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Preface

My research on ethnic identity and Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community began as work for the Anthropology Research Seminar, the capstone course of my undergraduate Anthropology/History education. The course's focus was the student production of an original fieldwork based research project. After the course ended, I chose to continue my research as a Senior Honors Thesis.

After some preliminary research online to get an idea about what types of ethnic/culture organizations Pittsburgh offers, I found an announcement for the Pittsburgh Ukrainian Festival, 20^{th} Anniversary concert in honor of the 10^{th} Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine and in Remembrance of the September 11^{th} Tragedy. It was scheduled for September 30 at the Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh campus. At the annual Ukrainian Festival I fumbled with my notebook, wondering if I was paying correct attention to the right things. My first exposure to Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community was also my first experience as a participant observer.

I was unable to tell from the outside of the Cathedral that there was anything out of the ordinary going on within its walls on that day. There were no banners, no signs, no groups of Ukrainians ushering in passers by. It was very much a family affair as are many community activities, as I would later discover (One man commented that the Ukrainian calendar is 52 days a year, meaning every Sunday). As I entered the Cathedral, the rich scent of Borscht and Holubtsi and the echo of music through the great hall signaled to me that I was in the right place. It took a minute for my eyes to adjust to the dimness of the Cathedral's main level. Above the corner of the Cathedral floor that was separated for dancers, colorful floral print silken scarves were draped over the railings for background decoration. The Ukrainian National Women's League of America sold Ukrainian crafts like pysanky eggs, beadwork, clothing and embroidery that were produced in Ukraine, the proceeds of which were returned to the artisans abroad. In addition to crafts, children's books and baked goods, T-shirts, religious items and Ukrainian popular and folk music were available for sale. Tables hosted by various Ukrainian organizations from around Pittsburgh were also set up; for example, The Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance of Western Pennsylvania Federal Credit

Union were present. Both the young and old in attendance were dressed in styles ranging from Ukrainian folk to Western urban chic. They chatted in Ukrainian and (to a lesser extent) English. Wives and children accompanied Orthodox priests as they greeted guests. Children in traditional clothing performed folk dances taught through the Ridna Shkola of Pittsburgh and even a couple of Pitt security guards joined in the food line. I felt as if I were the only person who had arrived alone in the entire place, a feeling accentuated by the language barrier.

One woman passed me as she made her way through the crowd passing out flyers. I gladly accepted one, excited that someone was accosting me for a change. It was an invitation to join the Cultural Trust Choir of Western Pennsylvania. Although the choir sings for Christian holidays, Christmas and Easter in particular, it is non-denominational and luckily for me provided its singers with transliterated lyrics. Making initial contacts at the Festival and joining the choir were my first attempts to get to know the Ukrainian immigrants in Pittsburgh. That I decided to concentrate on the Ukrainian immigrant community specifically was more a matter of timing, than because of a prior personal connection or knowledge of Ukraine and its Diaspora. When my research began, I knew practically nothing of Ukraine, Ukrainian history or Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community.

Methods

My research is based on interviews with Ukrainians and Ukrainian-Americans as well as participant observation experiences. I talked with ten people from eight families, attended church services, and cultural events in addition to being a member of the Ukrainian choir.

Directed by Grounded Theory, as developed by Strauss and Corbin, I began conducting interviews with a hope that some aspect of the community would elicit further inquiry. A Grounded Theory

"is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory and then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge."

This study makes no attempts to advance a single theoretical perspective on identity in immigrant communities, but borrows from a number of perspectives to elucidate the Ukrainian immigrant community, as it exists in Pittsburgh. Scholarly works figure less prominently because of a personal desire to focus on fieldwork outside of the library.

My networking strategy has proven a problematic aspect of my research. Because I made contact with the majority of my informants through established community channels, most of the people interviewed consider themselves part of that community. This somewhat biased data pool has informed my perceptions of Ukrainian-immigrant identity as being what those who participate in the community understand it to be. Despite this limitation, the internal diversity of that community and the implicit and explicit dialogue between members regarding membership are its most fascinating characteristics.

Ukrainian immigration to the United States can be divided into four waves. The descendents of the first two waves to come to Western Pennsylvania are native-born US citizens. Ukrainians of the third wave arrived after World War II and the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration, which began in the late 1980's, continues today. The community and the way that group identity is created and maintained is the product of the dialogue and argument between these groups about how what it means to be Ukrainian changes with regard to time and space.

Milton Yinger's chart² (reproduced below) outlines traits that can serve to some degree as possible predictors of the relative importance of ethnic group affiliation. Despite some shortcomings when applied to this particular case, it helps to place Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community in a larger immigrant group framework:

Tend to Increase Importance

- 1. Large group (relative to total population)
- 2. Residentially concentrated by region and community
- 3. Short-term residents
- (high proportion of new-comers)
- 4. Return to homeland easy and frequent
- 5. Different Language
- 6. Different religion from dominant group
- 7. Different Race
- 8. Involuntary Immigrants
- 9. Culturally different society
- 10. Attracted to political and economic developments on land of origin
- 11. Homogeneous in class and occupation
- 12. Low average level of education
- 13. Victim of a great deal of discrimination
- 14. Resident in a society with little social mobility

Tend to Decrease Importance

- 1. Small group
- 2. Residentially Scattered
- 3. Long-term residents (low proportion of new-comers)
- 4. Return to homeland difficult and infrequent
- 5. Dominant Language
- 6. Share religion of dominant group(s)
- 7. Same race
- 8. Voluntary immigrants
- 9. Culturally similar society
- 10. Repelled by those developments
- 11. Diverse in class and occupation
- 12. High average level of education
- 13. Little discrimination
- 14. Resident in open-class society

In many ways Pittsburgh's Ukrainian community and the different waves that compose it reflect the above listed chart. Yinger's list helps illuminate some trends in ethnic group participation; for example, the increase of education (as evidenced by those interviewed) is negatively correlated to the importance of involvement in the ethnic community. Simultaneously however, flaws in Yinger's chart are also revealed when applied to specific aspects of the Ukrainian community. For instance, according to the chart, considered independently, the inability of the third wave to return to Ukraine would have made members less likely to participate in the ethnic community. In the case of Ukrainians in Pittsburgh, the opposite was the case. Because of historical circumstances, the inability of Ukrainians in Ukraine to openly embrace their culture was reported as a major factor for immigrating to the US. Although Yinger's chart is at times flawed when applied directly to the Ukrainian community in Pittsburgh, it does provide a larger framework of immigration trends as a context for Ukrainian immigration. But it is important to bear in mind that culture and identity are more than Yinger's scheme suggests. Culture proves wavering, ambiguous and indefinite.

Thus, in a classic analysis of ethnic groups, Fredrik Barth criticizes the simplifying tendency of trait lists, suggesting that a more effective way of seeking to understand ethnicity can be achieved by considering how ethnic boundaries help to define groups rather than identity being solely dependent upon the "cultural stuff it encloses." Barth focuses on 'border maintenance' in his discussion of ethnic group ascription, and argues that when a person declares allegiance to a particular identity they open themselves up to being judged by its standards and according to its values. As a result, the "features that are taken into account in maintaining identity are not the sum of 'objective' differences between groups, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant" at a particular time and place. By claiming a specific identity, a particular understanding of certain symbols is invoked. However, in the Ukrainian immigrant community, the interpretation of such symbols is often political, dynamic and complex, and the argument about who is Ukrainian and who is not is influenced greatly by of time, place, and circumstance.

History in the Present

Concepts like nation, culture and community are based on the idea of shared identity. However, Ukraine's vast ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional diversity has earned it the name "The Unexpected Nation" since its independence nearly 11 years ago. Ukraine's historical and social complexity affects both Ukrainians at home and émigrés. Here primarily I explore issues of identity within Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community with an emphasis on the ways historical circumstances influence immigration practices, expectations, and decisions immigrants make about their involvement in the established community. My goal is to understand how members of the different waves of immigrants use the history of their homeland to create meaning for themselves as part of the Ukrainian immigrant community in Pittsburgh.

Ukraine is little known in the United States. Interview material suggests that in the experiences of Ukrainian immigrants to the Pittsburgh area, many have had to struggle to assert their ethnicity independent from its Soviet past.⁵ Even at the time of the Soviet Union and Cold War, US born Ukrainians and Ukrainian immigrants were faced with a lack of US knowledge of the land, people and diversity of the 15 nations composing the USSR. When I began introducing myself to the Ukrainian community, peoples' reactions were pleasantly surprised, flattered, that a non-Ukrainian would be interested in learning about them.⁶

Historical complexity and foreign powers' intentional obscuration of all things Ukrainian are reasons why most people in the United States (and to some extent in Ukraine) have been unaware or uninterested in the existence of the Ukrainian nation and its people. In seeking to understand Ukrainian immigrants in Pittsburgh, knowledge of how European events have shaped and impeded the establishment of a unified Ukrainian consciousness is necessary. The Ukrainians from four waves of immigration each left a different Ukraine and arrived in a different United States, whereupon they and their descendents founded and continue to maintain Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community.

