

Volodymyr Yevtukh

‘UKRAINIANS ABROAD’ IN CONTEXT OF THE CONCEPT OF AN ENTIRE UKRAINIAN ETHNOS

This presentation deals with the Ukrainians living abroad in different countries of the world, first of all in Canada, the United States of America, Russia and European countries. They are discussing as a part of the entire Ukrainian ethnos. The scientific statements are based upon numerous sources (encyclopedias, websites, Internet) and works of Ukrainian and foreign researchers Sergey Arutyunov, Raymond Breton, Yulian Bromley, Nathan Glazer, Markus Hansen, Igor Markov, Arnold Shlepakov, Mykhailo Stepyko, Volodymyr Troshchynskyi, Oleg Wolowyna, Volodymyr Yevtukh etc.

General remarks

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 [21]. For many years, ‘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. Foreign scholars, especially ethnologists and ethno-sociologists, used the term ‘ethnos’, as well as its derivatives (‘ethnic group’, ‘ethnic minority’, ‘ethnic community’) continually beginning from the XX-th century. 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 [15, p. 18]. In this sense among main markers of an ethnos a common language, common descent, common complex of customs (in more broader sense ethno-cultural practices), singularities of every day life and vital functions, and I add psyche, as well as an awareness of its integrity and distinction from other similar formations are [10, p. 127-134].

In order to reproduce various manifestations of ethnos's existence well-known Soviet ethnologist Julian Bromley proposed one more term - ‘ethnicos’ [3, p. 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 Joseph Ernest Renan proposed to his time (1919) to make a difference between ‘ethnos’ and ‘large ethnos’ [21, p. 18]. My approach in interpretation of the theory of an ethnos bases oneself upon structural/functional factors and as far as an ethnos as a type of human community represents thus diachronic information ties ensure the continuity of ethnic

information (the idea was developed by Russian ethnologist Sergey Arutyunov – [1] , which is the key element of the formation and development of an ethnic self-consciousness, which to its turn the fundament of an ethnic community is. Ethnoses can exist compact or dispersed, maintaining immediate or indirect information ties within one country ore several countries.

Concept of the Ukrainian ethnos

Thus, having elucidated to some extent the parameters of the meaning of the term ‘ethnos’, I may dwell upon the analysis of such a social phenomenon as ‘Ukrainian ethnos’. Let me try to imagine the structure of the Ukrainian ethnos and the interaction of its structural elements in its polyethnic environment. The structure of the Ukrainian ethnos can be fixed according to two decisive factors: 1) the character of its settling in the contemporary world; and 2) the level of the ethnic self-consciousness and self-identification of its various parts or representatives. These two factors are interwoven, because the character of place, doubtless, influences the stage of self-realization of belonging to the ethnos. If we take into account the first factor then the Ukrainian ethnos consists of two structural elements: the first is the core of the Ukrainian ethnos, situated on the territory of Ukraine (ethnicos); the second is those parts of the Ukrainian community in another ethnic milieu, on the territory of other ethno-political organisms (EPO [7, c. 60]). According to different data Ukrainians by birth and descent live today in 100 countries around the world, approximately in 40 of them they make perceptible part of the local population and in 60 countries they have their own ethnic organizations [9, p. 302-303].

To my mind the structure of the Ukrainian ethnos is more adequate to be reproduced (is complicated as in the first case), when the factor of self-consciousness, 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 at one time 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.

The representatives of the core of the Ukrainian ethnos (ethnicos) are characterized by the highest level of self-consciousness and self-identification with the Ukrainian ethnos. This core, undoubtedly, is to find on the territory of Ukraine. However, we should 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 living in Ukraine can be included in the circle with a high level of the Ukrainian ethnic self-consciousness, that is, not everyone is such a person, who not only demonstrates his/her Ukrainian origin or belonging to the Ukrainian ethnos, but also promotes the reproduction of the Ukrainian ethnos taking active part in events aimed at the maintenance and development of Ukraineness all over the world. 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 - conducting ethnosociological research, in particular surveys.

