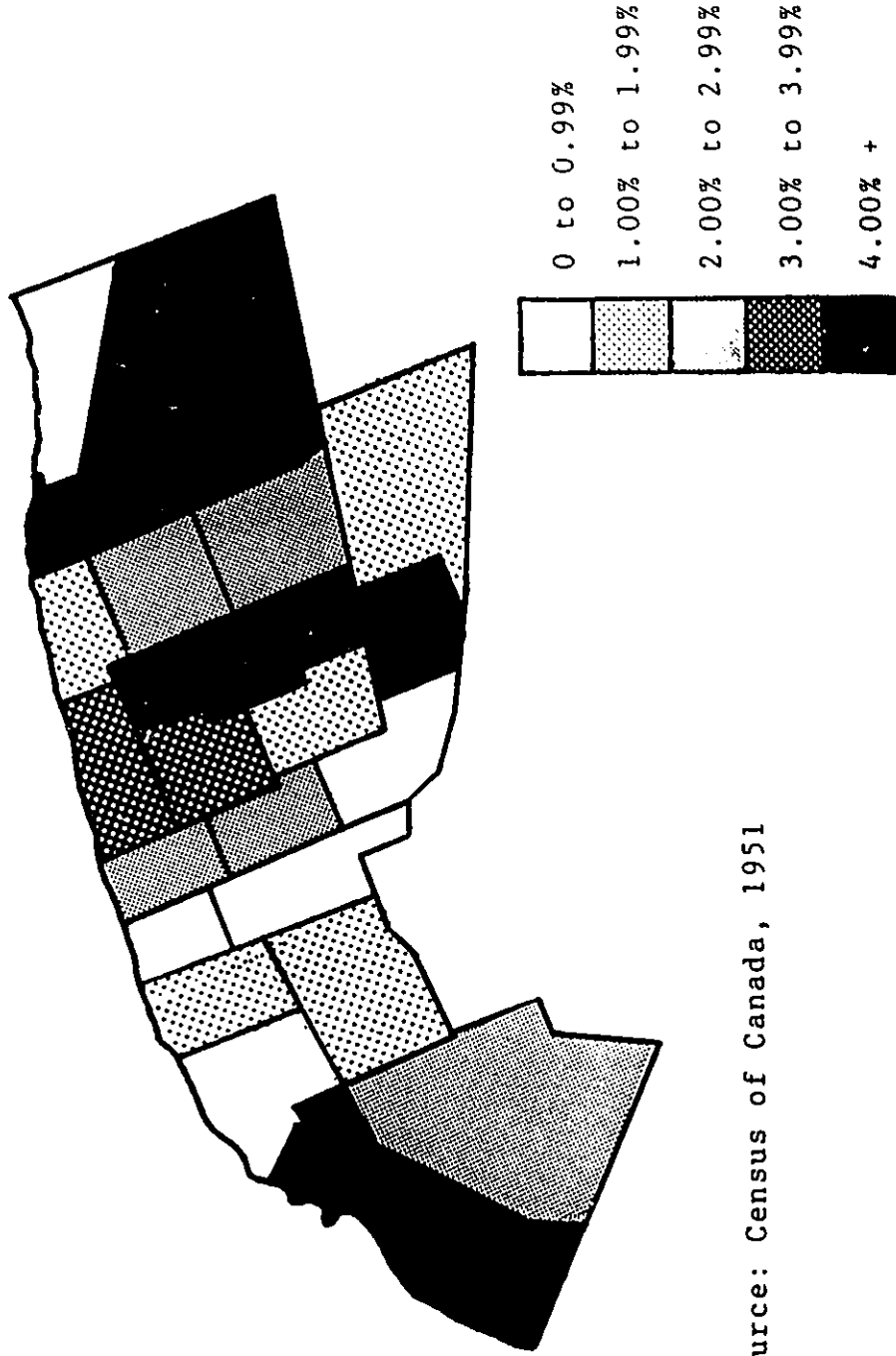
UKRAINIANS BY CENSUS TRACT AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL UKRAINIANS IN THE CITY

An examination of Ukrainians by census tract as a percentage of all Ukrainians in the city gives an indication of how Windsor's Ukrainian population is spatially distributed. This method allows one to compare spatial distributions of all (census) Ukrainians to selected groups, such as the Ukrainian Catholic parishioners, the Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners, and non-affiliated Ukrainians.

The 1951 distribution of Ukrainians by census tracts revealed three spatial concentrations (see Figure 3.5). The first concentration, in the western section of Windsor in census tract 1, showed 227 Ukrainians accounting for 6.00% of all Ukrainians in the city (see Table 3.3). The second concentration, located in what can be called the central part of the city, in census tracts 14, 15 and 16 accounted for 4.28%, 6.82% and 14.75% of the city's Ukrainians respectively (see Table 3.3). Census tract 16, which accounted for the highest number of Ukrainians (558) had within its boundaries the Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Figure 3.5

DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS
BY CENSUS TRACT
1951



Source: Census of Canada, 1951

TABLE 3.3

**NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS
BY CENSUS TRACT, 1951**

| CENSUS TRACT | UKRAINIAN POPULATION | PERCENTAGE |
|--------------|----------------------|------------|
| 1 | 227 | 6.00 |
| 2 | 99 | 2.62 |
| 3 | 27 | 0.71 |
| 4 | 75 | 1.98 |
| 5 | 75 | 1.98 |
| 6 | 29 | 0.77 |
| 7 | 31 | 0.82 |
| 8 | 105 | 2.78 |
| 9 | 85 | 2.25 |
| 10 | 37 | 0.98 |
| 11 | 147 | 3.89 |
| 12 | 119 | 3.15 |
| 13 | 75 | 1.98 |
| 14 | 162 | 4.28 |
| 15 | 258 | 6.82 |
| 16 | 558 | 14.75 |
| 17 | 71 | 1.88 |
| 18 | 111 | 2.93 |
| 19 | 79 | 2.09 |
| 20 | 72 | 1.90 |
| 21 | 405 | 10.71 |
| 22 | 451 | 11.92 |
| 23 | 25 | 0.66 |
| 24 | 198 | 5.23 |
| 25 | 262 | 6.93 |
| TOTALS | 3783 | 100.01% |

Source: Census of Canada, 1951

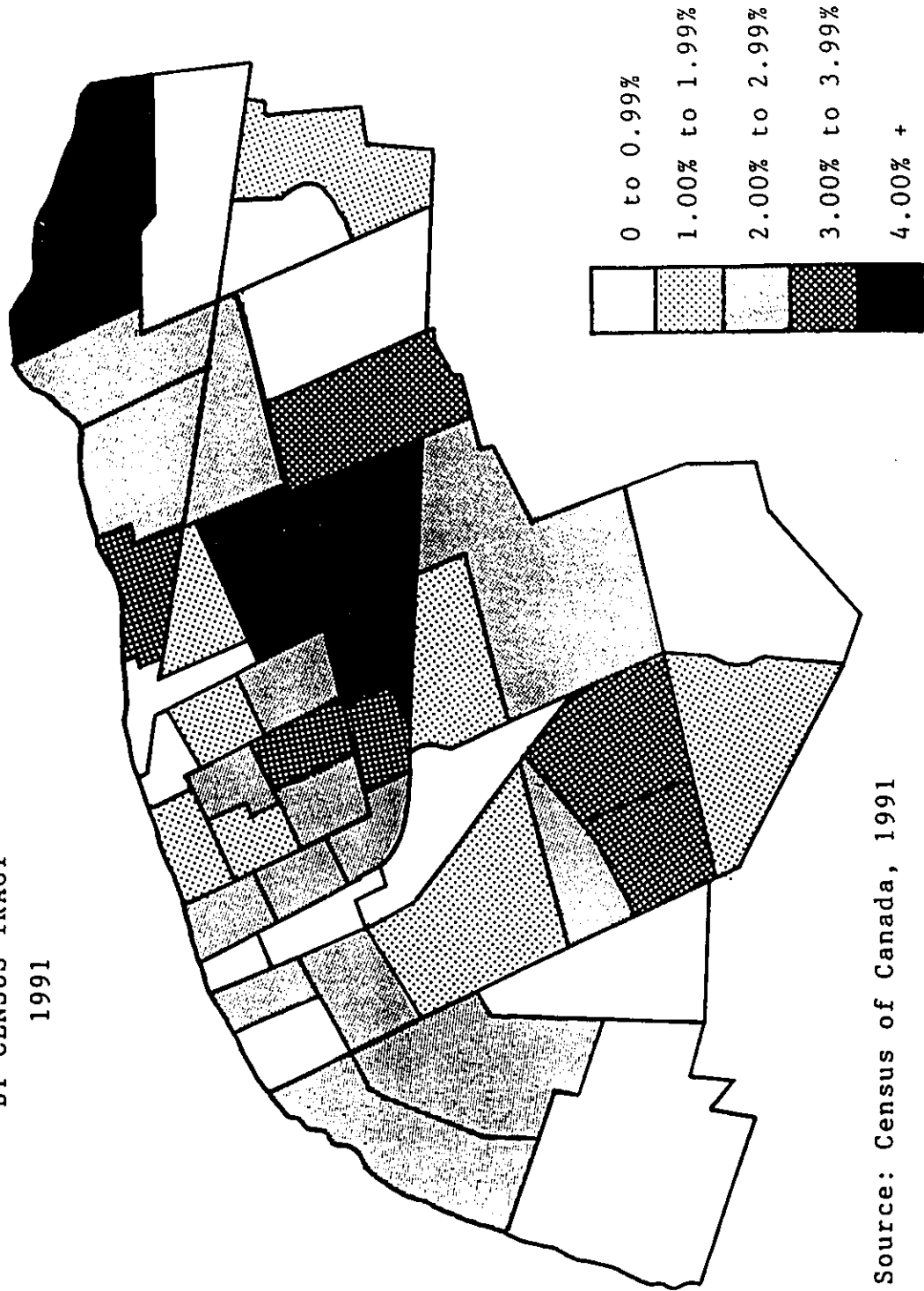
The third concentration, in the eastern portion of the city comprised the four census tracts of 21, 22, 24 and 25 (see Figure 3.5). Census tract 21 accounted for 10.71% and census tract 22 contained 11.92% of the total number of the city's Ukrainians (see Table 3.3). These two census tracts were important in that within their boundaries were working class residential streets next to the site of the Ford Motor Company factory. In 1951, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church was located within census tract 21 and adjacent to census tract 22. Census tracts 24 and 25 accounted for 5.23% and 6.93% of the city's Ukrainians (see Table 3.3).

