

**SENSE OF COMMUNITY AMONG
UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC
YOUNG ADULTS:
A QUALITATIVE VIEW**

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By
Maria Victoria Lizak

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Sense of Community Among Ukrainian Catholic Young Adults:

A Qualitative View

Abstract

This study explored the experiences of young adult members of a Ukrainian Catholic community in Western Canada using the concept of sense of community as a conceptual framework. Psychological sense of community refers to “a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment to be together” (p. 9, McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Sense of community has been studied primarily at the level of the individual, rather than the group or community. This research used focus groups to move beyond the level of the individual to examine the sense of community shared by Ukrainian Catholic young adults. A total of 22 young adults participated in six focus groups.

Qualitative analysis of focus group transcripts using Ethnograph 5.07 (Robbins & Seidel, 1998) revealed that belonging, familiarity with community members, and trust that the community would support them were three core aspects of the sense of community shared by these young adults. Three supportive aspects that increased sense of community also emerged from this study: participation in church services and community events, similarity in members’ beliefs, values, interests and goals, and a strong sense of one’s ethnic and religious heritage and traditions. These findings argue for the inclusion of participation as a dimension of sense of community rather than a correlate.

Challenges to all of these aspects tended to decrease young adults’ sense of community. Lack of shared beliefs, feelings of intimidation in a new parish and hypocrisy in the actions of other community members were especially damaging to young adults’ sense of community. Based on this information, four areas of need were identified for the Ukrainian Catholic young adult population and suggestions were made to help strengthen their sense of community.

The use of focus groups allowed for the emergence of a description of sense of community that was reflective of the ethnic, religious and developmental characteristics of the population under study. Future research should employ methodologies that are sensitive to the context-dependent nature of this construct.

This work is dedicated to Father Eugene Rudachek, the first priest with whom my family developed a personal relationship. It was through Father Rudachek's influence that we were drawn into the Ukrainian Catholic community.

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I would especially like to thank the Ukrainian Catholic young adults from across Saskatchewan who participated in this study. Their willingness to share their experiences growing up as a member of the Ukrainian Catholic community made this research possible. My thanks go also to my assistant moderator Greg Thomas and to Jana Thomas for their assistance with this research. In addition, I would like to acknowledge the generous support of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Saskatoon and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council in their funding of this project.

Sense of community is about personal relationships. My warmest thanks go to all those people who have touched my life in a special way and contributed to my sense of community: to Father Eugene Rudachek for drawing us into the Ukrainian Catholic community, to Father Andrew Wach and Father Michael Winn for educating us on the beauties of Eastern Christianity, to my parents Victor and Agnes Kozak for supporting my growing connection with the Ukrainian Catholic Church and instilling in our family a sense of community with the universal Catholic Church, to the parishioners of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Tyndall, Manitoba and Immaculate Conception Church in Cooks Creek, Manitoba for making our family feel welcome in their parishes. I also wish to thank my husband Robert, my daughter Anna, and all my treasured Ukrainian Catholic friends for their love and friendship. Finally, I wish to specially mention several other dear friends of mine who are part of "a much bigger circle" in my

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Table of Contents

Permission to Use	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	xii
CHAPTER ONE	
Formulating and Reformulating a Research Question: Young Adults Experiences With(in) The Ukrainian Catholic Community	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Outline of the Dissertation	4
1.3 Concerns of the Eparchy of Saskatoon about Participation of Young Adults	5
1.4 My Background	7
CHAPTER TWO	
Choosing a Lens: Using Psychological Sense of Community to Study the Experiences of Ukrainian Catholic Young Adults	13
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Sense of Community	13
2.2.1 McMillan & Chavis (1986)	14
2.2.2 McMillan (1996)	16
2.3 Dimensions and Correlates of Psychological Sense of Community	18
2.3.1 Dimensions	18
2.3.2 Correlates	22
2.4 Criticisms of Psychological Sense of Community Theory	23
2.4.1 Definitional Criticisms	23
2.4.2 Conceptual Criticisms	25
2.4.2.1 Narrowness of the Concept	25
2.4.2.2 Problems with the Assumptive Base	28
2.4.2.3 Ontological criticisms	30
2.4.3 Methodological Criticisms	31
2.4.4 Ramifications for the Proposed Study	34
2.5 Sense of Community and the Population under Study	36
2.5.1 Sense of Community in Ethnic Groups	36
2.5.2 Sense of Community in Religious Groups	39
2.5.3 Sense of Community in Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood ..	41
2.5.4 Sense of Community Where Membership is Declining	44
2.6 Summary	49

CHAPTER THREE

Collecting and Analysing the Data: Using Focus Groups to Examine Sense of Community Shared among Ukrainian Catholic Young Adults	51
3.1 Introduction	51
3.2 Restatement of Goals	51
3.3 Study Design	53
3.3.1 Focus Groups - Qualitative Method Beyond the Individual Level	53
3.3.2 Establishing the Trustworthiness of the Data	55
3.3.3 Potential Benefits and Problems of Resident Research	59
3.4 Development of Focus Group Questions	62
3.5 Procedure	64
3.5.1 Contracting with the Eparchy	64
3.5.2 Prospective Participants and Creation of Registry	64
3.5.3 Contacting Prospective Participants	65
3.5.3.1 Requesting Participation and Demographic Questions.	65
3.5.3.2 Selection of focus group participants	67
3.5.4 Conducting the Focus Groups	68
3.5.5 Ethical Considerations	69
3.5.5.1 Confidentiality	69
3.5.5.2 Consent Form	70
3.5.5.3 Feedback And Debriefing	70
3.6 Demographic Information	70
3.6.1 Ukrainian Catholic Young Adults in Saskatchewan	70
3.6.2 Focus Group Participants	72
3.7 Data Analysis - Focus Group Data	77
3.7.1 Quality Check on Focus Group Questions	78
3.7.2 Initial Attempts at Analysis	82
3.7.3 Continuing with Data Analysis	90
3.7.4 Finalizing the Analysis	95

CHAPTER FOUR

Defining Sense of Community	99
4.1 Introduction	99
4.2 Definitions of a Ukrainian Catholic	99
4.3 Connections to the Ukrainian Catholic Community	101
4.4 Core Aspects of Sense of Community	102
4.4.1 Belonging	104
4.4.2 Familiarity	104
4.4.3 Trust/Support	107
4.5 Supportive Aspects of Sense of Community	108
4.5.1 Participation	108
4.5.1.1 Attendance	109
4.5.1.2 Service to the Community	110
4.5.1.3 Events	111

4.5.1.4 Customs	112
4.5.1.5 Emotional Participation	113
4.5.1.6 Spiritual Participation	113
4.5.2 Similarity	116
4.5.2.1 Shared Beliefs, Values and Interests	116
4.5.2.2 Symbols	117
4.5.2.3 Goals	118
4.5.2.4 Choice	118
4.5.2.5 Understanding	119
4.5.3 Heritage	120
4.5.3.1 Upbringing	120
4.5.3.2 Ethnic and religious identity	120
4.5.3.3 Tradition	122
4.5.3.4 Connection to Ukrainians	123
4.5.3.5 Family	124
4.6 Challenges to Sense of Community	125
4.6.1 Challenges to Participation	126
4.6.2 Challenges to Familiarity	129
4.6.3 Challenges to Similarity	131
4.6.4 Challenges to Heritage	136
4.6.5 Challenges to Trust/Support	137
4.7 Experiences of Sense of Community Within the Ukrainian Catholic Community	137
4.7.1 When Sense of Community Was Most Experienced	137
4.7.2 Is Sense of Community Changing Over Time?	138
4.7.3 Most Crucial Aspect of Sense of Community	141
4.7.4 What Would Make Sense of Community More Complete	141
4.8 Models of Sense of Community	141

CHAPTER FIVE

Evaluating the Method and the Lens: The Influence of Focus Groups on the Data and the Adequacy of McMillan's Psychological Sense of Community Theory	145
5.1 Introduction	145
5.2 Evaluating the Method: The Influence of the Focus Group Process on the Data	145
5.3 Evaluating the Lens: The Adequacy of McMillan's Psychological Sense of Community Theory	155
5.3.1 Belonging	156
5.3.2 Familiarity	156
5.3.3 Trust/Support	157
5.3.4 Participation	159
5.3.5 Similarity	163
5.3.6 Heritage	164
5.3.7 Influence/Trust	165
5.3.8 Conclusions	167

CHAPTER SIX

Putting the Results in Context: Sense of Community and the Population Under Study	169
6.1 Introduction	169
6.2 Sense of Community in an Ethnic Group	169
6.2.1 A Brief History of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan	170
6.2.2 Acculturation and Ethnic Identity	172
6.2.3 Acculturation among Ukrainians in Canada	173
6.2.4 Effects of Ethnicity on Sense of Community	181
6.3 Sense of Community in Emerging Adulthood	184
6.3.1 Characteristics of Emerging Adulthood	185
6.3.2 Effects of Emerging Adulthood on Sense of Community	189
6.4 Sense of Community in a Religious Group	192
6.4.1 Eastern Christian Theological and Anthropological Understandings	192
6.4.1.1 Eastern Christian Understandings of Persons	192
6.4.1.2 Eastern Christian Understandings of Community - Persons in Relation	193
6.4.1.3 Eastern Christian Understandings of the Process of Building Community	194
6.4.1.4 Eastern Christianity and Macmurray's Philosophy of the Personal	194
6.4.2 Effects of Religion on Sense of Community	196
6.5 Sense of Community Where Membership is Declining	198

CHAPTER SEVEN

Putting the Results into Action	200
7.1 Introduction	200
7.2 Why Young Adults Are Not Attending Church	200
7.3 Needs of Young Adults	207
7.4 Recommendations for the Eparchy of Saskatoon	210
7.5 Directions for Future Research	218
7.6 Summary and Conclusions	221

REFERENCES	223
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APPENDIX A1 - "Confidentiality Agreement" Form	238
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APPENDIX A2 - Telephone Contact Script	239
--	-----

APPENDIX B1 - Letter to Prospective Participants	240
--	-----

APPENDIX B2 - Information for Participants	241
--	-----

APPENDIX B3 - "Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me" Form	243
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APPENDIX C - Reminder Notice	245
APPENDIX D1 - Telephone Screening Interview	246
APPENDIX D2 - Telephone Screening Questions	247
APPENDIX E - Confirmation Letter for Focus Group	250
APPENDIX F1 - Focus Group Information	251
APPENDIX F2 - “Consent to Participate in Focus Group and to Be Audiotaped” Form	253
APPENDIX G - Focus Group Interview Schedule	254
APPENDIX H1 - Focus Group Notes	256
APPENDIX H2 - Debriefing Notes	257
APPENDIX I - Participation Rates and Demographic Characteristics of Sample	258

List of Tables

Table 3.1. Demographic information for focus group participants	73
Table 3.2. Where focus group participants lived	74
Table 3.3 Ethnicity of focus group participants	75
Table 3.4. Church attendance and involvement of participants	76
Table 3.5. Analysis of the interview schedule questions	79
Table 4.1. Definitions of aspects of sense of community	103
Table 4.2. Examples of abstract generalizations	150
Table 6.1. Achievements of Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan	171
Table 6.2. Effects of ethnicity, age group & religion on SOC	182
Table 7.1. Reasons American Catholics stopped going to Church	204
Table 7.2. Young adults suggestions for action	211
Table I-1. Demographic information for Saskatchewan	261
Table I-2. Where Saskatchewan UC young adults lived	263
Table I-3. Ethnicity of Saskatchewan UC young adults	265
Table I-4. Involvement of Saskatchewan UC young adults	266
Table I-5. Church-related and cultural activities	268

CHAPTER ONE

Formulating and Reformulating a Research Question: Young Adults Experiences With(in) The Ukrainian Catholic Community

1.1 Introduction

This study grew out of the concern among members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church¹ in Saskatchewan over the declining number of young adults participating in the Church community (see section 1.3). Actually, to be completely honest, this study grew out of *my own personal concern* for the future of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (see section 1.4). The fact that other members of my community shared my concern simply strengthened my motivation to do this research.

The process of formulating research questions has been an iterative one, affected by my personal experiences, a review of the community psychology literature and my choice of lens and method. I initially wanted to know “*Why are young adults leaving the Church?*” and frankly, this is the question that remains closest to my heart. My own sense of community is affected by young adults’ lack of participation and I believe the future of my Ukrainian Catholic community is threatened by their absence.

As I reflected on the potential ramifications of using the question of why young adults are leaving as a guiding question, I anticipated a number of difficulties in answering this question. First, I thought it would be difficult to access the young adults who were not attending Church. There is no registry containing the current addresses and phone numbers of all people who were baptised in the Ukrainian Catholic Church (and could therefore be considered members of the community in a technical sense).

Second, even if I was able to track down some of these young adults, they might not be interested in taking part in a study about a community in which they were not participating.

1 I have chosen to capitalize the word Church in all instances except when the term refers to the physical building in which liturgical services are held.

Third, I considered it unlikely that individual participants would be aware of and able to articulate all the factors influencing their lack of participation in the Ukrainian Catholic community. I had in mind factors such as acculturation (e.g., Berry, 1997), urbanization and secularization which are affecting many if not all ethnic groups, rural populations and religious denominations in Canada².

Fourth, when I asked why young adults are leaving, I was ignoring the fact that some young adults are choosing to stay. It could be equally important to look at this group of young adults.

Fifth, as Bibby (1987) pointed out, there was little evidence to show that Canadians were actually deserting the nation's prominent religious groups. Although there had been a dramatic downturn in attendance in the years prior to Bibby's study, he noted that the overwhelming majority still continued to identify with the historically dominant religious groups. Few Canadians reported no religious preference. Even fewer said they had ties with newer religious groups³. If Bibby's observations also applied to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, it would be incorrect to say that young adults are *leaving*. Given these concerns, I decided to search for a more manageable research question to guide my inquiry.

I was introduced by my supervisor to McMillan's concept of psychological sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; McMillan, 1996). McMillan and Chavis originally defined psychological sense of community as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (p. 9). This description of sense of community resonated with my personal experiences with the Ukrainian Catholic community (which I narrate in section 1.4 below) and seemed a useful lens through which to view the problem of young adults' declining participation. I

2 For example, Bibby (1987) convincingly documented the impact of social and cultural change on all of Canada's major religions, across all regions of Canada over the previous two decades.

3 New census data released from Statistics Canada indicates a change in some of these trends. For example, the percentage of Canadians declaring no religious affiliation increased nearly 4 % since the 1991 census to 16.2% in 2001. Also, Bibby (2002) recently published a new book showing an increase in the percentage of Canadian teens who attend a house of worship on a weekly basis. Whereas from 1984 to 1992 weekly attendance for teens aged 15-19 had dropped from 23% to 18%, by the year 2000 that percentage was back up to 22%.

reasoned that young adults who remained involved with the Ukrainian Catholic community might have done so because they had experienced a sense of community. Conversely, those who had not experienced a sense of community might have decreased their attendance and participation. For these and other reasons detailed in section 1.4, I became convinced that it was important to inquire about young people's sense of community. My research question became: *“Does psychological sense of community help us to understand why some young adults are attending the Ukrainian Catholic Church and why some are not?”*

A review of the psychological sense of community literature (presented in chapter 2) raised some concerns for me about the way this concept had been researched and prompted further modification of my research question. I saw that there was a need to examine sense of community at more than just the level of the individual. Focus groups, which provide group data on shared and common knowledge (see chapter 3 for an explanation), seemed a suitable method to get at something beyond an individual's personal sense of community.

Based on my review of the psychological sense of community literature and my choice of methods, I split my research question into two parts. The first question followed from my desire to gain an understanding of the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults with the Ukrainian Catholic community: *“What have been the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults with(in) the Ukrainian Catholic community and how do these experiences relate to their sense of community?”* This research question allowed me to investigate both positive and negative experiences among Ukrainian Catholic young adults using sense of community as a lens.

Due to the criticisms of McMillan's two theories of psychological sense of community (see section 2.4) and the unique characteristics of the population under study (see section 2.5), I also saw a need to evaluate the adequacy of the psychological sense of community concept with respect to its ability to account for Ukrainian Catholic young adults' descriptions of their experience of sense of community. The research question that followed from this second goal was: *“How well does McMillan's concept of psychological sense of community account for the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic community?”*

The last two research questions noted above were different from the research question with which I began. As I described, the process of formulating research questions has been an iterative one, affected by my personal experiences, a review of the community psychology literature and my choice of lens and method.

1.2 Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. In the first chapter I outline the problem under investigation - the real life concern over declining numbers of parishioners, especially young adults, in the Ukrainian Catholic community in Saskatchewan. I also include in this introductory chapter a description of how my own personal experiences as a Ukrainian Catholic led me to choose psychological sense of community as a lens to study the experiences of these young adults.

In the second chapter I review the concept of psychological sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; McMillan, 1996) - the lens through which I viewed the problem of declining participation among Ukrainian Catholic young adults. I summarize both the theoretical formulations and the empirical research on the dimensions and correlates of psychological sense of community. I also present definitional, conceptual, and methodological criticisms of the theory and research related to psychological sense of community. Finally, I discuss the research on psychological sense of community pertaining to the characteristics of the population under study.

In chapter three I outline the rationale for the study design and detail the procedures followed in collecting the data, including the development of the focus group questions. I summarize the demographic information for both the sub-sample of young adults who participated in my focus groups and the entire Saskatchewan population of young adults in their age range. I also document the iterative process of qualitative data analysis followed in this study.

In the fourth chapter I present the results of my study including a definition of sense of community and its various aspects, the relationship between these aspects, and challenges to sense of community. I also include other information about young adults' experiences of sense of community within the Ukrainian Catholic community.

In chapter five I compare my results to those of other researchers who have studied sense of community. I examine the effect of using focus groups to collect the

data. I also evaluate the adequacy of McMillan's concept of psychological sense of community in terms of its ability to account for the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic community.

In the sixth chapter I discuss the results in terms of the unique characteristics of my population: an ethnic group, a group of people in transition from late adolescence to emerging adulthood, a religious community and a community experiencing a decline in membership. The historical and cultural context experienced by Ukrainian Catholics in Canada, the stages of adolescent identity development, and Eastern Christian theological and anthropological understandings of persons in community need to be examined in order to contextualize the sense of community articulated in this study.

Finally, in chapter seven I turn to the issue of acting on the results of this study. I present suggestions for action that could be taken on the part of the Eparchy of Saskatoon. I also propose directions for future research.

1.3 Concerns of the Eparchy of Saskatoon about Participation of Young Adults

At the time I was searching for a dissertation topic, members of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Saskatchewan were greatly concerned about the rapid loss of membership that they had been experiencing. At the start of 1997, there were a total of 5,969 memberships in Ukrainian Catholic parishes across the province (3618 families, 442 single, 1571 widows, 338 widowers), representing 11,528 persons. In 1986, only a decade earlier, the number of memberships was twice that number, or approximately 12,000⁴.

Although there were 100 parishes and another 30 chapels in the Eparchy of Saskatoon⁵ in 1999, only 19 parishes had a resident pastor and many received services only once a year. At the time I conducted my focus groups, there were only 16 active

4 Data taken from Parish Statistics, published yearly.

5 The Eparchy of Saskatoon covers the entire province of Saskatchewan. It was erected in 1951, when Saskatoon was chosen as the see city (the seat or jurisdiction of a bishop, from the Latin *s' d' s*, meaning seat) for the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate of Saskatchewan. The Exarchate was raised to the status of Eparchy in 1956 as part of the newly created Ukrainian Catholic Metropolia of Canada, with the Metropolitan See in Winnipeg. Some of the major centres around which Ukrainian Catholics settled and in which there are active Ukrainian Catholic parishes included Yorkton, Ituna, Kamsack, Canora, Wynyard, Melfort, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Regina and Moose Jaw.

Eparchial priests, 12 active Redemptorist priests, 5 active deacons, and approximately 20 religious women serving Ukrainian Catholics in the province of Saskatchewan⁶.

On May 1 and 2, 1998, over 200 Ukrainian Catholic clergy and laity from across Saskatchewan gathered in Saskatoon to dialogue about the future of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in this Eparchy. Topics discussed included the results of a clergy needs assessment conducted that spring in the Eparchy, the programming activities of the Eparchial Religious Education Centre, the Administration of the Eparchy and the role of the laity in the life of the Church. Two of the major themes emerging from discussions at the Dialogue Forum were a desire to "reconnect those who have left the Church" and "concern for the active and continuing participation of youth in the Church⁷." Dialogue participants were concerned about a lack of youth and young adults⁸ in their parishes. As confirmation of their concerns, youth and young adults were under-represented at the Forum.

The question was raised by dialogue participants whether as parish communities they "provide a hospitable place for young people to come⁹." They saw a need to develop ways to include youth in parish activities through mentoring and by giving them positions of responsibility. Dialogue participants stressed the importance of listening and responding to the needs of youth. They suggested that they need to "listen and act on the good suggestions of our young people," "find out why they are not attending," "find out their needs and develop programs that will keep them in the Church," and "provide a separate forum for dialogue with youth¹⁰."

6 Data taken from Parish Statistics, published yearly.

7 Report of observers, Kathy and Ivan Hitchings.

8 The terms "youth" and "young adults" are used somewhat imprecisely by the Ukrainian Catholic community. In general, "youth" refers to teenagers (although it could extend into a person's 20's) and the term "young adult" refers to anyone between the ages of 18 and 35. The confusion between these terms is illustrated by the recent World Youth Day events in Toronto. In this case, the word "youth" referred to anyone between the ages of 16 and 35. In my study, I focussed on young adults approximately 18-20 years of age.

9 Taken from notes on group discussion on the role of the laity.

10 Ibid.

The concern was raised that young people coming from rural parishes to urban centres often did not join an urban parish. In a letter to the Eparchial Renewal Commission following the Dialogue Forum, one participant commented:

On the most important question of decline in membership, I feel that the Church has done a poor job of follow-up in dealing with our people who move around, be it to obtain higher learning or take up new careers in other communities here in Saskatchewan or other parts of Canada. Basically the Church expects that these young individuals will just show up on their own. The reality is, that in perhaps as much as 80% of the cases, this just does not happen¹¹.

The writer went on to suggest that there be a co-ordinated follow-up program in which referrals could be sent to the pastor of the community to which someone has moved, so that the newcomer could be welcomed and invited to a special parish function.

It was in this context of concern about decreasing participation of young adults, that I proposed to conduct a study on sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults (see chapter 3 for the procedures I followed in contracting with the Eparchy). My personal reasons for conducting this study and selecting this topic are detailed in the next section.

1.4 My Background

My identity as a Ukrainian Catholic and my experiences with the Ukrainian Catholic community in Manitoba for 24 ½ years, and in Saskatchewan for 2 ½ years were important in bringing me to the study of sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults. My father is a first and second generation Ukrainian Canadian - his father was born in Ukraine as were his mother's parents. My mother was born in the Netherlands. Her family immigrated to Canada when she was 6 years old. Although I am both Ukrainian-Canadian and Dutch-Canadian, I identify much more strongly with my Ukrainian heritage. My parents were married in the Ukrainian Catholic Church and each of their five children received the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and first solemn communion in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. However, for the first 15 years of their marriage (and the first 14 years of my life) they mainly attended various Roman Catholic

¹¹ Letter from Alex Balych, North Battleford resident, to Eparchial Renewal Commission, dated May 4, 1998.

parishes. At that time, most of the services in the Ukrainian Catholic Church were still conducted in Ukrainian and we did not understand the language.

When I was 14, the children in our family attended summer catechism classes at the local Ukrainian Catholic parish in Tyndall, Manitoba. The next summer, we did the same and came to be friends with the priest teaching the classes - Father Eugene Rudachek. At this time we attended only the English services at the parish. When I was 15, Father Rudachek invited me and my brother Thomas to join the Ukrainian Millennium Choir of Manitoba. For the next two years he picked us up and drove us home every week. During the hour-long rides to Winnipeg, we got to know him well and he taught us many things about the Ukrainian Catholic faith and about liturgical practices.

The personal relationship we developed with Father Rudachek had a major impact on our involvement in the Ukrainian Catholic community. Despite not understanding the sermons, my brother and I begged our parents to take us more often to the parish in Tyndall: "Mom and Dad, please take us to the Ukrainian Church. We want to go to the Ukrainian Church." There were at least two reasons for wanting to attend this parish. First, I remember feeling important in this parish. I was given a lot of attention because of my singing voice and because our family was one of the few with children. I was invited to sing with the parish choir and to read the epistle in Church; my brothers served at the altar. Second, I remember wanting to belong somewhere. We had never really participated in parish activities at any of the Roman Catholic parishes we attended. "I was baptised Ukrainian Catholic," I reasoned, "I want to attend and participate in a Ukrainian Catholic Church."

For me, there are three important aspects to my identity as a Ukrainian Catholic: being Eastern Christian, being Catholic, and being Ukrainian. My Eastern Christian¹²

12 By Eastern Christian, I am referring to all those Churches which are descendants of the Christianity that developed in what is now the Middle East. This includes the Antiochian Churches (East and West Syrian), the Alexandrian Churches (Ethiopian and Coptic), the Armenian Church and the Byzantine Churches (Italo, Greek, Rumanian, Georgian, Melkite and Slavonic). Two of the best known Eastern Churches in North America, the Ukrainian and Russian Churches, are considered to be part of the Slavonic branch of the Byzantine Churches. While the majority of Eastern Christians belong to the Orthodox family of Churches, there are also a large number of Eastern Christians "reunited" with Rome who call themselves Eastern or Byzantine Catholics. Eastern Christianity can be distinguished from Western Christianity which would include the Roman Catholic Church and all Protestant denominations.

heritage is what I share with my Orthodox brothers and sisters. My Eastern Christian heritage is what distinguishes me from Western Christians, including the Roman Catholics and Protestants. My growth into Eastern Christianity was encouraged especially by two priests and personal friends, Father Andrew Wach and Father Michael Winn, who stressed the importance of returning to our Byzantine/Eastern Christian heritage, especially when it comes to liturgical practices.

Over the years I have continued to study Eastern Christian theology and anthropology (see Kozak, 1997) and some of what I have learned about Eastern Christian understandings of the human person and community is presented in chapter six. This Eastern Christian aspect to my identity is very important to me, but it may not be shared by the majority of Ukrainian Catholics, because this knowledge typically has not been passed on through the clergy, many of whom were educated in Roman Catholic seminaries (Kucharek, 1989), and because most Ukrainian Catholics have not explicitly studied this heritage.

Catholicism is what Eastern Catholics share with the Roman Catholic Church and is also an important aspect of my identity. While growing up, my siblings and I studied the history of the Roman Catholic Church and read many books on the lives of various saints at my mother's urging. My mother instilled in us a love for the Catholic Church, for the pope and for the saints who are like an extended family - people we can ask for help and whose lives serve as an example to us. In this regard, I feel a sense of community with people whom I have never met, and who lived many years before me. This feature of sense of community does not seem to be addressed in McMillan's formulation, but is something I will address in chapter two.

Finally, being Ukrainian is also an important aspect of my identity. Over the years I have made an active effort to participate more in my heritage. I have sung in several Ukrainian choirs, adopted religious and ethnic traditions, and learned to read and write in Ukrainian (although my spoken language is limited). Before I attended university, none of my closest friends were Ukrainian. Since then, I have actively sought out friendships with other Ukrainian Catholics my age and these friends form a large part of my social network. My husband too, is of Ukrainian descent from Poland and we will raise our children in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In addition to influencing my choice of

friends and spouse, my desire to stay connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community guided my choice of graduate schools (Saskatoon has an active Ukrainian Catholic community).

By considering myself Ukrainian, I distinguish myself from the anglosaxon majority and from other ethnic groups¹³ and establish a common connection with others that share my heritage. The fact that I was born into a “mixed” marriage, that we did not speak Ukrainian at home, and that we did not follow traditional Ukrainian practices at home until more recently, makes my experience different from others who grew up in homes where both parents were Ukrainian, where they spoke Ukrainian, and where they learned about cultural traditions first-hand. However, my experience is not unique, since there are now many “mixed” marriages and there is a whole range of behaviours that one may engage in and still call oneself Ukrainian. Matiasz (1995), who studied ethnicity and religion in three Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton AB, defined ethnic identity as “a collective social entity of those who share a sense of common origin, whether real or imagined,” where this “historical ethnic consciousness transcend[s] temporal, geographic and even linguistic boundaries (p. 13).” This definition resonates with my own experience since it does not require that one speak Ukrainian or that both one’s parents be Ukrainian in order for a person to share a sense of common origin with other Ukrainians. The fact that Matiasz believed that a sense of common origin could be “imagined” suggests to me that a person or group’s own perception of ethnicity could be shaped by that person or group. This fits with my own search and active efforts to belong to the Ukrainian community.

My desire to be of service to the Ukrainian Catholic community led me to undertake a needs assessment in 1998 with the Ukrainian Catholic clergy in Saskatchewan as a project for a Program Evaluation course. This same desire to be of service then led me to use my doctoral research to benefit my community by studying a real-life problem - concern over declining numbers of parishioners, especially youth and young adults in the Ukrainian Catholic community in Saskatchewan. Because belonging to this community is so important to me, it is painful to see it shrinking. As a young adult,

13 Although I distinguish myself from individuals that belong to other ethnic groups, I do share with them that common experience of “ethnicity,” of belonging to an ethnic group.

I have experienced loneliness and sadness seeing fewer young adults participating in parish life. I was therefore highly motivated to learn more about why young adults are choosing to participate or not participate in the community. Not having experienced a sense of belonging right from the beginning, I was also curious to hear about the experiences of those who have been immersed in community life from their infancy and who may have always felt that they belonged in the Ukrainian Catholic community.

To conclude, belonging to the Ukrainian Catholic community has provided me with spiritual guidance, a link to my ancestors, a distinct identity, social support, and friendships with people who share similar values and beliefs. Reflecting on my own active efforts to belong and to create a sense of community, it made sense to me to use this concept as a lens through which to study the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults. It seemed likely to me that those young adults who remained involved with the Ukrainian Catholic community had experienced a sense of community. It also seemed likely that young people who had not experienced this feeling of belonging, who did not feel that they made a difference to their parish community¹⁴, or who had not had their needs met through their parish, would be less inclined to participate in the Church. Such young adults might also be less inclined to attend Church services and become involved in a new parish when they moved from a rural area to an urban centre. Although there might be many other factors associated with a decline in Church membership and young adult participation, I believed that a decline in the sense of community experienced by these young adults could be a part of the picture. In addition, by inquiring into the nature of young adults' experiences of sense of community, I could uncover information about why other young adults continued to participate in the Ukrainian Catholic community.

14 As an example, take the article by Remarchuk (1998), a youth delegate to the 1998 National Ukrainian Catholic Congress held in Winnipeg MB. She reported: "Each province (i.e., delegates from each province) was asked to develop and present an important skit depicting what they perceive as one of their main difficulties facing their youth. The bottom line through all of them came out very clear...lack of communication! Whether it is between youth and clergy or between youth and adults, we all felt that youth needed to have and feel everyone's support. Unfortunately, Saturday night's banquet only reinforced a "lack of support" when we noticed that the youth were not even included on the banquet invitation. However, Metropolitan Michael did everything he could to make us feel welcomed and acknowledged at this banquet and we certainly thank him for his efforts."

As described above, my choice of research questions was influenced by both the concerns of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Saskatchewan and my own experiences growing up. The iterative process I followed in formulating my research questions was also affected by my review of the research pertaining to my chosen lens: psychological sense of community. In the next chapter I review this literature including the criticisms of McMillan's psychological sense of community theory and describe how Ukrainian Catholic young adults are a population with distinctive characteristics.

CHAPTER TWO

Choosing a Lens: Using Psychological Sense of Community to Study the Experiences of Ukrainian Catholic Young Adults

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the concept of psychological sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; McMillan, 1996) - the lens through which I studied the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults. The theoretical formulations and empirical research on the dimensions and correlates of psychological sense of community are reviewed. I also present definitional, conceptual, and methodological criticisms of the theory and research related to psychological sense of community. Finally, I discuss the research on psychological sense of community pertaining to the population under study - namely, psychological sense of community in ethnic groups, psychological sense of community in religious groups, psychological sense of community in emerging adulthood, and psychological sense of community in communities where membership is declining.

2.2 Sense of Community

In his book, *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for Community Psychology*, Seymour Sarason (1974) asserted that the “sense of community” concept should play a central role in the field of community psychology. Sarason considered psychological sense of community to be the “overarching value” of community psychology and defined it as “the perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them [and] the feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure” (p. 157). Despite its importance, little attention in theory, research, and practice was given to the concept until the *Journal of Community Psychology* published two special editions in 1986. In these issues, McMillan and Chavis (1986) presented their definition and theory of psychological sense of community and Chavis, Hogge, McMillan and Wandersman (1986) reported on a study that empirically validated McMillan and Chavis’ concept of

community using Brunswik's lens model. Sarason (1986) concluded with satisfaction that psychological sense of community "has become a center, an organizing instrument for action, research, and theory, a way of looking at and mapping community change, a basis for evaluating existing and proposed public policy" (p. 406-7). The sense of community theory of McMillan and Chavis (1986) and the updated version by McMillan (1996) are presented below. A critique of McMillan's two theories follows in section 2.4.

2.2.1 McMillan & Chavis (1986)

McMillan and Chavis (1986) defined sense of community as a "feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (p. 9; and McMillan, 1976). According to their definition, sense of community is comprised of four elements, the first of which is *Membership*.

Membership refers to a feeling of belonging and includes five attributes: boundaries, emotional safety, a sense of belonging and identification, personal investment and a common symbol system. Boundaries specify who is and is not considered a part of the community or group and provide emotional safety for members, by providing the structure and security that protect group intimacy. Sense of belonging and identification involves the feeling, belief, and expectation that one fits in the group and has a place there, a feeling of acceptance by the group and a willingness to sacrifice for the group. Personal investment (in terms of time, money, or even undergoing an initiation ritual) in the group plays a large role in developing an emotional connection (the fourth element). Finally, a common symbol system serves the important function of maintaining boundaries. McMillan and Chavis used the term symbol in a broad sense quoting White (1949) who defined a symbol as "a thing the value or meaning of which is bestowed upon it by those who use it" (p. 22).

Myths, rituals, rites of passage, ceremonies, holidays, language, and dress can all be used as part of a common symbol system in order to create social distance between members and non-members. In the case of Ukrainian Catholics, there are many elements to a common symbol system including language, dance, food preferences (e.g. perogies and cabbage rolls), religious customs and holidays, ethnic costumes, religious symbols (e.g., icons, the rosary, prayer beads for praying the Jesus prayer), and national symbols

(e.g., the Ukrainian flag, the trident, the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko). However, the use of these symbols to establish boundaries appears to be variable. Matiasz (1995) found individual and subgroup differences in the way Ukrainian Catholics from three urban parishes in Alberta used some of these religious symbols to establish their ethnic identity.

The second element in McMillan and Chavis' definition is *Influence*. In a strong community, McMillan and Chavis argued that influence operates bidirectionally - members are able to influence their community and the community, in turn, exerts control over the behaviour of its members. The authors posited 1) that members are more attracted to a community in which they feel they are influential, 2) that community influence on its members is an indicator of the strength of the bond between an individual and the community, 3) that the pressure for conformity and uniformity comes from the needs of the individual and the community for consensual validation (the need to know that the things individuals see, feel, and understand are experienced in the same way by others) and 4) that influence of a member on the community and influence of the community on a member operate concurrently.

The third element is *Integration and Fulfillment of Needs*, which McMillan and Chavis translated into reinforcement, or rewards. Some of the rewards that operate as reinforcers in communities are status of membership, success of the community, and the competence or capabilities of other members. The extent to which individual values are shared among community members will determine the ability of a community to organize and prioritize its need-fulfillment activities. When people who share values come together, they find that they have similar needs, priorities, and goals, thus fostering the belief that in joining together they might be better able to satisfy these needs and obtain the reinforcement they seek.

The fourth and final element in this theory is *Shared Emotional Connection*. A shared emotional connection is based upon a history of interaction or upon identification with a shared history. The strength of emotional connections is hypothesized to increase with greater number and quality of interactions, with unambiguous interactions and conflicts that are resolved, and with emotional and financial investment. Reward/honour or humiliation in the presence of community has a significant impact on the community's

attractiveness to the person. Finally, McMillan and Chavis suggested that a spiritual bond is present to some extent in all communities and especially in religious communities.

These four elements - membership, influence, integration/fulfillment of needs and shared emotional connection - are thought to operate in a somewhat linear fashion with increases in one element generally leading to increases in another. McMillan and Chavis meant for their definition and theory to apply equally to all types of communities (both geographical and relational) "because of their common core, although our four elements will be of varying importance depending on the particular community and its membership" (p. 19). They suggested that various communities could be compared and contrasted using their framework.

As an example of how these four elements might operate together, McMillan and Chavis suggested that sense of community could develop among members of an intramural dormitory basketball team in the following way:

An announcement is put up on the dormitory bulletin board. People attend the organizational meeting without knowing each other out of their individual needs (integration and fulfillment of needs). Only residents of the dorm are allowed to play on the team (membership boundaries are set). The team spends time together practising (personal investment in the group; allows for shared time and space, which in turn provides shared valence events). They play a game and win (shared successful valent event and reinforcement for being a member). As the team continues to win, team members become recognized and congratulated (reinforcement - gaining honor and status for being members). Someone suggests that they all buy matching shirts and shoes (common symbols), and they do (influence).

2.2.2 McMillan (1996)

In 1996, McMillan revisited his psychological sense of community theory in light of empirical and applied work that had been undertaken in the ten years since it was first proposed. Although the basic four elements remained, McMillan renamed them. Membership, Influence, Integration/Fulfillment of needs, and Shared Emotional Connection became Spirit, Trust, Trade, and Art. In his new definition, sense of community is "a *spirit* of belonging together, a feeling that there is an authority structure that can be *trusted*, an awareness that *trade*, and mutual benefit come from being together, and a spirit that comes from shared experiences that are preserved as *art*" (p. 315).

McMillan (1996) replaced membership with a greater emphasis on the spark of friendship that becomes the *Spirit* of sense of community, the defining aspect of the first element. Emotional safety, made possible by boundaries, enables individuals to tell the truth. "The Truth" refers to a person's statement about his or her own internal experience. McMillan called Truth the "primary unit of analysis" for the spirit of sense of community for "without Truth there can be no sense of community" (p. 316). According to McMillan, the first task of the community is to make it safe to tell "The Truth". This requires community empathy, understanding, and caring. It requires that the member have courage to tell his or her intensely personal truth, that the community accept this truth safely, and that the community respond with equal courage and develop a circle of truth tellers and empathy givers. Sense of belonging remained basically intact with minor changes in language and emphasis. McMillan substituted "faith that I will belong" for "expectation of belonging." Acceptance is the community's response to the risk of faith taken by the member.

Trust is McMillan's updated version of influence. The salient element of influence is the establishment of trust which develops through a community's use of its power. A community needs order, decision-making capacity, authority based on principle rather than on person, and group norms that allow members and authority to influence each other reciprocally, in order for trust to evolve into justice.

Trade is now the third element in McMillan's formulation. A community with a live spirit and an authority structure that can be trusted, begins to develop an economy, in which members discover ways that they can benefit from one another and from the community. Whereas McMillan and Chavis (1986) emphasized the economic aspects of community reinforcements, McMillan has expanded the concept of rewards to include, among others, protection from shame. A community economy based on shared intimacy is a social economy, in which the medium of exchange is self-disclosure. At the outset, it is important that trades be of approximately equal value, that self-disclosures be at the same level. Once fair trading becomes an established practice in its history, the community will evolve to a stage where members give for the joy and privilege of giving, and no longer keep score. McMillan says that a community is in a "state of Grace" when it transcends such score keeping and members begin to enjoy giving for its own sake.

Art is substituted for shared emotional connection as the fourth element in psychological sense of community. Art is the shared history that becomes the community's story. Events that honor the community's transcendent values become represented in the community's symbols. Stories of community contact, music and other symbolic expressions represent the transcendent values of the community, values that outlive community members and remain a part of the spirit of the community. In this way, McMillan's reformulation is more circular than the original. Spirit with respected authority becomes Trust. Trust, in turn, is the basis of creating an economy of social Trade. Together these elements create a shared history that becomes the community's story symbolized by Art, which itself supports the enduring spirit of the community.

2.3 Dimensions and Correlates of Psychological Sense of Community

2.3.1 Dimensions

As described above, McMillan and Chavis (1986) proposed four dimensions to psychological sense of community - *membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs*, and *shared emotional connection*. Based on this theoretical formulation, the Sense of Community Index (SCI) was developed by Chavis, Hogge, McMillan, and Wandersman (1986). These authors prepared profiles for 100 individuals selected randomly from 1,213 respondents to the Neighborhood Participation Project Questionnaire. The profiles were based on responses to 43 items from the survey, 39 of which were related to the four elements in McMillan and Chavis' theory (the other four were age, sex, marital status and whether the person followed political news). Twenty one judges, rating each profile (on a scale from 1 to 5) based on their perceptions of sense of community, produced a high degree of consensus (an interrater reliability of .97), suggesting that it is possible to identify sense of community with a great deal of certainty. When regressed on the mean judges' ratings of overall sense of community, twenty-three predictors from the profiles (used in the SCI) accounted for 96% of the variance, supporting the usefulness of McMillan and Chavis' theory. However, among the 100 respondents whose profiles were used to develop the SCI, the correlation between total SCI scores and respondents' own ratings (on a scale of 1 to 5) of how much sense of community they felt with residents of their own blocks, was .52. As Hill (1996) pointed out, the fact that the SCI only predicted 25% of the variance in respondents' own ratings

of their sense of community suggests that the measure is missing some important components of individual's feelings of sense of community.

Although McMillan and Chavis proposed four aspects to psychological sense of community, this and other related concepts have been viewed as both unidimensional and multidimensional constructs. Factor analytic approaches have disagreed on the number and specific dimensions that make up sense of community.

Two studies concluded that sense of community was a unidimensional construct. Davidson and Cotter (1986) found one factor in their 17 item scale, a dimension which they labelled *sense of community*. Buckner (1988) developed the Neighbourhood Cohesion Index, including 18 items intended to measure three dimensions: attraction to neighboring, degree of neighboring, and psychological sense of community. However, factor analysis results led Buckner to believe that the scale was best interpreted unidimensionally. He named this factor *cohesion*.

At least seven factor analytic studies have concluded that sense of community or related concepts are multidimensional constructs. Glynn (1981) conducted a factor analysis of a 60-item scale measuring psychological sense of community and reported six dimensions: *objective evaluation of community structure, supportive relationships in the community, similarity and relationship patterns of community residents, individual involvement in the community, quality of community environment, and community security*.

Doolittle and MacDonald (1978) identified six factors in a 26-item scale measuring sense of community: *supportive climate, family life cycle, safety, informal interaction, neighbourly interaction, and localism*.

Riger and Lavrakas (1981), using a much smaller initial group of items - six in total - still found two factors to community attachment: *social bonding and physical rootedness*.

Skjaeveland, Garling, and Maeland (1996) developed the 14-item Multidimensional Measure of Neighboring which was found to have four distinct dimensions: *weak social ties, neighborhood attachment, neighborhood annoyance and supportive acts of neighboring*.

Burroughs and Eby (1998) based on their knowledge of the organizational literature, on interviews with experts who give community-building workshops, and on McMillan's 1996 version of psychological sense of community, proposed six dimensions of psychological sense of community in the workplace: *coworker support*, *emotional safety*, *sense of belonging*, *spiritual bond*, *team orientation* and *truthtelling*. Exploratory factor analysis using principal components extraction with oblique rotation supported the idea that psychological sense of community in the workplace was a complex and multidimensional phenomenon, although the originally proposed dimensions were only partially supported.

Obst and her colleagues (Obst, Zinkewicz, & Smith, 2002a) found support for McMillan and Chavis' (1986) four dimensions of sense of community among members of Science Fiction fandom, an international community of interest, although they gave them slightly different names: *belonging* (Membership), *cooperative behaviour and shared values* (Fulfillment of Needs), *friendship and support* (Shared emotional connection), and *disaffection with leadership and influence* (Influence). These four dimensions were detected using factor analysis of items taken from the SCI (Chavis et al., 1986) and a number of other measures including the Psychological Sense of Community Scale (Glynn, 1981, short form), the Neighbourhood Cohesion Instrument (Buckner, 1988) and the Multidimensional Measure of Neighboring (Skjaeveland et al., 1996) mentioned above. Obst et al. also discerned a fifth dimension dealing with *conscious identification* (e.g., "Being a member of SF fandom is an important part of my self image.") The items for this subscale came from the Awareness of Group Membership subscale of Cameron's Three Dimensional Strength of Group Identification Scale (Cameron, 2000, in Obst et al., 2002a).

In a related study using just the SCI data, Obst, Zinkewicz, and Smith (2002b) compared the psychological sense of community felt by Science Fiction fandom members' towards their SF fandom community of interest with the sense of community they felt toward the geographic communities in which they lived. They found consistency in the dimensions of psychological sense of community across both interest and geographic communities. Compared to Obst et al. (2002a) there were only slight differences in the factor-analytic groupings of items and the labels they assigned to them:

belonging, conscious identification, emotional connection and ties, shared values and cooperative behavior and influence.

In a third study, Obst, Smith, and Zinkewicz (2002c) examined sense of community in rural, regional and urban geographical communities and again discerned five factors that were very similar to those reported in the two studies already described: *ties and values, leadership and influence, support, belonging and conscious identification.*

Recent qualitative studies have shown support for the dimensions of the McMillan and Chavis model of psychological sense of community. Sonn and Fisher (1996) obtained evidence for all four dimensions of psychological sense of community in qualitative interviews with immigrants comparing their community experiences in their country of origin (South Africa) with their new country (Australia). Brodsky (1996), interviewing single mothers' living in high-risk neighborhoods also found evidence of the four dimensions. Plas and Lewis (1996) found that residents of a planned town made references to environmental characteristics indicative of the importance of membership, shared emotional connection and need fulfillment.

Reviewing the literature, Hill (1996) concluded that there was "widespread agreement that sense of community is an aggregate variable" (p. 433). Hill also noted there was disagreement about the specific dimensions that make up psychological sense of community and suggested this disagreement arose because "some significant percentage of these aspects of psychological sense of community differ from setting to setting" (p. 433). In addition to some common elements, Hill thought there might be other important elements of psychological sense of community that are setting-specific. Chipuer and Pretty (1999) proposed an additional explanation. In their review of the SCI, they suggested that "this lack of consistent findings [with regard to dimensions of sense of community] may be due also to the variety of models guiding the research and the variety of scales used to measure psychological sense of community in the different settings" (p. 645). This is certainly evident in the review of factor analytic studies above.

Researchers have extended the concept of psychological sense of community beyond the neighbourhood to a number of different settings including the workplace (Burroughs & Eby, 1998; Lambert & Hopkins, 1995; Pretty, 1990; Pretty & McCarthy,

1991; Royal & Rossi, 1996), community organizations (Hughey, Speer & Peterson, 1999), schools and colleges (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1996; Royal & Rossi, 1996), l'Arche communities (Dunne, 1986), and even a politically constructed group of Coloured people from South Africa living in Australia (Sonn & Fisher, 1996).

In some of these cases, the researchers have modified McMillan and Chavis' formulation to make it more applicable to the setting they were studying. As previously described Obst and her colleagues (Obst et al., 2002a; Obst et al., 2002b; Obst et al., 2002c) added a fifth dimension, conscious identification, to their model of sense of community.

The work of Hughey, Speer and Peterson (1999) is another example of research that has modified McMillan and Chavis' concept to make it more setting-specific. They looked at sense of community in community organizations. They proposed sense of community with community organizations was composed of at least three dimensions: *relationship to the organization, organization as mediator, and bond to the community.*

The conclusion to be reached from the above discussion is that psychological sense of community appears to be a multidimensional construct that is setting-dependent. As Hill (1996) suggested, it seems that beyond the presence of some common elements, there are other important elements of psychological sense of community that are unique to specific settings.

2.3.2 Correlates

The finding of setting-specificity also applies to research on the correlates of psychological sense of community. Conceptual and empirical studies have employed different referents in studying this concept. Some have used the residential block or neighbourhood as the referent (e.g., Buckner, 1988; Chavis, Hogge, McMillan, & Wandersman, 1986; Glynn, 1981). Davidson and Cotter studied psychological sense of community at the level of a city (1986), relating psychological sense of community to political participation (Davidson & Cotter, 1989), support for public school taxes (Davidson & Cotter, 1993) and newspaper readership (Davidson & Cotter, 1997). Others have used occupational organizations as the referent, relating psychological sense of community to social climate characteristics (Pretty, 1990), gender differences in the corporation (Pretty & McCarthy, 1991) and occupational conditions (Lambert &

Hopkins, 1995). Psychological sense of community has also been examined in school settings, relating it to the size of the college or university (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1996), and individual-level correlates such as extroversion (Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1996) and membership in special learning communities on campus (Royal & Rossi, 1996).

In reviewing the literature, Hill (1996) stated that there are few robust findings in the identification of variables related to a strong psychological sense of community. Variables such as length of time spent in a community, income, age, education, race, gender, home ownership, presence of children in the home, number of neighbours that are known by name and expected length of stay in the neighbourhood have not been found to correlate consistently with psychological sense of community. Hill went on to state: “if there is anything that we can conclude from the research done to date, it is that the development and correlates of psychological sense of community change, sometimes radically, from setting to setting (p. 434).”

2.4 Criticisms of Psychological Sense of Community Theory

In this section I take a critical look at the theory and research related to psychological sense of community. Criticisms are of three types: definitional, conceptual and methodological. Ramifications for the proposed study based on these definitional, conceptual and methodological criticisms are also presented in this section.

2.4.1 Definitional Criticisms

The use of different definitions for the terms *community* and *sense of community* has led to confusion in the literature regarding the dimensions and correlates of the concept of psychological sense of community. Sarason (1974) himself used the term *community* in a very broad way. He believed that:

psychological sense of community can have many referents, ranging from a family or a gang to a professional organization with members across the nation. I shall use the concept of referents to mean those groupings (families, fellow workers, friend, neighbors, religious and fraternal bodies) which give structure and meaning to our daily lives and whose quality and force are in some ways a function of the legal-political-administrative entity: the city, town, or village. (p. 153)

Puddifoot (1996) argued that *community* has been defined too broadly as a catch-all term “incorporating such a range of phenomena as to become in danger of losing any specific meaning” (p. 328).

Puddifoot (1996) was also concerned about the artificial categorization of communities into types based on their alleged possession of particular characteristics. For example, Gusfield (1975) distinguished between two types of communities which he called *territorial* or *geographic* communities and *relational* communities. Geographic communities are those rooted in neighbourhoods, whereas relational communities are those concerned with the “quality of character of human relationship, without reference to location” (p. xvi). Obst et al. (2002a) referred to these latter groupings as communities of interest. Puddifoot was concerned that this practice of distinguishing types of communities led to artificial polarization.

Just as there is confusion in the literature about the definition of community, likewise, there is no clear consensus on the definition of *sense of community*. As Chipuer and Pretty (1999) pointed out in their review of the literature, there is a lack of consensus over whether sense of community is a cognition, a behaviour, an individual affective state, an environmental characteristic, or a spiritual dimension.

Bess, Fisher, Sonn and Bishop (2002) pointed out another way in which researchers have varied in their use of the term sense of community:

For many, sense of community is seen as some type of end state, a positive in and of itself. Others see it as a predictor of other positive, or negative, outcomes. That is, we need a sense of community in order to achieve a series of benefits. Still another way of understanding sense of community is as a process in which the members interact, draw identity, social support, and make their own contributions to the common good. (p. 6)

Chavis and Pretty (1999) attributed the variation in definitions of sense of community seen in the literature to the researchers’ constructions of their own community experience. Chavis and Pretty noted that researchers “continue to make sense of community from perspectives of social, environmental, and community psychology [as well as] sociology, ecology, social justice, and community development” (p. 636). Further confusion is created when terms such as neighboring, social cohesion and

community identity are sometimes used synonymously with sense of community and sometimes as related terms (Chipuer & Pretty, 1999).

Speaking specifically about McMillan and Chavis' (1986) definition of psychological sense of community, I do not believe that the four elements of their definition apply equally well to all groups or types of communities. For instance, the economic model implied by terms such as "trade" and "rewards" may not apply as well to the experience of religious communities, where the ideal is to give without expecting recompense. On the other hand, McMillan's (1996) reformulation used terms like "Spirit," "Faith," and "Grace." These quasi-spiritual terms may make application of McMillan's model to secular groups and communities more difficult. Furthermore, although these terms may seem more applicable to religious communities, their use may actually confuse matters if they have different meanings within those religious communities.