In my opinion, one may be included in the marginal stratum, those who has characteristics 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 ethnoses, 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 ethnoses, culture and mentality corresponding. The marginal person has characteristics of the ethnic elements of those people with whom he (she) interacts. The result of such interethnic communications a new kind of ethnic identity appears. The Western researches denominate it "hybrid identity" [24]. As the marginal condition is a stage toward assimilation, primarily an objective process in the interaction of two or several ethnoses. 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, assimilationist theories prevailed in American society at the end of the XIX-th and the very beginning of the XX-th centuries, for example "melting pot" [23].

Thus, there is every reason to include in the marginal stratum of the Ukrainian ethnos a certain part of the settler's core, representatives of other ethnoses, 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 or, taking into consideration the high level of Russification of the population of Ukraine, Russian ethnos) and practically the whole Ukrainian diaspora with individual exceptions. I speak about 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 to include into “ethnic category” those individuals, who have practically lost their Ukrainian ethnicity and their connection with the Ukrainian ethnos but situationally they can revive some ethnic elements defining them as people of Ukrainian ethnic descent. Not having exact data about the number of those who can be included into 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.

Dynamics within construct ‘Ukrainian ethnos’

Having fixed three constituent parts of ethnos, 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 following directions 1) towards the core: ethnic category - marginal stratum - core; 2) towards the ethnic category: core - marginal stratum -ethnic category; 3) towards the marginal stratum: ethnic category - marginal stratum; core - marginal stratum.

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 ethnic category to core, 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's 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 will 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-informational 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 intensify the movement to the ethnos's 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 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 ethnoses into the Ukrainian one.

In this context there is a logical question concerning the influence of the interaction of Ukrainians with representatives of other ethnoses 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 ethnoses 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 researcher of immigrants Markus Hansen called this "the syndrome of the third generation" and constructed 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 [25].

Although, in Ukraine this syndrome differs, and not only because not all ethnic minorities were formed here thanks to migration movements. The last are intensified in recent time [27]. 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 call 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. This process is one of the most essential and, indeed, natural proprieties of ethnic interaction in a polyethnic society. For example, when representatives of other ethnoses, being in another ethnic environment, strive to integrate themselves into the social life, the character of which is mainly determined by the dominant ethnic community. Here a change of ethnic consciousness (self-identification) takes place. However, it is one of the most complicated processes for the ethnologic analysis.

The recent events in the Eastern part of Ukraine including Russian invasion intensified the processes of consolidation of Ukrainian society and the actions strengthening the core of Ukrainian ethnos are in progress.

The notion of 'Ukrainians abroad' has been recently included in scientific and everyday usage. This is connected with an increase in Ukrainians dwelling abroad and is defined as a historically formed adaptive-evolutionary system of features and characteristics that distinguish an Ukrainian personality, Ukrainian community and Ukrainian culture. Today, 'Ukrainians abroad', are the people of Ukrainian identity who live in different countries. According to differing data, their number is approximately 12 to 20 million. Official sources (censuses in different countries

and statistics of various organizations) denote the minimal number of Ukrainians living abroad, while research conducted on the basis of official sources and data of ethnic, cultural and religious associations usually indicate a higher number.

The composition of ‘Ukrainians abroad’

It is multi-layered and includes different categories: diaspora, emigrants, temporary 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. The diaspora represents the largest number of Ukrainians abroad and constitutes a high level of ethnic identity and is most active in the preservation and development of Ukrainian culture abroad. The number of the diaspora is approximately 15 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 north of Ukraine (Belarus, Russia), as well as in the west (Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Hungary). Taking into consideration research by the English ethnosociologist, Antony Smith, which theorizes that the structure of core ethnicity is the most constant element of ‘Ukrainians abroad’ and at the same time contains the largest number of communities with Ukrainian ethnicity. 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.