North-west of the central concentration, census tracts 11 and 12 with 147 and 119 Ukrainians respectively, were the only other areas containing significant shares of the city's Ukrainians (see Figure 3.5). The other census tracts surrounding the three identified concentrations recorded small numbers of Ukrainians in comparison. Census tracts 3, 6, 7, 10 and 23 recorded low numbers, where Ukrainian households comprised less than 1.00% each of all the city's Ukrainians (see Table 3.3).

By 1991, the distribution of Ukrainians by census tract had changed significantly from 1951. One central concentration still existed within the city encompassing census tracts 16, 17, 21, and 22 (see Figure 3.6). In these census tracts Ukrainians accounted for 4.48%, 4.99%, 6.20% and 4.30% of the city's Ukrainian population respectively (see

Figure 3.6

DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS
BY CENSUS TRACT
1991



Source: Census of Canada, 1991

Table 3.4). As in 1951, the major 1991 spatial concentration encompassed the southern portion of the Drouillard Road corridor.

Although St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral was located within census tract 23, in which Ukrainians do not attain 4.00% of the city's Ukrainian population, it was adjacent to the largest concentration just east along Tecumseh Road.

The other large spatial concentration of Ukrainians in 1991 was represented by census tract 43. Located on the very north-eastern edge of Windsor, census tract 43 recorded 175 Ukrainians accounting for 6.02% of the city's Ukrainian population (see Table 3.4). Census tracts 14 and 24 located directly west of the central cluster recorded 90 and 100 Ukrainians respectively (see Table 3.4). These two census tracts were part of the central concentration described in the 1951 distribution. Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church was located within census tract 24.

By 1991, the number of Ukrainians in Windsor's suburbs had increased. In South Windsor, census tracts 4 and 5 recorded 3.27% and 3.44% of Windsor's Ukrainian population respectively (see Table 3.4). Census tract 18.01, generally referred to as the Fontainebleau area, recorded 105 Ukrainians, accounting for 3.61% (see Table 3.4). These two areas, not present in the 1951 city boundary, were the result of suburbanization in Windsor over the last few decades.

TABLE 3.4

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS
BY CENSUS TRACT, 1991

| CENSUS TRACT | UKRAINIAN POPULATION | PERCENTAGE |
|--------------|----------------------|------------|
| 1 | 30 | 1.03 |
| 2 | 10 | 0.34 |
| 3 | 75 | 2.58 |
| 4 | 95 | 3.27 |
| 5 | 100 | 3.44 |
| 6 | 70 | 2.41 |
| 7 | -- | -- |
| 8 | 10 | 0.34 |
| 9 | 80 | 2.75 |
| 10 | 85 | 2.93 |
| 11 | 55 | 1.89 |
| 12 | 10 | 0.34 |
| 13 | 70 | 2.41 |
| 14 | 90 | 3.10 |
| 15 | 45 | 1.55 |
| 16 | 130 | 4.48 |
| 17 | 145 | 4.99 |
| 18.01 | 105 | 3.61 |
| 18.02 | 25 | 0.86 |
| 19.01 | 15 | 0.52 |
| 19.02 | 50 | 1.72 |
| 19.03 | 25 | 0.86 |
| 20 | 70 | 2.41 |
| 21 | 180 | 6.20 |
| 22 | 125 | 4.30 |
| 23 | 60 | 2.07 |
| 24 | 100 | 3.44 |
| 25 | 70 | 2.41 |
| 26 | 70 | 2.41 |
| 27 | 20 | 0.69 |
| 28 | 60 | 2.07 |
| 29 | 15 | 0.52 |
| 30 | 65 | 2.24 |
| 31 | 25 | 0.86 |
| 32 | 60 | 2.07 |
| 33 | 30 | 1.03 |
| 34 | 70 | 2.41 |
| 35 | 40 | 1.38 |
| 36 | 15 | 0.52 |
| 37 | 40 | 1.38 |
| 38 | -- | -- |
| 39 | 55 | 1.89 |
| 40 | 105 | 3.61 |
| 41 | 75 | 2.58 |
| 42 | 60 | 2.07 |
| 43 | 175 | 6.02 |
| TOTALS | 2905 | 100.00% |

Source: Census of Canada, 1991

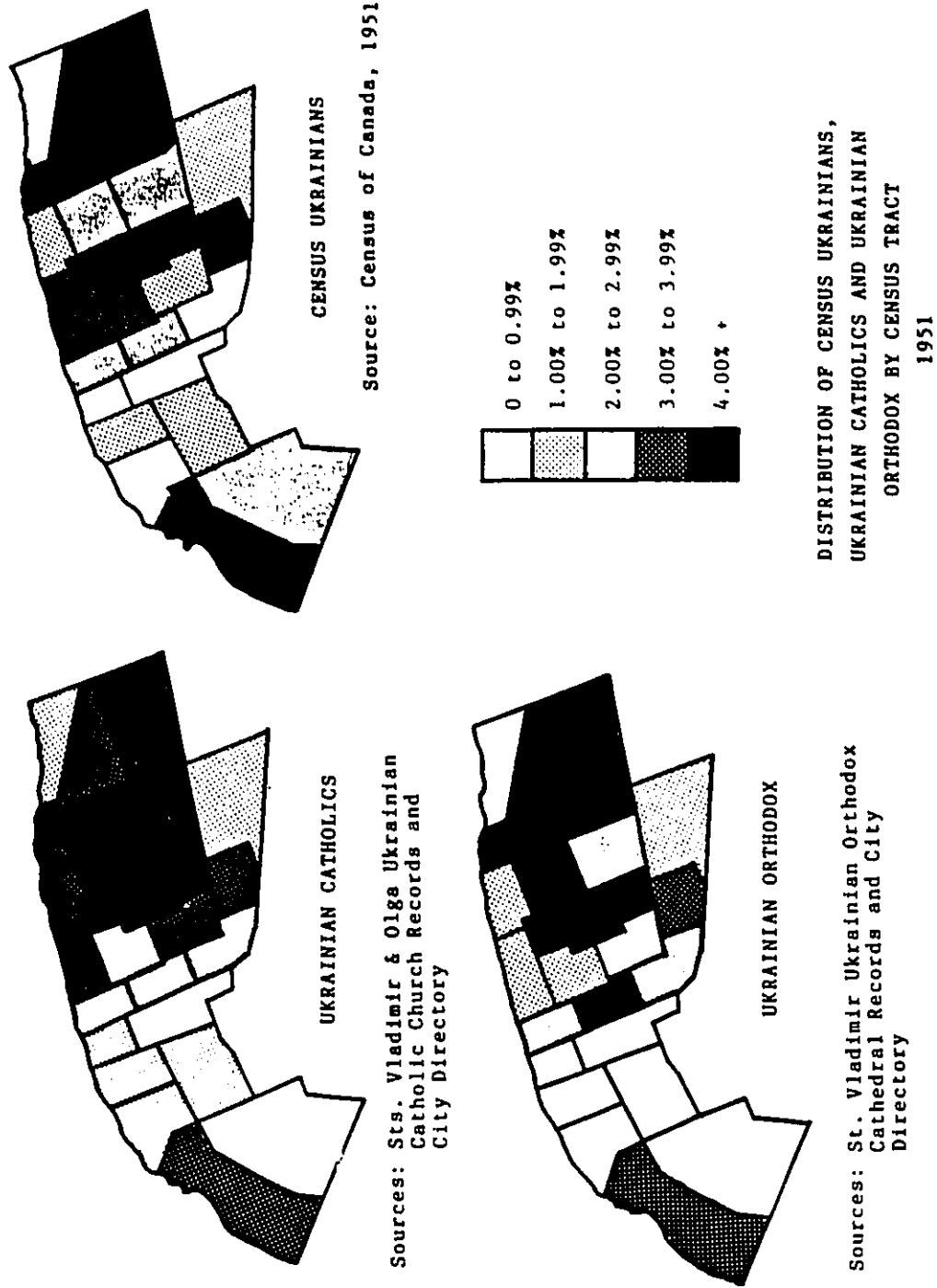
An examination of Figure 3.6 shows that Ukrainians were distributed throughout the city with the exception of industrial, non-residential areas. These included census tract 8, located in west Windsor, census tract 18.02, which encompassed the Greater Windsor Industrial Estates, and census tracts 31, 27 and 12 which contained the railway lines of the Canada Southern. By 1991, census tract 38, which in 1951 consisted of the northern portion of the Drouillard Road concentration, had declined as a residential neighbourhood and recorded no Ukrainian presence by 1991 (see Table 3.4).