Ukraine has a complex history and a culturally diverse population. A major contributing factor in shaping both history and people in Ukraine has been the persistent interference of foreign powers. Poland, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, tsarist Russia and later the Soviet Union have competed for political and cultural dominance parts or all of Ukraine. Although foreign domination has historically undermined the establishment of a united Ukrainian consciousness,

the concept of "outsider" in Ukrainian memory is something that many Ukrainians, despite regional differences recognize and share. The need to differentiate themselves from the occupiers of the past was revealed during a group discussion about the origins of Ukrainian identity—Ruthenian or Carpatho-Rusyn, when one woman strongly remarked, "Well, we're just NOT Russian." The others laughed in agreement. This comment also reflects Barth's theory of boundary maintenance as crucial in the self-definition of ethnic groups where determining who is in the group is made easier by determining who is not a part of it.⁷

As a result, the role of history in the formation of Ukrainian identity cannot be overemphasized. It is necessary to be familiar with European events that have shaped Ukraine in order to better understand the Ukrainians who emigrated and established communities abroad. Extensive foreign occupation prevented Ukrainians from officially representing themselves to the world. Ukraine was an occupied land for much of its history meaning that non-Ukrainians were also in control of recording much of its history. One informant remarked solemnly "only now do they write the true history of Ukraine." This paper reflects on the struggles Ukrainians have faced in representing a challenged identity (within a generally unresponsive environment), how these experiences are affected by the historical circumstances surrounding emigration practices and the ways cultural memory is used to define the group and create meaning in Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community.

History of Ukraine -a "political no man's land."9

Ukrainian history seems to have more than its fair share of tales of foreign domination and repression, where the country has often played been center stage in a tug of war between competing European powers. The issue of foreign interference in Ukrainian affairs is exemplified by the contention surrounding its name. While some believe the name Ukraine originates from the Polish word 'ukraine' meaning borderland, a Professor of Ukrainian language at a local university countered, questioning, "What people would name themselves 'Border People?" For her, not only is it ridiculous to think that a People would choose to call themselves by a name implying inferiority, but Ukrainians have their "own root" for their name as deriving from the name taken by early tribal inhabitants.¹⁰

Ukrainian claims to cultural independence from Russia are also reflected in the name debate. Andrew Wilson suggests that when historical Ruthenian and Rus-yn people renamed themselves 'Ukrainian,' it was not an act of "abandoning the claim of descent from Rus implied by the older name[s], rather, 'Rusyn' was too easily confused with 'Russian'. The term 'Ukrainian' was . . . "a means of sidestepping Russia's linguistic and historiographical monopolization of Rus—and of making sure that the Ukrainians would no longer be confused with the Russians." Since the declaration of independence from the Soviet Union, Ukraine encourages the use of "Ukraine" rather than "the Ukraine," a term many felt suggested an appendage-like status to Russia. The controversy surrounding something so fundamental as the name of the country reflects the ambiguity and politicized nature of Ukrainian identity.

Existing Ukrainian borders go back to the end of World War II, when the Soviet Union added western Ukrainian lands, Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine that was established in 1922. Until that time, 'Ukraine' had never been completely occupied by one specific power. Occupational forces in Ukraine have behaved like a tidal patchwork, shifting in response to fluctuations in competition between one another. The diversity and divisions of Ukrainian identity have been formed from inside and out. Paul D'Anieri argues that "throughout history Ukraine had been dominated from outside because it had been divided internally." However, if internal divisions in the populace enabled foreign infiltration, the invasion of outside influences have also done a great deal to encourage Ukrainian diversity. The result has been the development of a regionally (East and West) and religiously (Orthodox, Catholic, a to a lesser extent Ukrainian Autocephalous) diverse, at times fractionalized Ukrainian national identity.

Ukraine was originally part of a vast Slavic state, Kievan Rus, which stretched from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south. In 988 the state adopted Christianity and a "distinct Byzantine-Slavonic religio-cultural community began to coalesce." The Christian Church split in 1054 and although religious tradition remained associated with the Greek Orthodoxy out of Constantinople, relations with the Roman Catholic west were not dissolved. When the Kievan state went into decline in the 12th century two principalities in the southwest declared independence. Galicia and Volhynia united to form the beginnings of Ukraine. From this point on, people in this area differentiated themselves from the rest of Central Europe's Slavs. Religious competition also began. Polish Roman Catholicism challenged Greek

Catholicism and to a lesser extent Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the West, while Russian Orthodoxy challenged Ukrainian and Greek Orthodoxy in the East.

In 1648 Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi defeated Polish armies and Ukraine entered its second period of statehood. To make time to consolidate his government, Khmelnytskyi concluded a mutual assistance treaty with the Muscovites at Perislav in 1654. The Muscovite tsar interpreted this as an invitation into Ukrainian lands and before long Muscovite armies invaded under the pretense of protecting Ukraine from the Poles. Khmelnytskyi's successor, Vyhovskyi, fearing further involvement of the Muscovites came to an agreement with the Poles in the 1658 Union of Hadich, which called for the formation of a three state federation of Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine. A group of Cossacks eventually deposed Vyhovskyi and came to terms with the Muscovites. In the meantime, however, the Muscovites and Poles secretly concluded a treaty outlining the division of Ukraine between the two powers.

At the 1709 battle of Poltava, Hetman Ivan Mazepa presented the final Cossack attempt at checking Muscovite expansionism and freeing Ukraine through an ultimately unsuccessful military alliance with Charles XII of Sweden. From this point on, the Muscovites began to refer to theirs as the Russian Empire. In the East, Russian dominated Ukraine was denied administrative and cultural independence. The Russian Orthodox Church "officially absorbed" the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1686 and in 1781 Ukraine was "formally incorporated into the administrative structure of the Russian Empire," which promoted culturally repressive policies such as the prohibition of the use of the Ukrainian language, legitimized by an allegation that it was a substandard Russian dialect.¹⁵

In the late eighteenth century when Austria, Russia and Prussia divided Poland, western Ukraine came under Austrian auspices. Unlike the Romanovs, the Hapsburgs adopted policies that, although harsh, attempted social control by promoting ethnic diversity, strategizing that a more heterogeneous population would be too busy with in-fighting to present much resistance. Religious tensions in the West were lessened somewhat and something of a Ukrainian identity, although regionally confined, was encouraged much more than in the East.

Following World War I, the Allied dismantlement of Austria-Hungary, and the Russian Revolution, Ukraine enjoyed short-lived independence as the Ukrainian National Republic until the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established in 1922. Although the state existed for only about 2 years, the establishment of a politically independent nation strengthened the

Ukrainian peoples' sense of self. The Soviets quickly overran the nascent state, and from 1930-1933 millions starved to death as a result of Stalin's Artificial Famine, meant to facilitate the collectivization of farmlands and undermine Ukrainian national identity. Both tsarist and Soviet nationalities policies . . . [bolstered] the Russification of non-Russian nationalities, by way of Ukrainian language prohibition, Russo-centric education, and intermarriage all of which aimed at incorporating Ukraine into the desired homogeneity of a greater socialist state.

At the post WWII Yalta Conference victorious Allies divided Ukrainian lands between Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. Throughout the late 1980's, Ukraine exercised greater autonomy from Russia. However, the rapid, unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990's provided Ukraine with little time to prepare to effectively assume independence. The Republic of Ukraine achieved independence in a flurry of legislation in the late summer and fall of 1991 and has recently celebrated its tenth anniversary.¹⁸

In addition to facing traditional challenges involved in the "dual [economic and political] transformation [in shifting away from] socialism" post-Soviet Ukraine faces what D'Anieri, Kravchuk and Kuzio call a "quadruple transition." Besides grappling with the need to revamp political and economic systems, Ukraine has and continues to face obstacles related to both nation building, like the establishment "of a truly Ukrainian national identity and patriotism," and state building in terms of adapting to freedom "from rule by a foreign, imperial and colonizing power."20 Ukraine is labeled a "weak" state in terms of political disorganization and the inability of the government to effectively adopt and implement policy changes. The "governance crisis" arises out of the Soviet legacy and the confrontation between new economic liberty and the old state-planned economy. For example, the "government consists of a mix of institutions that were held over from the communist era because there was no time to create new ones (such as the Verkhovna Rada), and institutions that had to be devised in great haste (such as the presidency and cabinet system) without sufficient consideration of how they might work."21 Ukraine's relationship with Russia has also shifted after independence. Ukraine's first president, Kravchuk came to power in part because of his anti-Russia campaign promises and although Kuchma, the current president, is more sympathetic to the long-standing relationship between Ukraine and Russia, economic and political independence remains a priority for the current, (and allegedly corrupt) administration.