2.4.2 Conceptual Criticisms

Conceptual criticisms are of three types: narrowness of the concept, problems with the assumptive base, and difficulties with the ontological assumptions about the nature of the human person and communities.

2.4.2.1 Narrowness of the Concept. McMillan and Chavis' (1986) formulation has been criticized as being too narrow in its focus. Dunham (1986) argued that "McMillan and Chavis have actually pointed to the characteristics that describe the solidarity of the social group" rather than a community (p. 400). Similarly, Hill (1996) contended: "Whenever you limit your referent to groups of people, all of whom know each other and all of whom have a history of interacting with each other, you are probably discussing social support and social networks, not psychological sense of community (p. 434)." To remedy this, Hill (1996) suggested that "to measure the aspects of psychological sense of community which go beyond the behaviors of social support and networking, you must use a referent that includes individuals who do not know each other, or who may know each other but on a normal basis have little contact" (p. 435).

Another criticism of the research based on McMillan's theory, is that it has been too narrowly focussed on the sense of community experienced at the level of the individual. Puddifoot (1996) argued that community identity, a term that shares

similarities with sense of community, “should not be viewed as emanating solely from individual orientations, for historical, economic, and socio-cultural factors all play a part in the evolution of community identity and the effects of these factors should also be examined” (p. 333).

Another example of the narrowness of McMillan and Chavis’ formulation is that it fails to address the problem of multiple membership in more than one group or community (Wiesenfeld, 1996). Brodsky and Marx (2001) noted that a person can be a member of more than one community simultaneously: “Individuals have multiple identities and multiple roles, and these identities and roles connect them to multiple communities. Thus an individual may likely have multiple psychological senses of community in reference to these multiple, separate communities” (p. 162).

Another way to conceptualize multiple psychological sense of community is to think of people as belonging to a series of nested communities. Wiesenfeld (1996) used the term “macrobelonging” to refer to the sense of community that incorporates all members of the larger community “beyond the polarizations and discrepancies which arise within it” (p. 341). “Microbelonging” referred to membership in any number of “the multiple collective identities that make up the subcommunities within the larger community. Researchers have just begun to address the issue of multiple psychological senses of community in nested communities and to look at the relationship between the sense of community experienced with each of these levels of community (e.g., Brodsky & Marx, 2001; Royal & Rossi, 1996; Spann, 2001).

A final way in which the theory and research on sense of community concept has been too narrow is the exclusion of spirituality. In fact, both psychology in general and community psychology in particular have been criticized for neglecting spirituality (Hill, 2000; Kloos & Moore, 2000; Lorion & Newbrough, 1996; Maton, 2001; Moore, Kloos & Rasmussen, 2001; Walsh-Bowers, 2000). Lorion and Newbrough (1996) noted that spirituality is not often addressed in community psychology: “Rarely has our field linked the implications of its work to one’s sense of spirituality and God (p. 312).” Hill (2000) extended this criticism to all of psychology: “Despite the high level of relevance for American adults, psychology as a field in America has been marked by an almost complete absence of an acknowledgement of that dimension of reality referred to as the

spiritual” (p. 141). This neglect of spirituality is evidenced in McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) original theory. Their only reference to spirituality was the inclusion of the term “spiritual bond” as an element of shared emotional connection. They claimed that a spiritual bond was present to some degree in all communities and stated that “often the spiritual connection is the primary purpose of religious and quasi-religious communities and cults” (p. 14).

Sarason (1993; 2001) noted that sense of community and a sense of the transcendent have been inextricably linked throughout much of history. He asked whether modern forms of community could be sustained without that sense of transcendence and challenged the field of psychology to integrate religious perspectives in its conceptualization of human functioning (Sarason, 1993).

There has been a shift in recent years in the field of community psychology with various authors following Sarason’s (1993) lead arguing for the inclusion of spirituality, religion¹⁵ and the transcendental in the study of community psychology (Dokecki, Newbrough, & O’Gorman, 2001; Hill, 2000; Kloos & Moore, 2000; Maton, 2001; Moore, Kloos, & Rasmussen, 2001; Walsh-Bowers, 2000). Moore et al. (2001) proclaimed that “an assertion that ‘psychologists have not made a serious effort to understand how religion and spirituality operate in the lives of people’ is rapidly becoming a statement about the past” (p. 488). In support of this, they noted that a number of recent issues of prominent journals (e.g., *Journal of Adolescence*, 1999; *Journal of Personality*, 1999; *Journal of Community Psychology*, 2000, 2001) have introduced religion and spirituality into the mainstream of psychology’s discourse concerning individual, group, and community functioning. A recent community psychology textbook (Dalton, Elias, & Wandersman, 2001) included, for the first time, sections on religion and spirituality and their relation to various issues such as coping,

15 Following the lead of Hill (2000) and Dalton, Wandersman, and Elias (2001), I use the term “religion” to refer to a set of beliefs and practices associated with a particular religious institution and the term “spirituality” to refer to a wider set of beliefs and practices associated with a personal awareness of a transcendent power and which may or not be associated with a religious institution. Thus religion and spirituality are not necessarily overlapping terms. One could have a sense of spirituality without being affiliated with any particular religious institution and conversely, one could conceivably consider oneself a member of a religious group without necessarily having a strong sense of spirituality (e.g., for social or cultural reasons). Of course, in the case of many individuals, religion and spirituality may be redundant terms, referring to the same set of beliefs and practices.

human diversity, socialization, prevention, and empowering settings for human development and social change.

McMillan himself demonstrated a shift towards the inclusion of religious and spiritual concepts, incorporating the language of spirituality into his reformulation of psychological sense of community (McMillan, 1996). He included terms with religious connotations such as “Spirit”, “Truth”, “Faith” and a “state of Grace.” However, despite the updated terminology, McMillan’s understanding of community remained rooted in a social science framework. In my opinion, his revised theory still failed to integrate in any fundamental way a genuine sense of transcendence.

Fyson’s (1999) description of the development of transformational community is a better example of the integration of spirituality and sense of community. Drawing on theological understandings of community he expanded on McMillan’s psychological sense of community to create a model of community where a “transcendent vision” is the starting point for membership (see section 2.5.4 for a description of Fyson’s model).

2.4.2.2 Problems with the Assumptive Base. A second conceptual criticism that has been levelled at McMillan and Chavis’ formulation, concerns the theory’s assumptive base. Wiesenfeld (1996) argued that the theory’s assumptions are inconsistent with community psychology values. Whereas community psychology is supposedly committed to fostering an appreciation for diversity, constructs like psychological sense of community overvalue homogeneity. Wiesenfeld contended that there is an implicit notion of community as *we*, which “refers to a homogeneous group of individuals, clearly distinguishable from *others*” and which leaves “no place for acknowledging variation or diversity” (p. 337).

Another problem with the theory’s assumptive base is that it overvalues regularity and equilibrium. Wiesenfeld (1996) charged that this emphasis on equilibrium and congruence is typical of positivist theories in social psychology, being more interested in preserving the status quo than in providing a stimulus to change at the community level. Again, this contrasts with the emphasis that community psychology has put upon the individual’s active role in contributing to his or her transformation processes, promoting diversity within and among social groups.

A third potential problem is that McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theory was predicated on the assumption that sense of community could be understood as an aggregation of its four elements: membership, influence, integration/fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. This assumption was further underscored by the fairly widespread use of the SCI (Chavis, et al., 1986) which attempts to capture an individual's sense of community in an overall score that is simply an aggregate of the four subscales measuring each element of psychological sense of community. As Sonn, Bishop and Drew (1999) stated, "by relying on the SCI, it has been assumed that the sum of the parts will provide an indication of the overall sense of community for a particular group" (p. 211). However, they suggested that in the case of sense of community, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. An individual's sense of community may not be adequately apprehended by the use of an aggregate score, where the essential quality of the experience may be lost.

There is one final potentially problematic assumption to note. Brodsky (1996) pointed out that psychological sense of community has been assumed to be only a positive, protective factor. Her research with African American single mothers raising children in risky neighbourhoods demonstrated that negative psychological sense of community also exists and served as a protective factor. The women in Brodsky's study described active efforts to resist membership and shared emotional connections with the neighborhoods in which they lived. They also reported a profound lack of mutual influence and integration and fulfillment of needs. These concerned mothers actively cultivated a negative sense of community by maintaining a purposeful distance from their community in order to keep their children safe. Brodsky's research (Brodsky, 1996; Brodsky, Loomis & Marx, 2002; Brodsky & Marx, 2001) suggested that psychological sense of community should be understood as existing on a continuum that passes through three possible conditions - positive, neutral and negative. Under certain circumstances, both positive and negative sense of community could be associated with positive outcomes.

2.4.2.3 Ontological criticisms. A third conceptual criticism concerns the ontological significance of the philosophical assumptions McMillan made about nature of the person and the nature of community. McMillan's 1986 formulation of psychological

sense of community appears to operate from an atomistic/contractarian model of human relationships (cf Kirkpatrick, 1986), in that it is based on an economic model of human association. McMillan spoke of the “development of an economy within a community.” Ontologically, McMillan viewed humans as individuals who voluntarily enter into contracts in order to have their needs met. The 1996 version moved away from this to some extent, suggesting that initial trade relationships evolve to the point where members no longer engage in score keeping but give for the sake of giving. However, he still suggested that community members trade services for protection from shame and exchange independence for safety from shame.

What is missing from McMillan’s conception of sense of community is a mutual/personal model of human relationships (cf Kirkpatrick, 1986), where the interest of the other is sought above that of the self, or rather, the fulfillment of the self is found in seeking the interest of the other. As I will discuss in chapter 6, Eastern Christianity holds a mutual/personal view of humans. Persons are not viewed as individual substances that enter into personal relations. Rather, persons are 'made what they are' by personal relations. Communion, or relationship, is an ontological concept, the foundation of our very being.

Another criticism of McMillan’s formulation relates to the development and evolution of communities. McMillan did not clearly answer the question of how communities evolve. Are there a series of stages that they go through? Does it matter what kind of community they are? A fuller description of communities and their development might include a hierarchy of communities such as the one Macmurray (1961) proposed. In his model, communities are hierarchically and emergently organized at the mechanical, organic and personal levels (see Dokecki, 1992, p. 30). Communities could then be described in terms of the level they are operating at, the rules that govern functioning at that level, and the developmental changes that might occur as some groups evolve from a pragmatic mode of association (in a mechanistic society) to a functional mode (in an organic society), or from a functional mode of association to a mutual one (in a personal community). These ideas will be discussed further in chapter 6.

2.4.3 Methodological Criticisms

The methods used to study psychological sense of community have also been criticized. To begin with, there has been an over-reliance on survey data and quantitative methods. The items on paper-and-pencil measures such as the original SCI or various modified versions have been selected by researchers based their own theoretical inclinations or personal experiences, rather than the experiences of the populations they are studying. Even McMillan's original formulation of psychological sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) was based on his experiences growing up in a small town in the southern United States. Speaking of the inspiration for his theory, McMillan wrote:

Those ideas came to me from my childhood in Arkadelphia, Arkansas - population 10,000. Arkadelphia has two colleges - Ouachita Baptist and Henderson State. My home was on Fifth Street. This was a pin-oak-canopied street that dead-ended into the chapel at Ouachita. Aunt Margie and Aunt Dot lived catty-cornered across the street. Aunt Selma lived one block behind. My mother's parents lived one block south and my father's parents lived two and one half blocks northwest. My father's three sisters and their children, my cousins, lived within a two-block radius. My cousins, our friends, and I played "Tarzan" running naked swinging on grapevines in the ravine behind my grandparents' house. My theory came out of the small town South. Its four principles can be found in Aunt Juanita, HiPop, Aunt Margie and Uncle Arthur (Lorion & Newbrough, 1996, p. 312).

One wonders what McMillan's theory would have looked like if he had grown up in a large city or a small village or if he had lived far away from extended relatives.

As various authors (e.g., Calvino, 1998; Garcia, Giuliani & Wiesenfeld, 1999; Sonn, Bishop & Drew, 1999) have pointed out, sense of community is highly contextualized. Results tend to be setting-specific¹⁶ and influenced by the cultural and historical contexts of the community under study, making comparisons between communities inappropriate or conceptually impossible. Therefore these authors have called for the use of new methodologies that pay particular attention to the influences of the cultural and historical contexts of the community under study.

Not only have scales such as the SCI been constructed on the basis of researcher's personal experiences or theoretical inclinations - they have been written using

¹⁶ In this paper "setting" refers to a particular place, location or type of community defined by location (e.g., one's workplace) whereas "context" refers more broadly to various inter-related conditions in which a community exists which have an influence on the community.

researcher's own language and concepts, which may be different from those of the people they study. Rapley and Pretty (1999) demonstrated through the use of conversational analysis that the meaning of "community" was highly particular and localized, that its meaning was a product of verbal and non-verbal negotiations between interviewer and interviewee, and that terms like "community" and "sense of community" were technical, specialist terms which had little immediate resonance in the every-day speech of their participants.

Another difficulty with the results of the quantitative studies of sense of community is the over-reliance on factor analytic techniques. This is a data reductive method, that as Zolner (1997) pointed out, is inconsistent with community psychology's commitment to value diversity. Factor analysis "homogenizes views into orthogonal factors in a way that may be too simplistic to capture true community diversity." Hill (1996) advocated the addition of qualitative methods to quantitative ones as a way to bring forth this diversity:

Different settings and research questions require different research methods. The research to date has relied almost exclusively on surveys and quantitative methods. The diversity which underlies the nature of psychological sense of community would suggest that much could be gained by using diverse methods to study it, including qualitative approaches. (p. 435)

In fact, qualitative methods have been applied more recently to the study of sense of community, promising a number of benefits. First, they may be more sensitive to the contextual nature of people's experiences of sense of community. Second, they may allow researchers better access to the natural language people use to describe their experiences of sense of community. Third, they help to enrich and diversify our understandings of the construct.

To date, there are only a handful of studies which have examined this concept using qualitative approaches. Brodsky (1996) used qualitative interviews to look at negative sense of community (discussed below in section 2.5.4). Sonn and Fisher (1996) also used qualitative interviews to examine psychological sense of community among people classified as Cape or Colored in South Africa who had immigrated to Australia. Pretty (Pretty & Chipuer, 1996) has also used open-ended interviews with adolescents to inquire about their psychological sense of community.

It should be noted that Rapley and Pretty (1999) have cautioned against the “uncautious embrace of a qualitative paradigm” (p. 695). Rapley and Pretty reminded researchers that it would be unwise to assume that the use of “qualitative” interviews precludes “the sorts of active shaping of interviewees responses observed elsewhere in highly structured encounters” (709).

Another methodological criticism of the research on psychological sense of community is that researchers through their use of questionnaires and individual interviews have focussed on *individuals*’ perceptions of community. However, as Hill (1996) noted, sense of community is meant to address something beyond the level of individual relationships, behaviours or perceptions. Hill urged that the *community* be the unit of analysis, rather than the individual. Sonn, Bishop and Drew (1999) also urged researchers to go beyond the individual and examine the processes that lead to shared connections and group formation:

As with culture, it can be argued that the whole is larger than the sum of its parts and in order to understand community, we need also to understand what it means to be part of a particular context or community. That is, we need to go beyond the components of community and explore the shared understandings group members have of their communities and the processes that foster community and lead to community formation. (p. 211)

One way to go beyond the level of the individual to explore community members’ shared understandings is to harness the synergistic power of focus groups. In a group context, focus group members can compare and contrast their experiences and build on each other’s statements. Through this conversational give-and-take new insights, understandings or conclusions often emerge that otherwise might not have been discernable in the responses of community members interviewed separately. In data analysis, each focus group is treated as a single unit of analysis - the responses of individual group members are not tracked and analysed separately. The advantages and disadvantages of focus groups relative to other data collection methods are discussed in section 3.3.1.

At the time I conducted this research, focus groups had not yet been used by researchers to study sense of community¹⁷. However, one study conducted by Hedges and Kelly (1992; cited in Puddifoot, 1996) had used focus groups to study community identity. The study, which was carried out for the Local Government Commission in the United Kingdom, conducted focus groups with groups of 10 - 15 people to “explore the extent to which participants could define an area to which they felt they belonged, its size and key features, and the factors contributing to community loyalties.” Hedges and Kelly found that the sense of community that emerged from the focus group discussions was largely intuitive and contained important elements of emotional belonging and loyalty to generalized areas instead of localities or neighbourhoods. No mention was made of how the findings might have been different had they used questionnaires or interviewed residents individually instead of in groups.

2.4.4 Ramifications for the Proposed Study

Taken together, the above-mentioned criticisms of theory and research on psychological sense of community provided a number of directions for my study. The definitional criticisms suggested that I needed to be very clear about the type of community I was studying. In the case of the Ukrainian Catholic community, the urban parishes were mainly relational communities. Members travelled from all over the city to attend services that were held outside of their geographic neighbourhood. On the other hand, in a rural setting where the majority of residents in a small town were still of Ukrainian descent, the community was much more geographic in nature, with people attending the same parish as their neighbours.

The definitional criticisms also suggested that I should not assume that McMillan’s model applied to the community I was studying. Instead, I made it one of my goals to evaluate how adequately his model accounted for the experiences of Ukrainian

17 Since I conducted my research, I am aware of only three other studies that have used focus groups to study sense of community. Brodsky and Marx (2001) explored sense of community among students and staff members at a holistic job-training and education centre serving low-income women using both focus groups and the SCI. Similton (2001) used focus groups in a pilot study to identify important values held by African American parents and then went on to use quantitative measures to explore racial identity, sense of community and Church participation. Pretty (2002) made reference to doctoral research conducted by Laurent (2001) where focus groups were used with adolescents to explore their attachment to and identification with their community.

Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic community.

In response to the conceptual criticism that the concept of psychological sense of community is too narrow, this study went beyond the bounds of a social support network as Hill (1996) counselled. Participants in the focus groups belonged to the same community but in most cases did not know each other. I inquired at the beginning of each focus group whether and how members knew each other. I responded to the criticism that spirituality and sense of transcendence are neglected, by studying sense of community in a religious group where spirituality and sense of transcendence were likely to be a part of focus group discussions.

With regard to the charge that psychological sense of community overvalues homogeneity, regularity and equilibrium, I acknowledge that this could be a problem with focus group discussions, where group dynamics often pull for premature closure and agreement among group members. As the moderator, I watched for instances of disagreement and encouraged further discussion. I also noted suggestions that group members had for making changes in their community and will present these suggestions along with the results of the study in a report to the community (see chapter 7 for members' suggestions). Information on the needs of young adults that came up in the course of discussions was also noted and will be presented to the community to stimulate change.

The ontological criticisms of McMillan's formulation and alternative models of human persons and community will be addressed by considering Eastern Christian understandings of persons in community and MacMurray's personal model of community (see chapter 6). Finally, the methodological criticisms were answered by using a qualitative approach to the analysis of transcripts from focus group discussions.

2.5 Sense of Community and the Population under Study

There are a number of distinctive characteristics about the population under study that distinguish it from the majority of the work done on sense of community. The first distinctive characteristic is that this is an *ethnic group*. With few exceptions, sense of community has been studied primarily in groups of people with no particular ethnic affiliation. It is possible that as a group, those who identify themselves as Ukrainians

might view or create sense of community in a different way than those with no ethnic affiliation. The second difference is that this is a *religious community*. Again, sense of community could have distinctive characteristics in a community built around religious beliefs compared to communities that arise in the neighbourhood or workplace. The third distinctive feature is that this is a group of people in *emerging adulthood*¹⁸. Sense of community has primarily been investigated in communities of mature adults and to a limited extent, in groups of people in early or late adolescence. Again, sense of community may manifest itself differently in emerging adults. The fourth aspect of this population that sets it apart from most of the research previously conducted is that it is a group where *membership is declining*. The impact of dwindling community size on sense of community has not been examined, perhaps because the focus of much of the research has been on groups whose membership is presumed to remain relatively stable (e.g., geographical neighbourhoods, workplaces, schools). Each of these important characteristics of the population under study are considered in the following sections.

2.5.1 Sense of Community in Ethnic Groups

The first distinctive characteristic of my participants is that they are members of an ethnic group. Most of the work on sense of community in ethnic groups has been carried out by Sonn and his colleagues (e.g., Fisher & Sonn, 1999; Sonn, 2002; Sonn & Fisher, 1996, 1998; Sonn, Fisher, & Bustello, 1998)¹⁹. Their work has highlighted the important role that participation in one's ethnic community plays in the creation of both a sense of community and a sense of identity among immigrants. Sonn found that participation in cultural activities and socializing in ethnic group settings were important for linking people with the country of origin and creating a sense of community (Sonn & Fisher, 1996; Sonn, Fisher, & Bustello, 1998). Ethnic group settings such as church groups and sporting associations provided opportunities for the fulfillment of needs and

18 Arnett (2004) coined the term "emerging adulthood" to refer to the transitional period between late adolescence and adulthood (roughly ages 18 to 25). "Early adolescence" refers to ages (10-14) and "late adolescence" (ages 15-18).

19 Sense of community has been studied among a number of other ethnic or racial groups including African American mothers (Brodsky, 1996), Native Americans (Clark, 2002), Canadian First Nations (Hanson & Hampton, 2000). However, these investigations were not focused on determining how participants' sense of community was affected by their experiences as members of an ethnic or racial group.

fostered belonging, identification and connectedness. Participation in these settings and in other cultural activities and events also contributed to the development and continuity of ethnic identity. In fact, Sonn (2002) stated that for immigrants, ethnic groups are often the primary community and a major source for values, identities and cultural scripts for living. (See also Kress & Elias, 2000, for a discussion of how involvement in Jewish identity-enhancing settings such as schools and synagogues predicts degree of commitment to Judaism.)

Fisher and Sonn (1999; Sonn & Fisher, 1998) noted that the community-making engaged in by immigrants (by creating settings away from the mainstream) is an example of a resilient response to the change inherent in adaptation to a new country and culture. Church groups, extended family networks, and sporting associations are examples of settings that serve protective and integrative functions. They provide opportunities for participation, awareness raising, propagation of cultural values, and the development of social identities, sense of community and belonging, in the face of systematic pressure from the dominant cultural group to remove cultural identities (Sonn, 2002; Sonn & Fisher, 1998). Sonn (2002) therefore argued that the psychological sense of community framework provides a useful tool for understanding both community and community change including the cultural adaptation inherent in immigration.

In addition to group membership and participation in ethnic group settings, Sonn (2002) concluded that *shared symbols, values and experiences* are important to the creation of both sense of community and ethnic identification. Sonn based his conclusions on his exploration of sense of community among two immigrant communities in Australia: coloured South Africans (Sonn & Fisher, 1996) and Chileans (Sonn, Fisher, & Bustello, 1998). He conducted semi-structured interviews with both groups and used a modified version of the SCI with the South African group. In both these groups common symbols, shared cultural values, and histories and boundary markers provided dimensions for group membership and social inclusion as well as forming the basis for a shared emotional connection with the community of origin. For example, in the research with Chilean immigrants (Sonn et al., 1998) participants identified the Spanish language, Catholicism, familialism, and shared historical events such as the Chilean Independence celebrations as important to their belonging and

identification with the Chilean community. In addition to their contribution to sense of community, shared symbols, values and experiences formed the basis for the development of ethnic and cultural identity for these groups.

Although no work has been done in community psychology on the relation between ethnicity and sense of community among Ukrainians in Canada²⁰, an anthropological study by Matiasz (1989, 1995) examining the relation between ethnicity and religion/religious affiliation in three Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton touched upon sense of community. According to Matiasz, ethnic identity, whether accepted as given or consciously chosen over another form of identity, involves the establishment of a conscious, subjective *sense of belonging* with a group (p. 14, 1994). As we have seen, sense of belonging is central to a person's sense of community, therefore the development of a sense of community may be important to a person's ethnic identity.

Sense of community and ethnic identity may also be linked by their mutual association with symbol systems. As previously discussed, a common symbol system helps to reinforce boundaries between members and non-members and therefore to establish and maintain a sense of community. Many features of ethnic groups including language, food preferences, folklore, music, dress, and religious ceremonies and symbols may serve as a common symbol system. Using ethnographic techniques, including field work, personal interviews and surveys, Matiasz (1994) concluded that "religion and religious symbols are inextricably linked to community members' definitions of ethnicity," although there was "a great deal of variability in the specific associations people [drew] between ethnic identity and aspects of religious affiliation, religious identity, and religious symbols" (from the abstract, no page number). For the Ukrainian Catholics that Matiasz interviewed personally, religious symbols not only helped to reinforce ethnic identity but they also linked these individuals to the larger Ukrainian Catholic community: "the Church provided a very important, if not vital, link to other

20 A number of authors outside of community psychology have looked at the processes of identity negotiation, acculturation and ethnic identity retention among first, second and later generations of Ukrainian Canadians (Isajiw, 1981; Isajiw & Makabe, 1982; Kirtz, 1996; Kordan & Luciuk, 1986; Luciuk & Hryniuk, 1991; Lupul, 1982; W. R. Petryshyn, 1980). None of these authors have used McMillan's theory of psychological sense of community in their studies of Ukrainian Canadians.

Ukrainians. For some the link also carried a spiritual link to another part of the world, Ukraine, that could not be established or sustained in any other way” (p. 106). In this way, ethnic identity, religious identity and sense of community were inextricably linked.

In summary, there has been little work done on the relation between sense of community and ethnicity and no work done by community psychologists on sense of community among Ukrainian Canadians. Therefore, I was not sure what role ethnicity might play in the sense of community experienced by the young adults in my study. Although it was not the primary goal of my study, I was open to what the data had to say about the relation between ethnic identity and sense of community and about the role ethnic identity might play in enhancing (or interfering with) sense of community.

2.5.2 Sense of Community in Religious Groups

A second distinctive characteristic of the population under study is that it is a community based on religious affiliation. Again, little research has been done examining psychological sense of community in religious groups. Kloos and Moore (2000) noted that “only in recent years have a few community psychologists begun to explore the potential benefits of working within religious and spiritual settings” (p. 120). They argued that a consideration of religion and spirituality could foster the development of community psychology in four ways: (1) advance theory beyond current boundaries by looking at contexts that have been overlooked, (2) improve research by forcing investigators to develop new, collaborative techniques, (3) reach people not served by current interventions, and (4) improve interventions by learning from interventions already taking place in religious settings.

Only a handful of studies have examined sense of community in religious settings. Maton and Rappaport (1984) found that small, decentralized groups in a congregation helped to build sense of community. Miers and Fisher (2002) tested McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) model in a Baptist Church community. They concluded that psychological sense of community was a useful concept for understanding the life of a local Church community and made suggestions for future community development based on the application of the psychological sense of community model. They did not suggest any revisions to the model based on their work with a religious congregation.

Only Dokecki, Newbrough and O’Gorman (2001) have attempted to integrate theological frameworks into their understandings of community and sense of community, based on their ongoing action research and consultation project with a Roman Catholic parish. Their work led them to conclude that “spirituality is integral to community psychology as a human science” (p. 499). Dokecki and his colleagues described a framework for spirituality that encompassed both human development and community development as “two sides of the same coin.” Their framework incorporated theories and methods from various theological schools of thought that have not previously been considered by community psychologists including liberation theology, creation theology and practical theology. This work is an example of how the theory of sense of community may be advanced beyond current boundaries by partnering with religious communities - a context that has been previously overlooked by community psychology.

Given the potential benefits of working within religious and spiritual settings noted by Kloos and Moore (2000) and the paucity of sense of community research with religious groups, it seemed useful to examine the sense of community experienced by members of a religious community. I was interested to see what differences, if any, there might be in the sense of community experienced in the context of a religious community.

2.5.3 Sense of Community in Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood

The third distinctive characteristic of my participants is that they are in the developmental stage referred to as emerging adulthood. As my review of the literature revealed, both the dimensions and correlates of sense of community are highly context-dependent, varying from setting to setting and population to population. Therefore, while it was not the primary focus of the proposed investigation, I believed it was important to take into account the developmental context in which the young adults in this study formed and evaluated their sense of community.

The majority of the literature has focussed on the experience of psychological sense of community in adults. Only a few studies have examined the development or existence of this concept in adolescence and no researchers, to my knowledge, have looked at sense of community in emerging adulthood. Therefore, in this section I will review the results of studies on sense of community among adolescents.

In general, the sense of community described by adolescents seems to be similar to adults' sense of community. Conducting individual interviews to examine adolescents' sense of community with respect to their residential neighbourhoods and towns, Pretty and her colleagues (Laurent, 2001; Pretty, 2002; Pretty & Chipuer, 1996) found that young people made similar references as adults to sense of community. These adolescents knew what it meant to have a sense of community and described it in terms similar to those used by McMillan (1996; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). For example, they described sense of community as being: "like a family...people you can trust when you need help", "you are in a community that you can talk to and share things with", and "cooperation, understanding, leadership, everybody would be equal" (p. 194). Furthermore, the experience of sense of community in adolescents does not seem to be diminished by intellectual disability. Bramston, Bruggerman and Pretty (2002) found similar levels of sense of community in adolescents with an intellectual disability compared to matched peers without a disability, although the intellectually-disabled group reported significantly lower social belonging and empowerment than their peers.

Although adolescents, like adults, can articulate a clear sense of community, limited research suggests that developmental age has an impact on adolescents' experiences of sense of community and their ability to articulate what it means to them²¹. For instance, although Chipuer et al. (1999) found that younger and older adolescents described their sense of community in similar terms (i.e., support, activities, safety and friendships), the younger adolescents reported greater levels of support, activity, and friendships in their neighbourhood than did older adolescents. Chipuer hypothesized that the older adolescents tended to satisfy these needs through their relationships with peers, rather than through relationships in their neighbourhood. Similarly, Pretty et al. (1994) found that sense of community scores for neighbourhood and school settings were

21 Similarly, research by Pooley, Pike, Drew and Breen (2002) with children ages 9-12 concluded that these children were able to articulate an understanding of community that corresponded to the four elements of sense of community identified by McMillan and Chavis (1986). Their understandings of community were focussed on their relationships with family, friends and neighbours (rather than a wider system of people, institutions, and structures), which suggests that their sense of community was emerging in the context of the development of relationships with the people in their community. These children's responses were also more concrete than those of adolescents. They had difficulty answering more abstract questions about what is the meaning of community.

significantly lower for late adolescents (15-18 years) than for early adolescents (13-14 years).

Similar to the findings for adults, Pretty and her colleagues have found relationships between sense of community and various aspects of adolescents' well-being (e.g., Pretty, Andrewes, & Collett, 1994; Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler & Williams, 1996). For example, among adolescents aged 15 to 18 (late adolescence) both neighbourhood and school sense of community were positively correlated with measures of social support, and both were negatively related to loneliness scores (Pretty et al., 1994). Pretty concluded that sense of community may have the same relevance for adolescents' well-being as for adults and may provide the larger context for the social networks known to affect adolescents' well-being.

The ongoing development of sense of community during adolescence is part of the process involved in the construction of adolescent social identities (Pretty, 2002). For those adolescents who belong to an ethnic minority, the development of sense of community is related to the development of an ethnic identity²². Research by Phinney (e.g., 1989, 1992, 1996, 2003) indicates that ethnic identity varies with age and that development of ethnic identity is an important task, especially among minority group adolescents.

Using interviews with black, Asian American, Mexican American and white tenth graders, Phinney (1989) identified three stages of ethnic identity development in ethnic minority adolescents. In the first stage, a person's ethnicity is *unexamined*. Adolescents in this stage either lack awareness of their ethnicity (diffuse ethnic identity) or hold attitudes toward one's ethnic group (positive or negative) which have been derived primarily from family members, community members or the larger dominant culture (foreclosure). At some point during adolescence, an experience that makes ethnicity salient may trigger a process of *exploration* of what it means to be a member of a particular ethnic minority group. A person in this stage endeavours to learn more about

22 Phinney (1990) reviewed the various ways ethnic identity has been defined and characterized. Definitions of ethnic identity have focussed on one or more of the following factors: 1) self-identification (the ethnic label one uses for oneself); 2) feelings of belonging and commitment; 3) sense of shared values and attitudes; 4) positive or negative attitudes toward one's group; and 5) cultural aspects of ethnic identity including language, behaviour, values, and knowledge of ethnic group history (p. 500).

his or her ethnic group and himself or herself as a member of that group. Ideally, this exploration stage results in a commitment to one's ethnicity based on a clear understanding of its implications and a secure, confident sense of one's group membership. This developmental view suggests that ethnic identity varies with age, such that individuals typically become increasingly clear about and committed to their ethnicity as they grow older (Phinney, 1993). An interesting finding in Phinney's (1989) study was that the white adolescents could not be classified in terms of stage of ethnic identity development. Although a few identified themselves in terms of an ethnic label (e.g., Polish American, German American), ethnicity was generally not a meaningful concept for these students.

Ethnic identity is developed in social contexts: initially with one's family and later through interactions with one's ethnic community and the larger dominant society (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Various characteristics of these contexts influence the strength and valence of a person's sense of ethnic identity. First, when family members participate with pleasure in their cultural traditions and express positive feelings about their group they lay a basis for positive ethnic identity development. Second, the vitality of the ethnic community has an effect on ethnic identity development. Individuals are more likely to develop a strong sense of ethnic identity when the community has a well-developed, cohesive structure that provides opportunities for many of the activities central to an individual's life (e.g., school, religion, recreation) to be carried out within the group. Opportunities to participate in festivals, enjoy ethnic dance groups, obtain ethnic foods, and meet and marry co-ethnic individuals all serve to enhance feelings of ethnic belonging and positive ethnic attitudes (Phinney, 2003).

The relationship between a minority ethnic group and the majority culture also influences ethnic identity development. Experiences of discrimination can lead to a strengthening of ethnic identity or to a renouncement of one's ethnic identity. On the other hand, if ethnic plurality was valued, adolescents might be encouraged to develop a strong ethnic identity. Although members of white ethnic minorities might be expected to experience less discrimination over time as they lose their ethnic distinctiveness, members of ethnic groups that are racially identifiable by virtue of phenotypic differences may continue to experience discrimination for many generations. Because of

continuing discrimination, exploration of one's ethnicity may be necessary for each generation of visible minorities (Phinney, 2003).

While it was not the primary focus of the proposed investigation, I believed it was important to take into account the developmental context in which the young adults in this study developed and evaluated their sense of community. Part of this context might also include the development of an ethnic identity. Therefore, I was open to what the data might have to say about aspects of sense of community specific to these young adults' current developmental stage, including development of an ethnic identity.

2.5.4 Sense of Community Where Membership is Declining

In addition to being an ethnic group, a religious group, and a group of emerging adults, the population under study was distinctive in a fourth manner: the participants were members of a community where membership is declining²³. Researchers have typically studied the dimensions and correlates of psychological sense of community within geographical and relational communities whose membership is presumed to remain relatively stable (e.g., geographical neighbourhoods, workplaces, schools). Because sense of community has not been explicitly examined in communities where membership is declining, it is not known whether there is a relationship between dwindling community size and poor sense of community. Extrapolating from McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theory, one might suppose that a decline in one of the four elements of sense of community (e.g. a perceived lack of influence, or of rewards) could lead to poorer overall sense of community and therefore a decreased desire to be a part of that community. On the other hand, a decline in membership due to other factors (e.g., urbanization) could lead to a poorer sense of community. These potential connections between declining community membership and sense of community have not been examined.

23 As discussed in section 1.3, membership in the Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Saskatchewan dropped from approximately 12,000 in 1986 to 6,000 in 1997. The question of membership in the Ukrainian community in general is more complex. While the number of single-origin Ukrainians in Canada dropped from 529,615 in 1981 to 331,680 in 1996, the number of persons claiming multiple ethnic origins who declared Ukrainian as part of their ancestral origins rose from 225,360 in 1981 to 694,790 in 1996 (Kordan, 2000, Table 1.2). Thus, the group of people self-identifying as Ukrainian appears to be on the increase.

Fyson (1999) presented a theoretical model for both the *development* and *decline* of transformational community that he described as an extension of the community concepts of McMillan and Chavis (1986) and similar to the theoretical revisions of McMillan (1996). He proposed that the formation and growth of a community begins with *identity formation* (belonging and membership) and proceeds through *establishing an entity* (defining givens that allow for the development of trust), *giving expression to relationships* (trade involving respect and mutuality) and *establishing strategies for daily routines* (that are the basis for the shared emotional connectedness of daily life).

Fyson's (1999) model also outlined the problems that often arise when developing or maintaining a community. He described the kind of disagreements or doubts that arise at each of the levels. Doubts about *operations* arise at the level of strategies for daily routines. The questions being asked at this level are of the type "Is there a better way of doing this?" *Ideological* doubts relate to the goals of the community and are the start of personal hurt and disillusionment regarding what the community stands for. They arise when people begin to think "they don't care about me." *Ethical* doubt involves questions about whether the community is maintaining its integrity in the pursuit of its goals. At this stage people begin to say "This is [absolutely] wrong" as trust in the authority structure breaks down. In the last stage, *absolute* doubt sets in, challenging the values of the community and calling into question the desired membership of the individuals within the community: "I am testing out whether this is where I belong." Lack of perceived encouragement in a person's routine contribution to the community, insensitivity over a controversial or personally traumatic issue and or lack of resolution of ethical issues in the other stages could lead to this questioning. No longer wanting to belong, people leave the community. Although Fyson's model has yet to be tested empirically, it suggests some factors related to sense of community to watch out for in the conversations among Ukrainian Catholic young adults.

Although the relationship between declining community membership and sense of community has not been studied, the notion of a decline in sense of community itself is not new (Newbrough, 1995). Warren (1971) described the American community as having much stronger vertical than horizontal relationships, claiming that the forces that held community together had become substantially weakened in favour of external,

higher level forces. McWilliams (1973) analysed the concept of fraternity in American history and noted that the idea was missing in the original political formulations. Sarason (1974) judged that a lack of a sense of community was extraordinarily frequent in American communities, that it was a destructive force in living, and that dealing with its consequences and its prevention should be the overarching concern of community psychology. Newbrough (1995) noted that equality and justice were needed to remedy the fragmentation of the local community caused by the emphasis in American society on the protection of individual liberty and privacy and the consequent neglect of fraternity.

Glynn (1986), summarizing the literature, argued that the decline in sense of community was due to an erosion in traditional social supports. He postulated that this erosion was the result of several interrelated factors: 1) industrialization and urbanization, which led to the disruption of traditional family economic and social foundations; 2) increases in centralized bureaucracies, disempowering local areas; and 3) an improper balance between local and centralized economic structures, giving local areas insufficient control over local development.

Jason (1997) described a series of vulnerabilities that he believes help account for many of the serious problems facing contemporary society in industrialized countries, including high crime rates, addictions, homelessness and a pervasive sense of isolation and loneliness. Jason named four vulnerabilities - aggressive tendencies in our genetic makeup, our separation from nature, loss of external moral and religious symbols and guideposts, and loss of our connection to the land, to crafts, and to communities. The result is that these vulnerabilities predispose industrialized societies to high levels of individualism and a breakdown of psychological sense of community.

Much of the community psychology literature looking at a decline in sense of community has focused on the United States. In Canada, sociologist Reginald Bibby (1990) documented what he perceived to be the destructive aspects of pluralism. According to Bibby, the themes of freedom, the individual and pluralism are closely linked and have led to a paralyzing moral and ethical relativism. "Canada has been encouraging the freedom of viewpoints without simultaneously insisting on the importance of evaluating the merits of those viewpoints" (p. 10). Although "the attention given to the individual's rights and potential has been extremely important in this

century,” Bibby noted that “it has become increasingly detached from what is socially beneficial, resulting in excessive individualism” (p. 14). Pluralism allows individuals freedom but it does not indicate how individuals are brought back into community (p. 96) and may be contributing to a lack of sense of community.

Not everyone agrees that North America is experiencing a decline in sense of community, however, nor that individualism is the culprit. For example, Newbrough and Chavis (1986) view the driving force behind individualism not as a desire to be left alone but as a desire for self-expression and personal freedom. They suggest “it is probably more accurate to conclude that the basic conflict in America is between communities of competing interests rather than between the individual and the community, which is the classic formulation” (p. 3). Hill (1996) pointed out that to date, there has been no research conducted which could provide evidence for or against a decline in sense of community.

Part of the confusion over a decline in sense of community lies in the different definitions of community used by researchers. As mentioned previously, some authors study territorial or geographic communities, while others focus on relational or intentional communities. While the reality of community as tied to place has not ceased to exist, many recent empirical studies have emphasized communities of interest (Glynn, 1986). For example, sense of community has been studied in the workplace (e.g. Klein & D’Aunno, 1986; Lambert & Hopkins, 1995; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991; Royal & Rossi, 1996), at schools and universities (e.g., Bateman, 2002; Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1996; Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler & Williams, 1996), in virtual communities on the internet (e.g., Obst et al, 2002a; Obst et al., 2002b; Roberts, Smith & Pollock, 2002), and in Australian immigrant groups (Sonn et al., 1998; Sonn & Fisher, 1996). It may be that while people’s sense of community with their geographical community has declined over the last century, they have continued to create and enjoy sense of community with communities of interest.

Sense of community typically has been conceptualized as a positive, protective factor associated with positive outcomes for individuals and communities. However, it was Brodsky (1996; Brodsky, Loomis, & Marx, 2002) who first pointed out that in some situations, isolation from one’s community might be beneficial rather than detrimental.

For instance, in negative environments, active efforts not to be influenced by a community perceived as detrimental - something Brodsky called *negative psychological sense of community* - could also be a protective factor.

Conducting qualitative interviews with African American single mothers identified as resilient, Brodsky (1996) showed how these women's active efforts to avoid the influence of the risky neighbourhoods in which they lived served a positive function. Negative psychological sense of community, including lack of shared values and little positive emotional connection to their communities, played an important role in the way these successful mothers coped with the potentially negative effects of their community on themselves and their family. (Brodsky did acknowledge that these women were also isolating themselves physically and emotionally from potentially positive aspects of community.)

To summarize, sense of community has been perceived by many to be lacking and/or in a state of decline in North America, with negative consequences. Fyson (1999) proposed a theoretical model to describe both the development and the decline of community. His model suggested several factors related to sense of community that could contribute to declining community membership. However, Fyson's model has yet to be tested and no one has empirically investigated a possible link between declining community membership and sense of community. Although lack of sense of community is typically presumed to be associated with negative consequences, Brodsky (1996) has suggested that in certain types of communities, negative sense of community and withdrawal from participation in the community can have some positive outcomes for its residents. Still, this does not address the utility of psychological sense of community in understanding declining community membership. The present study intends to explore both the positive and negative aspects of psychological sense of community within a community whose membership is declining.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter I presented the concept of psychological sense of community - the lens through which I chose to study the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults. A review of the theoretical formulations and empirical research on the dimensions of psychological sense of community revealed that although there is widespread agreement

that sense of community is a multidimensional, aggregate variable, the specific dimensions of which it is comprised are context-dependent and may vary from setting to setting. Likewise, the factors that correlate with psychological sense of community appear to vary from setting to setting.

The definitional, conceptual, and methodological criticisms of the theory and research related to psychological sense of community suggested a number of directions for the current study. First, there was a need to evaluate the adequacy of McMillan's theory of psychological sense of community with regard to its ability to account for the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan. This was particularly important given the distinctive characteristics of the population under study. Second, there was a need to employ a research method that went beyond the level of the individual to examine the shared understandings group members have of their communities. The method that best suited this aim was focus groups. In the next chapter, I describe the procedures employed in collecting and analysing data from focus groups conducted with Ukrainian Catholic young adults.

CHAPTER THREE

Collecting and Analysing the Data: Using Focus Groups to Examine Sense of Community Shared among Ukrainian Catholic Young Adults

3.1 Introduction

I begin this chapter by restating the study goals and the rationale for the study design. Then I describe the iterative process of instrument development. Next I detail the procedures followed for data collection including the contacting and selecting of prospective participants, and the conducting of focus groups, along with the steps taken to ensure the confidentiality, informed consent and debriefing of study participants. Finally, I describe the process followed for data analysis and the rationale for changes made in this process.

3.2 Restatement of Goals

As previously stated, the first goal of this study was to gain an understanding of the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to sense of community. The second goal of this study was to evaluate the adequacy of McMillan's (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; McMillan, 1996) two theories of psychological sense of community with respect to their ability to account for Ukrainian Catholic young adults' descriptions of their experience of sense of community. Two questions, reflective of these goals guided the collection and analysis of data:

- 1) What have been the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults with(in) the Ukrainian Catholic community and how do these experiences relate to their sense of community?
- 2) How well does McMillan's concept of psychological sense of community account for the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic community?

While the focus was on answering these two primary questions, I was also open to what the data told me about the following important and interesting issues:

- 1) The needs of Ukrainian Catholic young adults with regard to sense of community.
- 2) Young adults' perceptions of influences on their current participation level in the Ukrainian Catholic community.
- 3) Aspects of sense of community specific to young adults and their current developmental stage.
- 4) The relation between ethnic identity and sense of community.

The first two issues, needs of young adults and perceived influences on participation level, were of interest to the Ukrainian Catholic community itself. As described earlier, dialogue participants in an Eparchial forum in May 1998 wanted to find out why young adults are not attending Church and wanted to ascertain and respond to their needs. Therefore, information relating to these questions was noted. The third issue listed above, aspects of sense of community specific to young adults, takes into account the developmental context in which these young adults develop and evaluate a sense of community. This is important contextual information for a complete understanding of the sense of community concept.

The fourth issue, the relation between ethnic identity and sense of community is important because of the strong link historically between ethnic identity (i.e., being Ukrainian) and religious identity (i.e. being Ukrainian Catholic). As suggested by Matiasz' (1994) work with members of three Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton, religion and ethnicity were inextricably linked, although there was a great deal of variability in the specific associations people drew between ethnic identity and aspects of religious affiliation and religious identity. Likewise, in my own personal experience, there is great diversity in the emphasis that individuals from the Ukrainian Catholic community place on their ethnic identity and on language use and specific practices (e.g. food, holiday customs) relating to their ethnic identity. Therefore, in examining sense of community among members of the Ukrainian Catholic community, I believed it was important to be sensitive to issues of ethnic identity and the role ethnic identity plays in enhancing or interfering with sense of community.

3.3 Study Design

This study used the lens of psychological sense of community and the method of focus groups to gather qualitative data which go beyond individuals' perceptions of sense of community. In the sections that follow I discuss three aspects of the study design: 1) the advantages and disadvantages of focus groups relative to other methods of data collection; 2) steps taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the data; and 3) beneficial and problematic effects of having been a member of the community I studied.

3.3.1 Focus Groups - Qualitative Method Beyond the Individual Level

I used a series of focus groups to look at the experiences of young adults, some of whom still relatively connected to and active in a Ukrainian Catholic parish and some of whom were not any longer. In this way, I was able to view psychological sense of community from the level of the community rather than just at the level of individual perceptions and behaviours.

Focus groups are a form of in-depth group interviews with relatively homogeneous groups of people, which provide information around topics specified by researchers (Hughes & Dumont, 1993, p. 776). The groups are homogeneous with respect to one or more characteristics of interest to the researcher. In a focus group, the reliance is on the interaction within the group, rather than a series of alternations between questions from the moderator (who is often the researcher) and responses from the participants (Morgan, 1997, p. 2). While focus groups were originally used mainly in marketing research as a preliminary step preceding quantitative research (e.g., in the generation of survey questionnaires), their use in the social sciences has expanded so that they may be used as a self-contained method, serving as the principle source of data, or as part of a multi-method approach, in combination with other qualitative methods such as participant observation and individual interviews (Morgan, 1997, p. 2-3).

The advantages and disadvantages of using focus groups are most easily discussed in relation to other methods of data collection. In comparison to individual interviews, the main advantage of focus groups is the opportunity they afford the researcher to observe interaction on a topic (Morgan, 1997). Similarities and differences in participants' opinions and experiences are provided directly through group discussion, rather than inferred from statements by individual interviewees. Focus groups may also

be useful when the researcher wants to give the group control over the direction of the interview, as in the case with exploratory work where the researcher may not even know what questions to ask. A relative disadvantage to using focus groups compared to individual interviews is that one may lose the depth of information provided by spending 90 minutes with one individual. Morgan (1997) pointed out however, that this is not always the case, especially when the topic is habit-ridden or not thought out in detail and an individual may not go into much depth on his or her own (p. 11). In this case, discussion in a group setting may provoke new thoughts and insights.

In comparison to participant observation, the main advantage of focus groups is the opportunity to observe a large amount of interaction on a specific topic in a limited period of time (Morgan, 1997). The disadvantage, relative to participant observation stems from the greater control that the researcher has over the interactions observed - the focus group setting is less natural and the data collected are restricted to primarily verbal behaviours, self-reported data and interactions in discussion groups.

In comparison to quantitative methods such as surveys designed by the researcher and based on theory, focus groups provide researchers with direct access to the language and concepts participants use to structure their experiences and to think and talk about a designated topic, thus facilitating culturally anchored research (Hughes & DuMont, 1993). Focus groups are an excellent first step towards identifying topics to discuss in individual, in-depth interviews, or towards developing items to include in a survey or questionnaire. They can also help to identify gaps in the conceptualizations of a central construct or to identify constructs that have been omitted completely from a conceptual framework but that are important to a group's experience (Hughes & DuMont, 1993).

Finally, as discussed in section 2.4.3, focus groups move beyond the level of the individual to examine cultural knowledge that is shared among group members. Through the process of comparing and contrasting experiences, sharing stories, and expressing opinions, group members begin to develop shared knowledge and elaborate more abstract summaries of their experiences and perspectives (Morgan, 1988; Morgan & Spanish, 1984). In the case of this study, I was anticipating that the use of focus groups would allow a collective sense of community shared by group participants to emerge from their

discussions. For the above-mentioned reasons, focus groups are particularly well-suited to study sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults.

3.3.2 Establishing the Trustworthiness of the Data

Guba and Lincoln (1989) presented a framework for evaluating the trustworthiness, adequacy, or goodness of qualitative research. These criteria (dependability, confirmability, credibility and transferability) were meant to parallel the criteria that have been used within the conventional research paradigm.

The *dependability* criterion is concerned with stability over time and is parallel to the conventional criteria of reliability. It requires that changes in methodology be documented and trackable so that outside reviewers can “explore the process, judge the decisions that were made, and understand what salient factors in the context led the evaluator to the decisions and interpretations made” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p.242).

The *confirmability* criterion is parallel to the conventional criterion of objectivity. It is concerned with assuring that the data, interpretations and outcomes of an evaluation are based on the contexts and persons participating in the evaluation and are not simply the evaluator’s interpretations and constructions. One must be able to track the data to their sources. In addition, the logic used to assemble the interpretations into structurally coherent and corroborating wholes must be made explicit.

Credibility refers to how well the evaluator's reconstructions of the stakeholders' realities reflect the stakeholders' constructed realities and is parallel to the notion of internal validity in that the isomorphism between findings and an objective reality is replaced by isomorphism between constructed realities of respondents and the reconstruction attributed to them. Guba and Lincoln (1989) list six techniques that help to ensure the credibility of a piece of research.

The first technique is prolonged engagement in order to establish the rapport and build the trust necessary to uncover constructions and overcome the effects of misinformation, distortion, or presented “fronts.” Prolonged engagement refers to both the amount of time spent with a community.

The second technique is persistent observation, sufficient to enable the researcher to identify those characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued. The third technique is peer debriefing, which helps

researchers to become more aware of their own implicit values and working hypotheses. The fourth technique, negative case analysis, involves the revising of working hypotheses until they account for all or nearly all the known cases or data.

The fifth technique, progressive subjectivity, refers to the process of monitoring the evaluator's own developing assumptions. The sixth and final technique, member checks, involves the process of testing hypotheses, preliminary data categories, and interpretations with participants from whom the original constructions were collected.

Finally *transferability* parallels external validity or generalizability. It is concerned with providing an extensive and careful description of the time, place, context and culture in which the study's working hypotheses were generated so that others may judge the extent to which the study is applicable to their own situation.

In the present study I attempted to ensure the trustworthiness of my data in the following ways:

- 1) *Dependability*: All changes in methodology and the rationale for such changes were documented in my project memos which formed part of my journal.
- 2) *Confirmability*: In order to allow for tracking of data to their sources, I recorded all my interpretations in content memos attached directly to the sections of text that I was interpreting. That way, the context was not lost. All quotes are labelled by speaker's initial, focus group number and line numbers, unless this might breach confidentiality. For example, S1: 932-934 refers to a quote from participant S in the first focus group, found at lines 932-934. In addition, I will provide details on the logic used to assemble my interpretations in the section on data analysis.
- 3) *Credibility*: First, the focus groups lasted from 120-180 minutes allowing for prolonged engagement. Second, in terms of persistent observation, I conducted as many focus groups as I could, given the number of people willing and able to participate. Third, I used peer debriefing - with my co-moderator immediately after each group (these conversations were tape-recorded and transcribed) as well as peer debriefing with three other qualitative researchers during the process of analysis and I recorded any insights into my own implicit values and working hypotheses in self memos described below. Fourth, using negative case analysis, I

revised the coding scheme attached to memos and the code definitions until they accounted for nearly all the data collected. Fifth, I monitored and recorded my developing assumptions in project memos and in content memos attached to lines of text. Sixth, I emailed initial results to focus group participants seeking their feedback before establishing the final categories.