COMPARISON OF CENSUS UKRAINIANS TO THE STUDY GROUPS BY CENSUS TRACT

The distribution of the parishioners of the Ukrainian Catholic church and the Ukrainian Orthodox church in comparison to the census Ukrainians are illustrated in Figure 3.7 for 1951. The map of census Ukrainians clearly illustrates the 3 concentrations previously identified: census tract 1 in the west end of Windsor, the central concentration containing Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church and the third concentration, the Drouillard Road area containing St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

In examining the distribution of Ukrainian Catholic parishioners, census tracts 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 25 combine to form one contiguous cluster of high percentage values (see Figure 3.7). The largest number of Ukrainian

Figure 3.7



Catholic households was recorded in census tract 16 with 77 households or 14.31% of all Ukrainian Catholic households (see Table 3.5). This is significant in that, as previously mentioned, the Ukrainian Catholic church is located in this census tract. Therefore, in 1951, a very large number of Ukrainian Catholics resided within walking distance of their church.

Ukrainian Catholics also had a strong showing in the Drouillard Road area with 55 households or 10.22% in census tract 21 and 58 households or 10.78% in census tract 22 (see Table 3.5). These two percentages were the second and third highest for all census tracts. In the Ukrainian Catholic distribution, census tracts 18 and 19, located between the Ukrainian Catholic church and the Drouillard Road area, also recorded large percentages of 6.13% and 4.28% respectively (see Table 3.5). Altogether, the seven contiguous census tracts with more than 4% of the Ukrainian Catholic parishioners each, accounted for 58.36% of the total Ukrainian Catholic households, a very high share.

The Ukrainian Orthodox distribution for 1951 also identified two of the clusters evident in the census Ukrainian distribution (see Figure 3.7). Census tract 21, which contained the Ukrainian Orthodox church, recorded the highest number of Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners, 26, and accounted for 19.40% of them all (see Table 3.5). Census tract 22 located south and adjacent to census tract 21 and the church,

TABLE 3.5

**NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS UKRAINIANS,
CATHOLIC, ORTHODOX AND NON-AFFILIATED UKRAINIANS BY
CENSUS TRACT, 1951**

| CENSUS TRACT | CENSUS ^a UKRAINIANS | | CATHOLIC ^b | | ORTHODOX ^c | | NON-AFFILIATED ^d | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| 1 | 227 | 6.00 | 18 | 3.35 | 5 | 3.73 | -- | -- |
| 2 | 99 | 2.62 | 5 | 0.93 | 0 | 0 | -- | -- |
| 3 | 27 | 0.71 | 7 | 1.30 | 1 | 0.75 | -- | -- |
| 4 | 75 | 1.98 | 10 | 1.86 | 0 | 0 | -- | -- |
| 5 | 75 | 1.98 | 6 | 1.12 | 0 | 0 | -- | -- |
| 6 | 29 | 0.77 | 9 | 1.67 | 1 | 0.75 | -- | -- |
| 7 | 31 | 0.82 | 5 | 0.93 | 0 | 0 | -- | -- |
| 8 | 105 | 2.78 | 11 | 2.04 | 3 | 2.24 | -- | -- |
| 9 | 85 | 2.25 | 15 | 2.79 | 6 | 4.48 | -- | -- |
| 10 | 37 | 0.98 | 14 | 2.60 | 3 | 2.24 | -- | -- |
| 11 | 147 | 3.89 | 19 | 3.53 | 2 | 1.49 | -- | -- |
| 12 | 119 | 3.15 | 16 | 2.97 | 2 | 1.49 | -- | -- |
| 13 | 75 | 1.98 | 20 | 3.72 | 1 | 0.75 | -- | -- |
| 14 | 162 | 4.28 | 21 | 3.90 | 5 | 3.73 | -- | -- |
| 15 | 258 | 6.82 | 43 | 7.99 | 6 | 4.48 | -- | -- |
| 16 | 558 | 14.75 | 77 | 14.31 | 14 | 10.45 | 1 | 50.00 |
| 17 | 71 | 1.88 | 17 | 3.16 | 2 | 1.49 | -- | -- |
| 18 | 111 | 2.93 | 33 | 6.13 | 13 | 9.70 | -- | -- |
| 19 | 79 | 2.09 | 23 | 4.28 | 4 | 2.99 | -- | -- |
| 20 | 72 | 1.90 | 8 | 1.49 | 2 | 1.49 | -- | -- |
| 21 | 405 | 10.71 | 55 | 10.22 | 26 | 19.40 | -- | -- |
| 22 | 451 | 11.92 | 58 | 10.78 | 25 | 18.66 | 1 | 50.00 |
| 23 | 25 | 0.66 | 6 | 1.12 | 1 | 0.75 | -- | -- |
| 24 | 198 | 5.23 | 17 | 3.16 | 6 | 4.48 | -- | -- |
| 25 | 262 | 6.93 | 25 | 4.65 | 6 | 4.48 | -- | -- |
| TOTALS | 3783 | 100.01 | 538 | 100.00 | 134 | 100.02 | 2 | 100.00 |

Sources: a - Census of Canada, 1951
b - Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church Records and City Directories
c - St. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Records and City Directories
d - Field Work

recorded the second highest number, 25, which represented 18.66% of all the Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners (see Table 3.5).

The central concentration, identified with the Ukrainian Catholic church, also showed some spatial concentration of Ukrainian Orthodox households. However, census tract 19, located between the central and the eastern concentrations, was populated with only 4 Ukrainian Orthodox households or 2.99% (see Table 3.5). Census tracts 24 and 25, located closer to the Drouillard Road area and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, recorded 6 households or 4.48% each (see Table 3.5). Of census Ukrainians, 198 or 5.23% were located in census tract 24 while census tract 25 recorded 262 census Ukrainians or 6.93% (see Table 3.5).

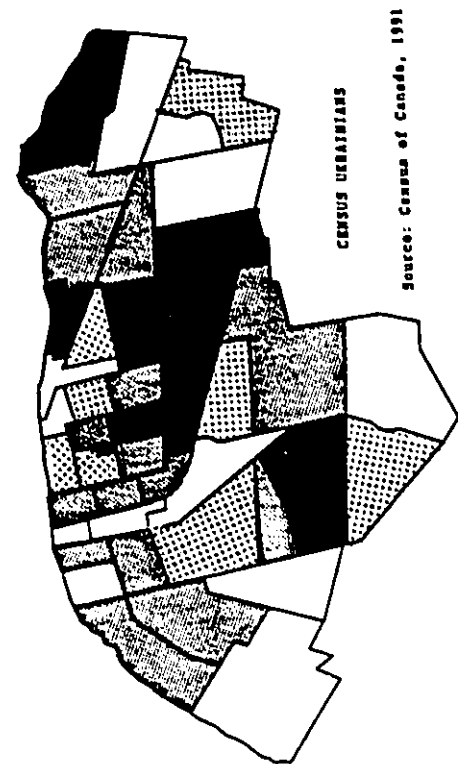
Overall, the locations of Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox households reflected those of census Ukrainians for 1951. However, greater concentration of the two groups of parishioners were found in census tracts surrounding their respective churches. Although a third cluster, represented by census tract 1 contained 6.00% of census Ukrainians, it only accounted for 3.35% of the Ukrainian Catholic parishioners and 3.73% of the Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners.

With only 2 households recorded for non-affiliated Ukrainians, no definitive statements regarding their distribution patterns for 1951 can be made and they were

therefore excluded.

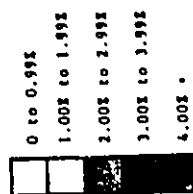
The 1991 distribution of the parishioners of the Ukrainian Catholic church, the Ukrainian Orthodox church and census Ukrainians are illustrated in Figure 3.8. For census Ukrainians, by 1991, one large spatial concentration remained within the city encompassing census tracts 16, 17, 21, and 22 (see Figure 3.8). These 1991 census tracts encompassed the southern portion of the Drouillard Road spatial concentration identified in 1951. A second smaller spatial concentration, consisting of census tract 43 was also defined by a high share of census Ukrainians: 6.02% (see Table 3.6).

For the Ukrainian Catholic distribution, four distinct concentrations emerged (see: Figure 3.8). Census tract 24, containing Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic church still had the largest numbers of Ukrainian Catholic households at 59 or 13.38% (see Table 3.6). This tended to suggest that Ukrainian Catholics continued to be located in significant numbers within walking distance of the church. The next concentration to be examined is the Drouillard Road area identified in the 1951 distribution. Encompassing census tracts 22, 21 and 17, these census tracts accounted for 5.89%, 4.76% and 4.08% of Ukrainian Catholic households (see Table 3.6) totalling 14.73%. This 1951 concentration continued to account for a significant proportion of the Ukrainian Catholic population.