The first source of the Ukrainian diaspora formation was *immigration* 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 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 maintenance of an ethnic and cultural identity is relegated to the background. Persons of Ukrainian origin who temporarily reside in other countries abroad 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, nonsystemic

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 Russia. Citizens of Ukraine, who are on short-term or long-term business trips abroad rarely participate in such kind of activities.

The historical and contemporary formative sources of Ukrainians living abroad

Nowadays, 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).

Modern Ukrainians abroad are mostly an immigration phenomenon as to their origin. This was formed as a result of the migration from Ukraine, in different historical periods. As forerunners (1608-1880) of the process of the phenomenon 'Ukrainians abroad' 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. In 1880 1,2 million of Ukrainians (4,6 % of the total population) settled outside Ukraine: 0,8 in the Russian Empire (0,7 - in the European region of the Empire and 0,1 - in the Asian region), 0,2 - Austria-Hungary and 0,1 - in the United States. 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 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). Regarding the

socio-demographic structure of the waves, middle-aged and senior citizens dominated during the first wave, and during the last wave the representatives of the most productive age (18-55 years) were the most numerous; the first wave was predominantly an 'agricultural' emigration, the second and third wave consisted mostly of Ukrainians with a high level of general and vocational education, and accordingly, had a higher social status. Those were people who did not accept the ideology of the Soviet regime or openly fought against it; especially after the Second World War (thus this part of the Ukrainian emigration may be called 'political'). The directions of Ukrainians moving abroad can be characterized in the following way: the first wave was mainly directed to the west - over the ocean (to the United States and Canada, Brazil and Argentina) and partially to Russian Siberia after the revolution in 1905-1907; the second wave was realized in two directions - towards the West with a focus on European and the Americas as well as toward the East (to the territory of Russia); representatives of the third wave headed (largely with a short stay in European countries) to the USA, Canada and South American countries; and later a small group moved for constructions in Siberia, the Far East, and northern areas of the current Russian Federation. Today North America, Europe, Asia and Israel represent the major destinations of Ukrainian migration. Official statistics (The State Statistics Service of Ukraine) report the following situation of the modern Ukrainian emigration (2002-2012): Russia - 200,9 thousand, Germany - 43,1 thousand, the USA - 30,8 thousand, Israel - 22,7 thousand, Belarus - 16,8 thousand, Moldova - 5,9 thousand, The Czech Republic - 4,7 thousand, Canada - 3,8 thousand and Hungary - 3,3 thousand. The year 2002 can be viewed as the year of the greatest migration from Ukraine (76,3 thousand); then the number of migrants was reduced to 14,5 thousand (2012). In 2013 the number of those who emigrated from Ukraine increased to 20,7 thousand. Despite the fact that distinguishing purely Ukrainian ethnophors is rather challenging, one can predict that their number is sufficient (at least representatives of mixed Ukrainian ethnicity) to connect them with the phenomenon of 'Ukrainians abroad'.

Social and cultural features of the phenomenon 'Ukrainians abroad'

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 inter-ethnic relations at national, regional and especially 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' [22]). Its components are now Ukrainian ethnophors: in the West there are clearly defined areas of Ukrainian ethnicity with a significant number of its representatives in the United States (about one million people, 0,32 % of the population), Canada (more than 1 million 200 thousand people, 3,9 %), Brazil (about 500 thousand, 0,26 %), Argentina (about 300 thousand., 0,75 %), Moldova, without Prydnistroviya and Bender (over 280 thousand, 8,0 %), Poland (about 31 thousand, 0,08 %) and Romania (50 thousand, 0,27 %). Less powerful, but notable settlements of Ukrainian origin are found in Slovakia (more than 7 thousand, 0,1 %), Portugal (44 thousand, 0,41 %), Latvia (about 57 thousand, 3,0 %), Estonia (over 27 thousand, 1,68 %), Lithuania (22 thousand, 0,68 %), the UK (30 thousand, 0,05 %), Germany (more than 32 thousand, 0,043 %), France (about 30 thousand, 0,045 %), Italy (about 500 thousand, 0,82 %). As to the East, the largest number of Ukrainian ethnophors is in the Russian Federation (according to official data, about 2 million - 1,4 %, according to unofficial data, more than 4,5 million - 3,12 %), Kazakhstan (more than 680 thousand, 2,4 %), Belarus (over 230 thousand, 1,7 %), Uzbekistan (over 100 thousand, 0,43 %). Regarding the South (mostly African countries), mosaic dissemination of Ukrainian identity is typical here; the exception is Australia, where more than 35 thousand (0,16 %) emigrants from Ukraine and their descendants live. A small number of representatives of Ukrainian ethnicity are found in Asian countries such as Vietnam, China, South Korea, and Thailand.

