

UKRAINIAN ETHNOS AS A COMPLEX SOCIO-CULTURAL PHENOMENON: FORMATION, DYNAMICS, PROSPECTS

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Abstract. The article refers to such a phenomenon as Ukrainian ethnos. The theoretical framework for investigation is introduced. Under the consideration the following questions are: the concept of the notion, the roots and sources of its formation, dynamics in different historical times. The phenomenon is analyzed from the socio-cultural perspective. Ukrainians living in different countries are presented as a holistic unite; the reason for that are links with ethnic homeland, common cultural features, common traditions, common customs, a number of common human values. The basic approaches in analysis of Ukrainian ethnos are used: geographical/territorial distribution and the level of ethnic (Ukrainian) awareness. The role of ethnic memory, of ethnic heritage, of ethnic identity, of ethnic practices and ethnic participation for communicating and uniting the parts of Ukrainian ethnos are discussed. Prospects for common ethno-cultural activities and communication of Ukrainian diaspora with mainland Ukrainians are under the question too.

Keywords: Ukrainian ethnos, mainland Ukrainians, “Ukrainians abroad”, Ukrainian diaspora, dynamics of Ukrainian ethnos, ethno-national structure, theoretical framework.

The term “ethnos” and around

The term “ethnos” has long been known to science—in the late of the XVIII-th and early of the XIX-th centuries and was used in different meanings by known social scientists: Lewis Henry Morgan, Adolf Bastian, Georges Vacher de Lapouge [15].

It is to be realized that the word as a noun — *ethnos* and its derivatives as adjectives — *ethnic*, *ethnical* (or vice versa — from an adjective to a noun) were used centuries ago. Early and late XV-th (primary meaning — “*pagan, heathen*”) it came from Late Latin *ethnicus*, from Greek *ethnicos* and meant *nation, national*. Two aspects of this meaning are to distinguish: 1) by some writers “adopted to the genius or customs of a people, peculiar to a people”; 2) among grammarians “suited to the manners or language of foreigners”. Concerning the word “*ethnos*” it is “band of people living together, nation, people, tribe, caste” [19].

In context of our investigation it is important to remember: the analysis of the state-of-the-art reproduces two tendencies as to use the word “*ethnos*” and its derivatives “*ethnic*”, “*ethnical*”: 1) in Western tradition we are facing

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more with “*ethnic group*” and “*ethnicity*” in a sense “*ethnos*” and “*ethno*” — word-forming element used to form modern compounds in the social sciences [20]; 2) in Ukrainian case “*ethnos*” is one of a core notion to explore issues connected with the origins of peoples or their parts and their structuralization on the basis of cultural and behavioral patterns.

For a long time, term “*ethnos*” was expelled from usage in the Soviet scientific literature, substituted by the term “*nation*” both in its usual meaning (ethnic, political state) and in the sense in which the term “*ethnos*” had originally been used. The basis for contemporary used the term “*ethnos*” was formulated by French anthropologist Joseph Deniker, including peoples, tribes and nations as the form of existence of ethnoses [11, 18]. In this sense among main markers of an ethnos a common memory, common language, common descent, common complex of customs (in more broader sense ethno-cultural practices), singularities of everyday life and vital functions, and I add *psyche*, as well as an awareness of its integrity and distinction from other similar formations are [7, 127–134].

In general understanding I define “*ethnos*” as a special kind of human community which was developed historically and represents specific form of collective existence of its members. Its existence does not depend upon the will of individuals. It is capable to exist for a long time due to its sustainable self-reproduction [7, 127].

In order to show various manifestations of ethnos’ existence ethnologist Julian Bromley proposed one more term — “*ethnicos*” [2, 37]. This term gradually came to use, when the issue concerned a people in its proper ethnic sense. Thus, it drew a distinction between the meanings of the term “*people*”, like a) the whole population of this or that country; b) working masses; c) a crowd. By the way, French philosopher Josheph Ernest Renan proposed to his time (1919) to make a difference between “*ethnos*” and “*large ethnos*” [11, 18]. We can see the similarities in understanding of the phenomenon by both scientists. My approach in interpretation of the theory of an ethnos bases upon structural/functional factors and an ethnos as a type of human community function thanks diachronic information ties which ensure the continuity of ethnic information (the idea was developed by Russian ethnologist Sergey Arutyunov — [1]). Ethnoses can exist compact or dispersed, maintaining immediate or indirect information ties within one country or several countries.