Ukrainian independence and immigration have provided the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian Diaspora with the opportunity to present themselves to the world (finally) on their own terms. For many former East Bloc nations, particularly Ukraine, "the process of defining the nation often reinforces the tendency to resurrect the historical traditions of the particular society, for the sense of national identity is often found in the customs and memories of the community." Within the Ukrainian immigrant community of Pittsburgh figures and symbols from Ukrainian history also encourage a sense of collective identity. Over the course of three hundred years Russian ideas so penetrated the world that it has been "difficult [for Ukrainians] to tell the world who [they] are." In many ways, what it means to be Ukrainian is something inside a person (or so Ukrainians think), because it was forced to remain outside of view. In some cases, despite the resurrection of Ukrainian cultural memory in Ukraine and in Pittsburgh, some people who have lived entirely on Ukrainian soil do not consider themselves Ukrainian, preferring instead to claim allegiance to a Russian or Jewish identity.

Community and environment are inextricably bound together, simultaneously, symbiotically shaping one another. The development of a Ukrainian consciousness has been affected by events inside and outside of the cultural community. What it means to be Ukrainian in Ukraine or an immigrant in the United States is interconnected with the historical circumstances affecting each case. Between waves and individuals, choices for leaving Ukraine vary, but share one over-arching quality. The bygone image of nineteenth century immigrants crowding onto Ellis Island searching for better opportunities in a life abroad also characterizes each wave of immigration from Ukraine to some degree. Whether immigrants' motivations were mostly concerned with economic, political, religious or other personal issues, the individuals who established and continue to maintain the Ukrainian community in Pittsburgh sought freedoms and prosperity unavailable in Ukraine.

The Waves

Ukrainian immigration to the United States can be divided into four waves. The first wave began during the 1870's and ended in 1914. The Industrial Revolution in the United States sparked the need for low cost labor, particularly in the steel industry and mines in Western

Pennsylvania. Labor recruiting was easier from Habsburg-controlled western Ukraine because borders were more fluid and travel was not as restricted as in the Russian East. The first Ukrainians settled in southwestern Pennsylvania in 1878. A second, smaller and slightly more educated group arrived between the two World Wars (partially due to policies that discouraged immigration from Eastern and Central Europe). The third mass immigration began after World War II and ended in 1954. Immigration figures are flawed as ethnic 'Ukrainians' did not really exist before the 1890's and because many were often admitted under quotas allocated for nation-states rather than nationalities. The fourth and most recent wave began in the late eighties as Ukraine was distancing itself from Moscow and Gorbachev, continued through the collapse of the Soviet Union and declaration of Ukrainian independence in 1991 and persists today.

The presence of each of the four waves of immigration is felt in the Pittsburgh community. The descendents of the first and second wave immigrants who worked to establish the Ukrainian community are American born citizens. For the majority of the third wave from the 1940's and 1950's who left Ukraine as it was being incorporated into the Soviet Union, most have spent the bulk of their lives as part of the Ukrainian Diaspora in the United States. The fourth and current wave of immigrants, Ukrainians from the former USSR, is more difficult to characterize.

The informants interviewed for this paper represent the different waves. They are descendents of the first and second waves and members of the third and fourth. Mr. Dmytrenko and Mr. Shevkov were both born in the United States and are active members of the Ukrainian community. Their parents or grandparents were some of the first Ukrainians to come to western Pennsylvania as laborers in the early 20th century. Mrs. Radkey and Mrs. Solczanyk are members of the third wave. Mrs. Solczanyk arrived as a child with her mother and father through displaced persons legislation enacted at the end of World War II. Mrs. Radkey, a student of Chemistry, and her family traveled initially to Chicago, granted papers probably in because of their educational background at a time when the United States sought to fulfill its need for scientists at the beginning of the Cold War. Both women's families were displaced by the war, and traveled to Austria and Germany respectively, where they seized the opportunity to emigrate, escaping the looming threat of Soviet repatriation and fear of Siberian work camps.

Whereas third wave immigration is described as having been largely involuntary, i.e. by those displaced by war and conscientiously opposed to Ukraine's complete integration into the

USSR, fourth wave immigration is considered more of a voluntary trend although it has also taken place at a time of political turmoil and economic failures. One of the largest perceived differences for the two groups is that the fourth wave is able to return to Ukraine, whereas for those of the third wave, return to Ukraine was more or less out of the question for nearly 40 years. Of the four families interviewed, two participate in the Ukrainian community and two do not. The Smereka family: husband, wife (at the time pregnant with a daughter), son and daughter, Halya, arrived about two years ago to Carnegie, PA and is very involved with the Ukrainian community. The children speak English, but their parents do not. Halya in fact served as a translator for me, and surely in other situations as well.

Mrs. Oleszak who arrived with an aunt (now living in Cleveland) six years ago has since married an American born Ukrainian with whom she has a son and daughter. The families who do not especially value a tie with a Ukrainian past as much as the Smerekas and Oleszaks are somewhat older (in that they have adult children) and perhaps most decisively in the issue of participation, are Jewish. The Kovach family arrived eight years ago from eastern Ukraine as Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union. Although born on Ukrainian soil, those in the family identify most readily as secular Jews, then perhaps as Russians, (due to heavy Russian influence in eastern Ukraine) but not as Ukrainians. The Zroback family, which also gained admission to the United States as secular Jews, the mother was raised Ukrainian Orthodox and the father is Jewish, also chooses not to participate in the immigrant community.

Informants

Informant	Wave	Gender	Religion	Region	First	Citizenship
					Language(s)	1
Druzchak	Native-	M	Orthodox	West	English	US
	Born		1		Ukrainian	
Dmytrenko	Native-	M	Catholic	West	English	US
	Born				Ukrainian	
Radkey	Third	F	Orthodox	East	Ukrainian	US
					Russian	
Solezanyk	Third	F	Catholic	West	Ukrainian	US
Oleszak	Fourth	F	Orthodox	West	Ukrainian	US
Kovach	Fourth	F, M,	Jewish	East	Russian	US
		son		(Odessa)		
Smereka	Fourth	Daughter	Catholic	Lviv	Ukrainian	Ukrainian
Zroback	Fourth	F	Jewish	East	Russian	Ukrainian
 				(Odessa)		o .aamman

The Established Ukrainian Community in Pittsburgh:

American born and 3rd Wave

One striking feature of early Ukrainian immigration is related to Ukrainians having been a stateless people for most of modern history. The first Ukrainians came to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, before a strong nationalism movement took hold in Ukraine and lacked a solid ethno-national identity. Most regarded themselves as Ruthenian or Rus rather than Ukrainian. The establishment of churches, insurance groups and social clubs that helped newcomers find work, housing and a sense of belonging in their new city, also resulted in a certain standardization of culture which deemphasized regional divisions and promoted Ukrainian identity. The development of a Ukrainian consciousness in the United States was facilitated by organizations, such as the National Ukrainian Association, whose newspaper *Svoboda* "promulgated eleven national commandments" for the Ukrainian community in 1915:

- "1. The Ukrainian child should associate exclusively with Ukrainian children and speak only in Ukrainian when in their company.
- 2. Parents or older members of the family should teach children to read and write Ukrainian during the child's preschool years.
- 3. Homes should be beautified with Ukrainian religious and historical paintings and pictures.
- 4. The Ukrainian child should learn Ukrainian sayings, as well as Ukrainian verses, songs, and games.
- 5. Let Ukrainian tradition live in the Ukrainian family. The father or older members of the family should always remember the important national dates from our history.
- 6. The family should read Ukrainian books in unison during the long winter evenings.
- 7. Every Ukrainian home should have Svoboda, the truly Ukrainian national newspaper.
- 8. The treasure of each family should be its library containing the best Ukrainian books.
- 9. The Ukrainian family should take advantage of every opportunity to attend a Ukrainian play, concert, or a commemoration of a national holiday.
- 10. Every father, mother, and older member of the family should belong to the Ukrainian National Association and they should enroll their children in the juvenile division. They should never refuse to contribute to worthwhile public and national causes.
- 11. Every family should try to bring back those members who have fallen away from Ukrainian traditions."²⁴

Calling it a list of "commandment[s]" gives the document a religious quality, and although the language of *Svoboda's* guidelines for how to live as a faithful Ukrainian is quite dated, the core values implicit in it, continue to be expressed in the community today. Many children attend

Ukrainian schools, Catholics and Orthodox often set aside their differences to support the Ukrainian community and Ukraine's literary tradition also remains a central pillar in Ukrainian-immigrant identity.

The memory of Tara Shevchenko, Ukraine's national bard, is central for many immigrants' understanding of Ukrainian history. Shevchenko was born a serf in the early nineteenth century and is hailed as the

"heir to the rich Ukrainian folkloric culture of the Kozak [Cossack] heritage in Zvenihorod and Kyiv. He lived that heritage until it breathed through his soul and heart. The Ukrainian history of the Kozaks and their national aspirations and popular struggles on behalf of the people became one with his own visionary spirit. Taras was always honoured as a national prophet, someone who effectively articulated the suffering of the people, drew attention to its root cause and then inspired them toward liberation. It was inevitable that his charismatic vision drew so much from his deep spiritual life and his closeness to Christ, Crucified and Risen."²⁵

For Shevchenko, "autocracy and liberty were opposites, [as] were the Russian and Ukrainian cultures." He drew heavily on Ukraine's (somewhat questionable) Cossack past as he promoted freedom as one of the most important principles of the Ukrainian people.