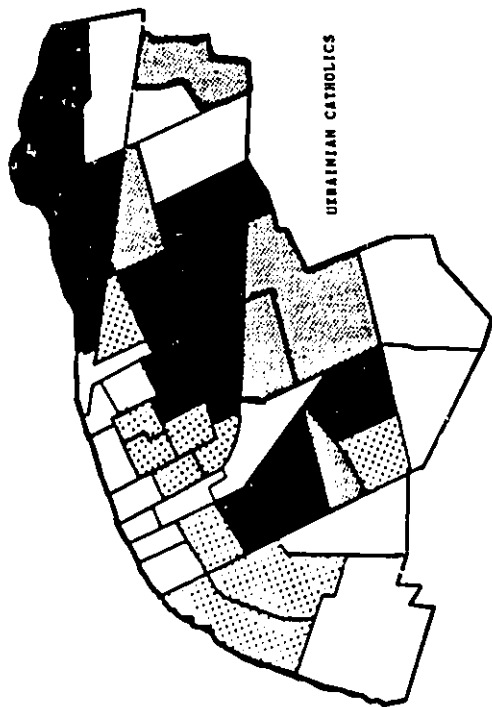
CENSUS UKRAINIANS

Source: Census of Canada, 1991



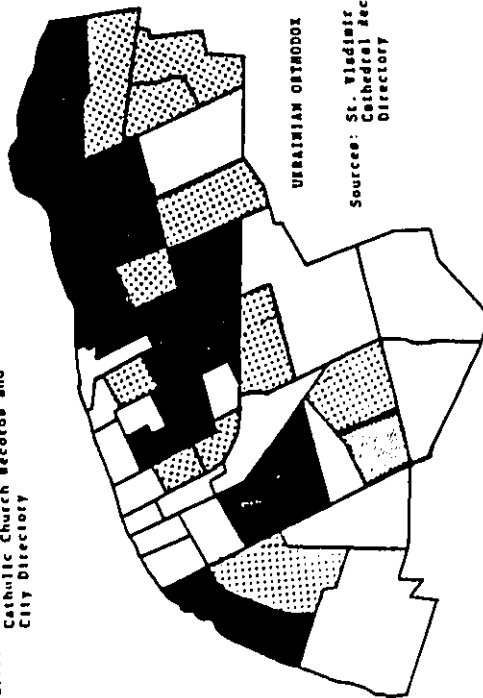
DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS UKRAINIANS,
UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS AND UKRAINIAN
ORTHODOX BY CENSUS TRACT
1991

Figure 3.8



UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

Source: St. Vladimir & Olga Ukrainian
Catholic Church Records and
City Directory



UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX

Source: St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox
Cathedral Records and City
Directory

TABLE 3.6
 NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS UKRAINIANS,
 CATHOLIC, ORTHODOX AND NON-AFFILIATED UKRAINIANS BY
 CENSUS TRACT, 1991

| CENSUS TRACT | CENSUS ^a UKRAINIANS | | CATHOLIC ^b | | ORTHODOX ^c | | NON-AFFILIATED ^d | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| 1 | 30 | 1.03 | 3 | 0.68 | 1 | 0.63 | 1 | 4.00 |
| 2 | 10 | 0.34 | 2 | 0.45 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 3 | 75 | 2.58 | 10 | 2.27 | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 4 | 95 | 3.27 | 19 | 4.31 | 3 | 1.89 | -- | -- |
| 5 | 100 | 3.44 | 7 | 1.59 | 4 | 2.52 | -- | -- |
| 6 | 70 | 2.41 | 10 | 2.27 | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 7 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 8 | 10 | 0.34 | -- | -- | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 9 | 80 | 2.75 | 8 | 1.81 | 7 | 4.40 | -- | -- |
| 10 | 85 | 2.93 | 8 | 1.81 | 3 | 1.89 | -- | -- |
| 11 | 55 | 1.89 | 17 | 3.85 | 5 | 3.14 | -- | -- |
| 12 | 10 | 0.34 | 1 | 0.23 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 13 | 70 | 2.41 | 7 | 1.59 | 2 | 1.26 | -- | -- |
| 14 | 90 | 3.10 | 18 | 4.08 | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 15 | 45 | 1.55 | 10 | 2.27 | 2 | 1.26 | -- | -- |
| 16 | 130 | 4.48 | 17 | 3.85 | 10 | 6.29 | -- | -- |
| 17 | 145 | 4.99 | 18 | 4.08 | 10 | 6.29 | 2 | 8.00 |
| 18.01 | 105 | 3.61 | 16 | 3.63 | 3 | 1.89 | 4 | 16.00 |
| 18.02 | 25 | 0.86 | 4 | 0.91 | -- | -- | 2 | 8.00 |
| 19.01 | 15 | 0.52 | -- | -- | 2 | 1.26 | 3 | 12.00 |
| 19.02 | 50 | 1.72 | 13 | 2.95 | 3 | 1.89 | 3 | 12.00 |
| 19.03 | 25 | 0.86 | 2 | 0.45 | 2 | 1.26 | -- | -- |
| 20 | 70 | 2.41 | 10 | 2.27 | 8 | 5.03 | 1 | 4.00 |
| 21 | 180 | 6.20 | 21 | 4.76 | 2 | 1.26 | 1 | 4.00 |
| 22 | 125 | 4.30 | 26 | 5.89 | 15 | 9.43 | -- | -- |
| 23 | 60 | 2.07 | 16 | 3.63 | 7 | 4.40 | 2 | 8.00 |
| 24 | 100 | 3.44 | 59 | 13.38 | 9 | 5.66 | -- | -- |
| 25 | 70 | 2.41 | 5 | 1.13 | 5 | 3.14 | -- | -- |
| 26 | 70 | 2.41 | 5 | 1.13 | 3 | 1.89 | -- | -- |
| 27 | 20 | 0.69 | 3 | 0.68 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 28 | 60 | 2.07 | 7 | 1.59 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 29 | 15 | 0.52 | 4 | 0.91 | -- | -- | 1 | 4.00 |
| 30 | 65 | 2.24 | 3 | 0.68 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 31 | 25 | 0.86 | 2 | 0.45 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 32 | 60 | 2.07 | 1 | 0.23 | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 33 | 30 | 1.03 | 5 | 1.13 | 5 | 3.14 | -- | -- |
| 34 | 70 | 2.41 | 7 | 1.59 | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 35 | 40 | 1.38 | 3 | 0.68 | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 36 | 15 | 0.52 | 1 | 0.23 | 1 | 0.63 | -- | -- |
| 37 | 40 | 1.38 | 4 | 0.91 | 3 | 1.89 | -- | -- |
| 38 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 39 | 55 | 1.89 | 6 | 1.36 | 6 | 3.77 | -- | -- |
| 40 | 105 | 3.61 | 18 | 4.08 | 6 | 3.77 | -- | -- |
| 41 | 75 | 2.58 | 15 | 3.40 | 5 | 3.14 | 2 | 8.00 |
| 42 | 60 | 2.07 | 16 | 3.63 | 6 | 3.77 | 2 | 8.00 |
| 43 | 175 | 6.02 | 14 | 3.17 | 14 | 8.81 | 1 | 4.00 |
| TOTALS | 2905 | 100.00% | 441 | 99.99 | 159 | 100.01 | 25 | 100.00 |

Sources: a - Census of Canada, 1991
 b - Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic
 Church Records and City Directory
 c - St. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Orthodox
 Cathedral Records and City Directory
 d - Field Work

North of the Drouillard Road concentration, census tract 40 contained 4.08% of Ukrainian Catholics (see Table 3.6). This concentration can perhaps be accounted for as a remnant or an expansion of the northern portion of the Drouillard Road concentration from 1951. The most significant development from the 1951 distribution is the emergence of 19 Ukrainian Catholic households or 4.31% of the parishioners in census tract 4 of South Windsor (see Table 3.6). This concentration in South Windsor suggests that some Ukrainian Catholics have moved away from areas near their church to the suburbs.

Overall, Ukrainian Catholic households appeared to be distributed throughout the city, even in suburbs such as census tract 18.01 in Fontainbleu and census tract 19.02 in Forest Glade. Areas designated as mainly industrial, such as census tracts 31, 27 and 12, as well as census tract 3 recorded very small numbers of Ukrainian Catholic households (see Table 3.6).

As in the case of the Ukrainian Catholic household distribution, the one for Ukrainian Orthodox also depicted four concentrations. Census tract 22 had the highest number at 15 households or 9.43% (see Table 3.6). This high percentage is important because this census tract was located in the remainder of the southern portion of the Drouillard Road concentration identified in the 1951 distribution. Census tracts 24, 23, 16 and 17 which also encompassed this concentration contained a total of 32.07% of the Ukrainian

Orthodox household population. This high percentage of Ukrainian Orthodox households is significant when one considers that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was located within census tract 23.