4) *Transferability*: I provided background information on the Ukrainian Catholic community's concern for young adults (the context of the development of the research question) and demographic information on the study participants. I also discussed the results in light of the historical and cultural context experienced by Ukrainian Catholics in Canada and Eastern Christian theological and anthropological understandings of persons in community. This should help others to judge the extent to which the study is applicable to other situations.

Rogers (1997) emphasized the subjective, language-based, interactive, contextual, and everyday experiential aspects of people's psychological lives and set out alternative criteria for evaluating the goodness of a knowledge claim, some of which overlap with Guba and Lincoln's (1989) framework:

- 1) *Subjectivity*: If a knowledge claim captures the essential subjectivities of the participants it will be evident in any report of the knowledge in terms of communicating to the reader a sense of "knowing" revealed in a strong, positive response to the material. Rogers called this the "yeah dammit" response.
- 2) *Language*: There should be a careful and systematic analysis of the dynamics of language in the interview itself. The interpretation scheme should not be based solely on the semantic content of the protocols.
- 3) *Interaction*: Ideally the write up will include transcriptions and analyses that clearly demonstrate the give and take of ongoing conversation in the interview. By looking at the sequences of talk, the manner in which questions were formulated, and how probes were used, it is possible to see if the claim is based on a sensitive consideration of interaction in action.
- 4) *Context*: The knowledge claim will have a descriptive richness revealed in a well-written and detailed description of the current situation as perceived by the participant. If the context has been treated reasonably, the write up will contain

details about not only the situation of the interview itself, but also the current life space in which the participant finds him/herself.

5) *Everyday Experience*: If the knowledge is clearly grounded in the day-to-day life of the participant it usually turns out that the analyses themselves contain the meat of important practical knowledge such as the solution to or dissolution of problems vexing the participant.

6) *Audibility*: All interpretations can be traced (and hence grounded) in the actual interview conversation. This means that an effective and thorough means of referencing to the interview protocol must be in place and that the author of the report could, if asked, demonstrate exactly where in the conversation an interpretation or quote came from.

7) *Reproducibility*: Any knowledge claim should be available in the relevant literature of the research community. In addition there should be sufficient detail to permit someone else to explore the same topics.

8) *Generativity and emancipatory understandings*: There should be some kind of benefit associated with a knowledge claim. Knowledge possessing generativity suggests new or novel ideas. Emancipatory understandings enhance the plight of previously powerless persons or groups.

9) *Reflexivity*: It is important for knowledge generators to be explicitly aware of the manner in which they have influenced the creation of their progeny.

These are also criteria by which I can evaluate my own presentation of my research. For example, in order to capture the language-based, interactive quality of the focus group data, I listened to audio tapes while reading through the transcripts during my initial analysis because this allowed me to pay attention to the dynamics of language in the interview as well as the give-and-take of ongoing conversations. To address the concern about reflexivity I recorded my thoughts and reactions to readings and to interactions with people (project memos), as well as reflections on my own experiences of sense of community in the Ukrainian Catholic Church (self memos). More detail on the procedures I followed to ensure the trustworthiness of the data (or goodness of the knowledge claims as Rogers would call them) is provided in section 3.7 below.

3.3.3 Potential Benefits and Problems of Resident Research

Wicker and Sommer (1993) identified a number of potential benefits and problems of working as a resident researcher, that is, as a professional who specializes in the community in which he/she lives. Among the potential benefits noted by Wicker and Sommer, the following apply to my study:

- 1) Long-term contact with the community can lead resident researchers to formulate research problems in a more sensitive and more appropriate fashion. Researchers who have extensive firsthand knowledge of a community can use that knowledge to identify problems more incisively.
- 2) Drawing on their local knowledge, resident researchers can select methods that yield more valuable information. Resident researchers' awareness of special interests, influential local persons and groups, and nuances in interpretations and perceptions - all of which may be unknown to outsiders - can lead to choices of samples, methods, questions, observations, and research designs that tap more of the essence of a problem.
- 3) Background information that outsiders would have to spend considerable effort to obtain and assimilate is readily available to resident researchers. Local researchers will maintain files of personal documents, newspaper reports, photographs, and the like, on a variety of local issues. They will also be familiar with the community resources for further information.
- 4) Resident researchers can capitalize on opportunities for synergy and continuity by coupling investigations. The study of a focused population can also facilitate cross-sectional research. Results from one investigation may suggest follow-up studies that are expedited because the same instruments, research participants, or research entry points may be used.
- 5) The commitment and concern of resident researchers will be evident to community members. Citizens often accuse researchers from outside the community of insensitivity to the feelings and concerns of local people. Residents often object to the exploitative aspects of research by visitors who come into a community, collect data, and then depart to report their findings in scholarly journals.

6) Interpretation and implementation of research can be shared by resident researchers and community members. Resident researchers can and should solicit comments and interpretations of their findings from community members before the results are published or widely disseminated. After the results are announced, the local researcher will be available to participate with the community and its leaders in further interpretations.

Wicker and Sommer also identified a number of potential problems, closely related to the benefits listed above:

1) Resident researchers may be so steeped in local culture and beliefs that their values are not explicitly stated or examined, or that they become intellectually narrow or provincial. The best that researchers can do is to acknowledge, probe, and evaluate the premises and values that structure and guide their work.

Investigators must pay special attention to the operation of covert bias when their roles include both information collection and advocacy. Almost by definition, resident researchers are provincial. Their professional lives focus on a single, bounded community that they care about. The attendant danger is that this narrowed focus may lead them to ignore or discount ideas and information originating elsewhere. Antidotes to provincialism: the requirement to produce information relevant to specific local problems; participation in multi-person teams made up of permanent residents and outside researchers, occasional consultation in other communities, and attendance at professional meetings; on a broader level the skepticism of the scientific approach and the confrontational aspects of the democratic process are also correctives.

2) Resident researchers may directly or indirectly shape the events and processes they study. As with the issue of bias, the appropriate concern is not whether research affects the systems it studies, but the degree to which researchers acknowledge these effects when they interpret their findings.

3) The ethical issues that resident researchers are likely to face may be more complex, and their resolutions less clearly indicated, because of continuing dual roles as researcher and activist. Maintaining confidentiality of information is likely to be a greater challenge for local researchers than for outsiders who are not

well acquainted with the people who have provided data. Stronger and more elaborate safeguards are necessary when the research participants and research staff are members of the same community. The safeguards should include coded data sheets, locked file cabinets, and clear policies regarding access to data files.

4) Resident researchers must pay special attention to community relations. Only by developing and maintaining ties with all important constituencies or stakeholders in the community, including those who are not power brokers, can local researcher maintain credibility. The relationship of trust must be mutual.

5) Resident researchers can expect to experience role conflicts, feelings of professional isolation, and concerns for professional respectability.

Hill (1996) suggested that “if psychological sense of community is setting-specific, then the most effective way to study it would be to combine the expertise of a researcher familiar with the construct along with the expertise of a researcher familiar with the setting” (p. 435). As a resident researcher studying psychological sense of community, I was able to combine both roles. Because I was a member of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Saskatchewan and had already conducted a needs assessment with Ukrainian Catholic clergy in the Eparchy (Lizak, 1999), I was more familiar with the population being studied than someone outside of the community would have been. This meant I had an understanding of the relevant issues and perspectives. It also made it easier to establish trusting relationships and to contact key informants.

On the other hand, as Wicker and Sommer (1993) cautioned, I needed to be as explicit as I could about my own biases and to pay special attention to ways in which I may have been influencing the collection and analysis of data. I also had to be on the lookout for ethical dilemmas arising from my dual role. Most importantly, Wicker and Sommer’s discussion alerted me to the need to continuously reflect on how my personal experiences were influencing my approach to and interpretation of the data.

3.4 Development of Focus Group Questions

The questions used in my focus group appear in their finalized form in Appendix G. They follow an inverted funnel format, beginning with very open-ended questions and becoming more specific as the session progresses. Unlike the questions used by Sonn and Fisher (1996 in their qualitative interviews, the questions used in this study were not

based on McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theoretical formulation (e.g., asking specifically about sense of belonging or membership boundaries). Instead, the I attempted to keep my focus group questions as open-ended as possible so that the relevant dimensions of sense of community could emerge naturally. The questions were of five types, following the order suggested by Krueger (1998): opening, introductory, transition, key and summary questions.

1) The *opening* question was answered by everyone at the beginning of the focus group. It was designed to be answered quickly and easily and to make participants feel comfortable by identifying characteristics that they had in common.

2) The *introductory* question introduced the general topic of discussion. It provided participants with an opportunity to reflect on their experiences or connection with this topic. Although I intended to ask my participants to reflect on their definitions of sense of community, I found that my pilot group had difficulty beginning with this question. Therefore, for my introductory question I asked focus group members about their connections with the Ukrainian Catholic community.

3) The *transition* question was designed to move the conversation toward the key questions at the heart of the study. This is where I asked participants what sense of community meant to them.

4) Next were the *key* questions which drove the study. These questions were designed to illicit information about participants' experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community, including when they most experienced a sense of community, whether their sense of community had changed over time, what would make it more complete and whether there was anything so crucial that if it wasn't there, participants' sense of community would be destroyed. I also asked them to rate how important four aspects were to their sense of community: being Ukrainian, being Catholic, being Eastern Christian and faith.

5) Participants were given the chance to correct the co-moderator's summary. Then the *summary* question allowed participants to add any final thoughts about what should be done with the information gathered.

I developed these questions through an iterative process, refining them in reference to my study questions and refining my study questions in light of what was possible to investigate, given the limitations of the method and the population. I modified these questions several times based on conversations with my research supervisor, my husband, a Ukrainian Catholic young adult friend in Manitoba and on the basis of a pilot focus group with two Ukrainian Catholic young adults from the parish of Sts. Peter and Paul, who were several years older than the participants for this study.

The individuals in the pilot focus group found the question about what sense of community means to them to be the most difficult to answer. They wanted me to provide some parameters for the definition - what situations, or communities did I want to know about? Could I give them examples? I decided not to provide examples of situations or communities because I wanted to influence participants' definitions as little as possible. Instead, I would tell participants that I wanted them to wrestle with this question for a while. I also decided not to use the question "What does sense of community mean to you?" as an introductory question. Instead, I first asked participants about their connections to the Ukrainian community, hoping that this would be an easier introductory question. If the question about participants' definitions of sense of community continued to prove difficult for people to answer I was prepared to modify it. The debriefing at the end of each session provided an opportunity to evaluate the questions (see "debriefing notes" form, Appendix H2). However, study participants did not appear to have as much difficulty describing what sense of community meant to them as the pilot group had.

3.5 Procedure

As a number of authors have pointed out (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Tesch, 1990) the procedures and approaches of qualitative research must be flexible to suit the nature of the phenomenon, and to accommodate the findings which emerge throughout the course of data collection and analysis. Therefore, I was prepared to modify my procedures based on negotiations with the community, situational constraints and hypotheses emerging from the data.

3.5.1 Contracting with the Eparchy

Although I initially had the approval of Bishop Cornelius Pasichny to conduct a research project with the Eparchy of Saskatoon, he was transferred to the Eparchy of Toronto in July of 1998 leaving Saskatchewan without a bishop for the next three years. On October 20, 1998 I met with the Eparchial Consultors (those clergy who were advising the Eparchial Administrator, the priest in charge of the affairs of the Eparchy until a new bishop would be named) to explain the project to them and to obtain their permission to conduct the study. This project was approved by the Consultors and the Eparchial Administrator. Father John Pazak, one of the consultors was named the contact person for the Eparchy. The Eparchy agreed to cover the expenses associated with this project including mailing and transcription costs and a salary for an assistant who helped contact potential participants. The members of the Renewal Commission also supported the study's goals (in a meeting October 28, 1998) and expressed their interest in hearing about the study as it progressed.

3.5.2 Prospective Participants and Creation of Registry

In this study, I decided to look at the sub-sample of Ukrainian Catholic young adults who were or had been attending a Ukrainian Catholic parish rather than looking at all people who had been baptised in a Ukrainian Catholic Church (this latter group might be too difficult to track down since they would not necessarily have continued to attend Church). I was especially interested in the group of young adults who had moved away from their home parish seeking employment or education, since this represented a potential test point to see whether they remained a part of the Ukrainian Catholic community. In conversation with the director of the Ukrainian Catholic Religious Education Centre, it was decided that the easiest group of young adults to track down would be those who had graduated from Grade 12 in the previous two years (June 1997 and 1998) because parishes typically keep lists of their graduates. By contacting representatives from each parish in the province (typically the priest, parish president, or office secretary) and asking them to submit the names, addresses and phone numbers of all young adults fitting this description, I hoped to be able to obtain a comprehensive, representative sample of young adults in this age range across the province. Sampling could then be done purposively as described above for the focus groups (i.e., groups of young adults who were still involved with the Church community and groups of young

adults who were no longer involved). Although I expected that there would be large variability in the level of involvement of each prospective participant with the Ukrainian Catholic community, the nature of the recruiting strategy meant that each person had to be connected enough for someone to have known them and passed on their name. On the other hand, someone who had been baptised in a Ukrainian Catholic parish but had not subsequently attended that parish was not likely to be remembered for inclusion in the study.

Based on the suggestions made at the Dialogue Forum, I proposed that the Eparchy name an individual who would be responsible for the creation of a registry of all Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan who had recently graduated from grade 12 and who may have moved from their home parish in pursuit of work or education. Jana Thomas, the former youth coordinator for the Eparchy was hired to do this. She was recommended for the job because she was already familiar to the clergy and to many people in the Eparchy. I had the permission of the Eparchy to access this registry for the purpose of recruiting participants. The registry itself could also be used for the Eparchy's own purposes.

3.5.3 Contacting Prospective Participants

3.5.3.1 Requesting Participation and Demographic Questions. In order to recruit participants from this registry, the following strategy was employed: Jana Thomas began to telephone young adults on the registry to inform them that a study on the experiences of sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults was being conducted (see Appendix A2 for her telephone contact script) and that they would be receiving information about the study in the mail. She requested that they indicate whether or not they wished to participate by completing the “Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me” form (see Appendix B3) and returning it in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided. A letter containing information regarding this study and requesting participation was mailed on February 1999 to 89 prospective participants (see Appendices B1 and B2). There was an identifying number on every return envelope enabling the researcher to determine who had yet to return the consent forms. Those people who had not returned their consent forms within three weeks of initial mail-out were sent a reminder notice (see Appendix C). In the end, a number of people ($n = 21$)

did not return these consent forms so I decided to contact them individually to ask if they were willing to participate and to collect the demographic information that had been requested on the back of the consent form. As well, there was a group of another 65 people whom my assistant had not been able to reach by phone. I decided to go ahead and mail them the information anyway (usually to their parents' address) and follow up with a phone call.

The "Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me" form asked whether or not they wished to participate in the study. If they did, they were requested to provide their name and contact information. If they were not interested in participating they were asked to indicate their reasons for not doing so by choosing from a list of alternatives. Out of 114 people whom we were able to contact and who qualified for the study (i.e., they had graduated in 1997 or 1998) 57 agreed to participate in a focus group (50%).

In addition to indicating their decision about whether or not to participate in the focus groups, each young adult was asked to provide demographic information including gender, month and year of birth, marital status, highest level of education achieved, living arrangements, and current attendance at a Ukrainian Catholic Church or a Church of another denomination (see Appendix B3). Return of the "Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me" form was taken as consent to use this demographic information for research purposes.

I contacted by phone each person who had agreed to participate in the study and all those who did not return a consent form (see telephone screening interview, Appendix D1) to confirm the demographic information and to ask a few further questions on current and previous levels of involvement in a parish and in the Ukrainian Catholic community in general (see Appendix D2). I also asked questions about their parents' level of involvement with the Church (relative to their own) and about their parents' ethnic background. Complete information on participation rates, reasons for not participating and the results from the demographic questions is presented in Appendix I.

3.5.3.2 Selection of focus group participants. I initially proposed to assign those who agreed to participate to a focus group based on their previous and current levels of attendance and involvement. This would ensure that each group was approximately homogenous with respect to their level of involvement in the Ukrainian Catholic

community. However, two factors influenced me to change my mind: 1) there appeared to be few differences with respect to sense of community between the discussion in the first focus group (comprised of young adults who were relatively active in their parish), and the discussion in the second focus group (comprised of young adults who were relatively inactive in and disconnected from their parish); 2) The logistics of getting any more than 4 or 5 young adults together at any one time limited my ability to be scrupulous about setting up separate focus groups for active and inactive young adults. Typically I would start with about 10 people from a particular city (Saskatoon, Regina or Yorkton) who had agreed to participate. Out of that number I found a time when 7 or 8 could attend. By the time the group rolled around 1 or 2 had cancelled because of another commitment and 1 or 2 would not show up (without an explanatory phone call). This left me with groups of anywhere from 2 to 5 participants. Therefore I switched strategies, deciding not to segregate currently active and previously inactive young adults. Instead I focussed on scheduling as many focus groups as I could find people to do them.

In the end I was able to conduct a total of six focus groups involving 22 young adults: four in Saskatoon, one in Regina, and one in Yorkton. Demographic information on focus group participants is presented in aggregate form in section 3.6.2²⁴. I believe that I was able to get a good picture of the experiences of young adults living in Saskatoon, including those who had grown up there and those who had moved to the city for university or work. The group in Regina (2 participants) and the group in Yorkton (3 participants) were too small to be able to say anything definitive about young adults in these regions. However, the themes that emerged from the groups in Regina and Yorkton were similar to those arising in the groups held in Saskatoon.

3.5.4 Conducting the Focus Groups

After I arranged by phone for someone to attend one of the scheduled focus groups, I mailed him or her a letter of confirmation (see Appendix E). I also gave each person a reminder phone call the day before they were scheduled to attend a focus group.

24 In order to protect the confidentiality of focus group participants, I have chosen not to present demographic information on the members of the individual focus groups (e.g., number of males vs. females, rural vs urban, town/city of origin, etc.). The Ukrainian Catholic community is small enough that this kind of detailed demographic information could breach confidentiality.

The focus groups in Saskatoon were held in a small classroom at the University of Saskatchewan. The groups in Regina and Yorkton were each held in the parish hall.

Information and consent forms for the focus groups (see Appendices F1 and F2) were given to each participant before the group began. The researcher answered any questions participants had at that time. Each participant signed two consent forms, one of which they kept.

Focus groups were audio-taped using two tape recorders. I acted as the moderator, guiding the session, asking questions and probing for clarification. Greg Thomas acted as my assistant moderator, responsible for tape recording, note-taking and summaries of the focus group proceedings (see Appendix H1). Audiotapes were transcribed by a neutral party who understood the confidential nature of the material.

The focus group discussion followed the semi-structured question guide presented in Appendix G (rationale for the questions was presented in the section 3.4). Following the focus group the moderator and assistant moderator will debrief and write notes on their discussion of important themes expressed in the group, noteworthy quotes, unexpected findings, comparisons and contrasts with previous groups and the usefulness of the questions (see Appendix H2).

3.5.5 Ethical Considerations

This study was approved by the Behavioural Science Committee of the University of Saskatchewan Advisory Committee on Ethics in Human Experimentation. In addition, I consulted section 6 of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, which suggests a number of “good practices” to be followed when working with communities or groups (<http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/english/policystatement/policystatement.cfm>). In accordance with these recommended “good practices,” the question for the research came out of the discussions at an Eparchial Dialogue Forum and was shaped by the needs and concerns of the group. I initially intended to consult even more closely with the Renewal Commission on the development of this project, however the departure of Bishop Pasichny put all Eparchial projects on hold indefinitely. In order to proceed with my project I needed to finalize my research question, my choice of lens (sense of community) and my method without as much input from the Eparchy. However, I did

have the permission of the Eparchy to conduct the study and I continued to hold discussions with various representatives of the Eparchy to explain the project to them, get their input and give them feedback on the progress of the study. A copy of the results will be given to the focus group participants as well as to interested representatives of the Eparchy, to afford the community an opportunity to respond to the research findings and to allow for discussion and implementation of any recommendations that might arise from the study.

3.5.5.1 Confidentiality. The information regarding confidentiality is outlined in the “Information for Participants” section of the introduction letter (see Appendix B2). Although it was impossible to guarantee anonymity when working with a small population, several measures were taken to ensure confidentiality. The identifying number on the return envelopes was separated immediately from the “Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me” form. This information was passed on to a graduate student colleague who mailed the reminder letters, so that the researcher herself did not know who declined participation. The graduate student was the only person to see the completed consent forms and telephone screening answers. Focus group participants were asked to keep the content of the group discussion confidential. Information included in reports will be presented without identifying information and where necessary, in aggregate form. In addition, all people who assisted in contacting participants, and in collecting and transcribing data were asked to sign a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix A1).

3.5.5.2 Consent Form. Consent was sought from the participants at two points. First, they were asked to indicate their willingness to participate in the study by filling out the “Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me” form (see Appendix B3). Second, they were required to fill out a “Consent to Participate in Focus Group and to be Audiotaped” form (see Appendix F2).

3.5.5.3 Feedback And Debriefing. A complete description of the study was given to the participants in the introduction letter (see Appendices B1 and B2). The researcher's name, telephone number and e-mail address was included in the letter to give participants the opportunity to raise any questions or concerns that they may have had about the study. A preliminary copy of the results was e-mailed to participants for their

feedback in February 2003. Participants will also receive a copy of the final report. Several copies of the final report will be sent to the current head of the Eparchy of Saskatoon, Bishop Michael Wiwchar, for distribution. Also, the researcher will offer to make a public presentation of the research findings at a venue deemed appropriate by the Eparchy and to make copies of the report available to interested representatives of the Eparchy.

3.6 Demographic Information

In this section I first present demographic information for all the Ukrainian Catholic young adults contacted for this study. I then examine the demographic information for the 22 young adults that participated in my focus groups.

3.6.1 Ukrainian Catholic Young Adults in Saskatchewan

A complete summary of the demographic information gathered from young adults in this study is available in Appendix I. The majority of the young adults about whom we had information were single (95%), were attending college or university (69%), were living with their parents/relatives (46%) or renting accommodations (38%). Although a slight majority lived in rural areas of the province prior to graduating from Grade 12 (53%), at the time of the study the vast majority (80%) lived in urban settings (i.e., Saskatoon, Regina, Yorkton, Moose Jaw, Swift Current, North Battleford, Prince Albert or another city outside of Saskatchewan), having moved away from home to pursue work or education. Eighty three percent still resided in Saskatchewan and another 9% had moved to Alberta. The remaining 8% were scattered across Manitoba, Ontario, British Columbia and the United States. Looking at their ethnic backgrounds, the vast majority had at least one parent who was fully Ukrainian (91%), and a large percentage reported that both their parents were fully Ukrainian (39%).

The percentage of young adults who said they attended a Ukrainian Catholic Church dropped from 93% to 84%. This drop was accounted for by a rise in the percentage of young adults who said they were not attending Church at all (from 4% to 13%), as opposed to a Church of another denomination. Frequency of Church attendance also dropped off overall. Before they graduated from Grade 12, 73% said they attended Church at least 2-3 times per month. One to two years post graduation, only 38% did so. Anecdotally (from telephone conversations and focus group discussions), many young

adults continued to attend Church but only when they went home - for a few this was on a weekly or bi-weekly basis, for others it was only at Christmas and Easter.

Participation in Church-related and cultural activities also dropped off. Before graduation 79% reported being active in some type of Church-related activity such as youth group²⁵, altar serving (males only), singing in the choir, catechism or volunteering at parish functions. After graduation, only 13% reported being actively involved on a regular basis and another 13% on an irregular basis. They were most likely to still be singing in the choir, reading the epistle or helping with the liturgy in some way (e.g., usher). Participation in cultural activities such as Ukrainian dancing or Ukrainian language classes dropped from 56% to 5%.

Several themes become apparent when examining this demographic data. The majority of young adults are continuing with higher education. For those from rural areas, they have to leave their homes and move to a city to do this. Attendance and participation in Church-related and cultural activities drops off, for young adults from both rural and urban areas. Many young adults from rural areas continue to attend Church but only when they go home - they do not connect with a parish in their new city. Ethnically, those involved in this study were likely to have at least one parent who was fully Ukrainian. This may not represent the overall population since young adults whose parents are ethnically a mix of Ukrainian and another background, may not be connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community and therefore would not have been thought of for inclusion in my study.

3.6.2 Focus Group Participants

Looking specifically at those young adults who participated in focus groups we see a similar picture: all of them were single, the majority were attending college or university (68%), and were living with their parents/relatives (50%) or renting accommodations (36%) (see Table 3.1). Although a smaller percentage of participants (relative to the overall demographic picture) lived in rural areas of the province prior to graduating from Grade 12 (32% compared to 53%), this group experienced a similar rural to urban shift so that at the time of the study a large majority (95%) lived in urban

25 Where they exist, youth groups typically are composed of teenagers between the ages of 13 and 18.

settings (i.e., Saskatoon, Regina, Yorkton and North Battleford), having moved away from home to pursue work or education (see Table 3.2). All of the focus group participants were living in Saskatchewan at the time of the study. Looking at their ethnic backgrounds (see Table 3.3), the vast majority had at least one parent who was fully Ukrainian (95%), and a large percentage (larger than the overall population) reported that both their parents were fully Ukrainian (62%).

Similar to the general population of Ukrainian Catholic young adults, the percentage of focus group participants who said they attended a Ukrainian Catholic Church remained at the same level after they graduated (91%, see Table 3.4). Frequency of Church attendance before graduation was high with 91% attending Church at least 2-3 times per month. However, one to two years post graduation, only 41% attended that often. Again, in the focus groups, a number of participants talked about only going to Church when they went home.

Table 3.1. Demographic information for focus group participants

Demographic Information	Valid Percentage	N
Gender		
Male	40.9	9
Female	59.1	13
Total		22
Marital status		
Single	100.0	22
Married	0.0	0
Other (engaged, common-law)	0.0	0
Total		22
Highest level of education achieved		
Less than grade 12	0.0	0
Grade 12	31.8	7
Some college or university	68.2	15
Total		22
Year graduated		
1997	45.5	10
1998	54.5	12
Did not graduate	0.0	0
Total		22
Current living arrangements		
With parents or other relatives	50.0	11
Student residence	4.5	1
Independent rental accommodations	36.4	8
Other (e.g., owns house, boarding)	9.1	2
Total		22

Table 3.2. Where focus group participants lived at the time of the study and prior to graduating from grade 12

Where They Lived	At the time of study		Prior to Graduating	
	Valid Percentage	N	Valid Percentage	N
Province				
Saskatchewan	100	22	100	22
Total		22		22
Rural vs. Urban				
Rural	4.6	1	31.8	7
Urban	95.4	21	68.2	15
Total		22		22
District within Saskatchewan				
Saskatoon	77.3	17	27.4	10
Regina	9.1	2	4.5	1
Yorkton	9.1	2	18.2	4
Wynyard	0.0	0	9.1	2
Ituna	0.0	0	0.0	0
Kamsack	0.0	0	4.5	1
Canora	0.0	0	4.5	1
Humboldt	0.0	0	4.5	1
North Battleford	4.5	1	4.5	1
Swift Current	0.0	0	0.0	0
Hafford	0.0	0	0.0	0
Moose Jaw	0.0	0	0.0	0
Melfort	0.0	0	4.5	1
Total		22		22

Table 3.3. Ethnicity of focus group participants

Ethnic Background	Valid Percentage	N
Mother's ethnicity		
Fully Ukrainian	66.7	14
Ukrainian and another ethnic background	14.3	3
Other ethnic background	19.0	4
Total		21
Father's ethnicity		
Fully Ukrainian	90.5	19
Ukrainian and another ethnic background	9.5	2
Other ethnic background	0	0
Total		21
Young adults' ethnic background		
Fully Ukrainian	61.9	13
One parent fully Ukrainian, one parent partly Ukrainian	19.0	4
One parent fully Ukrainian, one parent other ethnic background	14.3	3
Both parents partly Ukrainian	0.0	0
One parent partly Ukrainian, one parent other ethnic background	4.8	1
Both parents other ethnic background	0.0	0
Total		21

Table 3.4. Church attendance and involvement in Church-related and cultural activities for focus group participants

Involvement with Ukrainian Catholic Church	At the time of Study		Prior to Graduating	
	Valid Percentage	N	Valid Percentage	N
Church attended				
Ukrainian Catholic	90.9	20	90.9	20
Church of another denomination	9.1	2	4.5	1
No Church	0.0	0	4.5	1
Total		22		22
Frequent vs. Infrequent Attenders				
At least 2-3 times per month	40.9	9	90.9	20
Once a month or less often	59.1	13	9.1	2
Total		22		22
Active in Church activities				
Active on a regular basis	13.6	3	63.6	14
Active on an irregular basis	13.6	3	13.6	3
Inactive	72.7	16	22.7	5
Total		22		22
Active in Ukrainian cultural activities				
Active	13.6	3	68.2	15
Inactive	86.4	19	31.8	7
Total		22		22

Participation in Church-related and cultural activities also dropped off (see Table 3.4). Before graduation 64% reported being active in some type of Church-related activity. After graduation, only 14% reported being actively involved on a regular basis and another 14% on an irregular basis (these activities are listed in the results section 4.3). Participation in cultural activities such as Ukrainian dancing or Ukrainian language classes dropped from 68% to 14%.

In conclusion, focus group participants were similar in many respects to the larger population of Ukrainian Catholic young adults I was able to contact. Without doing statistical analyses on the frequencies, it would seem that they differed in only a few ways: 1) they seemed more likely than the general population to report that both their parents were fully Ukrainian; 2) there were fewer people who were originally from rural areas, although the percentages currently living in urban areas were similar for both focus group participants and the general population; 3) study participants seemed to have been more involved in Church-related and cultural activities and to have attended Church more frequently prior to graduation, compared to the general population. However, they did not differ in these domains at the time of the study, showing similar levels of attendance and involvement. 4) I did not include anyone in my study who had moved out of the province of Saskatchewan. These potential differences between my focus group participants and the general population of Ukrainian Catholic young adults should be kept in mind when interpreting the study's findings.

3.7 Data Analysis - Focus Group Data

In this section I begin my description of the data analysis process by reviewing how I asked the study questions across the various focus groups. Then I detail the iterative process I followed in my data analysis. I describe how my initial attempts needed to be modified based on what I was learning from the data. After I had settled on an analytic strategy, the emerging results necessitated a number of revisions in my coding scheme which are outlined. Then, conversations with peer reviewers and the process of writing up the results brought up new questions which I record in this section. Finally, a review of the research literature suggested some revisions to my presentation of the results. Although I describe briefly in this section the emerging results in order to

illustrate how they affected the analytic process, I do not discuss them in great detail until the next chapter which focusses specifically on results.

3.7.1 Quality Check on Focus Group Questions

My first step in data analysis was to do a quality check on the way I asked the questions across the six focus groups. Did I ask them in a consistent manner? If not, how did any variations affect the conversation in a particular group? Table 3.5 details my observations about the manner in which I asked the questions. Most of the questions (1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10) were asked in a consistent manner across all groups. The variations in questions 3, 4, and 9 are described below along with their potential impact.

With the exception of Groups 2 and 5, question 3 about what sense of community meant was linked explicitly to preceding discussion about ways in which participants were connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community (e.g., “Now that you’ve thought about ways that you’re connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community, let me ask you, what does sense of community mean to you?” [6: 456-460]). Even for the other two groups, it seemed that participants defined sense of community primarily in the context of their experiences with the Ukrainian Catholic community. Had they been asked to define sense of community while discussing their relationships with friends from school for example, a different definition of sense of community might have emerged.

The purpose of question 4 was to get group members talking about their experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. In most cases, they were already talking about their experiences before I even asked the question. I did not ask the question in Group 3 because they had already talked extensively about their experience of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. For Group 5, I introduced the question by saying that I was “switching directions” because they had been talking about not experiencing sense of community.

There was perhaps the most variability in how I probed question 9 although it was introduced in a similar way across groups. For most groups I asked which aspect (being Ukrainian, being Catholic, being Eastern Christian, or faith) they had rated as highest or most important to their sense of community. However, in Group 2, I went through each aspect one by one, asking how they rated it. For Group 1, I explicitly suggested that they

Table 3.5. Analysis of the interview schedule questions across the six focus groups

Question	Comments
<p>1) What is a Ukrainian Catholic? -> How is a Ukrainian Catholic different from a Roman Catholic? ->How is a Ukrainian Catholic different from a Ukrainian Orthodox?</p>	<p>Q1 appeared to be asked similarly across the 6 groups, with additions to the question aimed at encouraging people to give their responses (e.g. "anyone can jump in," and "no right or wrong answers.") -> A comparison of Ukrainian Catholics with Roman Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox was sought out in groups 1, 3 and 6 but not in other groups. Group 2 participants made these comparisons on their own.</p>
<p>2) In what ways, if any, are you connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community?</p>	<p>This question was asked at least twice for all groups except Group 4. Except for Group 1, I added the statement "you've mentioned some ways already" to link Q2 to the previous discussion. In Group 4, I directed Q2 at L4, stating that K4 had already mentioned some of the ways he was connected. I did not return to ask him this question. -> In group 1, J1 asked if I meant "what they've done [with Church]" and I replied "That could be part of it, sure!" Participants then began to talk about activities and service roles. I then went on to probe specifically for other kinds of connections that they might have felt. No other group asked for clarification on Q1 however, their answers also were primarily about things they have participated in.</p>
<p>3) What does sense of community mean to you?</p>	<p>I linked Q3, defining SOC, with the previous discussion about ways in which participants were connected to the UCC for Groups 1, 3, 4, and 6. For Group 1, I went back to ask about SOC in general or with other communities. For Groups 2 and 5 the question was not repeated and was not linked to the previous discussion. In fact, for Group 5 I said "let me switch gears a bit" implying that the question was not linked to the previous conversation, which had been about their lack of connection with the UCC. -> Only Group 2 explicitly asked for clarification of Q3. Interestingly, it was also one of the 2 groups for whom I did not link this question with the previous discussion about ways they are connected to the UCC.</p>

Question	Comments
<p>4) Tell us about your experience of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community (UCC).</p>	<p>For Group 3, I skipped Q4 and went right on to Q5 because they had already talked extensively about their experience of SOC with the UCC. In Groups 1, 2, 4 and 6 I linked Q4 to previous discussion suggesting that they had already been talking about this. In Group 5, because they had been talking about not experiencing SOC, I suggested that I was "switching directions" to discuss times when they experienced SOC with the UCC.</p>
<p>5) Tell us about a time when you most experienced a sense of community.</p>	<p>In Group 1 when I reiterated Q5, I added a specific prompt for stories. In Group 4, K4 had already answered this question so I directed it to L4. → In Group 1 I probed for more information on the SOC that S1 felt with people that she didn't know personally. I was interested in this idea because it fit with my own experience.</p>
<p>6) Has your sense of community changed over time?</p>	<p>Q6 was pretty straight forward and was asked in the same way across the 6 groups.</p>
<p>7) What would make your sense of community more complete?</p>	<p>Q7 was asked in a similar way across the groups with a couple of nuances. In Group 4, I rephrased the question to ask "Is there anything missing?" In Group 5, because they said they didn't feel a SOC, I added "Or give you any sense of community?" These additions did not seem to alter the question substantially.</p>
<p>8) Is there anything that you can think of that's so crucial that if it wasn't there your sense of community would be destroyed?</p>	<p>Q8 was not asked for Group 5 since it did not seem to make sense for them. Otherwise, Q8 was identical across all other groups. → In response to O3's request for clarification, I introduced the idea that people might feel a SOC with the UCC even if they didn't go to Church.</p>

Question	Comments
<p>9) How important is being Ukrainian to your sense of community? How important is being Catholic to your sense of community? How important is being Eastern Christian to your sense of community? How important is faith to your sense of community?</p>	<p>Q9 was introduced in a similar way across all groups. However, after they rated each aspect, my style of questioning varied across groups. For Groups 1, 4 and 5, I asked what they rated as the highest. For Groups 3 and 6 I asked what they rated as most important, which is a similar type of question. For Group 2 I went through each aspect one by one, asking how they rated it. In Group 1 I explicitly suggested that they should try to influence each other in their answers. I gave each of the groups a chance to change their responses.</p> <p>→ Participants in Groups 2, 5 and 6 asked what was meant by Eastern Christian. I asked participants in Group 1 if they knew and since they didn't, I gave a definition. In Group 3 I volunteered a definition without waiting for someone to ask. No definition was requested or given for Group 4. Groups 1, 3, 5 and 6 were told that Eastern Christianity is what we share with the Orthodox and what makes us different from the Roman Catholics. Groups 2, 3, 5 and 6 were given an explanation that grouped Ukrainian Catholic with Ukrainian Orthodox and other Eastern Christians as opposed to Roman Catholics, Protestants and other Western Christians. Groups 2 and 5 were told to think of the geographic division between Eastern and Western Europe. Groups 3 and 6 were given examples of liturgical and/or theological differences between Eastern and Western Christians.</p>
<p>10) What would you like done with this information?</p>	<p>Q10 consistently took the form: "What would you like to see done with this information?" or "What should be done with this information?" For groups 2 through 6 I also brought up the suggestions of previous groups to get their opinions.</p>

should try to influence each other in their answers, whereas this happened naturally in some of the other groups. Most groups seemed to have difficulty understanding what was meant by the term Eastern Christian. Definitions given to the group took various forms: 1) sometimes participants were told that Eastern Christianity is what we share with the Orthodox and what makes us different from the Roman Catholics; 2) sometimes they were told that Ukrainian Catholics can be grouped with Ukrainian Orthodox and other Eastern Christians as opposed to Roman Catholics, Protestants and other Western Christians; 3) sometimes they were told to think of the geographic division between Eastern and Western Europe; and/or 4) they were given examples of liturgical and/or theological differences between Eastern and Western Christians.

3.7.2 Initial Attempts at Analysis

I preceded my analysis with a review of the audiotapes for each group, making corrections to the transcriptions. I also transcribed the debriefing sessions held after each group. Then I imported the files into The Ethnograph v5.0 (Robbins & Seidel, 1998, updated to version 5.07 via the internet), the computer software I used for my analysis. I had taken an introductory workshop on this program, given by the software's developer, John Seidel and it appeared to be very useful for coding of content, allowing for extensive documentation via memos and for flexible retrieval of the context in which a coded section is embedded. I will talk more about the ways I used this program as I describe my analysis.

My initial attempts at data analysis included a number of strategies, some of which had to be modified. In this section I will describe several strategies including: 1) coding for group process, 2) coding for descriptive statements and abstract generalizations, 3) an initial definition of sense of community, and 4) a change from coding segments of text to attaching memos (with codes) to segments of text.

In an attempt to capture the group dynamics of the focus group discussions, I created a number of codes to describe my influence on the group as the moderator (e.g., PROBE - probing to clarify meaning, get more information, or ask for specific examples; COMPARE - pointing out similarities between the experiences of different participants) and the interaction among group members (e.g., FINISHSENT - finishing someone else's sentence; DIFFEXPER - participant indicating that he or she has had a different

experience from that of another participant). I coded approximately half of the first transcript before I abandoned this strategy, because it was proving to be too cumbersome to take such a microscopic approach. Besides, my goal was to examine the *content* of the discussion as it related to young adults' experiences of sense of community, not the *process* of how young adults influence each other in a group setting. I did not need this level of detail in order to answer my research questions.

I had initially proposed that I would code for abstract generalizations, stories and descriptive statements, following the methodology used by Hughes and Dumont (1993). These researchers used focus groups to understand from their participants' perspectives, how being African American shaped their experiences as workers and parents. They were especially interested in the dialogue between the participants in each of their focus group sessions and the shared knowledge (Kreckel, 1981) that emerged out of these dialogues. Using Polanyi's (1985) framework for analysing cultural stories, Hughes and Dumont (1993) classified participants' narratives into one of three types: *descriptive statements* (narratives in which participants characterize enduring actions or states of affairs that persist over time), *stories* (narratives through which individuals reconstruct particular events that took place at a particular time in the past, involving particular actors and particular settings) and *abstract generalizations* (summary statements describing principles that participants have extracted from their own and other group members' common experiences).

By looking for patterns and redundancies in the participants' descriptive statements, Hughes and Dumont were able to access participants' *common knowledge* - similarities in concepts that individuals from similar cultural backgrounds acquire separately, due to similarities in socialization processes (Kreckel, 1981). Similarly, they looked for themes in participants' stories. This gave them insight into the discrete events that shaped participants' descriptive statements. Stories also prompted group members to compare and contrast their experiences, which led to the development of *shared knowledge*. More specifically, comparisons prompted participants to synthesize the knowledge present in stories and then to elaborate more abstract summaries of their experiences and perspectives (Morgan, 1988; Morgan & Spanish, 1984). Stories facilitated the translation of common knowledge displayed by individuals into shared

knowledge that was elaborated consensually by the group (Hughes & DuMont, 1993, p. 794). This shared knowledge was manifest in the abstract generalizations that participants developed in synergistic context of the focus group, by building upon each other's statements, completing each other's sentences, and collectively representing ideas using "we" and "our" statements rather than "I" statements. Hughes and Dumont contended that when similar abstract generalizations are put forth across two or more focus groups, they facilitate researchers access to the shared cognitive models that groups develop to interpret and give meaning to their experiences. Abstract generalization can also facilitate the identification of between-group differences in these cognitive models.

Although I initially proposed to use an analytic strategy similar to Hughes and DuMont (1993), coding separately for descriptive statements, stories, and abstract generalizations, I found that this proved too cumbersome. Although stories seemed easy to pick out, it was difficult to decide what constituted a descriptive statement. Hughes and DuMont had asked African Americans to describe their experiences of parenting primarily in contrast to those of white Americans and therefore may have been more likely to elicit descriptive statements which characterize "enduring actions or states of affairs". By contrast, my study asked participants about their own experiences of sense of community and was therefore more likely to draw forth stories than descriptive statements. In consultation with two peer researchers, I decided that it was not that important for me to code for descriptive statements. The critical part of my study, indeed, the reason for using focus groups was to examine the shared knowledge that participants developed about their sense of community while conversing with other community members that they had not known previously. Abstract generalizations - the summary statements describing principles that participants extract from their own and other group members' common experiences - come the closest to capturing this shared knowledge.

I thought for a while about coding only for shared knowledge. However, I found only six instances of abstract generalizations in the first focus group. I also had two peer researchers code for abstract generalizations. Based on their feedback and my own observations I decided to discontinue coding for abstract generalizations for the following reasons:

- 1) There were many instances when the conversation built toward consensus or a general understanding but did not culminate in "summary statements describing principles that participants have extracted from their own and other group members' common experiences" (Hughes & Dumont, 1993).
- 2) On some occasions, there were summary statements made but they were not agreed upon by all members of the group. In fact, they provoked disagreement from other members. In Group 1, J1 was rather outspoken and had a tendency to make bold pronouncements that sounded like summary statements but were perhaps more the product of her own opinions than a summary of the group discussion. The number of summary statements made could be artificially inflated by the presence of a person very confident in his or her own opinion.
- 3) Some abstract generalizations did not seem to relate directly to sense of community. For example, in Group 2 (lines 350-382) the discussion culminated in the assertion that the Ukrainian Catholic Church was "straight traditional". This was not a summary statement about sense of community per se, although the sharing of memories did lead to the development of shared knowledge.
- 4) There were a relatively small number of abstract generalizations actually made. Focussing exclusively on abstract generalizations would omit a large part of the data. [By examining racial relations, a topic that naturally lends itself to comparisons, Hughes and Dumont (1993) may have invited a larger number of abstract generalizations in their focus group discussions. My study involved no such comparison, therefore "we" statements, typically characteristic of abstract generalizations would be expected to be made less frequently.]
- 5) The information obtained from abstract generalizations did not need to be separated from information obtained from other types of narratives since I had no intention of examining separately the conclusions reached from analysis of abstract generalizations and those reached from analysis of descriptive statements or stories.

For the above-mentioned reasons, I decided not to code and analyse abstract generalizations separately from the rest of the text. However, I continued to note instances where summary statements were made as the result of group discussion since

this is the type of unique information that focus groups can offer.²⁶ As an example, consider the following excerpt from group 1 where group members were comparing the size of Ukrainian Catholic parishes with that of Roman Catholic parishes:

S1: Yes that's one thing I find about the Ukrainian Catholic Church over other Churches, if my family gets together and we decide to go on a trip and it's Sunday. We find a Ukrainian Catholic Church and go to Church. And it doesn't matter what Ukrainian Catholic Church you walk into, there's people running after you after Church: "Oh where are you from?" "Hi, nice you joined us for Mass." And you go into, like there have been times where, second best, okay, a Roman Catholic Church, you go in there and it's like, "Oh, who are those people ha, ha, ha!" You walk out of Church and you go... (Laughter) It's different, the Roman Catholic...

J1: I think it's because the Roman Catholic Church is just so big. There are so many people, whereas Ukrainian Catholics, honestly to tell you the truth we're few and far [between]. There's not a lot of us here and that's why I think the Roman Catholics have just kind of had that idea in their heads that you come and go as you please and that's it.

T1: Definitely, you don't find that [with Ukrainian Catholic parishes]...

J1: Yeah.

T1: Not necessarily all other religions don't really do it but I find the smaller Churches, because I've taken a lot of religious studies classes, so I've gone to many other Churches and I have found the smaller the Church the more they welcome you into the community and help you along, help you to understand.

M1: Yes it's a fairly close knit community I think.

Maria and someone else: Mm-hmm.

S1: Yeah I was shocked to see the numbers the other day too. We got a bulletin, I don't remember what the publisher was, or what it was for, but the numbers of Roman Catholics and Ukrainian Catholics, man, is there a big difference! Huge! (1: 988-1049)

In this example, four out of the five focus group participants were part of a discussion where they built on each other's comments. The discussion culminated in the summary statements "the smaller the Church, the more they welcome you into the community" and "it's a fairly close-knit community" referring to the Ukrainian Catholic community. In the context of the overall discussion, this abstract generalization points to a factor that affects sense of community - size of the community. Other abstract generalizations are reviewed in chapter five, section 5.2.

26 This decision was supported by my supervisor after he reviewed the transcript of the first focus group and the project memos in which I tracked the rationale for my changes in methodology (project memos 5, 8, 10 and 11).

At the same time as I was coding for process variables and abstract generalizations, I was pulling together participants' definitions of sense of community. I analysed the responses from all six focus groups to the question "What does sense of community mean to you?" Five major and two minor aspects emerged from their discussion: belonging, participation, similarity, familiarity, trust, community influence on the individual and membership in multiple communities or sub-communities. Belonging was often the first definition mentioned by participants and seemed to be used as a synonym for sense of community²⁷.

My next step was to listen to the entire tape of focus group one while reviewing the transcript. Using the memo function in Ethnograph, I documented my reflections on the content of the discussion, especially as it related to sense of community. I divided my memos into several types: 1) *content memos* - relating to what group members said about sense of community and other related topics; 2) *project memos* - documenting my methodology and the rationale for any changes as well as general reflections on the project as a whole; 3) *self memos* - recording my own personal experiences as they related to the group discussion; 4) *process memos* - noting instances of group interaction and influence; 5) *action memos* - highlighting suggestions for action that could be taken on the part of the Eparchy or the researcher to improve sense of community or respond to the needs of young adults; 6) *correction memos* - correcting errors in the transcript such as speaker or text errors.

In the content memos, I summarized the content of the discussion, and included quotes to illustrate the points being made by group members. I also commented on how the discussion related to the five major and two minor aspects of sense of community that I had initially discerned in participants' definitions. I noted instances of confirmation as well as instances of disconfirmation, and any information suggesting modifications to existing categories (aspects of sense of community) or the creation of new categories. I also recorded my thoughts about how the aspects of sense of community were related to one another (e.g., participation leading to familiarity). To each of these content memos I

27 The first five terms are defined fully in chapter 4. I did not find enough evidence in subsequent analysis to include the last two terms in a definition of sense of community.

attached up to three codes, indicating which aspects of sense of community (or related factors) were discussed in the memo (e.g., PARTICIP’N, FAMILIAR and SIZE).

Having recorded all my thoughts about the first focus group in memo form, I decided to continue with this strategy of coding memos that were attached to sections of text rather than simply coding sections of text. This allowed me to attach codes to my own musings and to specify in the memos how each code applied to the participants’ comments. For example, if I had chosen to simply label a section of text with the code BELONGING, I would have no record of why I thought this code applied or in what way it applied. In a memo, I could identify these thoughts and then attach the code BELONGING to the memo for easy retrieval later when I wanted to gather together all the information I had on the concept of belonging.

Instead of relying on inter-rater reliability to establish the dependability of my coding scheme, I believe that my system of memos and coding of memos better allows outside reviewers to “explore the process, judge the decisions that were made, and understand what salient factors in the context led the evaluator to the decisions and interpretations made” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p.242).²⁸ In addition, a coder who was not present at the focus groups would be missing a lot of the context in which comments were made (see the previous discussion about the importance of considering context; Rogers, 1997). The process of arriving at a decision to analyse primarily through memos rather than coding text is an example of the iterative process at work in qualitative research - what I was learning through my analysis was leading me to change my process of analysis. The important thing was to continue to document the process.

To review, by this point in my analysis I had made a number of decisions regarding methodology: 1) I was not going to code the transcripts for process variables, but would use process memos to note ways in which the group process influenced the content of discussions; 2) I would not code for descriptive statements and I would not analyse abstract generalizations separately from the rest of the content; 3) I would continue to analyse the content of discussion in groups two through six looking for confirming and disconfirming evidence of the aspects of sense of community identified originally in

28 This change in methodology was made in consultation with two peer researchers and my supervisor.

participants definitions; and 4) I would continue to record my observations in the form of memos attached to the text and identify each memo with codes.

In addition to having settled on a process for analysis, after reading through the content memos for Group 1, I came up with the following preliminary findings regarding these young adults' sense of community: 1) Sense of community for this group equals belonging; 2) A person feels like he or she belongs if he or she participates in the community, knows people in the community well and spends time with them, trusts them to be a source of support and encouragement in the present and in the future, and shares similar values, beliefs, and interests; 3) Challenges to participation, familiarity, trust and similarity detract from sense of community. For Group 1, challenges to participation included not being listened to, not being given responsibility or decision-making power/input and attending Church less often. Challenges to familiarity include moving to the city and attending a large urban parish by themselves where they knew no one, and spending less time with the community (attending Church less often). Challenges to trust included feeling intimidated by attending a large Church where they knew no one. Challenges to similarity included hypocrisy, members who are not Ukrainian or do not speak Ukrainian (the result of mixed marriages), lack of knowledge about beliefs and history /tradition, and distinctions between members of the community (e.g., young vs old, teenagers vs young adults). Another potential challenge was T1's quest to learn about other religions however her community responded well to this challenge by being eager to hear what she had been learning.

A number of factors affecting sense of community were mentioned in Group 1: 1) size of community; which is related to 2) rural or urban parish; 3) gender; 4) knowledge/understanding of beliefs, traditions and practices; 5) identification with Ukrainian heritage; 6) a person's developmental stage.

One of the peer researchers proposed a helpful analogy to describe the sense of community model as I understood it at that point. She suggested that sense of community is like a four-legged stool with belonging as the seat and participation, familiarity, trust and similarity as the four legs. Each leg relies on the others to uphold the stool. All the legs need to be the same length - if even one is too short the whole stool is out of balance.

A person's sense of belonging is affected by each of these four aspects. Challenges to any of these aspects can affect his or her sense of community or sense of belonging.

3.7.3 Continuing with Data Analysis

Having settled on a process of analysis, I continued to listen to audiotapes, read through transcripts, record my observations in memos and code these memos for Groups 2 through 6. A number of issues became apparent through this process of analysis. First, I found confirmation for the five major aspects of sense of community noted in participants' initial definitions: belonging, participation, similarity, familiarity and trust.

Second, several different forms of participation and similarity emerged from the data which I captured in separate sub-codes (e.g. participation included attendance at liturgy, emotional participation in the liturgy, service to the community, the practice of customs and traditions, participation in Church and community events, and engaging in spiritual practices such as prayer and reception of the sacraments).

