



Kormylo, Peter David (2021) *In which ways is the Ukrainian community in Scotland a diaspora?* PhD thesis.

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/82517/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

In which ways is the Ukrainian community in Scotland a diaspora?

Peter David Kormylo
Diploma College of Education,
Bachelor of Arts Open University

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy (PhD)

Central and East European Studies
School of Social and Political Sciences
University of Glasgow

Deposited to the Library of the University of Glasgow on 11th December 2020

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature

Printed name: Peter David Kormylo

Abstract

In which ways is the Ukrainian community in Scotland a diaspora?

Seventy-five years after the arrival of its significant number of post-WW2 displaced persons and refugees, Scotland's Ukrainian community remains much understudied. The paucity of information concerning this community prompts deeper inquiry. Interdisciplinary research here focuses on this third wave of Ukrainian migration from homeland territories (1940-1954) and draws from a quadratic nexus of diasporic typologies, theories of identity maintenance, nationalist ideologies, and modes of assimilation. I briefly chart the community's historiographical and geo-political pathways where Ukrainians entered Scotland as officially designated stateless persons or 'aliens.'

My interpretivist, ethnographic fieldwork conducted between 2014 and 2020 is focused on the salient, socio-cultural, and political dynamics of the first two generational cohorts. The interplay of social, cultural, and political complexities studied here is linked to élite actor attempts to identify and unify the settling community by the creation of formal organisations. A historiography of Ukrainian post war dispersion, homeland orientation and diasporic boundary creation is assisted by narrative extracted from semi-structured interviews, conversations, photo elicitation and embedded research.

Concluding scrutiny of the founding generational cohorts is assisted by employing Robin Cohen's four tools of social science-the emic/etic relationship of embedded research, the time dimension, common diasporic features, and analysis of Weberian ideal types. The first generation is identified as a 'victim diaspora' while analysis of the second generation, the 'bridging cohort' opens discussion concerning the synergies and impact of collective memory. Qualitative research, quantitative evidence and analysis of hitherto unavailable primary source materials bring new synthesis and knowledge to the discourse.

Keywords: Migration; diaspora; identity; assimilation; Ukrainian; Hartzian fragment; European Voluntary Worker; Displaced Person; Prisoner of War

Acknowledgement

An ancient Buddhist saying states that ‘the journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step’. The journey towards this dissertation began decades ago in my upper primary school years when my father sent me to Engineer Mykhailo Savchenko’s Ukrainian Saturday School. Savchenko introduced me to Ukrainian grammar (1959-61). From there the Marist brothers of St. Joseph’s College, Dumfries (1962-68) instilled in us the virtue of tenacity.

The late Dr. Myron Lyatyshevsky tutored me in studies of classic Ukrainian literature (1969-72). Meeting him was a pivotal moment in my life. He encouraged and inspired me to continue my lifelong engagement with Ukrainian communities across the United Kingdom, particularly those within Scotland. His photographic archive, rescued from destruction after his death, forms part of a continuing pictorial history of the Ukrainian diaspora in Scotland.

My thanks go to four pivotal academics. To my early supervisors Dr. Valentina Bold of the School of Interdisciplinary Studies and Dr. Moya Flynn of the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies (CEES) for their expert guidance and encouragement. They insisted on early essays and were always ready to challenge me to think again and again. Grateful thanks go to the sage advice and guidance of Professor David Smith, Alex Nove Chair of Russian and East European Studies, and my senior supervisor Doctor Ammon Cheskin, Lecturer in Nationalism and Identity. Both gentlemen became guiding lights. It was a privilege to be supervised by them.

Several other people have contributed to this research...

Dr. Ludmila Pekarska of the Shevchenko Library and Archives, London. Professor Vic Satzewicz whose tome on the global Ukrainian diaspora was an inspiration. My sincere thanks is due also to Professors Ihor Stebelsky, Lubomyr Luciuk and Paul Robert Magocsi. In Ukraine I am indebted to Vitaliy Radchuk, Hanna Dyka, Taya Khrypilyva, Valeriy Fenj (RIP), Ambassador Volodymyr Vassylenko, Oleg Kachan, and Professor Mykola Shynkaryk.

I am deeply indebted to my numerous respondents, many of whom invited me into their homes and who shared with me their historic photographic albums and unpublished memoirs. I will be eternally grateful to my wife Lesley who supported me throughout the marathon journey. Final mention must be of Star, my fabulous little rescue dog, who kept looking up at me with those “haven’t you finished yet eyes?”.

Table of Contents	Heading	Pg
	Title	i
	Abstract	ii
	Acknowledgements	iii
	Table of Contents	iv
	List of Figures	vii
	Abbreviations	xi
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
1.1	Who are these Ukrainians?	1
1.2	Aims of the thesis	3
1.3	Research questions	6
1.4	Contribution of the thesis	6
1.5	Outline of the thesis	10
Chapter 2	Theoretical Enquiry	
2.1	Introductory terminology	21
2.2	Diasporic typologies	26
2.2.1	The prototypical diaspora	28
2.2.2	The expanded concept of diaspora	29
2.2.3	Social constructional critiques of diaspora	32
2.2.4	The consolidation phase	40
2.3	Identity maintenance	41
2.3.1	The individual order	42
2.3.2	The interaction order	43
2.3.3	The institutional order/national identity	44
2.4	Nationalist ideologies	45
2.4.1	Ukrainian nationalism	51
2.5	Assimilation	61
Chapter 3	Literature Review	64
3.1	Review structure	65
3.2	Ukrainian studies	66
3.3	Influential readings	67
3.4	Similar contributions	73
3.5	Wave One 1880-1914	79

3.6	Wave Two 1920-1930	81
3.7	Wave three 1940-1954	83
3.7.1	Fragment One- The Royal Canadian Airforce	83
3.7.2	Fragment Two-Polish Armed Forces	84
3.7.3	Fragment Three-Displaced Persons	85
3.7.4	Displaced persons' fear of repatriation	86
3.7.5	Fragment Four-Ukrainian prisoners of war	92
3.8	Wave Four Transnationals 1991-present	94
Chapter 4	Methodology & Mixed methods	96
4.1	Design frame-the case study	96
4.2	Interdisciplinarity	101
4.3	Researcher positionality	104
4.4	Critical ethnographic fieldwork	109
4.5	Visual sociology	112
4.6	Photo elicitation	114
4.7	Mixed Methods Research (MMR)	118
4.7.1	Empirical boundaries	119
4.7.2	Qualitative data gathering tools	125
4.7.3	Quantitative data sources	135
4.7.4	Data security and stewardship	147
Chapter 5	Dispersal, arrival and settlement	149
5.1	Dispersal from the homelands	150
5.2	Wave One (1880-1914)	151
5.3	Wave Two (1920-1930)	155
5.4	Wave Three (1940-1954)	159
5.4.1	<i>Fragment One</i> (from 1939)	161
5.4.2	<i>Fragment Two</i> (from 1942)	164
5.4.3	<i>Fragment Three</i> (from 1946)	166
5.4.4	<i>Fragment Four</i> (from 1947)	179
5.5	Wave Four (1981-present)	181
5.6	Settlement & boundary creation	183
5.6.1	Host nation reception	184
5.6.2	Personal identity	187
5.7	Ukrainian Identity	193
Chapter 6	Cultural and Political Reproduction	210
6.1	Nationalist Ideologies	212

6.2	Ukrainian Nationalism's macrostructure	216
6.3	Camp and Hostel Life	217
6.4	Early Political Activities	220
6.5	Early Community Building	227
6.6	Micro-structural theory	231
6.7	Cold War years	235
Chapter 7	The Bridging Cohort-Generation Two	239
7.1	Demographics of G1 Arrival	240
7.2	Offspring G2 Hybridity	245
7.3	Cultural reproduction	250
7.4	Political reproduction	252
7.5	Segmented Assimilation	266
Chapter 8	Summary Analysis	272
8.1	The emic/etic relationships	273
8.2	The time dimension & wisdom of hindsight	274
8.3	Consolidated list of common features	275
8.4	Weberian Ideal Types	288
Chapter 9	Conclusion	292
9.1	Empirical Findings	293
9.2	Key Contributions	294
9.3	Theoretical discussion	298
9.4	Reflections on this study	298
9.5	Opportunities for Further Research	299
	References	304
	Endnotes	316

List of Figures

	Page
1.1 Map of Independent Ukraine	2
1.2 Tamara's late father's story	8
1.3 Ukrainian Auto Mechanics' School, (SEP) Camp, Rimini, Italy 1947	8
1.4 Concept map of thesis structure	10
1.5 Concept map of Hartzian Fragments	12
1.6 Ukrainian European Voluntary Workers gather for a lecture	15
1.7 Concept map of Ukrainian migratory 'waves'	16
1.9 Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces under British Command	17
2.1 The interdisciplinarity of migration studies	26
2.2 Cohen's four phases of diasporic theory	28
2.3 Vertovec's triadic relationship	40
2.4 Jenkins' social identification framework	42
2.5 Braham Camp Christmas 1948	50
2.6 Tryzub in Angus barrack	54
2.7 Commemoration in Black Island camp	59
2.8 The entrance gate to Amisfield Park Camp,	61
3.1 Waves of Ukrainian migration	65
3.2 Cover of an early publication of the <i>Prosvita</i> Society	70
3.3 Exhibition poster of Ukrainian Revolution Centenary 1917-2017	80
3.5 Displaced Persons become European Voluntary Workers (EVWs)	87
3.6 EVW recruitment document	92
4.1 Concept map of Methodology	97
4.2 Topography of Ukrainian Displaced Persons Camps in Scotland	100
4.3 Brettell & Hollifield's <i>Talking across disciplines</i>	102
4.4 Dr. Lyatyshevsky	114
4.5 An old Ukrainian with his dancing bear 1907	115
4.6 Lockerbie camp EVWs celebrate a wedding	117

4.7	Female European Voluntary Workers textile workers	118
4.8	Concept map of Mixed Methods Research (MMR)	119
4.9	The Ukrainska Dumka newspaper	128
4.10	Letter from the Soviet Union 1956-10-3	130
4.11	Ukrainian Heritage Event poster	133
4.12	Dr. Myron Lyatyshevsky 1952	134
4.13	Extract from UGGC register of births	138
4.14	Handwritten breakdown of Ukrainian PoW dispersion 1947	140
4.15	A cutting from the Ukrainian Thought newspaper 1950	143
4.16	Digimap OS extract featuring Hallmuir POW Camp Lockerbie	147
5.1	Demographic timeline of four waves of Ukrainian emigration	150
5.2	First wave 'Ukrainians' arrive at Ellis Island, New York, circa 1900	150
5.3	Shipping poster	155
5.4	Ukrainian lands in Poland circa 1930	158
5.5	Fragments merge in the diaspora	160
5.6	Flight sergeant Gordon B. Panchuk	163
5.7	Ethnic Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces (PAF)	164
5.8	Jan Kuchta, once 'Polish', is now of uncertain nationality	165
5.9	Western Ukraine	167
5.10	Ukrainians in DP camps of West Germany and Austria 1946-1950	170
5.11	Excerpt from "friends' Relief Team' letter	172
5.12	The Wasp- a Displaced Persons newsletter	173
5.13	Westward Ho poster	175
5.14	Entrance to Brahan DP Camp, now long disused.	177
5.15	Panchuk and his wife visit the Ukrainian SEP Camp, Rimini	180
5.16	Concept map of boundary creation	183
5.17	Badge worn by Ukrainian ostarbeiters	185
5.18	Second page of Westward Ho terms and conditions	186
5.19	1953 Holodomor march	187
5.20	Ukraine in Europe WW2	188
5.21	Map of Nazi occupation of WW2 Ukrainian territories	192

5.22	Brahan Camp Ukrainian choir, January 1949	192
5.23	Christmas card, Lockerbie POW camp, 1948	197
5.24	Identity card issued in the Generalgouvernement, Distrikt Galizien	198
5.25	Certificate of Identity in lieu of a passport	200
5.26	Identity card of Ukrainian female from Western Ukraine 1942	201
5.27	Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer/work document for foreigners	202
5.28	Military government Temporary travel document	202
5.29	Certificate of Registration document internal pages showing sequence of travel and residence	203
5.30	Dept. of Agriculture, Ukrainian POW farm worker terms and condition of employment	205
5.31	An excerpt from the <i>Ukrains'ka Dumka</i> newspaper 7 th Jan 1949, p.4	206
5.32	Framed vellum presented to Archbishop Gordon Gray 1960	207
5.33	OS Map of Scotland showing locations of Ukrainian communities	208
6.1	Concept map of Cultural and political reproduction	210
6.2	Vyzvol'nyj shliakh Freedom's Path distributed by OUN Z	212
6.3	<i>Surma</i> / <i>Сурма</i> , the Bugle	215
6.4	Deserted Prisoner of War / EVW camp, Tannadice	218
6.5	Brahan Camp, Ukrainian Prisoner of War choir, Ukrainian Christmas	219
6.6	Eastern European and Balt exiles in George Square, Glasgow, 1950	222
6.7	OUN-B activists lay wreaths in Edinburgh March 1950	224
6.8	Front Cover of ABN Correspondence June 1950	225
6.9	Ukrainian Nationalists OUN(B) and former combatants of the OBVU	226
6.10	Internal pages of the Kalendarets (pocket calendar) 1948	228
6.11	Dr. Lyatyshevsky delivering a speech, Edinburgh, 1954,	229
6.12	Ukrainian Pilgrimage to Carfin Grotto 1958	230
6.13	The triptych memorial to the Ukrainian 'Church in Chains'	231
6.14	Ukrainian touring play from 1950	235
7.1	Recruitment by nationality, "Westward Ho!", up to 31 July 1949	240
7.2	Territorial origins of the Ukrainian POWs of the Galicia Division	241
T.1	Social Status of Ukrainian SEPS/POWs of the Galicia Division, 1948	242
T.2	Ukrainian UGCC Marriages in Scotland 1949-1975-	244
T.3	Baptismal data from the UGCC Liber Natorum	246
7.3	Baptismal registration of Ukrainian child	247

7.4	Father Matyczak in Ukrainian church, Dalmeny St., Leith 1966	255
7.5	Ukrainian Saturday School, Edinburgh 1954	258
7.6	Ukrainian Mandolin Group, Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh 1965	259
7.7	Ukrainian Youth (SUM) Annual all UK jamboree, Manchester 1952	261
7.8	Summer camp-Middleton, Midlothian 1960s	262
7.9	Annual Summer camp Weston on Trent	263
7.10	Ukrainian Christmas Eve, Galashiels, January 1954	265
8.1	Community schoolroom decoration	279
8.2	Typical protest leaflet	281
9.1	Triadic nexus	296
9.2	Ukrainians marching to George Square, Glasgow 1950	300
9.3	Victims of the NKVD 1941	302

Abbreviations

AA Author's Archive

ABN Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

AFHQ Allied Forces Head Quarters

AUGB Association of Ukrainians In Great Britain

Soyuz Ukrainstiv u Velykyi Brytanii

BASEES British Association of Slavic and East European Studies

BCAR British Council for Aid to Refugees

CIUS Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

CURB Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau

Displaced Persons Displaced Persons

EVWs European Voluntary Workers

FO Foreign Office

FUGB Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain

Federatsia Ukraintsiv u Velykyi Brytanii

G1 Generation One - the first generation of the Ukrainian community in Scotland

G2 Generation Two-the children of the first generation

GIS Geographic Information Systems

HO Home Office

HURI Harvard University Ukrainian Studies

IRO International Refugee Organization

ILO International Labour Organization

IOM International Organization for Migration

JISC Joint Information Systems Committee

MMR Mixed Methods Research

NKVD People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del

NRAS National Register of Archives for Scotland

NTS Shevchenko Scientific Society
Naukove Tovarystvo v Imeni Tarasa Shevchenka

NUAW National Union of Agricultural Workers

NUM National Union of Mineworkers

OBVU Federation of Ukrainian former combatants
Obiednannya Buvshykh Voiakiv Ukrainsiv

OS Ordnance Survey

OUN Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists
Orhanizatsia Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv

OUN-B *Banderivtsi* or Bandera faction of the OUN

OUN-M *Melnykivtsi* or Melnyk faction of the OUN

OUN-R Revolutionary OUN

OUN-Z OUN abroad- *OUN za kordonom*

OUZh Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain
Ob'iednannia Ukrains'kykh Zhinok u Velykyi Britannii

PAF *Polish Armed Forces*

PCIRO Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organisation

PISM Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, London

POWs Prisoners of War

QDA *Qualitative Data Analysis*

RCAF Royal Canadian Air Force

RKU Reichskommissariat Ukraine

SEP Surrendered Enemy Personnel

SHAEF Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force

SJAC Scottish Jewish Archives Centre

SLA Shevchenko Library and Archives (London)

SLEF Scottish League for European Freedom

SSEES School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies

SSI Semi-structured Interview

SUM Association of Ukrainian Youth - *Spli'ka Ukrains'koi Molodi*

SUUV Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators
Spil'ka Ukrains'kykh Uchyteliv ta Vykhovnykiv

THEMIS Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems

TUC Trades Union Congress

UAOC Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Ukrains'ka avtokefal'na pravoslavna tserkva

UCSA Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association

UCL University College London

UFU Ukrainian Free University
Ukrainische Freie Universität

UGCC Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church
Ukrainska Greko-Katolytska Tserkva

UIS Ukrainian Information Service

UJE Ukrainian Jewish Encounter

U Uncertain nationality

UNRRA United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

UPA Ukrainian Insurgent Army -*Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia*

UVAN *Ukrains'ka Vil'na Akademia Nauk*; Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences

WO War Office (Britain)

WAAF Women's Auxiliary Air Force

Note:

Translation of Ukrainian to English and English to Ukrainian¹.

¹ As a bilingual speaker (English & Ukrainian) I fully appreciate the ongoing academic dialogue surrounding some aspects of translation as a salient methodological issue for qualitative research. While I believe my translations herein are linguistically correct, I remain aware that there will always be instances where subtle meaning differences can occur, especially when specific, culturally bound words are used by Ukrainian speakers. These I would always closely examine to decide on the best interpretive translation. The van Nes *et al* paper below highlights how the elucidation of meaning is central in qualitative research and that language differences have the potential to affect the interpretation and understanding of meanings.

Van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: is meaning lost in translation?. *European Journal of ageing*, 7(4), 313-316

Chapter 1 General Introduction

1.1 Who *are* these Ukrainians?

“Ukraine remains Europe’s terra incognita: large, diverse, understudied, badly understood” (Finnin, 2015, p.8).

When examining public opinion polls, or asking how ethnic minorities voted in the Scottish Independence referendum, researchers might never have encountered a small, almost invisible group like Ukrainians, unless, like Alex Salmond (2014, p.210), they had professed admiration for ‘certain aspects’ of Russia’s President Vladimir Putin in a popular magazine². Suddenly an ‘angry’ (as reported in the popular media) Ukrainian community reacted. Scottish government officials, together with Alex Salmond, immediately invited Ukrainian community representatives [I attended] to Saint Andrew’s House to explain ‘what the First Minister meant to say’ and explain how ‘he was misquoted’.

In the close-run voting linked to the referendum every vote counted, even those of a small *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006) of ‘Ukrainians’. The Scottish government’s sudden recognition of a low-profile community shows how the voting practices and political stance of a few hundred astute members of an ethnic minority can enter the political debate at a crucial moment in a pivotal referendum. No doubt the government bureaucrats at that moment were asking themselves ‘Who *are* these Ukrainians?’

During the Cold War, Scotland’s politically active Ukrainians had begun to describe themselves collectively as the *Ukrainian diaspora*. My dissertation investigates and charts how this ethnic collective arrived and settled in Scotland, and why the term *diaspora* entered mainstream use within their lexicon. My case

² Gentlemen’s Quarterly: *Alastair Campbell meets Alex Salmond*, Publisher: Conde Nast International, (June 2014, pp. 206-211)

study explores the two main themes which together are the subject of this thesis - *Ukrainian and diaspora*.



Figure 1-1- Map of Independent Ukraine

Reproduced with permission from Paul Robert Magocsi, *History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd rev. and expanded ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

If you type the word *diaspora* into the Google search engine it will register more than 276 million hits. Robin Cohen (2008) considers it as ‘one of the buzzwords of the modern age’. The term *diaspora* has entered the common parlance of the Ukrainian government and widely used in the globally dispersed Ukrainian communities³. But it was not always so. As a child growing up among Scotland’s Ukrainians in the 1950s, I rarely heard the word used by my father or his peers. They referred to themselves as refugees (*bizhentsi*/біженці), exiles (*zaslantsi*/засланці) and wanderers (*skytal'tsi* /скитальці). However, during

According to the [Ukrainian World Congress](#), (Svitovyy Kongress Ukraintsiv/Світовий конгрес українців) ‘expatriate’ Ukrainians number almost 21 million in 61 countries.

recent decades the word has crept into our everyday language and now begs closer scrutiny.

In the embryonic days of this study the online *International Business Times* contained an article by Christopher Harressⁱ entitled *How the Ukrainian diaspora in the US is supporting the war in East Ukraine*' (Harress, 2015). Similar fund-raising episodes have been copied and repeated by the present cohort of Glasgow's *transnational* Ukrainian community frequently since 2015. Just recently, following mass in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) in Leith (November 2018), three young Ukrainian female combatants from the 'volunteer battalions' visited Scotland to appeal to the 'Ukrainian diaspora' for financial assistance.

1.2 Aims of the thesis

Not only is Ukraine *terra incognita*, but Ukrainians who have settled in Scotland over the last 70 years remain a little-studied cohort. They do not feature as a separate entity in any publication relating to the global Ukrainian 'diaspora'. Even yet, no Ukrainian sociologists or historians recognise this community as a distinct group, preferring to incorporate them into 'Ukrainians in the United Kingdom'.

An example is found in Roman Petryshyn's (1980) *Britain's Ukrainian Communities*, where there are no expanded references to his fellow migrants in Scotland. Although Scotland's Ukrainians represent a miniscule proportion of the national citizenry, the time is long overdue to afford them a modicum of academic attention. No social scientist or historian has yet assembled data concerning the community into any cohesive, historiographic form.

Without some formal sociological record, it is possible that this community might fully assimilate into Scottish society without historic representation and, at worst, remain completely undocumented. However, the Ukrainian 'Orange Revolution' of 2004, the 'Maidan' uprising of 2014, the illegal annexation of Crimea and the ongoing invasion of its eastern provinces have brought Ukraine and Ukrainians to the attention of the British public.

To many it will come as a surprise to learn that Scotland hosted its first cohorts of Ukrainians more than seventy years ago. From time-to-time Ukrainians have featured briefly in newspaper articles attracting little attention in public discourse and even less from scholars. During the seven decades since 1946, Ukrainians have settled and intermarried, leaving their children and grandchildren to contribute to the national gene pool. Just as Lea Kreinin (2018), the Finno-Ugric linguist, completed her CEES thesis on Estonians in Scotland, the story of this group of Eastern Slavs follows in her footsteps, adding to the faculty's growing repertoire of interest in Ukraine.

My research focuses on how a small Eastern European cohort, in tandem with other immigrant populations, (Jews, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Italians, Bengalis etc) sought sanctuary in Scotland. It sets out to tackle the lacunae in this group's story of migration, settlement, and assimilation. It is a 'starter study'-a diachronic, collective narrative of Ukrainian social, political, and religious activities in Scotland across a timespan of seven decades from 1946 to the present.

Despite being settled in Scotland since the end of the Second World War this *imagined community* has not benefitted from robust analysis. The paucity of public-facing information about Ukrainians in Scotland has been the occasional work of politicians or journalists, whose scripts often lack rigour and whose sensation-seeking musings frequently offer little by way of a balanced point of view. Politicians do not fare well either. Michael Moser advises ...

As for news based on politicians' statements, I treated such information with the utmost caution, largely confining myself to their direct quotations. As a result, I did not rely on any interpretations offered by reporters' (2013, p.12).

Academic studies traditionally generate opposing points of view. This review acknowledges and welcomes such bipolarity while simultaneously taking the opportunity to correct certain journalistic, biased, and sensationalised inaccuracies about Ukrainians in Scotland. While looking inward I also acknowledge the reality that my community's external display of unity, cohesion and public facing 'harmony' has often disguised its instances of internal social and political conflict.

The ethnographic nature of this research focuses on multi-generational families. The period of engagement lasted from October 2014 to January 2020. The bulk of empirically explored data during that time emanates from transcribed, semi-structured interviews and field notes. Additional primary and secondary sources are gleaned from British, Ukrainian, and North American archives. The respondents represent three main categories of interviewees. (1) Those who have remained permanently resident in Scotland since the conclusion of WW2, (2) those who were born in Scotland but eventually relocated to England and elsewhere, and finally (3) expert and élite respondents such as Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of Ukrainian organisations and authors of major Ukrainian academic publications. Respondents from all three categories were issued with the university's (ethics) consent documentation and invited to contribute their observations and narratives.

I have conducted this study as a self-funded, sole observer- one whose positionality has been linked with Scotland's Ukrainian community since the early 1950s. I am of dual ethnicity, the child of a post-WW2 mixed marriage (Ukrainian father, Scottish mother) and bi-lingual in both Ukrainian and English. Command⁴ of my father's language has facilitated research in libraries and archives both in Ukraine and in Ukrainian repositories beyond its borders.

In the ten years before launching into this study, I worked in my free time as an (amateur) archivist for the Scottish Branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). It was during this time that I became aware of the community's lack of a structured, sequenced account of Ukrainian presence in Scotland. A small number of members of the community had recorded some major events by way of reports to the Ukrainian language newspaper, the *Ukrainian Thought* [*Ukrains'ka Dumka* / Українська Думка], but these cultural and political milestones were never compiled comprehensively or placed in any formal, established chronology.

⁴ I have spent a lifetime constantly improving my language competency in Modern Standard Ukrainian. My level of fluency is confirmed by Diploma (044/1050-26) awarded by the Institute of Philology of the Shevchenko National University, following a viva examination in Kyiv on the 19th June 2013.

1.3 Research questions

Towards the end of the Cold War, and in recent times, politically active members of my ethnic peers began to refer to themselves collectively as the Ukrainian *diaspora*. What is a *diaspora*? Is Scotland's Ukrainian community a *diaspora*?

First steps demanded analysis of the concept's semantic development. If the community of first settlers is a diaspora, then does the term relate equally to the present second-generational cohort? These aspects form the basis of this study. My leading research question is expressed thus:

Q. In which ways is the Ukrainian community in Scotland a diaspora?

My analysis is accompanied by other aspects linked to the 'when, why and how' of the Ukrainians' homeland dispersal and their post-WW2 arrival and settlement in Scotland. I have attempted to establish the main features of first settler migration, while leaving room for further investigation by future students. My lines of enquiry explore... (a) how each generational group is templated against the major typologies of diaspora and migration theory, (b) the salient priorities of first generation (G1) Ukrainian cultural and political reproduction, and (c) the impact of first-settler socio-cultural and political dynamics upon the second generation (G2).

1.4 The contribution of the thesis

A THEMIS⁵ Scoping study by Agnieszka Kubal *et al* (2011, p.32) identifies Ukrainians in the British Isles as 'an understudied group'. While her study adopted a UK wide lens, I have chosen to focus specifically on the geographical territory of Scotland. My intention is to prompt interest in a community that might easily have become historically by-passed, forgotten, and unrecorded. 'Scotland's Ukrainians'

do not yet possess a dedicated, comprehensive narrative- its stories remain scattered and uncoordinated.

Around the British Isles a few Ukrainian-born individuals such as Evstachyi Zahachevskyi (1968), Valerian Revutsky (1979a) Dmytro Yaremko (1985), Wolodymyr Gockyj (1992, 1990), Teodor Turko (1995), Yevhen Nebesniak (1997), Michael Hryczyszyn (2002), Stefan Terlezki (2005), Roman Mac (2009), Aleksander Krawczynski (2015) and Yaroslav Wenger (2018) have produced memoirs ‘to record for posterity’. These memoirs, while not sequentially linked, taken together provide a rich repertoire of narrative. The diachronicity I offer here benefits, not only from such unique primary and lesser-known secondary sources, but also from more than 40 interviews, more than a thousand recently unearthed historic photographs ⁶ and a goodly number of unpublished memoirs. While some may consider this to be a very basic construct, on the contrary, a historiography such as this, no matter how embryonic, will nevertheless assist future research.

While studies exist of specific Ukrainian communities, e.g. Marina Gorodeckis (1968), Anna Diuk (1985), Roman Petryshyn (1980), Ivan Kozachenko (2013), these are confined to English towns, or the United Kingdom (UK) in general. Scotland’s Ukrainian community is unique, and its activities have yet to be scrutinized. The notes, references, bibliography, analysis and conclusions offered here will address significant gaps in knowledge about these ‘migrants’ [refugees?] and will provide future researchers with links to a rich repertoire of primary and secondary resources.

The exponential development of recent digital technology has allowed some Ukrainian families to put together impressive photographic and video albums of family histories such as that compiled in Fig.1.3 below. This example of a rich primary source was made available in the very first months of research when I established the first of Ukrainian Heritage Events in the Ukrainian community centre in Edinburgh in 2014.

I just wanted to get everything collected so it made some sense, so that my dad’s story was there for other people to see, and for me to see, for my children to see (N13).

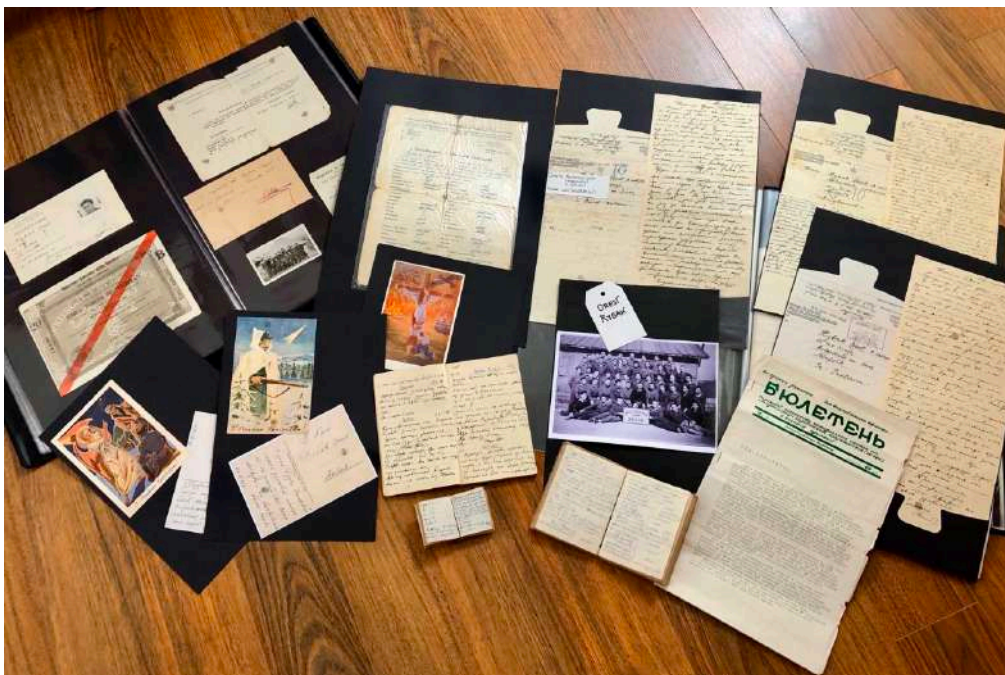


Figure 1-2 Tamara's late father's story

Later in the study it becomes apparent how important a role is played by unearthing historic photographs and employing them within the formal exercise of photo elicitation. One such group photo is chosen from the table-top collection exemplify the details which can lend themselves so valuably to historic interpretation.



Figure 1-3 Ukrainian auto mechanics' school, Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP) Camp, Rimini, Italy 1947

The narratives of WW2 Ukrainian Displaced Persons (DPs) and Prisoners of War (POWs) offered herein, fit a time-worn template of evacuee traffic, yet as all such migratory flows and flights, they are unique. Unique, and not yet completely 'visible'. Ukrainians are mentioned only once in Robert Winder's *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain* (2004, p.331). Scotland's Ukrainians are mentioned fleetingly in Tom Devine's chapter on the family of 'New Scots' (2012, pp.486-522). The community is now more than seventy years old, exceptional in both origin and composition, and for that reason alone merits inclusion and expansion in any revised repertoire of 'New Scots', or perhaps 'Not so new Scots'.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

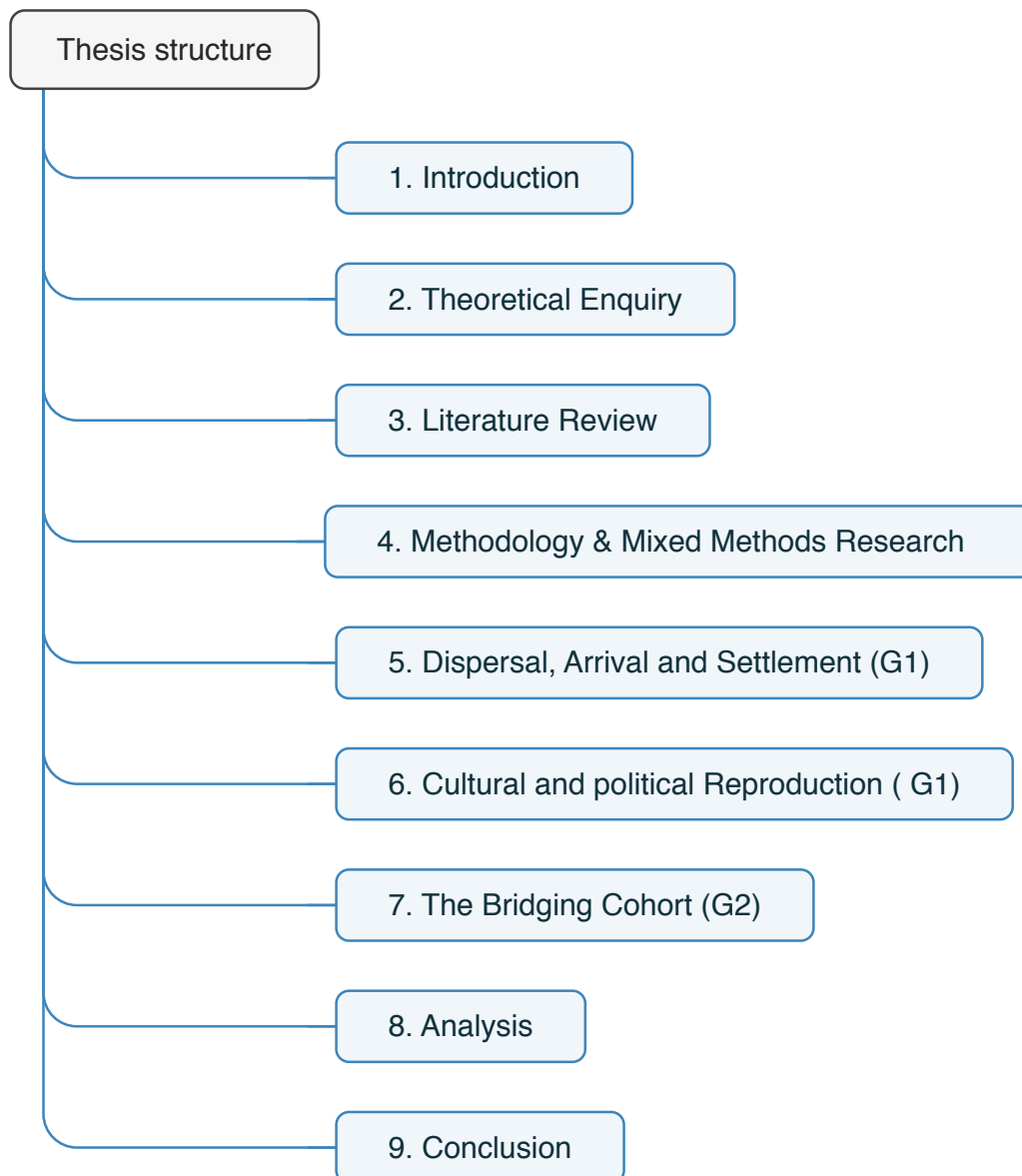


Figure 1-4 Concept map of thesis structure

Chapter One-The General Introduction

A concept map is employed at the beginning of certain chapters, or sections, to provide the reader with a navigable graphic to highlight the intended discussions and observations. In the first chapter the aims, the research questions, the contribution, and the outline of the thesis are explained.

Chapter Two-Theoretical Enquiry

This chapter is devoted to a review of the major concepts which underpin the research questions. It begins by introducing terminology, the key words of *diaspora*, *imagined community*, *visible community*, *Hartzian fragment* and *generational cohort*. In this chapter I argue for the need to employ an interdisciplinarity approach to my migration studies. I draw from a quadratic nexus of diasporic typologies, theories of identity maintenance, nationalist ideologies, and modes of assimilation. It was necessary to limit my analysis of the extensive, ever-expanding body of literature on *diaspora* by referring to central texts such as those of William Safran (1991), Khachig Tololyan (1994), James Clifford (1994), Steven Vertovec (1999), Robin Cohen (1999), Rogers Brubaker (2005), Rogers Brubaker (2017), Ewa Morawska (2008) and Claire Alexander (2017). Having followed the development of selected diasporic typologies, I have opted to focus on Robin Cohen's *four phases of diasporic theory*.

Regarding theories of identity maintenance, I expand on Richard Jenkins' social identification framework and his three *orders*. My third main focal context on nationalist ideologies progresses towards a resumé of Ukrainian nationalism and its impact on the first settler cohorts. Later chapters include heuristic devices promoted by other theorists, employed as precursors to exploring the contents of certain chapters. An example of this is Sheldon Stryker's paper on *symbolic interactionism*. Other '*isms*' are occasionally briefly surveyed, which assist explanation of a particular observation or finding. The theories aim to support my choice of an *interdisciplinary* approach to the case study.

A brief historiography of each of the four *waves* of Ukrainian emigration is charted, with extended comment devoted to the third wave's *Hartzian fragments* as employed by Yarema Kelebay (1980). When researching the Ukrainian community of Montreal, Kelebay employed Louis Hartz's theory of *fragmentation*. Hartz (1964) wrote about new colonial societies founded by Europeans as *fragments* of the old European societies whose development was closely linked to the 'intellectual point of departure' from the old societies at the time of their founding.

When employing this Kelebay/Hartzian concept of fragmentation, a number is attributed to each of the four groups who arrived in chronological sequence to

British shores. Fragment One (F1); the contingent of Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) servicemen and women who assisted the Royal Air Force. Fragment Two (F2); Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces (PAF) who helped to defend Scotland's eastern shoreline. Fragment Three (F3); the displaced persons (DPs) who arrived as European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) from 1946 onwards. Fragment Four (F4); the Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEPs) of the Galicia Division, 1500 having been transported to Scotland as prisoners of war (POWs) in 1947.



Figure 1-5 Concept map of Hartzian fragments

Each *fragment* of migrants brought with them their differing ideologies and priorities which are explored in chapter five.

Chapter Three-The literature review (*linked with Ukrainian studies*)

This chapter introduces the historically sequenced four *waves* of Ukrainian migration along with published literature linked to each of the waves. I pay tribute to the assistance provided by those academics who have contributed to Ukrainian Studies (*ukrainoznavstvo*/українознавство) as the discipline has evolved over the period post-WW2 to the present. I cite academics of Ukrainian origin who presently research Ukrainian related topics both here and abroad. I also acknowledge pivotal, early texts by non-Ukrainian authors regarding the European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) and Prisoners of War (POWs). Here the focus is on studies by Elizabeth Stadulis (1952), Maud Bulbring (1954), J.A Tannahill (1958b), Diana Kay (1992), Linda McDowell (2005) and Wendy Webster (2006).

Controversies and the ‘bi-polarity of opinion’ surrounding WW2 Ukrainian Prisoners of War (POWs) are noted with particular reference to the views of John F. Stewart (1948), Oleh Martovych (1950), Pavlo Shandruk (1959), Denis Hills (1989), Michael Logusz (1997), David Ceserani (2000) , Fedir Kurlak (2001), Michael J. Melnyk (2002), Douglas Macleod (2005), Olesya Khromeychuk (2013), Per Anders Rudling (2012) and Michael J. Melnyk (2016).

Primary sources are next depicted, beginning with the locations of available archival documentation both in the UK and abroad. The chapter presents selected autobiographies as primary source material. Letters, diaries, books, journal articles, regional and national newspapers are all noted and explored in the search for sources. Examples of selected online searches are also included in this repertoire. Finally, the maps used to illustrate demographics have been kindly contributed by those leading academics who were interviewed as part of this dissertation. Readings then summarise contemporary contributions, debates, and issues in the field.