There are a number of theories of ethnos. *Theory of ethnos* means a system of conceptual approaches within which an origin, principles of existing, development and role in social life of an ethnos interpret. I have counted eleven of them. I do not analyze them in this article, it is a deal of other investigations. In my classification these are: dualistic (“*ethnos*”-“*ethnicos*”); evolutionary/historical (social community that appear as a result of historical development); constructive (ethnos is an artificial formation, the result of the purposeful activity of the people themselves); instrumentalist (ethnos is an instrument in the power struggle); passionate (a group of people who is formed on the basis of the original stereotype of behavior), primordialist (ethnos is a natural entity), socio-biological theories, theory of Arutyunov/Cheboksarov (ethnos is built on the information and communication links), theory of the single (holistic) Jewish ethnos (all Jews, wherever they belong to this ethnos), theory of Peter van den Berghe (ethnos is a kind of biological community which is formed on the basis of genetic inclinations of family selection) [26].

Author's interpretation theory is based on a combined approaches of structural/functional theory and theory of holistic Jewish ethnos. This combination is relevant to the situation with Ukrainian ethnos as it: 1) is dispersed over the World and 2) its unity is ensured by diachronic information ties which provide the continuity of ethnic information [7, 132-133].

Ukrainian ethnos: notion and formation

For today the accumulated information from different branches of socio-humanitarian knowledge allows to look at Ukrainian ethnos as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon and to generate its interdisciplinary definition. It is characterized by common ancestry, common features of culture, language, psychics, stable level of consciousness of belonging to the ethnic community. For a large number of Ukrainians the striving for building their own nation-state was one of the most powerful factors that unite them and strengthen the positions of the ethnos. Another important factor in this unifying process is the presence (either one way or another) of the above characteristics of an ethnos by different parts of Ukrainians and their descendants. These two signs make it possible to look at Ukrainians wherever they live as an integral unit.

The formation of Ukrainian ethnos is associated with ethnogenesis of Ukrainians. The most widespread theory in this case for today the early medieval theory is. It says that Ukrainians developed in accordance with universal laws of ethnic development of Medieval Europe on the base of autochthonous principles: it means that the core of Ukrainians the population lived on the territory of contemporary Ukraine of previous historical periods consists [5].

Today the Ukrainians and their descendants are living in almost hundred countries of the world. Speaking about Ukrainian ethnos one has to take into account that in territorial dimension it consists of two parts: the Ukrainians located within geographical boundaries of the state "Ukraine" and outside of its territory. Different environments have a different effect upon the state the parts of the phenomenon. That's why the geographic/territorial perspective of analysis of Ukrainian ethnos is important as much as perspective of its internal development.

To understand the transformation processes of Ukrainian ethnos one has to look at the ethnic environment in which its parts are located and with what kind of ethnicities Ukrainians or their descendants are communicated.

The-state-of-the-art

Ethnos became a subject of scientific interest of Ukrainian researchers at the end of XIX- th and the very beginning of the XX-th centuries. Naturally, that the focus of their attention Ukrainian ethnos is. Such an interest was provoked to my mind by intensification of the national movement on the territory populated by Ukrainians who sought to gain independence in one form or another. Among the domestic contributors in exploring the phenomenon "Ukrainian ethnos" there are historians, ethnographers, ethnologists, sociologists, political scientists, cultural scientists, linguists: Mykhailo Brayichevskyi (1924-2001), Yaroslav Dashkevych (1926-2010), Mykhailo Hrushevskyi (1866-1934), Yaroslav Isayevych (1936-2010), Vasyl Lisovyi (1937-2012), Oleksandr Potebnya (1835-1891), Mykhailo Vivcharyk (1941-2003), Valentyna Borysenko,

Yaroslav Hrytsak, Ivan Monolatiy, Vsevolod Naulko, Oleksandr Nelga, Mykhailo Stepyko, Volodymyr Troshshynskyi, Kostyantyn Tyshshenko, Volodymyr Yevtukh, Leonid Zaliznyak and others. The questions of historical development, of ethno-cultural context of formation of Ukrainian ethnos, of communication with other ethnicities in different parts of Ukraine, of ideological role of ethnicity in building of Ukrainian political nation became subjects to their consideration. At different times they have studied and continue to do study varied aspects of the phenomenon. Information about author's contribution to the study of Ukrainian ethnicity in general and Ukrainian ethnos in particular one can see in the special publication [6, 17-47].

The topic is attracting the attention of some foreign researchers: Ola Hnatiuk (Poland), Vsevolod Isayiv (Canada), Andreas Kappeler (Austria), Roman Shporlyk (USA), Gerhard Simon (Germany), Andrew Wilson (Great Britain). They analyzed some ethnic issues mostly in context of formation and functioning of Ukrainian nation.

Ukrainians in the ethno-national structure of the country's population

The overwhelming majority of members of Ukrainian ethnos are living on the territory of Ukraine. Ukrainians consist about 78 % of the country's population (over 32 Mio — it means around 65 % of all Ukrainians in contemporary world).