The symbol for the Ukrainian nation, the Ukrainian Trident, which symbolizes freedom, is also very visible throughout the community, on the walls of churches, in children's drawings and in community literature.

"The Trident is an heraldic symbol that is most commonly associated with peoples who live near large bodies of water. Forms of the Trident were used by the Byzantines as it was ultimately derived from the pagan sea god Poseidon. . . St Volodymyr the Great used a trident in his coat of arms. When he received Orthodoxy and baptised his people, he added a Cross to the middle bar of the Trident and this was how the Ukrainian Trident was shaped until 1918 when the Ukrainian Directory decided to revert back to the pagan form without the Cross. The Cross used was that of Korsun as a reminder to Volodymyr of his victory at Korsun. For about 400 years between 1200 onward, the Icon of St Michael displaced the Trident as the national coat of arms of Rus'-Ukraine. The three horns of the Trident are also interpreted as a reference to the Holy Trinity. The Trident has always been the national symbol of Ukraine par excellence. This has not prevented the Russians from adopting it, although it has never had the prominence among them that it has among the Ukrainians." 27

Collective Ukrainian identity has been formed in part through the conscientious use and remembrance of figures like Shevchenko, the Cossack tradition of freedom, "Ukraine's

Unconquerable Soul" and the symbol of the Ukrainian Trident, which invokes the memory of Freedom as well as the Holy Trinity.

A cultural community is in part the product of conscientious encouragement by institutions such as churches and the media; identity is also created through community solidarity, to fulfill certain needs and desires at a given point in time. Community was a safe haven amidst the foreignness of the United States and the suspicion of other immigrant groups when the first Ukrainians arrived in the late nineteenth century (immigrants were often employed as strike breakers, resulting in the resentment of other groups).

After WWII, the third wave represented an influx of Ukrainian cultural energy that revitalized the community through a resurgence in the establishment of programs and organizations. Since its inception, Pittsburgh's Ukrainian community has been politically active, religiously rich and very diverse.

Those who came in the beginning arrived mainly in search of employment opportunities. Few had the intent to settle permanently and most entertained the desire to return to Ukraine, whether or not they eventually did. According to the table on page 12, short-term residence is more likely to correlate with a greater importance of ethnic group affiliation. After the brief period of Ukrainian independence in the early 1920's was followed by deprivation of statehood, reasons for emigrating shifted, and the desire for maintaining a Ukrainian immigrant community intensified:

"Most Ukrainians who immigrated to the United States after World War I had participated in Ukraine's liberation struggles and many came as political exiles unwilling to live in a homeland partitioned by foreign powers. Better educated than their prewar immigrant predecessors, they were more conscious of their ethno-national heritage and dedicated to the restoration of Ukrainian statehood. Because of United States immigration policy, however, their numbers were small. A series of restrictive immigration laws passed during and after the war discriminated against Southern and Eastern Europeans by establishing quotas in proportion to the national origins of the United States population in 1890. Ukrainians were doubly discriminated against, first because there was no official count of 'Ukrainians' in 1890 and second because quotas were not awarded according to nationality, but rather to nation-states in existence after World War I. Those few Ukrainians who did immigrate to the United States between the two world wars were admitted within the quotas allocated to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and other nations where they resided."

At this point, those who emigrated had become more politically engaged in Ukraine, where their efforts for a lasting statehood were dashed. Rather than emigrate for short term,

largely economic reasons, Ukrainians felt forced to leave because of the deterioration of Ukrainian independence. Ethnic group affiliation is also linked to involuntary immigration (groups who are or feel forced to leave) as well as to immigrant groups who remain involved in political and economic developments in the land of origin.²⁹

Greater Pittsburgh is home to the fourth largest Ukrainian community in America. Ukrainians in Pittsburgh initially settled in the South Side, and today there are large Ukrainian communities in Carnegie and McKees Rocks as well although the general trend has been a dispersal of the population. The first waves are credited with establishing the churches. Today there are 21 Ukrainian Catholic Churches and 16 Orthodox Churches in the area, the first was St. John the Baptist Catholic Church on the South Side, whose bulbous golden domes still highlight the view from downtown. Despite the achievements of the first and second waves in establishing the community's base, Mr. Dmytrenko, who was born into the Pittsburgh community, credits the third wave as having "saved the Ukrainian community as far as identity is concerned." 30

Mr. Dmytrenko, a native Pittsburgher, was a young man in the late 1930's when WWII broke out. Before the Ukrainian community welcomed the war immigrants, Mr. Dmytrenko worried about the survival of the Ukrainian community. Participation in the community had reached a low point in participation. The third wave, unlike the first wave, though comparable to the second, came as political refugees and persons displaced by the war. Third wave immigrants came to the United States to escape the traumatic memories of WWII and the incorporation of the Western part of Ukraine into the Soviet Union.

Those who came as part of the third wave have only been able to return to their homeland since Ukrainian independence was restored. Mrs. Solczanyk returned to her childhood home in Dolshini (now part of Poland) in the early nineties. For her, it was an eerily magical experience. She was too anxious to knock on the door, nervous because she does not speak Polish. Her sister-in-law did the knocking for her. The current occupants welcomed them inside and it was "the same as it had been, nothing had changed except for the way the furniture was arranged." For her, it was as if her memories were of a different life completely.

Mrs. Solczanyk had a familial connection to the United States. She was born in 1938 and was a little girl when her family came to the US after spending a brief time in Slovakia and later Austria. At the end of the war the family was living in a refugee camp maintained by the British. Her father brought her and her mother to the US through the sponsorship of family that had

emigrated as part of the first wave. Her grandfather and granduncle first came to the US in 1905, and like others of the first wave who often came with the intent to go back to Ukraine, her grandfather returned to his family. His brother, Mrs. Solczanyk's granduncle remained in the US. After the war, Mrs. Solczanyk's father contacted the granduncle for sponsorship and sent photos to prove the familial connection. They arrived in the United States on July 17, 1949 after a thirteen day trip on a small Navy boat full of people from the displaced persons camp. Her grand uncle and his family helped them find a place to live on the North Side.

Mrs. Radkey, also of the third wave but from eastern Ukraine and of the Orthodox faith, did not have a familial connection to help facilitate her family's acceptance into the US. She and her family emigrated through an academic network encouraged by the desire of universities to find scientists. A classmate's uncle in the United States helped the family get the necessary papers. At the time she left Europe Mrs. Radkey and her family were living in Munich where she received her higher education with concentrations in Chemistry and Ukrainian language. She moved to Springfield, Illinois with her family in 1950. She was 23 years old. Once in the US she married a young Ukrainian Chemist she had met while living in Germany.

In the United States, third wave immigrants had the freedom to practice culture and religion in ways that were actively discouraged or outright prohibited in Ukraine. The arrival of the third wave hearkened a renaissance of sorts in the Ukrainian community evident through the establishment of a plethora of Ukrainian organizations such as dance companies, fraternal organizations, choirs and insurance groups. Some of the programs currently in the Ukrainian community include: Poltava Dance Company, Ukrainian Hour Radio Program, Ukrainian Cultural Trust Choir of Western Pennsylvania, Soyuz Ukrainok (Ukrainian National Women's League of America), Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors Sister City Donets'k Professionals Exchange, Tri-State Children of Chernobyl Relief Committee, Ridna Shkola of Pittsburgh—School of Ukrainian Studies, Computers for Ukraine, League of Ukrainian Catholics of America- Western Pennsylvania Council, and All Saints Ukrainian Orthodox Church Camp. The motivation of young immigrants of the third wave was instrumental (including the Pittsburgh community) in the establishment of three Chairs in Ukrainian language and literature at Harvard University. The "3rd wave [also] persuaded Congress and Eisenhower to erect a statue to Taras Shevchenko, poet laureate of Ukraine—over 100,000 people marched in

Washington D.C."³² Mr. Dmytrenko refers to the activities of the third wave as a "barometer of a community interested in keeping [its] heritage."

Part of the reason people were so active in encouraging Ukrainian cultural traditions, is because they did not choose to leave Ukraine so much as they felt they were forced out (Yinger calls this 'involuntary immigration,' which he correctly predicts would increase the importance of ethnic group affiliation). They left an intolerable European political climate, and unlike the first and to a lesser degree the second wave, the third wave had a very strong sense of Ukrainian identity (particularly because of the way it was persecuted). These factors fueled their desire to practice their culture and assert their identity in ways that were impossible at home.