Third, there were examples of lack of sense of community and things that challenged most of the aspects and sub-aspects of sense of community, and these could be coded separately (e.g. NO ATTEND referring to a decline in attendance or no longer attending Church). These challenges often led to a diminution of sense of community.

Fourth, another aspect of sense of community emerged that I had not noted previously in participants' definitions: *heritage*. References to heritage as an aspect of sense of community arose in participants' definitions of Ukrainian Catholic, in their descriptions of ways in which they were connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community, and in their responses to the question about whether there was anything so crucial to their sense of community that if it wasn't there, their sense of community would be destroyed²⁹.

Fifth, other factors that had an effect on sense of community were noted: size of parish, rural vs urban parishes, relationship between old and young parishioners, gender, membership in other communities or in sub-groups within the community, and a person's

²⁹ I chose to use the word heritage rather than ethnicity to describe this aspect of sense of community in order to be consistent with the language used by focus group participants. The two terms are not synonymous - one's heritage includes, but is not limited to one's ethnicity (see section 4.5.3 for further detail on heritage as an aspect of sense of community).

developmental stage. Comparisons to the Roman Catholic Church also highlighted issues relate to sense of community in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Codes were created and attached to the content memos to reflect these emerging themes.

Once I completed this process, my next step was to review the memo codes and the memos they were attached to. In doing so, I made a number of changes to the codes themselves:

- 1) I re-assigned redundant codes (e.g., EMOTION and EMOTIONAL were both used as codes; EMOTION was changed to EMOTIONAL);
- 2) I grouped similar codes together (e.g., PRAYER, GODRELSHIP, SACRAMENTS and FAITH were all re-named SPIRITUAL);
- 3) I placed some codes underneath other parent codes (TRADITION, FAMILY and CONNECT2UK were placed under the parent code HERITAGE);
- 4) I created some new codes to be applied to the memos (e.g., CUSTOMS to refer to liturgical and cultural customs/traditions practised by participants; NO ATTEND - the opposite of ATTEND);
- 5) I identified some codes to be applied more widely to the memos (e.g., GENDER, SUPPORT)
- 6) I dropped a few seldom-used codes and re-coded the memos that were affected (e.g., memos coded COMM INFL were re-assigned individually; DISTINC'NS was changed to the existing code OLD-YOUNG);
- 7) I planned to remove three generic parent codes from the memos allowing me to assign more specific sub-codes (i.e., SOC, PARTICIP'N and LACKSOC).³⁰

With this new coding scheme, I reviewed each of the content memos for Groups 1 to 6 and made changes to the codes accordingly. I also made corrections to the memos (e.g., spelling errors) and added quotes to memos that did not have them. Through this process I also made some minor changes to the coding scheme:

- 1) I removed the SOC code from all memos and the PARTICIP'N code from most of the memos (retaining it only for general instances of participation) but chose to

30 The full details of these changes to the coding scheme are recorded in project memo #26.

retain the LACKSOC code because I thought it would be important to be able to do a search for all instances where sense of community was lacking.

2) I added three new codes to capture themes I saw in the data (i.e., CHOICE, RELSHIPS and DIVISION).

3) I clarified several codes that were confusing because of overlap in the concepts they related to (i.e., KNOWLEDGE under SIMILARITY renamed UNDERSTAND, referring to having an understanding of beliefs, rules and traditions; FAMILY and FAMILY HX were consolidated into FAMILY since it seemed difficult to separate the two; TRADITIONS which was under HERITAGE was deleted and memos with this code were re-coded HERITAGE, to avoid confusion with the practice of traditions and customs, coded as CUSTOMS).³¹

4) One code (LEADERSHIP) was deleted since it only applied to one memo. This memo was re-coded SERVICE.

5) A new parent code (RELFACTORS) was created to group together factors such as gender and size of community that related to sense of community.

I then submitted my methodology and coding scheme to the review of two peer researchers who provided helpful feedback. They thought the process of writing memos, coding the memos and reviewing the codes made sense and that my description of this process was clear, especially because I was able to give them specific examples of how I had documented all the changes I made to the coding scheme. While reviewing together the aspects of sense of community (belonging, participation, similarity, familiar, trust and heritage), the factors that challenge or diminish sense of community, and the factors that are related to sense of community, a number of interesting issues arose.

First, my peer reviewers asked what my model of sense of community would look like in diagrammatic form. Because there were five aspects in addition to belonging, it no longer made sense to use the analogy of a stool (stools don't usually have five legs). I thought perhaps it could be represented as a pentagram with directional arrows showing connections between the five aspects. Or perhaps a flow chart would better capture the

31 Details of these changes are recorded in project memo #28.

relationships between the aspects. Following on this suggestion I reviewed the memos from the first three focus groups. For each memo I drew out the relationship between the aspects of sense of community discussed in that memo (e.g., PARTICIP'N → FAMILIAR → SOC; participation leads to familiarity with other community members which increases sense of community). I then consolidated all these mini-diagrams into a large diagram including all six aspects of sense of community and tried counting the number of references to directional influences between the aspects of community. For example, how many memos demonstrated participation leading to familiarity and how many demonstrated familiarity leading to greater participation. In the end, there were examples of all six aspects leading to sense of community and most of the elements seemed to be connected bi-directionally so that they were mutually reinforcing. However, the process was not precise enough to make it worthwhile continuing³².

Second, my reviewers wanted to know what I planned to do with the two minor themes that had originally emerged from participants' definitions of sense of community (i.e., community influence and membership in multiple communities or in subgroups within the Ukrainian Catholic community). Were they not important? Why not? Was this because young adults who participated in my study did not experience the ability to influence their parish communities? Or perhaps they just did not discuss their experiences in these terms. This prompted me to review my data.

With regard to community influence: When I thought about it, I could pick out instances in which many of them had been influential in their community, through service or leadership, for example (see section 4.5.1.2). My participants also spoke about not feeling like they had any power to change the things they did not like about the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which I discuss in section 4.6.1 as a challenge to participation. However, because there was only one reference to community influence on the individual in participants' definitions of sense of community and because none of my participants mentioned influence of the individual on the community in their definitions, I decided to drop community influence as a theme, or at least to not include mutual

32 One of the problems was that I sometimes wrote more than one memo on the same section of text covering the same aspects of sense of community. In my counting scheme, this gave double weighting to the relationship between those aspects discussed.

influence as an aspect of sense of community. This represents a deviation from McMillan's model and will be discussed in chapter 5.

With regard to membership in multiple communities: It did not make sense to call this an *aspect* of sense of community. Furthermore, I did not ask group members specifically nor systematically about membership in other communities. Therefore they did not speak much about this and it did not emerge as a major theme.

A third issue that arose from my peer reviewers' feedback was the question of what was most damaging to sense of community. This prompted me to think about the various experiences and factors affecting sense of community and to judge the relative strength of their effect on sense of community. This question will be discussed in section 4.6.

Fourth, one of my reviewers asked me why I had put spirituality as a type of participation. This prompted an interesting discussion regarding Western individualistic understandings of faith, prayer, and a relationship with God. In our Western culture these concepts are often viewed as something in which an individual engages independent from others. As I will discuss in chapter 6, this is foreign to an Eastern Christian view of human beings. Human beings are seen as inherently relational - we find our true being in relation to God and to others. A person cannot have a close relationship with God unless he or she also has a deep sense of relatedness to other human beings. Therefore, from an Eastern Christian perspective, it makes sense to view spirituality as a kind of participation in the community. Someone who does not have a strong sense of a spirituality may not have as strong a sense of community. Conversely, a person's spirituality may be challenged if they do not have a strong sense of community with their Church community.

Fifth, one of the themes in my data was the importance young adults attached to having a choice about whether or not to attend Church and whether or not they were going to share the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic community. We discussed what the data suggested about how to give young adults and teenagers the experience of making these choices themselves. These suggestions for action will be presented in chapter 7.

Sixth, we made the observation that *choice* and *understanding* may be process variables in a model of sense of community. They seemed to apply to a number of aspects of sense of community including participation and similarity.

Seventh, we discussed the question of what was unique about sense of community from this group's perspective. This question will be covered in the discussion chapter where we examine the influence on the data by the following factors: the Ukrainian Canadian historical and cultural context, the adolescent development context, and the Eastern Christian theological context.

3.7.4 Finalizing the Analysis

My next step in data analysis was to synthesize my observations on the focus group discussion and to describe the results. To facilitate this I printed out a memo list for each code word and reviewed the memos in each list prior to writing the results for that code. The process of describing the results brought to light a few additional observations about the data:

First, I refined the analogy I was using to describe sense of community. One of my peer reviewers originally had suggested the analogy of a stool as a way to describe sense of community. Belonging was the top of the stool (the seat) and participation, similarity, familiarity and trust were the legs. When I discerned a sixth aspect of sense of community (i.e., heritage), I thought I would have to scrap the analogy, since stools typically did not have five legs. However, in reviewing participants' answers to the question, 'Is there anything so crucial that if it wasn't there your sense of community would be destroyed?' I noticed that the number one answer was "tradition" (i.e., heritage). It occurred to me then that heritage is like the ground on which the stool rests. If it weren't for heritage, they would not feel a sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. However, they would likely have developed sense of community with another community (i.e., another ethnic community, another religion, the geographic community in which they live, their school or work community). I could use my stool analogy again!

Second, although they seemed to place a great emphasis on tradition and heritage, many of the young adults in my study seemed to know very little about their heritage as Ukrainians, even less about their heritage as Catholics, and almost nothing about their

heritage as Eastern Christians. Taken together with an article by Satzewich (2000), this suggested to me a point of intervention with the community which I will discuss in chapter 7.

Third, I was still left wondering about whether choice and understanding were process variables and whether it made more sense to include them under challenges to sense of community rather than the definition of sense of community.

Having completed the bulk of my analysis, I distributed copies of my results to a number of Ukrainian Catholic young adult peers (generally in their 30s) who reviewed the results and shared their reflections with me based on their own experiences and understandings of community. I also began to update my literature review and read recent research on sense of community. I made a number of observations which led me to reconsider my results.

The first observation I made was that participation in a community has been treated by researchers as a correlate to sense of community and not as a dimension. This contrasted with my depiction of participation as an aspect of community. I reviewed participants' definitions of sense of community and noted that only 4 people had included references to participation in their definitions (compared to 10 references to familiarity/comfort, 8 references to belonging, 8 references to similarity, and 5 references to support/trust). In addition, the young adults in my study did not place a large emphasis on participation or attendance in their definitions of a Ukrainian Catholic (see section 4.2).

However, participation (especially participation in liturgy, upkeep of the Church, religious/youth events) figured largely in young adults' descriptions of ways they were connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community (see section 4.3). It was also through participation in events and service to the community that they had most experienced sense of community (see section 4.7.1). Taking all these factors into consideration, I decided that participation should still be considered a supportive aspect of sense of community, although it might not be part of the core of the experience. This led me to distinguish between core aspects of sense of community and supportive aspects.

A second observation I made about my results was that belonging and familiarity seemed to overlap or to be very closely related. Belonging included notions of feeling

welcome, accepted and acknowledged by group members. Familiarity referred to knowing people in the community well and to feeling comfortable or feeling at home with them. For a number of the young adults in my study, not knowing people in a new urban parish led to feelings of intimidation and a sense that they did not belong, which became a reason for them not to attend that parish. I also noted that Obst and her colleagues (Obst et al., 2002a; Obst et al., 2002b; Obst et al., 2002c) found that items related to feeling comfortable with community members grouped together with items about feelings of belonging. This led me to wonder about including a sense of feeling comfortable within belonging. However, this no longer seemed to be necessary once I decided to group belonging and familiarity together as core aspects of sense of community (see chapter 4).

Community is about relationships. I decided that belonging, familiarity and support/trust all qualified as core aspects of sense of community because they were about relationships and the quality of those relationships. Furthermore, I decided that participation, similarity, and heritage were all supportive aspects of sense of community in that they contributed to the strength or quality of sense of community experienced by these young adults. I will discuss further the relationships between these core and supportive aspects of sense of community in chapter five where I compare my findings to those of McMillan and other sense of community theorists and researchers.

My final task in the data analysis was to study the group interactions that occurred in the focus groups to identify ways in which my data might be different as the result of having been gathered in a group setting. As Catterall and Maclaran (1997) pointed out, qualitative data analysis programs do not easily allow the researcher to identify processes that occur in focus groups as a result of participant interaction. In order to code the moving picture as well as the snapshots, these authors argued that several readings of the whole transcript and tracing of an individual's text in the context of other participants' text was necessarily. Whereas I had previously been reading transcripts on the computer screen, I elected to work with hard copies for this final reading of the entire transcripts. Having identified the various types of group processes that occurred, I turned my attention to describing the data that arose from participant interactions and began to work on a discussion of the results. The next chapter presents a detailed description of the

findings of this study. Chapter five discusses these results and compares them to results reported in the community psychology literature.

CHAPTER FOUR

Defining Sense of Community

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first goal of this study which was to gain an understanding of the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to sense of community. I begin my description of their experiences by presenting their definitions of a Ukrainian Catholic and summarizing their connections to the Ukrainian Catholic community. Then I present the model of sense of community that resulted from participants' discussions in terms of three core aspects (belonging, familiarity, and support/trust) and three supportive aspects (participation, similarity, and heritage). I also present the challenges to each of these aspects of sense of community that participants identified as diminishing their sense of community. Finally I provide more information on my participants' experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community including when they had most experienced sense of community, whether they thought their sense of community had changed over time, what was most crucial to their sense of community and what would make their sense of community most complete.

4.2 Definitions of a Ukrainian Catholic

Young adults in this study defined a Ukrainian Catholic in a number of different ways:

- 1) A person of Ukrainian descent, heritage or roots (i.e. Ukrainian ancestors) was an answer given in most groups in combination with some of the other definitions below. However, participants were quick to concede that a person did not necessarily have to be of Ukrainian descent to be considered Ukrainian Catholic. This issue arose when they thought of people they knew who were not Ukrainian but attended a Ukrainian Catholic Church (mentioned by Groups 1, 2, 3, 5, 6).
- 2) A person who together with other Ukrainian Catholics shares similar beliefs, values and rules. The beliefs referred to by participants were typically those that

Ukrainian Catholics hold in common with Roman Catholics (e.g., "belief in the Pope", "Doctrines and teachings of the Catholic Church"). Some participants thought a person had to put these beliefs into action in order to be called a Ukrainian Catholic (Groups 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6).

3) Participants also viewed Ukrainian Catholics as being defined by adherence to a set of "traditional" liturgical practices and customs that are more similar to the Ukrainian Orthodox than to the Roman Catholics (e.g., Divine Liturgy rather than the Mass, holidays on the Julian calendar, liturgical practices at Easter including the blessing and distribution of pussy willows and veneration of the shroud, special meals at Christmas and Easter, crossing oneself three times) (Groups 1, 2, 3, 5, 6).

4) In comparison to the Roman Catholic Church participants thought the Ukrainian Catholic Church was more formal, strict, and traditional (e.g., meatless Fridays, the use of incense, no altar girls, kneeling during the service) . They also noted that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had an "older crowd", was more "socially oriented" due to smaller parish sizes and had bigger weddings (Groups 1, 2, 3, 5, 6).

5) A person who attends the Ukrainian Catholic Church and/or participates in activities in the Ukrainian Catholic community (Groups 2, 4, 5).

6) Use of the Ukrainian language was noted by only one person as a defining characteristic of Ukrainian Catholics (Group 3).

7) Finally, a number of participants talked about being Ukrainian Catholic as something that was a part of their upbringing and identity: "a way of life," "the way I was raised," "I've been Ukrainian all my life so that's the only perspective I know" (Groups 3, 4). This will be discussed further in section 4.5.3 on heritage.

Reviewing these definitions, it is clear that there is a heavy influence on tradition/heritage and similarity of beliefs, values and practices. Only a few participants suggested that one needed to be attending Church in order to be considered a Ukrainian Catholic. This is significant I believe, given the drop off in attendance noted earlier in my description of the demographic data. As mentioned previously, although these young adults were attending Church less frequently, they continued to describe themselves as

attending a “Ukrainian Catholic Church” rather than “no Church”. Finally, their definitions of a Ukrainian Catholic suggest that if these young adults were to meet someone who was also Ukrainian Catholic they would have a ready basis for building a sense of community because of similarities in beliefs, values and practices and a common.

4.3 Connections to the Ukrainian Catholic Community

After obtaining their definitions of a Ukrainian Catholic, I asked focus group participants in what ways, if any, they felt connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community. Their responses can be grouped into the following categories (project memo # 32):

- 1) Participation in liturgy and parish programs - attendance at liturgy, cantering, singing in the choir, reading the epistle, altar serving, receiving the sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Eucharist, ushering at liturgy, helping with children's programs like altar boys and Little Angels (mentioned specifically by Groups 1, 2, 3, 4, 6).
- 2) Tradition/heritage - "that's just the way I was brought up", "a way of life", our upbringing, "beliefs... the way I was raised", connected through parents and grandparents who are Ukrainian Catholic, Christmas celebrations (Groups 1, 2, 3, 4, 5).
- 3) Cultural involvement - the ability to read, write and/or speak some Ukrainian, Ukrainian language classes in high school, university or ridna shkola (Ukrainian language classes usually held in the church hall on the weekend), attending a bilingual school, Ukrainian dancing, playing traditional musical instruments, Folkfest, Vesna, "Ukrainian holidays" such as Christmas, Easter and Malanka (Groups 1, 2, 3, 5, 6).
- 4) Religious events / youth events - Youth for Christ retreats in Muenster, Winterfest, Children of Mary, youth group, St. Michael's and St. Volodimir's summer camps, Christmas plays (Groups 1, 3, 4, 5, 6).
- 5) Spirituality/religious practices - individual and community prayer including the rosary and Stations of the Cross, spiritual pilgrimages to a Marian apparition site, reading, personal need for spirituality, faith (Groups 1, 2, 6).

- 6) Upkeep of the church - building maintenance, catering, changing candles and taking care of the church with grandfather, helping ladies with bake sale (Groups 1, 3, 4).
- 7) Other community events - weddings, funerals (Group 3).
- 8) Symbols - making the sign of the cross the Eastern way from right to left (Group 2).
- 9) Parents' and grandparents' involvement - grandparents helped to build the church, grandparents or parents help with maintenance of parish (e.g., furnace, lights), parents have leadership role (cantor, parish president, president of other Church service organization, helping with children's program), one person's maternal grandmother brought her to Church because her parents did not attend (Group 1, 4, 6).
- 10) Attendance at a Catholic school (with or without a Ukrainian bilingual program) - they were taught by nuns, they studied Christian Ethics, liturgies were conducted at the school by a Ukrainian Catholic priest. This is an interesting connection because it highlights the connection with the Roman Catholic Church. Roman Catholic schools typically do little to educate children about their Eastern Christian heritage (Group 2, 6).

Most of the above-mentioned connections relate to active participation (especially participation in liturgy, upkeep of the church, and religious/youth events). These connections will be discussed further in the next sections as they relate to the various aspects of sense of community.

4.4 Core Aspects of Sense of Community

Analysis of participants' definitions and their experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community revealed three core aspects of sense of community which I labelled belonging, familiarity and support/trust (see Table 4.1 for summary definitions).

Table 4.1. Definitions of the aspects of sense of community identified in this study

Aspect of Sense of Community	Definition
Belonging	Subjective sense that one belongs to, is a part of, and is accepted, included, and welcomed by a community of people
Familiarity	Feeling of familiarity and comfort that comes from being with people whom one has known for a long time, with whom one has spent a lot of time, or with whom one has developed close relationships
Trust/Support	Sense of trust or security, knowing that people are there to support you or would be there to help in a time of need. Is based on experiences of support which can be emotional (such as encouragement or acknowledgement) or material (such as financial support or assistance to a family planning a funeral)
Participation	Active involvement in the community including attendance at Divine Liturgy, emotional participation in the Liturgy, active service to community, participation in religious or cultural events, participation in religious or cultural customs and traditions, and spiritual experiences/ connections to the Ukrainian Catholic Church community
Similarity	Similarity or commonality in beliefs, values, interests, and activities; shared goals; identification with common symbols/signs
Heritage	Heritage may refer to the way a person was raised, links to past and future generations, ethnic or religious identity, connections to the Ukrainian Catholic community, or tradition, broadly speaking

4.4.1 Belonging

- “*sense of belonging*” (L5:1101)
- “*feeling like you belong*” (A6:616)
- “*belonging to a certain social group*” (A5: 1109)
- “*belonging...somewhere you can go and feel like you belong*” (O3:738-740)
- “*a feeling of acceptance...you feel included and accepted*” (K3:1085,1098)

Belonging could be considered the defining characteristic of sense of community. The word belonging was referred to frequently in participants’ definitions of sense of community and was often the first thing mentioned. It was often used as a synonym for sense of community. For example, S1 began a story by saying “One other thing as far as experiencing a sense of community, and concluded “it was just amazing to see how many people would get together and that devotion and the sense of belonging and stuff” (S1: 1849-1860).

For my study participants, belonging referred to more than just being a member of a community. It also referred to the affective quality of relationship between the individual and members of the community. Participants stated that sense of community was about feeling accepted, feeling included, and feeling welcome in a parish or community. One participant described how something as simple as a nod of acknowledgement from a fellow parishioner on the way into Church created for him a strong sense of community:

I experienced [sense of community] when you’re walking towards the Church and someone comes up to you and they know who you are and you know who they are and they give you a nod. You don’t have to say anything. You both know what is going on. You’re both going to the same place. That gives me a good feeling to know that I am actually being noticed there. Like you never do know that you are actually being noticed unless somebody acknowledges your presence there. (P2: 1443-1457)

When they did not feel welcome in a parish, some participants concluded that they did not belong there (see section 4.6.2 for a discussion on participants’ experiences of intimidation).

4.4.2 Familiarity

- “*Your friends and who you hang out with. To me that’s what a community is. Everybody has a different meaning for it but to me it’s who I’ve grown up with, who I live with*” (M2: 978-805).

-“*[SOC refers to] how many of your friends are in it, how much time you spend with other people from that same idea of life, how close you are to them*” (B5: 1083-1087).

-“*Everyone together and feeling at home...visiting, just sitting beside each other...visiting afterwards and talking more...everyone being around*” (L4: 784-808).

-“*Somewhere where you feel comfortable being with these people or in this setting*” (L5: 1102-1105).

-“*Everybody knows everybody... the Ukrainians around our area are mostly all my relatives. So you pretty much know everybody. You can relate to them easily. You know how to act around them*” (D2: 902-912).

Sense of community is obviously about relationships. The young adults in my study said they developed sense of community with the people that they spent time with - those they lived with, those they grew up with, and those they “hung out with.” In many cases, this meant that they belonged to or experienced community with several different communities at the same time (e.g., family, parish and school communities).

Especially in smaller parish communities, young adults developed relationships with people of all ages, not just other youth. As one participant explained, “[In my home parish] there are very few young people. It’s a small Church. Everybody forms one community. Not like in a large Church [where] there would be a youth group and an older group. Everybody has to form one community because otherwise they are so small you’d be by yourself as a community which is impossible!” (M1: 1430-1439). Another group member, also from a small parish, talked about how the older women in her Church were making sure to pass on their knowledge of traditions to her: “In my Church I’m the only one under 50, so I still got [to do] the paskas and babkas and stuff like that. [The older women] are all getting me involved in that kind of thing just trying to keep the tradition alive” (T1: 1388-1393). In contrast, a young woman from a large city parish noted that in her parish the older and younger people formed distinct age groups and did not have that much to do with one another: “I would say the older people in our Church have their group whereas the younger people have another group. And that’s why I think more of the younger people stay together whereas the older people they have their own kind of group” (J1: 1305-1316).

Although one young man claimed that “sense of community is just the group of people you are hanging around with” (A5: 1134-1136), the general consensus was that a

strong sense of community involved more than just “hanging out” with friends - it had a lot to do with the quality of these relationships. For many of the young adults in my study, sense of community was about feeling comfortable with other members of the community. This feeling of comfort came from having known people in their parishes for many years and in some cases, all their lives: “I’ve been coming here ever since I remember so everybody here knows me or knows who I am for the most part. So there’s that identification with sense of community or family. I’m comfortable enough with the people here. I know them and they’ve known me for a number of years” (K4: 1172-1181).

Young adults from smaller, rural parishes were most likely to describe sense of community as a feeling of familiarity or comfort. In part this could be because many of the parishioners were family members. But as one young woman described, even those parishioners who were not relatives were like family: "Yeah everyone in our Church is auntie or uncle whether they are related to us or not" (L4: 713-715). For her, going home to Church was like going home to visit family: "When I go home I see pretty much everyone at my Church. [I] go to see them because it's kind of like if I don't see them then I'm missing that part of the family that I haven't said hello to. I guess they are close knit" (L4: 716-722). This would seem to be an advantage of a small rural Church.

In larger parishes, some young adults were able to develop that feeling of comfort with a subgroup within the parish: “I don’t even know how many people are in our Church. There are so many! And I think what our Church has done, what we have created I think is communities within a community because there are so many people and you can’t get everybody together. You just can’t do that” (J1: 1255-1264).

Although familiarity and feelings of comfort were most likely to develop among people who had known each other a long time or had spent a lot of time together, this was not a prerequisite for everyone. As I will discuss later, some of my participants thought they would feel a sense of community with someone they had never met before if they both belonged to the same community, based on presumed similarities.

4.4.3 Trust/Support

-“[I experienced sense of community most] when my Grandpa passed away. The whole community - whether they were Ukrainian or not - everyone who knew him came and they gave us so much support. It was so much easier to deal with it with all of them around. They were doing anything for us, there were helping us with

the arrangements and they were there. It meant so much. It took a lot of the stress off of us” (A1: 1830-1841).

–“If you have a sense of community you should be able to trust those people to help you out” (K6: 718-720).

–“Not necessarily everyone shows it but just knowing that if ever something goes wrong in your life you always have [the community] to fall back on” (J1: 950-954).

Support and trust were two related concepts that were part of participants’ core experiences of sense of community. A number of them gave examples of occasions when they had felt the support of the community or had seen the community support someone else. Support took the form of financial or practical assistance in time of need (e.g., when there was a death, when someone lost their house because of a fire). Participants had also experienced emotional support in the form of encouragement to reach their goals (e.g. singing or hockey pursuits) and at gatherings to acknowledge their accomplishments or celebrate important occasions (e.g., highschool graduation, birthdays). One young participant said this support was reassuring and made her feel important: “I first realized a sense of community when I sang in Church and then when I’d be singing out of Church in competitions and my whole Church showed up. It was to support me. It was really reassuring for me. It was good for me to be up on stage and see everyone there and feel important” (1: 1699-1709).

Another participant noted that she felt sense of community most when her parish community gathered on the occasion of a birthday, an anniversary, or a death: “If something’s going on with one of the families in the Church then we all get together at the hall” (L4: 1267-1269). Her parish was like a large family that gets together often to acknowledge important events in the life of one of its members. Larger parishes also found ways to acknowledge their members’ accomplishments such as serving cake in the parish hall to celebrate students’ graduation from grade 12 (K4: 1315-1321). And as mentioned earlier, larger parishes may develop “communities within a community” that provide this type of support to individual members. One participant vividly recalled a time when a group of families from her parish celebrated her birthday in the park while attending an event outside of the community: “My priest was there and everyone was there, but it was only this select group that had decided to go the rally. And it’s

something really small but that's how I knew that I was important - just by them getting a birthday cake and their kids are having cake and we're all having cake. If I call on them anytime they would be there, no matter what. No matter if I've neglected them or haven't talked to them in months" (1: 1290-1304).

As these stories illustrate, the support and acknowledgement received on these occasions helped to create a strong sense of community for these young adults. At events like this, celebrated by the entire community, a person is given the message 'You matter to us. What happens to you is important to us.' This creates sense of community in a powerful way, by instilling a sense of trust or security in members. They trust that should anything happen to them community members would be there to help and support them in time of need. One young adult, seeing the way his parish fund-raised for various causes, trusted that the community would support him too if he needed help: "say something happened at the time like your house burned down. Probably this Church community would put in a collection or something to help you out, give you a place to stay until you got your house rebuilt. So you can pretty much trust them to do that" (K6: 755-767).

4.5 Supportive Aspects of Sense of Community

Analysis of participants' definitions and their experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community revealed an additional three aspects of sense of community which support the three core aspects discussed above. These supportive aspects are: participation, similarity and heritage.

4.5.1 Participation

"You've got to have strong involvement I think to have a close-knit complete community... everybody has got to participate and actually do their part." (M2: 2656-2660)

"I think it means taking involvement, like if you want to be a part of the community you have to give your share."(M1:1062-1065)

Although participation was not as dominant as some of the other aspects in participants' initial definitions of sense of community, it figured largely in their descriptions of how they were connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community. It also quickly became apparent that in various forms participation was an important element in their experiences of sense of community. The most obvious form of participation was

weekly attendance at Church services (i.e., Sunday Divine Liturgy or mass as the Roman Catholics call it). Other common forms of participation noted by participants were service to the community and involvement with religious and cultural community events. Through my data analysis I discerned several other not-so-obvious forms of participation including the practice of Ukrainian Catholic customs and traditions, emotional participation in Divine Liturgy, and spiritual experiences with the Ukrainian Catholic Church / community. These are described in the sections that follow.

4.5.1.1 Attendance.

-"I think [attendance] is like a starting block. It helps you get involved just by being there. You can branch off because you can meet people too... It's just like if you're sitting at home all the time, you've got to get involved with the community if you want to have a life out there, so like I said that's probably the easiest way is to show up for Sunday Mass ³³." (D3:776-796)

-"You can still be Ukrainian and not go to Church but go to Church and you're involved more" (R3:1163-1166).

Attendance at Divine Liturgy on Sundays is the gateway to all other forms of participation described in this study. As these quotes illustrate, attending Divine Liturgy is a means of participation that can lead to involvement in other community activities. People can find out about these activities through announcements made by the priest or in the Church bulletin, or by talking to other parishioners after Liturgy.

Attending Church services also offers the opportunity to meet other people and begin to develop relationships with them. In this way, attendance leads to a sense of community. Feeling a sense of community can, in turn, lead to more participation. For example, one participant described how members of her parish got together on occasions other than Sunday Liturgy: "It just goes to show that we're not there just because we're told that we have to go to Church. We are there for each other" (S1: 1133-1136). Another participant talked about how it would have been easier for some members of her small rural parish to go to the Church in town. Instead they chose to travel further to be where they felt a sense of community: "Everyone is so devoted, even to the priest [because]

33 Although most participants used the Roman Catholic word "mass" to describe the eucharistic services, I will employ the Eastern Christian term "Divine Liturgy". This is an example of the latinization of the Ukrainian Catholics - in many ways we have been heavily influenced by our association with the Roman Catholic Church (Kucharek, 1989).

we've had him so long. We can't exactly just abandon him. It's not like abandoning the religion but that specific Church [parish]. I still think that [it] was just the sense of community, or little parish community [that kept everyone coming]" (T1: 1174-1184).

As described earlier, attendance was a demographic characteristic that changed after young adults graduated from grade 12. Attendance dropped both for rural young adults who moved to the city as well as for urban young adults still living at home. Reasons for the drop in attendance and its effect on sense of community will be discussed in the section 4.6.1.

4.5.1.2 Service to the Community.

-“Knowing that even if my part was just small...it was fulfilling for me” (J1: 1770-1775).

-"I needed something to do in my life, and you felt like you were doing something, helping" (A6: 2092-2094).

-"I'm a part of this. I take part in the different activities. I'm accepted by these people" (K4: 1246-1249).

Service to the community took various forms: active participation in the liturgy (e.g. altar serving, cantoring, singing in the choir, reading the epistle, taking the collection), upkeep of the church (including catering in the parish hall), and involvement or leadership in a Church-related organizations (e.g., Knights of Columbus, Brotherhood, Children of Mary, Little Angels, children's choir, youth group).

Through service, individuals derived a number of benefits which strengthened their sense of community. As can be seen in the quotes above, they felt fulfilled and happy to be helping. Getting involved in Church-related activities also led to feelings of acceptance. As one young male said: "I totally felt accepted in my Church because I was an altar boy and we'd go there and we'd get to play in the gym, floor hockey and stuff like that... just doing stuff like a fowl supper... stuff to engage in, to do" (R3: 1145-1156). Actively participating in the Liturgy made it more interesting for some and increased their sense of belonging: "I guess I can say there was a sense of belonging. Because at a young age one thing my parents did was, I started out as an altar boy right away and there were always your duties. I'd look forward to getting to Church, and to changing the candles" (D2: 1178-1186).

In addition to the personal benefits they received from their participation, some of the young adults in my study desired to give something back to the community. One young woman began mentoring younger children in her parish after having received the support of her parish community (J1: 1712-1775). Another focus group participant agreed to do some maintenance work on the church because: "I felt obliged to help out in the community and be a part of it" (M1: 1678-1680). Several other participants commented that they were motivated to actively participate in their home parish in order to "keep it alive" (1: 2242-2266).

4.5.1.3 Events.

"I feel a SOC when there are celebrations within the Church like Malanka or Vesna...I know we had a celebration about 5 years ago in our hall and it was pretty nice. Even the St. Nicholas Concerts are nice" (K3: 1936-1942).

Participants mentioned a number of religious and cultural events put on by the Ukrainian Catholic community in particular or the Ukrainian community in general that contributed to their sense of community. Some of the events were youth-focussed like Youth for Christ retreats held at Mundare or activities for altar boys and some were cultural events like Vesna Festival or Folkfest. Some were events held in the parish hall like Christmas concerts, potluck suppers, weddings, graduation celebrations or funerals.

Participation in these events seem to increase sense of community in a number of ways. First, they gather members of the community together and provide opportunities to socialize and build relationships. One young adult remembered fondly the concerts held after a big potluck supper at Christmas every year. When asked what stood out for her about these occasions she replied: "Just that it brought out a lot of the Ukrainian Catholic community" (M6: 2002-2003).

Second, community events provide pleasant emotional experiences that form the basis for shared memories and stories. When asked what was nice about events such as Malanka, Vesna Festival and St. Nicholas concerts, the participant quoted above replied: "I like kids smiling... I like [these events] because I smiled and laughed when I was there too. You just see a lot of people together and see people you haven't seen in a while. People seem happier too" (K3: 1947-1954).

Third, community events may provide opportunities to explore the community's beliefs (e.g., retreats) or celebrate the community's cultural heritage. One participant described Vesna Festival this way:

It's not that often that everybody gets a chance, like our age, to go out and get dressed up and dance. And there is old people, there is young people there and they are all doing the same thing. They are all drinking [laughter] and they are all having a good time! You don't have to drink or anything like that but I mean, everybody is there having a good time and it's important to me because I'm Ukrainian and I can dance. I've done that since I was maybe seven or eight up until this last year I think. It gives me a sense of knowing where I've come from. (P2: 3281- 3300)

Fourth, community gatherings sometimes provided a show of support (in the case of funerals) or recognition (in the case of graduations) for the people or families involved.

4.5.1.4 Customs.

-"I think celebrating some of the Ukrainian holidays, religious holidays also [is a way of being connected with the Ukrainian Catholic community]. Like a twelve course dish, like traditions on Christmas... Easter is a different date than the rest of the Western world. And we celebrate both. We don't just stick to one. We still do both. I think that's another way [I'm connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community]." (M2: 654- 667)

Practices, traditions, and customs that people participate in, including celebration of holidays are another important part of participation. These customs may be liturgical or cultural in nature and enacted by the community, the family or individually. Through their participation in religious and cultural customs, people identify themselves with a particular religious or ethnic community and connect to their heritage: "Whatever traditions are upheld, it's something that everyone can at least identify with on a basic level. And I think it's that basic identification [that] creates community" (K4: 1048-1053). Some participants made reference to traditions followed by their family such as singing a Christmas carol or saying a verse before the meal, even though they themselves could not remember the words. The important thing was that it was a custom or ritual that was repeated each year and associated with special family occasion. For other participants it was important to understand the meaning of the customs:

I think being involved in the traditions is what [is crucial to my SOC]. If it was just watching the religious traditions like the Easter ceremonies...just watching it is not of interest to me. Getting involved in it and understanding the real meaning

of everything and being a part of it - that really helps me in my learning about the religion and if I didn't have that, to be able to participate in everything and understand it more in depth, I don't think that sense of community would be there for me. (T1: 3076-3093)

4.5.1.5 Emotional Participation.

-"[At Easter there's a stronger sense of community] seeing Jesus right in front of you on the cross - him dying - there's more of a feeling of emotion" (D3: 1855-1856)

-"You have to have a sense of belonging and like what you do with your group or community... if you're bored it's just not good!" (S3: 1215-1224)

As already discussed, cultural and religious events increased young adults' sense of community partly because they provided pleasant emotional experiences that form the basis for shared memories and stories. It was also important to at least some of the young adults in my study that there be some type of emotional participation in the Divine Liturgy. Emotional participation was enhanced for some when the Liturgy was sung rather than recited: "if the Mass isn't sung it's not as fun for me to be attending it" (M6: 954 956). Others wanted to make the Liturgy more interesting by incorporating more upbeat songs: "there are so many songs that could bring that Church...rocking the roof right off by clapping" (J1: 4024-4027). This form of participation was most noticeable in the references to the lack of emotional participation. Either young adults themselves felt bored or they noticed that the people around them were not participating emotionally in the Liturgy. This challenge to participation will be discussed further in the section 4.6.1.

4.5.1.6 Spiritual Participation.

- "[Faith is quite important to sense of community] because really you are making the commitment to go to Church so obviously there is some faith [with] regards to going [to Church]" (D2: 3634-3637).

-"I think if it's a community within a Church, if God wasn't there then [SOC] would be destroyed" (K3: 2817-2820).

Spiritual participation includes a number of related concepts: reception of the sacraments, participation in communal prayer, faith, and a person's relationship with God. As previously noted, spirituality and religious practices were mentioned in several groups as ways of being connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community. The examples given by the young adults in my study included the Divine Liturgy, the rosary and

Stations of the Cross, and reception of the sacraments and personal reading. Two young adults had made pilgrimages.

Spiritual participation can strengthen people's sense of community in a number of ways. First, praying and worshipping in a communal setting strengthens connections between community members in a way that praying at home or individually does not. One young adult talked about how her parish community gathered together to pray the rosary together, with each taking a turn. The fact that they got together on a weekday demonstrated to her that "we are there for each other" (1: 1135-1136). The young adult mentioned earlier who felt a sense of community most strongly at Easter when there was "more of a feeling of emotion," gave a couple of reasons for this heightened sense of community including the fasting associated with Lent ("when you have to give up something"), the spiritual significance of Jesus' death ("seeing Jesus right in front of you on the cross"), and the larger number of people who attend the Easter services ("a lot more people come [than] when it's everyday Mass") (D3: 1853-1859).

Second, as the quote above illustrates, a person's faith can be the reason for attending Church in the first place. Having the commitment to attend Church then leads to further opportunities for developing sense of community as described above in the section on attendance.

Third, a person with strong faith who participates in his or her Church community is likely to meet others who also have a strong faith. As I will discuss in section 4.5.2.1, similarities in beliefs, values and morals strengthens sense of community. The two young adults who had been on pilgrimages commented how both their faith and their sense of community were strengthened by meeting other believers:

Everyone there were all believers of the faith, Roman or Ukrainian Catholic or other Catholic, and it was just amazing to see how many people would get together and that devotion and the sense of belonging. Everyone came together and there were people there from Mexico and throughout the States and Canada. It was just amazing how many people were all there. (1: 1854-1865)

In addition to strengthening sense of community, spiritual participation led to personal benefits for some of the young adults in my study. One group discussed the personal benefits they derived from attending Church, praying and receiving the sacraments in the Church community. Going to Church helped one young adult "clear

[his] mind" and start him off with a clean slate for the week ahead because through prayer he felt forgiven by God (R3: 1546-1552; 1655-1659). Another was able to "go to Church and feel good about the rest of the day" (D3: 1176-1177). Receiving the sacrament of Reconciliation (i.e., going to Confession) was helpful for some: "I do benefit from going to Church. Especially Confession. If I go to Confession I feel a lot better" (K3: 1187-1190). Another participant explained why he found this sacrament helpful: "It helps you mentally. [You] realize 'Okay, I'm going to try and cut down on my swearing because I've got to go to Confession.' Even though it only lasts the first two days but you're still thinking about it all the time" (D3: 1776-1783).

Faith was, in fact, very important to the young adults in my study, although its meaning appeared to be highly subjective and individualized. Five out of six focus groups gave faith the highest rating in terms of its importance to their sense of community. As one participant said: "the way I was raised, what I believe in is everything that makes me and without my faith...you don't really have much."

When rating the importance of faith to their sense of community, some individuals thought about the beliefs of the Catholic Church, whereas others thought about faith as whatever beliefs they held in a more general sense. They did not necessarily limit themselves to the faith they might have shared with other Ukrainian Catholics. For example, one young woman rated faith as "extremely important" to her sense of community because it was what she shared with the majority of her friends and especially with her closest friends who were not necessarily Catholic: "Just looking at my own life, my closest friends, we share similar faiths and similar beliefs. And in my community, looking at community, family and stuff, that faith is very similar so that's why I said extremely important" (B2: 3623-3629). The issue of similarities in beliefs will be discussed in section 4.5.2.1.

4.5.2 Similarity

Another supportive aspect of sense of community mentioned often by participants was similarity or commonality in beliefs, values, and interests as well as shared goals and identification with symbols. Participants emphasized that it was important to understand these beliefs and to have made a personal choice to share these beliefs with the community.

4.5.2.1 Shared Beliefs, Values and Interests.

- *“People recognizing they have a lot of the same beliefs and bringing them together”* (S1: 932-934).

- *“You have things in common with people... it gives you something to talk about with other people”* (O3: 1049-1066).

- *“[You may have] never met the person before but have some commonality between [you]. That commonality is what community is”* (K4: 1001-1004).

Shared beliefs, values and interests bring people together to form a community. They are also the result of having been influenced by a community. Being part of the same community means that people share experiences and later memories with other community members which creates a bond between them. Sense of community also means that if two people who belong to the same community meet for the first time, there is an expectation that they share some beliefs, values or interests by virtue of their common membership. As one participant explained: “I think you would share the same feelings, thoughts, beliefs and that just makes you feel a little better right there because you know that you’re all kind of alike in some ways already and you don’t even know the character” (D3: 812-821). For this young adult, presumed similarity would lead to feelings of familiarity.

One participant was of the opinion that shared values were the most crucial part of sense of community: "If we didn't have values I don't think there would be any community" (P2: 3090-3092). He thought it was important that there be consensus on "what's right and what's wrong" (PJ2: 3083). For example, P2 liked the fact that he was "not afraid to take [his] dog for a walk" and that he could "leave the chainsaw in the backyard... without worrying about someone coming along and stealing it" (P2: 3108-3114). He was describing a sense of trust that develops out of shared values around not harming others or stealing their property.

Another participant emphasized the importance of acting on one’s beliefs and values: “Faith makes a big difference. Faith is your beliefs, your values. It influences a lot of how you act and react and portray things, and everything you do is based on your beliefs and your values and morals” (S1: 3322-3329). A similar comment was made in another group: “It’s also how you act from day to day, how you conduct yourself, what beliefs and values you demonstrate and you hold” (K4: 447-450).

4.5.2.2 Symbols.

-“There are different degrees of identification...It could be something as specific as a family tie, or it could be anything as [general] as identifying with the Ukrainian Catholic cross... or identifying with something like [the way] Ukrainian Catholics cross [themselves] right to left as opposed to Roman Catholics [who] go left to right” (K4: 1118-1135).

Identification with symbols, signs or symbolic gestures used by the community helps to create a sense of community. For example, babka is a type of bread baked at Easter and could be considered a cultural symbol. One young woman gave the example of talking to her friends about her mother’s babka: "It's kind of nice having people of the same cultural background as you. I'm just thinking of Easter. I like talking to some of my friends about Easter. I'm like, ‘Oh my Mom made some really good babka this year’ and it’s nice having someone understand what I'm talking about” (B2: 3202-3210). What this participant was describing are the similarities that are shared by people of a similar cultural background that lead to a feeling of being "understood" by others. In terms of the aspects of sense of community as I have defined them, one could say that in this example, similarity (in terms of Ukrainian cultural symbols and practices) fosters familiarity as well as a feeling of belonging. Cultural similarity does strengthen sense of community.

An example of a symbolic gesture that identifies Ukrainian Catholics and other Eastern Christians is the way we make the sign of the cross, touching first our right shoulder and then our left (Roman Catholics go left to right; the hand positions are also different). Group two was discussing how they never felt that they were made fun of for being Ukrainian Catholics among Roman Catholics when one young man commented half in jest: “when you go to a Roman Catholic Church the only thing that really happens is they look at you because they think you cross backwards...they just stare at you” (588-596). Other group members laughed and agreed with this statement, identifying with this symbolic gesture.

4.5.2.3 Goals.

-“A certain group of people believing in the same thing and together setting goals” (D3: 215-217).

Although it was not a prominent theme, the issue of sharing in the goals of the community was mentioned in a couple of groups. One group blamed the lack of

participation among Ukrainian Catholic young adults on the lack of a clear goal for this generation:

I think one of the reasons that the older people feel so connected to the Church, and they're so stuck on it is because they are the ones that built it in this country. They came here and they did all the work for themselves. It was like they all had this big plan and they had a goal to do. And once they got it, it was really good and they had a sense of accomplishment and they were really into it. As opposed to us, it's already all done for us and we've just sort of come in and it doesn't mean that much to us because we didn't really do anything for it. (B5: 1226-1241)

Sharing in the goals of the community would give a person a sense of accomplishment and a connection to the community. If you did not experience this, she went on to say, "it doesn't mean that much. It's so easy and it's all done for you and it's not your goal. It's just someone else's that was accomplished and now you're just in there with them" (B5: 1246-1258). Other group members agreed with her.

4.5.2.4 Choice.

-“I figure once you get older you should be able to choose if that's what you really believe in and then you'll know that you really belong there” (T1: 2574-2578).

Having the choice to attend Church or not, to participate in community activities or not, and to share the beliefs of the community was an important theme, mentioned in every focus group. Many of the young adults described a developmental process where they had been “forced” to go to Church by their parents. Once they were old enough to make the decision for themselves, those who continued to attend as the result of their own choice felt a stronger sense of community. For example, one participant said:

I think when my parents were forcing me to go, I didn't feel like I belonged there really because I was being forced to go there. I didn't go there openly at all. It was my parents telling me I had to. Now, when I go I feel more that I belong there because I go because I want to and not because someone is telling me to. (2010-2020)

According to the young adults in my study, not only was it important to share the beliefs, values and goals of the community but they wanted to personally choose to share in them.

One young woman was pleasantly surprised by the support she received from her parish community when she was in the process of exploring her beliefs, those of the

community and those of other faith communities: “I think it’s a person’s own choice and because they were letting me decide my own choice, I think that it just made me realize a whole other aspect of the Ukrainian Church. It’s not out there to make sure you stay in the Ukrainian Church. They give you a chance to grow and learn” (T1: 2608-2617). The acceptance and encouragement from fellow parishioners that she experienced had a positive impact on her sense of community and made it more likely that she would remain as a member of the community.

4.5.2.5 Understanding.

-"I think it would help a lot if you actually understood why you were going to Church instead of just presenting the rules, and [saying] 'This is your only choice.' If you're doing something with religion you really have to know exactly why you are doing it. It just can't be, 'This is what you do'" (B5: 1431-1440).

Closely connected with choice is the issue of understanding the beliefs that are shared with one’s community. Understanding or knowledge of the beliefs, rules and traditions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church enables persons to better choose whether or not they wish to share these beliefs and whether or not they wish to follow the rules and traditions. As I will discuss in the section on challenges to similarity (4.6.3), many participants lacked an understanding of these beliefs, rules and traditions and this diminished their sense of community.

One group that had experienced high levels of sense of community, saw value in taking an active, questioning stance towards religion. As one young woman said: “I think without those questions we wouldn’t have a challenge. Our religion would be too complete” (S1: 2726-2728). So questioning one’s beliefs is not the problem. The problem is finding a place to have one’s questions answered.

4.5.3 Heritage

-"That's just the way I was brought up and that's the way I'll probably stay for the rest of my life, that's my heritage... that's what I'm going to stick with" (M2: 546-551).

This aspect of sense of community did not come across strongly in participants’ initial definitions of sense of community. Instead, it emerged through discussion in each of the focus groups as they shared their experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. I applied the term heritage to a number of related ideas:

1) the way a person was raised, 2) ethnic or religious identity, 3) tradition, broadly speaking, 4) connections to the Ukrainian Catholic community, and 5) links to past and future generations.

4.5.3.1 Upbringing. Some of the young adults in my study considered being Ukrainian or Ukrainian Catholic as a way of life: “That’s how I was brought up. I’ve never been to the other Church before. No one actually sat down and told me the difference [between Ukrainian Catholic and Roman Catholic]. It’s just the way of life how I’ve been brought up” (R3: 336-341). Having been raised as Ukrainian Catholics many of them had never attended a Church of another denomination and were not too sure what differences if any there were between Ukrainian Catholics and Roman Catholics or Ukrainian Orthodox. As one young man said: “I’ve been Ukrainian all my life so that’s the only perspective I see” (D3: 446-447).

4.5.3.2 Ethnic and religious identity. Closely related to this first aspect of heritage are the ideas of ethnic and religious identity. Having grown up in the Ukrainian Catholic community, their experiences with the community have helped to form participants’ identities. Identifying themselves as Ukrainians or Catholics increases their sense of community. One participant who rated being Ukrainian as most important to her sense of community stated: “To me being Ukrainian means more than being Catholic. Faith is very important to me but I get more of a sense of community from being Ukrainian rather than being Catholic” (O3: 2947-2952). This young woman had an interesting way of discerning this. She noticed that “if someone makes fun of Ukrainians I get more offended than if somebody makes fun of Catholics” (O3: 2954-2956). She then went on to say that she was offended by “the way people don’t understand and people think that all Ukrainians are dumb and poor” (O3: 2976-2978). As an example she described how she had worked in a museum over the summer that devoted separate rooms to different ethnic groups (Ukrainian, German, English) and in the Ukrainian room the curator had placed fake mice giving the stereotyped impression that Ukrainians were “poor... almost savage people” (O3: 3006). Clearly this young adult felt a strong loyalty to her Ukrainian heritage.

There was a note of pride in some young adults voices when they talked about being Ukrainian. One person felt proud to be a part of an ethnic community that has

many members and is active in organizing well-attended events such as Vesna Festival. "There is a large Ukrainian community in Saskatoon and I'm proud of that, I'm proud to be a part of that" (M2: 3250-3254). Another participant who identified with his Ukrainian heritage described with great pleasure a Far Side comic that poked fun at Ukrainian Cossacks: "I still have the one in my room where it's Kozak-countants where the guys [have] calculators in their pockets and duct tape around their glasses, riding on their horses sideways and upside down. (Chuckles) And I laugh every time I see it, and whenever somebody else sees it, the guys don't get it. 'Hey man I'm Ukrainian - Kozak. It's a proud part of my heritage'" (5: 2433-24456).

Not everyone considered being Ukrainian to be part of their core identity, however. Although she rated being Ukrainian as somewhat important to her sense of community, one young woman commented: "I put it as 'somewhat' because it's kind of who I am but it's not extremely important because if I wasn't that then I'd still be me" (L4: 2349-2353). Instead, her Ukrainian Catholic faith was more central to her identity: "The way I was raised, what I believe in is everything that makes me and without my faith...you don't really have much. And if your family is not there you have your faith and that's just the way I was raised" (L4: 2215-2221).

4.5.3.3 Tradition.

-“If it wasn't for the tradition... what kind of Ukrainian Catholic community would we have? It wouldn't be Ukrainian Catholic without the traditions” (B2: 2822-2827).

A third element of heritage was tradition. Focus group participants seem to be of uncertain disposition towards tradition. On the one hand they seemed to equate tradition with resistance to change and modernization. One group, through its discussion observed that older people are "very traditional" and that they are quick to ridicule or criticize changes: "once a change is made... the older people... are very quick to criticize any little thing about it" (D2: 1561-1563). They came to the conclusion that "change is bad for them (older people)" (P2: 1521). The tone of this discussion was mildly critical, humorous and somewhat understanding. Focus group participants attributed older people's distaste for change to their lack of education and to not being "used to seeing different ways of doing things even though the beliefs might be the same"

(B2:1513-1516). However, they also thought that the Ukrainian Catholic Church needed to change if it wanted young adults to participate: "I think if they want young people to continue in the Catholic faith and participate... they have to accept change and realize that the way things were 40-100 years ago aren't applicable today." (B2; lines 1619-1625).