According to the last census (2001) representatives of above 130 *ethnie* (the term proposed by Jean-Loup Amselle [15]) populate the today's Ukraine. The polyethnic composition of the population of Ukraine is a phenomenon which has its roots in the past. Two ways led to the present polyethnicity [28] of the country: migration and separation of independent peoples from ancient Slavonic tribes, residing on the territory of Kiev Russ (XI-XII century).

The last we name autochthonous population — ethnic communities formed on the base of three Slavonic tribes (Ukrainians, Russians-Ruskiye, Byelorussians). By the way, I propose to make a distinguish between the terms "Russian" and "Ruskiye" and to apply for this kind of people on the territory of Ukraine the last term because in my opinion it corresponds to their status in Ukraine [29]. The other population is allochthonous — ethnic communities formed on the base of the people came to the territory of contemporary Ukraine or people lived on the territories included into Ukraine in different periods (Armenians, Hungarians, Jews, Moldovians, Poles, Romanians etc.) and on the base of new ethnicities — immigrants. The distribution of the ethnicities is as following: *12 (of 27) regions* — number of ethnicities from 3 to 8 (alphabetically): Chernivtsi, Crimea Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Kharkiv, Kirovograd, Lugansk, Mukolayiv, Odessa, Poltava, Zakarpattya, Zaporizhzhya; *20 regions* where number of ethnicities represents over 0.1 % in the population of a region (Ukrainians and Russian-Ruskiye not included) — *East* (Donetsk, Kharkiv, Lugansk), *South* (Kherson, Mykolayiv, Odessa), *West* (Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, Volyn, Zakarpattya), *Center* (Cherkassy, Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovograd, Poltava, Zaporizhzhya), *North* (Chernigiv, Kyiv, Sumy, Zhytomyr) — *18 ethnicities*.

There are several ethnic areas in Ukraine: *the Crimea* (Armenians, Crimean Tatars, Russian-Ruskiye, Ukrainians), *Bukovyna* (Moldovians, Gagauz, Russian-Ruskiye, Romanians, Ukrainians), *Odessa* region (Bulgarians, Gagauz, Moldovians, Russian-Rysskiye, Ukrainians), *Zakarpattya* (Hungarians, Romani, Russian-Ruskiye, Ukrainians).

Now Ukrainian ethnos is a basic component of the building up of Ukrainian political nation in the interactions with other components of the ethno-national structure of Ukrainian society (ethnic minorities — for example Ruskiye, Hungarians, Poles etc.; not numerous representatives of other ethnos — for example, Ukraine's citizens of Eskimo origin; communities with uncertain ethnic status — Crimean Tatars, Karayit, Krymchaks). As to the distribution of Ukrainians on the territory of the country they consist the majority of the population in all the regions except the Crimea: from above 57.0 % in Lugansk to almost 98.0 % in Ternopil. In 19 regions the number of Ukrainians exceeds 80.0 %. 85.0 % of Ukrainians recognize Ukrainian language as their mother language.

The data received from the survey “Identity of Citizens of Ukraine under New Conditions: Changes, Tendencies, Regional Peculiarities” conducted 2016 make it possible to draw some conclusions concerning the state of socio-cultural processes among Ukrainians living on the mainland. We look at language identity in different dimensions (mother tongue, language used in family communication and in social environment, level of native language proficiency), cultural identity (referring to a certain cultural tradition, social distance with other ethnicities). Evaluating the results of the survey one has to keep in mind that 86.0 % of respondents the Ukrainians made up.

Language identity: 60.0 % of respondents consider Ukrainian to be native (2006 — 52 %); 44 % for family communication are choosing Ukrainian language (2006 — 39 %); outside of home 40 % of respondents communicate Ukrainian (2005 — 37 %). The tendency shows a stable increase of the use of Ukrainian language in different spheres of communications. Another fact is evident: the share of those speaking and using Ukrainian is growing in the directions from the East to the West and from the South to the North [8, 8].

Cultural identity: 70 % of respondents identify themselves with Ukrainian cultural tradition (2006 — 56 %). The territorial dynamics is the following: Donbass — 38 %, the South and the East — 64 %, the Center — 81 %, the West — 85 % [8, 9]. In this context we can state that the social distance between Ukrainians and the people of other ethnicities is decreasing; the same tendency is to be seen in the case of different regions [8, 10].

The above facts lead to a conclusion about that the positions of “Ukrainisness” in Ukrainian society become more stable and the cohesion of society is happening around this values (“Ukrainisness”) with the participation of ethnic minorities values. Such processes are largely a result of activities of Ukrainian ethnos, primarily of the part that is located in mainland Ukraine. The results of the survey conducted by Sociological group “Rating” (3-10 August 2018) confirm the statement that the process of cohesion of Ukrainian society is in progress: 82 % of respondents consider themselves patriots of Ukraine, about 80 % support the Independence of Ukraine (2012 — 62 %), 66 % identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine (2010 — 57 %) [4].