The circumstances under which Mrs. Solczanyk, a Catholic from the West, and Mrs. Radkey from the Orthodox East, left Ukraine, and the unfeasibility of a future return, did encourage strong ethno-national cooperation abroad (in contrast to the prediction of Yinger's chart) but did not manage to erase the regional legacy of religious differences. At times both women seem to de-emphasize differences between Greek Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox, in support of furthering the common Ukrainian cause. For instance, both Orthodox and Catholic Ukrainian-Americans and both women were present at a meeting held to petition for the canonization of Greek Catholic, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, archbishop of Lviv.

Nevertheless, the religious divisions that exist in Ukraine, continue to shape the identity of Ukrainian immigrants to Pittsburgh; even if as Mr. Dmytrenko, a Catholic, says the differences have been fading over the last 10 years and "people respect one another." In Arnold, PA after 75 years of no contact, the Orthodox priests went to the Catholic priests to open lines of communication. Before that the congregants would cross the street so as not to have to pass by one another while walking. Mr. Dmytrenko calls the divisions "so unfortunate." 34

Most early immigration came from the western, Catholic part of the country. Historically, foreign industrialists were more likely to meet with a warm reception in recruiting through Catholic Poland and Austria-Hungary than through Orthodox Russia. Because western Ukrainians have been more likely to have family in the US, immigration opportunities have been more available to them, as was the case with Mrs. Solczanyk. Inhabitants of Eastern Ukraine on the other hand, whose cultural background includes more Russian influence, tend to be predominantly Orthodox and have had fewer familial connections to the US, like Mrs. Radkey.

Mrs. Radkey who is Orthodox believes that the Catholics "clump them [the Orthodox] with the Russians" although Ukrainian and Russian Orthodoxy split in 1922. 35 In the western part of the country, however, Mrs. Radkey is convinced that "People were not really converted [to Catholicism], [the] clergy agreed to be under Rome but kept Ukrainian Orthodox customs."36 Mr. Dmytrenko attributes past religious divisions in the Ukrainian immigrant community to Church hierarchies vying for power and influence as opposed to real differences in belief and practice.³⁷ After attending services at two Ukrainian churches, one Orthodox, one Catholic, there appeared to be more similarities than differences. Liturgies are conducted in the same chanting singsong style, incense permeates the air, and the iconography is similar, although in the Orthodox Church, figures were depicted in Byzantine style. Mrs. Radkey emphasizes the similarities in decoration, saints, gates, and prayers (although the Orthodox use modern Ukrainian and the Catholics use traditional Slavonic) stating that "We are the same people, we have the same church. We just changed the top of the Churches. We didn't change our prayers."38 Mrs. Oleszak of the fourth wave agrees in as much as the division of the Church is more about competition for "power and money" than it is about significant differences in belief.³⁹

Stereotypically, West Ukraine is equated with progress. One Ukrainian Orthodox woman feels that "Greek Catholics consider themselves more progressive than the Eastern Ukrainians" and "now they are giving the impression that it was their idea to be unified." Immigrants from the West, i.e. Catholics, "were more urban and tended to be better educated" as a result of somewhat greater political freedom under the Poles and Austrians. Education is stressed; children are encouraged to pursue prestigious careers paths to become doctors and lawyers. In the East where village life predominates, the emphasis has been focused on basic employment. Life in the United States has helped to foster the spirit of social mobility encapsulated in the American Dream, but for both groups.

Assimilation in the United States

Ukrainian identity is ambiguous, political and complex. What is means to be Ukrainian in the United States draws heavily on the memory of Ukraine, its culture and its traditions. However, while certain aspects of being Ukrainian are rigorously maintained, others are left

behind as people pick and choose what to take with them when they immigrate to the United States. The Ukrainian Diaspora is faced with the challenge of navigating between preserving culture and thriving in a new environment, which results in creating new ways of doing things—a mixing of Ukrainian and US culture. Reinvention is not without its tensions and in determining the nature of the Ukrainian community itself, conflicts arise.

One aspect of the formation of a diverse Ukrainian immigrant community has been a certain standardization of culture. In some ways, agreements, written or unwritten are reached with regard to the "proper" Ukrainian way of doing things. While an understanding of what 'Ukrainian' is may share themes across region, religion and wave of immigration, each wave to be introduced to the community has brought with it different values, expectations and attitudes about the Ukrainian homeland.

An older woman, sitting at the same table during an informal interview with a member of the fourth wave, interjected that her husband, an American-born member of the Ukrainian community is the "most Ukrainian man you could meet." He speaks the language, sings the songs, reads the papers, eats the foods, celebrates holidays, and enjoys crafts like pysanka eggs, carved wooden figurines, and Ukrainian beadwork and embroidery. Although the man was not born in Ukraine and has only visited a number of times, his behavior is praised by community standards; her comments are also reminiscent of *Svoboda's* 11 commandments, or the way a "good" Ukrainian immigrant should act.

In expressing what makes them Ukrainian, two informants refer to the existence of a Ukrainian soul. Mrs. Radkey, in her sixties, and Halya Smereka age 12 come from opposite sides of Ukraine and have different religion affiliations but say that what makes them Ukrainian is their souls. Influenced by the resurgence in ethno-national feeling created by Ukrainian independence in the 1920's, after the USSR took over, west Ukrainian writer Dmytro Donstov, related his idea of the concept of "nation [as] the most beautiful emanation of the will to struggle and the fight for freedom, and although 'Ukraine does not yet exist, . . . we can create it in our souls."

In understanding their history, many Ukrainians credit the "Unconquerable Ukrainian Soul" as enabling their culture to survive the onslaught of numerous brutal foreign occupations. Ukrainian thinker Hryhoriy Skovoroda differentiated between the outer and inner or "hidden" forms of human existence. The distinction between inner and outer selves is also reflected in the

"foremost component of Ukraine's intellectual history," the "philosophy of the heart," which differentiates between the sub-conscious and the super-conscious, encouraging people to follow the latter's direction force, which can ultimately lead to "a heavenly harmony and state of peace, with oneself and with the world." In response to the control of outsiders,

"millions of Ukrainians . . . kept on living, following the footsteps of their grandfathers and great-grandmothers, and observing unwritten laws of this philosophy—no matter what political gales were raging outside their windows, no matter what was happening in the heart, beyond the reach of the eyes of outsiders. The Ukrainian people led private and parallel lives of their own. In their visual or outer history, they have created songs and legends. They carried out spiritual exploits, reflected in the recent Soviet 'dissidence' and in the art of the underground, where for decades people were writing and painting sincerely and certainly for no one but themselves. Here Ukrainian integrity managed to preserve itself."

Now the Ukraine does exist as an independent nation, and Mrs. Radkey and Halya, as immigrants living in the United States, are no longer immediately involved in its affairs, they relate to it in very personal terms. Regardless of independence, or cultural diversity among immigrant experiences, the solidarity of the community is attributed to the existence of an innate spiritual bond. Mrs. Radkey refers to the Ukrainian Soul by its Ukrainian term *ducha*. Halya Smereka also shares the feeling that Ukrainians "have the Ukrainian spirit . . . [and adds] they dance the dances and like to sing a lot."

The Ukrainian soul exists inside a person as an intimate emotion but also because any jubilant outward expression of nationalism or cultural solidarity was forbidden. Feelings about being Ukrainian often developed as something hidden because it was impossible to express them in public. Ukrainians have been bound together by the common cause of freedom for Ukraine, which supports the ideas that ethnic group affiliation is often more pronounced in cases where the immigrant group is "attracted to political and economic developments in the land of origin" as is the case of Ukraine. The importance of achieving Ukrainian independence is present throughout the Pittsburgh's Ukrainian community. The annual cultural festival commemorates Ukrainian independence, and its symbol, the Ukrainian Trident, is reproduced in community literature and as embroidered craftwork in churches.

The obstacle of asserting identity has carried over to the United States, where the Ukrainian community has had to struggle to assert itself. Mrs. Solczanyk remembers that when she raised her two children, she tried to instill in them a strong sense of their Ukrainian heritage.

It was a challenge, especially when those in the outside community would respond with reactions like: "Ukrainian? Oh, so you're Russian." Such a response strikes a particularly sensitive chord in most Ukrainians who both jokingly and seriously describe themselves as "NOT Russian." For Mrs. Solczanyk and the rest of the Ukrainian-American community, "it's hard to be told you don't exist." Identifying as "NOT Russian" reflects the ambiguous beginnings of Ukrainian identity.

Mrs. Solczanyk self identifies as an American-Ukrainian and prefers the mosaic versus melting pot theory of the United States. For her, life in the United States offers ethnic groups the opportunity to preserve their cultural roots, adding diversity to the picture of US culture. Mrs. Radkey "[is] Ukrainian and [is] an American citizen." She feels that "America finds a way to keep differences together" with a sort of "unity in diversity" policy. She also believes that "everyone has [his or her] own concept of America." Regardless of Mrs. Radkey's involvement with the Ukrainian community here, she believes that if she were to return, she would feel like a stranger.