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, the quantitative potential of various countries differs in the maintenance and development of Ukrainian ethnicity. As for the African and Asian countries, the number (scattered) of Ukrainian ethnophors is insufficient for selforganization, at least as a structural element of the eastern part of

Ukrainians abroad. The geographical location of Ukrainian ethnic representatives plays an important role in the identification of their cultural and customary traditions and, in general, in the level of unity of ‘Ukrainians abroad’, as well as in interpretation of the phenomenon as a structured entire 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 Boyko, Hutsul, Lemko) 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 (relocation to the territories of Kazakhstan and activation of labor in the Far East, the Far North, and Siberia areas, with the exception of political prisoners in 1950-1970). 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 are North America and Europe.

Taking into consideration the circumstances listed above, the notions of a ‘Western diaspora’ and an ‘Eastern diaspora’ have not only geographical importance, but also reflect the reality of a socio-cultural distinction of the two branches 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 ethnopolitical behavior of emigrants from Ukraine and their descendants during the crisis in Russian-Ukrainian relations (2014) has become undeniable proof to 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, as evidenced by the constant monitoring of the European Social Survey 'Trends in Social Change in Ukraine and Europe'. 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. The latter became a ground for the formation of tolerant relations with representatives of other ethnicities in the process of constituting a positive image of foreign Ukrainians, and to some extent of the Ukrainians in Ukraine itself.

The fact that Ukrainian citizens, and to some extent, emigrants of the fourth wave successfully integrate primarily in the social life of other countries can be proved by the following facts: 1) they have a high level of education, particularly those who left Ukraine after it gained independence; 2) a high level of work activity - intensive inclusion in the employment markets of countries of residence: for example, in Spain, over 80 percent of Ukrainian emigrants were employed. However, the fact is important that modern Ukrainian emigrants, with a high level of both general and special education, do not work in their specialty - graduates of medical and technical Ukrainian universities are involved in the 'global care sphere'; later they adapt knowledge acquired in Ukraine to the real needs of the employment market and simultaneously gain new knowledge to get involved in the processes of social mobility; 3) a great number of the representatives of the second and subsequent generations of Ukrainian emigrants, especially in the US, Canada and European countries occupy social positions that are typical to the population of these countries: they are significantly represented in the trade, service, construction, transport and agricultural spheres, but somewhat less in the managerial sphere, in banking and in the field of ethnic entrepreneurship. This constitutes a significant share of small and medium enterprises in Western countries; some members of the modern Ukrainian emigration also experience ethnic entrepreneurship, particularly in Portugal, Italy and Spain; 4) representatives speak the language of the earlier waves of immigration, as well as master the official language of the country of residence and 5) formation of social networks connecting people of Ukrainian descent, especially those who left Ukraine in recent years.