On the other hand, some of the young adults in my study said that tradition was so crucial that if it wasn't there their sense of community would be destroyed. One person acknowledged this contradiction: "Well this is kind of ironic in a way just looking at the Church. If it wasn't for the tradition then what kind of Ukrainian Catholic community would we have? It wouldn't be Ukrainian Catholic without the traditions" (lines 2821-2827). Another said "That's what makes us unique compared to Roman Catholics" (M2: 2875-2877) and a third added "It's your culture" (PJ2: 2880). Although a number of young adults in my study had complaints about the Divine Liturgy (see section 4.6.1), one young man stated: "I'd like to see [the Divine Liturgy] stay the same, forever and ever. Some things shouldn't change. That way I guess you have some connection to your past, your heritage. So I think it should stay the same" (K6: 1659-1664).

When it comes to the issue of change, it seems that the trick is to know which traditions to keep, which to modify and which to discontinue. B2 allowed for this compromise: "I think we can still have the traditions but just practice them in a different way" (B2: 2827-2829). More will be said about this issue in chapter 7.

4.5.3.4 Connection to Ukrainians.

-“I'm very proud of being Ukrainian and I feel a connection with people in being Ukrainian” (A5: 2333-2337).

-“If you're in a group of people, and you knew that person was a Ukrainian Catholic you would probably feel more inclined to go talk to them because the way they grew up is probably a lot more similar to your way, the way you grew up. So you would probably be, it would be easier to get along with them to start with” (K6: 2258- 2267).

A fourth element of heritage was participants' connections to other Ukrainians and to Ukrainian culture and history. As the quotes above illustrate, many of my participants felt a connection with other Ukrainians even if they had not met before. Knowing that someone else was Ukrainian led to a sense of familiarity based on

presumed similarities. In addition, some participants felt a greater sense of community with Ukrainians than with non-Ukrainians. For example, although one young man claimed he was able to feel a sense of community with school mates and non-Ukrainian friends, he rated being Ukrainian as "quite important" to him since "if you're Ukrainian" it meant that "you have something in common" (M2: 3236-3237).

Participation in Ukrainian cultural traditions was noted as an important way to connect to one's heritage. One young woman thought tradition and roots were crucial to sense of community "because that's what brings everybody together. You have something in common with them...then I have something in common with the oldest person and the youngest person in my Ukrainian Church" (A1: 3003-3006; 3011-3014). As an example, she related a story about a Mennonite friend who enjoyed writing Easter eggs with her:

[At] Easter she would always come over to my house and we'd make Ukrainian Easter eggs. For me it's something so normal. I've done this, I've been scribbling on eggs since I was three. (Laughter) And for her it was like the greatest thing. It brought me a lot of pride in being Ukrainian because it was something I could share with other people that they don't experience normally. (A1: 3055-3066)

Other focus group participants were not as well-versed in Ukrainian customs and traditions but even knowing a few Ukrainian words, songs, greetings or swears contributed to a sense of community. These customs and traditions set Ukrainians apart from people of other ethnic backgrounds (or no specific background): "I really like the traditions and the holidays... there's a difference [from other ethnic backgrounds]" (M2: 3261-3263). By helping to establish membership boundaries, these customs and traditions increased participants' sense of belonging.

Feeling a connection to Ukrainians did not necessarily translate into feeling a sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. One group of participants made a distinction between the Ukrainian and the Ukrainian Catholic communities in terms of culture and religion and while they felt a strong cultural connection they did not feel a sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community:

I feel more Ukrainian than I would feel Ukrainian Catholic. I know a lot more about Ukrainian tradition which I guess, Catholic is a big part of it, but I don't really go to Church that much and I don't necessarily do a lot of things that the

Church says I should do. But the Ukrainian part is something that I have no problem with. I think it's interesting. (L5: 1054-1068)

4.5.3.5 Family.

-“Recognizing our family as one of the main founders [of our parish]... I had a whole new awareness of what the community meant. Everyone belonged there because everyone’s been there for hundreds of years” (T1: 2278-2286).

-“The main reason why I was so involved... I was fortunate enough that my parents were also quite involved in the Church and the community. And they really stressed that as something important that if I had the interest or if I wanted to get into [an activity], they did everything they could to facilitate that” (K4: 580-589).

A fifth element of heritage is family and family connections to the community. It was actually through references to family members that I first caught a glimpse of heritage as an aspect of sense of community. In analysing participants’ responses to the question of how they were connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community I noticed that these young adults felt a connection to the community through their grandparents and parents who were of Ukrainian descent, spoke Ukrainian, built the parishes, and were involved in running them (project memo #32). Young adults felt connected to the community through family members' connections.

Becoming aware of their heritage increased people’s sense of belonging. One participant did some research on her family tree and found out that her ancestors had built her parish Church. This increased her sense of familiarity with the history of her ancestors and her parish. Learning the story of how her parish came to be and the part her family played in this, helped to establish a sense of belonging (rootedness) and instilled in her a desire to keep alive the family tradition (T1: 2242-2254). Another participant resonated with this experience: “There's the pride of being a part of the Church! Yeah, I can relate. My Dad and his brothers and their Dad, they built our Church so there's roots right there and you want to keep it alive and keep it going so you are an participant in it” (S1: 2256-2266).

In addition to the contributions their parents and grandparents had made to the community, young people’s parents in most cases were responsible for getting them involved in the parish: “[My parents have] been really involved in the community that

way. So that was really the main reason that I was so involved in it because they facilitated that and they really encouraged it, and so that was the main reason why I was so involved in it" (K4: 596-603). Another participant put it this way: "I think families are the most important part of the community because that's where it all starts" (K6: 2697-2699). Families also had a big impact on a lack of participation and sense of community. One young woman wished she could have been more involved in the community but was not able to because her parents were divorced and did not attend church often (6: 429-436).

4.6 Challenges to Sense of Community

Throughout my analysis I looked not only for examples of where sense of community was strong but also where it was lacking or where it was not as strong as it could be. Challenges to sense of community usually affected at least one of the aspects of sense of community I had identified in my analysis, providing further support for these aspects. Challenges to participation, familiarity, similarity, heritage and trust will be considered separately in the following sections. For a person to say that they did not feel like they belonged was tantamount to saying that they did not feel a sense of community, therefore belonging was not considered separately from the other five aspects. The greatest challenge to sense of community came when there was a lack of shared beliefs. Those who did not share the beliefs of the Catholic Church did not feel a sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. Other strong challenges to sense of community were those related to familiarity and trust. Challenges to heritage and participation did not seem to be as damaging in the short term but are likely to have an effect on young adults' sense of community over the long term.

4.6.1 Challenges to Participation

A decline in participation was not necessarily related to an immediate decrease in sense of community. For example, one participant was attending Church only when she went home which was infrequently. She judged her sense of community to have declined a bit because she was not attending Church as often, however, she also noted that her feelings of belonging to her home parish had not changed:

In a way [my sense of community] has [changed] and in a way it hasn't. I still feel, I know I belong. I can feel it but my level of participation has decreased.

Mainly because I don't there as often any more because I'm mainly here in the city now. And I used to go to retreats and... now my brother has a job so he works every weekend. My parents, they still go if my Mom's not working and I'm in the city. So it's like we are not all together any more really. (A1: 2303-2321)

Because her sense of community was family-based, this participant's sense of community was diminished by the fact that her family was "not all together any more." She did not seem to have a strong sense of belonging to the universal Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Some participants believed their sense of community would be stronger if they were to attend Church more regularly and be more involved in parish activities. One person who was only attending Church when her parents went said: "If I went to Church more just by myself, if I went only on my own maybe that would do it" (K3: 2628-2631). Another participant acknowledged that although greater participation would increase his sense of community, he was content with the situation the way it was: "If I was able to attend more Masses and more meetings I'd feel more complete but I really don't have a problem with the way it is right now" (K6: 2344-2348).

Participants gave a number of reasons for their decreased attendance and participation including: 1) they found liturgies to be boring, repetitive, without meaning or difficult to understand, 2) there were no events or activities for people their age, 3) they did not feel they had any power to change the things they did not like about the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 4) they did not feel comfortable attending an urban parish and did not necessarily go home every weekend, 5) they felt disillusioned by hypocrisy or parish politics, 6) they did not share the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic community, 7) they were involved in other activities that conflicted with Sunday liturgies, 8) they had work commitments, and finally, 9) one person admitted candidly: "I'm basically lazy. I don't go to Church" (S5: 327-328). I will discuss the first three reasons in this section. The other reasons will be discussed in the next sections under challenges to familiarity, similarity, heritage and trust.

A number of participants found it difficult to get emotionally involved in Church services. As mentioned earlier, some commented that the services were repetitive and boring: "I always found that [Church] was never anything exciting. It was the same every week...I blanked out pretty much for most of it. I didn't even pay attention because it was

the same thing over and over, and I just couldn't take an interest in it really" (L5: 816-828). Some participants thought there was too much repetition in the prayers themselves. For example, the prayers "Lord have mercy," "Grant this O Lord" and "To You O Lord" are repeated often during the Liturgy. One young adult stated: "I know it off by heart. You just sit there and you just say it. It doesn't have any meaning really" (D2: 3796-3799). Another person agreed: "it's way too repetitive. It's tradition and everything but it gets boring" (P2: 3808-3810).

Others found it difficult to understand the words used in the service, either because it was in Ukrainian or because they found the English translation difficult:

I just compare the Ukrainian Catholic Mass with the Roman Catholic. To me the Ukrainian Catholic is very repetitive, very ornate, very... it's not at a child's level so I never really enjoyed the Mass. I enjoy the Roman Catholic much more now. It means more to me. It's not just repetition to me which the Ukrainian Catholic that's what I find it is. It doesn't... like the words are so... some of them you don't even know what they mean and it's repetition... [Maria: Even in English you mean?] Yeah, and it's worse when it's Ukrainian because then you don't understand anything. You're just bored to death. (A6: 1599-1619)

Not only did these young adults find the services difficult to get emotionally involved in, but they noticed that others around them did not seem to be actively participating in the liturgy:

When you're singing something like 'Glory to God' if you really meant it, it seems like you'd be very happy when you're singing it, but everyone's just, they sing the same thing and they are just standing there. Their faces don't change. They are just singing it because you have to get to the end of the Liturgy and that's what you do... [Going to liturgy] didn't mean that much because no one seemed to mean it when they did it. (B5: 616-636)

Finally, a couple of participants commented that the priests' sermons were too "academic" and unrelated to everyday life (B5: 595-609) and did not hold their attention: "Very few priests can actually keep people's attention.... Very few priests I've found actually are able to speak to the Church or at least to hold my attention" (A5: 569-577).

One person commented that there were not many events or activities for people their age in the Ukrainian Catholic community. Those events that did occur seemed to be more culturally-based than religious:

I'd say it's a lot easier to say that you're Ukrainian than it is [to say you're] Ukrainian Catholic. Because Ukrainian - you have dancers, bands, like four types of things during the year that everybody goes to and being Ukrainian is more social. Whereas being Ukrainian Catholic, well I can't honestly think of anything outside of the Liturgy and the occasional Study Days or something. (A5: 1023-1033)

Another issue that may be a possible challenge to participation is the feeling some young adults expressed about not having any power to change the things they did not like about the Ukrainian Catholic Church. When asked what they would like to see done with the information gathered from this study one participant said:

What wouldn't we like to do? We'd like to change the world but we can't! I think what I would like to see just is that the people that have authority to do this, and obviously you've got your say in there too, that you can be our voice kind of thing. But we're just the little people that you get the information from. But us just being here is enough I think. We've already done some things, I think!" (J1: 4261-42730)

Another group exchanged observations about how older people do not like change. Group members had heard their grandparents and older people in their parishes complain "Why do they need to change this?" (M2: 1555-1556) Furthermore they observed that "once a change is made... the older people... are very quick to criticize any little thing about it" (D2: 1561-1563). The types of changes suggested by most of the participants did not involve the Ukrainian Catholic belief system (e.g., the sacraments or the commandments), but had more to do with modifying the liturgical practices.

If particular parishes and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in general do not make some changes, these young people predicted that the Church would continue to lose members to other Ukrainian Catholic parishes, to the Roman Catholic Church or they would stop going to Church all together: "If they want the Church to stay alive they have to change the practices" (B2: 2006-2008). One young woman acknowledged that individuals who are dissatisfied have a responsibility to speak up and try to change things. She noted that "people like to complain but never formally say anything or do anything about it" (B2: 2083-2086). She saw this as a lack of courage and inculcated herself: "I'm just going to use myself as an example of how I've been complaining about [how] they don't really get women involved, but I don't know if I'd actually have the courage to go up to a priest and say, I think you're doing this wrong" (B2: 2086-2095).

By the language used (e.g., “if they want the Church to stay alive”) participants demonstrated that they see themselves as outside the decision-making body of the Church - as having little or no influence on whether changes are made. One young man explained why he chose to attend events with another organization instead of attending the meetings of a Church-related organization: “That’s why I go there instead of [Church organization] meetings. Because really, I don’t have that much of an impact on [the Church organization]. I guess I could [go] but I’d rather go to [events with the other organization]” (K6: 2420-2424). For some young adults their only method of influence seemed to be the choice of whether to continue to attend a particular parish or any parish at all. In the end, the perception that they have no way to influence the community may lead these young adults to decrease their participation and to experience a lack of sense of community.

4.6.2 Challenges to Familiarity

One of the greatest challenges to familiarity was the situation faced by young adults who moved away from home to find work or attend university. Originally from a small rural parish where many of the parishioners were their relatives, they felt too intimidated to attend a city parish: “We have a small Church too. We have maybe 25 people. So when I moved up here to the city this year I haven't gone to any other Masses here and any other Churches because I think I'm intimidated because I am used to this small Church where I know everybody and I'm comfortable around them” (A1: 1443-1451). Another participant stated this in even stronger terms: “If I didn’t feel completely welcome there, then I would not go at all” (L4: 1870-1872). This young woman needed to have with her at least one other person that she knew walk in with her, in order for her to feel comfortable (L4: 854-865).

One participant who was not from as small a Church as the two young women above described her experience of intimidation on the couple of occasions that she had attended a large urban parish with a friend. She said she had felt "dumb", "embarrassed," and "scared" and had the impression that "everybody was staring at [them]...talking and pointing" (O3: 850-851). She imagined people were saying "Who are those girls? Why are they here?" (832-833) or even "What are you doing here? This isn't your Church!" (859-860). She attributed her feelings of discomfort to the fact that there were "mostly

older people" in the Church that day and said that "it would be nice if there were a lot of younger people" (O3: 853-856). Another participant in the same group remarked that she had experienced a similar feeling of being stared at while attending Church with her father after an absence of several weeks (K3: 862-869). These participants seemed to have thought that people were talking about them in a negative way. They did not mention being approached or greeted by anyone in Church, although people were apparently "staring" at them. They did not seem to feel that they belonged in these large urban parishes.

In addition to intimidation which was a challenge for some young women from rural areas, another challenge to familiarity was division in relationships. There were various types of divisions noted by participants:

- 1) old versus young - "the age groups have different interests within the Church so that tends to separate them" (S1: 1320-1323);
- 2) teenagers versus young adults - "young adults and teens could get along but they just don't do the same things" (J1: 1371-1374);
- 3) a lack of involvement on the part of priests with girls and young women - "the boys, they got to know the priest. They got to see him as a person and not someone up here who gives spiritual healing and advice. Whereas most Churches, well I'm not saying for all because obviously I wouldn't know, the females are isolated in a way, not as accepted or as valued" (B2: 2354-2362);
- 4) divisions between those who speak Ukrainian and those who do not - "most of the Ukrainians that go to the Ukrainian Mass are all the older Ukrainians or else the people that are strong hard-core Ukrainian brought up. And the ones that go to the English Masses are the ones that aren't as strong with their heritage and it's two different ways" (P2: 3969-3977);
- 5) some people had been excluded from the community because they were divorced. These various divisions weakened relationships between members of the community and therefore diminished the sense of community that is felt when "everybody knows everybody."

4.6.3 Challenges to Similarity

Challenges to similarity also had an effect on young adults' participation and their sense of community and were of several types: 1) young adults had observed instances of hypocrisy in other community members, 2) some young adults were clear that they did not share the beliefs of the Catholic Church, 3) other participants demonstrated a lack of understanding of the beliefs, rules and traditions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 4) some young adults noted a lack of choice when it came to religion, and as previously discussed, 5) one group noted that they lacked a goal as young Ukrainian Catholics.

The young adults in my focus groups were disillusioned by instances of hypocrisy that they observed in other community members. One young woman said:

Another reason I don't go as often as I should is because I think I'm afraid to face these people that aren't for real. They are not there for the right reasons and I'm afraid to face [them] I think because I think it will bring me down as a person... As soon as I started realising that there's hypocrites in this world, I think that's when I lost a lot of my sense of community. (J1: 2389-2403)

One group believed that some of the people in their home parish were attending Church for the status associated with it: "It just looks good if you go to Church every week and I think that's why some people are there and that really bothers me. Because if you are just there to make it look good then don't go... I don't feel you can have a complete sense of community when some people are there just to make it look good" (A6: 2552-2563).

Another group noted several instances where fellow parishioners were not putting their beliefs into practice. First, there were arguments among Church members over petty things - "there are old ladies in our Church that won't talk anymore because one of them got to be the UCWL President one year and it's like, what's the point? That totally defeats the whole purpose of even belonging to the Church" (O3: 3976-3982). Second, the scandal caused by finding out that influential and highly-involved members of the Church community were involved in an extra-marital affair (O3: 3907-3927) had a negative effect on one young woman's sense of community. Third, one parish priest seemed to favour one family over another or allow himself to be influenced by one family more than another (K3: 2255-2291). The underlying theme in all of these accounts was that people were not putting their beliefs into practice and this challenge to shared beliefs and values had a negative impact on young adults' sense of community. In a Christian community there is a name for these types of behaviours that negatively impact

on relationships - they are called sins. From these examples, it can be seen that actions are not in line with the beliefs and values of a community have a negative impact on the entire community.

A second challenge to similarity is not sharing the beliefs of the community. One group questioned the Catholic Church's teachings on divorce and pre-marital sex. Another group stated that they did not feel a sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community because they did not share the core beliefs of the Catholic Church. One young man said: "I really can't consider myself Catholic" (A5: 429-430) and said this was because "I can't share their core beliefs". As an example, he claimed "I don't believe Jesus was our Saviour and the only thing spiritual that I really can believe in is the existence of some paranormal force which religious people call God. But anything like Heaven or an after life or something like that doesn't seem to register with me" (A5: 491 - 499). A young woman in the same group indicated that her sense of community had diminished over time and attributed this to an increasing tendency on her part to question her beliefs and her connection to the community:

When I was little I probably did feel more of a sense of belonging because I didn't question it so much. I liked going to the parish suppers. That was fun, I didn't mind any of that. But now to say I feel a sense of community with them would be wrong, because it's not true. I don't have anything to back it up if someone asked me to explain what I believe I just couldn't. It would be very fake. I still do stuff with them, but it's not something that I could really back up and say I really believe in so it's just kind of worn off. In order to say that I do feel a sense of community I'd have to believe, the beliefs would have to be more common and strong and we'd all really have to believe in it and carry it out everyday instead of just being there and being fake about it. (1980-2004)

A third challenge to similarity is lack of knowledge about the beliefs, rules and traditions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Participants varied in their knowledge of these beliefs, rules and traditions and many participants did not seem to understand the reasons or the history behind them. They were not always able to get answers from their parents or other community members. When one young woman asked her mother questions regarding various practices (e.g., not eating meat on Fridays) she was told "Oh that's just the way it is." Another participant was given the response "Because we're supposed to." This lack of understanding can lead to a loss of interest: "There's no real

explanation for it and you don't understand why you are doing it. So that's why it's not meaningful, you have no meaning to it really. And so that kind of loses a lot of interest in a lot of things because you just don't understand why they are the way they are" (L5: 1616-1623). In these examples, family members did not seem to know the answers. In another example however, one participant's grandmother deviated from Catholic teachings in her opinions: "Baba doesn't care because I remember asked her, because my cousin was engaged and I know they are living together. And they aren't getting married for another year and half. And we were talking about that, and my Baba doesn't care. Actually I've noticed with my Baba and Gidos they have adapted to more stuff" (3: - 1353).

Lack of understanding in the young adults may also relate to the fact that the majority of them in the Ukrainian Catholic Church today were likely baptised as infants and were therefore "just born into it." Many of the participants in my focus groups did not seem to have received adequate instruction as they grew up. When I asked group three where they had learned what they knew about the Catholic Church they mentioned family (baba, their parents, an aunt), Catholic school (Roman Catholic) and camps (St. Michael's teen camp, a bible camp). And as we have seen Babas do not necessarily hold the same beliefs as those taught by the Catholic Church! In addition, Roman Catholic schools typically do not instruct their students on Eastern Christian beliefs and practices.

One of the issues with instruction may be timing. Participants in the group that reported feeling the lowest levels of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community seemed to agree that younger children and even teenagers might not understand explanations about how and why liturgical traditions came to be. One participant said "when you're that young, when your parents want you to go to Church, you really wouldn't get it if they told you anyway. Well I probably wouldn't have" (S5: 1631-1635). Another person agreed and thought that they would really benefit from explanations at their age:

If you did explain all the history and all that stuff to kids they probably wouldn't understand it anyway. I think it would be more helpful to people our age, because when you're young you're not going to take off on your parents and go in another Church anyway because you're too young. But you know once you get to our age, if they wanted us to stay Catholic, that would probably be the only way [i.e.,] to

give us some good reason why we should be [Catholic]. Because this is the age where we could probably understand it. You're not going to understand philosophy when you're 6 years old. It just won't happen. (1644-1663)

A third person agreed and reiterated a need for meaning: "That's true you're not going to understand it when you're 12 years old even. You're not going to get it until now maybe. And maybe that's why we all don't really have any interest in it, because we're at the point where we do need to understand it to be interested in it and to keep going to Church. We need to have meaning" (L5: 1670-1679).

A fourth challenge to similarity relates to an interesting issue about choice brought up in the group that claimed to feel a sense of community with the Ukrainian community in general but not with the Ukrainian Catholic community. One participant pointed out that

with the Ukrainian culture you really only have two choices if you're going to do it the Ukrainian way. You either be Catholic or Orthodox. No one really presents another choice to you. So you couldn't be, there's no Ukrainian Lutheran Churches or something. Those are the Germans that do that. And so you don't really get much choice, so you can't really make it a personal thing. It's just sort of a communal thing. And if you don't like it, well too bad for you. (B5: 769-785)

With culture and religion being so closely tied in the Ukrainian Catholic community, young adults do not have much of a choice when it came to religion, unless they were prepared to loosen their ties with the Ukrainian community and seek out another Church. If people could choose their religion separately, this young woman reasoned, both their culture and their religion would be stronger:

I think it would be almost better, when I have kids I'm not going to, like it's nice that there is a religion that's associated with the culture. Because I know that's really rare. But in a way I think it's just caused more problems than good because look at us [i.e., the focus group members] and look at all these other youths. They just don't care about their religion, and it's because their culture sort of pulled them into it. And if culture were separate the culture could be strong and they could have a religion that would be strong. As opposed to having a culture and a religion that just came along with it but nobody really cares because they didn't have a choice - that was just their one choice. And that means some people might not be in the Catholic Church. There might be Ukrainians that are really tied to other religions but at least the people that were Catholics would mean it a lot more and they would probably get somewhere. As opposed to having all these youth who just really don't care. (B5: 1568-1596)

This participant makes an interesting point about the importance of choice and how young adults in Ukrainian community may not feel they have much of a choice when it comes to religion. However, as I will discuss in chapter 6, her assertion that “if culture were separate the culture could be strong and they could have a religion that would be strong” turns out not to be true for those Ukrainians who have joined Churches of other denominations.

Another participant did not like the feeling that he was being told what to believe and where he belonged. It left him with the conviction that he did not belong to the community:

It was still more of you know, ‘This is where you belong and this is what we do.’ But like I say, I don’t like being told ‘You belong to this group of people and this is what we do.’ I would rather, like I say I didn’t really enjoy that. But if there was a way of saying, ‘Would you like to come to our group’ and ‘Do you truly believe in the objectives of this group?’ (1879-1892)

This participant wanted the opportunity to explore his own beliefs first and then see if they matched those of the community.

4.6.4 Challenges to Heritage

Acculturation and a lack of understanding about one’s heritage were the biggest challenges to heritage. As was previously noted, a larger percentage of the people in this study had at least one parent who was fully Ukrainian, compared to the general population of Ukrainian Catholic young adults their age. Connections to the Ukrainian community were relatively strong.

Even among this group though, there was evidence of the effects of acculturation. One participant described the effect his parents ethnicity and participation levels had on his own participation: “My Mom's not Ukrainian so she... doesn't really go out to all the Ukrainian functions and my Dad doesn't really do much of that, like try to promote it really, either. So I never was really exposed to it that much. Like you're saying Vesna [Festival]. I'd never heard of that” (D2: 3309- 3319). In addition, the area of the province that this participant grew up in was ethnically and religiously diverse:

It was kind of tough because I wasn’t really, my area is not really Church-oriented. I shouldn’t really say that, but there wasn’t really a Catholic atmosphere there. I went to school, it was all public and there was mostly Mennonites and you got the United and quite a mixture so I think at one time they

always said the Our Father in the morning or even at assemblies but then that was discontinued. And so really it's just my parents influence to take me to Church. (D2: 450-466)

And as we just heard previously, his parents weren't inclined to involve him in the Ukrainian community to any great extent.

Another perhaps well-intentioned vehicle of acculturation has been the Roman Catholic schools. As one participant expressed: "I went to a Catholic School but then it was Roman Catholic, so I never saw any of the Ukrainian faith except for when I went to Church and from my family and that's it" (B2: 487- 492).

Another indication of acculturation is the effect that work and other commitments had on people's participation. The larger culture in which we live and work in recent years has forced people to choose between Sunday Church attendance and work or social commitments. As it was, a number of participants made work and other commitments a higher priority. One participant planned to switch jobs in the future so that she could become more involved: "If I didn't work every Sunday morning, most Sunday mornings I would be able to come to Church more often and I'd probably get involved with the choir. So eventually I do plan on doing that, when I have a job that doesn't have me working every Sunday. 2318-2324). However, further questioning revealed that even in her present job she could have requested an evening shift but "I prefer morning shifts so if I had an evening shift on a Sunday it wouldn't be as easy with the rest of my schedule" (M6: 2330-2333). It was not just the participants themselves who were working or otherwise busy on Sundays. Two participants talked about not attending Church when their mothers worked on Sundays.

4.6.5 Challenges to Trust/Support

Hypocrisy was already mentioned as a challenge to similarity. For some young adults, hypocrisy also presented a challenge to their trust. Even though one participant agreed that she felt better after going to Church, she was reluctant to go to confession. For her, the hypocrisy of confessing her sins to someone who was apparently a child molester made going to confession unappealing:

Personally from my experience, I think it's better to go to Church and kinda work it out with yourself and then you feel better after. Rather than going to tell a priest who, in my experience, a priest who gets charged with molesting children a

month later. Then it's kinda like, "No thanks!" It kinda seems like 'I'm telling you the things I did wrong when you're now in jail?' (3: 1570-1582)

Another participant (who also may have known of this priest) commented: "I agree with her in the fact that there has to be trust. If our priest was to be like Bill Clinton and to go against morals and stuff that, it wouldn't be, your sense of community at this Church would be destroyed (M6: 2740- 2747).

4.7 Experiences of Sense of Community Within the Ukrainian Catholic Community

4.7.1 When Sense of Community Was Most Experienced

Participants in each group were asked to speak about a time when they had most experienced sense of community. Responses generally fell into three main categories: 1) at events in the parish such as funerals, dinners, dances, or Christmas concerts; 2) on occasions when they or others received support or acknowledgement from the community such as a graduation celebration organized for them, help preparing for a funeral or people showing up at a competition to cheer them on; and 3) when they were engaged in service to the community such as doing maintenance work or helping with children's groups in the parish.

4.7.2 Is Sense of Community Changing Over Time?

Half of the participants judged their sense of community to have decreased at least somewhat over time. They attributed this diminished sense of community to decreased attendance and participation in service to the Church or community (e.g., no longer altar boy), not sharing the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and becoming aware of hypocritical and political situations in the Church community.

A quarter of the participants believed that their sense of community had remained the same. Some claimed they felt a sense of community just as strongly when they attended their home parish. However, these participants were not attending Church on a weekly basis nor were they attending a Church anywhere else. Others maintained that although their sense of community had not increased, they had noticed a difference in their understanding of their role in the community or their perception of community had expanded as they met new people and experienced other communities (e.g. work or university).

Another quarter of the participants described an increase in their sense of community. They attributed this increase to being able to make the choice about whether to attend Church, to active participation in the Church community and for one participant, to having done research into the origins of her parish and becoming more aware of the role her ancestors played in starting the parish.

Focus group participants noted that their connections to the Ukrainian Catholic community had changed over time. For some, this had an effect on their sense of community. Participants noted a number of stages that they had gone through or expected to go through. The first stage involved the celebration of the three sacraments of initiation (Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist). For the participants in my study, as for most Ukrainian Catholics, initiation into the community began at an early age with the reception of these sacraments in the first few months of life.

The second stage encompassed the period of childhood. The young adults in my study began to participate more fully in the life of the community as they grew. Typically it was their parents who involved them by bringing them to Church, enrolling them in community activities and transporting them to community events (however there was one example of a young adult who was brought to Church by her godmother and other relatives because her parents did not attend regularly). Many parishes in Saskatchewan had activities and groups set up for the instruction and participation of children such as Catechism, altar boys, Children of Mary, and children's choir. Children's sense of community grew as they get to know more of the people in the community, began to take an active role and learned more about the beliefs of the community.

The third stage was linked to adolescence. Many parishes had youth groups and sponsored their youth to attend provincial retreats or summer camps. Some teenagers took part in these activities and began to serve their parish in various capacities as they were invited to participate by adult members (e.g., reading the epistle, helping with the catering at parish functions, teaching the younger children catechism). These young adults' sense of community expanded. Other adolescents' participation declined as they grew bored or disinterested and as they became involved in other activities outside of the community (e.g., hockey, work). Some began to question their own values, beliefs and

practices and those of the community, especially as they became aware of parish politics and the hypocritical behaviour of other community members.

Young adulthood marked the beginning of the fourth stage. This turned out to be a turning point for some participants, especially those who had moved away from home in order to attend school or seek employment. All these young adults had a choice to make about whether to continue their involvement in the Church community. Those who had chosen to attend Church reported a strengthening of their sense of community. As already mentioned some young adults from rural parishes were too intimidated to attend a city parish. As well, work and other activities kept some of them away from Church on Sundays. Some group members commented that there were not many activities or events organized for their age group. At the same time, very few of them had joined one of the adult Church organizations such as the Knights of Columbus or the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League. A few continued in roles of service including mentoring or teaching younger children, doing parish maintenance or participation in the Divine Liturgy by singing or reading the Epistle during the Divine Liturgy.

The fifth stage identified by my participants was marriage. Although all of my focus group participants were unmarried at the time of the study, two of them were contemplating marriage. One young woman discussed the consequences of her upcoming decision about which Church to get married in:

My boyfriend and I right now are discussing engagement. But we want to overcome first which Church we are going to get married in because we don't want to have that conflict with kids after. What are you going to tell them if we get married by a Justice of the Peace and go our own separate ways? I still practice my Ukrainian Catholic [faith] and he still practices his Roman Catholic [faith]. There's so many things to overcome that it's tough. (1: 4103- 4117)

The choice of a marriage partner and the choice of whether to be married in Ukrainian Catholic Church may affect a person's sense of community. If a young person marries another Ukrainian Catholic in the Ukrainian Catholic Church their sense of community may be strengthened or at least maintained. Conversely, if they marry a non-Ukrainian or get married in another Church and subsequently do not attend a Ukrainian Catholic parish, their sense of community may be diminished or at least be more difficult to maintain.

The sixth stage would involve having and raising of children of their own. A number of participants predicted that their involvement with the Ukrainian Catholic community and their sense of community would increase once they began the task of raising their own children. For example, one participant said:

I think that for myself anyway there is nothing that is really going to change my sense of community right now because I'm not really looking for anything more. It's just not a concern of mine right now. But I think that maybe when I bring kids into this world or something like that, then it will be more important for me then. Because I want them to be brought up with some sort of a religious background. I want them to have something for them when they are young, but for right now there's just nothing that I think would change the way I feel. (L5: 2141-2157)

Even those who talked about the importance of having a choice when it came to religion intended to take their children to Church: "I think you have to force your kid, if you believe in the Church and you want to go. Because if you just ask your kids when they are five years old, 'Do you want to go to Church?' it's like, probably not. [They would probably say] "I don't want to sit there for an hour. No thanks. See you later!" (O3: 2204- 2212). Another participant who had classified himself as an agnostic intended to take his children to Church so that they could learn morals:

I think when I do have kids I will say, 'We are going to Church' even if I myself don't believe, it would be more for them. But, 'we're going to Church and we're learning. I'm going to try teaching you these morals now so that when you get to the age when you start questioning then I can take that next step with you.' (A5: 2172-2182)

He clarified that the next step he spoke about would involve "finding out what it is exactly that [my kids] believe" (A5: 2186-2187).

4.7.3 Most Crucial Aspect of Sense of Community

Participants were asked if there was anything so crucial that if it was not there, their sense of community would be destroyed. The most common answer related to heritage and traditions as previously discussed. God, faith, family, and feeling welcome were each mentioned by a number of participants. Other responses mentioned included values, events outside of liturgy, trust in the people and in the priest, and everyone taking part in the community.

4.7.4 What Would Make Sense of Community More Complete

When asked what would make their sense of community more complete, focus group members' responses centred on issues of participation and similarity. They ventured that their sense of community would increase with greater participation in the liturgy and service to the community because this would provide more opportunities to interact with other community members and to get to know them better. They also thought their sense of community would be positively affected if they understood the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church better, if they shared the beliefs of the community and if other people in the community would "practice what's in their belief system" (B2: 2598-2600).

4.8 Models of Sense of Community

To summarize, the sense of community that emerged from focus group discussions with Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan was comprised of three core aspects and three supportive aspects. The three core aspects - belonging, familiarity, and trust/support - all relate to *relationships* among community members. Belonging is about the relationship between an individual and the rest of the community. Familiarity and trust/support describe the quality of relationships between community members³⁴. The three supportive aspects - participation, similarity, and heritage - are all things that contribute to the development and continuity of those relationships. The challenges to sense of community identified in this study are those things that weaken these relationships.

I conceived of two different models or analogies to describe the relationship between the core and supportive aspects. The first model (see Figure 4.1) uses a diagram of concentric circles to illustrate that belonging was most central to young adults' experiences of sense of community, followed by familiarity and trust/support. The second model (see Figure 4.2) uses the analogy of a stool to highlight the supportive aspects of sense of community identified in this study. Participation, heritage and similarity are like

34 Influence, which refers to the mutual and reciprocal influence that an individual and the community have on each other, was not a salient part of young adults' experiences in the Ukrainian Catholic Church and therefore did not emerge as a distinct aspect of sense of community in this study (one could say that it was notable in its absence). However, because influence also describes the quality of relationships, it would have been included as a core aspect of sense of community, had it emerged as an aspect of sense of community.

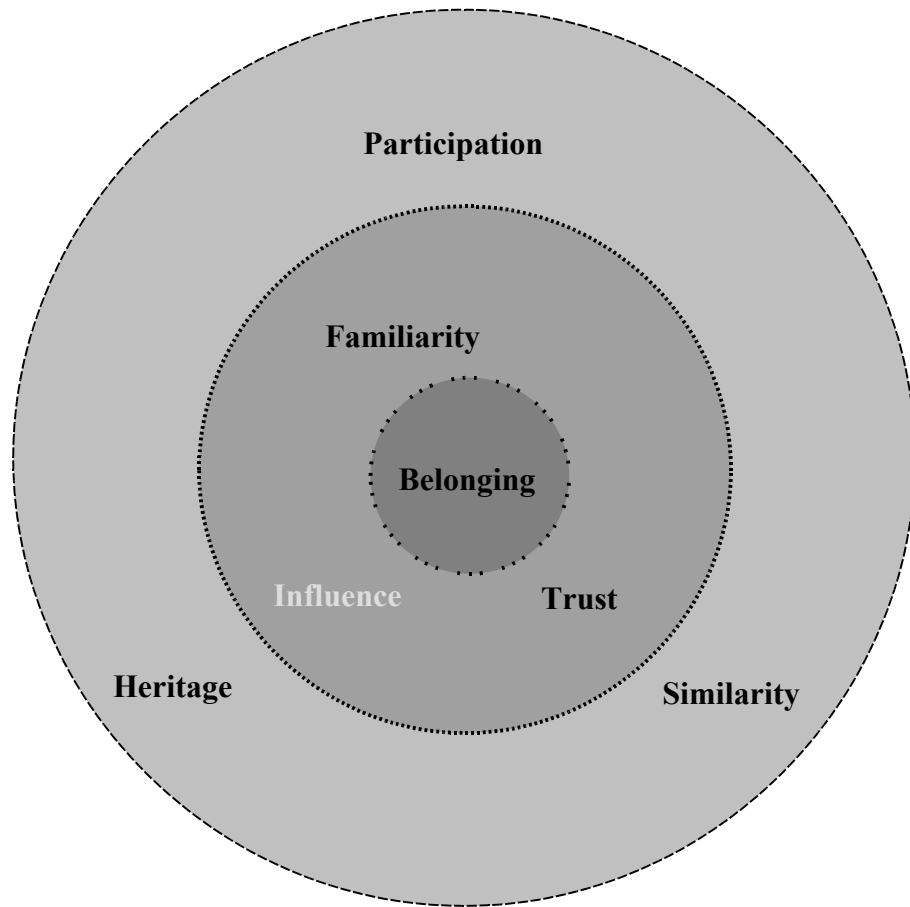


Figure 4.1. This model highlights the core aspects of sense of community identified in my study. Belonging appeared to be most central to young adults' sense of community followed by familiarity and trust. All three of these core aspects deal with relationships. Influence, an aspect of sense of community that also deals with the quality of relationships, did not emerge as a strong theme in this study. It is shown in light grey to indicate that it was notably absent from participants' descriptions.

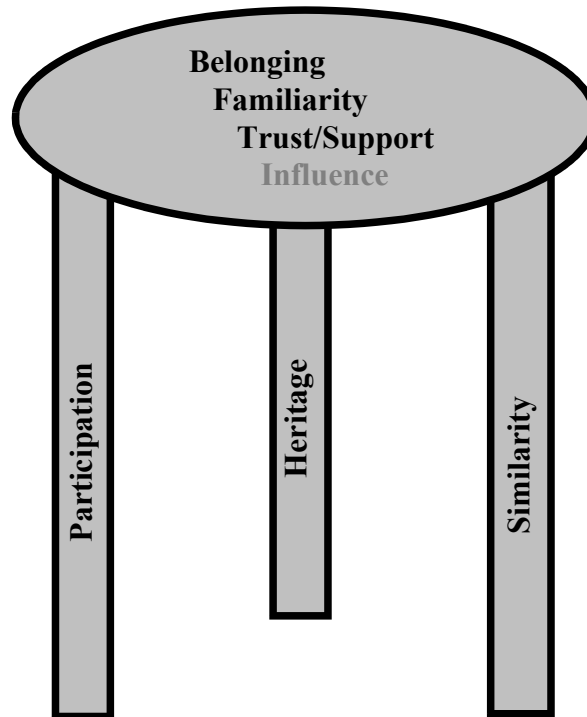


Figure 4.2. This model illustrates the supportive aspects of sense of community identified in this study. Participation, heritage and similarity are like the legs of a stool. They support the development of belonging, familiarity and trust. Influence, an aspect of sense of community that also deals with the quality of relationships, did not emerge as a strong theme in this study. It is shown in light grey to indicate that it was notably absent from participants' descriptions.

CHAPTER FIVE

Evaluating the Method and the Lens:

The Influence of Focus Groups on the Data and the Adequacy of McMillan's Psychological Sense of Community Theory

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I evaluate both the method and the lens used to study sense of community in Ukrainian Catholic young adults. First I examine ways in which the use of focus groups affected the data gathered. Then I address the second goal of this study which was to evaluate the adequacy of McMillan's (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; McMillan, 1996) two theories of psychological sense of community with respect to their ability to account for Ukrainian Catholic young adults' descriptions of their experience of sense of community.

5.2 Evaluating the Method: The Influence of the Focus Group Process on the Data

In chapter three I set forth a number of expectations regarding the influence of the group process on the data. First, I expected that using focus groups would allow me to explore sense of community beyond the bounds of a social group by bringing together members of a community who did not know each other personally. Second, I anticipated that participant interactions in focus groups could lead to the development of shared understandings and conclusions about sense of community that might not have emerged from individual interviews. Third, I was concerned about the possibility of premature closure and superficial agreement in group discussions and wanted to make sure that differences of opinion were preserved in the data. In this section, I consider each of these issues.

As discussed previously, in order to explore sense of community and not just the characteristics of a social group, it was important that my participants belonged to the same community but did not know each other prior to the focus groups (Hill, 1996). I inquired at the beginning of each focus group whether any of the participants knew each other and for the most part, they did not. Only two pairs of participants knew each other

well: M2 and P2 were altar boys together, and K6 and A6 went to the same school as well as belonging to the same parish. Only these first two pairs made comments during group discussions that alluded to their prior relationships. M2 and P2 made reference to experiences they shared as altar boys and smiled and laughed as they shared memories. They had to explain a few things to other group members that they understood between themselves. K6 made a couple of comments indicating that he understood A6's character well. For example, A6 noted that she had repeatedly asked her parish priest why girls could not be altar servers and K6 commented in a good-natured way: "She was always like that, even in school, and still is. You always get in trouble actually" (K6: 1235-1237).

A few other people knew each other to a limited extent: K3 and R3 were in the same First Communion class many years ago and attended the same parish, D3 and O3 knew each other but not well, and A5 and B5 were from the same parish. I knew J1, A5 and B5 (one was in my parish, one had sung with me in a choir, and one had attended many of the same cultural events I had). Greg, my assistant moderator knew J1, D3, and B5, but only knew D3 well. On the whole, most of the young adults did not know each other prior to participating in the focus groups and those who did know each other did not socialize with each other on a regular basis, although they belonged to the same community. Therefore, I believe it is safe to say that the focus group data captured something more than the characteristics of a social group.

The major reason I chose to use focus groups rather than individual interviews was because I expected that focus groups would give me access to models of sense of community beyond the level of the individual. As Hughes and Dumont (1993) demonstrated, group interactions can lead to the development of shared knowledge and facilitate researchers access to the shared cognitive models that groups develop to interpret and give meaning to their experiences. This shared knowledge was especially evident in what Hughes and Dumont called abstract generalizations - summary statements describing principles that participants have extracted from their own and other group members' common experiences. Although I decided not to focus my analysis exclusively on abstract generalizations (for reasons detailed in chapter three), a review of the focus group transcripts revealed many forms of participant interaction, including the

formulation of abstract generalizations. Participants shared memories, told stories about similar experiences, compared their experiences, and offered similar or different opinions on the various discussion topics within the groups. Some of these group interactions culminated in abstract generalizations but many did not. I will provide examples of each of these different types of group interactions and a summary of the abstract generalizations that occurred in the focus groups.

One common type of interaction among participants was the exchange of similar experiences, memories and opinions, with group members building on each other's comments by telling stories or sharing opinions related to a particular discussion topic. The expectation for everyone to participate was expressed at the beginning of each group (although they were also told they should feel free not to respond to questions if they did not want to do so) and was reinforced by prompts and probes on my part (e.g., "What else?", "What do other people think?" or "J1, you were nodding."). As group members became more familiar with each other they were more likely to build spontaneously on each other's comments and share stories about similar experiences. This type of exchange occurred across all groups.

An example of an exchange of stories about similar experiences occurred in the first focus group when participants were asked to "Tell us about a time when you most experienced a sense of community within the Ukrainian Catholic community." One group member told a story about how her whole parish community turned up to support her at singing competitions. She said this was when she "first realized a sense of community" and found this support "really reassuring" and felt "important" (1: 1699-1709).

Another group member concurred: "I'd have to say that the exact same thing happened to me." She remembered winning a competition and commented that "what made it important to me was the fact that these people that I know are out there and they are screaming, they're out there screaming for me. And these are people from my church - they are not going to hold back. (laughter) They're not going to hold back at all" (1: 1712-1736).

A third group member joined in saying "I can relate on the opposite note of that." She went on to describe how she had gone to a hockey rink to watch her cousin play

hockey only to realize that her whole church had come out to support him: “all of a sudden I could hear all this cheering up behind me... I look up and there’s my whole church. It was just awesome. They all came to watch [my cousin] play hockey” (1: 1799-1819).

When I asked if there were any other stories about a time when they had most experienced a sense of community, a fourth group member responded: “For me it would have to be when my Grandpa passed away.” She went on to describe the kind of support given by the “whole community whether they were Ukrainian or not, everyone who knew him” (1: 1830-1834). Each of these stories shared by group participants centred on how experiencing the support of the community led to a strong sense of community. The first story prompted a series of stories on the same theme. This was typical of the group interactions.

The sharing of memories sometimes led to conclusions about their experiences or the Ukrainian Catholic community and its members. For example, two young women in the first group talked about the pilgrimages they had made (not together). They both commented on the spiritual nature of the experience, where differences in color, gender and age were overcome because people “were all there for the same thing” (1: 1849-2006). At other times, group members shared memories without coming to any conclusions about their meaning. Some of the memories exchanged were about *cultural traditions* such as making pysanky (Group 1) and baking babka (Group 2), or *cultural events* such as Vesna festival (Group 2). Other memories were about *liturgical traditions* such as receiving pussy willows on Palm Sunday (Group 1) or walking on their knees to venerate the shroud on Good Friday³⁵ (Group 2). Still other memories described aspects of young adults’ *experiences attending Church* each Sunday. Participants in the various groups could relate to the experience of having to dress up for Sunday (Group 3), being woken up by their parents early in the morning and being told they have to go to Church (Group 5), being told to be quiet in Church (Group 5) and being told to use a book to follow the Church service (Groups 5 and 6). Group members also shared memories of

35 In the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the correct names for the Holy Days commonly referred to as Palm Sunday and Good Friday, are Flowery Sunday and Great and Holy Friday. The terms Palm Sunday and Good Friday are Roman Catholic and the use of these terms reflects the latinization of Ukrainian Catholics.

community events such as graduations in rural communities (Group 4), and *family traditions* such as Christmas Eve supper (Group 5). Typically there was a positive or humorous tone to these discussions of shared memories. One person's recollection often prompted stories from other group members or generated general agreement, smiles, and laughter.

Sometimes group members shared similar opinions, with one person's statement prompting comments by other people. For example, in the second focus group, the assistant moderator followed up on comments made earlier with the question "Would you change the actual words in the Divine Liturgy? Is the problem the words, or is the problem the pace, the tone, the music?" (Greg: 3721-3725). D2 stated that it was "the pace, the tone, the music" that needed to be changed. When Greg asked if the words were fine, B2 responded "Sometimes they're not" and went on to talk about how the words are not always gender inclusive. Returning to the issue of the words used in the Liturgy, P2 went on to discuss the repetition of certain prayers like "Lord have mercy." He started to say "after a while it just gets..." when D2 interrupted him to finish his phrase: "It gets boring." This prompted M2 to say "I know [the Liturgy] off by heart. You sit there and you just say it. It doesn't have any meaning really. You look at the Roman Catholics and, I don't go that often really to the Roman Catholics, but it just seems that either... I guess maybe it's the different atmosphere, you know, more people, or I just seem to get more out of it" (M2: 3796-3805). D2 concurred: "I have to agree with you on that. It's way too repetitive. I mean it's tradition and everything but it gets boring. It's like saying the same thing over and over you know. I mean you say it once, you're not going to go to Hell just because you said it once and not three times" (D2: 3807-3814). D2's comments about the Liturgy - "It's way too repetitive... it gets boring" - summarize nicely the observations of the group and could be considered an abstract generalization.

Examples of other abstract generalizations related to sense of community that arose out of group discussion are presented in Table 4.2. Looking at the abstract generalizations generated across the six focus groups, several themes emerged:

Table 4.2. Examples of abstract generalizations generated in the focus groups

Context	Abstract Generalization
<p>When asked about other aspects of sense of community (belonging, similarity, and support had already been discussed) S1 shared her experiences of feeling more welcome attending smaller UC Churches than larger Roman Catholic Churches. Group members agreed and shared their own experiences. (1: 988-1048)</p>	<p>“The smaller the Church the more they welcome you into the community and help you” (T1: 1033-1035) and “[The Ukrainian Catholic community] is a fairly close-knit community.” (M1: 1038-1039)</p>
<p>J1 commented that in her large urban parish older and younger people had their own separate groups. T1 noted that because she was the only young person in her parish, the older women made a point of passing on the traditions to her. M1 said he could relate to T1 because his parish had very few young people and then made a summary statement about relationships in small Church communities. (1: 1305-1429)</p>	<p>“[In a small church] everybody has to form one community because otherwise [the various age groups] are so small you’d be by yourself as a community which is impossible” (M1: 1435-1439)</p>
<p>The group was asked what would make their sense of community more complete. S1 replied “Having her questions answered” but the group went on to say that they didn’t know where their questions about faith and beliefs could be answered and members wondered whether the quest for answers was more important than having their questions answered. S1 seemed to change her mind slightly by making the following pronouncement. (1: 2627-2855)</p>	<p>“I think too without those questions we wouldn’t have a challenge, our religion would be too complete” (S1: 2726-2728).</p>
<p>This is a nice example of the building of shared knowledge through the presentation of common knowledge. M2 stated that in his parish "everything is traditional" and described a memory he had of venerating the plashchenytsia (shroud) on Good Friday. B2 remembered this too and added to the description of the veneration ritual. P2 brought up a memory of guarding the plashchenytsia that he and M2 shared because they had been altar boys together. This common knowledge of a liturgical practice during Holy Week became the evidence for their agreed-upon assertion that the UC Church is "straight traditional". (2: 350-382)</p>	<p>“[The Ukrainian Catholic Church] is straight traditional...everything is traditional” (M2: 352-354).</p>

Context	Abstract Generalization
<p>The group was asked about a time when they most experienced sense of community. P2 spoke about the importance of being acknowledged by people. He commented that he could talk to anybody but then noted that some older people “don’t really like to talk to you” because “they’re very traditional.” This prompted a discussion about how older people don’t like change, with group members sharing stories about their grandparents and fellow parishioners. (2: 1477-1617)</p>	<p>“Change is bad for [older people]” (P2: 1521) and “Once a change is made the older people are very quick to criticize any little thing about it” (D2: 1561-1563).</p>
<p>When asked if there was anything so crucial that if it wasn’t there, their sense of community would be destroyed, B2 named tradition. She acknowledged that this was ironic given their earlier somewhat critical discussion about the Church being traditional and older people not liking change. This began a short discussion of the importance of tradition which culminated in B2’s summary of the dilemma facing the Church. (2: 2816-2899)</p>	<p>“[The dilemma facing the Church is] how to keep the tradition and modernize” (B2: 2896-2897).</p>
<p>Participants discussed an “unstated rule” found in many UC Churches about dressing up on Sundays. K3 seemed to dislike this the most, wanting to wear jeans instead, but R3 had fond memories of dressing up. D3 suggested that dressing up for Sunday was no different from dressing up to go to a wedding or social and didn’t seem to mind the “rule.” O3 didn’t express an opinion except to identify with D3’s experience of being told that she couldn’t wear jeans only to see another kid wearing jeans in church. Even though participants differed in their emotional reactions to this unstated rule, this discussion is an example of common knowledge becoming shared knowledge. (3: 977-1044)</p>	<p>“When you go to Church you’ve got to dress up” (R3: 1040-1041)</p>
<p>In response to the question of whether there was anything crucial to their sense of community, O3 noted that the one of the main reasons she liked going to the UC Church was that it is more traditional (she actually had a hard time describing it until K3 suggested this term). D3 agreed that he enjoyed this aspect of the UC Church while K3 wasn’t sure. R3 had already left the group early. (3: 2721-2808)</p>	<p>The UC Church is more traditional.</p>

Context	Abstract Generalization
<p>Greg asked L4 about whether graduations were examples of times when her community got together to celebrate. L4 talked about receiving gifts at graduation from family and parish members. K4 joined in to say that he had attended a rural graduation once and had noticed that the whole town got involved regardless of whether they had children graduating. L4 agreed. (4: 1341-1452)</p>	<p>“The whole town gets involved with [graduations]...in a small town it’s a real big thing” (K4: 1431).</p>
<p>B5 began a discussion on choice by remarking that for Ukrainians there are only two religions that are connected to the Ukrainian community (i.e., the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches). S5 stated that his only connection to the UC community came through his family who had “forced” him to go to Church. A5 and L5 said they had similar experiences (5: 485-815) . Later on in the discussion, B5 expressed her opinion that SOC would be stronger if a person understood why they were going to Church and had a choice in what they believed and which Church they attended (5: 1431-1440). A5 described how the fact that he was told by his family that the UC Church was where he belonged had the effect of making him feel like he didn’t belong (5: 1490-1538). L5 noted that because she now had the choice of whether to go to Church or not, her SOC was stronger (5: 2010-2034).</p>	<p>On the importance of having a choice and understanding: “I think it would help a lot if you really actually understood why you were going to Church instead of just presenting the rules, and this is your only choice. If you’re doing something with religion you really have to know exactly why you are doing it. It can’t just be ‘This is what you do’” (B5: 1431-1440).</p>

Context	Abstract Generalization
<p>When I asked in what ways, if any, they were connected to the UC community, A5 responded that he didn't think he was connected that much and S5 quickly concurred. L5 noted that she felt connected to her parish back home but not to the UC community in the city. B5 viewed events like youth retreats as "more of a social thing than an actual religion thing." A5 said he did not consider himself Ukrainian Catholic and S5 expressed agreement (5: 308-499). A little later on L5 claimed she felt more Ukrainian than Ukrainian Catholic and again there was agreement. They returned to this theme when asked to tell about their experience of SOC with the UC community. This was the only group to rate being Ukrainian as more important to their SOC than faith, being Catholic or being Eastern Christian. They felt pride in being Ukrainian. It gave them a connection to other Ukrainians, and a feeling of belonging (5: 2304-2456).</p>	<p>"I feel more Ukrainian than I would feel Ukrainian Catholic" (L5: 1054-1055).</p> <p>NB: This is not, strictly speaking, an abstract generalization since this participant is speaking about her own opinion. However, other group members made similar comments.</p>
<p>When asked what would make her SOC more complete, A6 commented that going to Church seemed to be a "status thing" for some people in her parish. K6 who was from the same parish confirmed A6's observation noting that some people only showed up at election time. A6 added that some people only come to Church at Christmas and wondered why they bothered to come at all. M6 offered a different perspective explaining that although she wasn't able to attend Church often because her parents wouldn't take her, she felt it was important to come at this special time and "give God and Jesus special prayers" (6: 2535-2635).</p>	<p>"It just looks good if you go to church every week and I think that's why some people are there" (A6: 2552-2554).</p>

- 1) Comparisons between rural and urban Churches led to the conclusion that the size of the parish affects sense of community, with smaller Churches having a greater sense of community (Groups 1, 4);
- 2) Families were important to sense of community because they were people's first communities and because it was typically through their families that people were introduced and connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community (Groups 1, 4, 6);
- 3) The Ukrainian Catholic Church was viewed as traditional and more traditional than the Roman Catholic Church. Tradition had a positive connotation when young adults were speaking about customs and heritage (Groups 1, 2, 3, 5, 6) and a negative connotation when they used the term to refer to resistance to change (Groups 2, 5, 6);
- 4) Another theme was the importance of people's Ukrainian heritage. Participants spoke about their connections to other Ukrainians (Groups 1, 2, 5, 6) and their enjoyment of Ukrainian customs (Groups 1, 5, 6);
- 5) Choice was a recurring theme. Participants noted that when they were not forced to go to Church but made that choice on their own, their sense of community was strengthened.
- 6) Participants reported both positive and negative experiences with Liturgy (Groups 2, 3, 5, 6).