Speaking about dynamics of Ukrainian ethnos and especially about its cohesion one has to keep in mind that within the ethnos several sub-ethnoses and ethnographical groups exist, with their ethno-cultural specificity. These are Hutsuly, Boiky, Lemky, Podolyany, Polishchuky. They preserve and develop special features in traditions, customs, folk art and behavior which differentiate them from each other and give a certain peculiarity to the Ukrainian ethnos as a holistic entity [12].

“Ukrainians abroad” as a part of Ukrainian ethnos

Theoretical remarks. This phenomenon is multi-layered and includes different categories: diaspora, emigrants, temporarily residents remaining in country for business opportunities, employment, education and extended stays with relatives who have emigrated. The main characteristics, which identify individuals as “Ukrainians abroad”, are their ethnicity, self-identification and their contribution of support and development of Ukrainian ethnicity abroad and situationally in Ukraine. The diaspora represents the largest number of “Ukrainians abroad” and constitutes a high level of ethnic identity and is the most active in the preservation and development of Ukrainian culture outside of the country. The number of the diaspora is approximately 18-20 million (according to recent calculations). This group comprises people of Ukrainian origin who departed their Motherland during differing periods and autochthonous Ukrainian populations who resided in other countries as a result of historically reestablished borders in the East and the North of Ukraine (Belarus, Russia), as well as in the West (Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary). The majority of the diaspora and the number of people of Ukrainian origin who reside outside grouped “Ukrainians abroad”, constitute a representative population which possess a sufficiently high level of ethnic identity, on the one hand, and, on the other, they possess double or triple ethnic identity which is formed while interacting with people from other countries and the local population. They, as T. Holly, may have different identities: civic, ethnic, hybrid and atomized [22].

The first source of the Ukrainian diaspora formation *emigration* was that intensified during the last decades and presents the second largest component of “Ukrainians abroad”. However, not all emigrants have become integrated into the diaspora nowadays; some of them aim at integrating into the mainstream (in ethnic sense too) of a society in which they live. This involves a rejection of certain markers of Ukrainian identity. A special category is presented by migrants who left the country under the pressure of instability and military actions in the Crimea and in some areas of Donbas. The most urgent problems for such forced migrations are social priorities. Therefore a maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity is relegated to the background. Persons of Ukrainian origin who temporarily reside in other countries form the third group of Ukrainians. This group is so small and is not of the greatest importance; it is more situational, as evidenced by the sporadic participation in some activities related to Ukrainian identity. This is in evidence by participation in demonstrations and fundraising events supporting Ukrainian’s European aspirations and the fight against the aggression of placecountry-regionRussia. Citizens of Ukraine, who are on short-term or long-term business trips abroad rarely participate in such kind of activities.

Sources of formation: past and present. People from Ukraine and their descendants, as mentioned above, live in more than one hundred countries. According to their geographical locations, three major areas can be singled out: *Western* (countries to the west of Ukraine, including Eastern and Western Europe, North, Central and South America and the Baltic countries), *Eastern* (the countries to the East of Ukraine—Russia, countries of the former Soviet Union (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan), and the countries of South-East Asia) and *Southern* (countries located in Africa, Australia, New Zealand).

As forerunners of “Ukrainians abroad” (1608-1880) can be considered: the relocation of the Cossacks to Turkey and Western Europe after their defeat at the Battle of Poltava (1709), the Cossacks’ resettlement to Dobrogea in The Ottoman Empire (now Romania) and to the Volga and the Urals regions in the Russian Empire after the destruction of the Zaporizhzhya Sich (1775) by Catherine II and the building of settlements in the Transcarpathian region. The intense movement of Ukrainian people and the formation of Ukrainian ethnic settlements in many countries occurred during four waves: 1) the last quarter of the 19th century—to the beginning of the First World War; 2) the period between the two World Wars; 3) the period after the Second World War; 4) the years of an independent Ukraine. For each of these waves there were characteristic features related to their quantitative, demographic, social, ethnic structure and ethnic environment in the country of residence. For example, the most numerous emigration from Ukraine took place before and during the first wave, almost a million people moved to the North and South American continents and more than 3.5 million were highly assimilated—in different parts of the Soviet Union; the least numerous emigration from Ukraine has been during the fourth wave (several hundred thousand people).