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. Ukrainian socialization, located in the United States for example, actively promoted Ukrainian Folk (national) Union and Ukrainian Workers' Union (later - Ukrainian Fraternal Union). Those in Canada contributed to the Association of Settler's Assistance, Workers' relief company and in Brazil, socialization promoted the Brazil Ukrainian Union. Due to the efforts of cultural institutions there are small islands of Ukrainian identity preserved in the United States, Canada, Brazil and Argentina. 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 and The Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svydnyk (Slovakia). This is precisely an important marker of Ukrainians as an entire phenomenon. However, monitoring the dynamics of Ukrainian ethnic groups clearly indicates the gradual loss of their role in uniting emigrants from Ukraine and their descendants, as well as the importance of the groups in establishing contacts between Ukrainians worldwide. This statement is particularly relevant in a situation which attempts to make a distinction between Russians and Ukrainians in the countries of the former 'socialist camp' and to contrast modern Ukrainian emigrants to a so called old diasporas' community. Such movements blur the image of 'Ukrainians abroad' as 50 a single social phenomenon. The characteristics of this circumstance functions according to some peculiar patterns, and is typical to the particular country where emigrants live. Some markers of Ukrainian identity, which turns out to exist beyond a socio-economic area and which is also situational, usually single them out. It is represented 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.

A powerful factor uniting Ukrainians abroad and creating their image as a complete historical and social phenomenon 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'. As for organizations, those

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. An important aspect of these and other Ukrainian organizations is to build certain connections with Ukraine on national, regional and local levels and to promote the strengthening of Ukrainian ethnicity in the contemporary world. Here we might talk about The Ukrainian World Congresses', numerous acts 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.

Combining people of Ukrainian descent who live outside Ukraine, one should remember that this unification often carries only a situational character, since today there are still differences in the assessment of place, role and mission of various components of the 'Ukrainians abroad' phenomenon by both: foreign Ukrainian ethnophors and citizens of Ukraine. These differences first of all are related to ideological, and to some extent, socio-economic factors and their geographical location. For example, representatives of the first, second and third immigration waves aimed at promoting the independence of Ukraine and developing a self-sufficient country, with ethnic Ukrainians as its structural component. It was a unifying factor, at least for those living in the West. Representatives of the fourth wave of emigration are occupied mainly with solving socio-economic problems, usually of a personal nature; such as a job, social mobility and obtaining general and vocational education, which would be adequate for the country of residence. This configuration does not require close contact with the Ukrainian Diaspora since it can be realized beyond its borders in the context of integration and even assimilation in the foreign ethnic environment. Moreover, using a method of sociological observation and content analysis of documents, certain discrepancies between the 'old' and 'new' diaspora can be established. The geographical factor is hardly the most important stimulant to disconnecting Ukrainians abroad because there are fundamentally different principles of political and ideological development of countries. In Western states it is based on the principles of democracy, and in Russia, for instance, the principles of an imperial totalitarian system control the social

processes.

Conclusion

The concept of a single Ukrainian ethnos, which is based on the above-mentioned structural diagram by E. Smith, represents a positive platform for the unification of efforts, particularly of 'Ukrainians abroad', in developing and maintaining Ukrainian ethnicity in the modern world. According to this concept, as mentioned above, the structure of a Ukrainian ethnic group consists of three layers: core, marginal and ethnic category. To the first layer one may refer to continental Ukrainians with the highest level of ethnic consciousness. The second includes those with a double or even triple ethnic identities, formed as a result of the interaction of the people of Ukrainian origin with other ethnic groups in the country of residence. On this level one can observe the marginalization process, leading to a loss of purely Ukrainian ethnic markers and assimilation. According to scientific observations, this layer includes a significant part of the Ukrainian Diaspora, especially the second and subsequent generations and emigrants of the fourth wave, who have been living for some time in another country. To the ethnic groups one may refer to individuals with a loss of Ukrainian ethnicity, when only their origin denotes their belonging to the Ukrainian ethnic group or any connection with it. Historically the vast majority of the Ukrainian Diaspora lost their connection with their ethnic group, and has considerably weakened their Ukrainian ethnic identity. This group of emigrants comprises the layers of ethnic category. However, in some situations, a Ukrainian identity may be restored, and that of the marginal layer, reactivated. It was observed that when Ukraine gained its independence, there were presidential or parliamentary elections, where representatives of Ukraine gained considerable success, or successfully interacted with representatives of the political, scientific, economic, cultural community and actively participated in the European and international social sphere.