Mr. Dmytrenko served as a Lieutenant Junior Grade in the US Maritime Service during WWII. During his service he made eleven trips over the Atlantic to destinations in Northern Africa, Italy, the Philippines and Japan in convoys carrying everything from rations to jeeps, rockets and cannons. Thousands served in US wars and have established the Ukrainian-American Veterans Association. Mr. Dmytrenko says that "When [they] gather [they] sing the Ukrainian national anthem, but we sing the Star Spangled Banner first." Mr. Dmytrenko regularly displays his American flag and ceremoniously removes it every evening. He was the first on the block to show his solidarity with the people and government of the United States after September 11th.

When asked if her expectations for the US held true, Mrs. Solczanyk shared a war story to illustrate her commitment to her new country. She said that she was disillusioned by the capacity for human cruelty during the first ten years of her life. She and her mother had gone into the forest to find mushrooms while they were living in Slovakia. They entered a clearing and a Russian fighter plane circling the area opened fire on them. As they ran for cover in an alcove next to a stream the scarf that was around her mother's neck fell into the water. When the plane made another low pass bullets obliterated the scarf as it floated down stream. Mrs. Solczanyk felt nothing but appreciation for the United States when she arrived.

The first three waves of Ukrainian immigration to the United States have established and perpetuated the Ukrainian community. Despite diversity and adversity Ukrainian immigrants draw upon historical memory to create a culturally meaningful shared identity. The community is tight knit and religiously oriented and has organized itself in the more recent past largely in terms of opposition to Soviet domination of Ukraine. Like Ukraine, the Ukrainian immigrant community is faced with the challenge of reinventing itself in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The influx of immigrants from formerly Soviet-controlled Ukraine, the fourth wave, is introducing a culturally different group of Ukrainians into the community, thus contributing to the ever-shifting nature of group identity and memory.

Fourth Wave

Just as earlier waves of immigrants were highly influenced by the historical circumstances of their immigration to the United States, the fourth wave differentiates itself by carrying with it the memories of life under complete Soviet rule. The fourth wave began in the late eighties and continues today and although it is impossible to apply the benefits of historical hindsight in assessing the place of the fourth wave within the established Ukrainian community, there is a strong sense that they bring with them a different cultural background.

Members of the established community have different ideas about the newest wave of immigrants to come to Pittsburgh. Older members of the community criticize the fourth wave for not participating enough or for creating another resurgence in Ukrainian culture like the third wave did. Mr. Dmytrenko says he feels used by the new immigrants who will take advantage the services offered by the community, like the Ukrainian Credit Union, and are not willing to contribute in return. Mr. Dmytrenko attributes this distinction to the difference in motivation the third and fourth waves had for emigrating. He thinks that peoples' reasoning follows the lines that they "have to make a living, think of children, work, [and that] maybe after we get settled we'll involve ourselves in the community." One incident illustrates the tension between the fourth wave and the established community. Mr. Dmytrenko took a Thanksgiving turkey to a fourth wave family and was insulted when they left town without saying good-bye.

Mrs. Solczanyk of the third wave shares these feelings—those of her generation were political immigrants, while the fourth wave is coming more for economic reasons. Mrs.

Solczanyk's statements also suggest that the fourth wave is less dependent upon the existence of the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community because they have more freedom to travel and maintain contact with Ukraine. Unlike the experience of Mrs. Radkey and Mrs. Solczanyk of the third wave who were unable to return to Ukraine, the fourth wavers can go back and perhaps that is why they seem less dependent on the community for support.

The general opinion is that the fourth wave is less active, but reasons for this perceived apathy differ according to the individual expressing his/her opinion. An American-born Ukrainian of a younger generation does not share Mr. Dmytrenko's opinion. He sees the Ukrainian community as still having a Cold War mindset. He compares the Ukrainian community with the second Reagan administration, in that both were so intently focused on the USSR as a threat, when it quickly collapsed, both were forced to rethink their positions. Unfortunately, Mr. Druzchak feels that the Ukrainian community has not successfully managed to revise its views of the former Soviet Union.

Like other previous generations of immigrants, the historical circumstances for fourth wave immigration are unique unto it. Unlike the earlier groups to arrive, immigrants from the Soviet Union have been able to come to the US under new forms of legislation specifically designed for people leaving the former USSR. As life long citizens of the Soviet Union, there exist cultural differences. In the case of the Ukrainian community in Pittsburgh, there are Ukrainians who have either been raised in the United States or lived here for the majority of their lives. On the other hand, recent immigrants are arriving from formerly Soviet dominated Ukraine with a different set of values, expectations and impressions of what the USSR's Cold War enemy, the United States, is all about.

Of the fourth wave families interviewed, two consider themselves active whereas two do not. The Kovach Family identifies culturally with secular Judaism. The Zroback Family, a mix of Orthodoxy and Judaism, takes a more ambiguous stance in promoting the notion of an international culture, while the Oleszak and Smereka families work hard to retain their Ukrainian identity as they participate in the Pittsburgh Ukrainian immigrant community.

In addition to immigrating for economic opportunities and having the option to return to Ukraine, the fourth wave, is "much more educated." Three out of four women interviewed have advanced university degrees: one is a doctor, one is a computer programmer and another

received a postgraduate education in mathematics. Of the men: one physicist, two engineers, a computer programmer and a priest.

Mr. Dmytrenko admits that despite the fourth wave's accomplishments, he has very little contact with them and is disappointed that they "don't involve themselves in [the] Ukrainian community." Moreover, Mr. Dmytrenko does not see the fourth wave participating in the Pittsburgh community as a whole. One example that reflects little demonstrated interest of new comers in the political developments in Ukraine occurred when Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholics in Pittsburgh held an ecumenical service honoring the late Georgiy Gongadze a journalist supposedly murdered by the Ukrainian government, for writing articles accusing the Ukrainian government of allegedly anti-democratic practices and corruption. The service was held at Heinz Hall and there was a banquet at William Penn Hotel. Mr. Dmytrenko does not recall that "[any]one from the fourth wave was present." The established community attributes this supposed apathy toward the belief that people from Ukraine think that those in the United States are "barking up the wrong tree"—They think our "efforts are in futility" and that being "here [we] won't effect what is in Ukraine."

Those who do not participate in the community either do not identify themselves as Ukrainians or perhaps are trying to distance themselves from being involved in public affairs for personal and also political reasons. The atmosphere of the Soviet Union was one very much imbued with a sense of division between personal and public life, a distinction much lesser known in the United States. For Mr. Druzchak, who works with groups of eastern Ukrainians who visit the US, although he too is Ukrainian, Soviet cultural distinctions have been slow in fading. For example, only in the past two years have Russian speaking Ukrainians of Ukrainian descent openly (and somewhat proudly) been able to discuss their heritage as separate from Russia. Although it was not made explicit, residual fear and inexperience in being Ukrainian evidenced by visiting Ukrainians is surely also present to some degree in fourth wave immigrants.

Of the families interviewed, the two families who do not have citizenship, the Smerekas and Zrobacks, will not visit Ukraine until they become US citizens. Out of the two families who are citizens, the Oleszaks and Kovachs, only Mrs. Oleszak has returned to visit her parents in Ukraine. At one point the Kovachs did entertain the idea of perhaps returning to Russia to live once their son's future was secured, but have since changed their minds.

The head of the Smereka family is a Catholic priest who has found work at a Ukrainian Catholic Church in Carnegie, Pennsylvania. The family arrived less than two years ago. Neither mother nor father speaks English very confidently nor are they currently enrolled in language courses. Their middle daughter, age 12 served as a translator during the interview. The Smereka family is from one of the western most states in Ukraine, Lviv, an area, which has experienced a lesser degree of uninterrupted Russian influence, having been influenced more heavily by Catholic Polish and Austro-Hungarian influences. They are active members of the community and although they have yet to meet citizenship requirements regarding the amount of time they have lived here, their youngest daughter is a US citizen by way of having been born 6 months ago on US soil.

Mrs. Oleszak is also part of the fourth wave of immigrants. Mrs. Oleszak characterizes the fourth wave as both highly educated and as materially rather than politically motivated. People "came to make [their] kids' life better." Perhaps she had plans to return at first, but now that she has started a family here, the likelihood that she will ever return for more than a visit is greatly diminished. She came to the States in 1990 with an aunt who is now living in Cleveland. Mrs. Oleszak is the wife of an American born Ukrainian professional. She was trained as a pediatrician but is currently a full time mother and has been a citizen for the past six years. The family regularly attends Orthodox services, but before she came to the US she was not religiously active.

In fact, Mrs. Oleszak feels a certain amount of frustration with Ukrainians' (in Ukraine) fixation with the Church. In her opinion, the Church in Ukraine is a piece of art, but "what's point of Church when you have beggars" (sic). ⁵⁸ Furthermore, people who attended Church were monitored. The KGB ran the Russian Orthodox Church. "If you were an old person, you didn't have anything to lose, otherwise religion was forbidden, you could be sent to Siberia." ⁵⁹ Issues of religious identification also paved the path of immigration for the Kovach and Zroback families who came to the United States as Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union.