Socio-cultural measurements. The circumstances of the formation of “Ukrainians abroad” as a social phenomenon and its viability in differing ethnic environments, in particular the integration of its representatives in the social and ethno-cultural area of the settlement, were conditioned by several factors. These are: 1) the quantitative composition of emigrants from Ukraine; 2) the geography of origin; 3) the settlement structure in the countries of residence; 4) the policy of the governments and local authorities to emigration; and 5) the level of tolerance/intolerance in interethnic relations at national, regional and especially at local levels. For the designation of a social phenomenon particular components are necessary. That is, the number of people of Ukrainian origin who are able to present themselves in social and ethno-cultural terms as a structured community of country (by Raymond Breton, constitute a community of “institutional completeness”) [16].

Favorable conditions for the functioning of the phenomenon “Ukrainians abroad” in the context of its quantitative measurement are mostly available on the territories where ethnic areas and ethnic enclaves of Ukrainians were formed, particularly in the USA (the metropolitan area of Detroit, New York, Chicago), Canada (Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan), Australia (Melbourne, Sydney), Kazakhstan (northern parts of the country, Almaty), Russia (Altai, the Far East, Western and Eastern Siberia, Krasnodar Krai, Magadan

oblast, Moscow, Volga, St. Petersburg, Stavropol Territory, Yakutiya), Poland (border with Ukraine), Romania (Bucharest, border lands) and Slovakia (Slovak-Ukrainian border zone). However, in today's conditions, the worsening of relations between Russia and Ukraine is narrowing the field of their socio-cultural activities.

The geographical location of Ukrainian ethnic representatives plays an important role in the identification of their cultural and customary traditions and, in general, concerning the level of unity of "Ukrainians abroad", as well as interpretation of the phenomenon as a structured holistic phenomenon. It is known that traditionally, especially during the first and second waves of emigration, emigrants from Western Ukraine moved westwards, and those from central and eastern regions of Ukraine predominantly migrated to the East. This tendency influenced the character of life in different ethnic environments. Cultural traditions and customs of the Western-oriented people from Ukraine have been marked by purely Ukrainian ethnicity (to some extent sub-ethnic splashes of Boyky, Hutsuly, Lemky) and at the same time by ethnicities of people from other countries with whom they interacted, within different ethnic and political states — Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary. The majority of Ukrainian ethnophors who migrated to the East, were under the influence of Russian ethnic factors (as a part of the Russian Empire) and accordingly, were deeply marked by the Soviet mentality. During the time of an independent Ukraine the number of Ukrainian ethnophors in the eastern areas does not increase, as the main destinations of the fourth wave North America and Europe are.

Taking into consideration the circumstances listed above, the notions of the "Western diaspora" and the "Eastern diaspora" have not only geographical importance, but also reflect the reality of a socio-cultural distinction of the two branches of the diaspora with their laws and patterns of development. A portion of the Ukrainians geographically belonging to the "Eastern diaspora", stand out in a social sense. It is about those Ukrainians who live in Asian countries and their social and cultural development is influenced by the circumstances of development in those countries. Therefore, the socialization of the representatives of the two branches takes place with certain differences, especially with regard to the possibility of social mobility and the preservation of ethnic and cultural identity. These processes are more intense in states, whose politics is based on the principles of democracy. The ethno-political behavior of emigrants from Ukraine and their descendants during the crisis in Russian-Ukrainian relations (from 2014) has become undeniable proof of this statement: citizens and non-citizens of Ukrainian origin in various Western countries actively opposed Russian aggression towards Ukraine, while the Ukrainian ethnophors in Russia were almost inactive. Moreover, the countries with higher levels of democracy, particularly European countries where Ukrainians live, possess a significantly higher level of tolerance for those of other countries: these are Austria, Belgium, UK, Spain, Italy, Germany [9]. Despite the restrictive measures (such as immigration quotas), and taking into account the significant contribution of people of Ukrainian origin in the social and cultural development of the United States and Canada and their deep root in the social life of these countries, they have the same opportunities for social mobility as local citizens and citizens of other nationalities.

Social and cultural activities are realized by emigrants from Ukraine through purely ethnic societies and through their participation in the activities of the locals. First and foremost, in the USA and Canada, it was typical for emigrants to create their own social and cultural communities. These communities eased adaptation to new living conditions and integration into a new society. The most successful here relief companies, banks and ethno-cultural organizations were. The first two types of organizations provided material and financial assistance to people from Ukraine, and the others were responsible for preserving elements of Ukrainian culture, traditions and customs and fostering links with the ethnic homeland.