In the current situation of rapid Internet and technological progress in the sphere of communication between different parts of the same phenomenon - 'Ukrainians abroad,' of great importance are social networks and virtual ways of uniting Ukrainians worldwide: these are VKontakte, Facebook, Twitter; Mediaportal of the Ukrainian Diaspora 'VIDIA', which shares information indicating a vitality of Ukrainian ethnic traditions in different parts of the world and encourages its preservation and spread, extending it to all continents and links Ukrainians abroad into a single phenomenon of the diaspora. Other examples are the online library 'DIASPORIANA' - which was created by The Scientific Library of the National University of Kyiv - Mohyla Academy and

which aims to preserve the intellectual heritage of Ukrainian emigration and make it possible to build a solid foundation for the phenomenon of ‘Ukrainians abroad’. The Internet archive ‘Ukrainians in America’, and Ukrainians’ abroad websites and online publications contribute to this preservation also. By the way, 135 organizations of Ukrainians are presented now on Internet [14].

Sources and literature

1. Арутюнов С.А. Народы и культуры. Развитие и взаимодействие (Arutyunov S.A. Peoples and Cultures. Development and Interaction). – Москва : Наука, 1989. – 247 с.
2. Веб-сайти українців за кордоном (Web-sites of Ukrainians Abroad): Quebec-Ukraine.com / [Electronic resource]. - Mode of access : www.quebec-ukraine.com/index_uk.html
3. Бромлей Ю.В. Этнос и этнография (Bromley Yu.V. Ethnos and Ethnography). – Москва: Наука, 1973. - с.
4. Енциклопедія української діаспори. - Т. 1 (Сполучені Штати Америки). Кн. 1 А-К. (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora. – Т. 1 (United States of America). Book 1 A-K. - Київ ; Нью-Йорк ; Чикаго : Наук. т-во ім. Т. Шевченка в Америці, 2009. – 448 с.
5. Енциклопедія української діаспори. - Т. 1 (Сполучені Штати Америки). Кн. 2 Л-Я . (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora. – Т. 1 (United States of America).Book 1 L-Ya. - Київ ; Нью-Йорк, Чикаго : Наук. т-во ім. Т. Шевченка в Америці, 2012. – 348 с.
6. Енциклопедія Української Діаспори. - Т. 4 (Австралія - Азія - Африка). (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora – Т.4 (Australia-Asia-Africa). - К. : ІНТЕЛ, 1995. – 250 с.
7. Етнічний довідник. У трьох частинах. Ч. I. Поняття та терміни (Ethnic Handbook/. In Three Parts. P. I. Notions and Terms). – К. : ЕРІДС, 1997. – 141 с.
8. Євтух В. Б. Зберігаючи українську самобутність (Yevtukh V.B. Preserving Ukrainian Identity) / В. Б. Євтух, Є. Є. Камінський, О. О. Ковальчук, В. П. Трощинський. - К. : ІНТЕЛ, 1992. – 100 с.
9. Євтух В. Б. Закордонне українство: сутність, структура, самоорганізація (Yevtukh V.B. Ukrainians Abroad: Nature, Structure, Self-Organization: Textbook) / В. Б. Євтух, А. А. Попок, В. П. Трощинський. - К. : Альтерпрес, 2011. – 304 с.
10. Євтух Володимир. Етнічність: енциклопедичний довідник (Yevtukh Volodymyr. Ethnicity: Encyclopedical Handbook). – К. : Фенікс, 2012. – 396 с.
11. Марков Ігор. Особливості соціальних ідентичностей українських мігрантів у країнах ЄС (Markov Igor. Peculiarities of Social Identities of Ukrainian Migrants in the EU-Countries) / Ігор Марков // Народознавчі зошити. - 2012. - № 2 (104). – С. 256-260.