Chapter Four- Methodology & Mixed Methods Research (MMR)

The choice of methodological approach is a major challenge for any researcher concerned with the social sciences. In this case study, the design frame is firmly grounded in the *interdisciplinarity* of migration studies. The frame is influenced by Elsie Brettell *et al*’s (2015) call for migration studies to ‘talk across disciplines’. Considered theories, heuristic devices and other paradigmatic constructs are here selected from their suggested set of ‘core disciplines’. Anthropology, demography, economics, geography, history, law, political science, and sociology all contribute to interpreting the behaviour and social identification of the respondents.

I refer to Kachig Tölölyan, the founder of the journal *Diaspora*, who offers sage advice regarding the acquisition of *researcher expertise*. This section compares my personal researcher *positionality* against the criteria of Tölölyan’s ‘three fields of expertise’. The section concludes with observations on ethnographic fieldwork.

Case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme, or system in a 'real life' context. It is research-based, inclusive of different methods and is evidence-led. (Simons, 2012, p.21)

By 'multiple perspectives' I take cognisance of aspects of Julia Brannen's (2004) 'QUAL + QUAN' concept of mixed methods. Having engaged extensively in simultaneous qualitative and quantitative analysis, she argues that 'cross-disciplinary collaboration should not undermine disciplines and the importance of theory'.

My study is grounded in 48+ months of intensive ethnographic fieldwork focusing on two generations of Ukrainian families who have settled in Scotland since the end of World War Two. Additional interviews were conducted with a small number of third generation (G3) Ukrainians and newly arrived *transnationals* as well as interviews and conversations with representatives of the Jewish and Italian communities. These were employed as comparative tools and were not the main drive of the research. In hindsight, the completion of such a high number of interviews was perhaps an over cautionary reaction to Sarah Baker's (2012) comment that "*qualitative research is exploratory by nature, qualitative researchers may not know how much data to gather in advance*".

Reference is made in this chapter to Clare Wenger's (2001) *Interviewing Older People*, Mike Crang's (2003) *Qualitative methods: touchy, feely, look-see*, Eleanor McLellan's (2003) *Beyond the Qualitative Interview: Data Preparation and Transcription*, Sarah Baker's (2012) *How many qualitative interviews is enough?* and Robert Mickecz's (2012) *Interviewing Elites: Addressing Methodological Issues*.

The accompanying *survey instruments* (questionnaires in both English and Ukrainian) were approved by the Glasgow University's Ethics Committee and are included in endnoteⁱⁱⁱ. I believe my interviews were conducted with tact, diplomacy and sincere respect for the values, morals, and political persuasions of the numerous respondents.

Regarding *data analysis*, the demographic tables and Displaced Persons map [Fig.6.9] are included by kind permission of Ukrainian geographer, Professor Emeritus Ihor Stebelsky. Following the interview with Ukrainian historian, Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, permission was granted for use of three of his maps [Figs.1.1, 6.4, & 6.19]. The single map of Scotland's Displaced Persons hostels and

Prisoner of War Camps containing Ukrainians in the late 1940's, is the author's compilation.

Some *tables* [Figs 5.6, 8.3, 8.6 & 8.7] have been created from primary source documents, such as the birth and marriage registers made available by the archivist of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Eparchy, Fr.David Senyk. The contribution of *historic images* by nearly all the respondents supported the decision to engage fully in the use of *photo-elicitation*. Throughout the period of research, the practice of photo-elicitation (particularly using historic images) encouraged deeper dialogue, reflection, and observation. Visualization tools were generously employed in this thesis. This approach supports Jon Prosser's (2008a) belief that such images can be an alternative to "*the hegemony of a word-and-number based academy*"; The old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words has leverage here.



Figure 1-6 Ukrainian European Voluntary Workers gather for a lecture in Macmerry Hostel, East Lothian, 1949

Regarding *analysis of primary source data & documents*, archival data originated from numerous sources. The Shevchenko Library and Archives of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (London), The National Archives at Kew, the Shevchenko Scientific Society (New York), The British Library, The National Library

of Scotland, the Scottish Catholic Archives (Edinburgh), the Scottish Jewish Archives (Glasgow's Garnethill Synagogue) and Glasgow University archives. In addition, selective is made of *primary source data* collected by me over my lifetime, much of this being made available for the first time within this thesis.

Chapter Five- Dispersal, Arrival & Settlement

This chapter expands on a historiography of the four Hartzian *fragments* mentioned in previous chapters. Each of these groups of men and women who arrived in the UK in large numbers during World War Two and its immediate aftermath, arrived with differing interpretations of their Ukrainian heritage. The four *fragments*, taken in sequence, constitute the third major wave of Ukrainian historical migration. Figure 1.7 depicts the chronology of each group's arrival in Scotland.

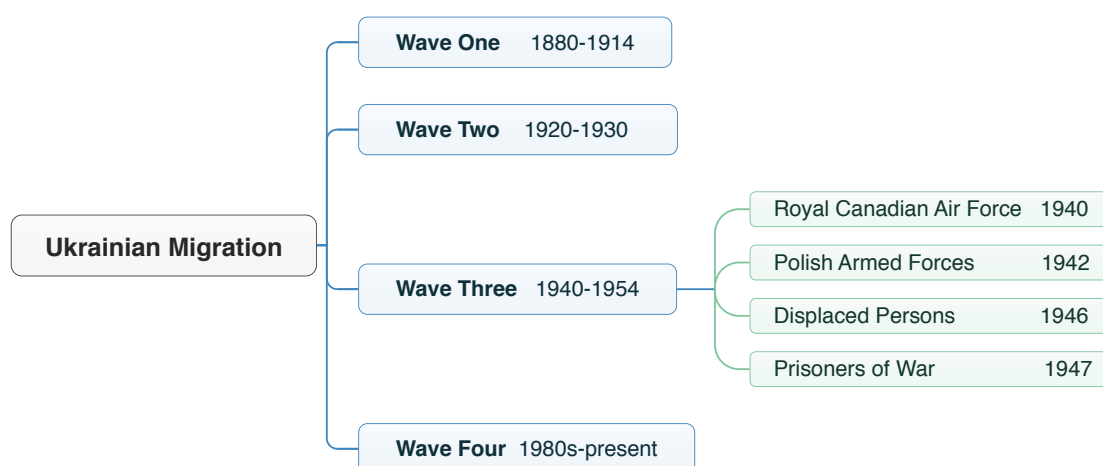


Figure 1-7 The four fragments of the third wave of Ukrainian migration 1940-1947

1940

At the beginning of the war the call to arms went out to the British Commonwealth, including the Dominion of Canada. *Fragment one* consisted of Canadians of Ukrainian descent in the Allied Armies, particularly those in the Royal Canadian Airforce (RCAF) whose training was based in Scotland. This section shines light on Flight Sergeant Gordon Bohdan Panchuk *et al*, second generation Canadian Ukrainians, who played a major part in rescuing Ukrainian displaced persons in the

Allied Zones of Austria and Germany who refused to be repatriated to the Soviet Union.

July 1940- early 1942

The second *fragment* was composed of ethnic Ukrainians who were members of the Polish Armed Forces (PAF). In January 1946, in Edinburgh, they created an embryonic organisation called *Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces under British Command* which later became the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB).



Figure 1-8 Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces under British Command, Edinburgh, January 19th/20th 1946

1946 onwards

The third *fragment* was composed of Ukrainian displaced persons (DPs) who found themselves in the ruins of Europe as the war began to close. They were brought to Britain as European Voluntary Workers (EVWs). Their arrival and settlement are charted later in this chapter.

May 1945- June 1947

The fourth *fragment* has attracted controversy. These were Ukrainian former soldiers of the 14th Waffen SS who, having surrendered to the allies, were held in Italy as Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEPs) and later relocated to Britain as Prisoners of War (POWs). Their sojourn in captivity and subsequent transportation to prison camps and hostels throughout the United Kingdom is charted in this thesis. In later chapters (5 & 6) regard is paid to their continuing ‘militaristic’ behaviour and their overtly nationalist influence on the cultural and political life of the diaspora.

Pre-settlement historiography of the first generation.

Having identified each separate *fragment*, this section returns to the pre-WW2 war situation in both Polish and Soviet territories. (Some Ukrainian historians refer to these territories as Western and Eastern Ukraine). The European Voluntary Workers’ fear of repatriation is explained and their subsequent pathways to Scotland are charted.

A great deal of time and effort went into identifying the 43 camps and hostels in Scotland where ethnic Ukrainians, EVWs and POWs, were domiciled on arriving from mainland Europe. A short resume is given of their employment in agriculture, forestry, mining, and hydroelectricity. Some found work in the coal mines of central Scotland. Through time, most Ukrainian EVWs flocked to urban workshops and factories, particularly in the textile producing locations of Dundee and the Scottish borders.

After completing the contractual obligations of the European Voluntary Workers’ schemes, many moved south to England or emigrated to Canada, North America, and Australia. Those who remained set about establishing formal organisations, the institutional frameworks so important for identity maintenance and cultural reproduction. The post-war, embryonic Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) plays a pivotal part in the settlement process, particularly the creation of cultural institutions.

Chapter Six- Cultural & Political Reproduction

Having described the historical pathways of the first-generation (G1) chapter seven continues in a *micro-historical* vein, exploring the cultural and political reproduction which impacted on the mobilisation and identity formation of the first settler generation (G1). Over the seven decades since their arrival, the constant employment of Ukrainian *myth and symbol* by nationalist élites took on an importance which invited my further investigation.

I here offer a lens on how the Ukrainian élite echelons set about systematically reinforcing the ethnic identity of two fragments of the early community [European Voluntary Workers & Prisoners of War]. This section focuses on nationalist ideologies in general and then proceeds specifically to the influence of Ukrainian nationalism. Nationalist influence of camp and hostel life continued well into the settlement period, prompting frequent anti-Soviet public demonstrations and protests which continued to take place sporadically throughout the whole period of the *Cold War*.

Chapter Seven-Generation Two-the Bridging Cohort

The generational structure of ‘age cohort’ is employed to analyse the impact of first settler (G1) cultural and political reproduction as these processes impacted, or did not impact, on their progeny (G2). My focus is on *generational identification* as acted out by the progeny of the first settler Ukrainians. I have named this group the *bridging cohort*. These respondents, my ethnic peers, represent a period of six decades in the assimilation process, from first settler arrival (post-WW2) to the present. The chapter contains demographic tables.

A brief overview of sociological research concerning generational theory is followed by selected empirical content from the numerous respondents interviewed. The age range of the second generation (G2) respondents is varied. Of the twenty-five interviewees only three had been born in the post-WW2 European DP camps. The greater number were born in the 1950s and 1960s in Scotland. Having spent a lifetime as the children of refugees they present the study with interesting embodiments of *hybridity*, and *pan-ethnic identity*.

Chapter Eight- Summary Analysis

Here are drawn together the threads of the study. I return to the major question of the study and the theoretical basis of my research frame. Robin Cohen's four tools of social science are brought into comparison with my findings. They are (1) the emic/etic relationship, (2) the time dimension & wisdom of hindsight, (3) the consolidated list of common features and (4) the application of Weberian ideal types. The process of assimilation relating to both generational cohorts is also summarised. Gabriel Sheffer's categories of *diasporan* are revisited. Robin Cohen's nine features of a diaspora are used as a template against which my conclusions line up, or do not! Finally, the *Weberian ideal type* of Cohen's *victim diaspora* is explored and analysed.

Chapter Nine -Conclusion

Research involved testing two generational cohorts against major diasporic heuristics, using the question- *Is the term 'diaspora' of limited use when referring to Scotland's Ukrainian community?* The conclusion returns the reader to the key contributions of the study and evaluation of the extent to which its aims have been achieved. A final resumé points to the importance of memory studies and particularly Marianne Hirsch's concept of *postmemory*. Final observations are offered on aspects of personal positionality and accompanying *interpretive reflexivity*. As Roni Berger argues:

'Reflexivity is the self-appraisal in research. It means the turning of the researcher lens back onto oneself to recognise and take responsibility for one's own situatedness within the research and the effect it may have on the setting and people being studied, questions being asked, data being collected and its interpretation.'
(2015, p.220)

Chapter 2 Theoretical Enquiry

Is the term diaspora of limited use when referring to Scotland's Ukrainian community?

2.1 Introductory terminology

When people choose to give themselves a name, I habitually explore the background to why they self-identify as such. When they arrived in the latter half of the 1940s, Ukrainian DPs and EVWs in Scotland commonly described themselves as refugees [*bizhentsi*/біженці] and exiles [*zslantsi*/засланці]. Over the course of my lifetime these nouns have fallen away as victims of a more popular collectivity- the term *diaspora*. It is difficult to pin an exact time on when a specific word becomes established in the popular lexicon. When I set out to explore the term's adoption in the common parlance of my community, my literature search in Ukrainian émigré newspapers and pamphlets detected the early 1980s as the period when the term's acceptance began to spread among Ukrainians.

In the first week of this dissertation, I typed the word *diaspora* into a popular internet search engine where it registered more than 276 million hits. As 'one of the buzzwords of the modern age' (Cohen 2008), definitions and interpretations of the term are so numerous that they amount to years of reading material. The abundance of pre-existing theory compels the reader to focus on hypotheses taken from seminal texts within different academic fields.

As a result of this widespread gathering of data, my research design became forensic in nature. It leans towards the interdisciplinarity of migration studies as promoted by Caroline Brettell *et al* (2015, p.295) in their 3rd edition of *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. Their approach encouraged me to confine my focus within a quadratic nexus of demographic, anthropological, political, and sociological disciplines. To limit my focus to workable levels, I selected from widely cited diasporic typologies, theories of identity maintenance, ideologies of nationalism and theories of assimilation. In this theoretical chapter, my preferred terminology from the above disciplines sets the scene for the reader.

Where a word has the potential to be obscure, I will append a definition in the footnote of the page. Where the terminology is fundamental to this work, I have italicised the vocabulary. I begin with four such nouns-they are (1) the *imagined* community, (2) the *visible* community, (3) the Hartzian *fragment* and (4) the *generational cohort*.

I frequently refer to Scotland's Ukrainians as an *imagined* community. The term was introduced by Benedict Anderson (1936-2015) in his influential text *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983,1991,2006). What did Anderson mean by the term '*imagined*'?

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (2006, p.6).

He argues that all communities are *imagined*, emphasising that the fraternities that can be found within them are linked in ... 'a deep, horizontal comradeship'. Anderson's belief that nationality and nationalism are culturally linked prompted my close analysis of the cultural life of Scotland's Ukrainians. His theories on *print-capitalism* as the base of national consciousness (2006, pp.37-46) and its vernacular links to 'the reading classes', provide my research with a valuable analytical lens. I will refer to his work later where it relates to the influence of the Ukrainian Prosvita society, founded in 1868 in L'viv. The impact of the society's reading rooms is explored in chapter six.

It is important at this stage to differentiate between two adjectives I employ alongside the noun 'community'. Anderson's *imagined* community is engaged here to encapsulate all of Scotland's Ukrainians regardless of their social, cultural, or political affiliation. To differentiate the entire *imagined* community from the proactive element of the same population, I use my own term of *visible* community, defining this group as those who participate publicly, willingly, and noticeably in the *imagined* community's cultural, political, and religious calendar.

A third term I have commissioned is the word *enclave* as used by Stéphane (Dufoix, 2008a). He defines this as 'the local organisation of a community within a host country, usually in a city' (Dufoix, p.62).

This term is the closest to the word *hromada* (громада/community) which I use to describe the clustering of Ukrainians in towns and cities.⁷

Adding to my theoretical *bricolage*, I engaged a tool first conceived by Louis Hartz (1919-1986) in his book *The Founding of New Societies*. Hartz spoke of *fragments* of societies where each cluster, having left their old society at a specific time, brought not only their language, customs, religion, and folklore but also the intellectual worldview formed by community life at that unique period. He stresses that... ‘the key to understanding of ideological development of migrants approaching their new society is their *point of departure*’. He provides a philosophical comment applicable to my first settler respondents ... ‘In escaping the past, the fragment escapes the future, for the very seeds of the later ideas are contained in the parts of the old world that have been left behind’.

The concept of *fragment* was later employed by Yarema Kelebay (1980) in his thesis *The Ideological and Intellectual Baggage of Three Fragments of Ukrainian Immigrants: A Contribution to the History of Ukrainians in Quebec (1910-1960)*. By employing the Hartzian *fragment* I can differentiate between the four collectivities who arrived in Scotland in chronological order at various points throughout WW2 and its aftermath.

The Kelebay/Hartzian concept of fragmentation prompted me to number each of the four groups. *Fragment One* (F1); the contingent of Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) servicemen and women who assisted the Royal Air Force (RAF). *Fragment Two* (F2); Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces (PAF) who helped to defend Scotland’s eastern shoreline. *Fragment Three* (F3); the displaced persons (DPs) who arrived as European Voluntary Workers (EVWs) from 1946 onwards. *Fragment Four* (F4); the Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEPs) of the Galicia Division.

In chapter six I expand on the cultural and political backgrounds of each of these diasporic *fragments*. As Hartz himself illustrates... ‘the ideologies borne by

⁷ In the early 1950s the Displaced Persons and Prisoner of War camps closed, compelling their occupants to seek further accommodation. Ukrainians were drawn to employment in cities like Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee alongside towns like Galashiels, Haddington, Lockerbie and Annan. Ukrainians speak of the Dundee *hromada*, the Edinburgh *hromada* and so on.

the founders of the new society are not representative of the historic ideological spectrum of the mother country. The settlers represent only a *fragment* of that spectrum’.

Even within a cluster such as the DPs or POWs, there is a temptation to apply a further fragmentation if one accepts that there was a different *weltanschauung*⁸ between Western Ukrainians and those from the eastern, Soviet territories. Kelebay interprets the *weltanschauung* of each fragment as ... ‘the central intellectual trend of the period which usually represents the thought of the acknowledged élite, ... ‘an ethos which tends to set the subcultural and intellectual agenda which challenges all others.’ Thus, as Kelebay argues, ideologies are often cemented at the *point of origin*.

And now to the *generational cohort*. Louise Berg and Susan Eckstein, in their article *Reimagining Migrant Generations* (2009) argue for a typology which brings the historically grounded generational concept into the study of diasporas (p.17). Following their recommendation, I have confined my research population to the two generational cohorts of Ukrainians living in Scotland, with which I am personally acquainted. These are the first settler generation of my father and the second generation to which I belong. The first settler generation I categorised with the abbreviation G1, their progeny as G2. Ron Eyerman and Brian Turner (1998) define a generation as ...

a cohort of persons passing through time who come to share a common habitus, hexis and culture, a function of which is to provide them with a collective memory that serves to integrate the cohort over a finite period of time (1998, p.91).

Demographer and political sociologist Karl Mannheim (1952) is popularly attributed with introducing the concept of *generation* to the sociological lexicon. Mannheim’s work led the way for a host of prominent scholars to follow, such as Richard Einstadt 1956, Max Weber (1947/1975), Anthony Giddens (1984/2013), Pierre Bourdieu (1990), Georges Fournon and Glick-Schiller (2001), Ruben Rumbaut 2006, Berg and Eckstein (2009), Richard Alba (2017) and Miri Song (2017).

⁸ This German calque (loan word) represents an individual’s ideas and beliefs through which he or she watches, interprets and interacts with the world.

Mette Berg and Susan Eckstein also recommend that ‘scholarly understanding of diasporic internal diversity should begin with a historically grounded *conceptual generational frame*’...

Most typically, studies of migrant generations focus on contrasts between the foreign-born, defined as the first generation, and their progeny, born where they resettle and defined as the second generation. In these studies, generation is used in the sense of kinship descent, focused on genealogical remove from the person within a family who moved to a new country. (Berg, 2009 p.1)

With the *conceptual generational frame* as a starting point, I remained mindful of Sebahattin Ziyanak’s question (2015 p.143) -‘How come characteristics of immigrant groups carry on through second generation and beyond? Analysis of second generation assimilation has gained from extensive research by such individuals as Sebahattin Ziyanak (2015) , Floor Verhaeghe (2016), Richard Alba (2017) , Stone and Harris (2017), Herbert Gans (1992), Alexandra Dellios (2018).

Theories of the assimilation process which have been specifically templated against Ukrainian communities are those of Marina Gorodeckis (1968), Yarema Kelebay (1980), Roman Petryshyn (1980), Myron Momryk (1993), Robert Perks (1984), Anna Diuk (1985), Marta Jenkala (1985) Serge Cipko (1986), Yevhen Nebesniak (1997) Anastasia Baczynskyj (2009). Their studies provided an informed launch into the workings of the second generation⁹.

Regarding the interdisciplinarity of migration studies, there are four important contexts relevant to my research. The first is my exploration of the term *diaspora*, its origins and development up to its present-day usage. I next focus on the social dynamics of both generational cohorts as they arrived, settled and maintained their cultural *identity* in various Scottish locations. A third contextual factor is that of the migrants’ political behaviour. Here I investigate

⁹ Where I quote respondents, I have linked them to a generational cohort (G) and numbered them anonymously as (N). e.g. the first respondent to be interviewed in the first settler cohort is identified as (G1/N1) and the second generation correspondents beginning with (G2/N17).

the impact of nationalist proactivity within the *visible* community. My fourth priority concerns aspects of *assimilation*, *acculturation*, and *integration* of both generational cohorts [G1 & G2].

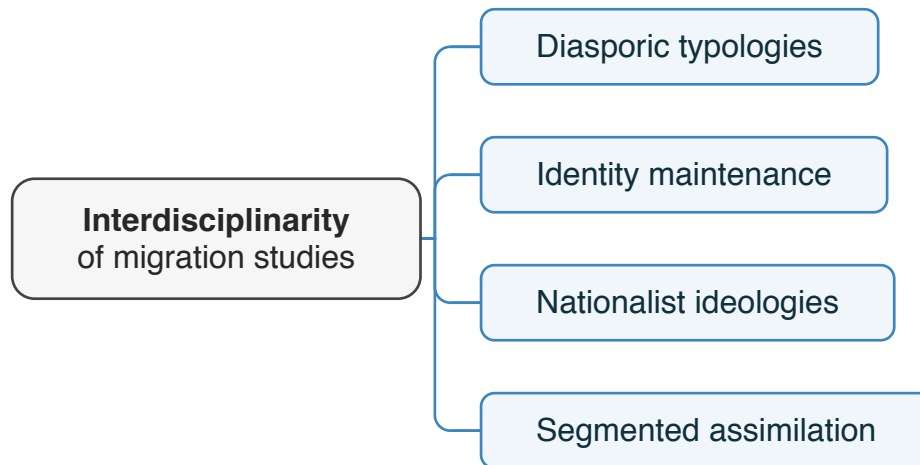


Figure 2-1 The interdisciplinarity of migration studies

2.2 Diasporic Typologies

Scattered groups of Ukrainians have been settled in Scotland for over seventy years. Because the present *visible* generational cohorts of Ukrainians consider themselves to be a diasporic community, I was guided throughout by the major question of this study- Is the term *diaspora* of limited use when referring to this community?

It is always worthwhile paying heed to cautionary comments. Michael Banton advises that ... 'In research, no one can make a completely fresh start. Everyone has to start from the prevailing body of knowledge, with its interpretation of the available evidence, and to look for any mistakes in the reasoning'. (2015 p.1369). Having spent a considerable amount of time attempting to distil the 'prevailing body of knowledge', I agree with Hans Amersfoort that attempting to apprehend the essence of the term has led to ... 'a bewildering variety of experiences and situations' (2004 p.360).

“An all-purpose word, “diaspora” is now a term current among print, radio, and television journalists; it is in the vocabulary of representatives of national and religious communities, as well as state authorities careful not to lose touch with the descendants of former emigrants; and it is part of the conceptual arsenal of scholars in migration topic (Dufoix, 2008).

James Clifford forewarned that...‘Diasporas, and diaspora theorists, cross paths in a mobile space of translations, not equivalences’ (1994 p.324).

Eliezer Ben-Rafael echoes the caveat that ‘diasporas are studied from so many different perspectives and display so many interconnected spaces and relationships, that analysts can often be left bewildered and unsure of where to start’ (2013, p.842). Claire Alexander in the 40th Anniversary Special Issue of *Classic Papers in Context* reminds us that diaspora is ‘inherently dispersed, heterogenous and fragmented, with uncertain contours and incommensurable meanings (2017, p.1544). The sheer abundance of literature on diasporic theory demands an economy of reference. It was necessary for my own understanding to turn the clock back to investigate what Robert C. Smith (2003, p.724) described as the term’s ‘theoretical adolescence’ and which Victor Satzewich (2002, p.13) describes as the word’s ‘conceptual inflation’.

It would have seemed opportune to use an all encapsulating single definition such as proposed by Stéphane Dufoix. He approximates the term *diaspora* to ...‘a national, ethnic or religious community living far from its native land-or its place of origin or reference-in several foreign territories, or even an alien cultural group living in a single country’ (2008b, p.54). However, while his distillation may assist those who compile dictionaries, the term begs further exploration of the paradigms employed by other academics.

As a practical person with a kinaesthetic learning style, I searched for heuristics that suit my approach to problem solving. I was determined to confine readings to theoretical scripts offering heuristic devices such as taxonomies and typologies, thus aiming to avoid the ‘bewilderment’. Of the prominent academics who have contributed views on the periodisation of the term diaspora, I keep returning to Robin Cohen’s seminal work and his conceptual milestones on the developmental journey of the term. In his *Global Diasporas* (2018), Cohen has

produced an amalgam of his and William Safran's typologies, with a caution from Safran that 'no contemporary diaspora will meet all the desiderata'.

2.2.1 The prototypical diaspora

Cohen identifies four phases of diasporic theorising. These are - (1) the classical use of the term, (2) its metaphoric designation, (3) social constructionist critiques of 'second phase theorists' and (4) the consolidation phase. His periodisation provides migration studies with a neat historiography, although recent authors have viewed the development of the term differently ¹⁰. This section takes a brief journey through each of the phases.

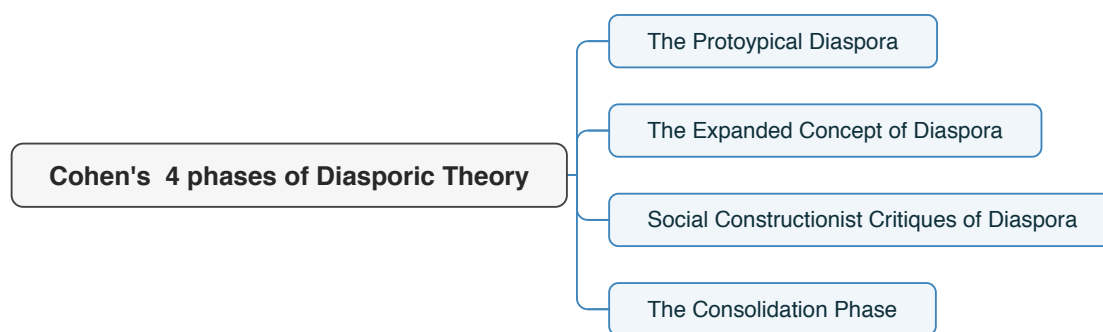


Figure 2-2 Cohen's four phases of diasporic theory

The prototypical diaspora began with ancient Greece. Diaspora is a Greek word, *diaspeirein* -*speirein* meaning 'scattering' or sowing and *dia-* meaning 'completely' and is linked historically to their colonisation of the Mediterranean and Asia Minor. The Greek dispersion and colonisation (800-600BC) was associated

¹⁰ Others, historians such as Michele Reis in *REIS, M. 2004. Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on "Classical" and "Contemporary" Diaspora. International Migration Review, 42, 29.*, have placed diasporic historiography within three major waves across the *longue durée*, compartmentalising it into a *Classical Period*, *Modern Period* and *Contemporary or Late Modern Period*. The *Classical* period is concerned with ancient diasporas, the *Modern* Period with the historical aspects of slavery and colonisation, e.g. 'the expansion of European capital (1500-1814), the industrial revolution (1815-1914) and the inter war period (1914-1945)'. The *Contemporary or Late Modern* period refers to the period immediately after WW2 to the present day. Cohen (1995:3) further divides the Reis classification of *Late Modern* into two subsets: post-WW2's Cold War and post-Cold War to the present. This research is concerned with events in the *Late Modern* period following WW2 to the present.

with ‘trade, military conquest and free migration and settlement’ (Cohen, 1995, p.6) and aligned mostly with benign or beneficial activity. In contrast, the early ethno-religious use of the term is attributed to a very traumatic event- the destruction of Jerusalem, the razing of the First Temple and the enslavement of the Jewish people in 586 BC. [The Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar had Zedekiah, the Jewish leader, blinded and dragged in chains to Babylon]. Exile and displacement then became associated with the dispersal of the Jews. Added to this archetypal repertoire is the genocide of the Armenian people carried out by the Turks of the Ottoman Empire in the twentieth century. African, Irish, Palestinian and other prototypes of dispersal, persecution, and genocide belong in this classical category (Lacoste, 1989). The traumas associated with this prototype set the background for my analysis of the term.

2.2.2 The expanded concept of diaspora

More than forty years ago John Armstrong (1922-2010) offered a heuristic device where he identified two forms of diaspora- *mobilised* and *proletarian*. His *mobilized diaspora* is ... ‘apt to have an élite which is more sophisticated in calculation of advantages and in symbol manipulation than is the élite of dominant ethnic group’ (1976, p.394). Armstrong’s *proletarian* diaspora is associated with trade and economic migrancy. Both terms help to compartmentalise members of Scotland’s Ukrainian community in the first decades of their settlement.

All four *fragments* of the third wave [RCAF, PAF, DPs and POWs] produced major players who were visibly proactive *mobilizers*. These individuals were members of patriotic and nationalist élites who set about organising many of their migrant peers into a public-facing, representative force. Their activities are expanded upon in the first empirical chapter. Armstrong also believed that diasporas can only be truly understood via exploration of their historical paths. My interest in his work concerns the three editions of *Ukrainian Nationalism* (1955, 1963 & 1990), his first two editions being published long before the Ukrainian Studies departments of HURI (1973) or CIUS (1976) came into existence.

In the late 1980s Rogers Brubaker noted that the concept was experiencing ‘... a veritable explosion of interest’. Gabriel Sheffer then submitted his contribution *A New Field of Study: Modern Diasporas in International Politics* (1986). Sheffer employed the term *modern diaspora* to differentiate it from the *prototypical diaspora*. He defined *modern diasporas* as ‘... ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries yet maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin-their homelands’.

Some academics attempted to slow the proliferation of the term. In 1989 the French Geographer Yves Lacoste ¹¹, quoting the ancient sage Herodotus, made a bid to curtail the literature by announcing that a true diaspora should be viewed as having only one variable- ‘the scattering of most of one people’. Had this view prevailed, the debate would not have proceeded any further. Lacoste believed there to be ‘... only five true diasporas, Jewish (Ashkenazi and Sephardic), Lebanese, Palestinian, Armenian and Irish’ (1989, p.4). Lacoste’s ‘scattering of most of one people’ suggests a numerically mass exodus and is not applicable in the case of most waves of Ukrainian migration.

As debate widened, analysts sought to reveal the commonalities which prompted each flight of emigrant cohorts. William Safran (1991) noted that the term was becoming increasingly used as ... ‘metaphoric designations for several categories of people- expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants and racial minorities *tout court*.’ Safran’s *Diasporas in Modern Society: Myths of Homeland and Return* offered an embryonic typology with six characteristics of diasporic communities. I quote the six characteristics in full as they assist appreciation of how some academics choose to build on each other’s heuristic devices.

(1) *They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original ‘centre’ to two or more peripheral, or foreign regions;* (2)

¹¹ En fait, il faut réserver le mot pour qualifier le résultat de phénomènes migratoires d’une certaine ampleur, et en particulier la dispersion, dans de nombreux Etats, de la majorité d’un peuple qui reste conscient et de son origine géopolitique et de son identité culturelle. Hérodote estime qu’ainsi définies, les véritables diasporas sont peu nombreuses. Outre la juive -la plus importante et la plus ancienne-il y a celles des Palestiniens, des Libanais, des Arméniens et des Irlandais. Et de préciser que ce sont là des peuples qui ont subi, à des époques anciennes ou récentes, de puissants facteurs de déracinement sans pour autant disparaître et en conservant une conscience vive de leur identité et un souci persistant du destin géopolitique de ce qui est le pays d’origine d’eux-mêmes, de leurs parents ou de leurs ancêtres. (Lacoste, 1989)

they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their homeland- its physical location, history and achievements; (3) they believe that they are not- and perhaps cannot be-fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;(4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return- when conditions are appropriate; (5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; (6) and they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (1991, p.83).

Safran emphasised that the ‘myth of return’ of most diasporas should be viewed as an *eschatological* ¹² concept: i.e. used to make the immigrants’ lives more tolerable by holding out the utopian dream of eventual relocation to the homeland, ‘as opposed to the perceived dystopia in which actual life is lived’ (1991, p.94).

In 1991 the cultural anthropologist James Clifford urged caution when identifying the diasporic phenomenon too closely with one group, particularly with what had become *the ideal type* (Weber, 1947/1975). Clifford’s 1994 essay ‘*Diaspora*’ discusses the word diaspora as a ‘travelling term’, quoting Kachig Tölölyan ...

‘the term that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community (1991, pp.4-5)

Clifford advocated definitional addenda to Safran’s variables, forewarning that ‘... whatever the working list of diasporic features, no society can be expected to qualify on all counts, throughout its history’ (1994, p.306). He highlights a phenomenon which rings true with Scotland’s first-generation Ukrainians. He argued that groups which retain important allegiances to homelands do not assimilate to any complete degree. He describes diasporas as communities living in tension, of ... ‘living here and remembering/ desiring another place ... attachment

¹² **Eschatological**; beliefs about the ‘last things’ and a religious end (and judgement) to the world. (Scott and Marshall:224)

elsewhere, to a different temporality and vision' touching repeatedly on the '... teleology of return' (Clifford, 1994, p.312).

Over the course of my lifetime, and throughout the duration of my research period, I have observed this tension, lodged in the minds of many within the *imagined* community of Scotland's first generational cohort of Ukrainians as they ... 'regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return when conditions are appropriate'. I personally knew Ukrainian first settlers who constantly followed various channels of international media across the decades, always waiting *contra spem spero* for news of the collapse of the Soviet Union. [When this eventually began to unfurl the excitement in the *imagined* community was almost tangible!]

However, the Safran/Clifford typology, with its six embryonic characteristics, was not yet complete. Further debate would occur before the construct was to be considered comprehensive.

2.2.3 Social constructional critiques of diaspora

The 'semantic domain' of the term expanded when British sociologist Stuart Hall broke with classical interpretations. In 1990 he was reflecting on generations of Afro-American and other black leaders (Garvey, Du Bois, Malcolm X, Jackson *et al* who promoted the concept of a cohesive, ethno-national, African diaspora. Hall did not define these people as constituting a physically cohesive community. Instead, he proposed that they belong to a *cultural diaspora* where their identities were being formed and reformed by the impact of globalisation.

While Hall's *cultural diaspora* connects multiple communities of dispersed Afro-ethnonational populations, his concept is attributable to other diasporic groups which now find themselves globally dispersed. One only needs to think of the Scottish diaspora's adherence to commemorative events such as the Burns' Suppers and St. Andrew's Day, celebrated by Caledonian societies across the globe. Similar attempts to unite Ukrainians culturally, was one of the founding aims of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians www.ukrainianworldcongress.org, instituted in 1967 in New York.

While Afro-American/Caribbean creole and hybrid culture is constantly undergoing reconstruction because of the impact of music, literature and other powerful influences, Hall's *cultural diaspora* resonates with the several million Ukrainians now scattered across 62 countries of the globe. They too share their common ethno-national aspects of music, dress, literature, historiography, religion, cuisine and so on.

A further salient step in the diasporic discourse was Paul Gilroy's (1993) *The black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. His *black Atlantic* refers to 'a system of historical, cultural, linguistic and political interaction and communication that originated in the process of enslaving Africans' (1993, p.15). He focussed on the traumatic historiography of the Atlantic slave trade with its massive dispersion of the various black peoples into the Caribbean and Americas. It is a seminal work, not only for linking the ethno-African diaspora but for its emphasis on the aspect of *double consciousness*. Double consciousness has much to do with my research population's second generational cohort (G2). Most individuals in this group are the progeny of mixed marriages and a goodly number maintain certain cultural ties to their twin heritage of Ukraine and Scotland. For this reason, I have named this generational group 'the bridging cohort' [see chapter seven]. Employing the Atlantic as a novel conceptual tool for research into diasporic dispersal, Gilroy proposed that '... cultural historians could take the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis in their discussions of the modern world and use it to produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective.' Gilroy aimed to create his own version of Anderson's *imagined* community, a cultural bond of Afro-Americans in the Western Hemisphere linked to those in the UK and western Europe.

The *black Atlantic* concept, which Cohen describes as a *detrterritorialized diaspora*, is equally applicable to Ukrainian communities across the world and applies here in the United Kingdom (UK). Of the 25 *visible* Ukrainian communities¹³ in Great Britain as well as the cultural similarities which link them there are also significant differences between them. Leaving language and dialect aside, one example of a difference (and uniqueness) of Scotland's *visible* Ukrainian

¹³ Ashton, Bolton, Bradford, Bury, Coventry, Derby, Doncaster, **Edinburgh, Glasgow**, Gloucester, Halifax, Huddersfield, Keighley, Leeds, Leicester, London, Luton, Manchester, Nottingham, Oldham, Reading, Rochdale, Stockport, Waltham Cross and Wolverhampton.

community is their annual celebration of the *Burns Shevchenko Supper*, commemorating Robert Burns and Taras Shevchenko, the two national bards of Scotland and Ukraine.

In 1997 Robin Cohen published the first edition of his seminal work *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. This was to be the heuristic device that would allow me to gather and summarise my findings. Cohen's is a classic text. Having conducted extensive research of the Afro-Caribbean, British, Chinese, Lebanese and Sikh dispersed communities he added three variables to Safran's typology. The compilation of these nine criteria finally provided the framework for comparative analysis of the first and second generational cohorts of Scotland's Ukrainians. I revisit these variables with detailed responses in my penultimate chapter. For the moment the criteria are as follows.

1. *Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically*
2. *Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions*
3. *A collective memory and myth about the homeland*
4. *An idealization of the supposed ancestral home*
5. *A return movement*
6. *A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over time*
7. *A troubled relationship with host societies*
8. *A sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other societies*
9. *The possibility of a distinctive creative enriching life in tolerant host countries.*

(Cohen, 1997, p.180)

In 1998 Floya Anthias added her *Evaluating Diaspora beyond Ethnicity*, stating that 'the term now constitutes a kind of mantra...over-used but under theorised' (1998, p.557). For her, Cohen's origin or intentionality of the dispersal does not go far enough. She observed ... 'the concept of diaspora, whilst focusing on transnational processes and commonalities, does so by deploying a notion of ethnicity which privileges the point of 'origin' in constructing identity and solidarity. Ukrainian identity may be a visible construct, but it can also be far removed from Ukrainian solidarity. In the case of Scotland's imagined community, while some (G1) members exercised a visible, patriotic loyalty to their Ukrainian homelands, others were reticent to expand on their 'point of origin' and seemed firmly set upon the path of integration.

For Anthias the diaspora debate ‘... fails to examine trans-ethnic commonalities and relations and does not adequately pay attention to differences of gender and class’ She differentiates between diaspora as a *community* and diaspora as a *condition*. She adds ‘there is no attendance to *intersectionality*, that is to issues of class, gender and trans-ethnic alliances’ (1998, pp.557-558). Her comments on *class* and *gender* are expanded later within empirical chapter six when exploring the impact and influence of the [Organisation of Ukrainian Women \(OUZh\)](#) (*Orhanizatsiia ukrains’kykh zhinok* -Організація Українських Жінок.)

Anthias’s referral to concepts of *gender* and *class* are especially important. I argue that the dozen or so *visible* Ukrainian communities in Scotland would never have survived without the efforts of their female members. In the embryonic days of the settlement process the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) fully appreciated the importance of the gender issue and formally created the (OUZh)- a continuity of the organisation which first took hold in the Displaced Persons Camps of Austria and Germany. The inaugural power and influence of this organisation is well charted in Isayiw *et al’s The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War 2* (pp.201-223) *The Women’s movement in the Displaced Persons Camps*. The chapter’s author, Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, summarises the female role succinctly ...Females ... ‘combined the useful with the patriotic ... especially in the preservation of the aesthetic authenticity of the folk arts. More than ever, wives and mothers were considered as ... the keeper of morality, the saviour of children, and the transmitter of national values (p.214).

The need to be mindful of the concept of *class* became apparent when I began to trace the personal histories of (G1) individuals like the late Dr. Myron Lyatyshevsky, a Polish Armed Forces (PAF) officer whose professional qualifications were earned in the homeland before WW2. Lyatyshevsky belonged to what John Armstrong describes as the *mobilized élite*. This élite did not consist of large numbers. The *imagined* community lacked the comprehensive presence of a variety of types of professionals. However, it benefitted from the energies of a succession of patriotic priests, whose missionary zeal proved vital in maintaining the cultural and religious cohesion of the communities.