Census tracts 20 and 43, the other two concentrations of Ukrainian Orthodox, recorded 5.03% and 8.81% of Ukrainian Orthodox households (see Table 3.6). These two census tracts were located in the suburb of Riverside, suggesting that Ukrainian Orthodox were also moving upscale from areas of past concentration into the suburbs. The fourth concentration in the west end of Windsor was found in census tract 9 in a part of Windsor known as Sandwich. This apparent increase since 1951 resulted from an increased size and population of the census tract from 1951 to 1991.

As with the Ukrainian Catholics, the Ukrainian Orthodox households appeared to have distributed themselves into suburban areas such as census tract 5 in South Windsor and to some extent, census tract 19.02 in Forest Glade (see Figure 3.8). Census tracts 40, 41 and 42 in the area known as Riverside recorded percentages of Ukrainian Orthodox between 3.00% and 3.99% (see Figure 3.8). Areas designated as mainly industrial, such as census tracts 31, 27 and 12, as well as census tract 3 recorded no Ukrainian Orthodox households (see Table 3.6).

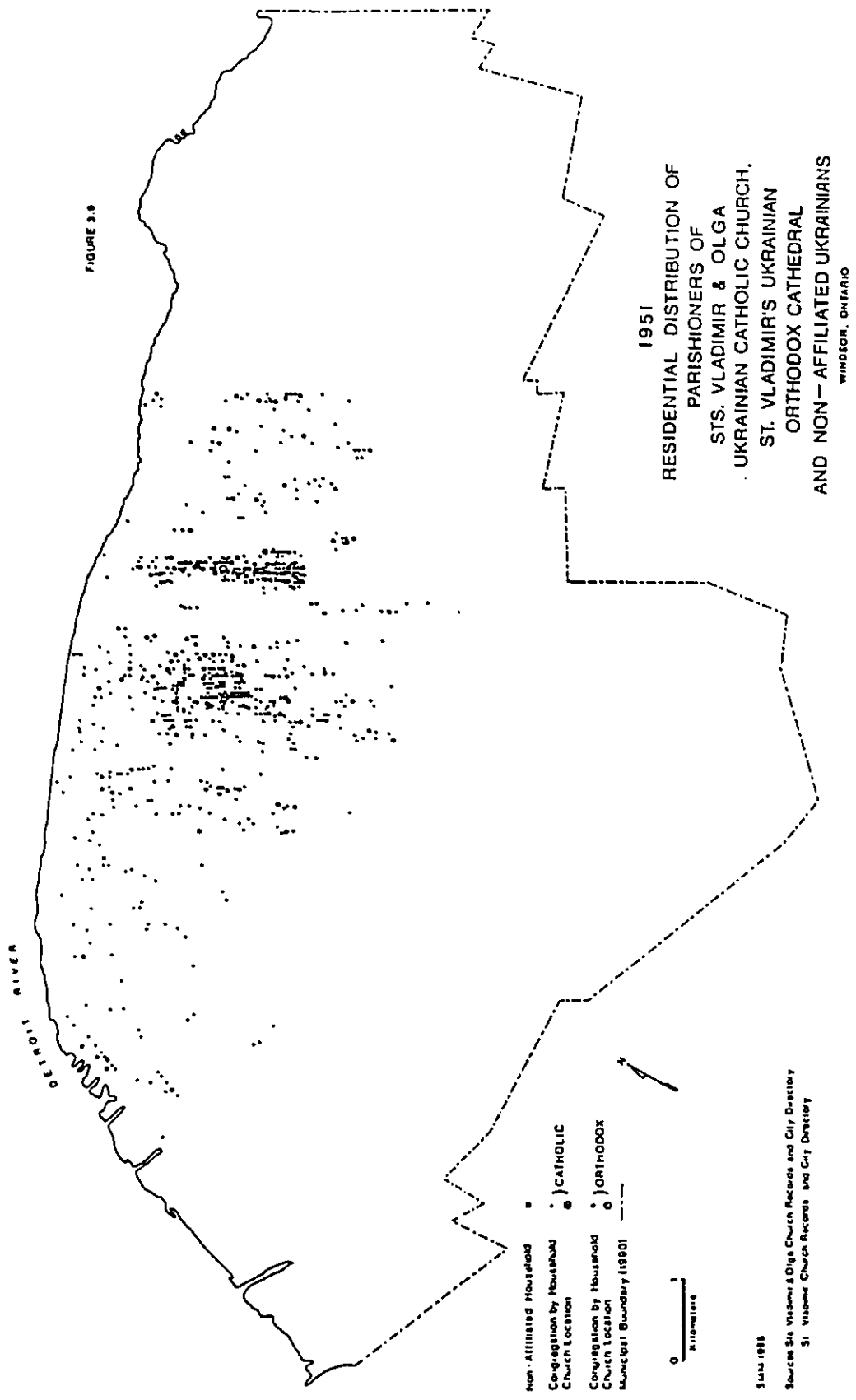
With only 25 non-affiliated Ukrainian households, maps depicting their distribution would not have been very useful

as all 25 recorded percentages greater than 4.00% (see Table 3.6). However, it should be noted that census tracts 18.01, 18.02, 19.01, and 19.02 recorded percentages from 8.00% to 12.00% (see Table 3.6). These four census tracts accounted for 12 of the 25 non-affiliated Ukrainian households or 48.00%. This high percentage is important because these census tracts were located in the suburbs of Fontainbleu, Rosevale Garden and Forest Glade.

Census tracts 41, 42 and 43 accounted for 5 of the 25 non-affiliated Ukrainian households or 20.00%. The area in which these non-affiliated Ukrainian households were located was a suburb known as Riverside. The remainder of the non-affiliated Ukrainian households were distributed throughout the city and no other strong concentrations were evident.

INDIVIDUAL UKRAINIAN HOUSEHOLD PATTERNS

Figure 3.9 shows the distribution of the households for the three study groups: the Ukrainian Catholics, the Ukrainian Orthodox and non-affiliated Ukrainians for 1951. Figure 3.10 shows the distribution of the households for the three study groups of Ukrainian Catholics, Ukrainian Orthodox and non-affiliated Ukrainians for 1991. The two maps provide a visual representation of the changes that occurred in the distribution and patterns of residential location of the parishioners from 1951 to 1991.



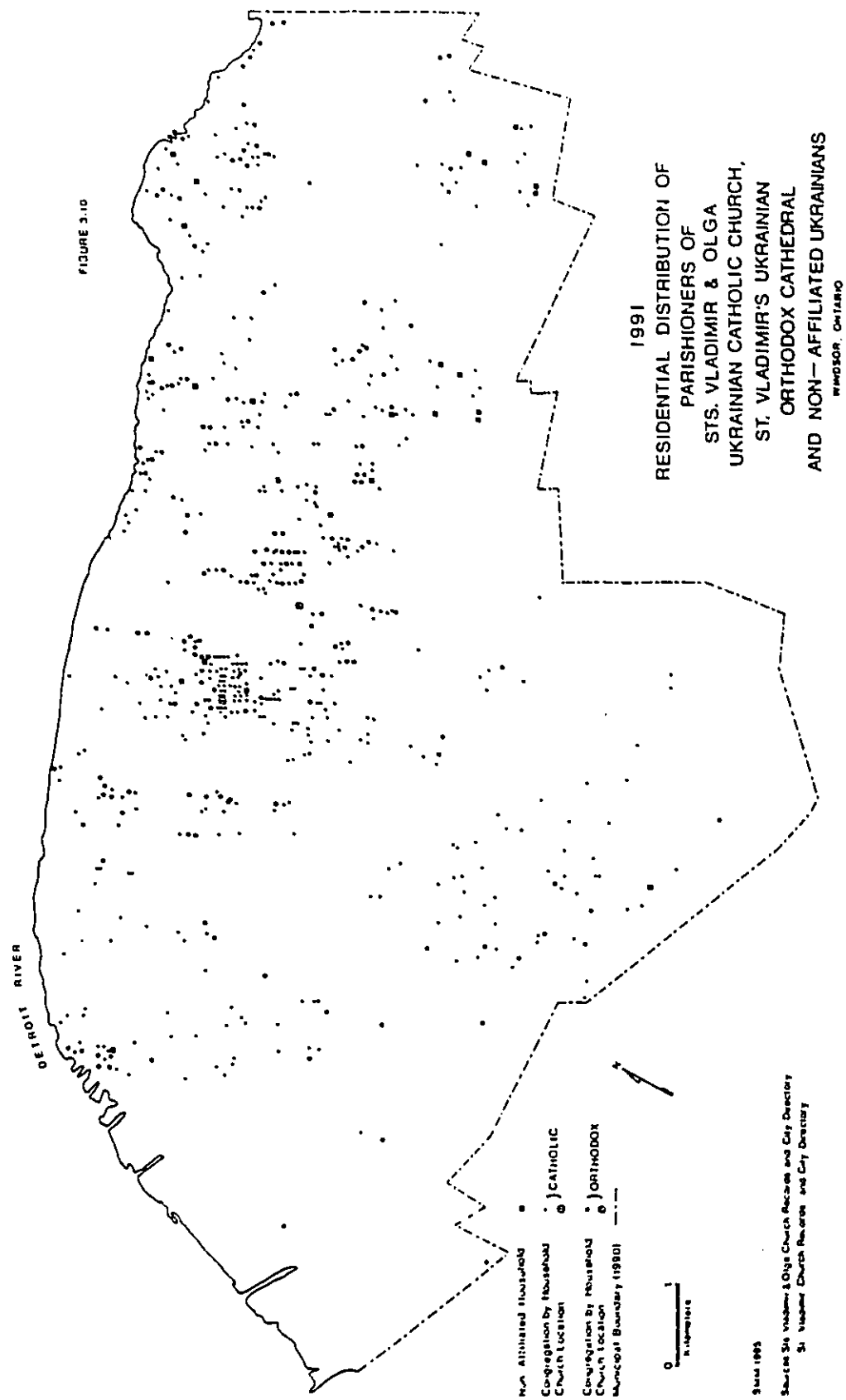


Figure 3.9 illustrates the 1951 residential distribution with 538 households for Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church, 134 households for St. Vladimir Orthodox Cathedral and 2 households for non-affiliated Ukrainians. Two distinct clusterings were seen in the 1951 distribution. The first clustering was in the Langlois Avenue and Parent Avenue area which encompassed Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church. The second clustering was located in the Drouillard Road and Cadillac Street area. Within this cluster, St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church was located on the corner of Seminole Street and Hickory Road.