Both families are from Odessa, the main seaport on the Black Sea in eastern Ukraine. Although both describe the international character of the city, neither felt embraced or accepted by it. Both the Kovachs and Zrobacks identify as secular Jews. The Soviet Ukrainian government issued passports designated their nationality as Jewish rather than Ukrainian or Russian. Both sets of parents are highly educated. Currently, Mrs. Kovach works as a computer

programmer and Mr. Kovach is a physicist. The Kovachs, felt ostracized from the Ukrainian community in Ukraine and have therefore no interest in seeking out those kind of connections in Pittsburgh, referring to Ukraine's "unwritten law" about the treatment of Jews. In the realm of quotas for university employment "everyone knew the guidelines." Neither has their sense of Judaism compelled them to get involved with the Jewish community in Pittsburgh. Mrs. Kovach "doesn't care about communities based on nationality or religion, [for her] it's based on friendship." However, in many cases friends tend to be other immigrants from Ukraine or Russia.

The Kovach family left because they wanted to secure a positive future for their son, Max. They feared the hazing and imminent Jewish related discrimination they foresaw as part of their son's future, particularly during mandatory army service. The Kovach's desire to leave the country was fixed by a tragic accident in which Mr. Kovach's cousin was killed when a stray bullet fired by Ukrainian nationalists entered the house and felled the innocent child. Russian influence pervades their household as it does East Ukraine. In general they speak Russian with one another, read Russian periodicals and recall Ukrainian language and culture as something that they were aware of but had never had any desire to learn about.

A comment made by an Orthodox priest that "Russians look down on Ukrainians as white trash" resonates with Max's statements. From eastern Ukraine, he had a negative childhood experience while in the West that has permeated his opinion of Ukrainians since. As a child in the West, he was teased about his eastern identity and the fact that he preferred to speak Russian. In response he refused to speak anything but Russian with them and has a very negative, stereotypical view of western Ukrainians as uneducated peasants or "hicks." Having lived in Pittsburgh for nine years, he has become a US citizen. When asked, he identifies himself as a Russian Jew, Russian in that he prefers the language, literature and music. He also has many Russian Jewish friends here. The Kovach family has a specific distrust and dislike of the nationality oriented Ukrainian community on the principle that Mrs. Kovach says "Community is not a freedom," and "any community opposes itself to others. It is a conspiracy against all others." (This statement echoes Barth's analysis of symbolic boundaries forming ethnic identity, although in a negative way.) Despite the difference in religion of the Kovachs and Zrobacks, there is also a strong distrust of the people they perceived as threats to them when they were in Ukraine.

The Zrobacks like the Kovachs came to the United States as Jewish refugees from the former USSR citing discrimination as the main motivating factor for leaving Ukraine. Mr. Zroback, a secular Jew, Mrs. Zroback, raised Ukrainian Orthodox, and an adult daughter came to Pittsburgh together. They have lived in the United States for almost five years and anxiously await the opportunity to take the citizenship exam. Mrs. Zroback worked in the administration of the Naval University in Odessa for 15 years until her employers discovered that she was married to a Jew and she was summarily dismissed. Mrs. Zroback has no particular aversion to Ukrainian culture like Max Kovach, nor does she have any strong preference toward Russian culture. She knows both languages although she has more experience with Russian and although Russian is the language she uses when communicating with her family, she uses English outside of the home, even with Russian speakers.

Language has been a contentious politically charged issue in Ukraine. For years Russian was encouraged while Ukrainian was actively discouraged or even outright prohibited.

Language plays a main role in how people choose to identify themselves. Max is convinced that the Russian language is "softer, more melodic and polished." Mrs. Oleszak reveals, "If you lived in Ukraine and spoke Ukrainian you were [considered] a nationalist." At present, Mrs. Oleszak is irritated that people in eastern Ukraine are not speaking Ukrainian instead of Russian. She admits that "they didn't know any better" and that "Russia did a good job brain washing people." Mrs. Zroback on the other hand castigates the language policies of independent Ukraine. Ukrainian is now the official language and in situations where Russian would be more effective, Ukrainian must be employed. For Mrs. Zroback, it does not make sense. She feels Ukraine does "not have a smart independence."

In response to the issue of anti-Semitism, those I talked with in the established community attribute it to the government telling people how to live. It was the government that fomented anti-Semitic policies. One woman was quick to remark that such accusations "are very painful for Ukraine." She warns that for "anyone who likes to write about Jews and Ukraine has to think Ukraine was not independent, not Ukraine who does it" (sic). According to her, Jews in Ukraine were often unwilling to identify with the people; they chose rather to identify with the government because it doesn't make sense to "take sides with people who are oppressed." Therefore, a Jewish population that did not take to the general population was considered suspicious by it. Anti-Semitism is an "excuse for the Russians to have their opinion

of Ukraine."⁷⁰ The woman makes a point of noting that before the Revolution her grandfather worked as a cook for a Jewish family. Mrs. Kovach would be quick to counter, citing her experience that people often feel that "all Jews are bad, but some of them are okay."⁷¹

What it is to be Ukrainian?

It is a "living Ukrainian culture," it is "not static." 72

For some of those interviewed, it is "easier to be Ukrainian in the United States than to be Ukrainian in the Soviet Union." Those who come to the US have the opportunity to choose whether or not they want to participate. The Ukrainian community, like other cultural groups, is in a constant state of redefinition and growth. Those who compose it are constantly changing, reinventing the composition of the community. Those who come to the United States are deeply affected by European events and also by the political and economic climate within the US mainstream.

Although for Mrs. Oleszak "raising her children Ukrainian is "an everyday battle" she "cannot imagine not to do that" (sic). The Oleszak's are "trying to keep [their] house very Ukrainian" while she is grateful to be here and envisions a post September 11th Pittsburgh where everyone displays an American flag. Of those Ukrainians who move here and who wish to retain their cultural connections, a degree of assimilation does occur. However, there are questions of how complete assimilation could ever be, or if assimilation is a goal either of the Ukrainian community or even the American community. Mrs. Oleszak's feelings about the limbo quality of immigration is also a part of her life:

"I don't think I'll arrive here 100%, I'm kind of in the middle. I consider myself—I don't know. When I'm here, home is Ukraine, in Ukraine, home [is] in [the] US. [It is] such a confusing thing, when I am here, I feel different from here, when there, different from there."

Mrs. Oleszak was shocked when she came to the United States. She as others in Ukraine had images of the United States in her mind as a place where everyone "looks like Cindy Crawford, lives in a mansion and drives a Mercedes." She was shocked in a positive way by the "Christian value" she had never heard of before she came here." Mrs. Zroback also had an

eye opening experience upon her arrival to the US. The Soviet Union "taught [her] that US is evil" (sic). Later she began to think of the United States as an "ideal country," but has since compromised the two ideas and sees the "US is not ideal, but [the] best we have. It's freedom." Mrs. Zroback whose home overlooks downtown Pittsburgh shared her experiences of September 11th. When she walked onto her front porch and looked out at the skyline she had the realization that she "understand[s] and [has] fall[en] in love with [this] country, this city."

The fourth wave displays a strong memory of the circumstances that facilitated their departure from Ukraine. The memories of their lives in Europe are very much a part of how they approach life in the United States. Those of the fourth wave also more readily criticize the Ukraine they so recently decided to leave. For all of them, they describe the freedoms that they enjoy here, whether it is freedom to embrace Ukrainian culture, or freedom to choose not to take part in it. The Olesczaks and Smerekas they have been able to become more involved in being Ukrainian with other people who are proud of their heritage. For the Kovachs and Zrobacks, life in the US offers freedom from a community whose domination they sought to escape by emigrating.

Ukrainian independence and the arrival of fourth wave immigrants brings with it tangible changes in the composition of the Ukrainian community. The end of Soviet rule in Ukraine is also a harbinger intensifying the need for reflection and redefinition of the ways Ukrainian immigrants in the United States have come to rely on certain interpretations of culturally significant symbols in structuring their ethnic identity.

Conclusion

In seeking to understand how members of the different waves of Ukrainian immigration use the history of their homeland to create meaning for themselves in the United States, the nature of Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community has revealed itself to be complex, ambiguous, and political. The first three waves of Ukrainian immigration to the United States have successfully established and perpetuated the Ukrainian community, in the process helping to standardize and define Ukrainian immigrant consciousness in Pittsburgh. With the introduction of new members to the community, the continuing discussion (sometimes argument) about what it means to be a part of the group keeps the community in a constant state of

redefinition. Concepts of 'cultural collective' are based on the idea of shared identity; Ukrainian ethnic consciousness is shaped from the inside and out, by community-maintained borders and by shared interpretations of culturally significant symbols inside of the community's boundaries.