As part of Robin Cohen's *Global Diasporas*, Canadian-Ukrainian sociologist Victor Satzewich completed *The Ukrainian Diaspora* in 2002. Funded by the Social Sciences Research Council of Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage, this is a first-class historiography of the four waves of Ukrainian emigration. Satzewich¹⁴ was interviewed for this study via *Skype* in the spring of 2017. I consider his treatise to be a seminal contribution to sociological research within Ukrainian Studies. His theoretical chapter not only outlines conceptual issues that are common to globally dispersed Ukrainian diasporas but calls for further research into the *differences* between these established communities. His point, that each Ukrainian community is distinctive, inspired this study and my firm conviction that the Ukrainian *diaspora* in Scotland is unique.

My interest is not confined to emphasising the *visible* community's uniqueness but also stems from adopting a 'warts and all' approach. Satzewich acknowledges the reality that 'diasporas, like communities, often (and perhaps usually) contain social divisions, conflicts and differences.' He argues that trajectories of social mobility for various generations of a diaspora can vary considerably. This is a view subscribed to in this dissertation. He, like Anthias, adds the complex issues of class diversity and gender issues to the discourse ...

Furthermore, men and women in diaspora communities may have different understandings of settlement, accommodation and the relationship to the homeland, and may differ in the roles they play in sustaining a diaspora consciousness and communities (2002, p.17)

Satzewich's frank reservations concerning unresolved aggressions that exist in many Ukrainian communities is to be commended. He talks of 'conflict, struggle and hostility between Ukrainians of different political persuasions, religious affiliations, classes and waves of immigration'. While writing about his North American (U.S.A. & Canada) contingents of Ukrainians, he identifies many issues which have parallels with Ukrainian *imagined* communities who have settled across the United Kingdom. He observes that Ukrainian diasporic communities are not homogenous, and that in-group solidarity is often superficial. Political, economic and ideological diversity frequently cloud appearances of unity. '*Put simply, it is*

¹⁴ Victor Satzewich is Professor in the Department of Sociology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

not clear whether there is a Ukrainian diaspora, or whether there are many Ukrainian diasporas' (2002, p.218).

The group boundaries of Scotland's Ukrainians contained conflicts such as the ongoing rivalries between groups of nationalists, OUN(B) vs OUN(M), or those who supported the papal authorities in Rome and their resistance to the nationalists who were determined to establish a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate in the diaspora. There are other differences-e.g., the political world view of third wave exiles compared to the economic priorities of fourth wave, post-independence transnationals. These issues are expanded upon in chapter six. Satzewich has contributed a valuable historiography of the four migratory waves. His systematic templating of each of these waves against critical events in Ukraine's history, provides a comprehensive overview of the internal disputes that have dogged Ukrainian diasporic politics since the Ukrainian Revolution 1917-22.

In 2003 Gabriel Sheffer re-entered the debate with his *Diaspora Politics: at Home Abroad*. For him ... 'the ethno-national diaspora is a social-political formation' maintaining regular contact with the homelands and other like communities in host countries. His observations apply directly to globally dispersed diasporic communities where the Ukrainian diaspora is no exception. His treatise focuses on the complex relationships of international actors within the triadic nexus of diaspora, host country and homeland (2003, p. 10). His phrase 'at home abroad' underpins Cohen's 'myth of return, emphasising the socio-psychological ties of the 'core' *diasporan*¹⁵ whose thoughts are never far from the homeland. Sheffer adds helpful terminology to the discourse by categorising different personae within dispersed communities. He identifies four types of *diasporan* - 'core' members, 'members by choice', 'marginal' and 'dormant' members.

'Core members' are those 'born into the ethnic nation, who avidly maintain their identity who openly identify as members of their diasporic entity, who are ready to act on behalf of their community and homeland, and who are recognised by the community itself and by its hosts. (2003, p.100)

¹⁵ *Diasporan*- Sheffer's term for a member of a diaspora.

By employing Sheffer's categories, all the first generation (G1) respondents interviewed for this case study qualify as *core members*, in that they were born in ethnic Ukrainian territories, persistently define themselves as Ukrainian, openly display their patriotic loyalties to their homeland, and play a visible role as such. However, my search for first settler *core* respondents has come later rather than sooner, as the ravages of time have taken many into eternity. Added to this is the unfathomable number of first settlers who, if not dormant or marginal, have chosen to become very low profile, and in some cases, 'invisible'. [See the story of Andrew Krawchynski].

Scotland's second-generation Ukrainians (G2), here identified as the *bridging cohort*, consists mainly of respondents who equate to Sheffer's *members by choice*. These individuals, the progeny of first settlers, choose to remain connected with some organisations and associations founded by their first-settler parents, and are keen to remain identified as 'Ukrainian', even though the majority hail from mixed marriages. Many of these second generation (G2) respondents remain loyal to the cause of supporting homeland links, freely acknowledge their *imagined* community whilst fully participating in the life of the proactively *visible* communities of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) Glasgow and Edinburgh branches. Both generational cohorts (G1&G2) contain Sheffer's 'marginal members' who maintain their ethnic communal identity but do not *publicly* identify as such by deliberately distancing themselves from community events.

Finally, *dormant members* are those whom Sheffer notes as assimilated or fully integrated yet know or feel that their roots are in the diasporic group (2003, p.100). He maintains that such members can be recruited to reconnect with the *visible* community given certain circumstances. However, I wish to propose a fifth term of my own, that of *indifferent members*. I know of some individuals in Scotland who claim to be 'Ukrainian', or have Ukrainian heritage, but choose to have nothing to do with the *visible* community. When approached with my invitation to be interviewed they 'were not interested'. These individuals live beyond neutrality, showing no interest, concern or feeling towards either the *imagined* or the *visible* Ukrainian community. For such individuals the fate of the Scotland's Ukrainian communities seems of no consequence or importance.

A study of this attitude is explored in Tara Zahra's article *Imagined Non-communities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis* (Spring 2010). She attempts to define indifference while acknowledging that this phenomenon can apply to many kinds of behaviour and people over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ... 'The forms of national indifference have changed radically over time, shifting with the boundaries of states and the political, social, and legal structures in which people lived' (p.98). For Scotland's (G1) *visible* Ukrainian community national indifference [*natsional'na baiduzhist'*/національна байдужість] was regarded negatively. I later revisit this phenomenon when, for some individuals, indifference appears to have been a reaction to the activities of political zealots.

In 2005 Rogers Brubaker entered the debate with his "*The 'diaspora' diaspora*". Brubaker analysed three constitutive elements of the concept of *diaspora* in the 'semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space' (2005, p.1), reviewing the work of Armstrong (1976), Sheffer (1986, Sheffer, 2003), Safran (1991), Clifford (1994), and Cohen (1999). He had not intended to '[d]eflate diaspora, but rather to de-substantialize it, by treating it as a category of practice, project, claim and stance, rather than as a bounded group' (2005, p.13). In 2017 Brubaker returned with *Revisiting "the 'diaspora' diaspora"*. His paper was highly critical of 'the proliferating uses of diaspora and the attendant blurring of its meaning' (2017, p.1556).

The debate and the blurring continue at length. My most recent migration readings stem from the *Ethnic and Racial Studies* journal and Steven Vertovec (2017, pp.1574-1581). I have employed his triadic paradigm of three core constituents in diasporic research -*dispersion*, *homeland orientation* and *boundary-maintenance*. Within these specific locations I can explore the 'categories of practice' as highlighted by such distinguished academics as Brubaker, Hall, and Gilroy.

While this nexus represents firm locations [which are reflected upon throughout all my conversations with the respondents of both cohorts] it should not be interpreted simplistically.

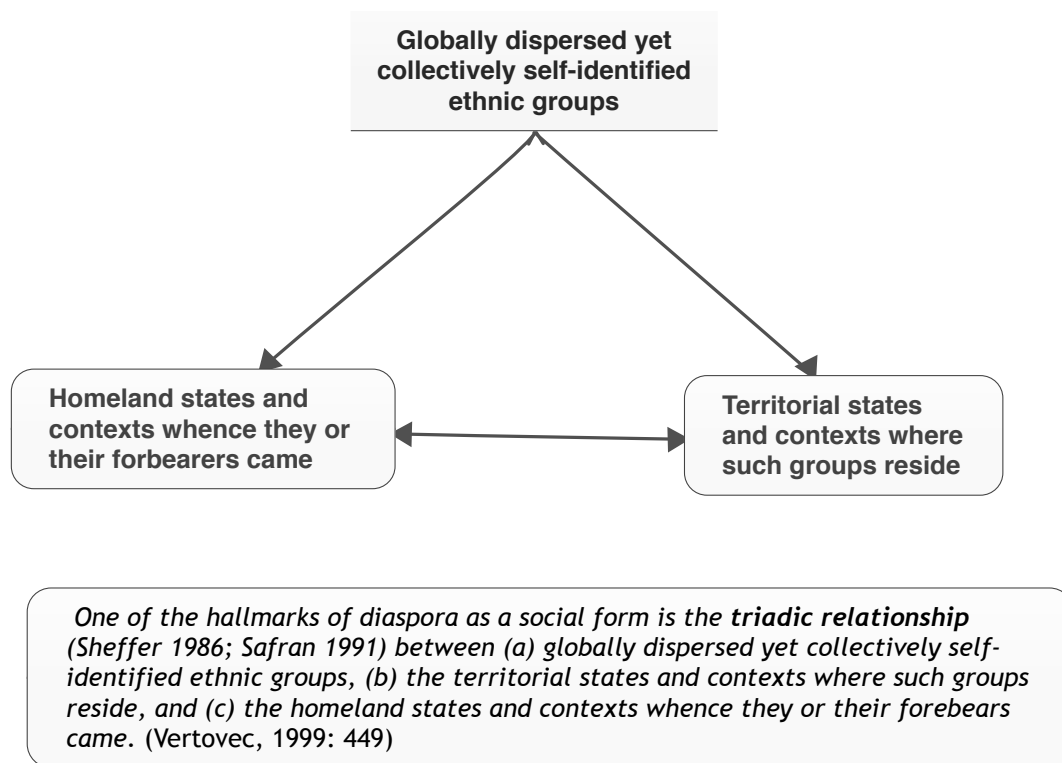


Figure 2-3- Vertovec's triadic relationship of diaspora as a social form

Vertovec cautions researchers to be mindful of the limiting pitfalls of simplistic understandings where ... 'in practically any field of study, public debate or policy, simplistic explanations are characterized by rudimentary categories, single causalities, and linear trajectories'. In comparison ... 'complex explanations utilize multiple and intersecting categories, compound causalities and non- linear trajectories' (ibid., p.1579). These statements alone emphasise the intricacies of my interdisciplinary enquiry.

2.2.4 The consolidation phase

In a break with the classic typologies, by 2012 social and cultural anthropologists like Anna Harutyunyan, in her article *Challenging the Theory of Diaspora from the Field*, argued for continual refining and reworking of the understanding of today's diasporas' (Harutyunyan, 2012). Her article emphasises the powerful contribution of narrative as a research tool. Her commentary prompted me to interview as many respondents as possible within my dissertational timeframe. There are correlations between her approach and those

of Sandra Kim's *Redefining Diaspora through a Phenomenology of Postmemory* (2007) and Marianne Hirsch's *The Generation of Postmemory* (2008). After reading Hirsch I became intrigued in her promotion of the phenomenology of *memory* in creating and sustaining links between the generational cohorts of a diaspora. I return to her concept of *postmemory* in my concluding chapter when summarising the political activities of the second generational (G2) *bridging cohort*. Hirsch not only highlights 'the space of cultural identities' but sees 'the emotional places in the memories of community members' as major contributions to classical diaspora theory' (2012, p.12).

I conclude this section with Claire Alexander's reminder that diaspora is ... 'inherently dispersed, heterogenous and fragmented, with uncertain contours and incommensurable meanings' (2017 p.1544). This much-abbreviated journey through the conceptual development of the term [*diaspora*] repeatedly led my enquiry full circle, back to Cohen's seminal text *Global Diasporas* (2008). As a mark of admiration and respect for his work, going forward I have employed some of his taxonomies as my forensic templates.

2.3 Identity maintenance

The second important context I explore is that of social identity theory. In sociology this concerns the way that individuals see themselves in relation to the group which they are a part of. In his fourth edition of Richard Jenkins' *Social Identity* (2014), he offers a framework which places the individual within three compartmental *orders*... 'The *individual order* ... the human world as made up of embodied individuals, and what-goes-on-in -their-heads; the *interaction order* ... the human world as constituted in relationships between individuals, in -what-goes-on-between-people and the *institutional order* ... the human world of pattern and organisation, of established- ways -of- doing- things. He emphasises that the three *orders* are 'simultaneous and occupy the same space inter-subjectively and physically' and goes on to confirm that it is 'almost impossible to talk about one without implying the others' (2014, pp.42-43).

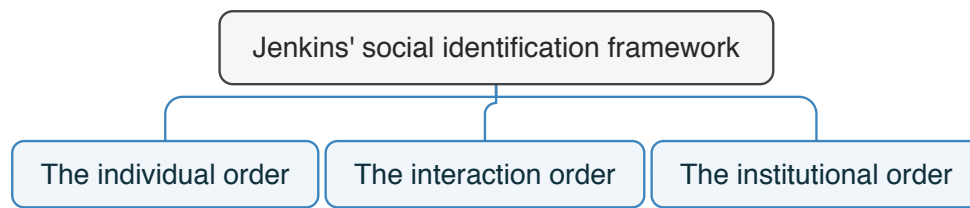


Figure 2-4-Jenkins' social identification framework

2.3.1 The individual order

Jenkins' *individual* order concerns our personal identity, that which makes us unique as individuals and different from others. It is a concept much-researched within the social sciences and has been discussed from time immemorial by major writers and philosophers. Metaphoric lines from Shakespeare (1623)¹⁶, provide us with an initial imagery.

*'All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages.'*

Kathleen Woodward, in 'Questioning Identity: Gender, Class and Ethnicity' (2000, p.8), begins her discourse with the most fundamental question an individual can ask oneself... "Who am I? Metaphysical poets like Tennyson offer us a starter...

I am a part of all that I have met.
Yet all experience is an arch wherethrough
Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.
Ulysses (1833, lines 18-21)

¹⁶ As You Like It, Act II, Scene VII- written in 1599 and first published in the First Folio in 1623

2.3.2 The interaction order

Studies of social identity frequently take the reader to modern *dramaturgical analysis*, as found in the works of Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929), George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) and Erving Goffman (1922-1982). Mead argues that we develop a sense of self because we can see ourselves as if looking inward. Both Cooley and Mead argue that the sense of self is developed by interaction with others. There can be no 'I' without 'You'. Cooley employs '*the looking glass self*'- 'each to each a looking glass, reflects the other that doth pass' (Cooley, 1902). His looking glass has three interactional elements. Firstly, we imagine how we appear to another individual. Secondly, we imagine how that person judges our appearance. Finally, we develop a feeling about that perceived judgement.

My preferred study within social psychology is Erving Goffman's treatise '*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*', a product of his dissertation conducted in the Shetland Islands (Dec 1949-May 1951), where he wrote:

'I shall consider the way in which the individual in ordinary work situations presents himself and his activities to others, the ways in which he guides and controls the impression they form of him, and the kinds of things he may or may not do while sustaining performance before them. (1959: Preface)

Goffman the sociologist, echoing Shakespeare the philosopher and playwright, posits that an individual presents his or her identity as a series of performances, and that society at large is the audience. As part of his childhood memories of the early Ukrainian community of Glasgow in the 1950s, one respondent had this to say...

There were regular Ukrainian services in a convent in Garnethill, Glasgow. I remember these as very long afternoons spent listening to people speak and pray. I became adept at counting plaster mouldings on the ceiling. The services had a serious, sombre feeling about them; an opportunity to show the rest of the community how pious you were. (G2/N46).

The downside of our dramatic activities are the instances where our 'performance' simultaneously gives off unintentional signals emanating from our deep unconscious.

[For explanations of this one can refer to Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theories of the repressed feelings and desires of childhood].

Mead's theories adhere to the *interactional order* and are based on the premise that individual identity is only formed in interaction with others. Mead's *symbolisms* are twofold. They are firstly the tangible, formative images and artefacts that surround our everyday lives. His second classification encapsulates the commemorative, memorable events that we attend, or that impact on our lives. Symbolic interactionists argue that, while a person may still possess his or her own individuality, that person cannot remain completely distinct from society- a society which is consciously and subconsciously shaping our identities¹⁷. The Islamic crescent, the Christian crucifix, national flags, and all forms of heraldry, from the clan badge to the football strip, are all deeply symbolic artefacts which have the potential to impact on us and define 'who we are'.

The households of Scotland's first-generation Ukrainian communities, like the dwellings of many immigrants, contained artefacts (e.g., richly embroidered towels and ikons) that reminded them of 'home'. The influence of symbolic artefacts pertaining to the religious, cultural, and political spheres of Ukrainian first settler life is illustrated throughout this thesis where I have chosen the historic photographs for their background context as much as for the persons present in the foreground.

2.3.3 The institutional order/ national Identity

Cooley, Mead, Blumer and Goffman were the early proponents of *symbolic interactionism*- the theory which supports elements of the *interaction order* and how people communicate with each other, while sharing the meanings of the *symbols* that help them to understand society.

As well as choosing 'the parts we play' we must also consider behaviour where our personal identity is chosen for us by *interpellation*. The French Marxist Louis Althusser (1971) argued ... 'when people are recruited into identity

¹⁷ For a thorough exploration of Mead's theories see 'STRYKER, S. 2008. From Mead to a Structural Symbolic Interactionism and Beyond. *Annual Review of Sociology* 34, 35-41.

positions, they are interpellated or hailed'. Sociologically *interpellation* explains interaction with significant others, influential groups and being recruited to organizations and institutions. Kathleen Woodward, in her article *Reminiscence, Identity, Sentimentality*, describes interpellation as a process whereby people recognize themselves in a particular identity and think 'that's me' (2000, p.19). In my empirical chapters, my first settler (G1) respondents expand on 'all that they have met', providing me with aspects of their life stories and experiences which I define as their interpellation. Further components of identity maintenance involve the registration of immigrants and the issue of work permits, passports and other constituent documents which formally recognise or ignore identity and nationality. These are examined in chapters five and six.

2.4 Nationalist ideologies

'Political nationalism is a highly complex phenomenon, being characterized more by ambiguity and contradictions than by a single set of values and goals' (Heywood, 2014, p.181)

At this point I return to the work of Benedict Anderson. Readings of his work have proved more than auxiliary to my understanding the cultural roots of national consciousness and nationalism. He offers a definition of the nation as ... 'an imagined political community- imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

The nation is limited Because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries beyond which lie other nations.... Sovereign because ... the concept was born in an age when Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm (2006, p.6-7)

Anderson once replied to his studies of nationalism with the comment "I must be the only one writing about nationalism who does not think it ugly" (Özkirimli, 2017, p.116). He was wrong. As expected, there are sympathetic voices. This became apparent when turning to major readings of nationalist ideologies.

In his third edition of *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, (2017) Umut Özkirimli's review highlights the extent to which academics disagree on the dates when nations began to emerge and how they emerged. He categorizes

academics into widely accepted groupings and presents each school's leading proponents- *primordialists* such as Clifford Geertz (Geertz, 1973) and Edward Shils (1957), *sociobiologists* such as Pierre van den Berghe (1981), *perennialists* like Adrian Hastings(1997), *modernists* like Tom Nairn (1981) and Michael Hechter (1975). A broad sweep across the works of [non-Soviet] historians such as those of Polonska-Vasylenko (1995), Anna Reid (1997), Andrew Wilson (2000), Serhiy Yekelchuk (2007) Paul Robert Magocsi (2010), Serhii Plokhy (2015) and Anne Applebaum (2017) confirms the differing 'interpretations' of national consciousness and approaches to defining nationalism.

As a precursor to understanding the political worldview of my first settler respondents I chose to reflect on five aspects of nationalism-modernist interpretations, ethno-symbolism, banal nationalism, integral nationalism and Ukrainian nationalism. These aspects provided my journey through the study of nationalism with a positive, paradigmatic pathway through what is an abundance, more often a plethora, of negatively hostile writing. There is little space within this discourse to elaborate on many of the historic key figures¹⁸ who have influenced the political ideologies of nationalism. In the spirit of bricolage, my study is confined to selected paradigms from the works of macro-theoreticians who are popularly cited in debates surrounding nationalism.

The basic tenet of nationalism is that the 'nation' must take ownership of its central doctrines and sources of political government. A 'bedrock definition' of what constitutes a nation includes its visible cultural entities, its people sharing common values, traditions, language, religion and history. The members of such a nation usually, but not always, occupy the same geographical territory.

I first looked to the work of *modernist* Miroslav Hroch (1993, pp 6-7), who argues that nationalism in its strictest sense is only one of a number of interpretations of national consciousness. Hroch is keen to point out that not all patriots in the national movements of Central and Eastern Europe could be classed

¹⁸ Andrew Heywood (2014, pp.190-191) recommends essential readings to include the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1812-78), often referred to as the architect of political nationalism, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) the 'father of cultural nationalism', Guiseppe Mazzini's form of liberal nationalism (1805-72), Woodrow Wilson's 'general association of nations' (1856-1924), Charles Maurras (1868-1952), adherent of right-wing 'integral nationalism', Mohandas Ghandi's (1869-1948) non-violent resistance 'satyagraha', Marcus Garvey's (1887-1940) black nationalism, and Franz Fanon's (1925-1961) anti-colonialism.

as nationalists and that nationalism was only one of the many manifestations of national consciousness to emerge in the course of what he calls the ‘fermentation-process’. He also recommends comparative research into ‘the social physiognomy of the leading patriots-above all the national intelligentsias in the region’ (1993, p.13) and points to unexploited opportunities for...’ interpretation of national stereotypes, of the political culture and social sentiments of the patriots’. [I later devote my second empirical chapter to first settler (G1) élite events of cultural and political reproduction].

Hroch’s ‘fermentation process’ provides a structural timeline. He (1993) offers a typology of three phases between the start of national movements and their arrival at fully fledged nationhood. He titles them simply A, B and C. Phase A- ‘where activists commit themselves to scholarly enquiry into the linguistic, historical and cultural attributes of their ethnic group’¹⁹. Phase B - ‘A new cohort of activists appear who are intent on winning over as many of their ethnic group as possible with the aim of creating a nation’. Phase C - ‘a mass movement is formed to compete in the struggles for Independence’.

While Hroch’s three phases offer a useful historical compartmentalisation, he underlines the fact that these three phases do not occur ‘at a stroke’. ‘Between the manifestations of scholarly interest, on the one hand, and the mass diffusion of patriotic attitudes, on the other, there lies an epoch characterized by patriotic agitation: the fermentation-process of national consciousness’ (1985, p.23).

He identifies three main groups of demands (p.6) which nation -builders strive to realise; (1) the development of a national culture based on the local language, and its normal use in education, administration and economic life; (2) the achievement of civil rights and political self-administration, initially in the form of autonomy and, ultimately (usually quite late as an express demand) of independence; and (3) the creation of a complete social structure from out of the ethnic group, including educated élites, an officialdom and an entrepreneurial class, but also, where necessary, free peasant and organized workers. The relative priority and timing of these three sets of demands varied in each case. But the

trajectory of any national movement was only consumed when all were fulfilled.
(Hroch, 1993 p.6)

Hroch's work is difficult to place within a category. Özkirimli writes that Hroch includes ... "primordial factors, ethnic factors...as well as the use of symbols as one of the instruments of reinforcing national identity and nationalism" (p.129).

What became apparent during my earliest conversations, especially with the octogenarian and nonagenarian (G1) respondents, were their personal leanings towards *primordial* interpretations of national consciousness and nationalism. Özkirimli concludes that modernists ...try to draw to sharp a line between modern nationalism and pre-modern sentiments and discourses' (p.135). My understanding of Ukrainian history renders me unable to concur *in toto* with modernist 'sharp lines'.

From readings of *modernism*, I rekindled my interest in the *ethnosymbolist* school of thought, and the views of Anthony D. Smith. While I can see the modernist sharp lines highlighted by Hroch, I cannot ignore how Smith ascribes the continuities of national identity to myths of ethnic descent, strong affiliation with collective memory, shared values, traditions, and symbols. Smith's defence of ethnosymbolism does not attribute the rise of nationalism solely to modern social changes.

He is a proponent of the *longue durée*, the long-term approach in determining collective cultural identity. Siniša Malešević too, speaking of 'ideological penetration', argues that ... 'to fully comprehend how popular belief systems and practices change over long stretches of time, it is important to recognise this as a gradual process' (2018, p.295). In his article entitled *Nationalism and the longue durée* he explores how premodern beliefs have changed over time, have become refined and finally incorporated into modern nationalist narratives. Who then are the pivotal catalysts?

Smith places intellectuals as central to the ethnosymbolist concept. He sees poets, literati, and historians as some of the key motivators. Athena Leoussi (2007) calls these individuals 'chroniclers' of the ethnic past, then adds her own category of intellectuals as 'conveyors' of ideas. Here she includes painters, musicians, sculptors, photographers, novelists, and the like.

Smith's 'intellectuals' are not confined to the lofty realms of philosophy or super intelligence but belong to a social category defined by him as *professionals-*

people who have been exposed to various forms of superior education. Leoussi adds support to this view ... 'it is not strictly a class but rather a social category, since in theory individuals from all classes can belong to it. They have not merely the will and inclination, but also the power and capacity to apply and disseminate the ideas produced by the intellectuals' (p.22).

I find her interpretation not only refreshing, but relevant to my research. I grew up in an *imagined* community where Leoussi would observe that the nationalists were literate, but sometimes only just. As she declares 'What matters is their capacity to express and combine a credible national identity. This includes an ability, not simply to speak the language of their core constituencies, but to re-interpret and re-live their ancestral myths' (p.22).

I return to this theme in my chapter on political and cultural reproduction where I note that the general level of [Western Ukrainian] first-settler formal education was professionally low due to the suppression of their cultural liberties within the Polish Second Republic. This coupled with the myriad of disruptions of WW2. I must stress that this basic level of education was in no way representative of the mental energies and agility of these migrants. The cultural and political competence of first settlers is demonstrated by their successful creation of post-WW2 *visible* communities and institutions, not only in the camps and hostels, but immediately on release from their European Voluntary Workers' terms and conditions of employment.

Adding to my appreciation of *ethnosymbolist* interpretation, an important element throughout my travels became a growing awareness of the central concept of Michael Billig's *Banal Nationalism*. He notes that we are surrounded by symbols and artefacts of nationhood, which form the background spaces to our lives, persistently 'flagging' and reminding us of our national consciousness.

Social psychologist Billig himself says ...

In so many little ways, the citizenry is daily reminded of their national place in a world of nations. However, this reminding is so familiar, so continual, that it is not consciously registered as reminding. The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building (2019, p.6).

I became increasingly aware of Billig's *flagging*, especially when visiting homes to conduct interviews with (G1) respondents. Numerous cultural artefacts therein

displayed national symbols of Ukraine-the *trident* [*tryzub*/тризуб] and numerous artefacts representing Ukrainian folk art. Such symbolism is also to be found in many of the historic photographs included in this dissertation. E.g., the quiet presence of symbols and images of heroic figures from Ukrainian history is exemplified in the photo below, showing the Ukrainian Christmas celebrations in Brahan Camp, Ross-shire, 1949.



Figure 2-5 Brahan Camp, Dingwall, Ukrainian Christmas, January 1948

This photo exemplifies Billig's 'flagging'. In the background behind the male choir is a heraldic poster with the Ukrainian national symbol, the trident in the centrepiece. On the wall to the left is a portrait of Colonel Yevhen Konovalets (Євген Коновалець) (1891-1938) a military commander of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) army and later political leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists between 1929 and 1938²⁰.

²⁰ In his ten years of leading the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) Konovalets promoted Ukrainian community organizations in France, Germany and Austria and tried to alert the League of Nations to the Ukrainian national struggle. His attempts to create and motivate an underground nationalist movement stretching from Polish-dominated Western Ukraine into Soviet Ukraine, led to his assassination by a Bolshevik agent in Rotterdam in 1938.

A common practice I encountered during my tour of interviewing in Ukrainian homes and cultural centres was the displaying of portraits of heroic figures from the military past. Yet, the most commonly found portrait was not a military personality but that of a *littérateur*, Taras Shevchenko, the national bard of Ukraine and the personification of the old saying ... ‘the pen is mightier than the sword’ (Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 1839). Throughout the remainder of my dissertation, I elaborate further on aspects of *banal* nationalism.

2.4.1 Ukrainian nationalism

In theoretical terms Ukrainian nationalism is frequently defined as *integral nationalism*, a term attributed to Charles Maurras (1868-1952) for whom ... ‘a true nationalist places his country above everything’.

“Integral nationalism is deeply hostile to the internationalism of humanitarians and liberals. It made the nation not a means to humanity but an end in itself. It put national interests above those of the individual and those of humanity, refusing cooperation within other nations”
Özkirimli (p.35)

Özkirimli links numerous negatives to this form of nationalism -illiberal, tyrannical, intolerant, and warlike. Most academics within the field of Ukrainian Studies equate *integral* nationalism with the creation of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN/OYH). The complex historical dynamics of this organisation’s conception frequently gives rise to polarised views, commonly reverting to the ‘heroes or villains’, ‘freedom fighters or terrorists’ debate. [The comments of six of my first settler respondents were supportive of nationalist causes, 4 x OUN(B), 2 x OUN(M), placing these causes firmly in the heroes’/freedom fighters’ camp²¹].

Many efforts have been made to analyse the nature of nationalism and to determine the sources of its vitality. None have been entirely successful, for, like all dynamic movements which spread far beyond their original habitats, nationalism has been coloured and

²¹ I here add that I did encounter one married octogenarian couple who belonged to opposing factions-however in their old age what would in earlier days have been their political venom seemed to have metamorphosed into good humoured banter].

transmuted by the varied milieus in which it has become established. (Armstrong, 1990, p.2)

Ukrainian-ness, Ukrainian patriotism, Ukrainian nationalism or just being 'Ukrainian', takes many forms, ranging across a wide spectrum of cultural, religious, and political identification. It comes as no surprise to discover from interviewing the surviving first-generation (G1) respondents, that the public, collective life of the early Ukrainian community reflected this spectrum. My findings have revealed that the vibrancy of this community was communicated and steered by a small nucleus of ardent Ukrainian nationalists whose cultural and political activities were transported mostly from Polish Galicia and less so from inter war Soviet Ukraine.

The revolutions of 1917-21 had ended the short-lived independence of Ukraine, giving rise to metamorphosed expressions of Ukrainian nationalism in both the Polish state and the Soviet Union. In the decades following WW1, Ukrainian nationalist violence became a feature of the Eastern Galician province of Inter-War Poland (Motyl, 1985).

In 1929²², because of a congress of Ukrainian exiles in Vienna, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was established. What kind of nationalists were they? The Politburo of the then USSR identified these Ukrainians as 'bourgeois nationalists' - a term commonly used by Russia to smear any nationalist group opposed to Russian centralism.

These nationalists set out to popularise an ideology which reflected their support for perennialist interpretations of the Ukrainian *longue durée*. Their favoured historian is Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934), whose multi-volume history of Ukraine belongs firmly in the primordialist camp. While many contemporary critics dismiss the primordialist emphasis on the deep cultural and historical roots of national consciousness and nationalism, there are those who write of the theory in a positive manner. For a debate on primordialism in studies of nationalism I refer to John Coakley (2017) who proposes that ...primordialism may be better viewed as an ingredient in nationalism than as an explanation of nationalism. I return to this debate in my empirical chapters.

²² See Petro Mirchuk's *Outlines of the History of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists Tome 1* (Narys Istorii OUN, Pershiy Tom /Напис Історії ОУН 1-ий Том (1920-1939)

The inter war period bore witness to acts of revolutionary action designed to reciprocally counteract ruthless, colonial subjugation by both the Polish Second Republic and Soviet Russia. For the nationalists of that time, furthering the Ukrainian cause through evolutionary methods of political action was a non-starter. Ukrainian integral nationalism is accused of being totalitarian in that it demands unfailing fealty to its ideological disciplinarity and organisational codes.

Nationalist ideologies do not lack terminology or definitions- *primordialism*, *perennialism*, *modernism*, *ethnosymbolism* etc and a whole host of ‘modern approaches.’ As a precursor to understanding the political fervour exhibited by the older respondents, research turned to academics whose studies link specifically to aspects of Ukrainian nationalism²³. For the brief purposes of this thesis, and once more in the spirit of *bricolage*, focus fell on the writings of five macro-theorists, Petro Mirchuk (1968), Alexander J. Motyl (1985), John Armstrong (1990), Taras Kuzio (2002) and Myroslav Shkandrij (2015).

Shkandrij comments that following WW2 “there was not one Ukrainian nationalism, but many, all of which were clashing over a great many things”. Each westward bound immigrant *fragment* arrived with a different baggage of pre-migration experiences. Steven Vertovec notes the same ...

Awkward encounters or serious intra-diaspora conflicts tend to arise as new waves of migrants meet people of previous waves who preserve bygone traditions or who left with greatly differing political views and circumstances (2005, p.4).

To understand the ‘clashings’ of different Ukrainian nationalist factions²⁴ it is *de rigueur* to read the contribution of John A. Armstrong (1922-2010). In the embryonic days of the Cold War ‘Armstrong’s work was a step into a [then] under-researched scholarly area of Ukrainian history and politics’ ((Kuzio, 2015,p.150). His first edition’s temporal proximity to major players in the struggle cannot be

²⁴ OUN Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists- Організація Українських Націоналістів
 OUN (B) Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, (Banderivtsi /бандерівці) Bandera faction
 OUN (M) Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, (Melnykivtsi /мельниківці) Melnyk Faction
 OUN (Z) Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, (Za kordonom / за кордоном) Abroad

overemphasized. He published the first of his three editions of *Ukrainian Nationalism* only three years after the insurgent struggle in Western Ukraine began to decline with the demise of its Commander-in-Chief, Roman Shukhevych [aka Taras Chuprynka] in 1950.



Figure 2-6-Tryzub painted on the wall of now long deserted barrack in Angus.

No exploration of Ukrainian nationalism can be complete without Armstrong's robust study. His work is valuable because it emanates from numerous interviews with individuals 'fresh from the field' of war and post-WW2 turmoil. He was the first non-Ukrainian academic to take full advantage of his key respondents' assistance in pointing him to valuable "widely scattered and little-known resources' (1954, p.xvii).

Myroslav Shkandriy writes "Although frequently invoked in both political and academic exchanges, Ukrainian nationalism remains a poorly understood concept. The term is often used without contextualization" (2015, p.2). Shkandriy's work focuses refreshingly on *cultural nationalism*, citing examples of Ukrainian democratic and liberationist ideologies of the nineteenth century as an addendum to the chronicling of the authoritarian [Dontsovian] inter-war ideology of the OUN that was founded in Vienna in 1929.

Authoritarian *integral nationalism*, is described by Özkirimli as “deeply hostile to the internationalism of humanitarians and liberals.” He goes so far as to label it as ‘tyrannical’ in that ... ‘It required all citizens to conform to a common standard of manners and morals and to share the same unreasoning enthusiasm for it’ (2017, p.35).

The prime example of this rigid intolerance is the *dekalog ukrains’koho natsionalista* / декалог українського націоналіста, Decalogue of the Ukrainian Nationalist.²⁵

To understand the severity of this decalogue one must consider Shkandrij’s observation of those who judge a political credo ... ‘without contextualization’. Oversimplified summaries and generalizations regarding the pre-immigration experiences and narratives of first generation (G1) Ukrainian refugees are not helpful. Whether they hailed from former Austro-Hungarian lands or the Russian empire, my respondents had experienced the traumatic, often tragic consequences of an aggressive colonialism which would impact forever on their world view, regardless of where they eventually chose to settle.

Scotland’s (G1) Ukrainians had been children and young adults in the inter-war decades and, as stated earlier, brought with them tales of severe and sustained subjugation by Polish and Russian colonists and apparatchiks. Their élite actors brought with them the ideologies of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

The pre-emigration history of this first generation (G1), who hailed mostly from Western Ukraine and Galicia, makes frequent reference to the work of Dmytro

²⁵ I - the spirit of eternal battle, who shielded you from the Tatar flood and placed you between two worlds, to create a new life:

1. You will attain a Ukrainian state or perish fighting for it.
2. You will not allow anyone to tarnish your people’s reputation or honour.
3. Remember the great days of our struggle for liberation.
4. Be proud that you are heir to the fight for the glory of Volodymyr’s Trident.
5. Avenge the death of the Great Knights.
6. Do not discuss this with whomever you can, but only with whom you must.
7. You will not hesitate to complete the most dangerous of acts, if the good of the cause demands it.
8. With hatred and ruthless combat, you will receive the enemies of your nation.
9. Neither pleading nor threats, torture or death will force you to reveal secrets.
10. You will strive to expand the strength, fame, wealth and area of the Ukrainian state.

Donstov. Dontsov propagated his form of *integral nationalism* which appealed to young, radical Galicians in the inter-war period 1921-1939.

Armstrong succinctly describes the five features of Donstov's form of integral nationalism ...

[t]he emphasis on force ... advocacy of terrorism ... stress placed on securing absolute adherence to the 'pure' national language and culture... extreme glorification of "illegality" as such...essential irrationalism of the ideology expressed by fantastic romanticism ... failure of the efforts of the older generation, and its tendency to compromise with the Polish "occupiers," enhanced the natural tendency of integral nationalism to rely on youth and reject the moderation of its elders.(Armstrong, 1990, p.14)

The fifth feature of Donstov's nationalism-the encouragement of youth to 'reject the moderation of its elders' was played out in 1939-the year of the generational split and the 'turn' in the ranks of the organisation. [For those requiring the lead up to the split in the nationalist cause Alexandr Motyl's (1985) *Ukrainian Nationalist Political Violence in Inter-War Poland 1921-1939* offers a detailed exploration of the complex Melnyk/Bandera factional feud]. The rivalry for dominant ownership of the OUN nationalist ideology endured throughout the war years 1939-45, into displaced persons' and prisoner of war camps, 1946-1951, and continued unabated in the early community building activities.

As stated earlier, the first generation (G1) cohort, was an amalgam of four fragments, each having brought with it a unique cultural, historical, and political baggage. Almost half a century later Graham Smith and Peter Jackson (1999), when conducting oral testimonies of settled Ukrainians in Bradford, England, rejected the idea of a unitary Ukrainian community suggesting that ... 'the impression of unity, prior to independence [1991], was a public position policed by the Ukrainians' political and religious leadership and based on the imposition of selective silences and collusions'.

Concurring with Smith and Jackson's observations (1999, p.367) this study reports that in Scotland, although there were no openly Russophile or pro-Soviet groups of Ukrainians, (unlike Canada), there existed competing nationalist ideologies represented by OUN(M) and OUN (B) within the *visible* community, to

the extent that in Edinburgh they eventually purchased two separate ‘club’ buildings. [No.8, Windsor St. and No.14, Royal Terrace]. As to the politically mobilised Ukrainians elsewhere in Great Britain, Roman Petryshyn (1980) recorded the formal existence of 10 Ukrainian political organizations. In his thesis, conducted at the demographic (numerical) peak of the first generation’s population in the UK, Petryshyn concluded that...

Ukrainians have adapted to Britain in a particular political manner as a consequence of their internal colony situation in inter-war Poland, which created the institutions, leaders, attitudes, and ideology that had been transferred to and adapted in Britain’ (1980, p.310).

Acknowledging the in-fighting led to my exploration of the public-facing activities of these two contesting factions of the OUN stem. My sincere thanks go to six of my nonagenarian respondents for gaining access to this knowledge. [The OUN traditionally imposed a culture of sworn secrecy on its members]. I reassured these respondents that any comment made about their political activities would remain unattributed to them.

Despite the ravages of time, of the sixteen (G1) ageing respondents located and interviewed, nine were former members of the Galicia Division. Of these nine, five were lifelong *banderivtsi* /бандерівці members of the OUN(B) [Stepan Bandera faction] and one *melnykivets* /мельниківець supporter of OUN(M) [Andrii Melnyk faction]. All but two have sadly passed away since the outset of this research five years ago. The six *dyviziynyky* /дивізійники (soldiers of the Galicia Division), despite being octogenarian and nonagenarian, displayed a tenacious adherence to their different interpretations of Ukrainian nationalism.

I believe that these older members were anxious to ‘let someone know’ of their ‘achievements’-that the cohesion of the community in Scotland should be attributed to the efforts of the ‘dedicated few’ [nationalists]. Looking back over the decades of Ukrainian collective life in Scotland, an astute observer would recall that it was always the same group of people who were the driving and organising force behind the major political and cultural events. As the 1950s progressed into later decades, and numbers dwindled, both factions of the OUN began to superficially co-operate and co-ordinate their public activities.