Although there appears to be significant distribution of households throughout the city, the greatest numbers tended to be located relatively close to the two churches within these two clusters. The two clusters had a mixture of members from both parishes although more Catholics tended to be closer to the Ukrainian Catholic church and more Orthodox tended to be in the Drouillard Road area. The most distinct patterns of concentrations tended to follow two linear north-west to south-east corridors along Langlois Avenue and along Drouillard Road and Cadillac Street. Much of the western, eastern and southern parts of Windsor had very little Ukrainian parishioners in comparison to the two clusters.

In Figure 3.9, the 1951 distribution patterns showed a similarity between the Catholic and Orthodox groups. In both groups, their members tended to be located within a close

range and often within walking distance of their respective churches.

Although there were households located some distance from the two churches, suburbanization in 1951 had not greatly influenced residential location as the largest numbers tended to be concentrated in the two clusters. Other households were dispersed sporadically throughout the city with no other distinct clusters formed. The intermixing of the parish households of the Catholics and Orthodox showed that although they attended different churches, the people were comfortable having each other as neighbours. This intermixing was especially evident when one examined the household distributions in the Drouillard Road area (see Figure 3.9). No distinct segregation in household location were evident between parishioners of the two churches.

In the case of non-affiliated Ukrainians since only two households were recorded no definitive statements can be made regarding their distribution patterns. However, it can be noted that of the two non-affiliated Ukrainian households recorded, one was located in the Langlois Avenue concentration and the other in the Drouillard Road concentration.

Figure 3.10 illustrates the 1991 residential distribution with 441 households for Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church and 159 households for St. Vladimir Orthodox Cathedral. In the case of the Orthodox membership list, it is important to note that of the households listed, 51

consisted of members who lived outside of the city limits of Windsor or in Michigan and were therefore not included on the map. Non-affiliated households consisted of only the 25 interviewed.

Although the two clusters noted on the 1951 distribution were still present, they were not as distinct and concentrated in the 1991 study year. The cluster noted in the Drouillard and Cadillac Road area had, by 1991, been substantially reduced to a few remaining households at its southern portion near Tecumseh Road. This area exhibited a sparse and less clustered pattern which is quite different from the sharp linear clusters of 1951. Of importance to note was the continuation of a large concentration of Orthodox households in the area located within walking distance to the Orthodox church. The lack of households northwest and southeast of the Orthodox church can be attributed to the designation of these areas as industrial lands.

The second cluster in the Langlois Avenue area surrounding the Ukrainian Catholic church was still evident. The households remain located within walking distance to the church. The large number of Ukrainian Catholic parishioners can perhaps provide an explanation for this continued concentration. Within both clusters and elsewhere within the city, the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox households were intermixed. As in the case of the 1951 distribution, there appeared to be no distinct division in the location of

the households.

Non-affiliated Ukrainian households tended to be dispersed throughout the city. Three households were located in the Langlois Avenue cluster. The majority however, were dispersed to the extremes of the city: 1 in Windsor's west end, 1 in South Windsor, 6 on the east end in Riverside, 9 in the Fontainbleu area and 5 in Forest Glade. The limited number of households, 25, in the non-affiliated groups made it difficult to make a confident statement regarding their distribution patterns.

Overall, in 1991, a greater representation of households in the western, eastern and southern extremes of the city was evident. A large majority of the households were randomly dispersed in the subdivisions of Forest Glade (the easternmost section of Windsor), Fountainbleu (located to the west of Forest Glade) and in South Windsor. The 1991 households had a more dispersed and random distribution and there appeared to be no new areas of clustering being established to replace the declining ones.

Of all the changes evident in the distribution patterns of household location, the most significant seemed to be the increased numbers of households in the suburbs in the southern and eastern portions of Windsor. By 1991, the clustering of households was not as concentrated around the churches as it was in 1951. However, a significant number of households were still present in the immediate surrounding areas of the two

churches with continued intermixing of Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox parishioners.

ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTIONS

Both the census data and the individual household residential locations revealed the existence of two significant concentrations of Ukrainians in Windsor for 1951. The first, located in the area surrounding Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church, was found along Langlois Avenue. The second, concentrated along Drouillard Road, encompassed both the old location of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the old location of the Ford Motor Company.

Not far from the Langlois Avenue concentration were located automotive companies such as Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company, Union Foundry, the old Chrysler assembly factory and Champion Spark Plug. In the Drouillard Road area, the Dominion Forge and Stamping Company, the old Ford Motor Company automobile assembly plant and the new Chrysler assembly plant were the key automotive industries.

The availability of jobs at these factories in combination with the proximity of a familiar ethnic institution such as a church would have made these areas attractive to any new immigrants. Not only could economical needs be met in these areas, social activities based on one's culture could also be pursued. Over time, as Ukrainian

immigrants became more comfortable in their new surroundings and more prosperous, other more attractive residential locations were considered for social and personal reasons.

Although the concentrations of 1951 are only slightly present in the 1991 distributions, their continued existence is significant. The clustering around the churches suggests that some factors continue to exert a force of attraction for residents to remain in the old ethnic concentrations. The identification of these factors will further be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION DECISIONS

The following analysis focuses on the factors of the residential location decision of the parishioners of the Ukrainian Catholic church, the Ukrainian Orthodox church and non-affiliated Ukrainians. Responses from the questionnaires regarding the residential location decision will be examined as either personal factors, cultural factors or societal factors.

PERSONAL FACTORS

The individual choices of the resident characterize personal factors. Question 6 of the questionnaire deals with personal factors that influenced the individual's choice to locate at their particular residence (see Appendix I). The responses provided by the three study groups are listed in Table 4.1 as percentage values.

Table 4.1

Factors Influencing Decision To Move Into Current House

| Ukrainian Catholics | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Very Important | Extremely Important | |
|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----|
| a) location close to: | | | | | |
| 1.church | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 80 |
| 2.work | 0 | 20 | 35 | 15 | 30 |
| 3.school | 15 | 20 | 46 | 17 | 2 |
| 4.family | 0 | 5 | 28 | 37 | 30 |
| 5.friends | 0 | 13 | 31 | 26 | 30 |

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 6.social activities | 0 | 6 | 30 | 44 | 20 |
| 7.shopping | 0 | 18 | 39 | 28 | 15 |

Ukrainian Orthodox

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| a)location close to: | | | | | |
| 1.church | 5 | 30 | 37.5 | 22.5 | 5 |
| 2.work | 0 | 7.5 | 45 | 25 | 22.5 |
| 3.school | 10 | 25 | 42.5 | 20 | 2.5 |
| 4.family | 5 | 17.5 | 32.5 | 37.5 | 7.5 |
| 5.friends | 5 | 20 | 35 | 15 | 25 |
| 6.social activities | 0 | 7.5 | 35 | 30 | 27.5 |
| 7.shopping | 2.5 | 25 | 40 | 22.5 | 10 |

Non-affiliated Ukrainians

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| a)location close to: | | | | | |
| 1.church | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2.work | 96 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3.school | 4 | 0 | 28 | 60 | 8 |
| 4.family | 96 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5.friends | 80 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 6.social activities | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7.shopping | 40 | 60 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

When examining this table a number of similarities and differences appear between the three groups. In the case of the Ukrainian Catholics, the location of the house close to the church was found to be extremely important accounting for 80% of the responses. This strong response is significant when one considers that even today, a strong presence of Ukrainian Catholic households can still be found surrounding the Ukrainian Catholic church (see Figure 3.10). For

Ukrainian Orthodox, a location close to the Ukrainian Orthodox church was only important, accounting for 37.5% of the respondents with the next highest being somewhat important at 30% (see Table 4.1). Although some Ukrainian Orthodox households are still located near the Ukrainian Orthodox church, the pattern examined in Figure 3.10 suggests greater dispersion by this group into areas away from the church.

For non-affiliated Ukrainians, locating a house near the church was not important in all 25 cases. In today's society, the role of the church has been greatly diminished from past years. In many cases, the church no longer plays a central role in a person's life as other activities and priorities become more important. This is evident when one examines attendance at church services examined in question 16 of the questionnaire (see Appendix I). Table 4.2 lists the responses for all three study groups.