12. Матеріяли до Енциклопедії української діаспори. - Т. 7 (Пострадянські країни) (Materials for Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora). – Т. 7 (Post-Soviet Countries). - К., 2013. – 176 с.
13. Мережеві видання (Network Publications) [Електронний ресурс]. - Режим доступу : www.dmoz.org/World/Ukrainian/Новини-та-ЗМІ/Мережеві_видання/
14. Організації українців світу в Інтернеті (Organisations of Ukrainians on Internet) [Електронний ресурс]. – Режим доступу : www.diaspora.npu.edu.ua/.../7-orhanizatsii-ukr...
15. Степико М.Т. Українська ідентичність: феномен і засади формування (Stepyko M.T. Ukrainian Identity: Phenomenon and Basis of Formation) / М.Т. Степико. – К. : НІСД, 2011. – 336 с.
16. Трошинський В. П. Українці в світі (Troshscynskyi V.P. Ukrainians in the World) / В. П. Трошинський, А. А. Шевченко. - К. : Вид. дім «Альтернатива», 1999. – 352 с.
17. Українознавство : навч. посіб. для студ. вищ. навч. закл. (Ukrainian Studies : Textbook for Universities) / за ред. М. І. Обушного. - К. : ВПЦ «Київський університет», 2008. – 672 с.
18. Українці за кордоном (Ukrainians Abroad) [Електронний ресурс] // Воля народу : громадсько-політичний портал. - Режим доступу : volianarodu.org.ua/uk/ukrajintsi-za-kordonom/
19. Шлепаков А. М. Українська трудова еміграція в США і Канаді (кінець XIX - початок XX ст.) (Shlepakov A.M. Ukrainian Labor Emigration (the End of the XIXth – the Beginning of the XXth Centuries) / А. М. Шлепаков. - К. : Наук. думка, 1960. – 199 с.
20. About: Ukrainian Diaspora - Dbpedia [Electronic resource]. - Mode of access : dbpedia.org/page/Ukrainian_diaspora
21. Amselle Jean-Loup. Ethnie // Encyclopædia Universalis [Electronic Resource]. – Mode of Access : <http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/ethnie/>
22. Breton R. Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants / R. Breton // American Journal of Sociology. – 1964. – Vol. 70. - № 2. – P. 193-205.
23. Glazer Nathan. Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City (2nd ed. / Nathan Glazer, Daniel P. Moynihan. – Cambridge : MIT Press, 1970. – 364 p.
24. Holly T.H. National Identity: Civic, Ethnic, Hybrid and Atomised Individuals / T.H. Holly // Europe-Asia Studies. – 2009. – Vol. 61. - № 1. - P. 1-28.
25. Hansen M. L. The Problem of the Third Generation / M.L. Hansen // Commentary. – 1952. – Vol. 14. – № 5. - 492-500.
26. Wolowyna O. New Research Center Established for the Study of the Ukrainian Diaspora in the United States [Electronic Resource] / Oleh Wolowyna, Vasyl Lopukh. - Mode of Access : <http://www.shevchenko.org/diaspora/ResearchCenterEng.Htm>
27. Yevtukh Volodymyr. New Immigrants in Ukrainian Space: Problems of Integration // Educația din Perspectiva Valorilor. Idei, Concepte, Modele. Tom

IV: Summa Paedagogica | Virgil Mândăcanu, Ioan Scheau, Dorin Opreș (eds.). – Cluj-Napoca : Editura EIKON, 2013. – P. 34-44.

(Published in: Volodymyr Yevtukh, Ryszard Radzik, Ganna Kisla (eds.). Contemporary Problems of Social Change: Polish and Ukrainian Experience. – Kyiv : «SPA «Interservice» Ltd., 2015. – P. 15-33.)