Here we return to Donstov's call to 'reject the moderation of your elders!' and to what by happenstance²⁶ became the dominating nationalist faction in the political life of Scotland's Ukrainians- the OUN(b) and Stepan Bandera (1909-1959). Bandera was a mythologised Ukrainian with a 'cult' following, a figure both loved and loathed, as one commonly finds in literature concerning 'freedom struggles.

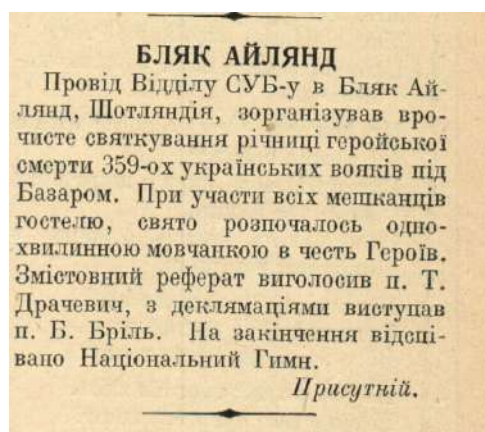
Depending on one's point of view Bandera is either celebrated as a national hero or considered as an outright terrorist. For opposing points of view, I refer readers to two polarised publications: *Stepan Bandera: Documentary Evidence Exhibition Catalogue* (Raldugina, 2009), and *The Life and Afterlife Of a Ukrainian Nationalist* (Rossolinski-Liebe, 2014). For a timeline of his life set against major dates in Ukrainian history see http://www.lucorg.com/block.php/block_id/27 . Domination by the *Banderivtsi* /бандерівці) had begun in the embryonic days of the *imagined* community's arrival into Scotland's workers' camps and hostels. The Bandera faction, as opposed to Melnyk's followers, eventually dominated and steered the process of cultural and political reproduction among Ukrainians settling in Scotland.

In matters of cultural reproduction, I encountered the *primordialism* of Johann Herder (1744-1803), who is attributed with the concept of *cultural nationalism*. He believed that each nation has a *volksgeist* which expresses itself in song, myth and legend which then provide innumerable sources of creativity. It is not difficult to unearth instances where Ukrainian EVWs and POWs displayed some features of Herderian *Volksgeist*. They can be found in numerous editions of the *Ukrains'ka Dumka* newspaper ²⁷(1946-2017). The newspaper was awash with reports of thinly veiled political activities in Scotland's post-WW2 camps and hostels.

²⁶ Both nationalist factions lost many members in Scotland due to the numbers emigrating to Canada and the USA or the factories of middle England. Two of the largest communities were to be found in Manchester and Bradford where chain migration attracted many from the Scottish Displaced Persons Camps to the plentiful work opportunities there.

²⁷ During frequent visits to the Shevchenko archives in London I searched the bound volumes of this newspaper in order to scan the articles which contained information about Ukrainian camp and hostel activities in Scotland. After numerous visits, I had secured scans of hundreds of articles relating to Ukrainian cultural and political activity in Scotland. Many of these articles had been written and submitted by individuals using pseudonyms. Interestingly, many of the earlier articles containing Herderian overtures compiled by authors who would only submit their initials and those initials were mostly fictitious [Field note].

While front page articles of the *Dumka* heralded first settler Ukrainian interpretations of major world events, the internal pages of the newspaper constantly reported on the ‘after-work’ cultural events of the EVWs, their leisure activities, their enjoyment of song, poetry, storytelling, and historico-political lectures called *akademii* [академії]. Cultural activities were frequently accompanied by commemorations of major political and historical events from (non-Soviet) Ukrainian history. For example, here is a cutting from the *Ukrains'ka Dumka* edition of the 12th of December 1948.



Black Island

The head of SUB in Black Island, Scotland organised a commemoration of the heroic death of 359 Ukrainian soldiers at the battle of Bazar. With the participation of all the inhabitants of the hostel the commemoration began with a minutes' silence in honour of the heroes.

An appropriate speech was read by T. Drachevych and poems were recited by Mr. B. Bril. It concluded with the singing of the national anthem. [one who was] Present.

Figure 2-7 Commemoration in Black Island camp

Shkandriy's criticism of those who write about Ukrainian nationalism in inter-war Ukraine 'without contextualization' rings true here. There is no shortage of oversimplified summaries and generalizations regarding nationalist activities. This becomes clear when gathering the pre-immigration narratives of first generation (G1) Ukrainian immigrants. Whether they hailed from former Austro-Hungarian lands or the Russian empire, Ukrainians had experienced the traumatic, often tragic consequences of an aggressive colonialism which would impact forever on their world view - regardless of where they eventually chose to settle.

Scotland's (G1) first settler Ukrainians had been children and young adults in the inter-war decades and, as stated earlier, brought with them narratives of severe and sustained subjugation by Polish and Russian colonists and apparatchiks. Their élite actors brought with them the ideologies of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The term [*ideologies*] is used in the plural as the

OUN, unlike its embryonic, unified structure of the 1930s, brought with it factional in-fighting from WW2 onwards.

For a measured view of Ukrainian nationalism, I am pleased to have read Shkandriy's tome, entitled *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology and Literature 1929-1956*. He tackles the issues of Ukrainian nationalism by focussing on the cultural activities of the inter-war period, very much leaning to the theme of *La plume est plus forte que l'épée*.

His work is divided into three sections-(1) the OUN's rise and what made authoritarian politics so attractive to Ukrainians within the inter war Polish state (2) His scrutiny of the ideological in-fighting within the nationalist ranks and the criticism of Donstov's ideas and (3) His trawling of the nationalists' creative literature which so potently developed the organisation's compelling mythology. He writes ...

Surprisingly little research has been devoted to the OUN's ideologists themselves. Critics who have aimed to demonstrate that elements of fascism, racism or antisemitism existed in the organisation have tended to present impressionistic, often dismissive accounts of these figures. Several important individuals remain completely unstudied and, in some cases, are practically unknown.

Shkandriy identifies seven leading ideologists whose writings steered the organisation's vision [Yevhen Malaniuk, Olena Teliha, Leonid Mosendz, Oleh Olzhych, Yuri Lypa, Ulas Samchuk, and Yuri Klen] and rightly claims that serious research devoted to these writers is lacking in the English language [my underlining]. This he claims has resulted in a significant breach in the interpretation of interwar Ukrainian nationalism.

I leave this section by quoting directly from his research with a summary which aptly describes the motives of my six nationalist respondents ...

They were motivated by the threat to national survival and what they saw as the need for violent struggle. They drew on revanchist sentiments nurtured by defeat in the struggle for independence in the years 1917-1920 and by a sense of their country's unjust treatment at the hands of the Western powers. They praised authoritarian forms of government and sometimes adopted pagan ideals, along with a contempt for weakness and for qualities of tolerance and compassion, which they thought these ideals implied.
(*ibid*, p.9)

In chapter seven I focus on a further aspect of nationalism to which constructivist Benedict Anderson pays specific tribute -the pivotal role played by traditional religion. In this case the role of the UGCC priests whom I have categorised as crucial members of the *mobilized élite*.



Figure 2-8 The entrance gate to Amisfield Park Camp, Haddington, East Lothian, 1949

2.5 Assimilation

This study could not proceed without referencing the major concepts of assimilation. Studies of assimilation provide some of the foremost analytical frames by which to determine the rate of settlement of incoming migrants to the host nation. Early theories of assimilation within the social sciences are attributed

to sociologists based in the University of Chicago at the turn of the century²⁸. Michael Haralambos *et al* define assimilation as involving two processes (1) A process that goes on in society by which individuals spontaneously acquire one another's language, characteristic attitudes, habits and modes of behaviour and (2) A process by which individuals and groups of individuals are taken over and incorporated into larger groups (2013, p.167).

For the purposes of my study, I paid specific attention to aspects of *cultural assimilation* which occurred as the *visible* Ukrainian community adopted, or sometimes rejected, the traditions, customs, and ways of life of their host country. How quickly, if at all, did Scotland's Ukrainians *assimilate*?

My community's adoption of the behaviours, values, ideologies, and practices of 'the Scots' [or the British], is analysed in the empirical chapters by observing and comparing two generational cohorts-the first settlers and their progeny. While debate within migration studies continues over who is first and second born, for my purposes, I define the first generation as foreign born and hailing from ethnic Ukrainian territories. I abbreviate these respondents as (G1). The second generational cohort, abbreviated as (G2), is defined as those individuals naturally born in Scotland, the progeny of parents who were born in ethnic Ukrainian territories. In chapter seven I have named these respondents *the bridging cohort*.

Assimilation is generally measured by examining four salient aspects of an immigrant population- their socioeconomic status, geographic distribution, language attainment and rates of intermarriage. In chapters five and six I explore the social status of each of the four incoming first generation (G1) *fragments*. In chapter seven I focus on the second generational (G2) cohort, looking at the impact of rates of intermarriage of their parents and language attainment of first settler progeny.

It is an oversimplification to imagine that assimilation follows a straight linear process of change over time or that the host country absorbs immigrants

²⁸ The Polish Peasant in Europe and America by Florian Znaniecki (1882-1958) and William I. Thomas (1863-1947), is a classic of sociological study, published in five volumes between 1918 and 1920.

into its ‘melting pot’. The reality is that racial, ethnic, or religious minorities experience *segmented* [interrupted] assimilation as a result of encountering institutional, organisational and interpersonal barriers.

The term *assimilation* is often mistakenly used interchangeably with the expression *acculturation*, assuming they mean the same thing. They do not. Assimilation refers to an immigrant minority adopting the cultural behaviours of the [majority] host nation. Acculturation happens when individuals or groups of the [minority] incoming population retain their cultural attributes but append to their social repertoire certain cultural traits of the host nation. Some sociologists call this process *amalgamation*, others *integration*. Acculturation is here examined regarding both generational cohorts, but more specific attention is paid to the behaviours of the (G2) *bridging cohort* in later chapters.

The rate of assimilation can vary as the result of institutional and interpersonal barriers. Common among these barriers are such behaviours as -host nation racism, reciprocal [host and migrant] ethnocentrism and religious bias. Robert Winder’s *Bloody Foreigners: the story of immigration to Britain* (2004, pp.439-453) details such hostilities in his chapter entitled ‘Fortress Britain’, where he refers to the perennial behaviour of certain politicians colluding in ... ‘what amounts to a sustained , below-the-belt advertising campaign designed to promote feelings of fear and fury’ (ibid.,439) in the host nation. Unlike many other groups seeking asylum in Britain, the Ukrainian first settlers (G1) were deliberately recruited into the United Kingdom by the Labour government of the time, making them legal migrant workers.

For many years social scientists and governments considered the linear models of assimilation to be the ideal. In recent times many now look to integration, not assimilation, as the reality which incorporates immigrants into the host society. Throughout the ensuing chapters I have remained determined, like Satzewich, to portray the realities of Ukrainian settlement in Scotland. From the outset, I agree with Winder when he concludes that ... ‘Immigrants are not all the same. They represent the full spectrum of human types: dreamers and schemers, rascals and rogues, saints, and villains’ (ibid.,450). Thus, the rate of integration into the ‘mainstream’ varies for each individual within the spectrum. Richard Alba (2017) takes the discourse even further forward by introducing debate about what actually constitutes the mainstream. I refer to this again in my summary chapter.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

Sara Gash (2000, p. 330) describes a literature review as ‘a systematic and thorough search of all types of published literature in order to identify as many items as possible that are relevant to a particular topic’. At the outset I imagined a traditional literature review to be a sedentary process. The opposite was closer to reality. Extensive and critical reading of significant concepts may be the norm, but ‘reviewing’ can demand a great deal of physically challenging travel. Train and plane journeys to distant archives and libraries, attendance at conferences, locating and interviewing respondents etc -all contribute to a travel log worthy of a separate story-someday.

Because of the interdisciplinary nature of this research, I sought to explore many academic journals, particularly those digitized journals linked to Ukrainian studies, e.g., *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* ²⁹, *International Migration Review* and *Krytyka*.

Of the 900+ journal articles studied for this review not even half have been cited. Articles often reveal their authors’ positionalities. One recurring disappointment throughout my searches for relevant readings was encountering the plethora of articles of authors who are openly anti-Ukrainian or who thinly disguise their Ukrainophobia. It seems that ‘memory wars’, the mythologizing and counter-demythologising of Russian and Ukrainian interpretations of historiography and nationhood, are to be with us *ad nauseam*, *ad infinitum*.

²⁹ “*Harvard Ukrainian Studies* has long been known as the premier journal of academic research on Ukraine,” said Serhii Plokhii, HURI director. “Digitizing the journal not only demonstrates our leadership in the field of digital humanities, it is an important step in fulfilling the Institute’s mission to advance knowledge of Ukraine worldwide.” In addition to accessing the full text of the journal articles by volume, subscribers will be able to perform advanced searches, follow topics and authors to receive notifications about new material, read articles before they’re available in hard copy, and access supporting media, such as audio interviews and videos.

3.1 Review structure

My review is structured around historiographical literature concerning four classic waves of migration from ethnic Ukrainian homelands.

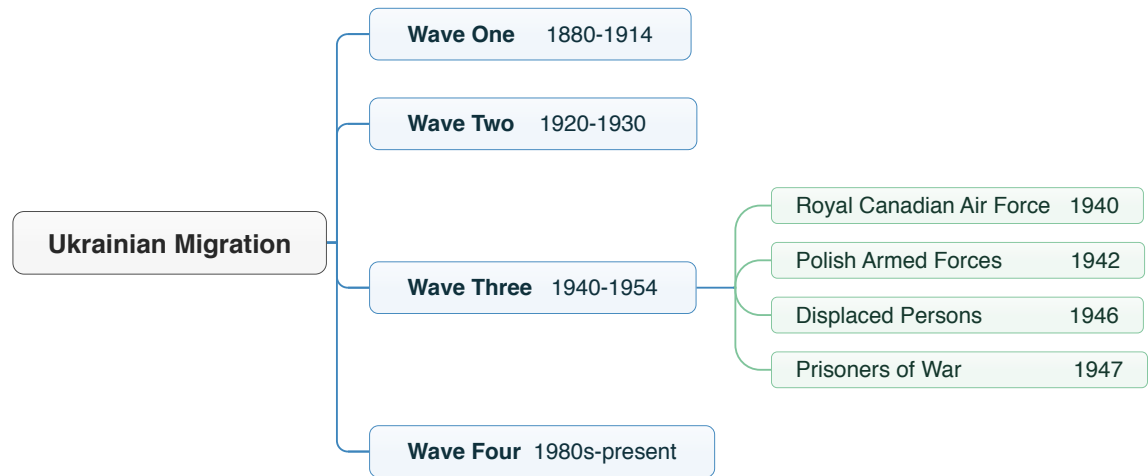


Figure 3-1 Waves of Ukrainian migration

To understand the generational worldview of my research population it was necessary to investigate the major historical events which prompted the migratory waves which impacted on the lives of my respondents' preceding generations- their grandparents [*Wave One*] and parents [*Wave Two*]. Readings are linked to the four sequenced *waves of immigration*, as depicted in Figure 3.1. While literature concerning the first two waves gives the reader important background knowledge, the focus of the review falls on *Wave Three 1940-1954*. This third Wave is comprised of four *Hartzian fragments*³⁰, The Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces (PAF), Displaced Persons (DPs) and former Prisoners of War (POWs).

My dissertation further focuses on the two generational cohorts of *fragment three* (displaced persons) and *fragment four* (prisoners of war). Both these

³⁰ Hartz sees each case of colonisation through settlement as a process of fragmentation, as a separation of a colonial part from the European whole, as an isolation of a specific slice or portion of European society endowed with particular ideological characteristics and tendencies. MCRAE, K. D. 1978. Louis Hartz's Concept of the Fragment Society and its Applications to Canada. *Canadian Studies*, 5, 13, HARTZ, L. E. A. 1964. *The Founding of New Societies : Studies in the history of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia* New York, Harcourt, Brace and World

fragments taken together, I refer to as *generation one* (G1) or Ukrainian *first settlers*. This is the generation of my father and his peers.

From 1946 onwards Scotland's Ukrainians formed a separate community but have been traditionally considered to be part of 'Ukrainians in the United Kingdom'. In Scottish historical literature the Ukrainian *imagined* community is poorly represented. It is not mentioned at all in Tom Devine's chapter on the family of *New Scots* (2012, pp.486-522). In populist paperbacks such as Robert Winder's *Bloody Foreigners*, comment on Ukrainians is confined to one line of a single page (2004, p.331). Goodhart's (2014,p.128) *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-war Immigration* similarly mentions Ukrainians in one line and on one page only.

The urgency of focussing on this community cannot be overemphasized. One might consider it too late to harvest evidence from a cohort whose first-settler generation (G1) is rapidly passing away. Fortunately, even at this late hour, key respondents were located. These respondents are octogenarian and nonagenarian 'first settlers' who contributed cogent accounts of their post WW2 arrival and the challenges of their settlement in Scotland. While some respondents were physically frail, they were certainly not cognitively impaired, as their thickly descriptive narratives confirm. Sadly, since my research began five years ago, many of these (G1) respondents have passed into eternity.

3.2 Ukrainian studies

Ukrainian studies constitute a well-established field of research in the North American and Canadian academic institutions which have been linked for decades to thickly populated Ukrainian émigré communities. Once frequently passed over by non-Ukrainian, mainstream historians and sociologists, interest in the discipline is gathering wider recognition. In his forward to Lubomyr Luciuk's book, *Searching for Place; Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (2001), Norman Davies illustrates the challenge ...

Ukrainian history is often misunderstood simply because Western readers have never learned the basic 'where and 'when' of the

context...Thanks to the preponderance of Russian-sourced information about Eastern Europe, it is often assumed quite inaccurately that Ukraine is basically a province of Russia, that its capital Kiev (Kyiv) has always been Russian, and that Ukrainians are just a rather peculiar sort of Russians.

Over the last 150 years Ukrainians have followed international migratory pathways to journey to, and settle in, over forty different countries worldwide (Pawliczko, 1994b). Outside Ukrainian universities, major academic works of history, sociology, demography, and ethnography have mostly emerged from faculties in the U.S.A., Canada, and West Germany. In the Ukrainian diaspora the publications of Ukrainian Canadian and Ukrainian American scholars continue to contribute extensively to the acquisition and provision of literary resources. Times are changing. Some British universities have created facilities dedicated to Ukrainian studies³¹. This is to be welcomed. My research aims to contribute a small assignment to Ukrainian diasporic studies- a historiography of the Ukrainian settlement in Scotland, supported by key narratives.

3.3 Influential readings

Having prioritised an extensive list of readings, I elected to critique five influential authors widely known for their seminal works -Victor Satzewich, Lubomyr Luciuk, Benedict Anderson, Paul Robert Magocsi and John Armstrong. To this list I added the dissertations and studies of authors nearer home. The first reading to influence this case study was that of Victor Satzewich with his ³² *The Ukrainian Diaspora* (2002), part of the *Global Diasporas* series edited by Robin Cohen, whose work is cited frequently and prominently throughout this study.

³¹ Some Ukrainian studies are available at the [School of Slavonic and East European Studies](#) (SSEES) at University College, London (UCL), [Cambridge Ukrainian Studies](#) . In Scotland there is a [University of St.Andrew's Ukrainian Society](#) .

³² Victor Satzewich, Professor of Sociology, McMaster University Hamilton, Ontario is the author of numerous publications on racism and social inequality. At present he is working for the abolition of legalised migrant enslavement through information sharing <http://www.migrantworkersrights.net/en/actors/victor-satzewich>

I interviewed Professor Satzewich via skype, shortly after reading his book. He is a second generation Ukrainian like me, and his parents had arrived in Canada as post-WW2 displaced persons. Following the formal interview, we shared a few short cameos of Ukrainian community life which seemed to be common milestones in what seemed like parallel lives. [Field note, 2015]

Satzewich sets about his task with the question... ‘What is the relationship between ancestral homelands and members of ethnic groups who have left behind that homeland, or have never even set foot in it?’ His interdisciplinary approach touches on a number of ‘broad theoretical and conceptual questions about the intersection of ethnic identity, group boundary maintenance, history and historical memory of ancestral homelands’ (2002, p.5). His work is comprehensive and does not shy away from exploring the discomforts of the internal and external challenges facing the Ukrainian communities of the USA and Canada.

Eighteen years have passed since he published his dissertation, and much has changed in that time. Ukraine’s independence is still considered by most geopolitical academics to be ‘embryonic’. The situation regarding Russian annexation of Crimea, the war in the eastern provinces, oligarchical corruption and so on has become the focus of diasporic attention on a grand scale. Globalisation alongside exponential innovation in communications technology has brought ‘the homelands’ into very close contact with its diaspora. The worldwide web is awash with ‘Ukraine watching’ and Ukrainian diasporic communities are well represented in that audience.

The second pivotal reading is that of Lubomyr Luciuk’s *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory*. In his introductory abstract he sets out to explore what also became a salient feature of the political activities of Scotland’s Ukrainians ...

[h]ow this diaspora’s experiences of persecution under the Soviet and Nazi regimes in occupied Ukraine, and their subsequent living together in the cauldrons of the post-war Displaced Persons camps, underlay the shaping of a shared political world view that would not abate, despite decades in exile. (2000, p. i)

Luciuk’s research explores the world view of countless Ukrainians who had been DPs in Germany or POWs in Britain post WW2, many of whom emigrated from

the British Isles to Canada in the early 1950s. His focus on '*the migration of memory*' and the origin of his Ukrainian Canadian Community establishes him as one of the most notable political geographers of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Lubomyr Y. Luciuk is a professor in the Department of Politics and Economics at the Royal Military College of Canada. He was interviewed in person, face to face, in London in 2017. I interviewed him prior to his 2017 London book launch of Konowal, a Canadian hero. He is the one academic who has researched the greatest amount of detail regarding the RCAF's pivotal role in the rescue of both Ukrainian DPs and PoWs. He is the author of Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk. (Flight Sergeant Gordon Panchuk played a pivotal part in the WW2 rescue of Ukrainian displaced persons in Europe). [Field note]

Aspects of his *migration of memory* and particularly *collective memory* are examined in later empirical chapters.

In addition to his wide research base, Luciuk has been a long-term visitor to the UK. He has made frequent use of the National Archives beginning three decades ago when he and Bohdan Kordan (1987) trawled the then Public Record Office for '*Anglo-American Perspectives on the Ukrainian Question 1938-1951*', putting together a fine synopsis of documentation. A decade later they were followed by a thorough compendium of the National Archive's research documents relating to Ukraine and Ukrainians constructed by J.W. Koshiv, (1997) commissioned by the University of Alberta's Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS).

Benedict Anderson

The third influential reading underpinning this study is Benedict Anderson's second edition of his universally quoted *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. He argues that the study of nationalism 'has been startlingly transformed-in method, scale, sophistication, and sheer quantity'. His mantra is that 'print language is what invents nationalism' (2006, p.134).



Figure 3-2 Cover of an early publication of the Prosvita Society

Source [encyclopaedia of Ukraine](#)

Initiated by students in 1868, this popular movement established Ukrainian reading rooms (*chytal'ni*: читальні) in the Polish dominated towns and villages. It became the mainstay of the 19th and early twentieth century Ukrainian cultural revolution, where the more educated shared their knowledge with the less fortunate. Most of Scotland's Ukrainians hailed from the western provinces of

³³ Kotliarevsky, Ivan [Котляревський, Іван; Kotljarevs'kyj], 9 Sep 1769 - 10 Nov 1838. Poet, playwright and 'founder' of modern Ukrainian literature. His greatest literary work is his travesty of Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Eneida* (1794). 'In addition to the innovation of writing it in the Ukrainian vernacular, *Eneida* was written at a time when popular memory of the Cossack Hetmanate was still alive and the oppression of tsarist serfdom in Ukraine was at its height'. [Footnote extracted from the Internet Encyclopaedia of Ukraine [Енциклопедія України в інтернеті](#) accessed 20th April 2020]

³⁴ Shevchenko, Taras [Шевченко, Тарас; Shevchenko], 9 Mar 1814-10 Mar 1861. Ukraine's national bard. Accredited with 'laying the foundations for the creation of a fully functional modern Ukrainian Literature. His poetry contributed greatly to the growth of Ukrainian national consciousness, and his influence on various facets of Ukrainian intellectual, literary, and national life is still felt to this day'. [Footnote extracted from the Internet Encyclopaedia of Ukraine [Енциклопедія України в інтернеті](#) accessed 20th April 2020]

Ukraine and brought with them their traditional respect for the *Prosvita* movement. The traditions of this movement were carried into Scotland's post WW2 camps and hostels by Ukrainian POWs, former members of the Galicia Division ³⁵.

John Armstrong

No study of Scotland's Ukrainians can be complete without reference to John Armstrong's third edition (1990) of *Ukrainian Nationalism*. Armstrong conducted interviews with key respondents during 1952-53 in Europe, USA and Canada where Ukrainian patriots and nationalists were arriving in great numbers among the DPs and POWs. His detailed historiography published in 1955, within a decade of first-settlers' traumatic experiences, has produced, in his words, 'a considerable demand for a monograph that has not declined' (1990, p.xiii).

Others

In 1982 Yury Boshyk and Boris Balan produced the CIUS Research Report No.2, *Political Refugees and Displaced Persons 1945-1954: A Selected Bibliography and Guide to Research with Special Reference to Ukrainians*, intending to stimulate scholarly interest in the historiography of Ukrainian DPs. The resource was mailed to a cohort of academics in preparation for a conference. The call was taken up by Vsevolod Isayiw, Yury Boshyk and Roman Senkus who published the conference papers under the title *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced persons after World War II*.

³⁵ One unique primary resource acquired for my study is that of a registration document containing the names of hundreds of POWs in the former Haddington [East Lothian] Prisoner of War Camp in 1947/48 who established their own *Prosvita* Reading Society. The educational lectures offered by *Prosvita* in the camps were initiated by professionals in the ranks of the prisoners who had been teachers and students in 'the old country' before WW2. This valuable primary resource-the *Prosvita* membership book contains the names of men from each of the 56 barracks who paid dues of four pence (4d) per month for the privilege of access to the reading room library.

The text focuses on multiple dimensions of the Ukrainian refugee problem. It tackles the economic and organisational structure of the Displaced Persons camps, the political life in the camps, religion, education, gender issues and the role of women. Further chapters are given over to literature and literary activity in the camp scholarship and culture. Relevant to this study are accounts of Soviet efforts at repatriation and the Allied response. Both the re-settlement of Ukrainians in the USA and Canada, and the Displaced Persons' experience as a social and psychological reality are touched upon. The contributors read as a 'Who's who?' of prestigious academics of Ukrainian heritage. The book does not cover all aspects of the organisational life of the camps but should be considered as a foundational text relating to Ukrainian refugees.

For access to secondary source print materials produced by DPs, I commend the authors of CIUS Research Report No 29, Yury Boshyk and Włodzimierz Kiebalo, entitled *Publications by Ukrainian displaced persons and political refugees, 1945-54*. This bibliography exists thanks to one individual's tenacity and dedication, namely the late John Luczkiw. Luczkiw was an ardent bibliophile who visited Ukrainian émigré and diasporic communities ³⁶ in search of all manner of publications related to the period of the Displaced Persons camps.

In 2015 Thomas Prymak's *Gathering a Heritage: Ukrainian, Slavonic, and Ethnic Canada and the USA*, was a collection of essays devoted to migration studies, historians and historiographies and the growth of libraries and archives. Prymak's phrase 'gathering a heritage' strikes a chord here. There is a need at every stage of diasporic activity to harvest, record and publish the macro ⁱⁱⁱ and microhistories of diasporic communities. Some Ukrainian communities across the globe have undertaken to do so, while others have migrated, settled, assimilated,

³⁶ In the introduction to this report Luczkiw's daughter adds the amusing comment that family vacations often planned a side-trip to out-of-the-way collectors... "instead of the usual tourist spots, we visited musty garages lined with yellowing books and presided over by equally musty old book sellers" BOSHUK, K. A. 1988. Research Report No.29. University of Alberta. I encountered a similar experience when I visited (G1/N7) whose small, terraced house had no garage. Every wall of every room in his house was lined from floor to ceiling with bookshelves and storage boxes. He had spent a lifetime collecting in the manner of John Luczkiw. Since interviewing (N7) in 2018 he sadly passed away the following year at the age of 92. Negotiations are presently underway to remove his collection into the protection of the UIS or SLA archives in London. [Field note]

and acculturated, leaving no published historiography concerning them. This dissertation recommends that every Ukrainian *imagined community*, no matter how small or seemingly insignificant, should consider contributing narratives to Ukrainian Studies. In Andrii Portnov's (2015) *Post-Maidan and the New Ukrainian Studies*, he proposes that ...

'the development of Ukrainian Studies could bring important insights into the comparative and entangled research on violence, identification, hybridity, economic infrastructure, situational nationalism, and situational bilingualism' (2015, p.731)

3.4 Similar contributions

This section is a synopsis of those whose contributions have reflected related themes to what I am attempting to achieve.

In (1968) Marina Gorodeckis completed her thesis on *Aspects of Upbringing Influencing Assimilation among the Children of European Immigrants in Great Britain*. She focused on the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian minority in Britain, examining details of basic social problems in their initial years in Britain, paying 'particular attention to the institutions designed to promote the retention of ethnicity among young [G2] Ukrainians.' However there appears to be no further follow up to her research. Retention of Ukrainian ethnicity remained a major objective of the leading Ukrainian organizations in Great Britain and certainly lay at the heart of all activities carried out by the first-generation settlers.

Other academics have written about Ukrainian communities in England. Roman Petryshyn's (1980) thesis, *Britain's Ukrainian Community: A Study on the Political Dimension in Ethnic Community Development*, is one of the earliest comprehensive studies to focus on the political aspirations of Britain's Ukrainians. He mustered a wealth of both qualitative and quantitative material. By completing his study in the late 1970s, Petryshyn was fortunate in gaining access to large numbers of first-generation (G1) Ukrainians and deserves acclaim for the sheer coverage of his study. He sourced a copious amount of quantitative data from the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) archives. He concludes that ...

'Britain's Ukrainians are an ethnos group derived from a minority population, that had developed revolutionary nationalist movements

in response to its internal colonial situation. Specifically, the majority of Ukrainians in Great Britain originate in the south-eastern provinces of inter-war Poland where they were a national minority in a peripheral region of a newly formed state that had emerged from the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires (1980, p.173)

Petryshyn's study defines Ukrainians in the UK as 'a nationalist ethnic transitional group' (1980, p. iii) and examines 'how Ukrainian émigré nationalist political activity in 1949 led to a fundamental cleavage in the ethnic community'. His work contains details of the 1949 Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) annual general meeting which resulted in an irreparable rift, causing the formation of an oppositional group, the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain (FUGB).

Petryshyn reported the rift ³⁷ when '...émigré party politics had bifurcated the Ukrainians of Great Britain into mutually exclusive social spheres' (1980, p.290). This rift manifested itself across all the Ukrainian communities in Britain. In Edinburgh, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) members removed to premises in Royal Terrace while the Federation (FUGB) Centre remained in Windsor Street. Although he pays scant attention to the situation in Scotland, his detailed analysis of the political feuding between émigré Ukrainian groups explains the antagonisms that came about in the early days of the Ukrainian influx. His investigation of Ukrainian internal political hostility within the UK unravels the machinations of the *mobilized political élite*. These intrigues are further explored in chapter seven.

Petryshyn's treatise is followed by Robert Perks' urban-focussed oral history and community project (1984) entitled *A Feeling of Not Belonging: Interviewing European Immigrants in Bradford*. Perks succeeds in securing interviews with three generations of Ukrainians. To make the tapes fully accessible to the public he had decided to interview in English, hence the poor grammar exhibited by first generation settlers. "I born for my country, I like my country, I want go back my country. If my country free"". [G1 Ukrainian, 74 years old in 1984] (1984, p.64)

³⁷ A detailed account by Panchuk himself of the behaviour at this AGM is contained in Lubomyr Luciuk's interview with him pp.115-119

Respondents are more fluent, expressive, and descriptive when speaking in their native tongue. In the interviews linked to this thesis the G1 respondents were given the choice of language and four individuals preferred to be interviewed in Ukrainian ³⁸.

Following Perks is Anna Diuk's (1985) *Assimilation or Segregation? The Ukrainian Ethnic Community in Coventry*. With the focus on one community in an English city, her research offers a blueprint for anyone wishing to complete a case study on a single urban community of a similar size such as that of the Ukrainian Community in Edinburgh or Dundee.

In that same year the UK government's Swan Report *Education for All: An Enquiry into the Education of children from Ethnic Minority Groups*, included a chapter on the Britain's Ukrainian communities. Marta Jenkala (1985), who provided chapter thirteen of this report, lists educational concerns regarding the teaching of second-generation (G2) Ukrainian children. Her comments are explored in chapter eight where I compare her British findings alongside the conclusions of Canadian Anastasia Baczynskyj's (2009) thesis, *Learning How to be Ukrainian: Ukrainian Schools in Toronto and the Formation of Identity 1947-2009*. M.A., University of Toronto.

In 1987 Lubomyr Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan visited the PRO with the intention of identifying documentation to support their observations that ... 'on one level, western statesmen were well informed about the nature and extent of the Ukrainian national struggle ,while on the other they were consistently cynical or indifferent to the idea of Ukrainian self-determination' (1987, p.viii). The 54 documents they published are those of British, American, and Canadian high ranking diplomatic, military and intelligence personnel, on both sides of the Atlantic, who played a pivotal role between 1938-1951 in shaping their governments' attitudes to the Ukrainian Question. Having personally visited the PRO, now the National Archives, I can ascertain that their collection represents a fraction of the correspondence now declassified and available for scrutiny. In chapter six I have cited specific documents relating to aspects of Ukrainian nationality.

³⁸ Letters of invitation and interview outline were issued in both languages to first settler (G1) respondents. They are included in the appendices.

In 1992 Diana Kay and Robert Miles published *Refugees or migrant workers? European Voluntary Workers in Britain 1946-1951*, a study which contains an extensive source of references drawn from correspondence held in the National Archives in Kew. Kay and Miles concluded that ...

[t]he European Voluntary Workers' scheme was never a straightforward contract labour scheme. As we have emphasised throughout, the refugee status of the incomers meant that they had nowhere to return to (other than a refugee camp) if later their labour power was no longer considered to be necessary so that it necessarily involved settlement (1992, p.193).

The Kay & Miles navigation of cabinet papers prompted my visit to the National Archives where I had the privilege of photocopying over 200+ original documents. My search was helped towards the relevant files by using J.V.Koshiv's (1997) compilation of *Research Report No.60: British Foreign Office Files on Ukraine and Ukrainians 1917-1948*³⁹ which he completed for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS). There is an impressive volume of primary documentation on *Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons*- Code 38 File 141 (papers 7119-11386)

In 1995 Janine Hanson of Sheffield University completed her two-volume thesis entitled, *Sympathy, Antipathy, Hostility. British Attitudes to Non-repatriable Poles and Ukrainians after the Second World War and to the Hungarian Refugees of 1956*. She focuses on three communities within Yorkshire- Poles, Ukrainians, and Hungarians. Chapters 8 and 11 are dedicated to issues around the Ukrainian community. Her analysis of 'British perceptions to the Ukrainian Problem' (1995, p.208-215) charts the British government's reaction to the conditions of the Yalta agreement and the onset of the Cold war. In volume two she turns to the subject of 'Soviet intimidation of the Ukrainian community in Britain' (p. 402) where Yorkshire based Ukrainians were the subject of Soviet Embassy propaganda. The embassy personnel were tasked with attempting to persuade Ukrainians to repatriate 'voluntarily'.

I knew of Ukrainians who were recipients of 'cultural' journals depicting photos and articles of happy, smiling

³⁹ With supplementary files from The War Office (WO), the Cabinet Office (CAB) and the Empire Marketing Board

collective farm [kolhosp] workers, artists, scientists, and teachers. The magazines were designed to tempt the homesick to return. The fact that the actual paper quality of the journals was the poorest, suggested that this propaganda was not printed in a workers' paradise [Field note].

The persuasion was not always confined to propaganda. Hanson touches on the 'allegations' that communist spies were linked with the Ukrainian community watching them and reporting to the Soviet Embassy. I can confirm that this was a widely held belief in the Ukrainian community in Scotland, contributing to not a small amount of fear, and in some cases paranoia. I experienced a recent example of this when I approached a nonagenarian Ukrainian lady who adamantly refused to be interviewed for this study, despite being assured of complete anonymity.

And what of other Displaced Persons communities?

The tragedies of WW2 were not confined to any one ethnic group. Case studies exist of other Displaced Persons' communities such as Linda McDowell's (2003) *Workers, migrants, aliens, or citizens? State constructions and discourses of identity among post-war European labour migrants in Britain* as well as her focus on the Latvian community. In 2005 she published *Hard Labour: The Forgotten Voices of Latvian migrant 'Volunteer' Workers*. Her work is furthered visited in chapter five.

The following year Wendy Webster (2006) published *Defining Boundaries: European Volunteer Worker women in Britain and narratives of community*. Her collection of gendered narratives depicts EVWs occupying ... 'a position in the social hierarchy somewhere 'on the borderline between all those considered 'undesirable' immigrants and dominant white ethnicities in Britain' (2006, p.258). Her frank discussion of miscegenation concludes that the European Voluntary Workers were considered (condescendingly) by the British government as 'suitable workers.'

Lea Kreinin's (2018) study, *Estonians in Scotland: from isolation to transnational ways of living*, reveals parallels with the Ukrainian *imagined* community at political and cultural levels. Like the other nationalities Estonians and Ukrainian European Voluntary Workers started life in Scotland from positions of lower social mobility. Later chapters introduce the activities of the Scottish

League for European Freedom (SLEF) to indicate just how widespread was the antagonism towards the USSR as the Cold War progressed.

Ivan Kozachenko's thesis (2013) casts a wider, more recent net across Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian communities in the British Isles. In his publication *Eastern Slavic Diasporas in the UK: the Making of Communities*, his focus is on ... 'the impact of communication technologies on community-making processes' (2013: iii)

Scattered across the UK there are numerous Ukrainian *imagined* community histories and small museums exhibiting cultural artefacts, brochures, pamphlets, CDs, and DVDs. There also exists a quantity of published and unpublished memoirs, Gockyj (1990), Gockyj (1992), Hrycyszyn (2002), Wenger (2000), Yaremko (1985) and Terlezki (2005), each contributing valuable narratives. Such narratives add to a comprehensive history of Ukrainians in the UK.

Biographies of prominent individuals of Ukrainian descent who have settled across the UK are to be found in the [online encyclopaedia of Ukrainians in the UK](#). Chief editor Roman Kravec and his team of Ludmilla Pekarska, Roman Syrota, Marta Jenkala and Maria Semeniuk are continually contributing to this resource. Supported by the AUGB the online encyclopaedia is a sterling achievement, and simultaneously, a mammoth undertaking.

There can be no real understanding of anyone's world view without knowledge of their past. Ukrainians came to Scotland as a generation well versed in the events and experiences linked to the lives of both their parents and grandparents. It is appropriate here to explore, if only briefly, the causes of the four waves of emigration from Ukrainian territories to assist a deeper appreciation of first-settler narratives. Here each wave ⁴⁰ is introduced in turn.

⁴⁰ Wave One, according to most academics of Ukrainian origin, is attributed to the period from 1880 to the outbreak of the WW1. However, historian Orest Subtelny (1992:4) argued that the first true wave of Ukrainian *diasporans* was that of the Mazepists, followers of Hetman Ivan Mazepa. After their defeat by Peter the First at the battle of Poltava 1709 ⁴⁰ they fled abroad, led by Pylyp Orlyk, 50 members of the Cossack élite and approximately 4000 Zaporozhian Cossacks. Following their failed attempt to return, Orlyk's small group of followers traversed Europe for decades afterwards, alerting all and sundry to their Ukrainian homeland's fate and the "Russian menace".

3.5 Wave One 1880-1914

For centuries Scotland, as elsewhere, has been a destination for immigrants. There are documented accounts of individual Ukrainian students arriving as early as 1761, such as Semen Desnytsky, a tsarist student sent by Peter the First to attend the lectures of Adam Smith at Glasgow University. In the 1770s and 1780s some Ukrainians studied medicine in Edinburgh. However early Ukrainian migration to Scotland, and through Scotland to other destinations, is difficult to trace, simply because of primitive immigration control procedures at that time.

The prompt to begin searching early Scottish sources came from reading Fr.Yevhen Nebesniak's (1997) history of Ukrainians in Manchester. They had cooperated closely with the turn of the century Jewish community of Cheetham Hill. Because Glasgow at the turn of the century was 'the second city of the Empire' it seemed logical that the business community would interact with its share of ethnic minorities- in this case migrating Jews from Eastern Europe and probably along with Ukrainians seeking a better life elsewhere.