Another example of the group process at work can be seen in the instances where individuals changed their minds as the result of hearing the opinions of other group members. Group 3 showed the most evidence of this. For example, in the third focus group I asked group members what it would be like to go to a Ukrainian Catholic Church they'd never been to before. D3 predicted it would be a positive experience because he believed he would share the same feelings, thoughts, beliefs as the other parishioners in that new parish. R3 agreed with D3 but O3 countered with an example of a time when she had gone to a new parish and had not felt like she belonged. She felt intimidated because she perceived that everyone was staring at her. K3 had a similar experience returning to her parish after she had been away for a couple of weeks. In response to the situation by O3, D3 and R3 offered more positive interpretations of what the older

parishioners might have been thinking (3: 738-965). Later in the group, O3 demonstrated that she had changed her opinion because she said “Now when I look at it from his perspective, it’s like ‘Who really cares [what people are thinking of me]’” (O3: 2704-2713).

A final issue with regard to the effects of group dynamics on the data relates to the concern about overvaluation of homogeneity, regularity and equilibrium and the pull for premature closure and agreement among group members. As the moderator, I watched for instances of disagreement and encouraged further discussion among group members. For example, J1 made the observation that the group had shifted from Ukrainian being “really, really important” to faith being important and “Ukrainian is not the big thing” (J1: 3423-3426). Although there was some evidence for this assertion, M1’s non-verbal expressions showed disagreement, so I asked if everyone agreed on that. In fact, M1 spoke up and said “Not really.” He countered: “I’d like to think that faith is one of the most important things but not everybody has the same level of faith but they are just as much a part of the community” (M1: 3435- 3443).

At other times, group members offered differing opinions without any prompting from me. For example, they disagreed on whether receiving the sacrament of Confession was a positive experience (Group 3), on whether they would feel a sense of community with people they had not met before (Group 4), on whether religion was a personal or communal experience (Group 5), and on the extent to which children should be “forced” to go to Church and participate in the Liturgy (Groups 5 and 6).

5.3 Evaluating the Lens: The Adequacy of McMillan’s Psychological Sense of Community Theory

In this section I compare the model of sense of community that arose from focus group discussions with Ukrainian Catholic young adults and the model of psychological sense of community presented by McMillan (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; McMillan, 1996). My aim is to judge how well McMillan’s model accounts for the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic community by examining points of harmony and dissonance. I will consider in turn each of the aspects of sense of community I identified in my study.

5.3.1 Belonging

Belonging was a core aspect of sense of community for participants in my study and in fact, could be considered the defining characteristic of sense of community. Participants used belonging and sense of community synonymously and judged that they did not feel a sense of community when they did not feel like they *belonged* to the community. There is a similar link between belonging and sense of community in both of McMillan's formulations. Although he labelled the first element Membership and emphasized the boundaries that define who is and who is not a member, McMillan's initial definition of membership was "a feeling of belonging, of being a part" and "a feeling that one has invested part of oneself to become a member and therefore has a right to belong" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 9). Sense of belonging involved an expectation that one would be accepted by the group and identification with the group.

In McMillan's reformulation (1996), sense of belonging (still an attribute of the first element which was renamed Spirit) remained essentially the same with only minor changes in language and emphasis. Rather than talking about an "expectation of belonging" McMillan described sense of belonging as "faith that I will belong," where faith comes from within the member and acceptance of the member comes from the community.

The major difference between my findings and McMillan's model is a matter of emphasis. I see belonging as an aspect of sense of community in its own right, whereas McMillan viewed it as an attribute or sub-aspect of Membership or Spirit. In support of my findings, Obst and her colleagues (Obst et al., 2002a; Obst et al., 2002b; Obst et al., 2002c) also gave the name Belonging to the factor composed of items related to being attached to, being a part of, or belonging to the neighbourhood or community of interest.

5.3.2 Familiarity

For the young adults in my study, familiarity was another important aspect of sense of community, closely tied to belonging. Familiarity referred to the quality of relationships between members of the community and had to do with feeling comfortable with other community members. Feelings of familiarity often arose out of having known people (and having been known by people) for a long time.

The idea of familiarity and comfort was not well represented in McMillan and Chavis' (1986) original presentation of sense of community, which was based on an

economic model of human association where humans were viewed as individuals who voluntarily enter into contracts in order to have their needs met. McMillan's (1996) reformulation comes closer to the ideas about familiarity and comfort expressed by the young adults in my study. Terms like "spark of friendship," "community empathy, understanding, and caring" and "sense of intimacy" were used to describe Spirit, the first element of sense of community. Terms like these suggest a more mutual/personal model of human relationships (cf Kirkpatrick, 1986) and are more similar to the ideas of familiarity, comfort and being known that were used by my study participants.

In Obst et al.'s (2002a) factor analysis, items relating to "feeling at home and feeling comfortable" loaded on the Belonging factor. This reinforces for me that belonging and familiarity are closely-related concepts. In fact, for some young adults in my study, not feeling familiar or comfortable with a community was equated with a sense that they did not belong.

5.3.3 Trust/Support

A third core aspect of sense of community, closely related to both belonging and familiarity in my study, was the notion of trust which developed out of having received support from the community, having seen someone else receive support, or rendering service to the community. Support involved financial or practical assistance in time of need and emotional support in the form of encouragement to reach their goals, acknowledgement of accomplishments, and celebration of important occasions. Having experienced support from the community or witnessed others receiving support, most of the young adults in my study trusted that the community would be there for them "no matter what."

Trust was not mentioned explicitly in McMillan and Chavis' (1986) model of sense of community. However, they talked about Fulfillment of Needs, which taps into the idea that a sense of community enhances feelings of support and safety within the neighbourhood and the belief that needs will be met. McMillan (1996) renamed this element Trade. He emphasized that protection from shame was one of the chief rewards given to members, in addition to status, competence, success, and a members' honour. Out of the mutual trading of rewards and benefits a social economy based on shared intimacy would develop that with time could evolve into "a state of Grace" where

members “give for the joy and privilege of giving” (p. 322). I would argue that at this point, members would have developed a trust that their own needs would be taken care of by members of the community.

McMillan’s (1996) revised model gave the name Trust to a different element of sense of community - the one he formerly called Influence. He proposed that in order for community members to develop trust in the authority structure, a community needed to have order, decision making capacity (i.e., authority), authority based on principle rather than person and group norms that allow member and authority to influence each other reciprocally. This notion of Trust is very different from what participants in my study meant by trust.

Looking at psychological sense of community in Science Fiction fandom, an international community of interest, Obst and her colleagues (2002a) identified a factor they called Friendship and Support. Some of the items on this factor were very similar to the types of things my participants said with regard to support (e.g., “If I had an emergency, even people I don’t know in SF fandom would help” and “ I often help my fellow fans with small things, or they help me”). Based on the items that related to friendship (e.g., “The friendships I have with other people in SF fandom mean a lot to me” and “A feeling of fellowship runs deep between me and other people in SF fandom”), the authors claimed that this factor was similar to McMillan and Chavis’ notion of Shared Emotional Connection.

Studying sense of community in geographical communities, Obst et al. (2002c) identified a factor which they labelled Support. Again items on this scale were similar to things my participants said about support (e.g., “I believe my neighbours would help me in an emergency”). This time, Obst et al. compared their Support factor to McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) notion of Fulfillment of Needs.

In a third study comparing the sense of community experienced by SF fandom members with SF fandom and their own geographical communities, Obst et al. (2002b) did not identify a factor that involved support, although there was a factor they called Shared Values and Cooperative Behavior that included the item “If there is a problem in this neighborhood/SF fandom people who live here/fans can get it solved.” One likely reason that the authors did not identify a factor called Support in this study whereas they

did in their other two studies, is that in this third study they included only items from the Sense of Community Index (SCI, Chavis et al., 1986) and the Three Dimensional Strength of Group Identification Scale by Cameron (2000, in Obst et al., 2002a). The other two studies by Obst and her colleagues (2002a, 2002c) included items from several other measures in their factor analysis: the Psychological Sense of Community Scale (Glynn, 1981), the Neighborhood Cohesion Instrument (Buckner, 1988), and the Multidimensional Measure of Neighboring (Skjaeveland et al., 1996). In fact, only one of the items meant to measure Integration and Fulfillment of Needs on the SCI relates to support. The other items measuring Integration and Fulfillment of Needs ask about satisfaction with a person's block, importance of the block, and perception of block attributes, which have very little to do with support.

Taken together, the results of my study and those of Obst and her colleagues (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) suggest that support is an important aspect of sense of community that perhaps has not been fully appreciated by McMillan's models and is not well captured by the SCI.

5.3.4 Participation

Although it was not a core aspect of sense of community, participation emerged in my study as a supportive aspect. The fact that I considered participation to be an aspect of sense of community puts my findings at odds with the majority of the research on sense of community where participation in a community has been treated as a correlate to sense of community and not as a dimension (e.g., Bishop, Coakes & D'Rozario, 2002; Brodsky, O'Campo & Aronson, 1999; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Davidson & Cotter, 1989, 1993; Hughey, Speer & Peterson, Obst et al., 2002c; Royal & Rossi, 1999). These studies (with the exception of Bishop et al.) have all found a clear positive correlation between the two variables such that higher levels of participation are associated with greater sense of community.

Noting this discrepancy between my findings and those in the literature, I went back to review participants' definitions of sense of community. Only 4 people had included references to participation in their definitions (compared to 10 references to familiarity/comfort, 8 references to belonging, 8 references to similarity, and 5 references to support/trust). In addition, the young adults in my study did not place a large emphasis

on participation or attendance in their definitions of a Ukrainian Catholic (see section 4.2). This was also reflected in their responses to the question about which Church they attended. Even though many of them were not attending Church on a weekly basis, they stated that they attended “a Ukrainian Catholic Church” rather than “a Church of another denomination” or “no Church.”

However, it was apparent from the focus group discussions that participation in its various forms was important to young adults’ sense of community. First of all, participation in weekly Church services and religious and cultural community events figured largely in their descriptions of how they were connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community. In fact, someone who had never attended Church services or community events at some point in their lives, would not be likely to consider himself or herself a member of the community. My study participants noted that attendance at weekly Divine Liturgy put them in contact with other community members, sometimes allowing them to develop relationships with those other members. Attending Church on Sunday also enabled them to find out about other community events. Service to the community was another important type of participation that added to their feelings of belonging and acceptance.

Participation in religious and cultural events also contributed to these young adults’ sense of community by strengthening their religious and ethnic identities. These two concepts are related to sense of community in a group such as the Ukrainian Catholic community that is both ethnic and religious in character. Religious and cultural events also provided the basis for the development of a shared history. Many of the young adults in my study had fond memories of their participation in religious and cultural events and customs.

Another consideration in the argument for why participation is an important supportive aspect of sense of community is the impact that *lack* of participation has on the community. Although the young adults in my study did not think their sense of community had been strongly affected by decreased Church attendance, their absence in parish communities likely had a great influence on the sense of community of other community members. As evidence for this, I would like to remind the reader of the concerns that members of the Ukrainian Catholic community at the 1998 Dialogue Forum

expressed about the "active and continuing participation of youth in the Church." In my own experience, I too have been affected by the small numbers of young adults my age in Church. When friends of mine are absent from Sunday liturgies, it has an effect on me. Along with other community members I worry about the future of the community and I wonder what kind of community there will be for my daughter to participate in.

Given that participation was so important to Ukrainian Catholic young adults' sense of community, I asked myself why the majority of researchers in community psychology have considered participation to be only a correlate and not a dimension of sense of community. The answer may lie in the types of communities that have been studied to date. In school and work communities and communities of interest participation is taken for granted. One must be attending school, working for a particular company or attending the group's events to be considered a member of that community. In geographical communities, participation is not necessary for community membership. One only has to live in a city to be considered a resident member - participation in civic or community organizations is not required.

My data, gathered in a community that is both geographical (especially in the case of rural parishes) and relational (especially in the case of urban parishes), suggest that participation should be considered a dimension of sense of community and not just a correlate, at least for religious and ethnic groups. In support of this, Sonn (2002; Sonn & Fisher, 1998) considered participation in ethnic activity settings such as sporting clubs and Church-based groups (as well as family and friendship networks) to be important to the development of sense of community in ethnic minority groups. Sonn believed that participation in these activity settings helped to develop shared experiences, systems of meaning and understanding, and ways of relating to the world³⁶.

The idea of participation seems to be implicit rather than explicit in McMillan's models of psychological sense of community. The element of Integration and Fulfilment of Needs (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, renamed Trade (McMillan, 1996) implies the active involvement of the member in fulfilling others' needs. It is similar to the service to

36 Although Sonn (2000) referenced Sarason (1974) in saying that "sense of community reflects feelings of belonging and identification with and participation in communities," he did not explicitly refer to participation as a dimension of sense of community.

the community engaged in by some of my study participants. Furthermore, active participation is necessary for community members to experience the “shared valent events” or “shared dramatic moments” that give rise to a Shared Emotional Connection (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) or Art (McMillan, 1996). And as McMillan (1996) stated, it is not enough just for community members to have contact - “the contact must have a certain quality for it to become a collective memory that is Art... an event must have a dramatic impact” (p. 323). This is perhaps similar to the emotional participation (or lack thereof) described by young adults in my study. Those who participated emotionally in liturgical celebrations seemed to experience greater sense of community. In contrast, those who found the Divine Liturgy to be boring sometimes reported a diminished sense of community.

In addition to suggesting that participation be considered a dimension of sense of community rather than just a correlate, my data revealed another type of participation not commonly discussed in the community psychology literature: spiritual participation. McMillan and Chavis (1986) did talk about a “spiritual bond” or connection that formed part of the Shared Emotional Connection between members that they said was often “the primary purpose of religious and quasi-religious communities and cults” (p. 14). McMillan (1996) used religious terms like Spirit, Truth, Faith and Grace, but did not speak about God, a Higher Power or a Transcendent Being. In keeping with Sarason’s (1993, 2001) challenge to the field of psychology to integrate religious perspectives in its conceptualization of human functioning, my study found evidence of the importance of spiritual participation in at least some young adults’ experiences of sense of community.

In conclusion, the Ukrainian Catholic young adults in my study talked about various types of participation that affected their sense of community: attendance at liturgy, service to the community, participation in events and customs, and emotional and spiritual participation. My findings suggest that participation should be considered a dimension of sense of community rather than simply a correlate.

5.3.5 Similarity

Similarity emerged as another supportive aspect of sense of community. The young adults in my study claimed that sharing beliefs, values, interests and goals was

important in building sense of community because these similarities or commonalities brought people together in the first place and enhanced feelings of familiarity and trust.

Similarity was initially ignored by McMillan and Chavis (1986) as a contributor to sense of community. McMillan (1996) explained that he had incorrectly rejected similarity as being an important bonding force because he had insisted that his theory must support the creation of a diverse community. With the benefit of ten years of hindsight, McMillan (1996) stated:

I now appreciate that the search for similarities can be an essential dynamic of community development. People seek a social setting where they can be themselves and be safe from shame. As communities begin to form, potential members search for those with whom they share traits. Bonding begins with the discovery of similarities. If one can find people with similar ways of looking, feeling, thinking, and being, then it is assumed that one has found a place where one can safely be oneself. (p. 320-321)

However, sharing feelings that are similar is only the beginning for McMillan (1996). After they establish a commonality, a community's members move on to share positive feelings about one another, establishing a base of understanding and support. Then it becomes safe to begin to share criticisms, suggestions, and differences of opinion. At this point a true social economy is established where people feel safe to trade self-disclosures.

In my study, the importance of similarities in values and beliefs to sense of community was also highlighted by instances in which my participants saw other community members who were not putting these values and beliefs into action. Hypocrites, especially in positions of leadership, had a negative impact on some young adults, to the point where it discouraged them from going to Church.

In addition to shared values, beliefs, interests and goals, my participants indicated that common symbols, signs and symbolic gestures were important to their sense of community. McMillan and Chavis (1986) believed that a common symbol system (including myths, symbols, rituals, rites, ceremonies, and holidays) was important to the maintenance of group boundaries and the smooth functioning and integration of the social life of a community, especially where there is heterogeneity. In his (1996) revision, McMillan retained a place for symbols, but put more emphasis on their contributions to the "shared history that becomes the community's story symbolized in Art" (p. 322).

Symbols, stories, music and other symbolic expressions represent a community's values and traditions - "the part of a community that is transcendent and eternal" (p. 323). My data suggested that symbols, customs, and traditions (whether religious or cultural) served both of these functions. They enhanced feelings of belonging and pride in community membership by emphasizing what Ukrainian Catholics had in common with each other and what distinguished them from others outside the community. Symbols, customs and traditions also formed part of the stories told and the memories shared by these young adults about their collective experiences with the Ukrainian Catholic community.

5.3.6 Heritage

A third supportive aspect of sense of community discerned in my study was heritage. Heritage applied to several related ideas: a person's upbringing, his or her ethnic and religious identity, tradition, connections to the Ukrainian Catholic community in general and links to past, present and future generations. Essentially, heritage is about the history of contact between people in the community. An individual's interactions begin with their immediate family and expand *outward* to extended family and the larger community, *backward in time* to now-deceased family and community members and *forward in time* to expectations of how the next generation will be raised. These encounters between individuals and members of community shape their identities. The history of these shared interactions and experiences are recorded in stories and traditions that provide a link to both the past and the future.

McMillan's concepts of Shared Emotional Connection (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) and Art (McMillan, 1996) both focussed on identification with the shared history that becomes the community's story, with variations in emphasis. McMillan and Chavis emphasized the quality of the interactions conducive to the creation of shared history. McMillan (1996) extended this, asserting that it is only those events that honour the community's transcendent values that are preserved as the community's collective heritage. In this way, the values outlive individual community members and remain a part of the spirit of the community.

The main difference between the concept of heritage that emerged out of my study and McMillan's notions of Shared Emotional Connection and Art is in the familial

tone taken by my participants in describing elements of heritage. My participants emphasized the ways in which their connections to the Ukrainian Catholic community were initiated and sustained by family connections, both past and present. For the young adults whose ancestors had helped to found parishes or to participate in their upkeep, family heritage was inextricably linked to the Church community. Even when young adults themselves were not actively participating in the life and events of the Church community, they still felt a sense of belonging and connection to the community moderated by family members' connections and identification with a shared history or heritage.

5.3.7 Influence/Trust

One element of sense of community which I did not identify as a separate aspect in my study was what McMillan and Chavis (1986) called Influence and McMillan (1996) renamed Trust. This element relates to the influence of the individual on the community and vice versa. McMillan and Chavis postulated that members are more attracted to a community in which they feel influential. Group pressure for conformity creates closeness and is an indicator of cohesiveness. McMillan (1996) changed the name of this element from Influence to Trust, highlighting the important role of trust in the experience of mutual influence. For McMillan, in order for there to be trust in the authority structure, the community must possess order, decision making capacity, authority based on principle rather than person, and group norms that allow members and authority to influence each other reciprocally.

Mutual influence or trust in the authority structure was not mentioned directly in my participants' definitions of sense of community. Only one young man commented that sense of community was about "the way the community acts [or] dictates the way you act" (P2: 719-721). Despite the relative absence of this concept in the initial definitions of sense of community given in my study, there were a number of indirect references to influence. The young adults in my study spoke warmly about times when they had received the recognition of the community (e.g., at graduations) or when their opinions were listened to (e.g., when parishioners asked one young woman about what she had been learning about other religions, when a priest made a personal visit to one participant in her own home). These experiences conveyed implicitly the message: "You

matter to us. Your presence has an impact on us.” Even a nod of the head to acknowledge his presence was important to one young man. Other young adults were able to feel a sense of importance and influence through their service to the church (e.g, as a altar boy, cantor, lector, or choir director or by doing maintenance work for the church).

The concept of influence was most noticeable in young adults’ references to their perceived lack of influence. They spoke about not having the power to change the things they did not like about the Church (see section 4.6.1 for examples). If they could not influence the older people in their parishes to make changes and their dissatisfaction was great enough, their only option it seemed, was to reduce their participation in that parish or in the Church in general. These were examples of how lack of influence can have a powerful negative effect on a person’s sense of community, confirming McMillan’s ideas.

My findings indicate that Influence may be an aspect of sense of community more noticeable in its absence than in its presence. In support of this contention, consider the findings of Obst and her colleagues. They identified a factor they called Influence in geographical communities (2002c) and in a group of people who completed the SCI with regard to both their community of interest and their geographical communities (2002b). However, items loading on these factors actually referred to a lack of perceived influence (e.g., “I have almost no influence over what my local neighborhood is like”) and in one study (2002c), a lack of confidence in the leadership (e.g., “The council does very for my local neighborhood”). In a third study, Obst et al. (2002a) identified a similar factor which they called Disaffection with Leadership and Influence. This time all but one of the items were from the Community Satisfaction Scale (Bardo & Bardo, 1983) and again, were typically about a lack of confidence in the leadership (e.g., “Leaders of fandom don’t hear the voice of ordinary fans” and “The leaders get very little done in SF fandom”). Of course, Obst’s findings are limited by the actual items used in the factor analysis.

5.3.8 Conclusions

The second goal of this study was to judge how well McMillan’s models of sense of community account for the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic community. There was good support

in my data for the centrality of belonging although McMillan placed this concept under Membership or Spirit. There was also good support for McMillan's ideas of Shared Emotional Connection or Art, which I labelled heritage, emphasizing the familial nature of my participants' experiences.

My data indicates that McMillan (1996) was correct in recognizing the importance of similarities in the development of sense of community. The importance of familiarity and feeling comfortable, discussed by my study participants, also supports McMillan's (1996) move to a more mutual/personal model of human relationships - one that emphasized the "spark of friendship that becomes the Spirit of Sense of Community" (p. 315) and the development of a social economy and a sense of intimacy through self-disclosure.

The importance of support and trust to my participants' sense of community suggests an area where McMillan's models may need elaboration. In his revised model, McMillan did indicate that a community could transcend score keeping to the point where members enjoy giving for its own sake. What he implied but did not say is that community members develop a feeling of trust that they will be accepted and supported by the community in both material and emotional ways.

My data suggest that McMillan and other sense of community researchers should consider including participation in its various forms as a dimension of sense of community rather than just a correlate. As my study shows, participation is more than just volunteering in community institutions and organizations. Rather, participation is a matter of involving one's whole self - body, mind, and spirit - in the life of the community.

Finally, McMillan's models point out potential deficiencies in the functioning of the Ukrainian Catholic community. Although it was not identified as a separate dimension, a lack of influence and trust in the authority structure was experienced by some of the young adults in my study and seemed to have a negative impact on their sense of community. McMillan's (1996) description of what is needed for trust in the community's authority structure to develop points to conditions that should be evaluated within the Ukrainian Catholic community.

CHAPTER SIX

Putting the Results in Context: Sense of Community and the Population Under Study

6.1 Introduction

In the following sections, the results of this study will be examined in terms of four characteristics of the population under study that distinguish it from the majority of the work done on sense of community. First, this was an ethnic group. Second, this was a group of people in emerging adulthood. Third, this was a community defined by its ties to a specific religion. Fourth, it was a group where membership is declining. In this chapter I will consider each of these four distinctive characteristics in terms of their impact on the sense of community identified in this study. In each section I begin by providing contextual information related to the particular population characteristic under consideration.

6.2 Sense of Community in an Ethnic Group

The first important characteristic of the community under study is that its members are part of an ethnic group in Canada, with its own particular history. As Chavis and Pretty (1999) advised, “the community psychologist must appreciate a community’s history and must know where the community is in its development” (p. 639). Sense of community for these Ukrainian Catholic young adults is shaped by their experiences as members of an ethnic group that itself has a developmental history. The sense of community experienced by these young adults has likely been quite different from those of their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents. In the next sections I will describe briefly the historical context of Ukrainians in Canada, paying special attention to Ukrainians in Saskatchewan. This historical context includes a discussion of the acculturative processes experienced by Ukrainian Canadians.

6.2.1 A Brief History of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan

Ukrainians immigrated to Canada in three distinct periods (Driedger, 1980). The first wave of immigrants came from the provinces of Galicia (Halychyna) and Bukovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and from the Transcarpatian region before the First World War from 1896 to 1914. The majority of this first group of 170,000 moved heavily onto the prairies. The second major migration took place between the two world wars from 1925 to 1930. Two-thirds of the 57,900 Ukrainians who came in the second wave settled in Manitoba. The third wave came after the Second World War from 1947 to 1952. Almost one-half (47.3 per cent) of this group settled in urban centres in Toronto. Saskatchewan had almost no post-Second World War Ukrainian immigration (Kordan, 1988; Skrypnyk, 1993).

By the time Ukrainians immigrated to the prairies, the best land had already been claimed by French, English, Mennonite and Icelandic settlers. Ukrainians settled on land north of Winnipeg, Yorkton, Saskatoon and Edmonton. These rural settlements have been referred to as the Rural Prairie Aspen Belt. Anchored east of Winnipeg, it extends through the interlake region north of Winnipeg westward through the Dauphin and Yorkton areas and into the regions north of Saskatoon to be anchored in the west by an area to the north of Edmonton (Driedger, 1980). Ukrainian immigrants often chose parcels of land close to relatives and neighbours from their former village or district in Ukraine, establishing themselves in bloc settlements on the Prairies.

Churches were usually the first community buildings constructed in any new community. Construction of first-time Ukrainian churches was concentrated in two periods from 1902 to 1929 and from 1940 to 1959, whereas construction of replacement churches was steady from about 1920 to 1959 (Loewen, 1989). Skrypnyk (1993) argued that the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan had its zenith in the 1920s and 1930s since many of the mainstream Ukrainian-Canadian organizations and institutions were organized and formed in Saskatchewan in those years (see Table 6.1 for a list of Saskatchewan achievements).

Table 6.1. Achievements of the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan

Date	Achievement
1910	First convention of Ukrainian teachers held in Canora
1916	Mohyla Institute founded, Saskatoon
1918	Formation of Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Saskatoon
1926	Founding of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Saskatoon
1927	Founding of Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
1932	Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics and the Ukrainian National Federation came into being
1939	First Ukrainian Credit Union in Canada
1944	First university-level Ukrainian language courses in North America taught at University of Saskatchewan
1948	Establishment of first Slavic studies department at a Canadian university
1951	Saskatoon was chosen as the see city for the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate of Saskatchewan
1956	Exarchate of Saskatchewan raised to the status of Eparchy as part of the newly created Ukrainian Catholic Metropolia of Canada, with the Metropolitan See in Winnipeg

6.2.2 Acculturation and Ethnic Identity

Before describing the acculturative processes experienced by Ukrainians in Canada in section 6.2.3, I will present briefly Berry's model of acculturation and Phinney's work on the links between acculturation and ethnic identity. Berry (1980, 1997) developed a two-dimensional model of acculturation that takes into account a person's attitudes toward both the dominant host culture and his or her own heritage culture³⁷. According to Berry, a person can be classified as experiencing one of four acculturative processes depending on his or her orientation to both the dominant culture and his or her ethnic culture. An individual who answers yes to the question "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?" and to the question "Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?" is said to adopt the Integration mode where a person participates in the host society while maintaining his or her ethnic culture. In the Assimilation mode a person participates in mainstream society but renounces his or her heritage culture. On the other hand, a person may avoid participation in the affairs of the dominant group. In the Separation mode, this individual maintains ties with his or her ethnic culture whereas in the Marginalization mode, he or she finds it difficult to relate to either culture, losing contact with both. Berry believed that Integration was the preferred mode of acculturation (Berry, 1993).

Phinney (2003) reviewed the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation. Phinney viewed developmental changes in ethnic identity as one aspect of the acculturation process that can be distinguished from other aspects by virtue of its focus on subjective feelings about one's ethnicity. The subjective aspects of ethnic identity include (a) ethnic self-identification, (b) a subjective sense that people have of belonging to an ethnic group and their feelings about their group membership (i.e., the strength and valence of their ethnic identity); and (c) their level of ethnic identity development (i.e., the extent to which their feelings and understandings about their group have been consciously examined and issues surrounding ethnicity have been resolved,

³⁷ Acculturation can also be thought of as a linear process, where one culture changes to become more similar to another, more dominant culture as the result of continuous contact with that other culture. This linear view of acculturation is typified by the "melting pot" analogy where individuals from heritage cultures are assumed to leave their ethnicity behind as they gradually and inevitably assimilate into the culture of the dominant society.

leading to an achieved ethnic identity) (p. 65). Phinney noted that ethnic identity achievement was positively correlated with integration and separation attitudes and negatively correlated with assimilation and deculturation (marginalization): “The results indicate that those with an achieved ethnic identity (i.e., those who have thought about and resolved issues related to their ethnicity have attitudes that support cultural retention (either separation or integration). The results suggest a direct link between acculturation attitudes and developmental changes in ethnic identity” (p. 75).

Phinney (2003) noted that when generation is used as the marker of acculturation, research with non-European ethnic minorities (primarily in the United States) fairly consistently shows a decline in the strength and valence of ethnic identity from the first to the second generation, followed by a levelling off or much slower decline in later generations. On the other hand, measures assessing cultural knowledge, cultural practices, or ethnic behaviours, such as language proficiency rather than strength of identification typically show a substantial and continuing decline across generations (p. 68-69).

6.2.3 Acculturation among Ukrainians in Canada

Ukrainians have gone through many changes since the time of their first arrival in Canada, many of which could be described as acculturative in nature. Researchers have tracked various indicators of ethnic identity retention such as knowledge and use of the Ukrainian language (Isajiw, 1981; Isajiw & Makabe, 1982; Kalbach & Kalbach, 1997; Kalbach & Richard, 1980; Kuplowska, 1980; O. Wolowyna, 1989). Other researchers have examined various social trends among Ukrainians in Canada including improvements in socio-economic status (O. Wolowyna, 1980), participation in business occupations (Isajiw, 1980), political mobility (March, 1980), trends in marital status and fertility (P. E. Wolowyna, 1980) and urbanization (Driedger, 1980). Acculturative changes have also been noted in trends in Church architecture (Lehr, 1989; Loewen, 1989; Zuk, 1989), iconography and the painting of Church interiors (Keleher, 1989; Loewen, 1989), and even Ukrainian cemeteries (Lehr, 1989).

Although the acculturative process of Ukrainians in Canada is a fairly complex one, involving influences of both the “old country” and the new, it could be summarized broadly as follows: Ukrainians’ socio-economic entry status was below that of French

and English but above that of First Nations. The first wave of Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia and Bukovina typically spoke no English, had very little education, and had strong ties to either the Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. Many of these peasant farmers homesteaded on the Prairies or took low paying jobs in the city. Pressure to assimilate from the Anglophone majority was great. Over time and across generations, there has been a rise in Ukrainians' socio-economic status (O. Wolowyna, 1980), an increase in English language proficiency and a loss of fluency in and knowledge of Ukrainian (Isajiw, 1981; Isajiw & Makabe, 1982; Kalbach & Kalbach, 1997; Kalbach & Richard, 1980; Kuplowska, 1980; O. Wolowyna, 1989), higher levels of education (O. Wolowyna, 1980), increasing urbanization (Driedger, 1980) and some indications of religious assimilation (Kalbach & Kalbach, 1997; Kalbach & Richard, 1980).

Of course, decreased Church attendance in mainstream religious denominations, urbanization and rising levels of educational attainment are trends that have been noted in the Canadian population in general (see Bibby, 1987, 1990; Driedger, 1980; and Kalbach & Kalbach, 1995, 1997). However, these trends among Ukrainians have been associated with losses in ethnic connectedness and have occurred at rates that are different from the general Canadian population.

For example, looking at Canadian immigrant populations, Kalbach and Kalbach (1995, 1997; Kalbach & Richard, 1980) found that both native-born and foreign-born individuals who identified with the more traditional ethnic Churches showed higher ethnic language retention and suffered less generational language loss and weakening of their ethnic-connectedness compared to those who identified with Roman Catholic or Protestant denominations or who reported no religious preference. However, those who identified with the Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox Churches also experienced lower levels of economic achievement. By reinforcing the use of the ethnic mother tongue through social and cultural activities the Ukrainian Churches may have lessened the need or opportunity to acquire English and therefore tended to impede the economic assimilation of members into the larger society. On the other hand, Ukrainians of any generation who had moved away from the traditional Ukrainian Churches showed greater

economic achievement than those who had retained their ties. Kalbach and Richard (1980) concluded:

The ethnic church does seem to exert a stronger positive influence than the non-ethnic church on language retention and, as a consequence of this, a negative influence on economic achievement. Regardless of age or generation, it seems that Ukrainian Canadians who move away from the ethnic church are more likely to acquire English and be upwardly mobile than their Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox counterparts. The acquisition of English as the language of work, business and technology makes possible the lateral move necessary to escape a possible “mobility trap.” The Ukrainian who becomes less ethnic is more likely to reach higher income levels than his same generation counterpart who remains totally ethnic. It would seem that the implications of a national policy designed to encourage the retention of ethnic behaviour under present condition in Canadian society are not totally positive. (p. 94)

Ukrainian immigrants to Canada and their descendants were faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, identification with and participation in religious and ethnic organizations facilitated experiences of belonging, security and relatedness, and provided a buffer from experienced discrimination (Phinney, 2003; Sonn, 2002; Sonn & Fisher, 1998). On the other hand, under Canada’s assimilationist policies ethnic connectedness was associated with poorer levels of socio-economic achievement, at least in previous generations. As Kirtz (1996) noted, for immigrant groups who came after the English and French and did not share the political dominance of these two groups, “settlement in a new country has involved a kind of Faustian bargain: the accumulation of wealth in exchange for the loss of their communal soul, a soul consisting of the language, myth, history, and ritual they shared earlier in what must now become ‘the old country’” (p. 10)³⁸. Although Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder (2001) concluded that “the

38 One might expect the situation to be somewhat different for more recent immigrants under Canada’s current multicultural policy. Canada’s official immigration policy aims, at least in theory, to promote integration rather than assimilation. The policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework “wishes to avoid assimilation by encouraging ethnic groups to maintain and develop themselves as distinctive groups within Canadian society” (Berry, 1993, p. 280). This national policy is consistent with the acculturation attitudes of various ethnic groups, native groups and the general population in Canada, where a general and pervasive preference has been observed among all groups studied, for the integration mode of acculturation (Berry, 1993). Immigrant groups arriving in Canada today are encouraged to integrate into mainstream society with the assistance of English as a Second Language classes and translation services. At the same time, many immigrants maintain close ties to their ethnic communities. In many cases they live in close proximity to each other, creating mini-economies. In addition, cheap communications technology and the Internet allow immigrants to keep in close touch with their countries of origin (Purvis, 1999).

combination of a strong ethnic identity and a strong national identity promotes the best adaptation “ (p. 493), this was not necessarily an option for Ukrainians in the early years after their arrival in Canada.

Although Ukrainians in Canada have undergone a process of urbanization similar to the rest of the Canadian population, as a group they have lagged behind the urbanization trends for other segments of the population. This is due, in part, to the high number of Ukrainians inhabiting rural locations on the Prairies. Driedger (1980) noted that while the central provinces were urbanizing rapidly from 1911 to 1941, the Prairies were relatively slow. The Great Depression hit the Prairies especially hard. However, during the thirty-year period from 1941 to 1971, urbanization in the Prairies picked up dramatically.

Since almost all rural Ukrainians were located in the three Prairie provinces (80 per cent in 1971), the migration of Ukrainians to Canadian urban centres was delayed. At the beginning of the Second World War, only one-quarter of Ukrainians were located in urban areas. It was not until after the war that the metropolitan migration began in earnest. The earliest shift to an urban centre occurred in Winnipeg before the Second World War; the second large influx occurred in Toronto after the Second World War; Edmonton was the centre of the third large urban movement (Driedger, 1980).

According to the 2001 census data released by Statistics Canada, the trend toward urbanization is continuing in Saskatchewan, at least in Saskatoon where the population grew by 3.1 per cent as more and more people moved in from rural areas (Calgary Sun, March 13, 2003). Migration to Alberta from Saskatchewan and other provinces also continues to be strong. According to Stats Canada, Saskatchewan’s population declined 1.1 percent between 1996 and 2001 while Alberta’s rose by 10.3 percent. Among the young adults contacted for participation in my study, 9 per cent had already moved to Alberta 1 to 2 years post-graduation. Although all of my focus group participants were living in Saskatchewan at the time of my study, three years later, 5 out of these 22 young adults had moved to Alberta.

Despite the trend toward increased urbanization, the Ukrainian population, especially in Saskatchewan, continues to have a stronger rural farm presence than the general Canadian population. Even for those Ukrainians who now live in an urban centre,

the rural pioneer experience continues to be a part of their daily lives, as Skrypnyk (1993) pointed out to an audience in Toronto:

Most people living in Saskatoon or Regina can get into their cars and in ninety minutes or so be at what is called “the home place”; this is where their great-grandparents homesteaded, built their houses, and lived. These buildings, physical artifacts, to a large part still exist. Beside these buildings, there might be a modern farm bungalow where your Uncle or your Baba still lives. On the way you pass a graveyard where generations of your family are buried. There are the churches that you still go to for special events. People go out to country halls - even if everyone lives in the city, these country halls are still used for weddings; you are still buried in your traditional plot; the funeral service may be in Saskatoon or Regina, but then everyone drives for three hours to the burial near the ancestors. These things are lacking in a place like Toronto. You do not have the same connection with the land and with a specific time, the one hundred years of our settlement. (p. 61)

The fact that Saskatchewan continues to have a large rural population of Ukrainians may mean that Ukrainians in this province lag behind the general population of Ukrainians in terms of the socio-economic trends associated with urbanization (i.e., educational attainment, occupational status, income levels). At the same time, there is some evidence to suggest that having a large rural population has helped Ukrainians in Saskatchewan to maintain their ethnic and religious identity. Driedger (1980) presented data collected in 1969-71 by Anderson (1972) on ethnic identity characteristics among seven ethnic bloc settlements in north-central Saskatchewan. Anderson sampled one bloc settlement of Ukrainian Catholics and another of Ukrainian Orthodox. Ukrainian-language knowledge was very high (99 percent of Ukrainian Catholics and 100 percent of Ukrainian Orthodox respondents reported knowledge of Ukrainian) although the percentage of Ukrainians who spoke their mother tongue was somewhat lower (67 percent of Catholics and 63 percent of Orthodox). Compared to the national rural average, knowledge and use of Ukrainian was much higher in this rural bloc settlement.

Regular Church attendance was high especially among Ukrainian Catholics (82 per cent compared to 70 per cent for Ukrainian Orthodox). The vast majority of Ukrainian Catholics (90 per cent) and Orthodox (89 per cent) were married to someone of Ukrainian ethnicity, although considerably smaller percentages of the samples were actually opposed to religious exogamy (70 per cent of the Catholics, 43 per cent of the

Orthodox) and ethnic exogamy (70 per cent of the Catholics, 41 percent of the Orthodox). Finally, a large majority of both the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox adherents favoured identity preservation (82 per cent and 80 per cent respectively). Taken together, these results suggest that at least in 1971 religious and ethnic identity were still very high among Ukrainians residing in the area of Saskatchewan north of Saskatoon.

Data from the 1991 Canada census provide further support for the link between religion and ethnic identity preservation. Higher percentages of Ukrainian Catholics, Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Orthodox were found among Ukrainians of single ancestry (23.5%, 6.9%, and 10.6%, respectively) than among Ukrainians of multiple ancestry (4.1%, 0.8%, and 1.6%, respectively). The reverse was true for Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations. There were higher percentages of multiple-origin Ukrainians claiming affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church than of single-origin Ukrainians (30.9% vs 20.5%). The trend was similar for the United Church (16.7% vs 11.2%), the Anglican Church (6.8% vs 3.2%), the Luthern Church (3.9% vs 1.5%) and people with no religious affiliation (21.2% vs 12.9%) (Kordan, 2000, Table 4.4). This suggests that claiming single-origin Ukrainian ancestry is associated with membership in the Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Orthodox Churches.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church appears to have been more successful than the Ukrainian Catholic Church in sustaining the identity of Ukrainians. Both Churches have seen a decline in the number of adherents (since 1971 for the Catholics and since 1961 for the Orthodox). However, the percentage of single-origin Ukrainians who identified themselves as Ukrainian Catholics dropped by more than half from 58% in 1931 to 22.5% in 1991. By contrast, the percentage of single-origin Ukrainians who were affiliated with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church dropped by less than 5% from 24.6% in 1931 to 19.5% in 1991. In terms of the total number of persons identifying themselves as Ukrainian (single ancestry) the numbers have almost doubled between 1931 and 1991 (225,113 to 410,410), yet the number of Ukrainian Catholics has declined by 29% over the same period while the number of Ukrainian Orthodox have increased by almost 50% of the 1931 figure (O. Wolowyna, 2001). Looking at the data for Saskatchewan, in 1991

83% of Eastern Orthodox were single-origin Ukrainians versus 77% of Ukrainian Catholics (Kordan, 2000, Table 4.2).

When Ukrainians are compared to the general Canadian population, Ukrainians have continued to lag behind the general Canadian trends concerning the occupational status of women. The effect of gender on occupational status has been more pronounced for Ukrainian Canadian women than for Canadian women in general. Ukrainian Canadian women, like all Canadian women, have been over-represented in low paid jobs compared to men. However, M. K. Petryshyn (1980) demonstrated that even in comparison to Canadian females of all origins, Ukrainian Canadian women were over-represented in the entrance status occupations of agriculture and service by 43 per cent in 1921, and 31 per cent in 1941. After the Second World War, Ukrainian Canadian women moved into the clerical, hospital and education sectors of the economy along with other Canadian women but at a slower rate. By 1971, they were still over-represented in entrance status occupations by 8 per cent. Furthermore, M. K. Petryshyn (1980) noted that although the occupational profile of Ukrainian Canadian women in the workforce more closely approximated the profile of all Canadian women by 1971, they were not yet doctors, lawyers or school principals, let alone leaders in the corporate sector.

More recent census data showed that while the occupation structure of the Ukrainian female group in 1981 followed that of the national female population in its overall direction, there were still some discrepancies. Comparative analysis (Kordan, 1988) showed that Ukrainian females were over-represented in the clerical, sales, service and agricultural occupations (+1.2%, +1.0%; +1.1%, and +1.6%, respectively), and under-represented in processing and in the medicine and health sector (-0.8%, and -0.8%, respectively).

Within the Ukrainian community itself women have been excluded in the past from decision-making structures:

Although women have generally formed the backbone of Ukrainian Canadian organizations, they too have usually been excluded from decision-making structures in the community. One of the main reasons for this has been the formation of traditional Ukrainian organizations on the basis of men's, women's and youth divisions. While men's and women's divisions are theoretically separate but equal, the men's divisions have traditionally assumed the leadership roles, with the women's divisions performing only auxiliary functions. A second

reason for female exclusion has been the very limited impact the women's movement in mainstream society has had on our organizations and their members. (Ukrainian Community Development Committee - Prairie Region, 1986)

Not all changes undergone by Ukrainians in Canada have involved a linear process of assimilation. At least for a time, this group actually experienced a strengthening of ethnic consciousness. At the time of their arrival in Canada, Ukraine did not exist as an independent country. Its territories were divided amongst various neighbouring countries. In Canadian immigration records ethnic Ukrainians appeared variously as Galicians, Bukovynians, Austrians, Poles, Ruthenians, and Russians. As Kordan and Luciuk (1986) noted, these individuals' collective experiences in Canada with the dominant and assimilationist Anglo-Celtic population helped to crystallize their group consciousness:

Within a span of one generation, these immigrants began to acquire a collective sense of identity which led to a rediscovery of a more formal historical past and a closer association with the larger Ukrainian nation in Europe. It was a logical step in the formative process of ethnic identification because, as these settlers and labourers themselves came to appreciate, their shared social experience as an oppressed people in eastern Europe was simply a reflection of their status in Canada. (p. 1)

Canada's nation building policy, which regarded the Ukrainian peasant as suitable immigrant material to aid in the development of the Canadian hinterland, but relegated him to a socio-economic status below that of Anglo-Canadians, set the stage for the early social and political life of Ukrainians in Canada and contributed to the rise of Ukrainian ethnic and national identity (Kordan & Luciuk, 1986). In a desire to change their status in Canada, many Ukrainians began to develop a consciousness of their collective ethnic and national identity (Satzewich, 2000), and actively promoted the cultural, educational, and economic welfare of the Ukrainian community (Kordan & Luciuk, 1986). A number of historical events helped to shape Ukrainian nationalist sentiments in Canada including: the unsuccessful attempts to establish an independent Ukrainian national state between 1917 and 1921; the internment of nearly 6,000 ethnic Ukrainians between the years 1914-1920 who were viewed as "people of divided loyalties" and "enemy aliens," because they had emigrated from Austria; the immigration to Canada of nearly 58,000 nationally

conscious Ukrainians during the years 1925-1930 (see Kordan & Luciuk, 1986; Luciuk, 2001).

Although the desire for an independent Ukraine continued to be an important issue for nationally conscious Ukrainians in Canada right up until Ukraine achieved its independence in 1991, Galadza (1993) suggested that for younger Ukrainian Canadians the basic existential questions had shifted: “For most Ukrainian Canadians the existential questions are not ‘Why is Ukraine not free?’ (*Chomu nema Ukrainy?*) but ‘Why is my marriage failing?’ or ‘Why is my son an alcoholic?’ or ‘Why am I depressed?’”(p. 57).

Ukrainians’ ethnic consciousness has also been affected by evolving concepts of what it means to be Canadian. Swyripa (1978) noted that during the preceding 70 years, evolving concepts of Canadian identity and nationhood were reflected in English-language literature on Ukrainians in Canada. Studies of Ukrainian Canadians assessed this ethnic group initially in terms of Anglo-conformity and assimilation. Subsequent studies progressed in their views of what it means to be Canadian from the melting pot and mosaic analogies to an understanding of the term Canadian that focussed on multiculturalism in a bilingual framework. With the “almost complete assimilation” of Ukrainians’ cultural distinctiveness, Swyripa observed that research into the economic, political, and social development of Ukrainian Canadians had become less and less relevant. Instead, Swyripa predicted that research into organized community life would grow in importance as the task of promoting and preserving the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada falls to an ever-shrinking minority (p. 119). My exploration of sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults is an example of this type of research.

6.2.4 Effects of Ethnicity on Sense of Community

I believe the sense of community experienced by young adults in my study was unique in a number of ways because of the fact that they were members of the Ukrainian Canadian population in Saskatchewan in 1999 (see Table 6.2). First, ethnic identity appeared to be an important aspect of their sense of community. Those young adults who

Table 6.2. Aspects of sense of community emphasized because the population under study was an ethnic group, a group of emerging adults, and a religious group

Aspect	Ethnic Group	Emerging Adult Group	Religious Group
Belonging		T	
Familiarity	T (rural)		
Trust/Support			
Participation			
Attendance			T
Service to the community			
Events	T		T
Customs	T		T
Emotional participation			T
Spiritual participation			T
Similarity			
Shared beliefs, values, interests		T	T
Symbols	T		T
Goals			
Choice		T	T
Understanding			T
Heritage			
Upbringing	T		
Ethnic & religious identity	T	T	T
Tradition	T		T
Connection to Ukrainians	T		
Family	T	T	

were knowledgeable about the history of Ukrainians and had developed a strong sense of their ethnic identity seemed to have a stronger sense of community with the Ukrainian community³⁹. This is similar to Obst et al.'s (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) findings that conscious identification with a community (i.e., knowledge and awareness of group membership) was an important dimension of sense of community.

Second, cultural customs, events and symbols figured largely in my study participants' sense of community in a number of ways. Participation in Ukrainian events and customs increased their sense of community. Identification with Ukrainian symbols, signs and symbolic gestures increased the similarity they felt with other Ukrainians.

Third, although my participants believed that a person who was not of Ukrainian descent could be a member of the community by virtue of their participation or their self-identification, membership in the community was generally restricted to persons of Ukrainian descent. On the one hand, this led to a strong sense of community with other Ukrainians. On the other hand, it also limited the number of people who could be members of the community and made it difficult for the Ukrainian Catholic community to expand its membership.

Fourth, because they were discussing sense of community with their own ethnic group, the young adults in my study emphasized the familial nature of their connections to the Ukrainian Catholic community. They felt a connection to the community through family members both past and present. Their upbringing was shaped by experiences with the community.

Fifth, because of the historically close ties between Ukrainians and membership in the Catholic or Orthodox Churches, the issue of having a choice in religions arose in group 5. As described previously, B5 was of the opinion that: "if culture were separate the culture could be strong and they could have a religion that would be strong. As opposed to having a culture and a religion that just came along with it but nobody really cares because they didn't have a choice - that was just their one choice" (B5: 1579-1587).

39 The focus group participants may have been more likely than the general population of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan to value their ethnic identity and to feel a strong connection to the Ukrainian community because a higher percentage of the focus group participants reported that both their parents were Ukrainian.