Due to the efforts of cultural institutions there are “islands” of Ukrainian identity preserved in the United States, Canada, Brazil and Argentina and anywhere. In the United States to these institutions one may refer to the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences with its branches establishments in the USA and Canada; The Art Museum of Ukraine in Detroit, New York and Chicago; the open air museum “Ukrainian Village Cultural Heritage” (Alberta, Canada); The Shevchenko Scientific Society, The Center for Demographic and Socioeconomic Research of Ukrainian Studies in the United States; The Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svydnyk (Slovakia), Ukrainian State School in Riga (Latvia) etc. During the celebration of certain historical dates and events in the history of the Ukrainian people or settlements, cultural festivals of their ethnic community or the presentation of Ukrainian art at other ethnic festivals are significant markers of Ukrainian ethnicity. A powerful factor uniting “Ukrainians abroad” and creating their image as a part of broader historical and social phenomenon “Ukrainian ethnos” is the initiation of several large and powerful projects and activities of Ukrainian umbrella organizations. These include the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council, consisting of noncommercial organizations from Ukraine and beyond its borders, with the aim to uphold and protect linguistic, educational, social and cultural interests of Ukrainians worldwide; The Ukrainian World Congress (UWC) uniting Ukrainian central boundary representations of 28 countries in North and South America, Europe, the former Soviet Union and Australia, and The European Congress of Ukrainians (EKU), which focuses on issues of Ukrainians living in European countries. To this list one can add The World Federation of Ukrainian Medical Associations, and The Association of Ukrainian Culture.

Dynamics of Ukrainian ethnos

The structure of the Ukrainian ethnos is more complicated (but also more adequate), when the factor of self-consciousness (self-awareness) and at last self-identification of the representatives of its core and diaspora components are put into the base. In this connection I shall use the conceptualization, proposed by the outstanding English ethnologist Anthony Smith, and according to which the structure of every ethnos can be imagined in the form of three circles: 1) core; 2) marginal stratum; 3) ethnic categories [25].

The representatives of the core of the Ukrainian ethnos are characterized by the highest level of self-consciousness and self-identification with the Ukrainian ethnos. This core, undoubtedly, is on the territory of Ukraine. However,

we have to take into account that the limits of the core of the Ukrainian ethnos, determined according to the factor of the ethnic self-consciousness, are not those limits, determined by the factor of location. In order to demarcate the contents of the term “core of the Ukrainian ethnos” in the context of two factors’ action—self-consciousness and location, we shall use the term “settler’s core” for the last (the sociological term “settler’s structure” can serve the analogy). In the first case they are considerably narrower than in the second one. Not every Ukrainian of Ukraine can be included in the group with a high level of the Ukrainian ethnic self-consciousness, that is, not everyone is such a person, who not only demonstrates his Ukrainian origin or belonging to the Ukrainian ethnos, but also promotes the reproduction of the Ukrainian ethnos. Moreover, a considerable part of the settler’s core of the Ukrainian ethnos is in another (marginal) stratum or even among the ethnic categories. We can determine how the representatives of the settler’s core are distributed (in percentage) among three structural levels—core, marginal stratum, ethnic categories—after ethno-sociological research, in particular by the survey.

In my opinion, one may be included in the marginal stratum, those who are characteristic of “double, triple self-consciousness”.

Such self-consciousness has been formed as a result of the fact that representatives of the Ukrainian ethnos were under the influence of other ethnic groups, either living together with representatives of other *ethnoi*, or under the conditions of another ethnic environment. As a result of intensive interaction between them, a process of transferring a person to the marginal stratum takes place, since a person continuously is between two or several *ethnoi*, culture and mentality correspond. The marginal person is characteristic of the ethnic elements of those people with whom he interacts. The marginal condition is a stage toward assimilation, primarily an objective process in the interaction of two or several *ethnoi*. But taking into account the fact that in the majority of cases the ethnic policy of the states, on the territories of which various parts of ethnos are situated, was directed, if not to absorption, then at least to limitation of another ethnic factor’s role in the social life of its ethno-political organism; assimilation assumes the attributes of a purposeful and coercive process. Coercive does not necessarily mean one connected with use of force. Most likely, it is shaped in conditions under which the individual practically has no alternative and assimilation to another ethnic environment seems only a natural striving to become a part of the higher culture. The latter is to a considerable extent characteristic for the ethnic interaction in the former Soviet Union. It also pertains to the Native Americans of the USA and Canada, where a so called American way of life was imposed on them and the internal relations and life system of this ethnic minority were broken.

Thus, there is an every reason to include in the marginal stratum of the Ukrainian ethnos a certain part of the settler’s core, representatives of other *ethnoi*, living in Ukraine (to the latter belong, first of all, those settled in the Ukrainian-ethnic environment and not having intensive contacts with the representatives of their own ethnos) and practically the whole Ukrainian diaspora with individual exceptions. I define such cases when citizens of other countries, Ukrainians by birth, preserve Ukrainian ethnic features under the conditions of another ethnic environment and their activity stimulates the development of

the Ukrainian ethnos in Ukraine. There are many such “individual cases” after proclaiming the independence and giving the possibility of foreign citizens, Ukrainians by birth, to take part in the construction of the Ukrainian state.