Searches for *First Wave* 'Ukrainians' began in the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre (SJAC) based below the Garnethill Synagogue, Glasgow. Archivist Harvey Kaplan had set about writing up the history of the Gorbals Jewish Community. The Garnethill archives contain many personal memoirs of Glasgow's Jewish families- a number of these families had strong links to Ukrainian towns and cities ⁴¹, such as Kyiv (Kiev), Odessa and Kamenets-Podilskyi. Kaplan also constructed a demographic profile of Glasgow's Jewish migrants by accessing the 1901 census. In *appendix two* of his booklet, he lists approximately 650 heads of Gorbals Jewish households. While many of the surnames are undoubtedly of Hebrew origin there are a few that appear to be Ukrainian.

Following the migration at the turn of the century we move forward to the events of WW1 and the Russian and Ukrainian revolutions. Despite frequent reports in the *Scotsman* newspaper of Ukraine's progress and egress in the Revolutionary war and struggle for independence, there was a general ignorance of the country

⁴¹ For a comprehensive history of Jews on Ukrainian lands and their interaction with ethnic Ukrainians see *-A Journey Through the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter: From Antiquity to 1914* (2018) Published by the [Ukrainian Jewish Encounter](#) and written by Altı Rodal. See also a second book published by the University of Toronto called *Jews and Ukrainians: A Millennium of Co-existence* (2016) written by Paul Robert Magocsi and Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern

and its people. David Saunders (1988) paints a bleak picture of the average Briton's knowledge of Ukraine in his article *Britain and the Ukrainian Question 1912-1920*.

Their language had not been codified, their literary traditions were underdeveloped, their elites tended not to be native speaking, their predominantly agricultural occupations militated against concentration in cities, their religious loyalties were divided, and their past contained no clear-cut 'golden age'. In the main they did not refer to themselves as Ukrainians. Russians called them Little Russians, Austrians and Poles called them Ruthenes.

It is a fact that many eastern Ukrainians at that time thought of themselves as Little Russians (*malorossiany* / малоросіяни). One example supporting this self-identification is that of Vassili Nikitenko, a WW1 Ukrainian coalminer who migrated to Newtongrange. He had been conscripted into the Royal Artillery Regiment and had been killed in action. Cited in despatches for courage he had been posthumously awarded the military medal. He is recorded as born in Boltava [Poltava], Little Russia.

Saunders explores in detail the spats in the popular newspapers, magazines, and periodicals of the time- all bringing to light the 'Ukrainian Question'.

Regardless of the debates flying back and forward between intellectuals and

diplomats, at that time there are only occasional

Ukrainian individuals whose profiles appear sporadically in Scotland ⁴². There are no records to be found for any specific Ukrainian community in Scotland at the turn of the century. From 1917 onwards the Scotsman newspaper follows the unfolding events of the Russian revolution. The ensuing events as they impacted on Ukraine was the theme of an exhibition (Mar-May 2017) sponsored by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) and the Embassy of Ukraine in London. This was 'an exhibition of rare documents, photographs and



Figure 3-3 Exhibition poster of the Ukrainian Revolution Centenary

⁴² E.G. The sister of diplomat Petro Chykalenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Embassy in Istanbul 1919, studied at Edinburgh University in the early 1920s.

artefacts from archival, library, museum and private collections.’

3.6 Wave Two 1920-1930

This wave occurred as a result of the struggle with the Bolsheviks, who were to subjugate Ukraine and send tens of thousands into political exile. Serge Cipko’s *In Search of a New Home: Ukrainian Emigration Patterns between the Two World Wars*, is an attempt to begin accounting for the Ukrainian exodus between 1919 and 1939. However, he too encountered registration problems associated with Ukrainian statelessness.

Most western Ukrainian emigrants travelled with Polish, Romanian, or Czechoslovakian passports that asserted their citizenship as opposed to their nationality. A minority of Eastern Ukrainians left their homeland legally in possession of Soviet papers, but the great majority of them were political refugees following the Bolshevik Revolution who carried passports stamped by the League of Nations, which often declared their nationality as Russian. (1991, p.3)

He states that ‘the great majority were political refugees fleeing the Russian and Ukrainian Revolutions’. In the flight from Ukrainian territories to the sanctuary of other lands, a few came to Britain. London is where Skoropadsky’s Hetmanate movement remained in retreat. A second faction, nearly 60,000 of Symon Petliura’s armies and civilian followers, fled mostly to Czechoslovakia and France. Britain remained as one of ‘the scattered pockets’ of refugee sanctuary. Cipko provides tables [estimations] of numbers fleeing or onward migration to Peru, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, and Paraguay. As for European countries hosting Ukrainian migrants, he provides more detailed tables for Romania and Czechoslovakia. Regarding emigration from Poland 1927-1938, Cipko secured accurate figures thanks to the Polish census-115,000 Greek Catholics and 87,500 orthodox all fled to the above-mentioned countries. Nowhere does Scotland feature as a destination. All that can be traced concerning Ukrainians in Scotland at this period are tales of individuals- mostly labourers like Nikitenko.

Cipko’s article underlines the frustration of attempting to accurately track statistics and recommends approaching the data with ‘a healthy caution’. Nevertheless, his tables are of great interest.

The fateful years of 1932-33 saw the artificial famine instigated by Joseph Stalin. Millions of small peasant farmers died because of Stalin's forced collectivisation of agriculture. English journalist Malcolm Muggeridge and Welsh civil servant Gareth Jones were two who witnessed the famine and wrote about it. In present-day Ukraine it is promoted as the *Holodomor* [death by starvation], a deliberate genocidal act instigated by Stalin. This is not a new term. The first settlers' annual calendar of events [*kalendaretz ukraintsia*] paid perennial homage to this. The word *Holodomor* was in common use in the earliest days of their arrival. Two of this study's G1 respondents were children at the time and remembered it quite clearly. There are also harrowing descriptions in the memoirs of Aleksander Krawczynski [aka Alek the Pole] of Grantown on Spey.

From 1932-1934 the Ukrainian Hetmanate movement was publishing in Britain a bulletin called the Investigator [copies in the British Library]. Not until 1935 do we hear any geopolitical summary of note. In a Committee Room of the House of Commons, on May 29th, 1935 Lancelot Lawton gave an address to the newly formed *Anglo-Ukrainian Committee*. In the opening paragraph of his speech, he began...

The chief problem in Europe today is the Ukrainian problem. Of deep concern to this country because of its effect upon European peace and diplomacy, it is at the same time closely bound with British interests of a very special nature. To an extent unrealized by most people, it has been the root of European strife during the last quarter of a century. That so little has been heard of it is not surprising; for suppression of Ukrainian Nationality has been persistently accompanied by obliteration of the very word Ukraine and concealment of the very existence of Ukrainians. (Lawton, 1935)

Part of his introductory [prophetic] speech was reported in the Times newspaper on May 31st, 1935, entitled *Ukraine and Bolshevism*.

An Anglo-Ukrainian Committee has been formed in London and has issued the following statement: The position of Ukrainians in Eastern Europe merits the attention of the British public. The ethnographically Ukrainian peoples occupy a more or less contiguous block of territory (greater than that of France or Great Britain) now divided by the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Very few attempts have been made to give justice to the Ukrainians and the continued neglect of this complicated question may ultimately involve all of Europe. The undersigned have therefore formed a

Committee to be known as the Anglo-Ukrainian Committee to watch the situation and to take any action which might be necessary'. The Ukrainian Question (2006: 106)

Roman Syrota's (2005) paper *Ukrainian Studies in Interwar Great Britain* reports on this general disinterest in *the Ukrainian problem* and notes an academic unwillingness to include Ukrainian scholarships in the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies (SSEES) ⁴³.

3.7 Wave Three 1940-1954

The major focus of this dissertation is concerned with Wave Three. It is composed of four *Hartzian fragments*. The fragments arrived in sequence. First to arrive were the men and women of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) in 1940, followed by the Polish Armed Forces (PAF) in 1942. At the end of the war the third fragment of Displaced Persons (DPs) in 1946 arrived as newly enlisted European Voluntary Workers. The fourth and last fragment was a large contingent of Prisoners of War (POWs) in 1947.

3.7.1 Fragment One - Royal Canadian Air Force

Men and women of Ukrainian heritage in the Canadian Armed Forces were the first *fragment* to arrive in Britain at the beginning of WW2. A pivotal individual in this group was one Pilot Officer Gordon Bohdan Panchuk. It is to his story that research first turns. A collection of autobiographical writings by Panchuk has been published by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario entitled *Heroes of their Day; The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, (MHSO, 1983). Thanks to Lubomyr Luciuk, who taped Panchuk's autobiographical interviews and edited them into a book, we have an invaluable insight into the mindsets of the various *fragments* of wave three.

⁴³ In order to track this issue, Syrota accessed the Seton Watson papers which are archived at University College London (UCL). These papers are 'open' and available by appointment.

G.R.B. Panchuk was the founding member of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemens' Association (UCSA)... '*We wanted to have a club for cultural and social reasons. We wanted to be able to meet at Ukrainian Christmas and Easter. How else could we do it overseas?*' (Luciuk, 1983a, p.45). The book itself is a rich repository of accounts depicting how Ukrainian Canadians in the RCAF played a pivotal part in bringing together various sections of ethnic Ukrainians in Britain and Europe during and immediately after WW2.⁴⁴

3.7.2 Fragment Two- Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces under British Command

A brief history of the Polish Army's Defence of Scotland, 1940-42 is to be found in Chapter 9, *Bonnie Fechtors* in Tom Devine and David Hesse's book entitled *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500-2010*. The Polish Army⁴⁵ stayed resident in Scotland and, following the end of the war, many of its soldiers took part in the Polish Resettlement Scheme. At that same time the Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces were given leave to form their own association. Roman Kravec (2016) has written an account of these soldiers in his *Online Encyclopaedia of Ukrainians in the United Kingdom*. He describes the many and varied routes by which Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces found their way to Britain.

<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/ukrinpaf-e.htm>

Chapters Two to Five of Thomas Kernberg's (1990) comprehensive historiography of the development of the *Polish Community in Scotland* greatly assist understanding of the military role of the Polish Army in WW2 Scotland. Having grown up in the Polish Community of Edinburgh, Kernberg's thesis is written

⁴⁴ As well as his autobiography there are fonds (Series F1417/Nos 1-10) placed by Panchuk's family in the Archives of Ontario. The fonds include his personal correspondence, reports, memoranda, photographs and print material. A large portion of the fonds is in Ukrainian. The most relevant Canadian fonds are entitled *Post-War Ukrainian refugee associations' records* (Series F 1417-3/ boxes 15-17) and the Canadian holdings of Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain records (Series F1417-3 boxes 18-19).

⁴⁵ Tracking army records for Ukrainians in PAF are available from APC Polish Enquiries, RAF Northolt, Building 6Q West End Road Ruislip, Middlesex HA4 6NG

from personal observation and participation. Some his findings are not dissimilar to those in the concluding chapters of this study.

3.7.3 Fragment Three -Displaced Persons

In 1943 a new law was passed in the Pidhaitsi region of Halychyna, the administrative centre for my area. It stated that young males born in 1922, 1923 and 1924 had to go to the nearby town of Pidhaitsi for a pre-army medical examination. The village farmers took me and several other lads to the medical examination by horse and cart. A few months later, another law was passed which stated that those who had passed the medical had to report to the Baudienst Command in Berezhany, one of the largest towns in the area. 'Baudienst' I would translate as Building Service. In May 1943 I left my village and all that I had ever known to join this Baudienst (G1/N4).

As mentioned earlier much information is to be found in Wsewolod Isayiw *et al's* collective study of Post WW2 refugees in the British, French, and American zones of Germany and Austria. Theirs is an all-embracing publication of 25 contributions to the theme. The essays and eyewitness accounts within the 517 pages contribute an immense volume of scholarly information on the subject.

The quantitative data regarding Ukrainians in the Displaced Persons camps has been collected and tabulated ⁴⁶ by Emeritus Professor Ihor Stebelsky. He kindly gave permission for my study to make use of his unique map of the Ukrainian Displaced Persons who languished in these camps. His meticulous attention to collecting quantitative data emphasises the magnitude of Ukrainian immigration to the west.

⁴⁶ Table 1-Ukrainians Receiving UNRRA Assistance in Austria and Germany

Table 2- Ukrainian Refugees Receiving PCIRO/IRO Care and Maintenance

Table 3- Ukrainians and UkrSSR Categories Registered by IRO

Table 4- Ukrainians Refugees and Displace persons in Austria and Germany

Table 5-Ukrainians in the PCIRO or IRO Camps of Austria

Table 6-Urainians in UNRRA or IRO Camps of the British Zone of Germany

Table 7-Ukrainians in UNRRA and IRO Camps of the American Zone of Germany

Table 8-Immigration of Ukrainian Refugees Supported by IRO

Table 9-Immigration of Ukrainian Refugees to Other European Countries

Table 10-European Volunteer Workers and Dependants in Britain (until 31 May 1951)

Table 11-Immigration of Ukrainian Refugees to South America

3.7.4 Displaced persons' fear of repatriation

In the six months following the war not much attention was paid to relocating displaced persons. The Allies were pushing towards complete repatriation of all displaced persons. Mark Elliot (1992: 341-359) traces the progress of the Soviet Repatriation Campaign. Yuri Boshyk's (1992, pp.361-382) account of the initial forced *Repatriation of Ukrainian DPs and Political Refugees 1945-48*, makes for chilling reading.

One of the first generation (G1) respondents [nonagenarian N7] gave his eye-witness account of the cruelty of forced repatriation. He observed an incident concerning the massed deportation of Cossacks from the Drau valley in May 1945. He noticed a Cossack train halted above the River Drau. He was shocked to see a woman and her child commit suicide by escaping from a carriage and throwing herself and the child from the railway bridge into the river. [Field Notes]

The cruel, treacherous treatment of the Cossacks by both Allies and Soviets is fully described in Nicholas Bethell's book *the Last Secret* (1976). Bethell makes extensive use of the war diaries of the 36th Infantry Brigade (WO 170 4461). Scotland has its own 'fear of repatriation' story to tell with the publication of Aleksander Krawczynski's autobiography *I Looked Back* ⁴⁷.

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) held a symposium in Toronto 2nd March 1985 entitled *Ukraine During WWII: History and its Aftermath* where many historic photographs and documents contributed to the discussion of repatriation. These documents ⁴⁸ are no longer restricted.

A further resource is to be found in the University of Nottingham. It concerns all the migrant nationalities which arrived into Britain as European Voluntary Workers. I attended their touring exhibition when it visited Glasgow

⁴⁷ See also Ivan Bahryany, "Why I do not Want to Go 'Home'," *Ukrainian Quarterly* 2, no.3 (Spring 1946).

⁴⁸ Document 14. *U.S. Army Procedures for the Forcible Repatriation of Soviet Nationals* 22nd January 1946, RESTRICTED, HQ 3rd U.S. Army AG 383.6 GNM CY

Document 15. *Why the Displaced Persons Refuse to Go Home*, May 1946, Report of the Repatriation Poll of Displaced Persons in UNRRA Assembly Centers in Germany for the period 1-14 May 1946: *Analysis of Negative Votes Germany, May 1946*, Attachment 8.

Document 16. Report on the Screening of Ukrainian Displaced Persons 22nd August 1946, UNRRA liaison office, 9th Infantry Division HQ Augsburg. Source: United Nations (UNRRA) Archives, New York. PAG-4/3.0.11.0, 1.4:2. Eligibility (Screening), Liaison Officers

University in 2013. With regard to promoting public interest in the topic of European refugees, this informative touring exhibition promotes a website <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/postwar-refugees/>. The exhibition offers a comprehensive coverage of Displaced Persons' narratives/histories, the conditions experienced in the camps and hostels and chronologies of their repatriation or resettlement. All in all, the website encourages visitors 'to reflect on how views of refugees are created and disseminated'. The site offers seven briefing papers ⁴⁹ as downloadable pdfs. The website links to a second website which contains a wealth of information on all the Displaced Persons Camps. Even a cursory search of this website leads to a huge amount of primary and secondary literature. As a sample see <http://www.dpcamps.org/mittenwald.html> information on Mittenwald ⁵⁰.



Figure 3-3 Displaced persons become EVWs

⁴⁹ The seven briefing papers include;

1. Who were the DPs?
2. Life in a Displaced Persons' Camp
3. Who cared for the Displaced Persons?
4. Repatriation: Sending the Displaced Persons home
5. Homecoming in Eastern Europe
6. Coming to Britain
7. World Refugee Year

⁵⁰ See also *Mittenwald 1946-1951: Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Displaced Persons' Camps in Mittenwald, Germany*. (2001) Warren, Michigan. Published by the Society of Former residents of the Displaced Persons Camps in Mittenwald, Germany. 753 p. in Ukrainian and English. Contains numerous photographs. Available at the Shevchenko Scientific Society Library, New York.

H.W Maslen's recent thesis (2011) revisits the historiography of the European Voluntary Workers, focussing on administrative aspects of contract labour and political asylum 1945-1965. His study focuses on the culture of bureaucracy and the specific machinery of government. Although the major focus is on the Yugoslavian refugee crisis, the thesis involves analysis of recently released primary material regarding civil service responses to issues of foreign labour, recruitment, political asylum, assimilation, education, and the welfare of EVWs. Here we have a post-war British government that, because of labour shortages in the vital industries, is happy to go abroad and recruit 'Ukrainians' who were technically stateless, but now, in administrative documentation, became a recognised *nationality*.

These were mostly people who had been *ostarbeiters* (*workers from the East*), German slave workers during the war ⁵¹. Since Ukrainian independence in 1991 previously restricted archives, are frequently becoming available, allowing researchers to access new qualitative and quantitative data. Listen to Andriy Kohut's 2006 (HURI) lecture '*Opening the KGB Archive: The Case of Ukraine*' / [Released KGB files](#) (accessed 20th April 2020).

There are Ukrainian-based dissertations and journal articles which further contribute to the discourse. Tetyana Lapan (2007), has researched the Western Ukrainian *Generalgouvernement*⁵² (Galician) deportees' experiences. Tetyana Pastushenko (2009) has focussed on the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* ⁵³ (in particular the Kyiv district) deportees. Helinada Hrinchenko ^{iv}(2015) gathers research on *Forced Labour Women* deported from both Nazi administrative districts of wartime Ukraine. Marta Dyczok's (2000) *The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian Refugees* has a twofold purpose. It firstly 'explores the role of refugees in the history of international relations', and secondly 'examines a period in the history of the Ukrainian people which was played out on the international arena'. This intense

51

⁵² *Generalgouvernement* (German; the General Government), Ukrainian: *General'na Gubernia* / Генеральна губернія), Polish: *Generalne Gubernatorstwo*, also known as the General Governorate, was a Nazi zone of occupation established after the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

⁵³ *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* (RKU) formerly Soviet occupied Eastern Poland minus Galicia plus all of Soviet Ukraine Romanian Transnistria and the Crimea.

period became central to defining and institutionalising the Ukrainian people' as an imagined community. Based on new information and Soviet sources the book expands on documentary evidence which proves that *returnees* were maltreated by the Soviet government.

In 1952 an early report by Elizabeth Stadulis contained frank accounts of the EVW situation. With only nine months at her disposal, she mostly confined her research to the chief governmental and voluntary agencies headquartered in and around London. Her article is an overview of different government Ministries' dealings with the major organisations involved in receiving EVWs. Her short-lived enquiry analyses the attitudes of the host organisations rather than the activities of the incoming immigrants.

Having set out to survey the broad principles of the labour scheme set up by the British government in 1946, her criticism lay in one major observation. She discovered that much of the monitoring of the scheme was 'from a distance', from central government and voluntary agencies. She visited the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) headquarters in London as part of her research...

The Ukrainians, the Balts, the Serbs, and the Byelorussians, are in that order, best organised. The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, organized into 300 branches, large and small all over the U.K., is the sole representative body for all 35,000 Ukrainians in Great Britain. About 75% of them are actual dues-paying members. Two other Ukrainian organisations, neither one comprehensive in the same sense, are the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Great Britain (with over 4,500 members) and the Association of Ukrainian Youth in Great Britain (with over 3000 members). (Stadulis, 1952: 236)

The figures given to Stadulis are taken before the intense onward migration of DPs and former POWs to the USA and Canada that began in the early 1950s. The dearth of interviews with individual respondents in the Stadulis study is supplemented two years later in Maud Bulbring's research.

Maud Bulbring's (1954) report, *Post-War Refugees in Great Britain*, contributed a wealth of qualitative data, not only interviews but case histories.

She attempted to summarise the official measures and policies pertaining to post-war refugees in Great Britain, completing the exercise on behalf of the British Council for Aid to Refugees. (BCAR). Unlike Stadulis, she had made the deeply investigative forays into various camps and hostels and provides valuable observation of how the official policies worked out in practice. She also noted that the attitude of the local population towards refugees varied widely. To investigate this variation Bulbring focussed on data regarding three aspects-employment, housing, and distribution.

Her report was followed by J.A.Tannahill , a serving civil servant in the Ministry of Labour. He was encouraged to take a sabbatical year in 1955/56 working as a Simon Research Fellow at the University of Manchester. His research *European Voluntary Workers in Britain* is widely quoted in many books and journals on the aspect of EVWs. The great advantage he had was his employment and experience in the Ministry. Many internal departments were willing to open their files to a member of their own staff, an opportunity not available to outsiders.

His tutor, W.J.M Mackenzie, called Tannahill's research a valuable contribution to the 'history of the peace'. Mackenzie's criticism of Tannahill's work was that it was conducted within a single year of research and would have been even more valuable had it been given a longer time span. This criticism could be applied to anyone attempting a single year's period of research.

Mackenzie notes Tannahill's omission of statistically valid samples and his failure 'to investigate selected cases in a more thorough way'. If Mackenzie had really grasped European Voluntary Workers' fears of repatriation, he would have understood why Tannahill was often reluctant to delve too deeply into private lives, fearing they might think he was an agent, British or other.

Tannahill was dealing with individuals whose traumas were still fresh in their minds. His work is frequently quoted regarding the EVWs, and by 1957 he was able to offer one of the most informative summaries of the first decade of EVW presence in the United Kingdom.

'The impact of some 200 interviews with members of the refugee community was bound to be considerable, and in the effort to counteract bias, I may at times have been less than fair to the refugees themselves. We are still too near the unhappy events of 1940/45 (or even, for that matter, of 1917 and the subsequent years

*in Russia) to form a final judgement about them'.
(Tannahill, 1958b: ix)*

When Tannahill's work was reviewed in the British Journal of Sociology (Vol 10 No.1 March 1959) he was described as 'an unusually enlightened and sympathetic civil servant'.

In 1992 the focus on European Voluntary Workers continued with Diana Kay and Robert Miles's research-*Refugees or Migrant Workers? European Voluntary Workers in Britain 1946-1951*. Their investigation explored the 'novel and politically sensitive' (1992, p.1) decision to recruit foreign labour from the Displaced Persons camps. They investigated over 150 files in the Public Record Office (PRO), now the National Archives (NA), but admit that these represented 'only a fraction of the total paperwork' (1992p.213). They remind us of a common barrier to research, namely that which is not available - 'the missing', not yet declassified documentation. An example is the unavailability of data concerning the sensitive official investigation of the number of European Voluntary Worker suicides, as well as quantitative data on the numbers of EVWs who broke their contracts by changing employment without official permission.

To supplement exploration of British Government files they secured documents from the United Nations (UN) fonds of the International Refugee Organisation (IRO). They expand on aspects of Bulbring's research, making frequent reference to the difficulties encountered by EVWs on taking up work and the attitudes of British workers towards the incomers. Their investigations of Trade Union documentation support these negative attitudes.

Appendix one (1992, p.94) in their study contains a British Ministry of Labour and National Service 'terms and conditions' explanatory leaflet circulated in the camps in Germany and Austria, March 1947, printed in English and German. Conditions of work, rates of pay, accommodation, rationing, social insurance rights, general legal position, initial cash grants and conditions of entry are all laid out in detail.



Figure 3-4 EVW recruitment document

A similar original document, (PW 12 -Ukrainian Farm Worker) outlining the terms and conditions issued by the Department of Agriculture in Scotland (details in the appendices) was gifted to the case study by respondent (G2/N29).

3.7.5 Fragment four-Ukrainian Prisoners of War

The literature on these POWs is linked closely with opposing interpretations of the formation of the *Galicia Division*. From the period of their arrival to the present, debate continues to polarise around the actions and motives of this WW2, 14th Waffen (Armed) SS Division. Six veterans of the Division were interviewed for this thesis and their comments incorporated into chapter five.

The memoirs of Lt. General Pavlo Shandruk (1959), Roman Krochmaluk (1978) and Major Wolf-Dietrich Heike (1988), former Chief of Staff provide ample detail on the final stages of WW2 when the Division retreated towards the American zone in May 1945, and surrendered in Carinthia. In July 1945 Allied Force Headquarters (AFHQ), Caserta, sent Denis Hills⁵⁴ to Rimini to report on the 10,000 Ukrainian Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP) there.

⁵⁴ Denis Hills /Spectator Archive 'You are the Grey Mass'

'The main part of my brief was to assess, in terms of the Yalta Agreement, whether these men, or a proportion of them, were liable for repatriation to the USSR. The British view was that citizens who had been domiciled within the pre-war (September 1939) eastern boundaries of Poland should be regarded as Polish nationals and were not to be repatriated without their consent.' (Hills, 1989, p. 263)

Two military historians have published full accounts of the formation and performance of the Division. Michael Logusz (1997) and Michael Melnyk (2002). When Melnyk published a second two volume edition in (2016, 2016b) he agreed to be interviewed and his comments are featured within.

The controversy and competing narratives surrounding the Division reappeared in 1988 when the hunt for war criminals gathered pace. In 2000 David Cesarani published his book *Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals*. Some of the national press embroidered Cesarani's interpretation of the Division's history and followed suit with articles designed to sensationalise. An ITV programme "SS in Britain" (10.55 Sunday, 7 Jan, 2001), put together a compendium of 'inaccuracies, wild accusations, innuendo and lack of objectivity' (Kurlak, 2001). On behalf of the Federation of Ukrainian War Veterans (OBVU), the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) President and General Secretary wrote to The Factual Programmes Department of Yorkshire Television and to the Press Complaints Commission. During his interview for this study, the CEO of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) directed me to a copy of his reply to the media and it is reproduced in the appendices^v.

In 2005 Douglas Macleod wrote his *Morningside Mataharis; How MI6 deceived Scotland's Great and Good*. Following in the footsteps of Cesarani, Macleod's polarised creative journalism does not help the debate about the Division.

In 2012 Per Anders Rudling's (2012, p.330) article '*They Defended Ukraine*' in the Journal of Slavic Military Studies (Vol.25), contests that "*In Ukrainian ultra-nationalist mythology the unit is depicted as freedom fighters who fought for an independent Ukraine, its collaboration with Nazi Germany dismissed as Soviet propaganda*". It is not within the remit of my study to enter the debate about war criminality. There will always be a cohort of writers whose narratives continually

<http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/23rd-december-1989/13/you-are-the-grey-mass>.

challenge aspects of Ukrainian historical mythology. My frustration lies with those who are capable of subtly blending fact with fiction.

A balanced account of the history of the Galicia Division is provided by Olesya Khromeychuk, in Volume 11 of the series *Nationalisms across the Globe*. She calls her study '*Undetermined Ukrainians: Post War Narratives of the Waffen SS 'Galicia' Division*'. In the forward, David Marples ⁵⁵, an expert scholar on contemporary Ukraine, comments on 'the Battle for Memory in Ukraine' (2013, p.xiv) and cites her for revisiting the debate in a measured way. Most scholars will concur with Marples that there still exists an 'incendiary background to the general area of the study of Ukrainian wartime nationalism' (p. xvii). The post WW2 experiences of Galicia Division veterans interviewed for this study are discussed more fully in chapter five.

3.8 Wave Four- Transnationals 1991-present

Third Generation (G3) & Transnationals (T1)

Ivan Kozachenko's (2013) thesis examines ... 'the impact of communication technologies on community-making processes within Eastern Slavic diasporas in the UK' (2013: iii). In his focus on three major Slavic nationalities, he succeeds in securing elite interviews with Russians, Belarussians, and Ukrainians. His exploration of social networks throws light on similar themes explored here. Diaspora, migration, 'imagined community', identity etc, are explored, but his most interesting contribution concerns the use of ICT and its use by, and influence upon, new migrants. The findings of much of his study concur with those of the newly arrived (novoprybuli / новоприбулі) transnational Ukrainians (N31), (N32) (N33) & (N34) who were interviewed for this study. Roman Kraviec, editor of the website *Ukrainians in the United Kingdom*, attempted a post 1991 census. He

⁵⁵ David Roger Marples, Professor at the Department of History & Classics, University of Alberta, specializing in the history and contemporary politics of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. Author of *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2007)

published this in 2017. See ...

<http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/eng/01/immig1991-e.htm>

‘...Census figures almost certainly understate the actual numbers of Ukrainians in the UK in 2001 and 2011, since many Ukrainians among the UK’s undocumented immigrant population may have failed to complete census returns. Such undocumented immigrants consist mainly of individuals who remain in the UK for various lengths of time after their visas expire and may also include persons who entered the country without appropriate documents. Unofficially it has been estimated that in the mid-2000s over 100,000 individuals who had Ukrainian citizenship or considered themselves to be Ukrainian were living in the UK, although the reliability of such estimates cannot be gauged (Kravec, 2019, Ukrainians in the United Kingdom online encyclopaedia).

In 2014 Agnieszka Kubal and Rianne Dekker published their comparative article *Exploring the Role of Interwave Dynamics in Stagnating Migration Flows: Ukrainian Migration to the United Kingdom and the Netherlands* (2014). Their study argued that relations between ‘settled’ [first settler/ pioneer] migrants and the newly arrived Ukrainians was hampered by a 40 year generation gap caused by the Cold War, resulting in what they define as a ‘stagnating migration flow’. Their research highlighted the social and historical differences within the apparently homogenous migrant Ukrainian communities (of Rotterdam and the Greater London area).

I concur with their argument that the community formation and boundary creation of the Displaced Person and Prisoner of War first settlers led to the development of an ‘exile bubble’ [Kubal’s terminology]. They go on to argue that the first settler generations (G1) & (G2) were ambivalent towards the newly arrived (post-1991) transnationals and did not react in a traditional gatekeeping role. The situation in Scotland has improved since 2014 and many of the newly arrived have joined some of the formal organizations established by the pioneer settlers. The transnational community of Glasgow’s Ukrainians have formed their own official branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) and actively promote their political and cultural activities.

Chapter 4 Methodology & Mixed methods

My research employs a combination of approaches as outlined by Gary Thomas (2013, p.154). Firstly, it is a *retrospective* focus on two generations (G1 & G2) of Ukrainians in Scotland.

Secondly my study is a *snapshot* of the present community, mostly the (G2) progeny of the first settlers within the research timeframe of 2015-2020. Thirdly it is *diachronic*, in that it shows how changes have occurred over a period of seven decades and explains how and why these changes have taken place.

Identifying the philosophical framework that underpins the qualitative study is the first criterion for internally consistent and meaningful research. (Drisko, 1997, p.186)

Phenomenologists of both the European and North American schools of thought share some common features when studying groups. Their approaches are concerned with subjectivity, description, and interpretation rather than objectivity, analysis, and measurement. The Europeans, (Husserl, 1931), (Jean-Paul Sartre, 1956) and (Martin Heidegger 1962), leaned towards the discipline of philosophy, whereas the North American approaches (Alfred Schutz 1962,1967) are more akin to the traditions of sociology and psychology, investigating the ways in which people interpret social phenomena. My research leans towards the North American traditions. I am concerned with the sociological and psychological [self-identificational] aspects of how Ukrainians [in Scotland] interpret themselves as members of a diaspora. My in-depth interviews have greatly assisted the diachronic unfolding of past events. The narratives of both generational cohorts have helped to interpret the nuances of an *imagined* community whose [pre-arrival] social origins were complex.

4.1 Design Frame-The Case Study

No one would contest that methodological application is a major challenge for any social science researcher. Choosing and justifying the case study approach has led to my use of a variety of conceptual tools taken from the schools of

anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, geography, and political science. The decision to employ this range of paradigms stems from the principles of *triangulation* espoused by Norman Denzin (2012). Triangulation assumes a forensic nature, every finding being of unique importance when placed against the completed summary. There are five components to my ‘forensics’-*the design frame, interdisciplinarity, researcher positionality, critical ethnographic fieldwork and visual methodology*.

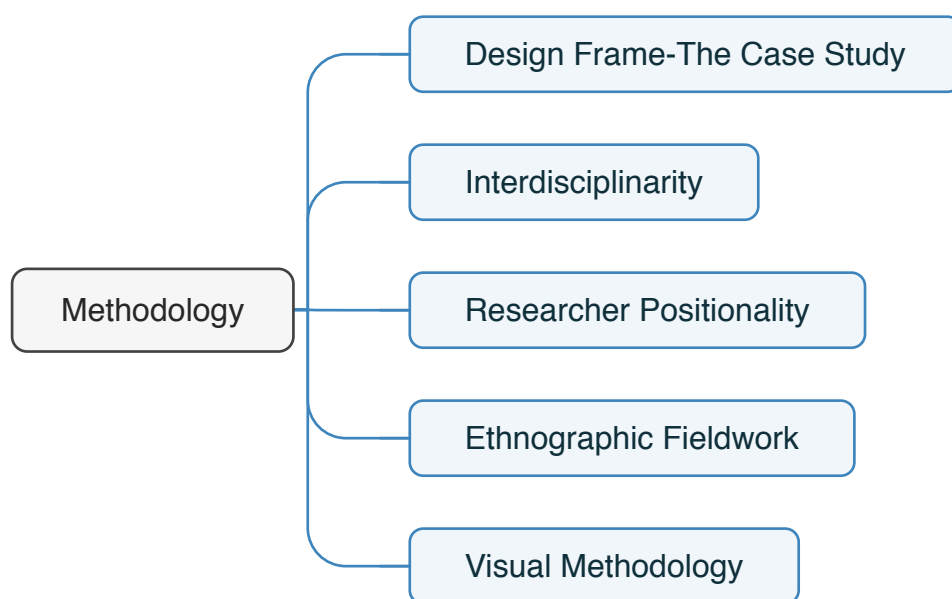


Figure 4-1 Methodology

The case study is a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings (Eisenhardt, 1989:534)

While case studies can illuminate and explain broader social phenomena, they can simultaneously assist the focus on bounded social identities, as is the case with my investigation. Despite the Ukrainians having initially been physically dispersed throughout urban and rural Scotland, the *visible* members of both generational cohorts frequently group together for the commemorative events of their social and religious calendars. As I explained in my theory chapter, Benedict Anderson’s (2006) *imagined* community encapsulates the wider demographics of my research population, but my use of the term *visible* community limits this study to interaction with those who inhabit the detectible, observable arena.

My analytical frame focusses on *why* and *how* the DPs and POWs came here, *where* they settled and the dynamics which they and their descendants have exhibited over the last seven decades. The subjects have not been selected for convenience but have been located due to an urgency prompted by the ravages of time. If no record is completed at this late stage, then these individuals may fully acculturate to the point where no one will be able to offer factual accounts of their pioneering experiences. As a result, a robust historiography of their achievements may go uncharted. To comprehensively represent my respondents, I have taken advantage of the maximum allowance of designated academic time available in the part-time PhD syllabus. Choosing this model allowed me the temporal advantage of five or more years in which to gain sustained, systematic access to the generational cohorts. In common with many part-time studies this has involved considerable travel, time, and expense. All self-funded.

While acknowledging the advantages of the case study, one should remain aware of the critics of this method. Some may question the credibility of generalizations resulting from research. Too often the boundaries of case studies are fluid and difficult to define. In addition, this mode of exploration can succumb to the *process* rather than the *outcome* and stand accused of producing the ‘soft’ data of qualitative and interpretive methods rather than the ‘hard’ data of statistics. However, my design frame incorporates a variety of methods for gathering data. My preferred starting point employed the flexibility of semi-structured interviews [see appendix] which frequently led to additional data from tangential accounts, diaries, and document interrogation.

First settler respondents frequently allowed me to inspect their civilian ‘alien registration’ documents which officially tracked their journeys from the DP camps in Europe to the European Voluntary Worker hostels in Scotland. Similarly, two of the former Galicia Division respondents were able to show me their military soldier’s book [soldbuch] and Red Cross documents which confirmed their travelogue from 1943 onwards. [Field note]

During the interviews I was able to stimulate memories from a pre-prepared timeline of events which I knew had impacted on the migration and settlement of both generational cohorts of respondents. All my semi-structured interviews, a blend of open-ended and closed questions, were audio-recorded and later

transcribed. The unstructured interviews [approximately one third] were more like conversations with no pre-determined format which allowed respondents to determine the issues that were important to them and their families. Following our chance meetings at the annual 'Heritage events', *conversational informants* were noted, tracked and traced for future reference. The deliberate plan to give preference to qualitative data gathering has been intrinsic to researching identity formation and has allowed me to examine many of the significant processes of the community's boundary creation.

Looking to statistical and demographic detail, support and verification has been forthcoming from respected sources. The leading Ukrainian academics I interviewed, renowned demographers and geographers, kindly pointed me to previous quantitative data concerning major migratory events- for this I remain grateful. However, quantitative data concerning the Ukrainian *imagined* community in Scotland has been difficult to locate.

Two main representative bodies were initially approached. By kind permission of the eparchy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) I was allowed access to the baptismal and marriage records for Scotland. This access allowed me to structure some graphical trends. However, church records are only part of the source. The difficulty of tracking civil marriages is an enormous, if not impossible task.

My second demographic source looked to the early membership records of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). I was kindly provided with a spreadsheet of camps and hostels from which I could extract the camps which were geographically situated in Scotland. This allowed me to confirm the list of camps which were recorded in the UGCC priest's daybook.

Both sets of records have allowed a construction of early demographics of the locations and population numbers of the Ukrainian Displaced Persons' camps and hostels. By combining the data from both sources, the following map shows the distribution of the camps in Scotland.

Ukrainians in Displaced Persons and Prisoner of War Camps in Scotland 1946-51

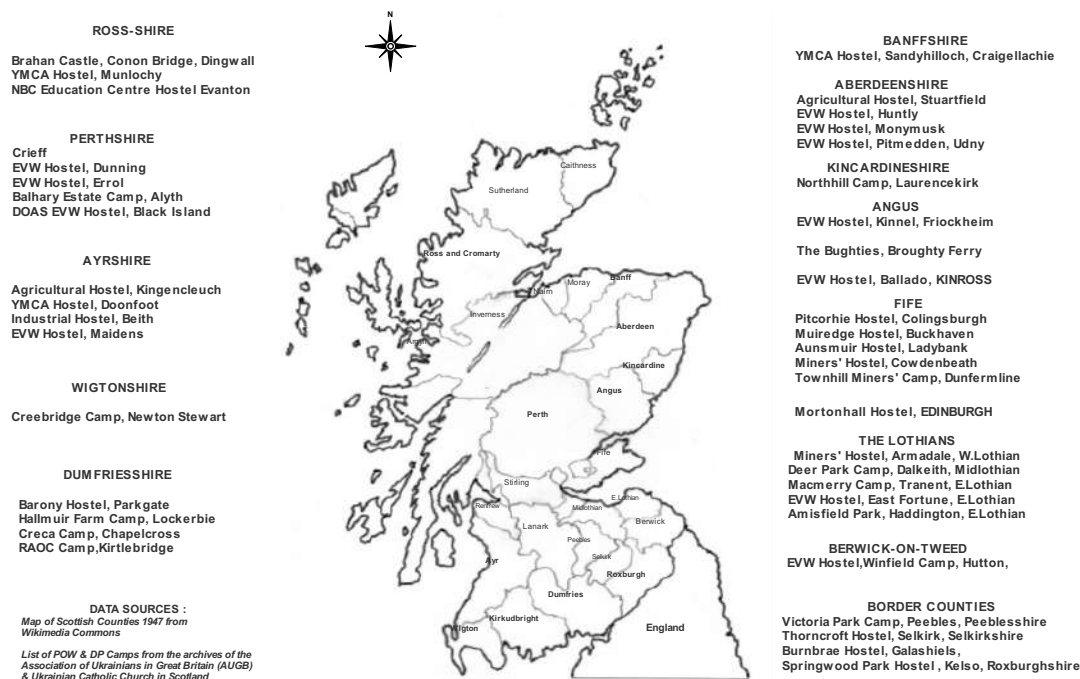


Figure 4-2 Ukrainians in Displaced Persons camps 1946-51 in Scotland

© copyright Peter Kormylo

The employment of geospatial data tools available via Edinburgh University's [Digimap](#)⁵⁷ service has allowed accurate location of most of these former Prisoner of War and European Voluntary Workers' camps. The service allows browsing, viewing, and printing of historical maps and is a facility for comparing two maps of the same location but from different historical periods.