However, O. Wolowyna (1989) concluded that "linguistic and religious assimilation go hand-in-hand. Chances are very slim that a person who speaks Ukrainian belongs to a Protestant denomination or is Roman Catholic and, vice-versa, if a person belongs to any of these denominations odds are small that the person speaks Ukrainian on a regular basis" (p. 180). Other studies (e.g. Kalbach & Kalbach, 1997; Kalbach & Richard, 1980) have also concluded that culture has not been well preserved among those Ukrainians who joined Roman Catholic or other religious groups. Therefore, if a person wants to retain their Ukrainian heritage, it is best for them to maintain their ties with either the Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox Church communities.

Sixth, the historical challenges faced by Ukrainian women, including their exclusion from decision-making structures within the community, has had an effect on some young women's sense of community. Some of these young women excluded from altar serving and not having the opportunity to develop personal relationships with priests felt "left out," "isolated," and "not as accepted or valued."

Finally, because of the high proportion of Ukrainians who live in rural areas of Saskatchewan, one-third of my focus group participants had grown up in rural communities, many of which were populated predominantly by Ukrainians. These rural young adults emphasized familiarity and feeling comfortable in their descriptions of sense of community. There was a general consensus across the groups that both the Ukrainian Catholic Church in general and the smaller rural parishes in particular were more close-knit and welcoming. These findings are consistent with those of Prezza and Constantini (1998) who found that sense of community and life satisfaction were higher in a smaller town than in the larger cities. One further finding that related to the experiences of young adults from rural parish communities was that because of the closeness they had experienced in these communities, some of the young adults who had moved to an urban centre to find work or pursue further schooling found the larger urban parishes intimidating. Intimidation was a strong challenge to their sense of community.

6.3 Sense of Community in Emerging Adulthood

The second important characteristic of the community under study is that my participants were young adults in the developmental stage known as emerging adulthood. In this section I will review the characteristics of emerging adulthood and describe the

changes in cognition, identity formation (including religious identity and ethnic identity) and relationships with parents and friends that accompany the transition from late adolescence to emerging adulthood. Then I will speculate on the ways in which this developmental context may have impacted on their experiences and descriptions of sense of community.

6.3.1 Characteristics of Emerging Adulthood

Arnett (2004) has described the characteristics of the developmental stage he labelled *emerging adulthood*. This stage (roughly ages 18-25) represents a transitional period between late adolescence (ages 15-18) and adulthood, and according to Arnett it is defined by five characteristics. First, emerging adulthood is the age of *identity exploration*, in which young people develop a more definite identity or understanding of who they are, as they explore various possibilities in work and love. Second, it is also a time of *instability*, in which emerging adults may make many changes in their lives related to school, work, place of residence and romantic partners. Third, during this time, emerging adults are typically *self-focussed* as they develop the knowledge, skills and self-understanding they will need for adult life. Fourth, emerging adolescence is a time of *feeling in-between* - no longer an adolescent but not yet fully an adult. Fifth, it is an age of *possibilities* where the future has yet to be determined. Emerging adults typically have left their family of origin but are not yet committed to a new network of relationships and obligations and the future holds many different possibilities. It is typically a time of high hopes and great expectations (p. 14-15).

Emerging adulthood does not exist in all cultures. It is found only in cultures in which young people postpone entering adult roles such as marriage and parenthood until at least their midtwenties. Industrialized countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and most of Europe allow their young people this period of freedom to explore relationship and career possibilities. Even within these countries, emerging adulthood is a relatively recent phenomenon historically as higher percentages of young people are attending universities and colleges and the average age of marriage has risen sharply over the past 40 years (Arnett, 2004, p. 16).

In contrast to cultures that value *collectivism* and promote the development of the *interdependent self*, the cultures of highly industrialized countries such as the United

States and Canada place a high value on *individualism* and the *independent self*. This emphasis on individualism is reflected in the tasks identified by young people in their mid-teens to late twenties as the most important indicators of the transition from adolescence to adulthood: accepting responsibility for oneself, making independent decisions, and becoming financially independent (Arnett, 2004, p. 103).

The transition from adolescence into emerging adulthood is typically accompanied by ongoing development in a person's cognitive abilities, continuing identity formation, and changes in relationships with parents and friends. With the development of *formal operational* thinking in adolescence, a person becomes capable of thinking that is more abstract and more complex. Adolescents typically also develop the capacity for metacognition where they are able to think about thinking, both their own and others. However, it is in emerging adolescence that *postformal* thinking develops. Postformal thinking involves the recognition that formal logic can rarely be applied to the problems most people face in their everyday lives.

Two of the most notable aspects of postformal thinking in emerging adulthood concern advances in pragmatism and reflective judgement. With the development of *pragmatism* in the early twenties, an individual becomes more aware of how social factors and factors specific to a given situation must be taken into account in approaching most of life's problems. With the development of *reflective judgement*, a person comes to recognize that problems often have no clear solution and that two opposing strategies or points of view may each have some merit (Arnett, 2004, p. 71).

There are several stages involved in the development of reflective judgement. Whereas adolescents tend to engage in *dualistic thinking*, viewing a situation as either right or wrong, people in their late teens begin to develop *multiple thinking* which begins with an awareness that there are two or more sides to every story. By the early twenties, multiple thinking develops into *relativism*, where a person attempts to compare the relative merits of competing views. Finally, by the end of their college years, many young people reach a stage of *commitment* in which they commit themselves to the points of view that they believe to be the most valid, while being open to reevaluation of their views if they come across new evidence. The development of reflective judgement is

more likely to take place in cultures that value pluralism and promote through education the consideration of diverse points of view (Arnett, 2004, p. 72-74).

With the development of the capacity for more abstract, more complex thinking, adolescents become able to think about themselves in a way that younger children cannot. They develop an ability to ask abstract questions about themselves and this enhanced cognitive capacity for self-reflection is reflected in changes in their self-conceptions, self-esteem, emotional understanding and identities. Of course, self-reflection is promoted to a greater extent in cultures that value an independent, individualistic self (Arnett, 2004, p, 164).

Issues of identity (i.e., thinking about who you are, where your life is going, what you believe in and how your life fits into the world around you) are one of the most distinctive features of adolescence and continue to be important in emerging adulthood. In fact, research on identity formation has found that the stage of *identity achievement*, in which young people make enduring personal, occupational, and ideological choices, is more likely to be reached (if at all) in emerging adulthood than in adolescence. Many emerging adults use the years of their late teens and early twenties for explorations in love, work, and ideology (Arnett, 2004, p. 180-181).

Accompanying the emphasis on individualism and independence in Western industrialized countries, is a cultural expectation that young people will begin to think for themselves, decide on their own beliefs and make their life choices independently. This extends to religious beliefs and may explain why both religious participation and religious beliefs decline throughout the teens and are lower in the late teens and early twenties than at any other period of the life span (Arnett, 2004, p. 116)⁴⁰. Arnett and Jensen (2002) conducted qualitative interviews with emerging adults between the ages of 21 and 28 in a medium-sized city in the mid-western United States. They found that these emerging adults placed a “high value on thinking for themselves with regard to religious questions and on forming a unique set of religious beliefs rather than accepting a ready-

40 Other reasons noted by Arnett and Jensen (2002) for a decline in religious participation among people in emerging adulthood included leaving home after highschool to pursue work or schooling, becoming busy with other activities, doubting previously held beliefs, losing interest in being involved in a religious institution and lessening of parental encouragement or coercion to attend Church.

made dogma” (p. 459). Consequently, their religious beliefs were highly individualized and there was little relationship between childhood religious socialization and religious attendance and beliefs in emerging adulthood. In fact, these emerging adults were often sceptical of religious institutions.

The emphasis on individualism and independence in Western industrialized countries also has an effect on adolescents’ and emerging adults’ relationships with their parents and friends. In the West, regulating the pace of adolescents’ autonomy is often a source of parent-adolescent conflict. Especially in early adolescence, when adolescents are first pressing for a new degree of autonomy, parents and adolescents often disagree about who should have the authority over issues such as dress and hair styles, choice of friends, and the desired level of order in the adolescent’s bedroom. Adolescents tend to view these issues as matters of personal choice, whereas parents typically want to maintain at least some degree of control over these decisions (Arnett, 2004, p. 214).

While adolescents may experience more conflict in their relationships with their parents, they also experience changes in their friendships. The influence of friends (both positive and negative influence) tends to rise in strength in early adolescence, peak in the midteens and then decline in late adolescence. One of the key reasons why people become friends, for adolescents as well as children and adults, is similarity. Adolescent friends tend to be similar in their educational orientations (including attitudes toward school, levels of educational achievement and educational plans), their media and leisure preferences, their participation in risk behaviour and their ethnicity (Arnett, 2004, p. 243).

In Western majority cultures, most young people move out of their parents’ home sometime during emerging adulthood in order to attend university or college, to cohabit with a partner or simply to have more independence. Once they leave home, relationships between parents and emerging adults typically improve. Emerging adults who move away from home report greater closeness and fewer negative feelings towards their parents (Arnett, 2004, p. 216). Another reason why relationships between emerging adults and their parents improve concerns the growing ability of emerging adults to understand their parents. Whereas adolescents are relatively egocentric and often have difficulty taking their parents’ perspectives, emerging adults growing capacity for

perspective-taking allows them to understand better how their parents view things. They also come to see their parents in a more complex manner, as people who have a mixture of positive and negative qualities (Arnett, 2004, p, 217).

6.3.2 Effects of Emerging Adulthood on Sense of Community

There are a number of ways in which my participants' developmental stage may have impacted on the sense of community they described. The first way in which my results were impacted by the fact that my participants were emerging adults concerns the theme of identity exploration. A number of participants in my study seemed to have a well-developed sense of ethnic identity which strengthened their sense of community with the Ukrainian community. They spoke about being proud to be Ukrainian and of feeling a connection to other Ukrainians, including their ancestors. Participation in cultural community events and traditions contributed to both their sense of ethnic identity and their sense of community by providing opportunities to interact with other community members and by distinguishing them from the mainstream culture. Those few young adults who had made active efforts to learn more about their ethnic group (e.g., learning the history of Ukrainians in Canada, researching the establishment of a local parish, taking university-level Ukrainian language courses), seemed to have developed a stronger Ukrainian identity through the process of exploration.

Even small amounts of cultural knowledge (e.g., knowing a few words or some songs in Ukrainian, vague recollections of Ukrainian traditions) contributed to participants' sense of community. Although many of the young adults in my study did not speak Ukrainian and may not have had good knowledge of their ethnic group history, their Ukrainian heritage continued to be an important part of their self-identity that contributed to their sense of community. This is in keeping with Phinney's (2003) observation that individuals' feelings of belonging and identification with their ethnic group may not be lost as quickly as language proficiency, cultural practices, and cultural knowledge.

A number of my study participants did not seem to have developed a strong Ukrainian identity. Typically these young adults had one parent who was not ethnically Ukrainian and seemed to have less contact with the Ukrainian community. Some of them had attended a Roman Catholic school or Church and seemed to identify more with the

Catholic community in general rather than the Ukrainian Catholic community in particular. The sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community reported by these individuals was still strong when they reported that faith and spirituality were important to them.

Discrimination, which Phinney (2003) noted may strengthen or promote ethnic identity development, did not seem to be a part of my participants' experiences. Only one young woman noted an instance of discrimination toward Ukrainians. Other young adults commented that they did not feel they were looked at strangely by Roman Catholics. Because my study participants had not experienced the type of discrimination⁴¹ Ukrainians were once subjected to, they likely had less of an impetus to enter into an exploration of their ethnic identity. This may have led to a weakening of their sense of community.

A second issue related to identity exploration concerns the development of religious identity. A number of the young people in my study described some type of active exploration of their faith including exploring other religions, figuring out what they believed, and learning more about the teachings of the Catholic Church. Sometimes this exploration led to a strengthening of their faith and their sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. Sometimes this exploration led them to conclude that they could not share some or all of the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and led to a weakening of their sense of community.

Consistent with the values of a culture that promotes individualism and independent thought, many of the young adults in my study voiced the expectation that they should be able to decide for themselves what they believe and have the choice of whether or not to attend Church. Those who felt that they had freely chosen to continue to attend Church reported a strengthening of their sense of community.

Instability and a tendency to change their place of residence or their work or school was a characteristic of emerging adulthood that applied to my sample. To begin with, a large number of young adults in my study had left home to pursue further

41 Specific to the population under study, a number of books (e.g., Isajiw, Boshyk, & Senkus, 1992; Kordan & Luciuk, 1986; Luciuk, 2000) and articles (e.g., Kirtz, 1996) have documented the struggles and discrimination Ukrainian immigrants encountered as they sought to make Canada their home.

schooling or work. This was especially true of those emerging adults who had grown up in rural areas. As we saw, the change in residence contributed to a decline in Church attendance as a substantial number of young adults did not go on to connect with a Ukrainian Catholic parish in their new place of residence.

Emerging adulthood is also a time when young people are more focussed on themselves than on the group. At this time there is a greater concern for “me” rather than “we” as emerging adults seek to establish themselves in a career or get an education. This was reflected in the relatively high priority my study participants gave to school, work or other activities (which sometimes kept them away from Church) and the relatively low priority these emerging adults gave to serving the needs of the community. Although a number of participants continued to actively serve the community and reported a feeling of wanting to keep the community going, many did not and only one young man mentioned a feeling of obligation to serve the community.

Emerging adulthood is also characterised by feeling in-between adolescence and adulthood. Again, this was reflected in the relatively low participation rates in religious and cultural community activities/events. The participants in my study were no longer active in youth group or altar boys, but they had not joined any of the adult service or parish organizations (e.g. Ukrainian Catholic Women’s League, Knights of Columbus, parish council). One young adult noted that there was “not much out there” for people their age.

A number of other ways in which the data in my study may have been impacted by the age of my participants deserve mention: 1) These young adults emphasized the importance of belonging and similarities in their sense of community. The need to belong may be especially salient as adolescents negotiate issues of identity. Similarities may also be more important to this age group than differences. 2) Young adults disillusionment with the hypocrisy they saw in other community members may also be related to their developmental stage. Idealism tends to be high in adolescence and adulthood. 3) The importance of family to my participants’ experiences of sense of community may be related to their developmental stage. Having just exited adolescence, they may have been more likely to emphasize the familial nature of their connections to their ethnic community. Many of the young adults who were not actively participating in the life and

events of the Church community still felt a sense of belonging and connection to the community because of their family members' connections and their identification with a shared history or heritage.

6.4 Sense of Community in a Religious Group

The third important characteristic of the community under study was that its members were part of a Church community with a rich theological heritage. Eastern Christian theology and anthropology views persons and communities differently than Western psychological theories (Kozak, 1997). Because Ukrainian Catholics are Eastern Christians I believe it is important to be familiar with the way persons, community, and the process of building community are viewed by Eastern Christian theology and anthropology. I turn to this task in the next sections.

6.4.1 Eastern Christian Theological and Anthropological Understandings

Eastern Christianity uses the Holy Trinity to inform its understanding of persons, and as a model for community. According to this perspective, God has revealed Himself to us as a community of persons - as a creating Father, as a saving Son, as a sanctifying Holy Spirit - and at the same time, as one reality. As a Trinity of divine persons in which God the Father begets the Son and generates the Holy Spirit, God is substantially relational - His being is identical with an act of communion freely willed by the Father (Yannaras, 1984; Zizioulas, 1985, p. 44). As a community of divine persons, God is thus inherently dynamic, a communion of ecstatic love in which His diversity does not contradict His unity.

6.4.1.1 Eastern Christian Understandings of Persons. Eastern Christian conceptualizations of persons are wholistic, relational, and hopeful. They are wholistic in that they emphasize the essential unity of body, soul, and spirit and they find unity in diversity. They are relational in that communion with God, with other persons, and with the rest of the cosmos is seen as the foundation of our existence - individualism is considered foreign to our nature. They are hopeful in that human beings are viewed as being fundamentally good and as having great purpose.

There are several points to be made here. The first is that we are indebted to Greek Patristic reflection on the doctrine of the person in the Trinity for our concept of the human person as free, undetermined, unique, unrepeatable, and ontologically real and

valid. The second point is that human beings, created in God's image, share some of the characteristics of God: they are basically good, endowed with freewill, unique and unknowable. The third is that after the fall from Grace, human beings are still seen as fundamentally good and as having a divine purpose - that of striving to attain the likeness of God. Eastern Christianity views original sin as distortion, fragmentation and individualism, rather than guilt. Although our present state is a fallen one, we are called to strive for more than this.

6.4.1.2 Eastern Christian Understandings of Community - Persons in Relation. Eastern Christian understandings of community are based on a theological understanding of the Trinity. Persons are not viewed in isolation, but as persons-in-relation. Communion, or relationship, is an ontological concept, the foundation of our very being. Since God exists as a community of persons, Zizioulas (1985) affirmed that "there is no true being without communion; nothing exists as an individual, conceivable in itself" (p. 18). Thus, humans find their true being in relation to God and to others. On the basis of a trinitarian ontology of persons, Speidell (1994, following the thought of Gunton, 1991) distinguished between the concepts of person and individual. A *person* is *in relation to* other persons, whereas an *individual* is *separate from* other individuals (p. 285). Persons are not individual substances that enter into personal relations but are "made what they are" by personal relations. Individualism⁴², therefore, represents a lack of communion and a departure from what we are meant to be.

Secondly, for the Eastern Christian, unity is to be found in diversity. Even the Absolute exists, not in uniform singularity, but in Trinitarian dynamic diversity, or as St. Gregory Palamas (1296-1359 A.D.) stated "God is indivisibly divided and united divisibly" (Sinkewicz, 1988, ch. 81, p. 179). Thus, Eastern Christianity would be equally opposed to integration models which emphasize conformity and ignore diversity, and to separationist models which overemphasize differences and divisions at the expense of

42 The term individualism may be distinguished from individuality. Whereas individualism implies separation from others, individuality may refer either to a person's separate existence or to the total character peculiar to and distinguishing an one person from all others. It is this second meaning which comes closer to the Eastern Christian notion of the person as a unique, unrepeatable entity.

relation (Speidell, 1994). Eastern Christian models of community thus allow for heterogeneity.

Thirdly, the communities we live in are affected by our fallen state. Sin is a matter of “missing the mark” and all our relationships - with God, with each other, and with the world around us - are affected by division and separation.

6.4.1.3 Eastern Christian Understandings of the Process of Building

Community. Eastern Christian understandings of the process of building community are based on the belief that through His Incarnation, Jesus restores our broken relationships. For the Eastern Christian, the fundamental problem of our existence is our lack of relatedness and communion with God, with each other, with nature and with ourselves. Therefore therapy and community interventions should focus on the healing of broken relationships - the goal should be to heal divisions, to re-establish relationships, to restore wholeness, and therefore, to grow into the fullness of our humanity. Healing takes place in a social context and the Church community is seen as the true environment in which this occurs.

6.4.1.4 Eastern Christianity and Macmurray’s Philosophy of the Personal.

John Macmurray, a 20th century Scottish philosopher held views about the human person similar to the Eastern Christian views presented above. He believed that selves are persons in relation:

the Self exists only in dynamic relation with the Other. This assertion provides the starting point of our present argument. The thesis we have to expound and to sustain is that the Self is constituted by its relation to the Other; that is it has its being in its relationship; and that this relationship is necessarily personal.
(Macmurray 1961, p. 17)

Macmurray posited that the person is hierarchically and emergently organized at the mechanistic, organic and personal levels (see Dokecki, 1992, p. 30). At the *mechanistic* level, human beings are part of the material world and can be known in a determined, mechanistic fashion through categories such as cause-and-effect and mechanical action - that is, through physical science methods. At the *organic* level, human beings are part of the living world and can be known through systems categories such as differentiation and integration, continual change and becoming and teleological goal directedness - that is, through biological science methods. At the personal level, human beings are part of the

interpersonal social world and can be known through categories such as consciousness, freedom, and intentionality - that is, through philosophical and religious enquiry. Dokecki (1992) added that developments in the human sciences make these methods also valid at this third level.

Similarly, Macmurray (1961) believed communities to be organized at the mechanical, organic and personal levels. At the level of mechanistic society, impersonal social relations prevail. Individuals seek their own private interests and cooperation is achieved through technical reasoning, law and contracts. Kirkpatrick (1986) labelled this the *atomistic/contractarian* model - its guiding metaphor is that of independent atoms rationally contracting with each other for the terms of their enforced relationship.

At the level of the organic society, impersonal social relations and individual self-interests still prevail, but the social system is maintained through dialectical reasoning entailing the development of the whole through the contrast of opposites and operates according to a morality of good form to achieve orderly functional relationships between all members. Kirkpatrick (1986) called this the *organic/functional* model because its guiding metaphor is that of organs, interdependent and functionally related to each other within a larger organism.

In contrast to the first two levels, only the level of the personal community is based on personal relationships where the interests of the other are sought. It attempts to create and maintain community and friendship through practical reasoning and operates according to a morality of love and friendship to achieve the community of persons in relation. Kirkpatrick (1986) called this the *mutual/personal* model because it understands community as a mutuality in which distinct persons find fulfilment in and through living for each other in loving fellowship.

In fact, Macmurray's philosophy, compatible with Eastern Christianity, allows for all types of communities but arranges the different types hierarchically with mechanistic society beneath organic society which is in turn beneath personal community. His hierarchy of models of society/community suggests a developmental progression from one model to the next, although the three types can and do coexist. Both Eastern Christianity and Macmurray go beyond atomistic/contractarian models of human relationships to an understanding of human beings as persons in mutually interdependent

relationships. By contrast, McMillan and Chavis' (1986) model of sense of community takes more of an atomistic/contractarian view of persons and communities.

6.4.2 Effects of Religion on Sense of Community

The Eastern Christian theological and anthropological understandings of persons and community presented in the previous section represent ideals for what communities are meant to be. In this case an ideal is viewed not as a standard impossible to live up to but as a goal or end for which to strive. Ideally, each member of the community feels accepted and loved and accepts and loves others in return. Differences between individuals are not cause for divisions. Participation in the life of the community is wholistic involving a person's body (e.g., attendance, service to the community), mind (emotional participation) and spirit (spiritual participation).

The community experienced by my study participants in some ways fell short of what their religion holds up to them as the ideal community. From an Eastern Christian perspective, the hypocrisy and divisions noted by the young adults in my study would be an example of how an individual's sins affect others. Sin affects sense of community because it damages relationships. Sense of community is stronger when divisions in our relationships with God and with other community members are healed. Healing occurs through participation in the sacraments of the Church (e.g., Reconciliation, Communion).

Sense of community seems to have distinctive characteristics in a community built around religious beliefs compared to communities that arise in the neighbourhood or workplace. First, participation through weekly attendance at Divine Liturgy and other religious services and events (e.g., retreats, pilgrimages) and through involvement in religious customs was highlighted as an important aspect of sense of community. Participation allows for the development of relationships among community members and the chance to develop, re-affirm and celebrate one's beliefs. As a community, participation in religious and liturgical customs and rituals is important to the development of a shared emotional connection (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) and a deeply significant spiritual heritage. Less-than-full participation (e.g., when young adults do not attend Church services on a regular basis) affects the entire community and the sense of community experienced by other members.

A second way in which my participants may have viewed sense of community differently because they were discussing their experiences with a Church community was the emphasis they placed on shared values and beliefs and a common symbol system. It seems obvious that holding similar beliefs would be important to feeling a sense of community with a Church community. Those young adults who did not share the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church did not consider themselves to be Ukrainian Catholic and therefore did not feel a sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. Even those who questioned (as opposed to rejected) some of the teachings or “rules” of the Catholic Church seemed to experience challenges to their sense of community. Identifying with common religious symbols also helped to create a sense of community.

A third way that the results may have been affected by studying sense of community in a religious community is the emphasis that a couple of young adults placed on the desire to choose their own religion after having explored their own beliefs. Choice is assumed for most intentional communities and perhaps not as applicable for ethnic communities in the sense that one cannot choose the ethnicity one is born into⁴³. On this issue, the young adults in my study may not be very different from the average Canadian for whom attendance at Church has become optional and who approach religious beliefs with a consumerist, à la carte mentality (Bibby, 1987, 1990).

A fourth issue raised by my participants was the importance of understanding teachings, beliefs and practices. Those who had some understanding of the reasons behind the Catholic Church’s teaching and the liturgical practices of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, seemed to demonstrate a higher level of religious commitment and in some cases, a stronger sense of community. Those who did not understand the teachings, beliefs and practices seemed to experience a lower sense of community. The importance of understanding a community’s beliefs is likely peculiar to religious groups. To my knowledge, the issue of understanding has not been raised before when studying sense of community with geographical communities, work communities or communities of interest, where beliefs do not play a central role. Perhaps understanding is most similar to

43 Of course, one can choose whether or not to identify oneself as Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Canadian or simply Canadian and one can choose whether or not to participate in the social and cultural life of an ethnic community.

the notion of conscious identification with a community, which refers to knowledge and awareness of one's group membership (Obst et al., 2002a, 2002b, 2002c).

6.5 Sense of Community Where Membership is Declining

A fourth characteristic of the population under study was that it was a community whose membership is declining. When a group is shrinking in size, sense of community may be threatened and individual members may be faced with the dilemma of whether they should continue to be members of that group. That seemed to be the case for some individuals who spoke about the difficulty in organizing youth events because of the small numbers of youth in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

A number of young adults in my study voiced concerns about the future of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In fact, when asked whether the Ukrainian Catholic Church was worth saving, the group that claimed to have little, if any, sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community did not answer "no." In fact two of the most vocal critics thought it was worth saving. One young woman said:

I think it is. It does mean a lot to a lot of people. It's been around for a long time and there still [are] a lot of people that are Ukrainian Catholic but I just think that something... does have to be done to keep people interested in it. Because as time goes on, like us for example, we're not sharing in the same thing that maybe our parents share and... somehow we have to get that feeling that our parents have about it. Maybe it has to be, I don't want to say changed really, but our involvement has to change. Maybe we have to change. (B5: 3363-3382)

Another young adult wanted to see the Ukrainian Catholic Church survive because of the intimate connections it has had with Ukrainian culture:

I would like to see the Ukrainian Catholic Church survive simply because it's a very integral part of being Ukrainian. And this is where the six of us [in the focus group] I suppose share a very intrinsic bond. Because we are all Ukrainian and we're proud of it and at the same time, if we're Ukrainian we should have, Ukrainians have always had some religious background and it's just that people aren't keeping their religion. It's slowly slipping away. But you know, I'm proud of being Ukrainian because of our past, like the Kozaks and stuff. At the same time, now it seems like we have to save the religion history of it. (A5: 3389-3407)

The young adults in my study noted many factors that challenged their sense of community and that seemed to relate to decreased participation levels (see section 7.1). Although some of these factors had to do with the actions of individuals (e.g., hypocrisy,

divisions), other challenges stemmed from larger organizational and institutional issues (e.g., exclusion teenagers, young adults and women from decision-making bodies). Still other challenges came from outside of the community (e.g., acculturation, urbanization, secularization) and may be difficult if not impossible for the community to overcome. The next chapter examines the reasons why young adults are not attending Church as often, and offers some recommendations for the Eparchy of Saskatoon to address the needs of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Putting the Results into Action

7.1 Introduction

Participants at the Dialogue Forum held in Saskatoon in 1998 raised concerns about the active and continuing participation of youth and young adults in the Church. They suggested that they needed to "find out why [our young people] are not attending," "find out their needs and develop programs that will keep them in the Church," and "listen and act on the good suggestions of our young people." This chapter addresses these concerns by reviewing the reasons why young adults are not attending Church, the needs of Ukrainian Catholic young adults with regard to sense of community and suggestions for what the Eparchy of Saskatoon can do to respond better to its young adults. I conclude the paper with a brief discussion of future directions for research on sense of community and with the Ukrainian Catholic community.

7.2 Why Young Adults Are Not Attending Church

As I indicated in my introduction to this study, my original motivation for this research was to answer the question "*Why are young adults leaving the Church?*" For reasons detailed in section 1.1, I chose not to use this as the guiding research question. However, I promised to remain open to what the data might tell me about young adults' perceptions of influences on their levels of participation in the Ukrainian Catholic community.

Before I review the reasons Ukrainian Catholic young adults gave me for not participating in the community, a couple of points need to be made. The first is that very few of these young adults had actually *left* the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The vast majority still considered themselves Ukrainian Catholics, although many of them were not attending Church as often as they had been prior to graduation from grade 12. Most of those who did not attend Church regularly continued to feel a sense of community with at least their home parish and anticipated that their attendance would increase at some point in the future. In this way, my data supported Bibby's (1987) contention that the

overwhelming majority of Canadians still continued to identify with the historically dominant religious groups despite a dramatic downturn in attendance.

The second point to make, before reviewing the reasons Ukrainian Catholic young adults gave for not participating in the community, is that a discussion of these reasons is not meant to imply that the community is necessarily at fault. There are many factors beyond the control or awareness of the community that impact on participation levels. I saw evidence of acculturation, urbanization and secularization in my study, all of which are influences of the larger Canadian society and all of which negatively impacted participation levels.

Many of the reasons given by young adults in my focus groups for their decreased Church attendance related to the other aspects of sense of community identified in my study. Attendance tended to decrease when familiarity, similarity, and trust were challenged:

1) FAMILIARITY: Some young adults from rural parishes who had moved to the city found it intimidating to attend Church services at large urban parishes when they lacked feelings of familiarity. Lack of interaction between old and young or between priests and youth/young adults and divisions in relationships caused by “parish politics” also affected young adults’ desire to attend Church.

2) SIMILARITY: A couple of young adults did not consider themselves Ukrainian Catholic because they did not share the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Other young adults were discouraged by hypocritical community members whose actions did not match the community’s beliefs.

3) TRUST: In a few instances the actions of other community members in positions of authority were so hypocritical as to threaten young adults’ trust in the community. However, there were not many examples of this in my focus group participants. Presumably someone whose trust in the community had been severely damaged would not be willing to participate in my study.

Other reasons for decreased attendance had to do with influences of the culture in which these young adults live:

4) SECULARIZATION/ACCULTURATION: Some young adults were too busy with work, hobbies or other commitments to attend Church on Sundays. Also,

intermarriage could in the future affect their decisions to attend the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the future. A couple of participants mentioned that they were engaged to non-Ukrainian Catholics (members of the Roman Catholic and United Churches) and therefore had to make a decision about which Church to get married in and where to attend services.

Other reasons for decreased attendance at Ukrainian Catholic Churches were:

5) EMOTIONAL PARTICIPATION: A number of young adults found liturgical services to be boring, repetitive and difficult to understand (either because they were in Ukrainian or because the words of the service were too obscure). Some young adults commented that priests' sermons did not capture people's attention and others noted that other parishioners did not seem to be emotionally involved in the services either.

6) NO INFLUENCE: Some young adults saw themselves as outside the decision-making body of the Church. Old people, they observed, did not like change and the young adults felt as if they had no influence or power to change things in their parishes. This was less of a concern to those young adults who were engaged in service to the community (e.g. singing in the choir, helping with children's programs).

7) FEW EVENTS: Some participants noted that other than Sunday liturgies there were few community events or activities for people their age. For the most part, young adults in my study reported fond memories and positive experiences associated with the events and activities in which they had participated (e.g., altar boys and youth group events, retreats, Vesna festival).

8) NO CHOICE: Another issue that arose was that of choice. Those young adults who saw themselves as having chosen to attend the Ukrainian Catholic Church without their parents' prodding reported a stronger commitment to attend. One focus group discussed what they perceived to be a lack of choice with regard to religious affiliation for those who wanted to maintain ties to their ethnic heritage.

9) NO UNDERSTANDING: A lack of understanding and knowledge about the teachings of the Catholic Church or the reasons for liturgical customs and traditions seemed to be related to a decreased commitment to the Church on the

part of some young adults. Without the understanding, these teachings, customs and traditions seemed to lack meaning and purpose for young people.

10) NO GOAL: A couple of young adults suggested that the Ukrainian Catholic community lacked a clearly articulated goal with which they could identify. They did not view themselves as sharing the goals of their parents or grandparents.

In many ways, the reasons given by Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan for decreased attendance parallel those of Catholics surveyed in the United States (see Table 7.1). Perhaps the most significant finding in this survey of 17 million Catholics in the United States was the large number of the inactive who stopped going to Church because they became too busy

(35%) or because they had moved and never bothered to find another Church to attend (19%). In this way, Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan appear to be similar to American Catholics.

Concern about Church attendance among Ukrainian Canadian youth/young adults is actually not a new issue. Already in the 1950's Yuzyk (1953) noted decreased Church attendance among these age groups:

The Canadian-born generation of Ukrainians, unlike their fathers, are not as closely attached to the Ukrainian churches and many do not attend at all. In rural churches, where services are held once a month on the average, the attendance is much better than in the urban churches. Those who do go to church in general display only slight enthusiasm for their faith. (p. 78)

At that time, Yuzyk attributed the unresponsiveness and antipathy of young people towards Ukrainian religious groups to what he termed the “second generation problem:”

Educated and brought up under a democratic system which fosters critical thinking, the youth find that the work of the churches and the leaders often does not measure up to general Canadian standards. The long ritualistic services chanted in the Old Slavonic language or even in Ukrainian are not understood. The sermons of priests tend to be authoritarian, while too little emphasis is placed on the philosophical and practical basis of religion. The intolerance practised by the priests of the two major churches [toward each other] is repulsive to youth, who consider tolerance the very basis of Canadian democracy. Many find it

Table 7.1. Reasons why American Catholics stopped going to Church

Reasons Why American Catholics Stop Practising Their Faith
1) Some did not experience the power or presence of God in Catholicism or in the Catholic community in which they were a part.
2) Some did not experience warm, personal, caring relationships in their encounters with Catholics. Some reported the people seemed cold, the services boring.
3) Others experienced a complex religious system that seemed to lack relatedness to their lives and, for many, a lack of ministers appreciating their language and culture.
4) Some were hurt in some way by Catholics - clergy or laity - and have not been reconciled.
5) Some were in conflict with the teaching of the Church on matters of faith and morality.
6) Others never knew their faith well and were ignorant of basics. They were easily misled in their lack of understanding, exploited by those who attack Catholic beliefs and practices for their own purposes.
7) Some have been kept from full communion with the Church because of marriage outside the Church.
8) A significant number of the inactive (35%) simply got too busy by their own admission. They may have gotten busy with their jobs and families, and through their own fault didn't find the time. Others (19%) moved to new locations and never got around to finding a Church in their new city or neighbourhood.
- based on a survey of 17 million American Catholics published in <i>Origins</i> , January 2000

difficult to harmonize the nationalist character of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches with Canadianism. (p. 79)

Yuzyk (1953, p. 79) distinguished three general tendencies among Ukrainian Canadians with respect to the dilemma of religious affiliation and acculturation. In the first group were “those who do not desire to break with the culture of their fathers.” This group maintained its affiliation with the Ukrainian Churches. In the second group were “those who have become assimilated and have lost a knowledge of the Ukrainian language, particularly in the cities.” This group he noted had joined the Roman Catholic or Anglican Churches (“Anglo-Saxon churches which resemble the Ukrainian”). Others among this group had “caught the Protestant spirit” and were joining the United Church of Canada and the Presbyterian Church. In the third group were those individuals who were not able to “find a solution to the cultural and religious conflicts” and as a consequence did not attend any Church.

Yuzyk (1953) was discussing the state of religious life among Ukrainians living in Manitoba, however his analysis may apply to Saskatchewan as well. Father Emil Tremblay, a French priest who served among Ukrainian Catholics in Prud’homme and Montmartre Saskatchewan for many years, noted that by the time the Ukrainian vernacular replaced the use of Old Slavonic in churches in the 1970’s, “many young Ukrainian Canadians, who by that time, as the third and fourth generation descendants of old country Ukrainians that hardly if at all knew Ukrainian, felt alienated from their church” (Tremblay, 1979, pp. 44-45). He made the following observations about Ukrainian youth in the 1940’s:

One of the first strong impressions that I had when I began my ministry among Ukrainians in the early forties was the absence of young people in the churches. Talking with a young teacher about this impression he told me of his own personal experience. As a youngster he seldom was taken to church with his brothers and sisters: “we were too poor to get new clothes, for all the children, he said, so only mother and dad went to church, *but we did not mind it because we hardly understood anything and we found it too long* [author’s emphasis].”

On other occasions, I noticed that after the gospel, when [the] time came for the announcements and sermon, the majority of the young boys, teenagers, etc... that habitually stood close to the exit, sneaked out for a smoke. When I asked about this custom, I was told that the previous pastors never spoke a word of English and that none of the lads understood Ukrainian. The correction was quick from

the parents who were listening: “they all understand Ukrainian, that is the language that we speak at home.” To a degree, the children did understand Ukrainian as long as the conversation turned around bread and butter, cows and horses, but the vocabulary used to explain religious realities such as grace, mortification, penance, good intention and similar abstract subjects was most of the time beyond the vocabulary of these young people. (p. 45)

Tremblay (1979) discussed the difficulties in the Ukrainian community with what he saw as overzealous nationalism and blind traditionalism and noted that the concerns of Canadian-born children were not being heard by the older generations:

Many of our youth may be irrecuperable in the national and ecclesiastical field. They talked a long time, patiently, asking to be heard; but their words passed from ear to ear, unheeded [by] their elders, into the wind. That was the time when the challenges presented themselves, they spoke and asked and begged, the need was severe, almost distressing and hope of a synchronized help was lost. Then they got tired and retired. “What is the use? There is no place for us. It is a loss of effort and time,” they argued as they walked away disillusioned. (p. 211)

Although the struggle for an independent Ukraine used to be a relevant question, particularly for post World War Two immigrants, Galadza (1993) concluded that this issue was no longer relevant for the majority of Ukrainian Canadians:

Whenever a church, or any other body for that matter enters fully into people’s existential situation, that church grows or at least remains vibrant. In standing side by side with and sharing the plight of, refugees during the Second World War, for example, the church was responding to a fundamental need in those people’s lives. For many of them, one of the most basic existential questions was “Why is Ukraine not free?” (*Chomu nema Ukrainy?*) It was an existential question because they had personally experienced hell on account of Ukraine’s lack of freedom. Today the existential questions are shifting, or rather, because of assimilation (not to mention the changes in Ukraine’s status during the last year), the questions that one might say were submerged for many years are now becoming dominant once again. For most Ukrainian Canadians the existential questions are not “why is Ukraine not free?” but “Why is my marriage failing?” or “Why is my son an alcoholic?” or “Why am I usually depressed?” If the Ukrainian churches can be present to people as they cope with these questions, the churches will remain vibrant. (pp. 56-57)

While in Yuzyk’s (1953) time there may have been a large group of second generation Ukrainian Canadians who wanted to “maintain the culture of their fathers,” four decades later Galadza (1993) observed that “the Ukrainian character of our churches is not

enough to entice most younger members of our community. Consequently we are losing them” (p. 59).

The participants in my study would be the grandchildren or even great-grandchildren of the youth Yuzyk (1953) and Tremblay (1979) were speaking about. Presumably my participants came from the families who had maintained their affiliation with the Ukrainian Catholic Church⁴⁴. It is interesting to note that many of the factors affecting Church attendance in the 1940's and 1950's were also concerns for the young adults in my study: long ritualistic services in Ukrainian that were difficult to understand, boring sermons that had little relevance to everyday life, and the seeming unwillingness of older generations to listen to or accommodate the youth/young adults in their parishes. While my study participants were not struggling to establish themselves as Canadians nor were they complaining about the Ukrainian nationalist sentiments of their parents (Ukraine gained its independence in 1991) the way Yuzyk's and Tremblay's youth were 50 to 60 years earlier, they did still speak about a desire for change especially with regard to liturgical services and in some cases language use, in the face of a Church and parish leaders that were seen as very traditional and unyielding. If the concerns of these young adults are not listened to, some of them may also choose to stop attending Church or leave the Ukrainian Catholic Church to go to other Churches, like generations of Ukrainian Canadians before them have done, shrinking the size of the Ukrainian Catholic community further still.

7.3 Needs of Young Adults

While I did not specifically ask the Ukrainian Catholic young adults in my study about their needs, a number of issues were raised in the course of discussion about their experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Perhaps the *first and greatest need* I see after reviewing the results of this study is the need of young adults to feel like they have an influence in their parish communities and in the Church community in general. Those young adults who took on roles of active service in the community felt important and part of the community. Young adults spoke warmly about

44 The grandchildren of the Ukrainians who switched to Roman Catholic or Protestant Churches or who stopped attending Church altogether are not as likely to have found their way into my study since I sampled from among young adults who were known to their parish communities.

times when they had received the support or recognition of the community, and in a couple of cases, when their opinions had been listened to. Their sense of community was strongest when they had close relationships with community members of all ages, rather than just other youth/young adults, and they appreciated opportunities to interact personally with priests.

On the other hand, many young adults did not feel they had the power to make any changes in the Church with regard to things they did not like. Although their complaints were mostly centred around issues of practice and not belief, they saw the older people in their parishes who held the reins of power as being unwilling to consider change. It is not just individual parishes that need to become more responsive to young adults (although some are more responsive than others). The bishops, priests, and laity all need to examine their policies and attitudes toward youth and young adults. A report by the Ukrainian Canadian Development Committee - Prairie Region [UCDC, 1986] blamed the lack of youth/young adult participation in Ukrainian community organizations on both their lack of relevance to youth/young adults and on “the hierarchical system of age in the traditional community power structure, which has effectively shut out the participation of youth at the decision-making level in traditional organizations” (p. 14). Therefore, the first and greatest need of Ukrainian Catholic young adults today is to feel like they matter enough to the community that the community is responsive to their needs, suggestions, and opinions. This cannot really happen as long as they are shut out of the community at the level of the decision-making processes.

Although the young adults had complaints about the liturgical services especially and made suggestions for change (see section 7.4), their complaints and suggestions were not always well-informed. They frequently did not seem to know that much about the reason behind liturgical and cultural customs and traditions. Many of them did not appear to be very knowledgeable about the history or religious beliefs of the Catholic Church and almost none of them had a clear idea of how Ukrainians as Eastern Christians were distinct from Roman Catholics. Without this knowledge and understanding, many of the beliefs and practices of the Ukrainian Catholic Church appeared meaningless and irrelevant. Therefore a *second great need* I see with regard to Ukrainian Catholic youth

and young adults is the need for education and catechesis. This catechesis should include opportunities for dialogue and exploration of one's faith.

This is not to imply that young adults are the only ones who lack this knowledge. In fact, their parents and grandparents may not have known or understood any more than they do. Even many of our priests, educated in Roman Catholic seminaries may not have this knowledge. To simply do something because it is "tradition" is not always an acceptable reason for the young adults of today. In my opinion, this has been the case for quite a while, accounting for declines in Church participation in previous generations as well. Dissenters from the status quo have become frustrated and left the community, so that only those who did not mind the status quo or were able to at least tolerate it remained in the community. With the constant exodus of dissenters there has not been a great enough force for change within the community itself, and conditions have therefore remained much the way they were.

A *third need* relates to the transition so many young adults are making from rural to urban areas in search of education or employment. A number of the young adults in my study only attended Church services when they went home, whether this was every weekend, once a month or only at Christmas and Easter. Some, having been used to the comfortable intimacy of their small rural parishes acknowledged that they felt too intimidated to attend Divine Liturgy in a large urban parish. These young adults need to be better prepared for the transition to urban parishes (see section 7.4 for suggestions). As part of this preparation, young adults may need to develop a sense of membership in the larger Ukrainian Catholic Church and not just their home parish. This parochial⁴⁵ view of Church membership is evident in the lack of cooperation between some rural parishes such that some Ukrainian Catholics will not attend any parish other than their home parish, even if services are held there only once a month and it is only half an hour to the next town for liturgy. If young adults had a less parochial view of community and a stronger sense of connection to both the larger Ukrainian Catholic community and the universal Church, they might be more likely to feel like they belong to any Ukrainian Catholic parish no matter what the size.

45 By the term "parochial" I mean focussed on the local parish.

A *fourth need* identified by several study participants was for the Ukrainian Catholic community as a whole to discern its calling in the Canadian context of the 21st century and to articulate a vision for renewal⁴⁶. These renewal efforts should include or even be spear-headed by young adults who are the ones, after all, who will either further the existence of the Ukrainian Catholic community or leave it to die. Is the purpose of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada to minister to current members, attract back former members or reach out to new non-Ukrainian members? If catechesis of youth and young adults is to take place, for what purpose? To strengthen existing members' faith or to evangelize outside of the community? If knowledge about customs and traditions is to be pursued and recovered, for what purpose? To preserve existing traditions, to decide which traditions to retain and which to discard, or to create new traditions for new circumstances? Should the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada maintain its ethnic character and continue efforts to preserve Ukrainian culture or should it embrace acculturation as inevitable and recreate itself as a Byzantine Church without specific ethnic ties? The answers to these and many other questions need to be pursued in collaboration with youth and young adults in a spirit of hopefulness, prayerful discernment and holy stubbornness⁴⁷.

7.4 Recommendations for the Eparchy of Saskatoon

My recommendations for the Eparchy of Saskatoon are based on the study results, the suggestions of the young adults who participated in my study (see Table 7.2) and my own personal reflections. These recommendations address the four needs identified above

46 In a letter to the people of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Saskatoon issued in 1997 Bishop Cornelius Pasichny had outlined a "vision for renewal" that included the building of a new eparchial centre and episcopal residence and the planning of "a number of programs, services and activities to prepare people to provide for the spiritual needs of our children, youth, married couples, families and seniors throughout our entire eparchy" ([A Vision for Renewal](#), March 3, 1997). That same year, a Programme Committee was set up for the purpose of designing and implementing programs and workshops in adult education, leadership training, catechesis and so on. This committee was composed of clergy, laity and religious women and was under the authority of the Bishop. It quickly became apparent that there were many more issues to look at beyond programming. There was a need for a separate committee to oversee all planned aspects of the renewal. Accordingly the Renewal commission was created. One of the first activities of the Renewal Commission was to host the 1998 Dialogue Forum at which clergy and laity discussed the future of the Eparchy. As previously mentioned, young adults were not well represented at this Forum. The plans for renewal came to a halt when Bishop Cornelius was transferred to the Eparchy of Toronto in July of 1998.

47 That quality that impels a person or community to persevere no matter what the obstacles.

Table 7.2. Young adults suggestions for action

Need	Suggestions
<p>Greater involvement of youth and young adults in service, leadership, and decision-making roles</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young adults need to find ways to affirm that they are part of the church • Priests have a special role in fostering the faith in young people • Priests should be encouraged to visit young adults in their homes • Adults should encourage young adults to join the choir • Young adults could dialogue with older adults to make changes to the liturgical music • Laity (including young adults) should be empowered to make announcements in the church • Christmas and Easter should be the time to make announcements about young adult renewal events because that is when they are most likely to attend • When sessions are held among young adults, a priest should not be present, at least in the initial sessions, because some young adults do not feel free to speak in front of them. If questions that a priest would answer come up, they could be recorded and answered at a later date • The responsibility of what should be done with the findings of this study should be left, primarily, in the hands of young adults • Young adults could present the findings as a group at churches • If young adults determine there is a need, a full-time person should be employed to work in young adult ministry with a substantial salary and benefits

Need	Suggestions
Education and catechesis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families need to be supported with educational materials • There is a need to establish a program for spouses from other churches to learn about the Ukrainian Catholic Church • Topics for exploration: cultural/social/spiritual roots, ecumenism and world religions • The church needs to dialogue about the issue of divorce • Young adults need to connect with Christians from other churches and with non-Christians • Traditions should be kept in most instances. Exceptions include: girls serving priests at the altar; women serving as Eucharistic ministers; worshipping in English, not Ukrainian, at Christmas and Easter; instruments to be used at liturgy; Sunday evening liturgy; gender inclusive language
Transition from rural to urban parishes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young adults could develop a phone list of young adults from rural areas who live in their city and invite them to liturgies and young adult functions • Young adults want to socialize together, even at bars
Vision for renewal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young adults need a community goal that is meaningful to them • Ukrainian Catholic Church should distribute a publication or provide teaching in the schools to educate people on what is Ukrainian Catholic Christianity and to let people know that it consists of a lot more than just going to church - there are a lot of organizations affiliated with the church which people can join • Consult with young adults who are not currently active in the community to find out why and use this information to help identify changes to be made • To help promote discussion about change and make known the views of young adults, copies of the study and presentation of study results should be made to priests by Maria. Submit a copy to the Metropolitan and the other bishops in North America. Make it available to laity as well • Hold special discussions with priests identified as most receptive to young adults' suggestions for change

and are aimed at strengthening sense of community through the involvement of youth and young adults in service, leadership and decision-making roles, through increased interpersonal contact and dialogue among members of the community, through a clearly articulated vision for the Ukrainian Catholic community and through leadership by example in the areas of personal holiness and reconciliation of divisions in the Church.

The first and greatest need I identified was for youth and young adults to feel like they have an influence in their parish communities and in the Church community in general. Dialogue Forum participants were on the right track in 1998 when they suggested that they needed to develop ways to include youth and young adults in parish activities through mentoring and by giving them positions of responsibility. Youth and young adults would thus be able to feel a part of the community in a meaningful way and to experience a sense of ownership in shaping the direction of the community.

The active involvement of youth and young adults in service and leadership roles would also allow for greater interactions between the younger and older members of the Ukrainian Catholic community promoting greater mutual understanding and influence. The smaller rural parishes can be used as a model for the cultivation of relationships between the various age groups. Due to small numbers, youth are not segregated in their own age groups but are integrated into the life of the community (helping with the parish catering, learning to bake babkas, reading the epistle and helping with parish maintenance).

Youth and young adults, especially young women, should also have more opportunities to interact with priests so that they get to know priests in a personal way, allowing for mutual influence and opportunities to have their questions about faith, beliefs and traditions answered. In my opinion it is more difficult to criticize a priest when one has developed a personal relationship with him. It is also easier for a priest to understand the mentality and needs of young adults when he gets to know them personally. The priest who seeks out contact with, and the opinions of a young adult has a powerful impact on that young adult, as one of my participants described.

Formal and informal opportunities should be sought to listen to the needs, opinions and suggestions of young adults. For instance, community members at the 1998 Dialogue Forum suggested that there should be a separate forum for dialogue with youth.

However, if youth and young adults are to be included in decision-making regarding such things as liturgical reform, their opinions and decisions should be educated and well-informed, based on a solid knowledge of Church teachings, history and tradition (this holds for all laity and clergy too).

As an example of the need for education and catechesis, consider the suggestions for change made by study participants. Some young adults felt that liturgical traditions should be maintained in most instances with a few exceptions. Some (but not all) focus group participants believed that girls should be allowed to serve priests at the altar, women should be allowed to serve as Extraordinary Ministers of the Eucharistic, Christmas and Easter liturgical celebrations should be conducted in English and not Ukrainian, instruments should be used during Divine Liturgy, service texts should be modified to contain gender inclusive language and urban parishes should consider holding a Sunday evening liturgy designed to attract young adults. However, these suggestions were not necessarily based on a sound knowledge of the history and theology behind these practices or rituals.

Obviously this cannot happen overnight. However, I envision a process whereby youth and young adults would be invited to serve as members of a Renewal/Reform committee which would meet on a regular basis for study and prayerful reflection before coming up with recommendations. This would serve to include youth and young adults in decision-making bodies, while ensuring that all members of the committee make better-informed decisions and recommendations. This would give purpose to the education and catechesis I identified as the second need.

The third need of young adults that I identified was better preparation of rural young adults for the transition to urban parishes. In the same way parents might help their children find accommodations, register for the first semester at university, locate a nearby grocery store or buy furniture or household goods they will need in their new home, parents could help their children to find the nearest Ukrainian Church, enquire about liturgy times, plan the bus route to Church if they use transit, or arrange for a ride to Church. As was suggested at the 1998 Dialogue Forum, rural parishes could network with urban parishes, submitting the names of parishioners who are moving to the city so that the urban parishes could plan welcoming events for newcomers. Furthermore,

attendance at province-wide events could be used to promote connections between youth from urban and rural parishes to strengthen their sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community in general.

With regard to the fourth need for a clearly articulated vision for the Ukrainian Catholic community in Canada that young adults can identify with, I suggest that the community accept the inevitability of acculturation and embrace a model of integration that seeks not only to preserve those community traditions and practices that are valuable but also that seeks to influence the larger Canadian society in which we live. I suggest, as have others,⁴⁸ that we seek to evangelize the secular world around us. In the process we will have to become more knowledgeable about and fervent in our own faith. We will also be forced to examine our traditions with an eye to deciding which to retain and which to discard and perhaps to create new traditions for changing circumstances. I suggest that a new vision for the Ukrainian Catholic community focus more on our Byzantine heritage than our ethnic character, so that our community can open itself up to non-Ukrainian members, stimulating community growth.