I propose that we include those individuals, who have practically lost their Ukrainian ethnicity and their connection with the Ukrainian ethnos into the *ethnic category*. Not having exact data about the number of those who can be included to the ethnic category, we have every reason to affirm that the predominant majority of them are representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora. This is because they did not have the opportunity to support and develop their Ukrainian features (in the states of the former Soviet Union), or that for the second, third and succeeding generations their Ukrainian origin, if not impeded, then in any case did not promote their social mobility in the countries of the Western World. I shall remark in this context that the population of Ukraine has to a considerable extent a mythological idea about the possibilities of development of the Ukrainian ethnos and about its condition proper in the countries of Europe and America. These possibilities are limited, despite the high level of democracy in these countries (first of all the issue is one of the level of the state regulation of interethnic relations), by virtue of various reasons of an objective and subjective character. To preserve and to develop own ethnicity is to a large extent a matter of individuals — it depends much on their wish to do or not to do this.

Having fixed three constituent parts of ethnos (in self-awareness context), I do not connect them with any constant number of representatives of the Ukrainian ethnos, since transition from one structural element to another can take place under various conditions. This movement can be in such directions: 1) for the core: core — marginal stratum — ethnic category; 2) for the ethnic category: ethnic category -marginal stratum — core; 3) for the marginal stratum: marginal stratum — core; marginal stratum — ethnic category.

It is worthwhile to pause briefly to consider the character of this movement, determined by changes in the level of self-consciousness and ethnic self-identification. If, for example, to take the movement from core to ethnic category, such a process is not straightforward and is not always completed with transition to the core of the ethnos. It seems to me (in any case this assertion is caused by observations, partly fixed in ethnological literature), that in recent years movement in the direction of the Ukrainian ethnos’ core became more intensive, than movement to the ethnic category. The first condition of it is a possibility to construct an independent Ukrainian state, where Ukrainians form the ethnic base, which is an obligatory element of existence of any ethno-political organism and in which the conditions of revival and development of the Ukrainian ethnos are created. Broadening the diapason of the Ukrainian language’s function, increasing the number of Ukrainian cultural-informative institutions, stepping up the interaction of the representatives of diaspora with the core, consolidation of Ukrainians as a subject of the world intellectual space — are appreciable phenomena, which corroborate with the notion of the intensity of the movement to the ethnos’ core. Prognoses of the movement’s future are connected first of all with our possibilities to develop the bases (economic, political, spiritual) of the independence of Ukraine. I shall note that it is important here that the strengthening of independence not be perceived as

a road to Ukraine's isolation, but as a road to Ukraine's rightful place in the world community and its interaction on the basis of equal partnership with the surrounding world.

Moreover, one should not place too much emphasis on the influence of the processes of building an independent Ukrainian state upon the intensification of movement to the core; the dialectic of the social development means that the fate of the Ukrainian state depends to a large extent on changes within the mainland part of Ukrainian ethnos. I mean first of all how consciously the population of Ukraine and Ukrainians first and foremost will strengthen the core of the ethnos, the ethnic basis of the state. In addition I remark that strengthening this base in a polyethnic Ukrainian society must not exclude its interaction with other ethnic structures or the entry of representatives of other *ethnoi* into the Ukrainian one.

In this context there is a logical question concerning the influence of the interaction of Ukrainians with representatives of other *ethnoi* upon the changes, which can take place in all three structural elements of the Ukrainian ethnos, in particular those affecting numerous ethnic minorities.

At first glance, the appearance and development of an independent state is a powerful incentive, impelling integration into the surrounding dominant ethnic community. To illustrate the appropriateness of this we may recall migrations to America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: newcomers tried at any price to join the mainstream of social life, the context of which was mainly determined by Americans of Anglo-Saxon origin. Scholarly research of these migrations and the adaptation of the immigrants to new conditions of life testify to the striving of the representatives of the first generation of migrants to create the most auspicious conditions of integration and social mobility for the second generation. The second generation understood the advantages of "Americanization" and refused everything that would prevent it from utilizing those social and political advantages, and especially from ethnic particularity. Only when the same American society was democratized, including what concerns representatives of other *ethnoi* and their descendants, succeeding generations, changed their positions, began to appeal to their ethnic roots, and this caused a revival of the ethnic minorities. The well-known American scholar of immigrants Markus Hansen called this phenomenon "the problem of the second generation" "the principle of the third generation interest" [21, 6, 9]. We can call it in broader sense "the syndrome of the third generation" and construct the following scheme: the first generation kept its originality, the second tried to rid itself of what had been brought by their fathers, and the third generation strived for the revival of that, with which its grandfathers had come to America.