⁵⁷ **Digimap** is a web mapping and online data delivery service developed by the EDINA national data centre for UK academia. It offers a range of on-line mapping and data download facilities which provide maps and spatial data from Ordnance Survey, British Geological survey, Landmark Information Group and SeaZone Ltd. (marine mapping data and charts from the UK Hydrographic Office). The service is funded by the JISC (Joint Information Systems Committee)

4.2 Interdisciplinarity

‘Among sociologists, interdisciplinarity is lauded as an ideal, scorned as a threat, and embraced as a practice.’ (Jacobs, 2009, p.1)

When considering methodology in the early days of this research, it became apparent that planning tools were coming into play, sometimes coincidentally, sometimes accidentally, as the semi-structured interviews got under way. The incidence of *snowballing*, alongside emerging *qualitative* and *quantitative* data, highlighted the need to remain fluid in planning -especially during these embryonic stages ⁵⁸.

Michael Morden wrote ‘openness to disciplinary approaches far from our own may help us to understand a force that is not easily captured in the traditional social scientific imagination’ (2016, p.16). General dictionary definitions describe *interdisciplinarity* as the combination of two or more academic disciplines into one activity for the purposes of research. Jerry Jacobs and Scott Frickel describe interdisciplinarity as ‘communication and collaboration *across* academic disciplines’ (Jacobs, 2009). The concept became my starting point and has continued as the *modus operandi* throughout.

The complexities of a case study can benefit from full investigation via numerous disciplinary lenses. Carolyne Brettell and James Hollifield (Brettell, 2015) offer such guidance to those who analyse migratory populations. In their recent publication *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, they advise that any focus on migrant communities requires the researcher to ‘transcend a number of disciplinary boundaries’-and so their approach became one of my favoured typologies. The diagram below represents Brettell *et al*’s reaching *across* disciplines.

⁵⁸ The earliest days of this study were aligned to the School of Interdisciplinary Studies, Dumfries Campus, an excellent grounding for the years ahead. The retiral of certain tutors from that campus prompted my student transfer at the end of the second year to the main Glasgow Campus and the school of Central and East European Studies (CEES).

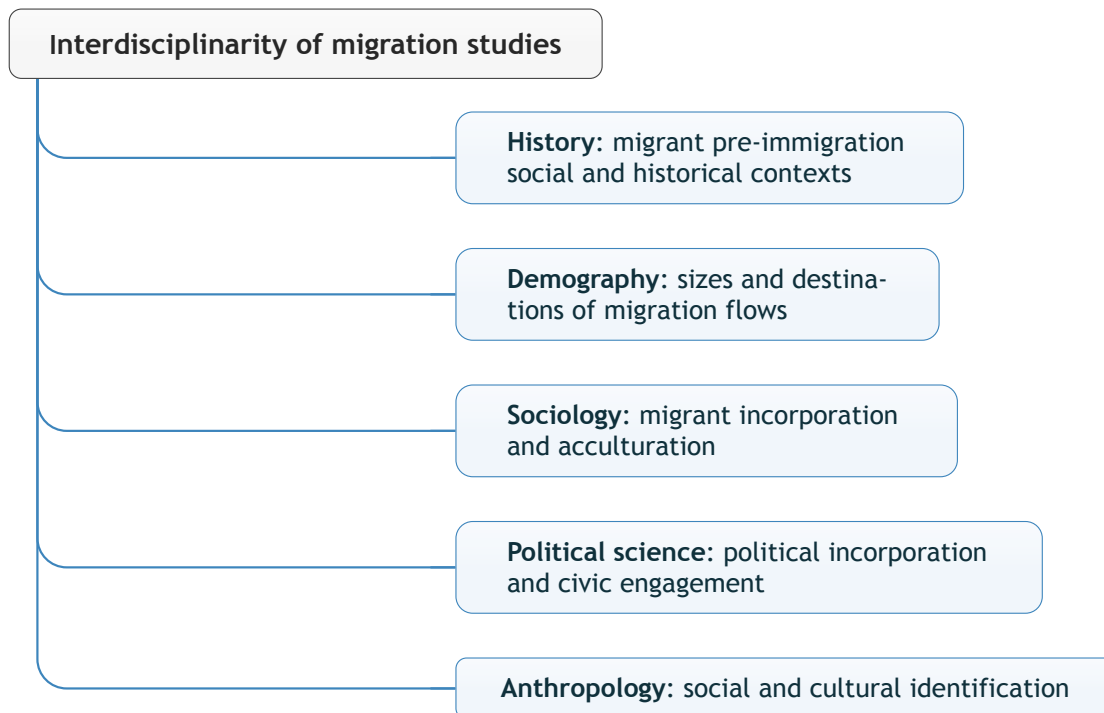


Figure 4-3 Concept map of interdisciplinarity

How many disciplinary paradigms and typologies are enough?

One could argue that there are never enough, but the limitations of a thesis somewhat compress the number of employable frameworks. There is no place afforded here to delve into paradigm wars and semantic arguments concerning interdisciplinarity and its various interpretations. Jacobs and Frickel condense the term's popular application to three forms ...

[c]ross disciplinary/multi-disciplinary (contributions from two or more fields, *interdisciplinary/pluridisciplinary*, integration of knowledge originating in two or more fields, or *transdisciplinary* knowledge produced jointly by disciplinary experts and social practitioners). The underlying goal of these terms is to distinguish between low, moderate and high levels of interconnectedness or intellectual integration' (2009, p.45).

I have chosen to employ the term *interdisciplinary* as I believe it most accurately reflects the forensic nature of my case study. It has been imperative to keep in mind what they call the 'epistemic barriers,' the baggage of incompatible research traditions that do not translate well across disciplinary fields. As mentioned earlier, the availability of information concerning Scotland's *imagined*

Ukrainian community is sparse, widely distributed in varied repositories and uncoordinated. Drawing together data which either integrate or reinforce concepts led to the need to ‘make do’ with what is available.

Exploration of the cultural, religious, and socio-political contexts of the research framework also draws on a multiplicity of sources and disciplinary typologies. It quickly became apparent in the initial stages that my gathering of data bore the hallmarks of an approach known as *bricolage*. The word *bricolage*⁵⁹ is not directly translatable from French into English, but it is a recognised exploratory tool in sociological research. [The noun *bricoleur* is French for handyman, someone who employs the tools at hand to complete a task].

Joe L. Kincheloe describes *bricolage* as the ‘opportunistic’ employment of methodological strategies as they are needed in the unfolding context of the situation’ (2001, p.1), adding that ... ‘multi-perspectival research is inextricably linked to interpretation of a world which has become exponentially more multi-dimensional and complex as time goes on. *Bricolage* is grounded in the epistemology of complexity’ (2001, p.2). His concluding recommendation is ... ‘to consider the critiques of many diverse scholars’, informing us that... ‘*bricolage* is concerned not only with divergent methods of inquiry but with diverse theoretical and philosophical understandings of the various elements encountered in the act of research’ (2001, p.679).

Bricolage is an important feature of my research methodology as it accurately describes the explorative nature of coincidental/accidental stumbling upon data that contributes directly to my themes. I do not consider the term to be opportunistic in any negative sense, but prefer to consider *bricolage* positively, attributing it to my ‘structured improvisation’.

⁵⁹ In the Routledge Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology we find the following definition; **Bricolage, bricoleur** A bricoleur is a kind of French handyman, who improvises technical solutions to all manner of minor repairs. In ‘*The Savage Mind*’ (1962) Levi-Strauss used this image to illustrate the way in which societies combine and recombine different symbols and cultural elements in order to come up with recurring structures.

4.3 Researcher positionality

‘This work has been in the making for many years, not because I have been lazy but because I realised that it had to be lived in order to be written!’ (Hagoel, 2016).

Lea Hagoel’s statement supports the second of Robin Cohen’s theoretical research tools ⁶⁰, ‘the wisdom of hindsight’. The intention to attempt this study began decades ago, but the pressures of family and career allowed me little quality time to commit to a mammoth undertaking. Formal retiral has brought with it both free time and space.

I was born in Scotland in 1950, the year my father was released from his EWV contract. As the son of a mixed marriage (Ukrainian father, Scottish mother), I have spent a lifetime aligned to both Scottish and Ukrainian cultural and social traditions. This places me situationally central to the research, allowing the opportunity as an active agent to interpret the events and narratives of qualitative research.

Kachig Tolölyan (2012:4), founder of the academic journal *Diaspora*, advocates that researcher positionality must draw from expertise in more than one academic discipline. When introducing his *Working Paper 55* at the International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, he said that any scholar in the field of Diaspora studies must develop expertise in three fields - anthropology, historiography, and theoretical competence.

First, the scholar must know the people of the Diaspora he or she is studying, somewhat in the way that a good anthropologist knows them: must understand how people gain their economic livelihood, organize their social life, participate in public and political life, produce a culture that represents them to themselves and others and in the process attributes value and meaning to their lives. (2012, p.1)

Before undertaking this dissertation in 2014, I have been privileged in experiencing several decades of alternating between ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ participation in the Ukrainian community of Scotland [and elsewhere in the United Kingdom]. This emic/etic rotational positionality began to manifest itself more

⁶⁰ Cohen’s four diasporic research tools are; the emic-etic relationship, the wisdom of hindsight, common features, and Weberian ideal types (2008, p.16).

regularly when I relocated to Edinburgh around the time of the millennium. This was a cultural shift from the small Scottish burgh (where only 40 families had identified themselves as Ukrainian) to the capital city where hundreds of Ukrainians had established their *visible* community as early as 1946. Edinburgh's Ukrainians benefit from a permanent community centre on Royal Terrace, a church in Dalmeny Street, and a Consulate in Windsor Street. The Edinburgh community is the last remaining physically *visible* remnant of organised social, religious, and political activity serving Scotland's Ukrainians ⁶¹.

Turning again to Tölölyan, he sees the necessity for a scholar to have acquired historical knowledge of a community, especially how the social formation came into being ... *'and sometimes will even acquire more of such knowledge than individual members of that society or people possess'* (2012, p.1). Shortly after settling in Edinburgh, I became an active member of the local branch of Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) and, after some years as their secretary, took on the role of their librarian and archivist. It was at this point I began to compile a tangible, pictorial history of the Ukrainian community in Scotland, which eventually may find itself as a published book. By playing a proactive profile in the *visible* community of the city and elsewhere, I experienced many more instances of the insider/ outsider shift, leading frequently to reflectivity and the opportunity *'to see ourselves as others see us'* (Burns, 1796).

Tölölyan's third and final criterion demands that a scholar must gain theoretical competence... *'a familiarity with the ways in which ideas about similar social formations have been produced and can be critically and self-reflectively examined'* (2012, p.1). As cautionary advice regarding situational centrality, Harrison warns ethnographic researchers, particularly active agents, to beware of *ethnocentricity* -the tendency to place one's own cultural beliefs and practices at the prioritised centre of one's worldview (2018, p.22). Heeding his advice, I moved temporarily beyond the Ukrainians and succeeded in interviewing representatives of two other ethnic collectives. I interviewed academics of both Jewish and Italian

⁶¹ The Edinburgh community has survived where other cohorts have allowed their formal community life to recede to a point where there is no longer a community owned building in Dundee, Glasgow, Galashiels, Lockerbie or Annan. More about this in the concluding chapters.

heritage, authors who have published books on the migration and settlement of their own people.

My primary School class mid 1950s

Throughout my lifetime I have always been conscious of the fact that Scotland has been home to many nationalities. In my primary school class, of the 24 children- 2 Italians, 8 Irish, 1 Mexican, 5 Ukrainian, 7 Scottish, and 1 English, the majority of pupils were of foreign heritage.

My affinity with children of nationalities, other than Scottish, began even before going to school. Many of the so-called 'poorer families' of 'foreigners' were housed in one of the least affluent areas of the town, which in those days was notoriously 'rough'. I spent my primary school years from 1955 onwards, in a small Roman Catholic primary school where most of my classmates were of non-Scottish origin.

The experiences of my pre-thesis decades I consider to be my unauthorised, 'longitudinal' preamble to the study. Throughout the writing process I have considered myself to be what sociologists call a *participant observer*, accepted by the community I am studying. This technique is closely linked to the school of symbolic interactionism and the work of Blumer, Goffman and Stryker. During my observations I have employed Leon Anderson's concept of *analytical autoethnography*, represented by my occasional comments inserted as *field notes* and contained by square brackets [...].

There is a caution. The traumas associated with my Ukrainian heritage concur with one of Tölölyan's comments on positionality. Tölölyan, as an Armenian linked to one of the most catastrophic dispersions in history, states that 'every scholar tries to achieve an objective perspective, but every frank scholar knows that he or she also has a subjective perspective shaped by his or her formation as a professional and a person.' (2012, p.4) Tölölyan's 'subjective perspective' demands an additional comment about emotion.

The experience of emotions within field research is highlighted by Rebecca Kay's *Emotional Engagements with the Field: A view from Area Studies* (2011).

She talks of ... ‘the passions, anxieties and emotions associated with fieldwork and subsequent processes of writing up’ (p.1276-7). Her study of grassroots women’s organizations in Russia during the mid-1990s, and her subsequent projects, has been characterized by emotional attachments to her subjects. She cautions that ... ‘while relationships in the field, as elsewhere, can be rewarding, exhilarating and supportive, they can be equally draining, embarrassing and frustrating’. Her advice is simply to ensure that ‘robust reflexive practices’ create a balanced view of what is being witnessed to arrive at ‘relevant analytical frameworks’. In tandem with her professed emotional attachments within fieldwork, as an embedded researcher I retain similar long established and compelling links with my father’s people. My own life journey, like hers, does not lack emotional intensity.

During the years of the Cold War the relationships which I built with exiled Ukrainians forged my personal commitment to supporting the spread of knowledge about a nation that had been subjugated for so long. From the time of Ukraine’s newly regained independence in 1991 my visits to Ukraine have increased considerably. Despite my hybrid origins ⁶², I feel ‘at home’ when in Ukraine. When I visit the country, I take full advantage of interaction with Ukrainian citizens of various *ethnies*, social classes and political persuasions. At this moment in time, following Vladimir Putin’s illegal annexation of Crimea and Russian aggression in the eastern provinces, I take every opportunity to profess support for many of Ukraine’s nation-building and nation-protecting processes.

What then of researcher *interpretive reflexivity*?

Roni Berger tackles an important issue regarding researcher positionality by examining the challenges of subjectivity and reflexivity linked to qualitative research. She has written about ... ‘reflexivity when the researcher shares the experience of the study participants’. Her article entitled *Now I see it, now I don’t: the researcher’s position in qualitative research*, is a resumé of thinking around this issue. For her reflexivity is the self-appraisal in research. I am aware that my ‘dual identity’ [her words] as both researcher and member of the community [insider-outsider] will undoubtedly shape the process but I believe that

⁶² For a debate on hybrid positionality see Srivastava *Reconciling Multiple Researcher Positionalities and Languages in International Research* (2006)

by constant awareness of my own history and personal characteristics my situatedness can result in a balanced study.

Those who wish to further explore the experience of '*being reflexive*' might refer to Michael Lynch who offers an inventory of 19 definitions of the term! I chose to ascribe to his *methodological self-consciousness*, where he encourages us to be aware of our assumptions and prejudices (2000, p.29). Catherine Vanner argues that there is no such thing as neutral or apolitical research. She records that her opinions, values, beliefs and social background ... 'accompany me through the research process, shaping each methodological and analytical decision that I make' (2015, p.3). Li Mao, too, is conscious of 'unveiling biases and assumptions' (2016, p.1) and believes that, without a high level of self-reflexivity, research suffers. She talks of 'embracing the spiral', advising us to constantly re-visit our own subjectivity and return to self-reflexivity frequently throughout our fieldwork sessions. Paul Lichterman condenses the debate with an overarching sentence ... 'the primary goal of reflexivity is to invite readers into a critical dialogue about our claims (2017, p.39).

There are critics. Philip Salzman claims that '...the unavoidable subjectivity of researchers negates any external validation of knowledge' (2002, p.805). I refute Salzman's claim. Acting as an embedded researcher does not automatically result in succumbing to one's own subjectivity. In my case, as the progeny of a mixed marriage and having experienced a lifetime of parallel cultures, I place myself in a *hybrid* category. Hybridity has afforded me multiple opportunities to opt in and out of both Ukrainian and Scottish social, political, and cultural events. I consider such insider-outsider positioning to have been a distinct advantage when conducting my research.

Moving to Edinburgh as a mid-life career move also meant leaving my own small burgh to participate in the capital's large Ukrainian community. This afforded me the opportunity to observe the generational cohorts often as if I were an 'outsider'. I had spent my teenage years attending summer camps with young second generation Ukrainians from all over the UK, including Edinburgh, which meant that I was no stranger to the community. One feature which occasionally manifested itself was what I can only call 'clan mentality'. As a result of our younger years there had always been a friendly rivalry between Scotland's Ukrainian hromady/зромади [smaller communities]. Each community (Edinburgh, Dundee,

Galashiels, Lockerbie, Annan etc) where choirs, orchestras or dance groups had been established, took part in regional Ukrainian arts festivals. Prizes and trophies were to be won. The legacy of this rivalry entered the common parlance of the visible community. I was one of the 'Annan Ukrainians' whereas my friend Terry is an 'Edinburgh Ukrainian'! In my later years I am now a 'Dumfries Ukrainian'. [Field note]

While it is impossible to be entirely neutral and objectively unbiased, I believe my emic/etic positional rotationality enhances my hybrid- based worldview but also assists my ability to 'hear the unsaid' [Berger's term] of second-generation Ukrainians, the majority of whom are also the progeny of mixed marriages. [More of this in the concluding chapter]. Researching as a *hybrid* in multi-sited fieldwork is both rewarding and challenging. It is succinctly illustrated by Prachi Srivastava ...

My researcher positionalities were constantly in flux, they were mediated by living in hybridised field identities that were inexorably linked to my constructions of self or 'real-life' identities outside the field. These were not dichotomous; rather, they drew on each other to facilitate exchange, alter power differentials, and access data (2006, p.211).

4.4 Critical ethnographic fieldwork

Anthony Harrison in *An Introduction to Ethnography: Understanding Qualitative Research*, states that 'methodology references established norms of inquiry that are by and large adhered to within a distinct research tradition. (2018, p.21). Ethnographic investigation, first pioneered in branches of anthropology, is popularly employed in many disciplines, especially those linked with sociology and cultural studies.

'Ethnography deals with him [man] as a social and intellectual being, and includes inquiries as to his manners, customs, institutions, history, traditions, language, religion, intellectual aptitudes, industries, arts &c' (Garson & Read ⁶³, 1892, p.5).

For Harrison ethnography involves 'studying, describing, representing, and

⁶³ Notes and queries on anthropology or a guide to anthropological research for the use of travellers and others (1892), 2nd Edition, Council of the Anthropological Institute, London.

theorizing (with a certain degree of particularity) a culture or social world' (2018, p.5). He quotes from a century earlier, from William H.R. Rivers ...

A typical piece of intensive work is one in which the worker lives for a year or more among a community of perhaps four or five hundred people and studies every detail of their life and culture; in which he comes to know every member of the community personally; in which he is not content with generalized information but studies every feature of life and custom in concrete detail and by means of the vernacular language. (Rivers, 1913, p. 7)

Ethnographic fieldwork focuses on the complex cultures of communities and groups. It is dependent on building relationships and gaining access to people's lives⁶⁴. There are important elements to gaining access. Firstly, in addition to participating in the community, Rivers mentions the importance of acquiring the vernacular language. I am at a great advantage in the fact that I was reared within a family where my father deliberately used his own language frequently. His tenacity afforded me the foundations of my lifetime's study of Ukrainian. Command of the language greatly assists my access to all aspects of Ukrainian culture and social life.

A second major element of ethnographic fieldwork is *comprehensive immersion*. Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) (whose texts regarding field methods were foundational to early anthropology) recommended that researchers should be engrossed with fieldwork for lengthy periods. In my case, what better immersion than a lifetime of participation in the visible community's activities? This echoes the sentiments of Gerhard Reimann who argues that a pre-requisite for engaging in ethnographic fieldwork is that the researcher should be pre-equipped with 'intensive and extensive life and work experiences' (2005, p.90). Martyn Denscombe adds to the discourse ...

Ethnographic fieldwork requires the researcher to spend considerable time in the field among the people whose lives and culture are being studied. The ethnographer needs to share in the lives

⁶⁴ Earlier paragraphs on my positionality explain how I have participated in this community for decades, building on many positive relationships, particularly with cohorts G1 & G2 of respondents. These respondents were mostly taken from the highly visible, proactive cohorts of formal members of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) in Scotland. Other less visible, *dormant* members were difficult to trace. However, there have been occasions in the last four years where I have occasionally encountered *dormant* Ukrainians who did not wish to be formally interviewed but were 'happy to chat'.

rather than observe from a position of detachment. Extended fieldwork allows for a journey of discovery in which the explanations for what is being witnessed emerge over a period of time. (2014, p.80),

Qualitative and/or quantitative data?

The major proportion of my fieldwork is given over to qualitative enquiry, extensive searches having revealed a paucity of available quantitative data. Denscombe argues that fieldwork which focuses ‘on the routine and normal aspects of *everyday life*, can unearth valuable research data and that ‘the mundane and ordinary parts of social life are just as valid as the special events and ceremonies which can all too easily capture our attention.’

Such fieldwork is also amplified by employing aspects of humanist photography. Humanist photography is concerned more with the everyday experiences which make up our lives rather than with newsworthy events. According to Catherine Lutz, humanist photographers aim to convey the particular conditions and social trends of the underclasses ... ‘disadvantaged by conflict, economic hardship or prejudice. (1993, p.277)

To understand a community is to be phenomenologically concerned with discovering how the members of the group/culture understand things, the meanings they attach to happenings and the way they perceive their reality. Denscombe continues ... ‘the interlinkages between the various features of the culture must be emphasised in order to avoid isolating facets of the culture from the wider context in which it exists’.

My ‘interlinkages’ are informed by daily immersion in aspects of diasporic life. Telephone conversations and internet communication with family, friends and acquaintances in both the UK and Ukraine, reading Ukrainian language books [fact and fiction], watching Ukrainian television via satellite dish and/or the internet - are just a few of the associated ‘mundane and ordinary parts’ which orbit the more sagacious aspects of my research.

Recording and reporting here makes use of *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) where certain collective (and individual) behaviours encompass a symbolic significance requiring elaboration - on how and why the behaviours link to other settings. Hence my field notes are prompted and characterised by introspection

and/or reflection. Denscombe proposes that the ethnographer's final account of the research population should be 'a crafted construction which inevitably owes something to the ethnographer's own experiences' (2014, p.81). Such a holistic perspective of ethnography is not new but taken from the early field work of Malinowski ⁶⁵.

One of the first conditions of acceptable ethnographic work certainly is that it should deal with the totality of all social, cultural, and psychological aspects of the community, for they are so interwoven that not one can be understood without taking into consideration all the others (1922, p.xvi).

In summary, the major aspects of my fact-finding run parallel with the four fundamental constituents of a comprehensive fieldwork approach as identified by Anthony Harrison. These requirements are (1) Long-term residence by a trained researcher (2) learning the local language rather than relying on interpreters (3) collecting as much data as possible on as wide a range of activities as possible- from the spectacular and ceremonial to the everyday and mundane- and (4) taking copious fieldnotes; and when possible, partaking in social activities as a participant-observer' (2018, p.16).

4.5 Visual sociology

A major component of my research looks to *visual sociology* ⁶⁶, a form of enquiry which gathered momentum from the 1960s development of anthropological and documentary photography. As Marco Martiniello (2017, p.1184) observes, we all live in a world of images and yet a minority of sociologists and political scientists are confident using photographs, film, video etc in constructing academic knowledge. There is a vast literature surrounding visual sociology that explains and analyses the production, dissemination and receiving of images and how they can transmit the complexities of social life. I had always been determined that my

⁶⁵ Bronisław Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942) published *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), establishing him as one of the most important anthropologists in Europe of that time. His work is regarded as a major influence on the development of British Social Anthropology.

⁶⁶ The [International Visual Sociology Association](#) (IVSA), established in 1981, promotes discussion regarding the importance of using images in the social sciences. The Association's journal *Visual Sociology* and its annual conferences provide a forum for the critical development of visual sociological theorizing, the refinement of existing methodologies, the enhancement of ethical practice protocols and the maintenance of an interdisciplinary network of professionals working in the field of visual sociological research.

investigations would employ videos, photographs, drawings, and a range of other ephemeral graphics. Such images can be researcher generated or contributed by participants.

My research employed images gleaned from four main sources. Over and above my own archival collection, several respondents and correspondents allowed me to copy [scan] images from their family albums. A list of these generous donors is appended. Two remaining sources of historic photos made significant contributions to this study. Extremely rare graphics emerged from the mothballed Lyatyshevsky⁶⁷ [Лятишевський] collection, which had been languishing in a respondent's home in boxes since his passing thirty years ago. Although I have selected and studied a goodly number of these there are many hundreds yet to be examined.

Lyatyshevsky was preoccupied with the everyday life of Scotland's Ukrainian post WW2 community. He meticulously followed and photographed the community's political, social and religious events from the late 1940s until his death in 1990. He was not a photojournalist in any formal sense but borrowed from the practices of the school of humanist photography.

The fourth major source of historic material emerged from my annual Heritage events [more about this later].

I have no reason to believe that the photos herein are not genuine interpretations of reality. I believe they are records of real, lived experiences. Careful analysis of these rare images has consumed many hours of curiosity and assisted my fact finding at every turn. Not only do they contribute to a pictorial history of the *visible* Ukrainian community in Scotland but should be considered as

⁶⁷ It has been my good fortune to have inherited the collection of the late Dr. Myron Lyatyshevsky. [Miron Latyszewski] (1901-1990). Following his military conscription into the Polish Army, he became a post-WW2 researcher at Edinburgh University's Institute of Genetics. In his spare time, he was an amateur photographer whose style was clearly linked to the genre of Glasgow's Oscar Marzaroli (1933-1988) or Paris's Robert Doisneau (1912-1994). His photographs were mostly taken in black and white, captured in available light with popular small cameras of the late forties and early fifties. When he progressed from black and white photography to amateur filming, three volumes of his film were registered posthumously with the [Scottish Screen Archive](#) : Latyszewski Collection, 1959-1960 (42 minutes), 1959-1970 (39 mins) and 1959-1970 (25 mins). Other reels have yet to be digitalized.

symbolic and representative evidence of the underlying culture and political ideologies explored within this study.



Figure 4-4 Dr. Lyatyshevsky, photographer extraordinaire 1950

Ukrainian exiles gather at the Cenotaph, Royal Mile, Edinburgh to lay a wreath following the death of the supreme commander of the UPA, Roman Shukhevych.

4.6 Photo elicitation

The employment of photo elicitation is a powerful tool. The use of archival photography as a social research strategy is not a new approach. On the contrary it is a long-established practice as noted by Collier (1957), Harper (2002), Kuhn (2007), Prosser (2008b), and Chaplin (2011). Methodological approaches to disclosing historic photographs and theoretical views are themes taken up by Lapenta (2011) and Margolis (2011). Employing historic photographs as visual prompts in the interviews has been an enriching experience. Where possible, *found images* were used which were linked to the interviewed respondents. In many

instances, even when an image had no direct connection to the individual, it usually provided an added dimension to the conversation (Banks, 2015) .



Figure 4-5 An old Ukrainian with his dancing bear 1907

Taken on the High Street, Dumfries outside the Hole in the Wa' Inn
 Courtesy of Dumfries and Galloway Libraries

The stewardship of image-based data^{vi} is no simple task. I describe my stewardship procedures in the endnotes. For guidance I referred to James Kennedy's (2014) *Preparation and Display of Historical Photographs and Documents* on how to digitally archive and share historical photographs, documents, and audio recordings <http://archivehistory.jeksite.org/chapters/chapter5.htm>

The found images employed in both photo elicitation and image analysis are generally historic black and white photographs. In certain quarters there is a wariness associated with image interpretation in that images are never usually self-explanatory. For my purposes they have proved to be valuable sources of information while at the same time amassing them as cultural artefacts. Denscombe (p.293) justifies them as '...symbolic representations whose interest lies not so much as the facts contained in the image as in the significance attached

to the contents by those who view it. Images, used in this way, can provide a source for uncovering ideologies.

It was always my intention to introduce historic photographs during the research interviews. Harper argues that the difference between image-appended interviews and discourse using words alone, lies in how respondents react to these two experiences. The advantage of the image-appended interview stems from the fact that the section of the brain which processes visual information is evolutionarily older than the section which processes verbal information...

Thus, images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words; exchanges based on words alone utilize less of the brain's capacity than do exchanges in which the brain is processing images as well as words. These may be some of the reasons the photo elicitation interview seems like not simply an interview process that elicits more information, but rather one that evokes a different kind of information (Harper, 2002).

My archive of historic photographs, now expanding into a unique data source of the community's social and cultural life, has greatly assisted photo elicitation with members of both G1 and G2 cohorts. During the individual, in-depth interviews, I chose appropriate images which would stimulate dialogue, particularly around the commemorative social, religious, and political events.

When preparing the annual heritage events, I mounted selected themed images on display boards and laid out boxes of photographs on trestle tables. The displays fell into numerous categories-e.g., pilgrimages to Carfin Grotto, political demonstrations in Glasgow and Edinburgh, dance groups, choirs, orchestras, summer camps, Saturday schools, European Voluntary Workers hostels, Prisoner of war camps, and a host of WW2 military ephemera concerning Ukrainian combatants.

During interviews, and because of conversations during the heritage events I always made my respondents and correspondents aware of my mission to gather as much photographic evidence as possible. There were respondents and participants who reacted very positively, frequently offering to supplement my data with their contributions. Along with my own historic photographs a goodly number of these contributed images are inserted [with grateful thanks] as figures throughout this dissertation.

I remember with affection the numerous occasions in the early 1950s and 1960s when the first settlers, in conversations, would carry with them in pockets, wallets and purses, precious pictorial evidence rescued from the ravages of wartime Europe.

I still hold vivid childhood memories of Ukrainian festive occasions such as Easter and Christmas in the early 1950s, when many of them had not yet left Scotland for other parts of the UK or more distant shores. We would gather in someone's home for the traditional meal. Each family brought their contribution of a dish or a bottle for the table. The meal to be consumed was always accompanied by excited conversation. Here was the chance to speak in one's own language, released from the daily frustrations of attempting to communicate in broken English. As the meal was being consumed the conversation always turned to episodes from WW2. Intermittent traditional folk songs seemed to spark not only sentimental memories but stories of home and recollections of WW2. On many occasions someone would relate an event or episode and verify it by extracting an accompanying, often battered and grubby, small photo, neatly concealed in a purse or wallet. [Field note]



Figure 4-6 Lockerbie camp EVWs celebrate a wedding early 1950s

Like Douglas Harper (2002, p.23) photo elicitation is a procedure in which I take pleasure, particularly due to my interest in black and white photography. Harper argues ... 'photographs appear to capture the impossible: a person gone; an event past. That extraordinary sense of seeming to retrieve something that has disappeared belongs alone to the photograph, and it leads to deep and interesting talk'. Photographs can also lead to informative discussion. At the conclusion of the heritage events, I set a pattern of finishing the day with a PowerPoint

presentation. Very often a member of the audience would ask that a specific photo remain on screen for closer perusal and comment. This often led to participants offering information which I had been unaware of. The historic images therefore are not only aesthetically pleasing but tell and expand on the stories linked to many aspects of enquiry.



Figure 4-7 Female EVW textile workers, Galashiels, 1949

Q. Thank you for sharing this picture with me. Is your mother in this picture?

A. Yes, but some of the other women were not Ukrainian. They were Polish and German EVWs who came to Scotland from the Displaced Persons camps in the post WW2 French, German, and Austrian zones (G2/N27).

4.7 Mixed Methods Research (MMR)

Mixed methods research employs numerous design possibilities and typologies but generally indicates clear distinctions between qualitative and quantitative procedures of enquiry. This study has exposed a paucity of quantitative sources regarding the research population. As a result, qualitative procedures became the dominant *modus operandi* with quantitative sources as subsidiary. Quantitative

sources can never be firmly accounted for when, as mentioned earlier, Ukrainian migrants throughout the last hundred years century have given themselves various titles -Little Russians, Ruthenians, Galicians, Polish Ukrainians etc. The mixer-maxter of such interpretations of self-identification makes any census a very frustrating exercise. The few tables that are included in this study can only give approximations of migrant flow.

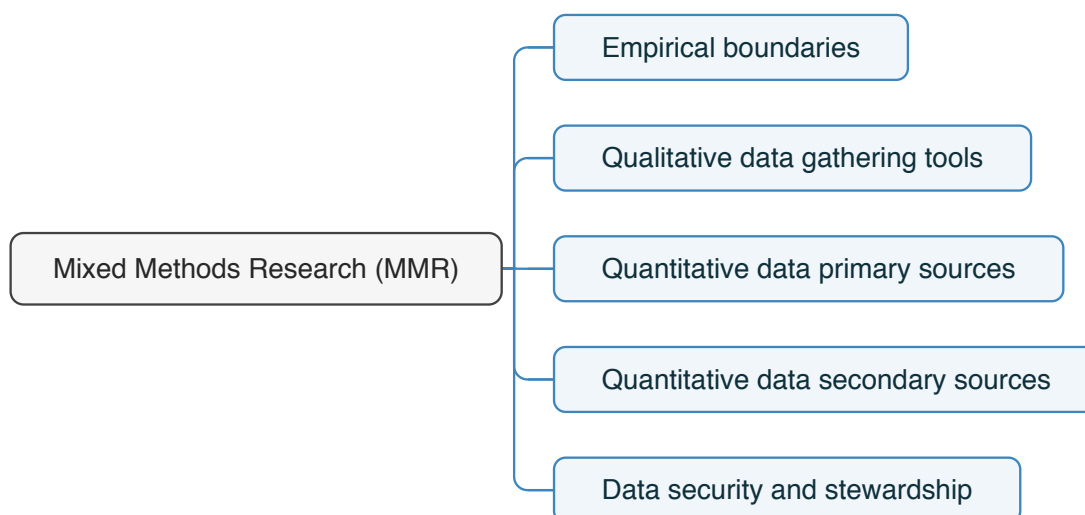


Figure 4-8 Concept map of mixed methods research

4.7.1 Empirical boundaries

The research was conducted from January 2015 to December 2019 and involved direct face to face communication with a total of 66 individuals. Active, empirical research requires ethical [institutional] clearance. Given the nature of the first generational cohort the study aimed to avoid causing psychological harm to the respondents. With all respondents the interviews steered away from instances where reputations might be damaged, or privacies infringed. The main thrust was to avoid any potential harm to the community and to this end the Scottish-based Ukrainian respondents remain anonymous. Ethical approval was sought and granted to conduct *semi-structured interviews* (SSIs) within the research population. (Glasgow University SSI Questionnaire is appended ^{vii}).

Forty-six respondents agreed to taking part in formal *semi-structured interviews* (SSIs)^{viii} which were recorded and transcribed. The remaining 20 correspondents agreed to conversations supported by less formal field notes.

Sampling was to be discriminate. I set out to interview respondents in two generational cohorts, the pioneers (G1) and their children (G2). As time went on and ‘snowballing’ opportunities arose, the process managed to secure the comments, conversations, and contributions of others. These consisted of Ukrainian élite actors, established Ukrainian academics and casual participants of the Ukrainian Heritage Events. At first, I thought to introduce a comparative element to the thesis, and began by interviewing other individuals, two Scottish-Italian authors and two Scottish-Jewish authors. These authors were interviewed because of their extensive knowledge of Italian and Jewish communities in Scotland.

Ethical Considerations

The research population is codified in numbered cohorts (G1) and generation two (G2). Where individuals are quoted, they are identified by a code indicating their belonging to *wave*, *fragment* and *generational cohort*, followed by the date of the interview/conversation. E.g., (W3/F3/G1: Wave 3, Fragment 3, Generation 1- 18 Jan 2016). The anonymised list is in appendix ^{ix} while the named list remains secure in my possession.

There were ethical risks to this project. The most vulnerable group was that of the aged *wave three, first generation* (W3, G1) octogenarians. These individuals had experienced the trauma of displacement, war, slave labour and incarceration. Within this category only three declined to be interviewed. This response contrasted with a 90-year-old Galicia Division veteran (W3, F4, G1- 5/2/2017) who wanted his family to be present when being interviewed so as, to quote him, ‘this will be the first time they’ll hear my whole story!’

Each participant was approached with a letter of invitation, emphasizing the importance of the study and how each contribution would be an important addendum to the historiography of the Ukrainian community in Scotland. Added to the original letter of invitation were, a *Plain Language Statement /Participant*

Information Sheet,^x and a *Consent Form*. These two documents were made available in two languages-English and Ukrainian so that certain (G1) respondents would find it easier to converse in Ukrainian. Four of the nonagenarian respondents (G1/N5), (G1/N7), (G1/N9) and (G1/N13) chose to be interviewed using Ukrainian as the language of discourse. The information documents in both languages are appended.

As an ‘insider’ I had access to the research population at all societal levels. As an *interpretive researcher* I remained conscious of my positionality, always mindful of academic objectivity. I travelled to most respondents’ locations to conduct dialogue face-to-face. The SSIs having been audio recorded and transcribed, the transcription was then sent to the interviewees for approval or amendment. Seven individuals chose to be interviewed by ‘skype’ (G2/N15), (G2/N17), (G2/N19), (G2/N30), (G2/N34), (G2/N36) and (G2/N40). Another group wished to be interviewed without being recorded and agreed to aspects of their conversations being included in field notes. If requested, they had access to these field notes.

At the outset I was quickly made aware of the ethical issues linked to ‘distress’ and ‘anonymity’ when I contacted three elderly (G1) ladies who at first agreed to be interviewed and subsequently declined. Two of the octogenarian ladies admitted that if they began to talk about their wartime experiences as *ost-arbeiters* they would find it too upsetting. The third widow, who herself had played a proactively pivotal role in the earliest days of community building in Scotland, at first agreed to be interviewed. On my way to the interview, she phoned me to say she had changed her mind. Her friend later confided in me with a possible explanation. Her politically active husband had journeyed to Ukraine and had been killed in a car crash which the widow believed may not have been an accident. As a result, she was intent on playing a very low profile.

Other migrants have gone to extensive lengths to conceal their true identities. An interesting example, the subject of a television documentary, is the life of the late Aleksander Krawczynski who lived all his life in Grantown on Spey as ‘Alek the Pole’. It was only after Ukraine became independent in 1991 that Alek

declared himself to be Ukrainian. His story is told in his published autobiography ⁶⁸. Unfortunately, his daughter declined to be interviewed.

Over a period of 48 months the research population of respondents was identified and approached. Although my major focus was to be the pioneer cohort and its progeny, I also intended to seek out third generation (G3) grandchildren, recent transnationals, and élite players. Additional individuals were approached with requests to quote from their published and unpublished memoirs. These permissions were granted.

The older (G1) informants, who were born in Ukrainian ethnic homelands in the aftermath of WW1 and the inter-war period, are now octogenarian and nonagenarian pensioners. The remaining numbers of these individuals reduced rapidly throughout the duration of the research period. Locating them and interviewing them became a race against time. Eight respondents of this cohort (G1) have already sadly passed away.

The second generational (G2) cohort consists of the children of these first migrants. Most of these informants were born immediately after WW2. Those of this cohort who consider themselves to be ‘the young ones’ are now parents and grandparents themselves. 25 interviews were secured from this group. Some academics choose to describe this generational cohort as the *hinge generation*. I prefer to use the title of *the bridging cohort*. These are the respondents who can offer both descriptive hindsight and, in some cases, attempt [well informed] prediction. Obtaining respondents from within this cohort was confined to high profile members of the AUGB in Scotland. A major challenge in meeting with this group of (G2) Ukrainians stems from their wide geographic dispersal over a Scottish terrain whose peripherals are not blessed with easy channels of transport and communication.

I sought other respondents who had lived in Scotland for a long period of time before they relocated to England or abroad. E.g., Former DPs & POWs who had spent the late 1940s & early 1950s in Scotland and, second generation (G2) who had grown up in Scotland then moved abroad as a result, mostly of chain migration, which I return to later.

⁶⁸ KRAWCZYNSKI, A. 2015. *I Looked Back: A Ukrainian Childhood & WW II*, Inverness, Mike & Val Falcon.

An additional challenge to sampling was locating individual (G2) females who, because of mixed marriages, no longer employed recognizable Ukrainian surnames. Very few of these females had chosen to ‘double-barrel’ their married surnames.