Archbishop Joseph Tawil of the Byzantine Melkite Catholic Church expressed similar sentiments when he said:

One day all of our ethnic traits - language, folklore, customs - will have disappeared. Time itself is seeing to this. And so we cannot think of our communities as ethnic parishes, primarily for the service of the immigrant or ethnically-oriented, unless we wish to assure the death of our community. Our churches are not only for our own people but also for any of our fellow Americans who are attracted to our traditions which show forth the beauty of the Universal Church and the variety of its riches⁴⁹.

A couple of good examples of Eastern Christian Church communities that maintain Byzantine traditions without being ethnically-oriented are St. Vincent of Lerins Antiochean Orthodox Church in Saskatoon and Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Redwood Valley, California. If Canadian immigrants who did not initially think of themselves as Ukrainian were able to increase their collective consciousness of their

48 For instance, Fathers Ivan Nahachewsky, Larry Kondra, Andrew Wach, and Michael Winn.

49 From a pamphlet prepared by John Smook, February 2002, The Situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

common ethnic heritage (Satzewich, 2000), it should be possible for Ukrainian Catholics in Canada to rediscover their common Eastern Christian heritage, thereby strengthening their connections to other Eastern Christians. This would free the community from the necessity of having to maintain ties to its ethnic heritage, allowing it to open itself up to more participation by non-Ukrainians.

At present, a growing minority of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Saskatchewan is learning more about our Eastern Christian heritage through such venues as the Eparchial Study Days, Windows to the East held at St. Thomas More College in conjunction with other Eastern Christian religious groups, and a 2-year lay formation program. As we learn more about our Byzantine heritage we will be in a better position to judge how and when to modify traditions to suit our present circumstances and for the purpose of ministry or evangelization.

A recent article on the Welcome Home, a Ukrainian Catholic Redemptorist mission in the North End of Winnipeg that ministers to inner-city aboriginals, gives some concrete examples of ways in which the faith of one ethnic community can be passed to another in such a way that the receiving community is respected. The Sacrament of Initiation (baptism) of the Ukrainian Catholic Rite was modified to include Native traditions:

It all began with “smudging.” People were invited to direct the smoke of burning sweet grass and sage to their senses and their body with a feather. Smudging often marks the beginning of native ceremonies. It is a ritual of purification completely in keeping with beginning rites of the Sacraments of Initiation. As part of the Baptismal ritual, a medicine wheel representing the journey of faith was laid out on the floor in front of the royal doors. At each of the four sections of the wheel, members of the family, the extended family or god-parents offered their support to the candidates with gifts associated with the qualities needed for that part of the journey. The symbols do not displace the use of water which conveys cleansing from sin and incorporation into Christ but they do enhance the notion of the Sacrament as a life-long support in the spiritual life. In this case, they also allowed the community to take some cultural ownership of the celebration of the Sacrament, expressing mutuality between the native community and the Church. (Schmidt, May 25, 2003, p. 12)

Many inner-city Ukrainian Catholic parishes in cities such as Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg are in a unique position to minister to Aboriginals because of their location.

Other rural parishes such as the one in Kamsack, Saskatchewan are situated near large Native populations on reserves.

If we were to take evangelization of our secular society as a vision or goal for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, it would require a change in focus. Rather than focussing our energies on self-preservation or the avoidance of acculturation, we would be required to look at the existential questions confronting people today. As previously mentioned, Galadza (1993) suggested that the relevant existential questions people are asking, even within the Ukrainian Canadian population are “Why is my marriage failing?” “Why is my son an alcoholic?” or “Why am I usually depressed?” Galadza maintained that “if the Ukrainian churches can be present to people as they cope with these questions, the churches will remain vibrant” (p. 57). Bibby (2002) also believed that the continuing health of organized religion will depend on how well the various faiths or houses of worship meet personal and spiritual needs. By focussing on more fundamental human problems such as family concerns the Ukrainian Catholic Church would broaden its appeal and relevance to Canadians.

Focussing on ministry to Aboriginals or evangelization of Canadian secular culture has the added benefits of encouraging the development of faith, leadership skills and examples of holiness, all of which would strengthen sense of community. Youth and young adults with their idealism, enthusiasm and social inclinations are in a unique position to lead such changes. In addition, by spear-heading evangelization efforts, young adults could take greater ownership of their faith, thus providing them with a greater sense of choice.

Mankowski and Rappaport (2000) noted that narratives contribute to the survival and development of spiritually based communities. They serve as “resources for instilling hope and inspiration, deepening tradition and a sense of history, or coping with and changing negative personal or social conditions” (p. 490). As a religious community, the Ukrainian Catholic community has the advantage of being able to draw upon Christian narratives of forgiveness and rituals of reconciliation to deal with the divisions in relationships that are part of the experience of most communities. The community can also draw upon the central narrative of Jesus’ death and resurrection to provide hope for

survival in the face of dwindling membership. As one priest in my clergy need assessment articulated:

You have to die before you are raised in new life and we are, Jesus came to the sinners, he came to those who were wounded and we are exactly that. This could be a new time of injection where the Holy Spirit will just make our Church flourish because we are weak right now. I mean when He was here, when Jesus was here on earth he sought out people exactly like us and if we were only open to receiving his outreach right now we would be perfect. (Lizak, 1999, p. 77)

In discussing the challenge of a declining membership with my assistant moderator, Greg Thomas, he made a similar comment about the hope that can be found in the Christian narrative of death and resurrection:

I think we're in a very privileged position as Christians, not just as Ukrainian Catholics but as Christians. We have for the first time in how many years [a situation] where Christianity is not the norm. Where the Christian values, the Christian faith is not being practised, it's not being celebrated, it's not being nurtured. It's being submerged and we have, I mean, you look at what's happened in Eastern Europe where it was put under and put under and put under and once Communism stopped, it just flourished! There's this exuberance about it. And I think we are in a phase where, yeah, we're dying but out of death comes life! Tom Moyer talked about that, the same thing at study days, in different ways. That we're in a privileged position especially as Eastern Christians because we're dying but out of that life will come. (Debriefing after Group 5, 1040-1066)

Christianity finds hope in the strangest things!

7.5 Directions for Future Research

At the outset of this study I decided to use the lens of psychological sense of community to study the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults with their community. In discussion after the last focus group had been conducted, my assistant moderator and I agreed that the use of this lens had not hindered study participants in discussing aspects of their experiences that were important to them. They frequently used the questions about sense of community as a spring board to discuss other issues. While sense of community did not seem to be a term they used in their everyday lives and there was initially some confusion as to how to define the term, participants were able to adapt fairly easily to the use of this term. I believe I have a good understanding of the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults in urban centres (especially Saskatoon) and of young adults who have moved to the cities from a rural community. However, it

would have been good to hear more about the experiences of young adults from Regina and Yorkton (only one group was conducted in each of these centres and the groups were small in size), young adults who had moved out of province (e.g., to Edmonton and Vegreville) and young adults who continued to live in rural communities and work on their parents' farm or in a small town. In fact, I attempted to organize other groups but in each of these cases, there was not a large enough pool of people to be able to find a sufficient number of people available to participate on any given day.

In chapter 6, I discussed how I believed my results were influenced by various characteristics of the population under study. Further research could be done to confirm my observations. For example, to get a better sense of how my results were influenced by the fact that I was studying a group of Ukrainians it would be interesting to conduct focus groups with Roman Catholics to identify differences between these two Catholic groups due to ethnic differences.

Focus groups with Ukrainian Orthodox young adults would give a better sense of how my participants' experiences of sense of community may have been different because they were Ukrainians who belonged to a Catholic Church rather than an Orthodox one. For example, I presume that Ukrainian Orthodox young adults would have had a clearer picture of what it means to be an Eastern Christian and a better knowledge of their Eastern Christian heritage including customs and traditions. In fact, I made efforts to conduct a focus group with Ukrainian Orthodox young adults in Saskatchewan, gaining permission from the community and ethics approval from the University of Saskatchewan. I contacted names of young adults given to me by one Orthodox priest in Saskatoon. However, there were not enough young adults in this group who were still living in Saskatoon and were available to do this focus group on the two occasions I contacted them (I was living in Calgary by that time and tried to organize a group for one of my visits to Saskatoon). A second Orthodox priest from a community in Northern Saskatchewan who had agreed to supply me with names, backed out of involvement in the study after the death of his father.

Another interesting focus group to conduct would be with young adults at St. Vincent of Lerins Antiochean Orthodox Church, an Eastern Christian parish in Saskatoon

with no specific ethnic ties. This would perhaps highlight aspects of sense of community related to being Eastern Christian without ethnic overtones.

To better understand the influence of my participants' developmental stage, it would be helpful to do focus groups with teenagers, and adults of varying ages (e.g., young families, middle aged and older adults). This would also provide more information about the role of young adults in the community by adding the perspectives of other community members to those of my participants. For example, older adults could be asked for their definitions of sense of community, their views on the role of young adults in the community, and their concerns about the lack of young adult participation.

Other approaches studying the experiences of Ukrainian Catholic young adults could be undertaken: they could be asked what they like and dislike about the Ukrainian Catholic community (although this information tended to come out anyway in the groups I conducted) or they could be asked explicitly to compare the sense of community they have experienced in the Ukrainian Catholic community with the sense of community they have experienced with other communities (e.g., school, work, their hockey league, etc.). I could also use the process of faith development as a lens to study these young adults' experiences.

Of course further research conducted with the Ukrainian Catholic community need not use only focus groups. As has been done with other communities, groups and settings, future research could use multiple methods to study sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults including questionnaires, individual interviews or direct observation of the community. For those areas that were under-represented in the current study because there were not enough young adults to hold more focus groups (e.g. Yorkton, Regina, Edmonton or rural areas in Saskatchewan), individual interviews could be conducted with those young adults who were willing to participate in order to get a better understanding of the experiences of those young adults. Or better yet, because of the richness of data obtained with focus groups, one could try a modified version of the focus group method and hold a teleconference.

7.6 Summary and Conclusions

What began as concern over declining numbers of young adults participating in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Saskatchewan led to an exploration of these young adults' experiences of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. This research used focus groups to move beyond the level of the individual to examine the sense of community shared by Ukrainian Catholic young adults.

The sense of community that emerged in the context of focus group discussions was comprised of three core aspects and three supportive aspects. The three core aspects of sense of community were belonging, familiarity with community members, and trust that the community was there to support them. The three supportive aspects of sense of community were participation in Church services and community events, similarity in members' beliefs, values, interests and goals, and a strong sense of one's ethnic and religious heritage and traditions. The core aspects describe the quality of relationships among community members whereas the supportive aspects contribute to the development and continuity of those relationships.

The challenges to sense of community identified in this study were those things that weaken these relationships among community members. Lack of shared beliefs, feelings of intimidation in a new parish and hypocrisy in the actions of other community members were especially damaging to young adults' sense of community. Based on this information, four areas of need were identified for the Ukrainian Catholic young adult population. First, young adults need to feel that they have an influence in the community at both the local and Eparchial level. Second, they need education and catechesis on the teachings, beliefs, traditions and practices of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Third, young adults from rural parishes need to be prepared for the transition to urban parishes. Fourth, Ukrainian Catholic young adults need to participate in the discernment and articulation of a vision for renewal that focusses on the Church's role and calling in the Canadian context of the 21st century. Suggestions were made to address each of these areas of need and to help strengthen young adults' sense of community.

The sense of community described by focus group participants bore many similarities to McMillan's psychological sense of community model. Study findings supported the centrality of belonging and the importance of shared emotional connections. They also reinforced the prominence of similarity in the development of

sense of community and McMillan's (1996) move to a more mutual/personal model of human relationships. Furthermore, focus group data suggested that McMillan could elaborate more on the importance of emotional and material support and trust that the community will provide this support.

There were two major differences between the sense of community articulated by Ukrainian Catholic young adults and by McMillan. First, participation in various forms (i.e., attendance at Church services, participation in religious and cultural events and traditions, and emotional and spiritual participation) was an important aspect of sense of community. My findings argue for the inclusion of participation as a dimension of sense of community rather than simply a correlate or predictor of sense of community. Second, mutual influence between the individual and the community did not emerge as a separate aspect of sense of community and was in fact, more noticeable in its absence than its presence. Many Ukrainian Catholic young adults had not experienced a feeling of influence over the community. Those who had experienced influence, were typically involved in some type of service to the community and had developed relationships with community members of all ages.

The use of focus groups in this research allowed for the emergence of a description of sense of community that was reflective of the ethnic, religious and developmental characteristics of the population under study. Ethnic groups, persons in emerging adulthood, religious communities and communities where membership is declining are all fruitful and interesting communities in which to conduct research and enrich our understanding of sense of community. Future research should employ methodologies that are sensitive to the context-dependent nature of this construct.

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APPENDIX A1 - "Confidentiality Agreement" Form

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

This is to certify that I, _____, hereby agree to adhere to the procedures outlined below to protect the confidentiality of participants in the study entitled Sense of Community Among Ukrainian Catholic young adults: Eparchy of Saskatoon. [This study is an authorized part of the research undertakings within the Department of Psychology at the University of Saskatchewan by Maria Lizak, M.A., under the supervision of G. Farthing, Ph.D.]

1) I agree to keep confidential the names of participants and all other identifying information.

2) I agree to keep confidential the content of the focus group discussions, including that which I may have heard during the focus group sessions or from audiotapes of the focus group sessions, and that which I may have read from transcripts of the sessions.

3) I agree to store securely any confidential material that I work with (e.g., lists of names and addresses, session notes, audiotapes, transcripts) and to ensure that others with whom I live or work do not see this material.

I have read through this confidentiality agreement and understand its contents. Maria has explained the limits of confidentiality to me. I have been given an opportunity to ask whatever questions I may have had and all such questions have been answered to my satisfaction. [*If you have any unanswered questions, please ask Maria now.*]

Date

Research Assistant's Signature

I, the undersigned, have fully explained this confidentiality agreement to the above individual.

Date

Investigator's Signature

APPENDIX A2 - Telephone Contact Script

Introduce yourself

- name
- former youth coordinator

Tell them how we got their name and number

Tell them reason for call:

“I’m calling to let you know that your name has been put on a registry of Ukrainian Catholic young adults who have graduated from Grade 12 in the past two years [*or if they did not graduate, say: young adults who are your age*].

“We collected these names because the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Saskatchewan is interested in finding out more about your experiences as a young adult in the Ukrainian Catholic community.

“In order to do this, a study is being conducted by Maria Lizak from the University of Saskatchewan, looking at sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults. We will be mailing information to you about the study within the next couple of weeks. Could you please read through the information and let Maria know whether you would like to participate in her study by returning the enclosed reply form? We’re hoping you will participate because we’d very much like to learn from your experiences.

“I’d like to confirm you current address as:

Ask if there is anyone else they know who would be eligible for this study. [Get name, phone number and address.]

Thank you

[Take note if they say that they do not wish to receive information about the study.]

APPENDIX B1 - Letter to Prospective Participants

Maria V. Lizak
Psychology Department
University of Saskatchewan
9 Campus Drive
Saskatoon SK, S7H 5A5
March 1, 1999

[Participant's name and address]

Dear [Name],

I am writing to you because you have some valuable experience that I'm hoping you'll share with me. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Saskatchewan is going through a process of renewal and we want to hear about and learn from your experiences as a young adult with the Ukrainian Catholic community. Last May, Ukrainian Catholics from all across the province gathered to discuss the future of our Church. We talked about the need to develop ways to listen and respond to the needs of young adults, so that you are included in community life and parish activities.

In response to this discussion, I decided to focus my research on sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults. My name is Maria Lizak (formerly Kozak) and I am currently completing my doctorate in clinical psychology at the University of Saskatchewan. Originally from Manitoba, I have been living in Saskatchewan for the past 4 ½ years. Some of you may know me already. I'm a member of Sts. Peter and Paul parish and I sing with Vesna choir.

In order to do this research, I am trying to contact all Ukrainian Catholic young adults in the province of Saskatchewan who have graduated from Grade 12 in the past two years [or who are of the age to have graduated]. Some of you may be more involved in the Church, some less involved. Some of you may not attend church at all. Regardless, your experiences - both positive and negative - are important to me and to the success of this research. The Eparchy is providing funding for this project. Funding is also coming from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Please consider participating in this study. I have enclosed information about the study as well as a "Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me" form (the yellow page). Please return this consent form to me (whether you wish to participate or not) in the self-addressed, stamped envelope **within the next week**. I hope that you will share your valuable experiences with me.

Sincerely,

Maria V. Lizak

APPENDIX B2 - Information for Participants

SENSE OF COMMUNITY AMONG UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC YOUNG ADULTS INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

PURPOSE: To explore sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan.

WHAT THE STUDY INVOLVES: This study involves participating in a group discussion with about 6-10 Ukrainian Catholic young adults like yourself. The discussion, called a *focus group*, will center on your experiences with the Ukrainian Catholic community. The focus group discussion will take approximately 2 to 2 1/2 hours to complete and will be held at the University of Saskatchewan at a time convenient for you.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: Your participation in the focus group is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from the focus group discussion at any time and your decision to do so will not result in any negative consequences. Although your full participation is encouraged, you are also free to decline to answer specific questions during the group.

CONFIDENTIALITY: All participants' responses during the focus group interview will be strictly confidential. Although it is impossible to guarantee anonymity when there are a relatively small number of young adults in the Eparchy of Saskatoon, several measures will be taken to ensure confidentiality:

- 1) It is extremely important that each participant respect the confidentiality of the other participants. This means that what is talked about in the group is not shared with anyone outside the group - you may talk to others only about your own experiences and only about comments you made in the focus group.
- 2) Identifying information will not appear on the transcripts which will be produced from the audio-taped recordings.
- 3) Participants' responses will be analyzed for themes and subsumed under larger categories. The results will be presented in group form, so that an individual's responses cannot be identified.

CONCERNS: I do not anticipate that the focus group questions and discussion will cause undue discomfort. However, should you have any concerns, please contact me (Maria Lizak) at 477-0202 anytime before or after the group. You may also contact my research supervisor, Dr. Gerry Farthing, at 244-3821.

FEEDBACK / UTILIZATION OF RESULTS: You will receive a summary of the results in the mail once data analysis has been completed. You may call me at that time to discuss the results. In addition, several copies of the summary will be sent

to the Bishop of the Eparchy (or the Eparchial Administrator in the absence of a Bishop). If the Eparchy decides to have another Dialogue Forum, I will offer to present the results of the study at the Forum. In addition, I will ask at the focus groups for your suggestions about how the results should be presented.

Some other details for your information: I anticipate that I will also publish the results of this study in a refereed journal. Two journals that will be given consideration are the *Journal of Community Psychology* and *Religion and Psychology*. To protect your confidentiality, 1) the results will only be presented in group form, and 2) the Eparchy will not be named specifically - reference will be made to “young adults of a Ukrainian Catholic jurisdiction in Western Canada.” In addition, the publication must be approved by both the Eparchy of Saskatoon and by myself.

The data from this study including transcripts and audiotapes (without identifying information) will be securely stored for a period of 5 years (as per University requirements) at St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, by Gerry Farthing, Ph.D., who is supervising the project.

CONSENT: If you are interested in participating in this study, please indicate your willingness by checking “yes” on the “Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me” form enclosed (the yellow form), fill in your name and address and return the form in the self-addressed stamped return envelope provided. I will then contact you by telephone to arrange for your participation in one of the focus groups. If you are not interested in participating, please check “no” on the “Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me” form, indicate the reason for your decision by checking one or more of the reasons that apply and return the form to me. You will not be contacted again.

QUESTIONS: Should you have any questions regarding this study, please don't hesitate to call me. I can be reached at:


Phone: (306) 477-0202

Mail: Psychology Department
University of Saskatchewan
9 Campus Drive
Saskatoon SK S7N 5A5

E-mail: mvk129@mail.usask.ca

APPENDIX B3 - “Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me” Form

Having read a description of this research project do you wish to participate in this research?

Yes  Please fill out **Part A** and **Part C** below

No  Please fill out **Part B** and **Part C** below

Part A: CONTACT INFORMATION

Name: _____

Phone #: _____

Best time(s) to reach me: _____

Part B: REASON(S) FOR NOT RESPONDING

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for considering this research and to state that I respect your decision not to participate. I would greatly appreciate it if you could please fill out this brief “Reason(s) for Not Responding” section along with the demographics section in **Part C**, and return this page in the postage paid return envelope. The information on the “Reason(s) for not Responding” form is important for three reasons: (1) you will not receive follow-up reminder letters, (2) it will help us determine to which segment of the population the results of this research apply, and (3) it will help us understand why you have chosen not to respond.

If you should choose not to fill out the “Reason(s) for Not Responding form, please mail back the blank form in the postage paid return envelope so that we do not disturb you with follow-up letters designed to remind those who have chosen to participate but have forgotten to return this form. Thank you once again for your time and consideration.

I have chosen not to participate in this research project because (please check all that apply):

I’m not interested in the research topic

I feel that this research invades my privacy

I don’t like the way this research is being conducted

I’m not confident that my answers will remain confidential

I don’t like doing research projects

I can’t afford the time right now

Other: _____

Part C: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

1. Gender:

- Male
- Female

2. Month and year in which you were born (e.g. February 1979):

3. Marital status:

- Single
- Married
- Other _____

4. Highest level of education achieved:

- less than Grade 12
- Grade 12
- Some college or university

o
o

Year of graduation from Grade 12: _____

5. Living arrangements:

- With parents or other relatives
- Student residence
- Independent rental accommodations
- Other: _____

6. Do you currently attend

- a Ukrainian Catholic church?
- a church of another denomination?
- no church?

7. If you do attend a church, how often do you attend this church?

- More than once a week
- About once a week
- 2 or 3 times a month
- Once a month
- Once or twice a year (e.g., Christmas and Easter)
- Other (e.g., Only when I go home) _____
- I prefer not to disclose this information

Please return this form in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope **within one week**. Thank you!

APPENDIX C - Reminder Notice

Saskatchewan

Maria V. Lizak
Psychology Dept., University of

9 Campus Drive
Saskatoon SK S7N 5A5
[date]

[Participant's name and address]

Dear [Name],

Several weeks ago I wrote to you requesting your help with a study I am conducting, exploring sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults. This research is intended to help our Ukrainian Catholic church in Saskatchewan listen and respond to the needs of young adults like yourself, so that you are included in community life and parish activities. In order to accomplish this task, I need to hear from people like yourself and I'm hoping that you will share your valuable experiences with me.

I have not yet heard from you, as to whether you're interested in participating in this study. I have enclosed another copy of information about the study as well a consent form, in case you misplaced or did not receive the first package. Regardless of whether you choose to participate or not, please return the "Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me" form to me in the self-addressed, stamped envelope. That way, I won't have to bother you again with a reminder letter and we can conserve paper. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Maria V. Lizak,

APPENDIX D1 - Telephone Screening Interview

1. Contacting the potential participant

“Hello, may I please speak to [name]?”

If the person is not at home:

“When would be a good time to reach [him/her]?”

If an answering machine is reached [if first time, make note and call back at a different time]:

“My name is Maria Lizak and I’m calling about the study I’m conducting with Ukrainian Catholic young adults. I received your consent form saying you were interested in participating in the study. I’d like to ask you a few questions and arrange for you to join one of the focus groups. Could you please call me at 477-0202 - leave a message if I’m not home. [For those people are long distance, tell them they can call collect.] Thank you.”

2. Explaining the project

“My name is Maria Lizak and I’m calling about the study I’m conducting with Ukrainian Catholic young adults. I received your consent form saying you were interested in participating in the study. Do you have a few minutes now? Do you have any questions for me about the study?”

“Before I arrange for you to join one of the focus groups, I’d like to ask you a few questions if that’s OK with you. If you don’t want to answer a particular question, just let me know and we’ll move on to the next one. [Fill in any information that was not provided in the Consent to Have Researcher Contact Me form - see Telephone Screening Questionnaire, Appendix D2.]

3. Scheduling the session

“Based on the answers you gave me, I think the session that will be most appropriate for you to attend will be on [date] at [time]. We would start at [time] and end at [time]. Would that date and time work for you? Your time is valuable and we’ll respect everyone’s schedules by both starting and ending on time. Can you foresee any problems getting to the session for [time]? Would you need transportation?”

“The focus group will be held at [location]. Do you know where this is? I can send you a map along with a letter confirming your participation in this focus group, if this would be helpful.

“At the group we’ll be serving refreshments and snacks. Do you have any dietary restrictions?”

“We will be giving everyone a reminder call the day before the group. Thank you and I look forward to seeing you on [date].

- More than once a week
- About once a week
- 2 or 3 times a month
- Once a month
- Once or twice a year (e.g., Christmas and Easter)
- Other (e.g., Only when I go home) _____
- I prefer not to disclose this information

8. Do you participate in any parish clubs, organizations or other activities such as singing in a choir, greeting people at the door or reading the epistle ?

- Yes -> Which ones?
- No

9. Do you belong to any non-parish Ukrainian clubs, associations or organizations?

- Yes -> Which ones?
- No

Past Affiliation, Membership, Attendance Level and Involvement

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about the period of time before you graduated from grade 12.

10. Where did you live prior to graduating from grade 12?

11. Did you attend a church in [name of city or town in which they lived previously]?

- Yes -> Which one? (Get name and denomination)
- No

12. [If they did attend a church, ask:] How often did you attend this parish/church?

- More than once a week
- About once a week
- 2 or 3 times a month
- Once a month
- Once or twice a year (e.g., Christmas and Easter)
- Other (e.g., Only when I go home) _____
- I prefer not to disclose this information

13. Do you participate in any parish clubs, organizations or other activities such as singing in a choir, greeting people at the door or reading the epistle?

- Yes -> Which ones?
- No

Parents

Now I'd like to ask you a question about your parents' level of involvement with church.

14. Would you say your parents are more involved, about as involved, or less involved than you in their church? [Get them to explain. Ask if this is the same for his/her mother and father.]

- More involved
- About as involved
- Less involved

Explain: _____

APPENDIX E - Confirmation Letter for Focus Group

Maria Lizak
Psychology Department
University of Saskatchewan
9 Campus Drive
Saskatoon SK S7N 5A5
[Date]

[Participant's name and address]

Dear [Name]:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the focus group that we're holding on [date] at [time] at [location - most likely a suitable room in the Department of Psychology]. You may park [location]. I have included a map which indicates the room and parking if you need it.

As I explained in the letter and earlier telephone call, the purpose of this group is to hear about your experiences as a young person in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. You will be part of a group of seven or eight young people your age from across Saskatchewan who have attended or been involved with the Ukrainian Catholic Church to a greater or lesser extent - you may or may not know the other participants. I know that people have had a wide variety of experiences with the Church and with the Ukrainian Catholic community, and I am very interested in hearing about *your* experiences.

Beverages and snacks will be provided. Greg Thomas, a member of Sts. Peter and Paul parish will be assisting me to run the group. The session will begin at [time 1] and end at [time 2]. Your time is valuable and we will respect everyone's schedules by both starting and ending on time. So, please allow yourself enough time to reach [location] before [time 1].

As I mentioned to you in the information letter which you received originally, we will be tape recording your discussion with the other participants, so that we can keep a careful record of the things that we hear from you and the others. We will, as I promised, take every step to maintain your confidentiality.

Once again, I'm glad you have accepted my invitation to participate in this group. Of course, the success of any group depends on each of its members, so I'm counting on you. If you cannot attend for any reason, please call me at (306) 477-0202 as soon as possible.

I look forward to meeting with you on [date].

Sincerely yours,

Maria V. Lizak
Graduate Student Researcher

APPENDIX F1 - Focus Group Information

SENSE OF COMMUNITY AMONG UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC YOUNG ADULTS: EPARCHY OF SASKATOON FOCUS GROUP INFORMATION

Welcome and Introductions

- Moderator - Maria Lizak
- Assistant Moderator

Purpose of focus group

- to explore sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults
- to discuss your experiences with the Ukrainian Catholic church

Results

- sent to you
- presentations given to interested groups in the Eparchy

Roles

- Moderator - guide session, ask questions, probe for clarification
- Assistant Moderator - tape record session, make notes, summarize discussion
- Participants - represent yourself, give your opinions, respond freely and honestly

Remember...

Voluntary participation

- you may withdraw from the discussion at anytime - no negative consequences
- you may decline to answer questions

Confidentiality

- respect confidentiality of other participants - talk to others outside the group only about your own experiences and comments
- no names included on focus group transcripts
- results presented in group form

Ground Rules

- give freely of your thoughts, feelings and experiences
- speak for yourself only and let others do the same
- appreciate the other person's point of view
- confine your discussion to the topic
- give everyone time to speak; take the initiative to speak your "fair share"
- keep confidences and assume others will

- be open to learning
- no right or wrong answers

Any questions?

**APPENDIX F2 - “Consent to Participate in Focus Group and to Be Audiotaped”
Form**

This is to certify that I, _____, hereby agree to participate as a volunteer in a focus group interview for the study entitled Sense of Community Among Ukrainian Catholic young adults: Eparchy of Saskatoon as an authorized part of the research undertakings within the Department of Psychology at the University of Saskatchewan by Maria Lizak, M.A., under the supervision of G. Farthing, Ph.D.

The group interview and my part in it has been explained to me by Maria Lizak and I understand her explanation. The procedures of the focus group and any concerns have been fully described and discussed in detail with me.

I understand that I can refuse to answer specific questions in the focus group. I also understand that I may discontinue my participation at any time during the focus group.

I also understand that I will receive a summary of the results in the mail once data analysis has been completed and that several copies of the summary will be sent to the Bishop of the Eparchy (or the Eparchial Administrator in the absence of a Bishop). If the Eparchy decides to have another Dialogue Forum, Maria Lizak will also offer to present the results of this study at the forum.

I further understand that the results of this study will be published in an academic journal such as the *Journal of Community Psychology* or *Religion and Psychology*. To protect my confidentiality, the results will only be presented in group form, and the Eparchy will not be named specifically - reference will be made to “young adults of a Ukrainian Catholic jurisdiction in Western Canada.”

Finally, I understand that the data from this study including transcripts and audiotapes (without identifying information) will be securely stored for a period of 5 years (as per University requirements) at St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, by Gerry Farthing, Ph.D., who is supervising the project.

I have read through the focus group information form and through this consent form and understand their contents. I have been given an opportunity to ask whatever questions I may have had and all such questions have been answered to my satisfaction. *[If you have any unanswered questions, please ask Maria now.]*

This is also to certify that I, _____, agree to having this interview audiotaped and used for the study entitled Sense of Community Among Ukrainian Catholic young adults: Eparchy of Saskatoon. I understand that identifying information will not appear on any recordings, nor on the interview transcripts which will be produced from these audiotaped recordings.

Date

Participant’s Signature

I, the undersigned, have fully explained the investigation to the above individual.

Date

Investigator’s Signature

APPENDIX G - Focus Group Interview Schedule

Opening question:

- 1) Please introduce yourselves, telling us your name, your hometown and what you're doing now. Also, if you know someone else in the group, I'd like you to tell us how you know them. (5 min)

Introductory questions:

- 2) What is a Ukrainian Catholic? [Brainstorm and use flipchart.]
Could you tell me one thing? What would be the first thing that you might think of?
Probe: How is a Ukrainian Catholic different from a Roman Catholic?
How is a UC different from a Ukrainian Orthodox? From a Protestant?
- 3) In what ways, if any, are you connected to the Ukrainian Catholic community? [write answers on flip chart] (10-15 min)
Probe: attendance, church or culture-related activities, friendships, family involvement, strength of commitment, faith

Transition question:

- 4) What does sense of community mean to you? [Brainstorm and use flipchart.]
Emphasize that a diversity of responses is OK: "Can mean different things to each of you". If they are having trouble coming up with something say, "It's a tough question, but I'd like you to struggle with it for a while." Get them to think about where they've experienced a sense of community. If they still struggle, get them to define community first. If they want to know what I mean by SOC say: "I want to find out what you think it is, what it means to you. I want to know how each of you would define it." (10-15 min)

Key questions:

- 5) Tell us about your experience of sense of community with the Ukrainian Catholic community. (15-20 min)
- 6) Tell us about a time when you most experienced a sense of community within the Ukrainian Catholic community. (20-25 min)
- 7) Has your sense of community changed over time? How? (15-20 min)
- 8) What would make your sense of community more complete? (10 min)
- 9) Is there anything you can think of that is so crucial that if it wasn't there your sense of community would be destroyed? (10 min)
- 10) How important is being Ukrainian to your sense of community? How important is being Eastern Christian to your sense of community? How important is being

Catholic to your sense of community? How important is faith to your sense of community? [Individually rate each item on a scale from 0 = not at all important to 4 = extremely important, then discuss as a group. Rate again after discussion.] (20-25 min)

End question:

- 11) What would they like done with this information? What would you like to ask/tell the priests? [Give a quick summary, then ask for a final thought from each person.] (10 min)

APPENDIX H1 - Focus Group Notes

Name:

Date:

Location:

Focus group number:

Tape number:

Diagram of seating arrangement:

Key points in discussion:

Notable quotes:

Important observations (e.g. silent agreement, obvious body language, indications of group mood, irony or contradictory statements when the meaning is opposite of what was said)

APPENDIX H2 - Debriefing Notes

- T Name, date, focus group number:
- T Check tape recording for quality
- T Label all field notes and tapes
- T Discuss the following points (& tape discussion):

Most important themes expressed:

Most noteworthy quotes:

Unexpected or unanticipated findings:

Comparison and contrast of this focus group with other groups or with what was expected:

Usefulness of questions and need for revision or adjustment:

APPENDIX I - Participation Rates and Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Participation Rates

I. A) Jana received a total of 180 names from the following districts:

Canora	12
Cudworth	0
Hafford	15
Humboldt	3
Ituna	17
Kamsack	11
Melfort	2
Moosejaw	2
North Battleford	10
Regina	10
Saskatoon	49
Wynyard	27
Yorkton 1998	22

B) Names were not received from:

Montmartre (likely no graduates)
Prince Albert (parish president had concerns about confidentiality)
Wadena (likely very few, if any)
Saskatoon mission (likely very few, if any)
Yorkton (1997 graduates not submitted)

II. Of these 180, study information and participation requests were sent out to 154 individuals (85.6%). The initial mail out in February of 1999 was sent to 89 individuals. A second mail out at the end of was sent to an additional 65 people. Information was not sent to 26 individuals for the following reasons:

Indicated in initial phone call that they were not interested	2
No contact information or incorrect contact information	8
Ukrainian Orthodox	7
Graduated in a year other than 1997 or 1998	9

III. Of these 154 people, we were able to contact and get information from 114 individuals (74%) who had graduated in 1997 or 1998 or were supposed to have graduated in either of these two years. In addition, we had limited information on another 10 individuals (6.5%) (i.e., where they are living and year they graduated). The remaining 30 individuals fell into one of the following categories:

Graduated in a year other than 1997 or 1998	23
No information on year graduated ever obtained	7

- IV. Of these 114 individuals whom we contacted who had graduated in 1997 or 1998 (or were supposed to have graduated in either of these two years) 57 agreed to participate (50%).

The remaining 66 individuals who chose not to participate gave the following reasons for not doing so:

Can't afford the time right now	54.5%
Don't like doing research projects	9.1%
Not interested in research topic	7.6%
Feel that this research invades my privacy	4.5%
Don't like the way research is being conducted	1.5%
Other	53.0%

Individuals could endorse more than one reason. Some of the other reasons given for choosing not to participate included being out of the province or country, not being able to come to one of the cities where the group was being held, not feeling comfortable in group discussions, and further explanations of why they were too busy to participate in a group. One person stated that they were "not Catholic or Ukrainian." Another said they were not a practising Catholic." Still others were not available the day a group was being held in their area and a few others were not contacted by phone until after the last focus group had been held.

- V. Of those who agreed to participate, 22 actually did participate in a focus group. This represents 19.3% of the total of 114 eligible individuals. (Another 7 people had been scheduled to participate in a focus group but did not show up at the appointed time and could not be rescheduled.)

Demographic Information

The initial mailout in March of 1999 was sent to 89 individuals. Nearly one-half of these young adults returned a consent form (n = 44; 49%). A reminder notice was then sent to those participants who had not yet returned a consent form. Following this reminder, another 9 responded. Unfortunately, we had forgotten to code the return envelopes, so it not possible to know precisely who had not yet responded. Therefore, I decided to phone the remaining individuals. In all, I was able to contact 26 young adults from this initial group. By the end of the study (December 31, 2000), I had not contacted 4 people from this initial mail out.

A second mail out on April 28, 1999 was sent to an additional 65 people. Consent forms were returned by 13 individuals. I contacted another 43 of these people by phone. By the end of the study, I had not contacted 15 people from the second mail out.

As part of the consent form mailed initially to all participants, individuals returning the consent forms were asked to supply general demographic information including gender, month and year of birth, marital status, highest level of education achieved, living arrangements, current attendance at a Ukrainian Catholic Church or a

Church of another denomination, and current attendance level (see Appendix B3). For those individuals contacted by phone, either because they had not returned a consent form or because they had indicated they were willing to participate in a focus group, additional demographic information was collected including current participation in Church or Ukrainian cultural activities, previous Church attended, previous attendance level, previous participation in Church or Ukrainian cultural activities, parents' level of involvement relative to that of the young adults' level of participation, and ethnicity of the parents (see telephone screening questionnaire, Appendix D2).

Of the 114 individuals that we were able to contact and get information from, we obtained complete demographic information on 80 individuals. In addition, we were able to get partial information (from the consent forms) from another 44 individuals. An additional 10 people were never contacted, however, we did have limited information on them (i.e., gender, where they were currently living, year they graduated). Demographic information for these 114 individuals are presented in Tables I-1 through I-5. Due to variations in the way demographic information was collected (as described above) actual sample size varies among the different types of information.

As can be seen in Table I-1, the percentage of males versus females on whom we were able to get some information was approximately equal (53.2% vs. 46.8%). The average age of these young adults at the time that we contacted them was 19.5 years and they ranged in age from 18.3 years to 21.8 years. The vast majority were not married (94.7%) and the majority had graduated from grade 12 and gone on to take some college or university courses (69.0%). The fact that only 2 individuals in our sample had not graduated from grade 12 may be a reflection, in part, of how the sample was generated since a number of Churches contacted simply sent in their lists of people 1997 and 1998 graduates as published in their Church bulletins. Thus, they may have omitted individuals who would have been of the age to have graduated in 1997 or 1998 and thus eligible for this study. However, my guess is that the number of individuals falling into these categories is likely to be small.

Continuing with the demographic information, the percentage of 1998 graduates (56.5%) is somewhat higher than the percentage of 1997 graduates (42.7%). This reflects the fact that names of graduates for the Yorkton district were only received for 1998 - a total of 22. Had we been able to obtain a similar number of names for the 1997 graduates we would have been able to get information from a good number of these giving us information on approximately equal numbers of 1997 and 1998 graduates.

The majority (46.4%) of participants were living with their parents or other relatives at the time we contacted them. Of these 52 participants living with parents or other relatives, the majority (86.5%) had not moved since graduating from highschool and more of these young adults were from the city (65.4%) than from the country (21.2%). Another 4 individuals (7.7%) had moved but were living with an aunt, uncle, brother or sister. Another 3 participants (5.8%) were also living with relatives but had moved from one city to another within Saskatchewan, or had moved to Alberta or another province.

The second largest percentage (37.5)% of participants were living in independent rental accommodations (e.g. apartment, rented house). Of these 42 people, the largest percentage (47.6%) had moved from a rural area to a city pursuing education or

Table I-1. Demographic information for Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan

Demographic Information	Valid Percentage	N
Gender		
Male	53.2	61
Female	46.8	63
Total		124
Marital status		
Single	94.7	107
Married	0.0	0
Other (engaged, common-law)	5.3	6
Total		113
Highest level of education achieved		
Less than grade 12	1.8	2
Grade 12	29.2	33
Some college or university	69.0	78
Total		113
Year graduated		
1997	42.7	53
1998	56.5	69
Did not graduate	1.6	2
Total		124
Current living arrangements		
With parents or other relatives	46.4	52
Student residence	9.8	11
Independent rental accommodations	37.5	42
Other (e.g., owns house, boarding)	6.3	7
Total		112

employment. Another 8 individuals (19.0%) had moved from one city to another within Saskatchewan and 6 individuals (14.3%) had moved to Alberta. The remainder of young adults living in independent rental accommodations had stayed in the same city (n= 3, 7.1%), moved to Manitoba (n=2, 4.8%), moved to another province (n=1, 2.4%), moved from one rural area to another (n=1, 2.4%) or moved out of Canada (n=1, 2.4%).

After the two largest groups of participants living with parents/other relatives or in independent rental accommodations, another 9.8% of participants identified themselves as living in student residences, of whom only one individual was living in the same city as his/her parents. Otherwise, these students living in residence had moved from a city to another city within Saskatchewan (n=4, 3.6%) or from a rural area to a city (n=3, 10.3%) or had moved to Alberta (n=1, 9.1%) or to another province (n=1, 9.1%).

Finally, 6.3% of the participants had other living arrangements, either boarding with someone as was the case with a couple of hockey players, or living in a house or condo that they or their parents owned.

Table I-2 provides information on where participants lived prior to graduating from grade 12 and where they lived at the time we contacted them. While initially all participants lived in Saskatchewan, at the time we contacted them, 83.1% were still living in Saskatchewan with the next highest percentage having moved to Alberta (8.9%). The rest were scattered throughout Canada with only 2 participants (1.6%) residing in the United States at the time they were contacted.

Table I-2 also looks at the percentage of participants dwelling in rural versus urban areas. Whereas participants were nearly equally likely to come from a rural area as an urban area (53.2% vs. 46.8%), at the time they were contacted to participate in this study the great majority now lived in an urban area (80.2%). For the purposes of this study, urban areas included the following cities: Saskatoon, Regina, Yorkton, Moose Jaw, Swift Current, North Battleford and Prince Albert. As previously noted, names were not received from Prince Albert (potential numbers unknown), Montmartre (likely no graduates), Wadena (likely very few, if any), Saskatoon mission (likely very few, if any) and 1997 Yorkton graduates. This had the likely effect of slightly inflating the percentage of participants who were originally from rural areas.

Finally, Table I-2 provides greater detail on the district in which participants lived prior to graduating from grade 12 and at the time of the study. Prior to graduating from grade 12 the largest number of participants came from Saskatoon (27.4%), Wynyard (21.0%) and Yorkton (15.3%). At the time of the study, the majority of young adults were living in Saskatoon (56.3%), Regina (14.6%) and Yorkton (11.7%) As has already been mentioned the actual number of young adults who lived in Yorkton both before and after graduating is low since we do not have information on 1997 graduates. Assuming equal numbers of Yorkton graduates from 1997 and 1998, as well as similar patterns of residence for graduates of the two years, the above mentioned figures could be adjusted as follows: (1) Prior to graduating from grade 12, the majority of participants lived in Yorkton (26.6%), followed by Saskatoon (23.8)% and Wynyard (18.2%); (2) At the time that we contacted them, the majority of young adults were living in Saskatoon (54%), Yorkton (15.6%) and Regina (13.9%).

Table I-2. Where Ukrainian Catholic young adults from Saskatchewan lived at the time of the study and before graduating from grade 12

Where They Lived	At the time of study		Prior to Graduating	
	Valid Percentage	N	Valid Percentage	N
Province				
Saskatchewan	83.1	103	100	124
Alberta	8.9	11	0	0
Manitoba	2.4	3	0	0
Ontario	1.6	2	0	0
British Columbia	0.8	1	0	0
United States	1.6	2	0	0
Unknown	1.6	2	0	0
Total		124		124
Rural vs. Urban				
Rural	19.8	24	53.2	66
Urban	80.2	97	46.8	58
Total		121		124
District within Saskatchewan				
Saskatoon	56.3	58	27.4	34
Regina	14.6	15	6.5	8
Yorkton	11.7	12	15.3	19
Wynyard	7.8	8	21.0	26
Ituna	2.9	3	8.1	10
Kamsack	1.9	2	5.6	7
Canora	1.9	2	6.5	8
Humboldt	1.0	1	1.6	2
North Battleford	1.0	1	1.6	2
Swift Current	1.0	1	0.0	0
Hafford	0.0	0	3.2	4
Moose Jaw	0.0	0	1.6	2
Melfort	0.0	0	1.6	2
Total		103		124

Participants were asked to identify the ethnicity of their mother and father as being fully Ukrainian, partly Ukrainian and partly another ethnic background, or totally of another ethnic background. As can be seen in Table I-3, the majority of participants' mothers were fully Ukrainian (57.0%) and another 22.8% were at least partly Ukrainian. An even higher percentage of participants' fathers were Ukrainian (73.4%) with an additional 13.9% being at least partly Ukrainian. Combining the information on parents' ethnicity yielded interesting information about the ethnic background of the young adults themselves (and therefore the inter-ethnic marriage rates of their parents). The majority of young adults in our sample had two parents who were fully Ukrainian (39.2%). Another 26.6% had one parent who was fully Ukrainian and one parent who was partly Ukrainian, followed by 25.3% who had one parent who was fully Ukrainian and one parent who had no Ukrainian ancestry. Taken together, the above numbers indicate that the vast majority of participants (91.1%) had at least one parent who was fully Ukrainian. For the remaining participants, their parents were both partly Ukrainian (2.5%), one partly Ukrainian and the other of another ethnic background (5.1%) or both of another ethnic background (1.3%).

Table I-4 presents various indicators of involvement with the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Catholic community more generally, both for the period of time before graduating from grade 12 and since graduation. When asked to indicate whether they attended a Ukrainian Catholic Church, a Church of another denomination, or no Church prior to graduating from grade 12, the vast majority (92.5%) indicated that they attended a Ukrainian Catholic Church. One to two years post graduation, the number of young adults who still identified themselves as attending a Ukrainian Catholic Church had dropped to 83.6%, whereas the number of young adults who claimed they attended no Church rose to 12.7% from 3.8%. The number of young adults who stated that they attended a Church of another denomination stayed relatively constant (3.6% at the time of the study vs. 3.8% prior to graduation).

Even more interesting is the attendance patterns for the young adult participants. Whereas 50% of participants had previously attended Church at least once a week, this percentage dropped to 14.5% after graduation. The percentage of individuals reporting that they attended Church 2-3 times per month remained relatively unchanged (22.5% prior to graduation vs. 23.6% at the time of the study). The percentage of young adults attending Church approximately once a month rose from 12.5% prior to graduation to 22.7% after graduation. Similarly, the percentage of participants attending Church several times per year increased from 10.0% to 14.5%, and the percentage of young adults attending Church once or twice a year (e.g. Christmas and Easter) rose from 1.3% to 10.9%. In response to this question about frequency of attendance, the number of young adults who said they did not attend Church at the time of the study does not match the number who said they attended no Church in response to the question of which Church they attended. The reason for this is that 5 individuals who originally said that they attended no Church went on to say that they did attend Church on an infrequent basis, often when they went home to visit their parents.

Another way of looking at attendance patterns is to divide participants into frequent versus infrequent attenders. Considered this way, the number of people who attended Church services at least 2-3 times per month dropped from 72.5% prior to graduation, to 38.2% after graduation.

Table I-3. Ethnicity of Saskatchewan Ukrainian Catholic young adults

Demographic Information	Valid Percentage	N
Mother's ethnicity		
Fully Ukrainian	57.0	45
Ukrainian and another ethnic background	22.8	18
Other ethnic background	20.3	16
Total		79
Father's ethnicity		
Fully Ukrainian	73.4	58
Ukrainian and another ethnic background	13.9	11
Other ethnic background	12.7	10
Total		79
Young adults' ethnic background		
Fully Ukrainian	39.2	31
One parent fully Ukrainian, one parent partly Ukrainian	26.6	21
One parent fully Ukrainian, one parent other ethnic background	25.3	20
Both parents partly Ukrainian	2.5	2
One parent partly Ukrainian, one parent other ethnic background	5.1	4
Both parents other ethnic background	1.3	1
Total		79

Table I-4. Church attendance and involvement in church-related and cultural activities for Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan

Involvement with Ukrainian Catholic Church	At the time of Study		Prior to Graduating	
	Valid Percentage	N	Valid Percentage	N
Church attended				
Ukrainian Catholic	83.6	92	92.5	74
Church of another denomination	3.6	4	3.8	3
No Church	12.7	14	3.8	3
Total		110		80
Attendance Pattern				
More than once a week	0.9	1	3.8	3
About once a week	13.6	15	46.3	37
2-3 times per month	23.6	26	22.5	18
Once a month	22.7	25	12.5	10
Several times per year	14.5	16	10.0	8
Once or twice a year (e.g., Christmas and Easter)	10.9	12	1.3	1
Only when I go home	3.6	4	N/A	N/A
Other	1.8	2	0.0	0
Doesn't attend Church	8.2	9	3.8	3
Total		110		80
Frequent vs. Infrequent Attenders				
At least 2-3 times per month	38.2	42	72.5	58
Once a month or less often	61.8	68	27.5	22
Total		110		80
Active in Church activities				
Active on a regular basis	12.5	10	78.8	63
Active on an irregular basis	12.5	10	6.3	5
Inactive	75.0	60	15.0	12
Total		80		80
Active in Ukrainian cultural activities				
Active	5.0	4	55.7	44
Inactive	95.0	76	44.3	35
Total		80		79

Participants were also asked questions about their involvement in Church and cultural activities. For Church activities, their responses were classified into three categories: “active on a regular basis,” “active on an irregular basis,” and “inactive.” Table I-4 presents information on involvement levels both prior to graduation from grade 12 and at the time of the study. The percentage of young adults active on a regular basis in Church activities dropped from 78.8% to 12.5%. These previously active individuals became after graduation active on an irregular basis (12.5%) or inactive (75.0%), with the vast majority of study participants describing themselves as inactive in Church activities at the time of the study. Similarly, involvement in Ukrainian cultural activities dropped dramatically from 55.7% prior to graduation to 5% at the time of the study.

Table I-5 details the types of Church-related and cultural activities young adults described themselves as being involved in, broken down by gender (based on information obtained from 80 individuals). Church-related and cultural activities engaged in both prior to graduation and at the time of the study, based on the responses of 80 individuals. Prior to graduation from grade 12, the most commonly engaged in Church-related activities for boys/young men was serving as an altar boy, followed by catechism or Sunday school and youth group or UCY (Ukrainian Catholic Youth). For the girls/young women the Church-related activities most commonly engaged in included volunteering at parish functions, catechism, singing and youth group. After graduation, at the time they were contacted to participate in this study, these same young adults were engaged in far fewer Church-related activities. Four young men reported that they were still involved in helping out with Church services, two reported that they were members of the Knights of Columbus or Brotherhood and another two volunteered at parish functions. In comparison, the young women continued to be involved in Church-related activities in larger numbers than the young men, but also much less involved than they had been prior to graduating. The activities mentioned most frequently by the young women included singing and reading the epistle followed by teaching catechism, volunteering at parish functions and being involved in Roman Catholic youth ministries such as Catholic Christian Outreach and Catholic Youth Ministry.

A similar decline for involvement in Ukrainian cultural activities following graduation occurred for the young men and women. Prior to graduation, by far the most popular cultural activities were Ukrainian dancing, followed by Ukrainian language classes, with more girls than boys involved in these activities. After graduation, almost no one continued with cultural activities, not even Ukrainian dancing.

Table I-5. Specific Church-related and cultural activities mentioned by Ukrainian Catholic young adults in Saskatchewan

Activities Involved In		At the Time of the Study		Prior to Graduation	
		Females	Males	Females	Males
C h u r c h - r e l a t e d	Youth Group / UCY / Junior UCY	1	0	12	13
	Reading the Epistle	4	1	7	1
	Singing / Choir	5	0	13	4
	Leading Children's Choir	0	0	1	0
	Rosary / Stations of the Cross	1	0	1	1
	Altar Boy	N/A	0	N/A	30
	Children of Mary/Sodality	0	N/A	5	N/A
	Youth for Christ Rally / Youth Retreats/ World Youth Day	1	0	5	2
	Catechism / Sunday School / Vacation Bible School	1	1	14	15
	Teaching Catechism	2	0	2	0
	Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood/K of C	N/A	2	N/A	0
	Usher / Greeter / Carry the Cross / Helping out with Services	1	4	1	1
	Catholic Christian Outreach / Catholic Youth Ministry	2	0	0	0
	Youth Rep on Parish Council	0	0	2	0
	Volunteering at Parish Functions (e.g., pancake breakfasts, bingos, dances, bazaars, teas, cleaning the church)	2	2	19	2

Activities Involved In		At the Time of the Study		Prior to Graduation	
		Females	Males	Females	Males
C u l t u r a l	Ukrainian Dancing	2	1	24	15
	Teaching Ukrainian Dancing	1	0	0	0
	Ukrainian Musical Instruments / Konkurs	1	0	1	1
	Ukrainian Language Classes	1	0	7	5
	Winterfest	0	0	1	0
	Camp - St. Michael's/St. Volodimir's	0	0	1	1