Barth's concept of 'border maintenance' addresses the definition of group identity in external terms with regard to the 'Other' as well as internally with regard to particular interpretations of culturally significant symbols. The tightly knit, religiously oriented Pittsburgh Ukrainian immigrant community has defined itself in the more recent past largely in terms of opposition to the Soviet Union (while it existed); hence, people have worked to understand a Ukrainian identity by distancing themselves from being mistaken as Russian. As independent Ukraine faces challenges of political, economic, state and national transition and reinvention, the collapse of the Soviet Union also has implications for the Pittsburgh Ukrainian immigrant community. With the influx of the fourth wave of immigrants from post-Soviet Ukraine, the concept of border maintenance raises difficulties for the Ukrainian community. Ukrainian identity in Pittsburgh faces the challenge of learning to redefine itself in a world where the 'Other' is no longer automatically thought to be Soviet oppressors, and where recent immigrants from a post-Soviet Ukraine experience a certain amount of culture shock when coming to the United States and being introduced to the Ukrainian Diaspora.

The internal aspect of ethnic group identity is reflected in terms of symbols, the interpretation and value of which one accepts (or challenges) as part of gaining membership to the group. Membership guidelines for ethnic group identity are interpreted largely in terms of symbols and how people relate to them with regard to space and time. This can be seen in the Ukrainian case, with regard to the ways time and space, embodied in immigration waves, play an important role in determining how meaning is awarded to symbols. Internally, the Pittsburgh Ukrainian immigrant community shares memories of a Cossack culture of freedom, of poet laureate, Taras Shevchenko, hailed as the "Prophet of Ukraine," as well as freedom symbolized by the Ukrainian Trident and the religious/spiritual concept of the "unconquerable Ukrainian soul." Each of these symbols serves to bind the community together despite vast regional and religious diversity. At the same time, community diversity politicizes the interpretation of symbols and creates a forum for dissent—between Orthodox and Catholic, East and West, established community and fourth wave immigrants.

Ukraine has been called a 'Borderland' between empires, its existence defined in terms of its relationships with other, more powerful nations. In Ukraine and in Pittsburgh, Ukrainians have struggled to assert their own identity free from outside classifications. The Diaspora feels it has faced challenges similar to those in Ukraine as it has sought to create a shared identity for its members. However, in creating an independent identity, the Ukrainian immigrant community has also participated in defining itself in terms of others, i.e. "We're just NOT Russian." Simultaneously one encounters a very strong sense of the Diaspora being and wanting to be American. What has changed in Pittsburgh's Ukrainian community is that they now have more power to make the distinctions themselves and reclaim their identity. At this stage, they have more ability to define who they are and who they are not than they did in the past. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the failings of the Republic of Ukraine have sparked a new wave of immigration that has brought with it a renewed need to reclaim, but also redefine (and even to turn away from) what it means to be a part of Pittsburgh's Ukrainian immigrant community.

Notes to the Text

¹ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques (Newbury Park, Sage Publication, 1990), 23.

² Peter Kisivo, Americans All, (Belmont, California: International Thomson Publishing, 1995), 55.

³ Fredrick Barth, Introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, edited by Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 15.

⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁵ "Americans mistake Soviet Union for Russia," Radkey, interview by author, 23 October 2001.

⁶ One person compares Ukrainians to African-Americans in the United States saying that they seem to have a "defeatist" attitude, the result of centuries of repression and foreign domination, interview with author, 3 October 2001; People here greet on the street, in "Ukraine, they are scared," interview with author, 17 November 2001.

⁷ Fredrick Barth, Introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, edited by Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 15.

⁸ Radkey, interview by author, 9 November 2001.

⁹ Informal Conversation between Priest from Ss. Peter and Paul Orthodox Church and author, 4 November 2001.

¹⁰ Radkey, interview with author, 9 November 2001.

¹¹ Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 110.

¹² Pittsburgh Ukrainian Festival Pamphlet

¹³ Paul D'Anieri, "The Impact of Domestic Divisions on Foreign Policy," in *State and Institution Building in Ukraine*, edited by Taras Kuzio, Robert S. Kravchuk and Paul D'Anieri (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 87.

¹⁴ Myron Kuropas, The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations 1884-1954 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1991), 8.

¹⁵ Ibid., 7.

¹⁶ "60th Anniversary of famine was commemorated at the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial, couldn't get a mention in Pittsburgh papers, although it was in the Beaver Valley Times," Dmytrenko, Interview with author, 22 October 2001.

¹⁷ Tamara J. Resler, "Post Soviet Transitions: Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania" in *The Ethnic Entanglement: Conflict and Intervention in World Politics*, edited by John F. Stack, Jr. and Lui Hebron (London: Praeger, 1999), 81.

¹⁸ John B.Dunlop, The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 172.

¹⁹ Paul D'Anieri, Robert Kravchuk and Taras Kuzio, *Politics and Society in Ukraine* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999), 3.

²⁰ Paul D'Anieri, "The Impact of Domestic Divisions on Foreign Policy," in State and Institution Building in

Ukraine, edited by Taras Kuzio, Robert S. Kravchuk and Paul D'Anieri (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 5.

²¹ Ibid., 87.

²² Tamara J. Resler, "Post Soviet Transitions: Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania" in *The Ethnic Entanglement: Conflict and Intervention in World Politics*, edited by John F. Stack, Jr. and Lui Hebron (London: Praeger, 1999), 81.

²³ Radkey, interview with author, 9 November 2001.

²⁴ "In describing the unanimous approval for the changes from Ruthenian to Ukrainian at the UNA convention in Buffalo, Svoboda proudly wrote: "After all, Ukrainians are now in fashion" (Svoboda, 19 January 1915), reprinted in Myron B. Kuropas, The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations 1884-1954 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 86.

²⁵ Dr. Alexander Roman. "Taras Shevchenko and Ilya Chavchavadze: Christian Visionaries." http://www.unicorne.org/orthodoxy/articles/alex_roman/shevchenko.htm.

²⁶ Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 94.

²⁷ Dr. Alexander Roman. "The Ukrainian Trident." http://www.unicorne.org/orthodoxy/articles/alex_roman/trident.htm.

²⁸ Myron Kuropas, The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations 1884-1954 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 133.

²⁹ Peter Kisivo, Americans All (Belmont, California: International Thomson Publishing, 1995), 55.

³⁰ Dmytrenko, interview with author, 22 October 2001.

³¹ Solczanyk, interview with author 11 October 2001.

³² Dmytrenko, interview with author, 22 October 2001.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Radkey, interview with author, 23 October 2001.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Dmytrenko, interview with author, 22 October 2001.

³⁸ Radkey, interview with author, 9 November 2001.

³⁹ Oleszak, interview with author, 4 November 2001.

⁴⁰ Radkey, interview with author, 9 November 2001.

⁴¹ Informal Conversation between Priest from Ss. Peter and Paul Orthodox Church and author, 4 November 2001.

⁴² Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 131.

⁴³ Pittsburgh Ukrainian Festival Pamphlet

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Smereka, interview with author, 17 November 2001.

⁴⁶ Peter Kisivo, Americans All (Belmont, California: International Thomson Publishing, 1995), 55.

⁴⁷ Solczanyk, interview with author, 11 October 2001.

⁴⁸ Radkey, interview with author, 9 November 2001.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Dmytrenko, interview with author, 22 October 2001.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Radkey, interview with author, 9 November 2001.

⁵⁴ Dmytrenko, interview with author, 22 October 2001.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Oleszak, interview with author, 4 November 2001.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Kovach, interview with author, 13 November 2001.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Informal Conversation between Priest from Ss. Peter and Paul Orthodox Church and author, 4 November 2001.

⁶³ Kovach, interview with author, 13 November 2001.

⁶⁴ Max Kovach, interview with author, 29 October 2001.

⁶⁵ Oleszak, interview with author, 4 November 2001.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Zroback, interview with author, 2 December 2001.

⁶⁸ Radkey, interview with author, 9 November 2001.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Kovach, interview with author, 13 November 2001.

⁷² Informal Conversation between Priest from Ss. Peter and Paul Orthodox Church and author, 4 November 2001.

⁷³ Oleszak, interview with author, 4 November 2001.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Zroback, interview with author, 2 December 2001.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

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Events

Weekly Choral Rehearsals with the Ukrainian Cultural Trust Choir of Western Pennsylvania. Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Carnegie, PA.

Performance with the Ukrainian Cultural Trust Choir of Western Pennsylvania. St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church, South Side. 13 January 2002.

Pittsburgh Ukrainian Festival, 20th Anniversary Concert in Honor of the 10th Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine and in Remembrance of the September 11th Tragedy. Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh. 30 September 2001.

Ukrainian Film Reception. University Club, University of Pittsburgh. 27 October 2001.

Sunday morning service at Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Carnegie, PA. 4 November 2001.

Service for Canonization of Blessed Andrew Sheptytsky. St. John the Baptist Church, South Side. 4 November 2001.

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Solczanyk. Interview by author. 11 October 2001.

Druzchak. Interview by author. 3 October 2001.

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