Next came the grandchildren (G3) of generation one. Future research would benefit from engaging with a greater number of such respondents. I was fortunate in locating five highly educated individuals who had made the effort to be well informed about their Ukrainian family histories and had specific views to offer. The grandchildren (G3) were mostly interested in lineage, genealogy, and the completion of ‘a family tree’.

During the last three decades I have always taken an interest in new migrants. This cohort, arriving after Ukraine’s declaration of independence in 1991, shares an average age equivalent with the grandchildren (G3) of the first settlers. In Ukrainian circles they are commonly called either *fourth wave* [*chetverta khvyliya*/четверта хвиля] migrants, or the newly arrived [*novoprybuli*/новоприбулі]. Three such respondents agreed to be interviewed. They are ‘young’ professionals working to a variety of long and short-term Scottish contracts and who will return to Ukraine at some point in their lives. They have contributed valuable insights into the transnational activities between Scotland and independent Ukraine. On another occasion a separate study would be of great interest here.

And now the élite respondents of Ukrainian heritage, the highly informed ‘movers and shakers’ of the various communities, organisations and institutions. Included in this group are the leading academics, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, who write books and journal articles on Ukrainian themes. Ten individuals fell into this category. The CEO of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) along with his archivist proved to be of enormous assistance when searching for primary data such as the location of camps, hostels, and their pioneer occupants. Although physical access to the complete bound editions of the *Ukrainska Dumka* newspaper meant frequent journeys to London, the scanning I have completed of articles relating to Scotland has proved to be invaluable. In addition, the Association has been publishing annual reports since 1946 which are available for perusal in the Linden Gardens archives.

By interviewing élite respondents, I have been better able to appreciate the sociology, history, demography, and political science which all connect in their interdisciplinarity to inform my research. These individuals are seasoned academics who have gained prominence in their fields of study. By engaging in face-to-face conversation with them I was able to discuss and verify certain aspects of Ukrainian migration theory and diasporic historiography -frequently separating fact from fiction. I am still in touch with most of them.

A final mention should be given to the annual Heritage Events' participants. Those who attended were generally individuals of Ukrainian descent. Because the event was essentially a pictorial display of historic photographs from the Lyatyshevsky collection, some transnationals attended, eager to learn the history of how and why Ukrainians came to Scotland. They were also keen to make initial contact with others of Ukrainian ethnicity. There were other attendees on these occasions who were not interviewed but who kindly and willingly contributed copies of their visual media and historic information to the exhibition. These are codified as *correspondents*^{xi}. The appendices contain a list of those families that kindly contributed scanned photos and valuable visual images to the study.

The format of these annual events was quite straightforward. Setting out trestle tables with folders of historic photographs and primary source documents for participants to examine. It was hoped that the elicitation of historic photography would encourage visitors to bring along their own historic photos from family albums and archives. The format succeeded in acquiring a considerable number of images.

The event provided 'photo-swap' opportunities. No originals were exchanged. Exchanging photos and documents was completed electronically by scanning originals and returning them to the owners. Reciprocally, those visitors who recognised family members in the collection were freely given scanned copies to take home. In this way no-one gave up their precious original documentation or photography. At the time of writing over 1000 historic photographs have been amassed between 2015 and the present.

4.7.2 Qualitative data gathering tools

Semi-structured Interviews (SSIs)

As a data collection instrument, the Semi-structured interview (SSI) is in common use by numerous disciplines where it is broadly applied to qualitative and mixed method research. I decided to opt for what Michelle McIntosh and Janet Morse call the *descriptive/corrective interview* type which was used... [t]o evaluate the dominant discursive representation of an experience by comparing it with participants' actual experiences (2015, p.3). It is worth bearing in mind Natalie Sproull's caution that, although one can be present and close to an event in time, data from primary sources are not beyond distortion. They can suffer from ... 'selective recall, selective perceptions, and purposeful or non-purposeful omission or addition of information. Thus, data from primary sources are not necessarily accurate data even though they come from first-hand sources' (Sproull, 2002). I bore this in mind when conducting the semi-structured interviews.

Anthony Kwame Harrison argues that interviews alone do not always reveal the behaviours and world views of respondents (2018 p.22). He cautions researchers to note the frequency of disjuncture between 'what people do and what people say they do'. In this instance it helped to be a long-standing member of the community. I was prepared should respondents attempt to embroider their answers to support the cultural ideal. Some were reluctant to exhibit deviation from accepted, communal values. I remained mindful of the classic Hawthorne studies which showed how respondents adjusted their behaviours and attitudes for short periods when being scrutinised by observers. Denscombe (p.184) repeats the caution, noting that '... Research interviews focus on *self-reports* - what people say they do, what they say they believe, what opinions they say they have'. In most instances this called for careful deconstruction of the discourse, and scrutiny of both text and contributed images.

Face-to-face administration of the questionnaire allowed me to maintain a structure to the process. Verbal and non-verbal communication was better tracked, questions were more easily clarified when respondents perhaps

misinterpreted what was being asked, and my unscheduled prompts elicited more exact or elaborate responses.

The downside of this type of interview is that it proved costly in terms of time and money. I travelled far and wide within Scotland, and the remainder of the United Kingdom. My international travel was restricted to Ukraine and the USA. Two Canadian respondents were interviewed by skype. International, élite, and academic respondents were interviewed as they were passing through London or attending conferences in the United Kingdom - at gatherings of the British Association of Slavic and East European Studies (BASEES) and the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter (UJE).

Eleanor McLellan *et al* (2003) note that digitising data and the subsequent transcription of audio-recorded interviews is a mammoth task. I experienced a common formula that one hour of recorded interview takes another eight hours to transcribe!

Over and beyond the formality of academic research associated with this study I have spent decades as a participant in the community life of the study population. The first sustained period was during my student years in Edinburgh 1969-1972 when I rented attic accommodation within the Ukrainian community centre. As a young man I observed the embryonic days of community building when the first generation (G1) was establishing itself in Scotland. I have kept diaries and newspaper cuttings from those times.

An important consideration here is the issue of perception which is fraught with challenges. The events and behaviours exhibited within social settings are often complex and multi-faceted. Perceiving and interpreting these events has been made easier because of my familiarity with the *visible* community. As a trustee and archivist of Edinburgh's Ukrainian Community Centre I continue to play a proactive role in Ukrainian social, cultural, and political events in Scotland. I can here claim compliance with Harrison's three criteria of familiarity with the research setting (2018, p.23).

His first criterion concerns *the duration of time in the setting*. In comparison with Malinowski's recommendation of a minimum of one year's sojourn in a community, my pre-thesis decades, together with the five recent academic

years of this study comprise my claim as having completed an acceptable duration of time in the setting. Harrison's second feature is *resemblance (both physical and social) between the researcher and members of the community in which the research is taking place*. My hybrid ethnicity, coupled with familiarity and command of the Ukrainian language, have allowed me to communicate effectively with both generational cohorts, socialising as 'one of them'. The third criterion concerns a researcher's *level of participation*. I am now in my sixteenth year as an active office bearer of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain's (AUGB) community centre. Participation in community events, both formal and informal, has been crucial to my understanding of the changes that have evolved both within and between the various generational cohorts.

Alongside the ongoing construction of a pictorial chronology of the *visible* community I have been simultaneously collecting associated original documents. I have been able to profit from the efforts of the first settler (G1) collectors and librarians who have gone before me. Collecting and archiving primary source documentation has been a perennial activity of the larger Ukrainian communities who have taken it upon themselves to create repositories. These vary in quantity and quality⁶⁹. At the outset of my research, I took advantage of Postgraduate Summer School lectures on preserving valuable primary sources⁷⁰. I elected to do this because over and above my access to original documents I have found immense value in collecting rare, grey literature and ephemera.

For social researchers, documents can serve as a source of data that can be used to reveal things that are not immediately apparent. Rather than take the contents at face value there are things to be learned from a deeper reading of the document. (Denscombe, 2014, p.225)

⁶⁹ The best example in Scotland is housed in [Edinburgh](#)'s Ukrainian Community Centre at 14, Royal Terrace. In England researchers are encouraged to visit the Ukrainian Community Centres in [Bradford](#) and [Manchester](#) where substantial primary documentation is also preserved. The AUGB archives contain an impressive collection of grey literature and ephemera.

⁷⁰ Much of this advice is to be found in the National Register For Scotland (NRAS) SCOTLAND, N. R. F. 2013. Archive Preservation Guidelines for Private Owners.

'Deeper reading', fundamental to analysis of original documentation, traditionally leads to tangential enquiry. As Glenn A. Bowen advises in his 'Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method' methodological and data triangulation are the bedrock of case study research (2009, p.29). Rich sources of data have been the pamphlets and newspapers published by the first settlers. In the first two years of my research, I paid multiple visits to the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) archives in London.



Figure 4-9 The Ukrains'ka Dumka newspaper

The early post-war communities of Ukrainian European Voluntary Workers and Prisoners of War encouraged each other to formally join the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). Wherever there existed a goodly number of members they applied to become a 'branch'. These branches sent in regular reports of their activities and events which were reported in the *Ukrainska Dumka*/ *Українська Думка: Ukrainian Thought* ⁷¹.

Copies of the early branch reports are held in the Association library along with filing cabinets holding more than 25,000 individual membership cards.

Following the publication of its last addition in July 2017, special mention must be made of the value of the complete collection (seven decades' worth) of this most popular newspaper. *Dumka* extracts led me to a wealth of information and documentation. My main intention was to systematically search for reports of events and commemorations held in the Scottish camps and hostels. They were plentiful. I scanned as many as I could find [almost 200]. The newspaper had gone from having many thousands of subscribers to less than 600 subscriptions which made its print run financially untenable. This is also an indication of the passing of the first settler cohort and the decline of the Ukrainian speaking readership.

Besides these articles, I have collected and studied a variety other documents which assist triangulation, described by Denzin as... 'the combination of

methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon' (1970, p.291), or what Bowen describes as ...' the convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources and methods' (2009, p.28). Press cuttings and clippings from scrapbooks, minute books of camp meetings, camp registers, organisational reports, scripts of camp plays and programmes of events, all help to put together a lens on the daily life of the Scottish camps. More personal documents which yielded valuable data were contracts of employment, job advertisements and training manuals. Pocket sized literature was commonly concealed and carried across borders. This has included letters, diaries, registration documents, Red Cross documents, soldiers' certification, and a variety of certificates.

As the leading UK-based Ukrainian newspaper of its time, over the seventy years of its publication the *Ukrainska Dumka* frequently reported accounts [translated into Ukrainian] of Ukrainian activities that had been included in local Scottish regional newspapers. These regional newspapers often drew reports from nearby European Voluntary Workers hostels and Prisoner of War camps e.g. The Annandale Herald, Kelso Chronicle, Edinburgh Evening News, and many others.

In the national newspapers references to Ukrainians are sporadic. Glasgow University Library's electronic access to national newspapers such as the Guardian, Times and Scotsman is a valuable exploratory tool. Post WW2 articles in the Scotsman reveal polarised public attitudes towards Ukrainians. E.g., articles written by John F. Stewart of the Scottish League for European Freedom (SLEF) attracted bitterly opposed correspondence by placing Ukrainian political activity firmly in the camp of the Ant-Bolshevik Nations (ABN).

As for personal correspondence, communication between first settlers and the homeland had been severely interrupted by war and its aftermath. Along with the commencement of the Cold War and raw emotions engendered by the fear of forced repatriation, very few EVWs and POWs dared to strike up some correspondence with 'home'. This self-imposed silence meant that those who had fled the Soviets would be difficult to trace and secondly that the recipients [particularly family members] in the homelands would not be directly linked with the 'traitors' who refused to return to the 'workers' paradise'. Stalin's death in 1953 heralded the beginnings of a thaw in interpersonal communication.



Figure 4-10 letter from the Soviet Union 1956-10-3

On the 23rd of October 1956 an envelope arrived unexpectedly from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukr.S.S.R.). Addressed to my father, it is one of the earliest primary resources in my possession. This correspondence from my grandfather 'broke the silence' of the ten years since the end of WW2.

The scene was being repeated in many Ukrainian households around Scotland that year. Communication with the homeland, severely censored during Stalin's lifetime, was beginning to flow back and forth. Every one of my (G1) interviewees possessed similar bundles of such letters and offered comparable tales of emotional reaction on first receiving news from 'home'.

Qualitative data contained within these letters adds rich personal interpretation to the repositories linked to various disciplinary avenues of research. The Ukrainian Heritage Events unearthed a goodly number of original Displaced Persons documents, historic photographs, historic family letters, Prisoner of War internment diaries and other ephemera.

Primary sources in government ownership concerning Ukrainians are accessible but locating them requires initial direction. To help overcome the plethora of National Archive (NA) documents referenced in thousands of journal articles and books, a helpful project came to fruition in 1997. As mentioned earlier, that year the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) commissioned J. V. Koshiv to visit the [then] Public Record Office (PRO), in the United Kingdom, now the National Archives. His primary task was to unearth British government documentation concerning the 1932-33 famine. While there, he coincidentally came across thousands of files about Ukraine and Ukrainians. The result was his publication of *CIUS Research Report No.60* (Koshiv, 1997). I rank this among one of the most valuable tabulations of primary resource documents concerning relations between Britain and Ukraine. It covers an extensive timespan from 1917-1948.

‘After viewing as many as 25,000 files of documents, totalling several hundred thousand pages, I selected slightly more than 2,000 files numbering about 15,000 pages for photocopying and deposit at the University of Alberta. This was done so that the students there could get a head start in researching PRO documents without the expense of travelling to Britain’ (Koshiv: i).

Koshiv’s meticulous recording of these files is constructed in chronological order, allowing easy physical access to correspondence. As digitisation of these files is not yet complete, a lengthy visit to the National Archives proved necessary. There is an abundance of correspondence regarding the pre-WW2 situation in both Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Poland ⁷².

When interviewing respondents in their own homes they were often keen to show me their cultural artefacts. These were precious family heirlooms such as hand-carved jewellery boxes and carved photo album covers. I have taken photos of the objects with the respondents’ permission.

⁷² There are four bundles of importance relating to the pre-immigration experiences of Western and Eastern Ukrainians who refused to be repatriated. Stalin’s genocidal famine (1932 N-Soviet Union-FO 371/16329), his purges and executions of Ukrainian intellectuals (1937N-Soviet Union FO/371/21092), the ill treatment of the Ukrainian minority in Eastern Poland (FO 371/16304) and finally -Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons January 1946 to July 1948 (Code 38, File 1414 (former papers 7119-11386) .This fourth resource contains 2,138 selected Foreign Office (FO) files (in FO 371 and FO 417-18) and 56 from the War Office (WO) files.

Long after WW2 most first generation (G1) Ukrainians can recall many of their life-changing experiences, but a few had set about in more settled times to write up memoirs and autobiographies. Their published [and some unpublished] narratives are available in the Shevchenko Library and Archive in London. Notable autobiographies written in Ukrainian are those of Andriy Lehit (1958); Evstachiy Zahachevskiy (1968); Wasyl Veryha (1984); Dmytro Yaremko (1985); Wasyl Oleskiw (2016).

Other autobiographies, written in English, are those of Yaroslav Bobak (1989); Wolodymyr Gockyj (1990); Teodor Turko (1995); Michael Hrycyszyn (2002); Roman D. Mac (2009); Stefan Terlezki (2005); Aleksander Krawczynski (2015); and Yaroslav Wenger (2018).

A greater number of memoirs of Ukrainians who came through Scotland but migrated onwards can be found in the North American and Canadian archives. In addition to the above autobiographies there are over 600 online Ukrainian language memoirs available for download from the website www.diasporiana.org.ua.

Fieldnotes also belong to my data gathering tools. Recording everything within an interview is not the same as interpreting what has been said or witnessed. Erving Goffman (1922-1982), in his classic study of social interaction *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*⁷³, warns researchers that ‘many crucial facts lie beyond the time and place of interaction or lie concealed within it’ (1956, p.13). He talks of the need to differentiate between ‘*expressions given*’ and ‘*expressions given off*’. This is further exemplified by psychiatrist Eric Berne (1910-1970) took the dramatic (role-play) contexts of social interaction to another level in his book *Games People Play* (1964), a study of *transactional analysis*. The second half of Berne’s thesis is both highly educational and amusing, alerting researchers to the different roles that people perform when being observed or interviewed⁷⁴.

⁷³ GOFFMAN, E. (1956), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* was a study conducted in the Shetland Isles of a crofting (subsistence farming) community.

⁷⁴ During each interview I did not take the traditional jottings, but remained throughout, focussed on eye-to eye contact, giving respondents my full attention. Because each audio-recording was to be transcribed I delayed scribing my ethnographic notes and appended them to the later paperwork,

As a precursor to this study, I created an online resource called www.tryzubscotland.com⁷⁵. This was a 'blog' which displayed selected historic photographs and invited comments on them. However, as the dissertation progressed, the ability to maintain this became more and more difficult (176,000 hits!) and eventually, the burden of excessive correspondence led me to freeze the blog. As an alternative to conducting and maintaining daily internet correspondence it seemed better to focus on the advantages of organising a physical event. After launching into the dissertation in 2014, I opted to organise a *Ukrainian Heritage Event* which became an annual gathering. These events provided an abundance of welcome additions to the study's archival collection of valuable resources. Documents, artefacts, historic and recent photographs,



memoirs etc, continue to contribute towards building a detailed chronology of the community. The walls of the community centre are now awash with a pictorial history of Scotland's Ukrainians.

This annual exhibition concludes with my short (one hour) presentation of an aspect of Ukrainian life in Scotland. The preferred choice of displaying historic images remains the black and white or sepia coloured reproduction. The number of black and white historic photographs unearthed thanks to these events is quite astonishing. The acquired graphics feed

Figure 4-11 Ukrainian Heritage Event poster into my research like the pieces of a missing jigsaw. They not only confirm that events happened but frequently add narrative to those events-narrative that is often omitted during photo elicited interviews. Exhibiting the photographs affords participants the opportunity to

taking time to articulate and reflect on what I had observed or experienced. I believe my respondents appreciated the undivided attention to their every word and nuance. The audio-recordings and transcriptions, though time-consuming, are worth the effort as they capture tones of voice, pauses, hesitations, elation etc.

⁷⁵ *Tryzub* in Ukrainian is a trident, the national symbol of the Ukrainian state

engage in conversations concerning the different themes. Such conversations added information to the stories behind the images. John Berger, on links between images and memory, comments on the perceived advantages of black and white photography ...

‘Memory is a strange faculty. The sharper and more isolated the stimulus memory receives, the more it remembers. This is perhaps why black and white photography is paradoxically more evocative than colour photography. It stimulates a faster onrush of memories because less has been given, more has been left out (1992, pp. 192-193).



Figure 4-12 Dr. Myron Lyatyshevsky 1952

The annual heritage events (2015-2019) proved popular. The old saying that ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’ certainly rang true when attracting the public. The discovery and subsequent employment of the long-lost photo and film collection of Dr. Myron Lyatyshevsky ⁷⁶ drew in many of the remaining G1 members of the community.

In many of his historic photos my G1 respondents featured as participants of commemorative events, ceremonies, and other social gatherings ⁷⁷. When interviewing first-settler (G1) respondents his photos proved particularly helpful in stimulating conversation and jogging memories.

My memories of Dr Lyatyshevsky were really of him filming or photographing almost everything that happened within the community. He committed everything to film in some way to try and build up a history of what was happening (G1/N3).

⁷⁶ Dr. Myron Lyatyshevsky (registered as Latyszewski in the Polish Armed Forces) worked in the Institute of Genetics at Edinburgh University. From 1947 onwards, he co-authored ground-breaking research papers with Professor Douglas Falconer FALCONER, D. S. L., M 1952. The Environment in relation to selection for size in mice. *Journal of Genetics*, 51, 67-80. on animal proteins.

⁷⁷ Some large Ukrainian communities such as those living in and around Edinburgh featured frequently in the *Edinburgh Evening News*. Other regional newspapers published accounts of Ukrainian migrant activities, particularly in the early years of their arrival. See the *Annandale Herald* account of the Ukrainian Prisoner of War Open day at Hallmuir Camp, Lockerbie.)

As a student in Edinburgh in the early 1970s I was privileged to become acquainted with Doctor Myron Lyatyshevsky, an unmarried pensioner of Ukrainian descent who had worked in the University's Institute of Genetics. A keen amateur photographer, he spent his off-duty hours travelling to attend formal and informal gatherings of the Ukrainian communities that were scattered around Scotland. He captured many of the major Ukrainian diasporic events in Scotland between the end of WW2 until the 1980s. His passing legacy was a small but valuable collection of black and white photography and amateur film [Field note, November 2015].

The Lyatyshevsky collection not only assisted the initial launch of the annual Ukrainian Heritage Events but his photos continued to assist during the semi-structured interviews. Administration of the annual exhibitions was quite straightforward. Exhibition stands and trestle tables were set out with folders of photographs and primary source documents for participants to leaf through. I aimed to encourage visitors to the exhibition to declare their own historic photos from family albums and archives. The photo-swap format succeeded in acquiring a considerable number of historic photos. No originals were exchanged. Reciprocal scanning ensured that those visitors who recognised family members or friends in the archival collection were given scanned copies to take home while at the same time I added to the exhibition's repertoire. In this way no-one parted with 'precious', original documentation or photography.

4.7.3 Quantitative data sources

Keywords *chaplain's daybook, register of births, register of marriages, membership cards, military records*

My study encountered a paucity of quantitative data. The statistics I have unearthed cannot provide an accurate numerical representation of the Ukrainian population in Scotland. I have included the data because it is all that is presently available, and in some cases can provide a trend or pattern. I have not attempted to analyse census data regarding Ukrainian ethnicity because it cannot be considered accurate because in the post WW2 years British government correspondence shows dithering when recognising Ukrainian as a nationality. From

the turn of the century and *wave one* onwards, migrants' various self-identificatory titles have only added to the confusion -Little Russians, 'Polish' Ukrainians/ Austrian Slavs, Ruthenians/ Galicians, Hutsuls, Boykos, Lemkos etc. One possible confirmation of ethnicity can come from a fellow countryman's verification of a person's language and cultural baggage. Even then an identity can be adopted and 'learned'.

Sparse but reliable data sources come from two recognised authorities (1) the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) and the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). The UGCC ensured that the migrants would have access to religious practices. Their priests had travelled to the UK from the European mainland camps with the DPs and the PoWs. The first priests' Scottish 'parish' incorporated the whole of Scotland and the north of England near the border. One of my first G1 respondents, who had spent many years as a deacon travelling with the itinerant priests, entrusted me with the original chaplain's daybook.

Chaplain's Day book

Only one original copy of the chaplain's daybook exists. This *Odnodnivka* (1949) (одноднівка), entitled 'For God and the Fatherland', consists of 19 foolscap pages. These pages are lists of donations given towards the purchase of No.6, Mansionhouse Road, Edinburgh. This large Victorian mansion house was to provide the EVWs with a community base, a manse for the priest and a small chapel furnished in the byzantine rite. The determined pastor, Fr.Alexandr Babij, had travelled the length and breadth of Scotland, visiting all 44 camps and hostels where Ukrainians were domiciled. The pages of his daybook confirm the names of each of his countrymen and women who gave money towards the purchase. Not everyone contributed! The last page, 'Comments and Thoughts', written by his deacon, is a resumé of his mammoth journey and registers the priest's bitter disappointment at those who chose to give nothing. The value of these pages is that they confirm some individuals' residence in certain camps and hostels. There are no known remaining registers or lists of Ukrainian occupants of these camps in any archives in Scotland.

The marriage register ‘Liber Copulatum’

A separate analysis of this register follows in chapter seven where quantitative data are employed to emphasize the proportion of exogamous marriages that took place in the first generation’s (G1) embryonic years of settlement.

Register of births- ‘Liber Natorum’

Specific quantitative evidence of religious practices of Ukrainians in Scotland is found in the eparchial registers of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC). Thanks goes to the eparchial archivist Fr. David Senyk for allowing access to the registers. The *Record of Births* (Liber Natorum) was kindly made available. The register is annotated between 1948 and 2011. In this period a total of 670 children were baptized into the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church’s Scottish parish. This was the first of two registers made available for perusal. The Ukrainian catholic priests, based in Edinburgh, were assigned in those days to Scotland and Northern England (Northumberland and Cumberland) as their ‘parish’. They visited camps, hostels, and individual homes. The priest would say mass and distribute the sacraments monthly using local Roman Catholic churches ⁷⁸ by agreement. The baptismal and confirmation records of all 670 UGCC children are contained within this register. The earliest entry is 29th May 1948 where the first registered child Bohdan Sweryd, was baptised and confirmed by Father Alexander Babij. The register provides much detail:

Nativitatis-born; *Baptismi et confirmationis*-baptised and confirmed; *Domicilium*-resident; *Nomen*-name; *Religio ucranio-catholica*-religion Ukrainian Catholic; *Puer*-boy; *Puella*-girl; *Legitimi*-legitimate; *Illegitimi*-illegitimate; *Nomen et cognorem eorum religio et condition*- Parents’ religion and status; *Nomen et cognorem eorum religio et condition*-godparents’ religion and status; *Adnotatio*-notes (UGCC Liber Natorum, 1948-2019)

⁷⁸ A list of these churches is included in: (BLAZEJOWSKYJ, D. 1988. Schematism of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In: CHURCH, T. U. C. (ed.). Rome 1988: Vatican.j, 1988). They are; Edinburgh-Home chapel of the rectory; Annan-St.Columba’s; Carlisle-St.Bede’s; Dundee-lady Chapel of the Cathedral; Falkirk-St.Martha’s Convent; Galashiels-Our Lady & St.Andrew’s; Glasgow-Chapel of Mercy Convent; Lockerbie- Chapel of Hallmuir Hostel; Newcastle-Upon-Tyne- Convent of the Dominican Fathers.

In this instance the child's parents and godparents were resident in Bankfoot, Perthshire. Analysis of all 670 entries in this register offers an approximate distribution of Ukrainian second-generation cohorts in Scotland at that time but does not account for registration of births beyond UGCC jurisdiction. Those birth certificates which are contained within the register provide helpful details showing the parents' birthdates and their original locations in ethnic Ukrainian territories.

nativitatis	baptismi et confirmationis	Domicilium	Nomen	Religio ucraino-catholica	puer	puella	legitimi	illegitimi	Nomen et cognomen eorum religio et conditio	Nomen et cognomen eorum religio et conditio	Adnotatio
<u>Annus Domini 1948.</u>											
1948. Februarii 29.	Mai 29.	Bankfoot	Boholanus	ucr-cath.	puer	+	legitimi	+	Nicolaus Sweryol filius Gregorii et Pa- rasceviae natae Trusz * 4. xj. 1921, ucr-cath.; Maria Hurska filia Basilii et In- gelinae natae Klym, ucr-cath., * 5. xj. 1924. cop. 22. ii. 1945. operarii agricultural in Bankfoot, Perthshire.	Demetrius Myroniuk ucr-cath.; Vira Omelany cruce uxor Demet- rii, ucr-cath.; operarii agricul- turae in Bankfoot.	ucr. bur. S.D. 1944
Baptisavit et confirmavit Alexander Babij, cur. anim. in Scotia.											

Figure 4-13

Courtesy of Very Rev Fr David J. Senyk, UGCC Archivist

The priests, over the years ⁷⁹, continued to travel great distances throughout Scotland and northern England to administer to their scattered parishioners.

Association membership cards

⁷⁹ The parish was founded in 1947. The rectory and parish hall were purchased in 1949 by subscription. A list of former pastors of the UGCC church in Scotland includes: Alexander Babij (1947-1952); Roman Muzyczka, CSSR (1949-52) assistant; Alexander Markewycz, (1952-1953); Mykola Matyczak, (1953-1971); Robert McGregor (1971-1974); Mykola Matyczak (1974-1975); Augustine Kuzma, OSBM (1975-1985); Stephen Shimkiw (1985-1988), Josafat Lescesen (1988 – 1995); Lubomyr Pidluskij (1995 – 2013); Vasyl Kren 2013 – present.
(Blazejowskyj, *Schematism*, 1988: 913-914)

A further useful resource, yet to be fully scrutinised, lies in the Shevchenko Library and Archives where there is a massive database of tens of thousands of individual membership cards of every Ukrainian who joined the association in its embryonic days. They are held in a huge card index and categorised according to camp or hostel. A researcher would need months, if not years, to locate an individual's membership card in this resource. The cards are grouped into camps rather than in alphabetical order of individuals' surnames. However, the CEO kindly provided me with an electronic copy of a *database* listing all the camps and hostels where, in the late 1940s, Ukrainians scattered across Britain created 284 formal [hostel & camp] sub-groups of the national association. At present I have located 43 locations in Scotland where EVWs organised themselves into formal branches of the association. [The list of camps is appended].

The overwhelming proportion of first generation G1 Ukrainian community in Scotland was male and originated from the ranks of the Galicia Division and Ukrainian conscripts in the Polish Armed Forces (PAF). Records of Ukrainians serving in the PAF can be obtained from RAF Northolt⁸⁰. Some records concerning the men of the Galicia Division can be found in Michael Melnyk's (2002) *To Battle* (he was interviewed for this thesis). He has an original handwritten document with a breakdown of the destinations of these prisoners of war following their transfer from Surrendered Enemy Personnel ⁸¹(SEP) Camp Rimini, Italy to various camps in the United Kingdom (UK).

To confirm how many of these men came to Scotland, we have the following breakdown of numbers handwritten by one of the commanding officers of the Galicia Division.

⁸⁰ APC Polish Historical Disclosures, RAF Northolt, Building GQ Westend Road, Ruislip, Middx HA4 6NG, Telephone 020 8833 8603, e-mail: NOR-PolishDiscOfficeAsst2@mod.uk

⁸¹ The title of Surrendered Enemy personnel (SEP) was changed to Prisoners of War (Prisoner of War) when these men were in transit to the United Kingdom.

AS OF 31 MARCH 1946
 Census was made 3. 12. 1948 U.
 TOTAL: 8,361

POW CAMP NO.	POW CAMP NAME	AMOUNT OF PRISONERS	LOCATION
16	Taggart	965	HADDINGTON
17	Mayfield	73	SHEFFIELD
51	Amundson	595	ATINGTON
53	Mayfield	139	SHERBURN
56	Frederick	840	BOTESDALE
79	Tarrog Trope	477	FATTER THORPE
82	Frederick	678	FAIKENHAM (FAIKENHAM)
82	Kokkai Keli	561	KOKLEY ELEY
82	Kokkai Keli	180	LANGHARTH
82	Marekka	346	MATLEYSKE
85	Bikmopie	462	VICTORIA
85	Acet Trope	293	WEST TO...
85	Eel	296	ELY
85	Rebani	88	CHEVELEY
85	Caran	50	SAHAM
99	Kokkai Keli	14	HOSPITAL
122	Ulkpate Keli	18	SHRABE LOYN
153	Cunagior	50	SPALDING
156	Acet Trope	698	WELLINGORE
162	Naburn	104	NABURN
231	Pegypate Trope	99	RED GROVE PARK
232	Frederick	5	BLOCKLEY
249	Kokkai Keli	625	KARBURTON
298	Frederick	462	BARONY CAMP
78	BRAINTREE		
80	HORBLING, SLEED, LINCOLN		

I copied all the data from the documents in POW CAMP in Scotland in March 1948. J.C.

Figure 4-14 Handwritten breakdown of Ukrainian PoW dispersion throughout Britain 1947

From this list we see that 965 men were sent to Haddington in East Lothian and 462 to the Barony Camp in Dumfriesshire, where they were immediately transferred to Hallmuir Camp, Lockerbie. A total of 1427 Ukrainian prisoners of war were dispersed around Scotland- this figure does not include the EVWs who were already domiciled in the camps or Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces who took advantage of the Polish Resettlement Scheme. Quantitative Data-Secondary Sources

Keywords archives; government documents; books and journals; newspapers; Scottish regional newspapers; national newspapers; Online newspapers, press agencies and magazines; reports; online research methods (ORM); theses; maps

Archives

Three Ukrainian archives proved to be my first port of call. While the Cold War isolated Britain's Ukrainians from their homelands it did not halt the gathering of primary source data. From the earliest days the Ukrainian minority in Great Britain was determined to hold on to precious records. Beginning in 1946 until the present, they have created and maintained impressive archival sources, enjoying access to three major Ukrainian repositories. These are in turn, the *Shevchenko Library and Archive* ⁸², housed and maintained by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB), the *Cathedral Archives* of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church ⁸³ (UGCC), and the *Ukrainian Information Service* (UIS) ⁸⁴.

All three archives receive ongoing contributions to their collections. In recent times, as the first generation passes into eternity in greater numbers, a pattern has developed whereby many of their children (G2) bequeath important qualitative data (commonly passed on from the estates of deceased parents) to these three Ukrainian archives.

When this research was first undertaken, the Shevchenko Library and Archives in London became my major source of data. Now into its seventh decade the Association holds one of the largest collections of Ukrainian diasporic writing in Europe. It houses books on Ukrainian archaeology, history, politics, classic and modern literature, art, and music. Besides its rare books it protects valuable archival material sourced from post-WW2 Ukrainian displaced persons' camps in Rimini, Augsburg and Hanover. There is also an impressive collection of dissident

⁸² The Shevchenko Library and Archive in London promotes itself as ...'[o]ne of the most valuable assets of the Association. It houses a collection of more than 30,000 works, which include books and periodicals on Ukrainian themes and facilitates research for students, academics and other visitors. There are over 10,000 archive items which include documents, manuscripts and other items of cultural and historical value. There is also a large collection of Ukrainian postage stamps, sculptures and other works of art. <https://www.augb.co.uk/library-and-archive.php>

⁸³ The UGCC Byzantine *Cathedral of the Holy Family in Exile* (21-22 Binney Street, City of London, W1K 5BQ) archives contain historic records pertaining to its eparchial jurisdiction of eighteen parishes of Ukrainian Catholics in England, Wales and Scotland. www.facebook.com/UkrainianCatholicCathedralOfTheHolyFamily/

⁸⁴ The Ukrainian Information Service (200 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LF) houses Britain's greatest diasporic collection of books pertaining to the political activities of Ukrainians from the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-21 to the present date. The service publishes regular newsletters about political events in Ukraine and elsewhere. <https://www.facebook.com/UISLondon>

literature from the 1970s and 1980s and a collection of over 250 titles of Ukrainian and diaspora journals and periodicals. The archivist Dr. Ludmila Pekarska works closely with the British Library and academic institutions in Ukraine, with whom it exchanges books to reciprocally enhance the collections.

From time to time the building hosts joint exhibitions and book launches. An example of this joint working and cooperation was the exhibition of rare material from the time of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917), organised and compiled with data from the Central State Archives of Ukraine <http://tsdavo.gov.ua/>, the Research Library of the State Archives, the H.S. Pshenychny (Г.С. Пшеничний) Central State Archives of Film, Photography and Sound <http://tsdkffa.archives.gov.ua>, the National Museum of the History of Ukraine and the National Art Museum of Ukraine, <http://namu.kiev.ua/>. Gaining access to archives in Ukraine can be challenging. Bureaucracy is everywhere. A recent description, taken from a BASEES text entitled 'Using Archives in the Former Soviet Union', describes a typical procedure regarding reading room practices in Ukrainian archives ...

Many of the archivists are very helpful and friendly here, but one of them (the enormous woman) is more stony-faced and difficult to charm. She will speak only Ukrainian to you unless you grovelingly apologise for only knowing Russian and begging her to take pity on you. She will then pretend that all Ukrainians have long since forgotten the Russian language, contrary to all evidence you will have seen [and her own suddenly remembered ability to speak it to certain colleagues] (Sherry, 2013, p.56).

Government Documents

As mentioned earlier, a visit to the National Archives is always worthwhile. There are numerous bundles which will greatly assist future sections of this study. Many of these bundles will require a considerable amount of time to scrutinise. A task for future generations of students?

Newspapers

Following the publication of its last edition in July 2017, special mention must be made of the value of the Shevchenko Archive's complete collection (seven

decades' worth) of the main Ukrainian newspaper printed in London, the *Ukrainska Dumka* (Українська Думка: Ukrainian Thought ⁸⁵).

My frequent visits to systematically search in each edition of the *Dumka* revealed exceptional details about the life and times of the early Ukrainian communities in Scotland. From its earliest days in 1946, Ukrainians who were domiciled in camps around Scotland, sent regular reports of their cultural and political activities to the *Dumka* newspaper.

After numerous visits I have amassed more than two thousand scans taken from across all 70 years of the publication. There is a wealth of material in the newspaper which gives insights into the communal identity processes that were being maintained by the nationally conscious migrants. This excerpt from the *Dumka*, like hundreds of others, exemplifies the determination of the Ukrainians to keep alive the realities and awareness of the national struggles in their homelands.

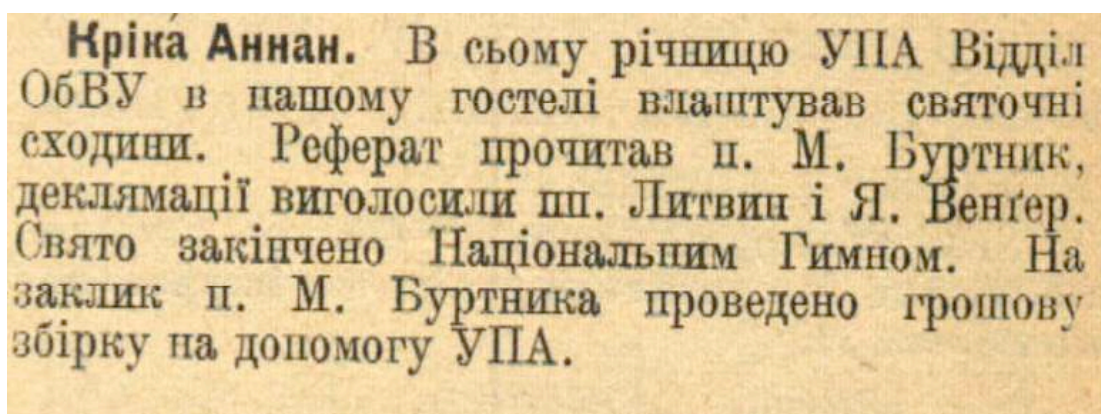


Figure 4-15 A cutting from the Ukrainian Thought Newspaper 1950 reads...

Creca, Annan. On the seventh anniversary of the Ukrainian Partisan Army UPA the group of Former Ukrainian Combatants OBVU organised a commemoration in our hostel. A speech was read out by Mr. M Burtnyk and poems were recited by Mr. Lytvyn and Mr. Yaroslav Wenger. The commemoration concluded with the singing of the national anthem [Ukrainian]. At the request of Mr. Burtnyk, monies were collected in aid of the Ukrainian Partisan Army.

The early post-war communities of Ukrainian European Voluntary Workers and Prisoners of War encouraged each other to formally join the Association of

⁸⁵ The newspaper had gone from having many thousands of subscribers to less than 600 subscriptions which made its print run financially untenable.

Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). Wherever there existed a goodly number of members they applied to become a 'branch' ⁸⁶. These Branches sent in regular reports of their activities and events. All the early branch reports are held in the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) library along with filing cabinets holding more than 25,000 individual membership cards. Original minute books for Creca Camp outside Annan and Hallmuir Camp outside Lockerbie are in my archives (AA). Original registration documents, terms and conditions of employment documents etc-contributed by interviewed respondents, are listed in the appendix.

Over the seventy years of its publication the *Ukrainska Dumka* regularly included translated accounts of Ukrainian activities that had been reported in local Scottish regional newspapers. The regional newspapers were located in towns not too distant from the European Voluntary Workers camps and hostels. The Annandale Herald, Kelso Chronicle, Edinburgh Evening News are just a few examples. As well as the most popular community newspaper, the references to Ukrainians in national newspapers are too numerous to mention. Glasgow University Library's electronic access to national newspapers such as the *Guardian*, *Times* and *Scotsman* is a valuable exploratory tool. Late 1940s -1950 articles in the *Scotsman* reveal varying public attitudes towards Ukrainians which will be discussed later.

For a list of Ukrainian online newspapers, press agencies and magazines see <https://www.augb.co.uk/ukrainian-press-agencies-newspapers-magazines.php>. As a result of the worldwide net, communication with many forms of the Ukrainian press has become available ⁸⁷. All three generational cohorts make use of these

⁸⁶ See Appendix for the list of branches in Scottish camps.