Table 4.2

Service Attendance For The Three Study Groups

| | Not At All | Only once or twice a year | Less than once a month | Monthly | Weekly |
|----------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------|--------|
| Ukrainian Catholics | 0 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 87 |
| Ukrainian Orthodox | 0 | 2.5 | 5 | 22.5 | 70 |
| Non- affiliated Ukrainians | 8 | 64 | 8 | 0 | 20 |

For Ukrainian Catholics, 87% said they attend church on a weekly basis while 70% of the Ukrainian Orthodox responded that they attend weekly (see Table 4.2). Of the non-affiliated Ukrainians however, only 20% reported attending weekly, whereas 64% indicated attending only once or twice a year (see Table 4.2). By attending church on a weekly basis, a greater sense of community between the parishioners develops not only as a religious community but on a personal level as well. If one attends church sporadically, few ties are made with that community.

The strength of ties to the church community are also reflected in the length of membership to a particular church. The responses of the study groups are shown in Table 4.3 as percentages.

Table 4.3

| | Length of Membership to Parish | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Ukrainian Catholics | Ukrainian Orthodox | Non-Affiliated Ukrainians |
| Less than a year | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 to 10 years | 0 | 0 | 32 |
| 11 to 25 years | 0 | 2.5 | 68 |
| 26 to 40 years | 91 | 92.5 | 0 |
| 41 or more years | 9 | 5 | 0 |
| Your whole life | 0 | 0 | 0 |

For Ukrainian Catholics, 91% recorded being parishioners at Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church for 26 to 40 years (see Table 4.3). 92.5% of Ukrainian Orthodox responded to being parishioners at St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral for 26 to 40 years (see Table 4.3). By being parishioners at their respective churches for such a lengthy period of time, many strong ties and bonds have been developed over the years. In the case of non-affiliated Ukrainians, a shorter length of membership (32% belonging 2 to 10 years and 68% belonging 11 to 25 years, see Table 4.3) in combination with the previously identified sporadic church attendance, result in weaker ties to the church community.

Strong ties to a church community would involve greater participation in events and organizations sponsored by that church. 44% of Ukrainian Catholics recorded locating one's place of residence near social activities as being very important while Ukrainian Orthodox had 35% recording this factor as being important (see Table 4.1). Greater friendship ties would also be formed and this is evident when one examines the responses to the question regarding location of friends as a factor in residence location. 31% of Ukrainian Catholics and 35% of Ukrainian Orthodox were recorded as listing this factor as important in their residence location decision (see Table 4.1).

All non-affiliated Ukrainians responded that church and social activities were not important in affecting their

residence location (see Table 4.1). With limited church attendance, both personal and social ties of the non-affiliated Ukrainians with their religious community would be limited. Moreover, the non-affiliated Ukrainians, rated family (96%) and friends (80%) as not important factors in residence location (see Table 4.1). These high percentages suggest that any kinship ties, be they family, social, or religious, are perceived as unimportant in residence location decisions.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Already touched upon in personal, cultural factors as well encompass membership in various organizations, societies and groups. In the case of both Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox, participation in Ukrainian events in both the churches as well as outside the churches is quite high. Responses to question 18 (which asked about church organizations and events) and question 21 (which dealt with non-church organizations) revealed strong participation in a wide variety of Ukrainian-orientated groups (see Appendix I).

Events at the churches included the choir, women's leagues, men's leagues, Carrousel organization committees, church committees, senior citizens' groups, youth groups, and at the Ukrainian Orthodox church, weekly perogy making on Wednesdays. Outside of organizations of the churches, many responses indicated membership and active participation in

Ukrainian organizations such as the Ukrainian Youth Association, the Ukrainian National Federation, Ukrainian Credit Union Committee, and the Ukrainian Business and Professional Association.

Many of these organizations have their own facilities in Windsor (Figure 4.1). An examination of Figure 4.1 shows that not only are these facilities located within a close proximity to the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox churches, they are also found within the Langlois Avenue concentration identified in both 1951 and 1991. The existence of these facilities in an identified area of high concentration of Ukrainian households would suggest that there is a strong correlation between the choice of residence location and participation in Ukrainian cultural organizations.

In the case of non-affiliated Ukrainians, membership was limited to non-Ukrainian organizations. Among those listed were sports organizations, school associations, the Boy Scouts of Canada as well as the Girl Guides of Canada. These types of activities and organizations can be found throughout the city and attract membership from a wide range of people of different backgrounds and are not limited to people of a certain ethnic group.

SOCIETAL FACTORS

Societal factors are mainly categorized by socioeconomic factors such as employment. From responses to question 10

FIGURE 4.1

LOCATION OF FACILITIES OF UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS
WINDSOR, ONTARIO



- A - Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Church
- B - Ukrainian Youth Association Hall
- C - Ukrainian National Federation Hall
- D - Ukrainian Credit Union
- E - Sister Servants of Mary Residence
- F - St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral - 1991
- G - St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church - 1951
- H - Ukrainian Prosvita Association Hall
- I - Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple

in the questionnaire (see Appendix I), it was found that 93% of the Ukrainian Catholics are retired and 7% are currently employed. For Ukrainian Orthodox, 95% were retired and only 5% were currently employed. The large percentage of retirees in the sample suggests that parishes are composed of a large number of older people. For non-affiliated Ukrainians, 23 people or 92% of the respondents recorded their current status as employed. Clearly, the non-affiliated Ukrainians represent a group of younger people.

Table 4.4 lists the occupations of the retirees when they were employed as percentages.

Table 4.4

Occupations of Retirees Before Retirement

| | Ukrainian Catholics | Ukrainian Orthodox |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Automotive Industry | 92 | 89 |
| Mining Industry (Windsor Salt) | 4 | 3 |
| Food Industry | 2 | 3 |
| Other | 2 | 5 |

The most distinct features of Table 4.4 are the extremely high percentages recorded in the automotive industry. For Ukrainian Catholics it was 92% and for Ukrainian Orthodox 89% (see Table 4.4). The large concentration along the Drouillard Road corridor identified in the 1951 household residential distribution can perhaps be attributed to the high percentages of Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox employed in the

automotive industry. The Ford Motor Company assembly plant was originally located along the northern portion of Drouillard Road until it moved to Oakville in 1954.

Locating one's residence close to the place of work would have been very convenient. The responses in Table 4.1 concerning the location of residence close to work indicated that for the Ukrainian Catholics, 35% identified this as being important while Ukrainian Orthodox responses were recorded at 45%. These high percentages indicate that one's workplace played an important role in the consideration of residence location. The result is that not only were Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox found to locate near their respective churches in the 1950s but also near their places of employment.

High percentages of employment in the automotive industry are due in part to the level of education completed by the respondents. Table 4.5 lists the responses of the three study groups as percentages.

Table 4.5

| | Level of Education Completed | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------|---------|------------|
| | No formal schooling | Elementary | High School | College | University |
| Ukrainian Catholics | 4 | 89 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Ukrainian Orthodox | 0 | 92.5 | 5 | 2.5 | 0 |
| Non-affiliated Ukrainians | 0 | 0 | 16 | 4 | 80 |

The most distinct feature of Table 4.5 is the difference in the level of education completed between Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox in comparison to Non-affiliated Ukrainians. 89% of Ukrainian Catholics and 92.5% of Ukrainian Orthodox responded as having completed an elementary school level of education (see Table 4.5). The automotive industry provided jobs where high levels of education were not required and training was provided by the company in the use of the machinery. Ukrainians, with little formal education, were therefore attracted to these jobs.

Non-affiliated Ukrainians, with 80% having completed university degrees, have a wide variety of employment opportunities available to them. This was evident in the responses concerning occupation. 25 different responses, covering a wide range of careers in various fields were recorded. Not limited to one industry or field, their jobs were located in places throughout the city with no distinct concentrations. They were also younger, more mobile, and for them, location close to work was not as important. However, they were more commonly in a child-rearing cycle, and for them, location close to school was more important.

ANALYSIS OF THE THREE FACTORS

The results of the questionnaire would tend to indicate that Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox were influenced by the three factors of personal, cultural and

societal to some extent. Involvement with both the religious Ukrainian community and the Ukrainian community as a whole brought members of both churches into contact with fellow Ukrainians who shared similar ideas, values and beliefs. The development of kinship and friendship ties could easily be fostered and developed in these types of situations. A sense of community was developed between the people.

The other strong factor was societal. Not only were these two groups interacting on a social level, but also on an economic level by working in the same industry. Their elementary level education limited the job opportunities available and many found employment in the automotive industry. Their occupations brought them together on a similar socioeconomic level within the community. With similar occupations and salaries, they were able to acquire residences and property of value similar to their fellow Ukrainians. This would account for the concentrations of Ukrainians in certain areas such as the Langlois Avenue and Drouillard Road corridors identified in the 1951 residential distribution.

The non-affiliated Ukrainians, with fewer ties to the Ukrainian community, held different occupations with varied and often higher salaries due to higher levels of education completed. Their choice of residential location became a very personal matter. Based on income and personal choices, the non-affiliated Ukrainians had no 'ties' which obligated them

to locate in a certain area. This was clearly reflected in the very dispersed pattern exhibited by their residential location in 1991.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Initial concentrations and clustering of Ukrainians in Windsor along Drouillard Road and Langlois Avenue are attributable to the availability of employment. Finding themselves on a similar economic level, through their employment in the automotive industry, the choice in residential location for Ukrainians was not only a matter of convenience but one of affordability. The close proximity to industry gave the areas of Drouillard Road and Langlois Avenue the perception of lower class neighbourhoods. New immigrants were attracted to areas offering employment and low housing costs. As more Ukrainians located residences close to their place of employment, a Ukrainian community developed.