Although, in Ukraine this syndrome differs, and not only because not all ethnic minorities were formed here thanks to migration movements. Also because the lives of both Ukrainians and representatives of other ethnoses were Russified to a large extent (among non-Ukrainians even more than among Ukrainians). Today the possibilities for ethnic revival of representatives of many peoples appear in our independent state. It, undoubtedly, will influence the accentuation of the ethno-cultural distinctions among them and the Ukrainian ethnos. I do not mean here a conscious opposition of distinctions, but natural self-manifestation through ethnic heterogeneity. Simultaneous to this

process a question arises about the character of interaction with the core of the ethnos, which gives its name to the state.

On this stage we can foresee that the existence of the Ukrainian state will promote the intensive liberation (if not all, then at least a considerable part) of representatives of ethnic minorities from the results of Russification (I name such a process “de-Russification”) and their logical close interaction with the Ukrainian ethnos. As a result of this, the process of transmitting the population, non-Ukrainian by birth, to the marginal stratum, and sometimes to the core of the Ukrainian ethnos, can be intensified. Without losing its identity to integrate in the mainstream of social developments of Ukraine and in particular closer contacts with the core of Ukrainian ethnos is the way to cohesion of polyethnic society.

“Meeting points”: interactions of two parts of Ukrainian ethnos

There are two forms of meeting of two parts of Ukrainian ethnos (Ukrainians living in Ukraine and “Ukrainians abroad”): physical and spiritual (mostly virtual communication). First one is realizing during direct contacts: World Congresses of Ukrainians which take place in Ukraine; conferences, “round tables”, discussions, touristic events in different countries of location of Ukrainians and their descendants. In this case the exchange of ethnic information concerning the participation of both parts in developments of Ukraine occurs not on a stable basis, situational and last not a long time.

The second forms secure more broader spectrum for communication and is a stable channel of a circulation of information needed for maintenance of the positions of Ukrainian ethnos and support its integrity. In this sense the next three phenomena are real links between two parts: *ethnic memory* (helps to keep in mind the ancestry and historical events inherent for the parts), *ethnic awareness* (awareness of own ethnic origin and belonging to Ukrainian ethnos), *ethnic identity* (identification yourself with Ukrainian ethnos). All three phenomena strengthen *ethnic heritage*, *ethnic practices* and *ethnic participation* [17; 18; 23] — very important for existing of Ukrainian ethnos as a whole phenomenon in the world. From on the other hand heritage, practices, participation are a proper milieu to stimulate development of ethnic memory, ethnic awareness, ethnic identity. Fruitful interplay of both group of mentioned phenomena occur during carrying out such events as ethnic festivals or like this in the places of locations of Ukrainians and their descendants. Their efficiency is noticeably higher during joint actions. Exchanges of subjects of art and traditional and customary culture that carry ethnic information between two parts of Ukrainian ethnos are of a great value too. A powerful factor uniting “Ukrainians abroad” and creating their image as a part of broader historical and social phenomenon “Ukrainian ethnos” is the initiation of several large and powerful projects and activities of Ukrainian umbrella organizations. These are in particular reflected in projects of continental and diaspora scholars and public figures that presented the “Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora” in seven volumes; and the educational project of Peter Yushchenko — Portrait Gallery of several thousand units “Ukrainians in the World”. The real field of intensive

exchanges of information between two parts of Ukrainian ethnos the virtual space and research centers are [3; 10; 13; 14; 17].

The mentioned in previous section Ukrainian organizations make significant contribution to development connections with Ukraine on national, regional and local levels and to promotion of the strengthening of Ukrainian ethnicity in the contemporary world. Here we add the activities of the Ukrainian World Congresses supporting “Maidan”, the coordination of protests in defense of Ukraine against Russia’s aggression and holding cultural and art festivals, competitions, exhibitions of Ukrainian subjects in different countries with the participation of Ukraine representatives.

Prospects (in stead of conclusion)

The fate of ethnoses depends of many factors. There are concepts according to which ethnoses are born to pass a certain life cycle and may disappear under the pressure of various circumstances, among them and interaction with the stronger partner. This applies especially to that part of ethnoses locating outside of the country of origin in foreign (in ethnically sense) environment — the members of ethnic communities are losing language, their ties are weakening, they are gradually assimilated to the environment. Concerning the non-homeland part of the Ukrainian ethnos the current situation is a bit different. Independence of Ukraine (from 1991), existing of nation-state where Ukrainians are its structuring component, emigration of Ukrainians to different countries where Ukrainians live, intensive exchanges in various spheres between the parts, and very important, inclusion “Ukrainians abroad” in the sphere of state ethno-politics inspire hope that the Ukrainians within Ukraine and outside Ukraine will remain a holistic although complex socio-cultural phenomenon for a long time.

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