The curtailment of immigration of Ukrainians to Canada in the period after World War II had a dramatic impact on the patterns of distributions of Ukrainians in Windsor. Over time, with no new Ukrainian immigration populations to draw from, the concentrations of Ukrainians in Windsor began to decline. Greater interaction and association with the Windsor community weakened ties to the traditional Ukrainian community. With more choice and opportunities, the Ukrainian population began to disperse throughout all areas of the city as evident in the 1991 distributions.

Remnants of the concentrations identified in the 1951 distributions are visible today to some extent. The southern portion of Drouillard Road still exhibits some concentration of Ukrainians as does the Langlois Avenue area. As responses in the survey indicated, these concentrations are attributable to the elderly population's desire to continue living in close proximity to the church. Over the years, ties to the Ukrainian community both at church and socially gave rise to the development of friendships and strong bonds to the community.

Without an influx of new immigrants and increased interest in organizations of the Ukrainian community, patterns of residential location of Ukrainians will continue to disperse. Greater acculturation and association with Canadian society as a whole diminishes the role of the Ukrainian community in providing for the needs of its members. The maintenance and continuation of identifiable concentrations of Ukrainians in the future is in doubt.

APPENDIX I

Dear Resident,

My name is Sandra Mudryj and I am a Master's student in the Department of Geography at the University of Windsor. I am interested in changes in residential patterns, specifically those of Ukrainians within the City of Windsor. I will be surveying Ukrainian households to find out factors influencing the decision regarding residential location. The results will be written in the form of a Master's thesis for the University of Windsor.

Your household was chosen at random. The information that you provide will be held in the strictest confidence. All responses will be presented in the form of statistical summaries from which no individual or household can be identified.

If you have any concerns you may contact my research advisor, Dr. Ihor Stebelsky, in the Geography Department at the University of Windsor, telephone 253-4232, extension 2177.

Your co-operation is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Sandra Mudryj

1. a) How fluent are you in the following languages?

| | None | Poor | Fair | Good | Fluent |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| a) English: | | | | | |
| Spoken | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Written | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| b) Ukrainian: | | | | | |
| Spoken | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Written | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| c) Other: _____ | | | | | |
| Spoken | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Written | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

b) Do you consider yourself to be of:

a) Ukrainian ethnic origin? yes____ no____

b) Other: _____?

2. When did you move into this house? _____

3. At what address did you live before moving to this dwelling?

a) Address _____

b) Was it a house____, apartment____, condo____, other____?

4. How long had you lived at that previous address?

5. Identify the level of importance of the following factors in influencing your decision to move from your previous address to the new address?

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|---|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| a) change in location of employment. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) change in family status (e.g. marriage, children). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|--|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| c) change in importance of location of church. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) wanted location with better access to social activities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) wanted a larger home. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f) wanted to downsize. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| g) change in family income. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| h) desire to be closer to schools. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| i) new home located in a more desirable neighbourhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| j) other____. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

6. Rank the following factors based on their importance in influencing your decision to move into this house.

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| a) location close to: | | | | | |
| 1. church. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. work. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. school. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. family. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. friends. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. social activities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. shopping. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|--|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| b) the house based on: | | | | | |
| 1. style (e.g. ranch). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. people living in the neighbourhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. quality of the neighbourhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. size. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) other? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

7. Before you moved into this house, how familiar were you with this:

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| a) area? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) street? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

8. Prior to moving into this house, how important were the following factors in familiarizing you with this area.

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|--|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1. the route taken to work. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. the way to shopping. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. the way to church. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. the way to social activities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Ukrainian friends lived in this area. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Ukrainian relatives lived in this area. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | Not Important | Somewhat Important | Important | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|---|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 7. friends (other than Ukrainians) lived in the vicinity. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. real estate agent familiarized you with the area. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. reputation of area. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. other? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

9. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| No formal schooling | Elementary | High School | College | University |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10. What is your current employment status?

_____ retired

Please go to Part A.

OR

_____ employed _____ unemployed

Please go to Part B.

PART A - TO BE ANSWERED ONLY BY THOSE WHO ARE RETIRED

1. For the people in this house who worked, where was their place of work located?

| | Person | Company Name | Company Address |
|----|-------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. | Male Female | _____ | _____ |
| 2. | Male Female | _____ | _____ |
| 3. | Male Female | _____ | _____ |
| 4. | Male Female | _____ | _____ |

2. Where did you live when you worked if your residence was different from where you live now?

Address_____

a) Why did you move?_____

3. When you were working, how did you consider transportation to be in terms of getting to and from the following places:

| | No Problem At All | Minor Problem | Moderate Problem | Serious Problem | Very Serious Problem |
|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1.shopping | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2.work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4.friends house | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5.church | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6.social activities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

4. When you were working, which mode(s) of transportation did you use for these activities?

| | Walk | Bike | Car | Taxi | Bus | Not Applicable |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------|
| 1. shopping | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. work | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. friends house | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. church | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6. social activities | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Now that you are retired, please consider the following questions as they apply to you today.

5. How do you consider transportation to be in terms of getting to and from the following places:

| | No Problem At All | Minor Problem | Moderate Problem | Serious Problem | Very Serious Problem |
|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1.shopping | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2.school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3.friends house | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4.church | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5.social activities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

6. Which mode(s) of transportation do you use for these activities?

| | Walk | Bike | Car | Taxi | Bus | Not Applicable |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------------|
| 1. shopping | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. friends house | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. church | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. social activities | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

 PART B - TO BE ANSWERED ONLY BY THOSE WHO ARE EMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED ONLY

1. For the people in this house who work, where is their place of work located?

| Person | Company Name | Company Address |
|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Male Female | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Male Female | _____ | _____ |
| 3. Male Female | _____ | _____ |

2. How do you consider transportation to be in terms of getting to and from the following places?

| | No Problem At All | Minor Problem | Moderate Problem | Serious Problem | Very Serious Problem |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. shopping | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. school | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. friends house | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. church | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. social activities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

3. Which mode(s) of transportation do you use for these activities?

| | Walk | Bike | Car | Taxi | Bus | Not Applicable |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------------|
| 1. shopping | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. work | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. friends house | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. church | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6. social activities | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

11. What year did your family purchase its first car? _____

12. How many adults live in this house?

| | SEX | AGE | BIRTHPLACE |
|----|----------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | c) _____ |
| 2. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | c) _____ |
| 3. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | c) _____ |
| 4. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | c) _____ |

13. How many children live in this house?

| | SEX | AGE | BIRTHPLACE |
|----|----------------|------------------------|------------|
| 1. | a) Male Female | b) 0-4 5-9 10-14 15-18 | c) _____ |
| 2. | a) Male Female | b) 0-4 5-9 10-14 15-18 | c) _____ |
| 3. | a) Male Female | b) 0-4 5-9 10-14 15-18 | c) _____ |
| 4. | a) Male Female | b) 0-4 5-9 10-14 15-18 | c) _____ |

a) If children are no longer living in this house how many lived here and at what age did each leave?

| | SEX | AGE | | | | |
|----|----------------|--------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | | | | |
| 2. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | | | | |
| 3. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | | | | |
| 4. | a) Male Female | b) 19-24 25-34 35-50 51-64 65+ | | | | |

b) Where do they live now?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

14. Do you have relatives living in this city?

No

Yes If so, please list below:

| | Relation | Address |
|----|----------|---------|
| 1. | _____ | _____ |
| 2. | _____ | _____ |
| 3. | _____ | _____ |
| 4. | _____ | _____ |
| 5. | _____ | _____ |

15. What church do you belong to?

Name _____
Address _____

16. How often do you attend services there?

Not at all Only once or Less than once Monthly Weekly
 twice a year a month

 17. How long have you belonged to this parish?

Less than 2 to 10 11 to 25 26 to 40 41 or more Your whole
 a year years years years life

18. Do you and your immediate family participate in any of the organizations or events sponsored by the church?

No Yes If so,

a) List the names of these organizations or events and how often you participate in them.

| Name | Never | Seldom | Sometimes | Usually | Always |
|----------|-------|--------|-----------|---------|--------|
| 1. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

19. Did you belong to another church before you became a member here?

No Yes If so,

- a) What was the name of the church? _____
- b) How long did you belong to that church? _____
- c) Why did you change churches? _____

20. Did you and your immediate family participate in any of the organizations or events sponsored by the church you had previously attended?

No Yes If so,

a) List the names and how often you participated in them.

| Name | Never | Seldom | Sometimes | Usually | Always |
|----------|-------|--------|-----------|---------|--------|
| 1. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

21. Do you and your immediate family belong to any non-church organizations outside of the church?

No Yes If so,

a) List the names of these organizations and how often you participate in them.

| Name | Never | Seldom | Sometimes | Usually | Always |
|----------|-------|--------|-----------|---------|--------|
| 1. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

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