⁸⁷ Unian (Уніан) <https://www.unian.net>, Brama (Брама) <http://www.brama.com/ukr.html>, Denj (День), <http://day.kyiv.ua/uk>, dzerkalo tyzhnia (Дзеркало Тижня) <https://dt.ua>, Lvivska Gazeta (Львівська Газета) <http://galnet.fm>, Ukrainska Pravda (Українська Правда) <https://www.pravda.com.ua>, Expres (Експрес) <https://expres.online>, Interfax Ukraine (Интерфакс Украина) <https://ua.interfax.com.ua>, Radio Free Europe Radio liberty (Радіо Свобода) <https://www.radiosvoboda.org>, Uriadoviy Portal (Урядовий Портал) <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/ua>, Tyzhden (Тиждень) <https://tyzhden.ua>, Verchovna Rada Ukrainy (Верховна Рада України) <http://rada.gov.ua>, Ukraina Moloda (Україна Молода) <http://www.umoloda.kiev.ua>, Voice of America (Голос Америки) <https://ukrainian.voanews.com>, Maidan.org.ua (Майдан) <https://maidan.org.ua>, Correspondent.net (Корреспондент) <https://ua.korrespondent.net>, Champion.com.ua

services. Nearer home we have the BBC Ukrainian website <https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian> which covers a number of specific topics-news, politics, economics, society, science, technology, health, sport and more. Members of the second (G2) and third (G3) generational cohorts appear to be able to navigate the worldwide web and capably access a great number of online media.

Reports

Two major sources have served this study. The National Archives in Kew (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>) and the Annual reports (1946-present) of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) which are held in the Shevchenko Library (<https://www.augb.co.uk/library-and-archive.php>). Thanks to the exponential curve of technological development during visits to both repositories, I made extensive use of my mobile phone's capacity to take, store and transfer high resolution photographs of relevant documents.

Further online research has been enhanced by access to repositories in Ukraine.

During one visit to Ukraine (17/8/2018) I was made aware of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory in Kyiv, (Ukrainskyi Instytut Natsional'noi Pam'yati /Український Інститут Національної Пам'яті) <http://www.memory.gov.ua/>. This revealed a huge, rapidly developing repository with excellent online resources. For researchers who do not have a command of Ukrainian there is an English translation available of most of the pages of this website. The major historical and contemporary projects initiated by the institute have direct online links to primary source documentation and historic photographs. A second source of primary documentation online is the official website of the State Archives of Ukraine at

<https://champion.com.ua>, Kyiv Post <https://www.kyivpost.com>, Istorychna Pravda (Історична Правда), <http://www.istpravda.com.ua>, Ukrainian Week, <http://www.ukrainianweek.com>, Gazeta.ua, <https://gazeta.ua>, Mediasapiens, <https://ms.detector.media>, Human Rights in Ukraine (Права Людини в Україні) <http://khpg.org>, Ukrainski Natsional'ni Novyny (Українські Національні Новини) <https://www.unn.com.ua> (All sites successfully accessed on 15th January 2019 a.m.)

<http://archives.gov.ua/> where documents previously held in secrecy by the KGB are now being slowly released to the public.

Dissertations and theses on a similar topic to this cannot go without mention. Universities in Ukraine, Europe and the North American continent have been particularly valuable sources of such dissertations. Those accessed are registered in the bibliography. In Great Britain there is a paucity of academic writing on the subject of Ukrainian migration, settlement and assimilation. Some of the most helpful are dissertations by Roman Petryshyn⁸⁸ (1980), Robert Perks (1984), Anna Diuk (1985), Marta Jenkala (1985), Sylvana Duda (1988), Andrew Wilson (1993), Yuliya Khoroshilova (2001), Oleksander Kondrashov (2007), Hywel Maslen (2011), Olesya Khromeychuk (2013), Ivan Kozachenko (2013).

Comparative theses of neighbouring migrant communities are Thomas Kernberg's (1990) dissertation on the Polish Community in Scotland and Lea Kreinin's (2018) study of Estonians in Scotland. My favoured reading for the purpose of this study is Yuliya Yurczuk's *'The re-ordering of Meaningful Worlds'*. Reading her thesis was a precursor to the research explored in chapter five where I explore the influence of Ukrainian nationalism present among Scotland's first (G1) and second (G2) generations.

And finally, the maps. Maps employed herein are thanks to permissions granted by three eminent academics. Firstly, Professor Paul Robert Magocsi kindly gave his authorisation to use maps 39, 43, and 46 from his second edition of *'A History of Ukraine: The Land and its People'*. Secondly, Emeritus Professor Ihor Stebelsky sanctioned use of his map *'Ukrainians in Displaced Persons Camps of West Germany and Austria 1946-1950'* 2nd edition. His chapter 'Ukrainian Population Migration after WW2' in Isayiw (1992: 21-51) is meticulously detailed with extensive lists and tables as befits a geographer of outstanding repute. Thanks too to Professor Lubomyr Luciuk for approval to use his maps taken from *Ukraine in Europe and Western Ukraine* (from pgs 13 & 14 of Anglo-American Perspectives on the Ukrainian Question)

Cartography linked to Ukrainian studies has benefited from the MAPA: [Digital Atlas of Ukraine](#) program, undertaken by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute

⁸⁸ Petryshyn's thesis had the advantage of being conducted at a time when the first-generation (G1) Ukrainians in Great Britain had reached the zenith of their influence. The numbers involved helped considerably with regard to choosing élite actors to interview.

(HURI) and its partners where it ... *'brings the latest innovations of information technology to studies of modern Ukrainian history and contemporary political geography'*. Harvard's HURI encourages scholars and students to use Geographic Information Systems (GIS) for illustrating and explaining economic, historical, political, and social transformations within Ukraine using spatial and temporal analysis.

Not to be outdone, Scotland can boast its Digimap⁸⁹ online and data delivery service <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/> where I have been able to access several detailed Ordnance Survey maps, both contemporary and historical. These have been vital in helping to construct my own map of Scottish camps and hostels.

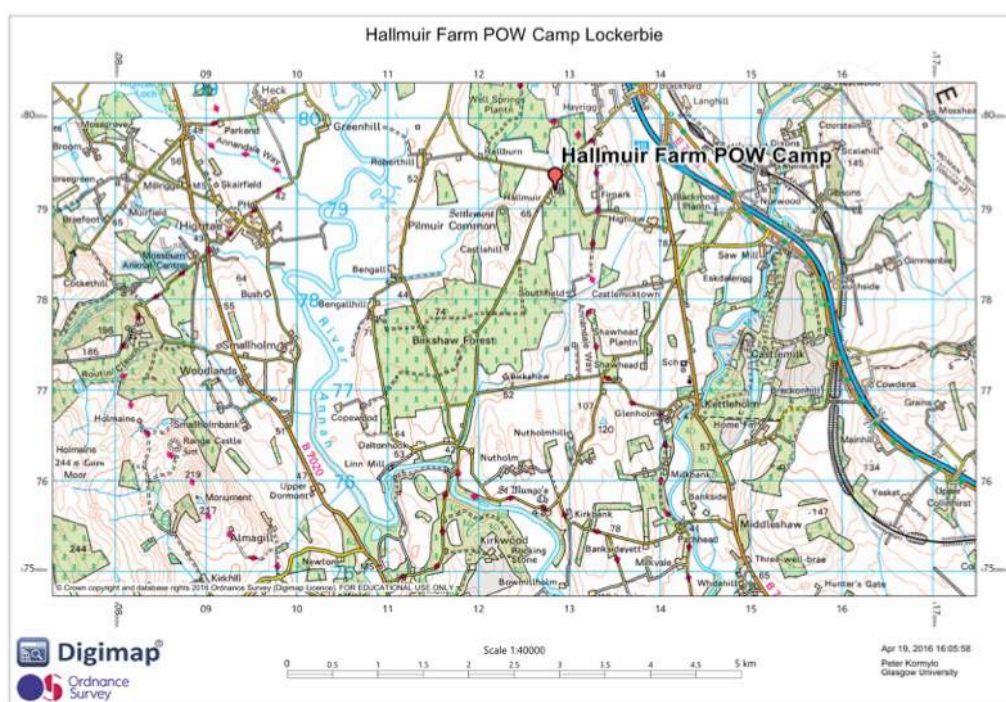


Figure 4.16 Digimap OS Extract -Hallmuir Prisoner of War Camp, Lockerbie

4.7.4 Data Security & Stewardship

Keywords: *audio recordings; transcribed interviews; interviewing software, processing historic photographs; original documents*

⁸⁹ Digimap is available by subscription to UK Higher and Further Education establishments, operated by EDINA at the University of Edinburgh. Among its data collections are Ordnance Survey, historical, geological, LiDAR, marine maps and spatial data.

All *audio recordings* are kept in a secure cabinet and where they are available in electronic form they are encrypted. Digitising data ⁹⁰- and the *transcription* of audio-recorded interviews is a mammoth task.

Following an introductory course on electronic software referencing In May 2016 I purchased a software program to store my documentation. The software was purchased with the hope that it would support the qualitative aspect of my research. It promised to help me organize, analyse, and find insights in unstructured, or qualitative data such as interviews, open-ended survey responses, articles, social media, and web content. However, I found the training to be very time consuming and probably more appropriate for teams of researchers rather than the *sole observer*. The software did have the capability to synchronise all my citations, attachments, reference groups, and annotations. After the first few months of cumbersome navigation of this research tool I began to realise that its successful application could only be achieved by undertaking a separate thesis on its operational functions, so I abandoned it. I have continued transcript analysis by reverting to paper, pencil and highlighter codification.

With regard to *original documents*, I have been archiving these throughout my adult lifetime learned much more recently about archival protocols in the summer of 2016, when I attended Edinburgh University's Postgraduate School lectures on preserving valuable primary sources. See NRAS (Scotland, 2013)⁹¹ Long before launching into this study I have spent many years acquiring original documents concerning Ukrainians in the United Kingdom. In the years to come [Deo volente] I will continue to digitise them and distribute them to interested researchers.

⁹⁰ MCLELLAN 2003. Beyond the Qualitative Interview: Data Preparation and Transcription. *Field Methods*, 15, 63-84.

⁹¹ SCOTLAND, N. R. O. A. F. 2013. Archive Preservation Guidelines for Private Owners. In: SCOTLAND, N. R. (ed.) 10th ed.

Chapter 5 Dispersal, arrival & settlement

This chapter introduces a demographic timeline and brief historiography of Ukrainian migrant dispersal from their territorial homelands. To appreciate the context, I have employed the four heuristically acknowledged ‘waves’ of Ukrainian migration across a period of 130 years from 1890 to the present. The section then extends a focus on pre-WW2 backgrounds of *wave three* migrants, the United Kingdom’s first generation of Ukrainian incomers. Most of these individuals grew from childhood to adulthood in the inter-war period 1919-1939 and migrated or were transported here following WW2.

As mentioned in my theory chapter, I differentiate between the four incoming groups of the *third wave* by using the concept of the *Hartzian fragment*. ‘Fragments merge in diaspora’, deals here with those pioneering incomers who pooled and amalgamated their various efforts at building and maintaining a specifically Ukrainian *imagined* community. This critical period lasted from the beginning of the second world war (WW2) to the mid 1950s and provides the major analytics of my research.

I also enlarge on the chronology of settlement, expanding on the tangible events linked to boundary creation and identity maintenance first introduced in my theory chapter. Guided by my favored diasporic typology as the analytical template, I examine aspects of the *host nation reception* of Ukrainians. Because boundaries are also constructed to maintain identities at a personal, social, and national level the chapter simultaneously charts the embryonic establishment of Ukrainian-focused organizations which prompted and sustained the settled communities.

Key words *Dispersion, fragmentation, boundary creation, large group identity*

5.1 Dispersal from the homelands

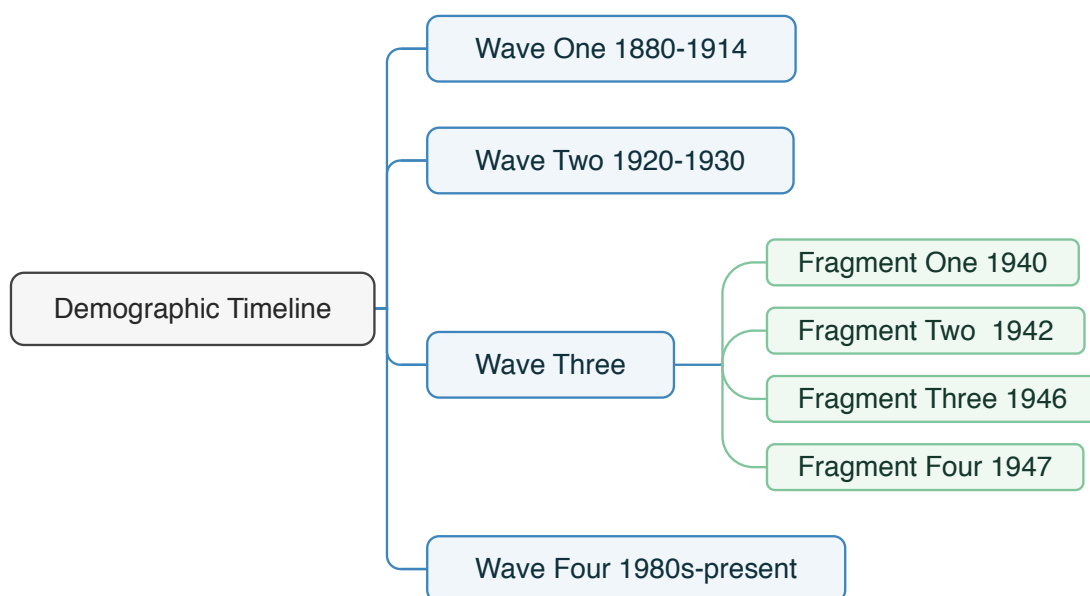


Figure 5-1 Timeline of the four waves of Ukrainian migration



Figure 5-2 First wave Galician (Ukrainian) immigrants arrive at Québec 1911

Photo by W.J. Topley, Library and Archives Canada

PA10401

This is the first of the empirical chapters and incorporates a good deal of narrative from semi-structured interviews. Many of the (G1) respondents were not only willing to talk about their own lives but were keen to provide me with information about preceding generational cohorts of their families, particularly the migration of grandparental (*wave one*) and parental (*wave two*) family members. In many instances I was led into a potted history of the journey of generational cohorts that I would never meet.

5.2 Wave One (1880-1914)

The first major wave of emigration from ethnic Ukrainian homelands resulted from the *push* of rural poverty. Thousands of young men and women sought work abroad, many intending to return with the financial capital to better their situation. My own grandfather was no exception, when he chose to head for Alaska to find seasonal work before returning to Galicia with money to better his smallholding.

The question of the number of *wave one* Ukrainians coming to, or via Scotland, is impossible to answer. We know of the great numbers heading for the American continents and Canada but cannot accurately determine the numbers of those who chose to reside here. Researching the first two waves of Ukrainian migration remains challenging. Early demographic methodologies, censuses, intercensal surveys and registration systems often did not reflect accurate and timely data on immigrants.

Early decennial population censuses were only snapshots in time. First research of early migratory groups encountered primitive and unhelpful recording and registration procedures. Many of the early migrants, particularly the poorly educated, were not necessarily conscious of their citizenship or even identity. Early Ukrainian migrants encountering a census or border registration, would experience enumerators or port authority personnel unable to attribute them to a country called Ukraine. Those from Austro-Hungarian territories mostly answered to regional or territorial nomenclature such as Rusyn/русин (Ruthenian), Lemko/лемко, Boyko/бойко etc. while those from the Russian Empire frequently answered to 'Little Russian' (Malorossianyn/малоросіянин).

In the very early days of registration, nationality was not always a priority with port authorities. An example of this laissez-faire attitude is provided by Alejandro Portes (1997) ...

At Ellis Island, busy immigration inspectors did not have much time to scrutinize papers or to struggle with difficult spellings. When needed they just re-baptized the immigrant on the spot. Thus, the German Jew who, flustered by the impatient questioning of the inspector, blurted out in Yiddish, “Schoyn Vergessen” (I forget), upon which the inspector promptly welcomed “Sean Ferguson” to America (Portes, 1997).

This practice is in direct contrast to today’s modern procedures. Where first wave migrants were lacking a uniformity of ‘identity’, the fourth wave have benefitted from the exponential development of technological surveillance tools and techniques, all contributing to the monitoring of international Ukrainian passengers as never before. Present day migrants are mostly informed by an institutionalization of their national identities that was simply not present at the turn of the century. Today’s resources such as fingerprinting, instant photography, retinal scans and ever-evolving, powerful, visual and audio technology can now check the validity of a migrant’s details in nanoseconds.

Seeking Ukrainians arriving in the United Kingdom takes research first to England. These migrants were originally heading for north and south America and only intended to sojourn in Britain to earn enough money to fund a continued sea journey across the Atlantic. They were primarily economic migrants and link with Cohen’s second heuristic of his typology ... ‘expanding from a homeland in search of work or pursuit of a trade’. It is important here to be mindful of motives and the difference between economic migrants and those political migrants who flee hostile regimes.

The first families to find work were to land in Manchester. The Ukrainian Mancunians claim to be the oldest Ukrainian community in the UK. A centennial history of Manchester’s *wave one* community, written by their local (UGCC) priest Father Yevhen Nebesniak (1997), describes their migratory template as that of a *stranded community*, landing as economic migrants in 1892. The Police Registration District of Salford recorded them as ‘Austrian Slavs’. This title again confirms the challenges of migrant self-identification. Would the average English registrar of that time have a grasp of eastern or middle European demographics?

This small group of families worked closely and amicably with Manchester's Jewish hat makers and tailors. Having found work with Jewish families who hailed from the same territories 'in the old country' and who could speak Ukrainian these 'Austrian Slavs' decided to settle.

Mindful of the fact that similar, sizeable Jewish communities had been long settled in Scotland, I turned my investigation to the 'second city of the empire', Glasgow, partly populated by early 19th century cohorts of Jewish immigrants. Would there be evidence of similar *first wave* Ukrainians working among them?

'Glasgow was a major port for emigration, with ships sailing from the Clyde each week, bound for new lands of opportunity such as the United States and Canada. Jewish emigrants from the Russian Empire and elsewhere were arriving in the city each week, setting up homes, or catching a ship for the onward journey' (Kaplan, 2006, p.2).

Kenneth Collins (2016, pp.35-48), researching Eastern European migration between 1880 and 1914, charted the geographical origins of Scotland's Jews. He identified more than twenty major settlements in Ukraine from where mass emigration of Jewish families took place. Because Scottish ports were located on the main trans-migrant routes taking Eastern Europeans to North America, ... 'from Hamburg or Rotterdam, Jewish migrants could travel across Scotland, from Leith or Dundee, on to Glasgow to wait for their steamer to the new world' (2016, p.35). Geographers will be interested in Collins' excerpt from Emiliech Bereslavsky's memoir, describing the routes of his journey from Brest Litovsk to Glasgow 1903-1904, at the height of the *first wave's* great migration.

Along with the Jewish migrants like Bereslavsky, there were many other nationalities travelling with them. During my visit to Glasgow's Jewish archives, situated below the Garnethill synagogue, I found evidence of strong Jewish links with Ukrainian territories. Harvey Kaplan's evidence-based (2006) research into the Jewish families who were resident in Glasgow at the time of the 1901 census has thrown up, among the Jewish surnames, some quasi-Ukrainian surnames.

As with the Manchester community, it is highly likely that some 'Russian Poles' linked themselves to Jewish trans-migrants and found employment with established Jewish businesses in Glasgow. According to Collins, by 1911 there were 1,775 Jewish businesses in Glasgow. Mindful that Nebesniak identified Ukrainians in Manchester who were attracted to working for Jewish businessmen and shopkeepers, my Glasgow searches proved promising.

An interesting find in the Garnethill archive, is the case of Jacob Kramrisch, a young Ukrainian-born, Jewish manager working for Imperial Tobacco in Glasgow. Kramrisch hailed from Lemberg (L'viv), then part of the Habsburg Empire, and was recruiting cigarette workers directly from his homeland territories. The possibility of Ukrainians working in Jewish owned businesses is supported by the fact that, in turn of the century Manchester, Nebesniak writes about both Ukrainian and Jewish *ethnies* originating from the same Slav territories and communicating via a common territorial language. Yohanan Petrovskii-Shtern (Magocsi, 2016, p.149) in *Jews and Ukrainians: A millennium of co-existence* writes about 'Ukrainian Yiddish'⁹², a turn of the century dialectal equivalent of modern *surzhyk*, a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian. [Perhaps post-thesis research should be carried out here?]

Nebesniak's researches of the Register of Aliens 1892, also uncovered Ukrainians registered as 'Polish Galicians'. These individuals would never have been recorded as Ukrainians simply because the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires had not yet collapsed. Many western (Austro-Hungarian) Ukrainians of that period were self-identifying as ethnic Ruthenians. An interesting contrast is a singular Scottish example, Vasiliy Nikitenko who hailed from the Russian empire and had migrated to work as a coalminer in Newtongrange, Midlothian before the outbreak of WW1.

When Nikitenko⁹³ enlisted in the Royal Artillery, (he was killed in action just at the close of WW1), his military credentials registered him as being born in 'Boltava, Little Russia'. In other words, he hailed from Poltava, Ukraine, and titled himself as *malorossiyanyn* [Little Russian, малоросіянин]. Nikitenko's self-identification contributes to historiographical discourse concerning international recognition of a nationality known as 'Ukrainian'.

Nebesniak notes an interesting phenomenon regarding proximity to the homeland. His 'Polish Galicians' and 'Austrian Slavs' preferred to stay and work in the British Isles as they were domiciled physically nearer their homelands than had

⁹² In Odessa the first Yiddish newspaper, *Kol Mevasser* (the Herald, 1862-1872) edited by Alexander Zederbaum, was written mostly in Ukrainian Yiddish.

⁹³ His name was added to the war memorial in Newtongrange in 2007 (OS Ref: NT333644) www.scottishmilitaryresearch.co.uk. [See appendices].

they migrated to the North American continent. Yet, for the majority, the availability of large tracts of cheap land in Canada was to become a major migratory *pull*. The pull occurred at the same time as the *push* of rural poverty in ethnic Ukrainian homelands.



Figure 5-3 Shipping poster

This poster reads 200 million acres available in Western Canada. 160 acres equivalent to Austrian morpchs of free land for each settler⁹⁴

5.3 Wave Two (1920-1930)

The Russian and Ukrainian revolutions⁹⁵ prompted the demise of the tsarist empire and the rise to power of the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat.’ Despite all that has been written about the revolutions, Serhii Plokhy (2015, p.209) writes of this time ... ‘the genie of [Ukrainian] independence was now out of the imperial bottle’. The three major thrusts for Ukrainian independence came and went but in the end the Bolsheviks emerged victorious and set about their construction of the USSR. Following the revolutionary period, Ukrainians were to flee their homelands in droves. This period was pivotal in the formation of Ukrainian national self-identification. Although the refugees from the revolution left their homelands in defeat, the words Ukraine and Ukrainian had become firmly established in their psyche and consequently in their common, self-descriptive parlance. Over the ensuing decades the Ukrainian imagined communities both at home and abroad

⁹⁴ See also: <http://ukrainian-archives.artsrn.ualberta.ca>

⁹⁵ *The events of the Ukrainian Revolution, recently marked by a commemorative centenary exhibition (23rd March 2017) in London, were comprehensively summarized by a presentation of rare documents from the National Archives in Ukraine and private collections elsewhere.*

became far more self-assured in terms of their popular discourses of Ukrainianness. Many Ukrainian communities across the world, one hundred years later, still proudly commemorate those first revolutionary declarations of Independence.

As a result of the revolution (1917-1921) Ukrainian ethnic territories remained once again divided, this time between the embryonic USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. By 1930 Serge Cipko estimates that between 400,000 and one-half million Ukrainian economic migrants and political refugees were spread over 26 European countries. The treaty of Riga (18/3/1921), the Polish constitution (17/3/1921-articles 108 & 109) and the Treaty of Versailles (28/6/1929) gave the restored state of Poland jurisdiction over its ethnic western Ukrainian minority. According to Paul Robert Magocsi, by 1931 Ukrainians officially numbered 4.4 million persons or 14% of Poland's population - (2010, p.626).

For demographers establishing a population count for this period is fraught with difficulty. Cipko (1991, p.1) notes that the inter-war emigration patterns from Ukrainian homelands between 1919 and 1939 are difficult to account for simply because they have received little scholarly attention. He argues that this is also due to the Ukrainians' statelessness, where ... 'most Western Ukrainian emigrants were leaving with Polish, Romanian, or Czechoslovakian passports which asserted their citizenship as opposed to their nationality'. This complex array of citizenships and their geopolitical dispersion across various territories and political spaces in the inter-war years did not help easy unification of their diasporic communities. Another important factor was the fact that this departure represented two ideologies- the search for seasonal employment [with the intent on returning to an improved situation] as opposed to those who fled social and political oppression. At the risk of oversimplification, many historians interpret this *second wave* as an exodus linking economic migrancy alongside political flight.

A study of the policies and processes of colonialization imposed on the Ukrainian minority of inter-war Poland is a pre-requisite to understanding the pre-immigration political ideologies of the first settlers. Paul Robert Magocsi sums up the context which they had experienced in the inter-war years ...

[t]he Ukrainians of Poland, most especially those of Galicia, were not about to accept the status of a national minority in what they considered

their own homeland. That would be tantamount to turning back the historical clock. And that is exactly what Poland tried to do' (2012, p.630).

The Second Polish Republic's acquisition of Galicia had left its mark on the first settler generations who had resisted repatriation. Having been members of a 'national minority' in their own homelands on arrival in the United Kingdom they were to encounter the daunting task of rebuilding major aspects of their social and cultural lives in a truly foreign land. These features, along with the political tenets of their boundary construction, are further explored in *Chapter 6, First settler cultural and political reproduction*.



Figure 5-4 Ukrainian Lands in Poland

Reproduced with permission from Paul Robert Magocsi, *History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd rev. and expanded ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

96

⁹⁶ For an appreciation of the paucity of public information regarding Ukrainians in the United Kingdom between the first and second world wars, read CIPKO 1991. In Search of a New Home: Ukrainian Emigration Patterns between the Two Wars. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 16, 28., SYROTA, R. 2005. Ukrainian Studies in Inter-War Britain: Good Intentions, Major Obstacles. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 27, 149-180.,.

5.4 Wave Three (1940-1954)

‘...a wave that never would have occurred, had it not been for WW2’ (Kurlak, 2015). The third wave brought the largest influx of *ethnic Ukrainians* to the United Kingdom.

This wave consists of four numerically substantial groups who arrived in sequence, from the beginning of WW2 to its aftermath. This wave arrived with a commonality, a ‘Ukrainian’ psyche, albeit of differing origins. It comprised of north American diasporans (USA & Canada) the progeny of first and second wave economic and political migrants, eastern (Soviet) Ukrainians who had seen their independence systematically dismantled and western Ukrainians who had experienced the oppressions of colonialization. No longer do we witness the confused interpretations between citizenship and nationality. The commonality of all four groups lay in accepting and considering their ethnicity as ‘Ukrainian’. This generally accepted interpretation of their self-identification became a foundational element in many aspects of their future boundary construction.

The onset of WW2 witnessed the arrival of the men and women of Ukrainian heritage in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF-*fragment one*) and Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces (PAF-*fragment two*). Following the conflict, the European Displaced Persons (DPs-*fragment three*) and ‘German’ Prisoners of War (POWS-*fragment four*) arrived. In the following brief historiography, each group will be referred to as a *fragment* of wave three.

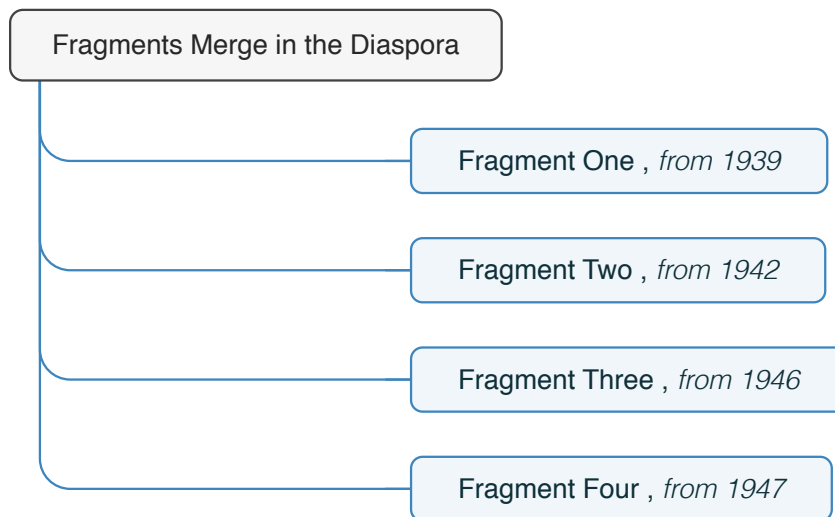


Figure 5-5 Fragments merge in the diaspora

As mentioned earlier the concept of *fragment*, attributed to Louis Hartz (1964), is taken from his book *The Founding of New Societies*. Yarema Kelebay employed Hartz's concept when analyzing the community of Montreal's Ukrainians. In turn I have employed the same heuristic tool to identify the four clusters who arrived in the United Kingdom (UK) within the 1939-1947 period.

Kelebay adds ... 'Different waves of immigration are fragments thrown off from a society at a specific time' and notes that ... 'each evolutionary cluster brought a different intellectual baggage' (1980, pp.74-75). Differing 'baggage' certainly applies to each of the above *fragments* who arrived in Scotland with varying ideologies 'frozen in time'.

The Canadian Ukrainians of the RCAF were predominantly the progeny of the first wave immigrants who had been settled in Canada for decades. Although they belonged to the same generation, they differed from the 'Polish Ukrainians' of the PAF, the DPs or the POWs. In Canada the early migrants had been able to establish their ethnic culture from the turn of the century onwards and in many instances were well down the path of assimilation. They differed from the other three fragments who had experienced subjugation, either by the Polish Second Republic, or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

One important phenomenon worthy of note is the fact that, of the four *fragments* who came together to comprise a Ukrainian ethnic presence in Britain, three out of four groups originated from the ranks of the military. Two from the *Allied* camp and a third from the *Axis* armies. Three fragments [RCAF, PAF and POWs] consisted of men and women who had experienced battle in one form or another and whose social and cultural baggage had been recently influenced by trauma.

Individuals who have experience of military training often exhibit an ability to rally forces quickly and effectively. I argue here that their wartime experiences, coupled with a background of military discipline and training, prompted, reinforced, and enhanced the first settlers' uncanny speed of *boundary creation and maintenance*. It is no accident that in Scotland this multi-fragmented collection of serving soldiers and airmen pooled their energies and accelerated the formation of the *imagined* community of first generation (G1) Ukrainians. The first organization of *Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces* went on to quickly become the umbrella organization known as the *Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB)*.

It is useful now to chart the historiography of these *fragments* as they arrived and evolved, noting how the intellectual and élite actors of each group contributed to the synergies of *boundary maintenance*.

5.4.1 Fragment One (from 1939)

Why Ukrainians from Canada?

The first 'Ukrainians' to arrive in Scotland in great numbers were the men and women of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) who were commissioned to train the aviators of different nationalities identified with the allies' airborne defences. They were the sons and daughters of Canadian Ukrainians and represented the second and third generations of Canada's first wave migrants. They volunteered to fight for the allies, considering themselves loyal to Canada, a host nation that had allowed their families to settle there from the turn of the 19th century. They were a welcome addition to the allied airborne personnel of the time. [By 1944 the RCAF had reached a peak of 215,000 members and 78 squadrons].

Scottish airfields provided the training bases for allied personnel. Canadian Ukrainian airmen came and went. Some were killed during training and never went home -like Sergeant Wynnnychuk ⁹⁷. Other Canadian Ukrainians, more fortunate, not only survived the war but alongside their military duties set about what can only be described as ‘nation gathering’.

The brevity of this thesis does not allow for an in- depth study of the RCAF’s Gordon Bohdan Panchuk ⁹⁸ (1915-1987). His story is comprehensively chronicled by military historian Lubomyr Luciuk. Panchuk’s rallying of Ukrainians of all backgrounds and his major contribution of consolidating their identities, both during and after the WW2, is extremely relevant to this thesis.

Flight Lieutenant Gordon Panchuk, Second Tactical Airforce, 126th wing of the RCAF, was an Intelligence Officer whose task was ‘...to brief pilots, tell them where to go, what their targets were, and when they came back to interview them and report to higher command on whether the mission was carried out or not’ (p.65). While serving in the RCAF, his instrumental step in bringing people of Ukrainian heritage together (*nation gathering*) was helping to create the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen’s Association (UCSA) in 1943. He successfully traced over 1000 Ukrainian Canadian servicemen and women based in Great Britain. UCSA offices were established in London and served as a focal point for correspondence. The major objective was to enhance awareness of Ukrainian identity among the Allied servicemen. Many members of UCSA were professionally committed to military operations in Europe, landing in Normandy, 6th June 1944, with Montgomery’s second army.

‘Of course, Allied service personnel had no access to the Soviet zone, but as far as the other three went (French, British and American), we did. So, we immediately established contacts with whatever Ukrainian refugees we could find. By that time, they [the DPs] were looking for us, so contact was easy’ (Panchuk in (Luciuk, 1983b, p.63).

If any one individual can be accredited with devoting himself to the process of *nation gathering* G.R.B. Panchuk’s efforts must rank unique. He became the

⁹⁷ R.93692 Sergeant W.R. Wynnnychuk, Navigator Royal Canadian Airforce, died 22nd September 1942, aged 32. Buried in Commonwealth graves, Annan cemetery.

⁹⁸ His achievements are comprehensively chronicled by (Luciuk, 1983). His correspondence is distributed between the Shevchenko Library of the AUGB, the Archives of Ontario (Panchuk Cousins, 1999) and our UK National Archives.

first director of the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (CURB) which was established in the UCSA offices ... 'to extend any and every moral and material aid possible to all Ukrainian refugees, Displaced Persons and destitute on the continent' (circular letter No.21).

Touring the European camps to identify groups of Ukrainians who feared repatriation, he encouraged many of them to enroll in the 'Westward Ho' scheme which was bringing European Voluntary Workers to Britain. The same man was a key player in negotiations with the British government over the transfer of the Galicia Division from Italy to Britain.

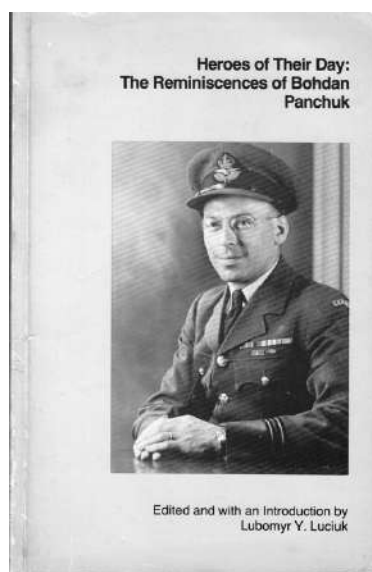


Figure 5-6 Flight Sergeant Gordon Panchuk

After the war, once the Displaced Persons and Prisoner of War *fragments* were domiciled in the British camps and hostels, Panchuk toured the hostels to recruit them into membership of the embryonic Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). He and his colleagues, many of whom remained in Britain in the post-war years, employed their organizational skills to bring together Ukrainians within the British Isles. Panchuk was a pivotal figure in the establishment of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB), the association which became the dominant umbrella organization in the UK.

It is difficult to overstate the activities and achievements of Panchuk and his Canadian Ukrainians, especially their role in the post-war rescue of Ukrainian refugees and Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEPs). In his own words his motive was straightforward ... 'Let's not touch the political aspect. Let's stick to the humanitarian saving of lives' (1983b, p.97). It is no surprise that his autobiography is the subject of renewed interest⁹⁹.

⁹⁹ On the 75th Anniversary of Victory in Europe a service of thanksgiving was planned in St.James's Church, Paddington, and the blessing of a commemorative stained glass window was due to take place. This was to honour the service and sacrifices of the Ukrainian Canadians and others who served overseas during and after the Second World War. Unfortunately, due to the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic this has been postponed.

5.4.2 Fragment Two (from 1942)



Figure 5-7 Ethnic Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces [1946-01-19]

They are gathered on the steps of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, 19th Jan 1946. The inaugural conference lasted two days and is reported in the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) newsletter *Nash Klych/Our Call* of that week. Photo courtesy of Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) archives.

Ukrainians in the Polish Armed Forces under British Command

As the war progressed the second sizeable *fragment* of 'Ukrainian Poles' began to gather, from various directions and at different timescales. Among the 20,000 personnel of the Polish 1st Corps were men and women of Ukrainian ethnicity who had been conscripted into the Polish Armed Forces (PAF). These soldiers hailed from the ethnic Ukrainian territories that had been absorbed into the Polish Second Republic following the Treaty of Versailles. When the war finished, regardless of their official 'Polish' citizenship, these men were anxious to publicly portray their ethnicity as Ukrainian.

The Polish Armed Forces had come to defend Scotland from Nazi invasion (Stachura, 2011, p.1). During WW2 Winston Churchill realized that Scotland lay largely undefended. Having lost the 51st Highland Division of 10,000 men who fought the rear-guard action in the weeks after the main British army had been evacuated at Dunkirk, Churchill and the Polish Government-in-Exile agreed with the Polish

‘Army in Exile’ that the bulk of the PAF would be established along the vulnerable east coast of Scotland (Carswell, 2012).

Throughout the war, and at its conclusion, ethnic Ukrainians were arriving to join the PAF from France, Italy, and the Middle East. To avoid possible repatriation to the opposite side of the ‘Iron Curtain’, the ethnic Ukrainians who joined the PAF were officially afforded Polish citizenship.

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE No 823727

ISSUED AT LONGTOWN, CUMBERLAND

ON 25TH JULY, 1947

NAME (Surname first in Roman Capitals) KUCHTA, Jan

ALIAS

Left Thumb Print (if unable to sign name in English Characters).

Signature of Holder } Kuchta Jan.

Nationality *Polish* *Uncertain (U)*

Born on 20/9/1920 in *Polish Poland*

Previous Nationality (if any) *Polish*

Profession or Occupation { *Security Worker*

Single or Married *Married*

Address of Residence *Hallburn Camp, Longtown, Cumberland*

Arrival in United Kingdom on *13/11/1946*

Address of last Residence outside U.K. *Barietta, Italy*

Government Service *Polish Army from 5/6/1945 to 25/7/1949*

Passport or other papers as to Nationality and Identity. *Army Form X.204 (Polish) NRIC H.C.D. 6421294*

Figure 5-8 Ukrainian Jan [Ivan] Kuchta, once 'Polish' is now of uncertain nationality

Having initially been issued with documents describing them as Poles, these ‘Poles’ or ‘Polish Ukrainians’ were about to be demobbed, but now with a renewed designation of ‘uncertain’ (U) nationality.

Despite their ‘uncertain’ (U) status, these élite players, many of whom had been proactively involved in cultural and political activities in pre-war Poland, were determined to apply those very experiences of public life. In unison with the Canadian Ukrainians, they immediately set about establishing a formal organisation, first inaugurated in Edinburgh in January 1946, known as the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

5.4.3 Fragment Three (from 1946)

Ukrainian displaced persons

In 1943 a law was passed in the Pidhaitsi [Підгайці] region of Halychyna, the administrative centre for my area. Young males born in 1922, 1923 and 1924 had to go to the nearby town of Pidhaitsi for a 'pre-army medical examination'. The village farmers took me and several other lads to the medical examination by horse and cart. A few months later, another law was passed which stated that those who had passed the medical had to report to the Baudienst Command¹⁰⁰ in Berezhany [Бережани], one of the largest towns in the area. In May 1943 I left my village, and all that I had ever known, to join this Baudienst (G1/N4).

A second respondent told me that many young Ukrainians were unwilling to leave their families at a time of war and tried to avoid this thinly disguised form of press gang.

When the Germans were looking to recruit healthy young Ukrainian men for the Baudienst my mother did not want me to go. She organised a secure hiding place for me on a neighbour's farm. I do not know how but the Germans found me, and I was forcibly recruited into the Baudienst (G1/N10).

I am from Eastern Ukraine [location withheld] and was orphaned during the Holodomor. When the Reichskommissariat was created we older boys in the orphanage were taken to Germany. Because I was physically small, I was put to work alongside the Hitler Youth who were defending the towns and factories by operating anti-aircraft searchlights and manning anti-aircraft flak guns. In the last year of the war, I volunteered to join the re-assembled Galicia Division (G1/N3).

In 1946 Ukrainian Displaced Persons had arrived in hundreds of Allied camps across Europe. They had moved westwards in front of the advancing Red Army and were refusing to be repatriated. The military authorities were left puzzled as to how to identify the DPs. If they were not Soviet citizens, then to whom did they belong?

¹⁰⁰ *Baudienst im Generalgouvernement* (Construction Service in the General Government), was a forced labour system created by the Nazi administration in the General Government territory of occupied Poland during World War II.

The greater number of the former *ostarbeiters* who originated from the USSR were repatriated, but not all. The majority of the 'unwilling to return' were from western Ukrainian speaking territories, which straddled numerous countries, as depicted in Figure 5.9 below.

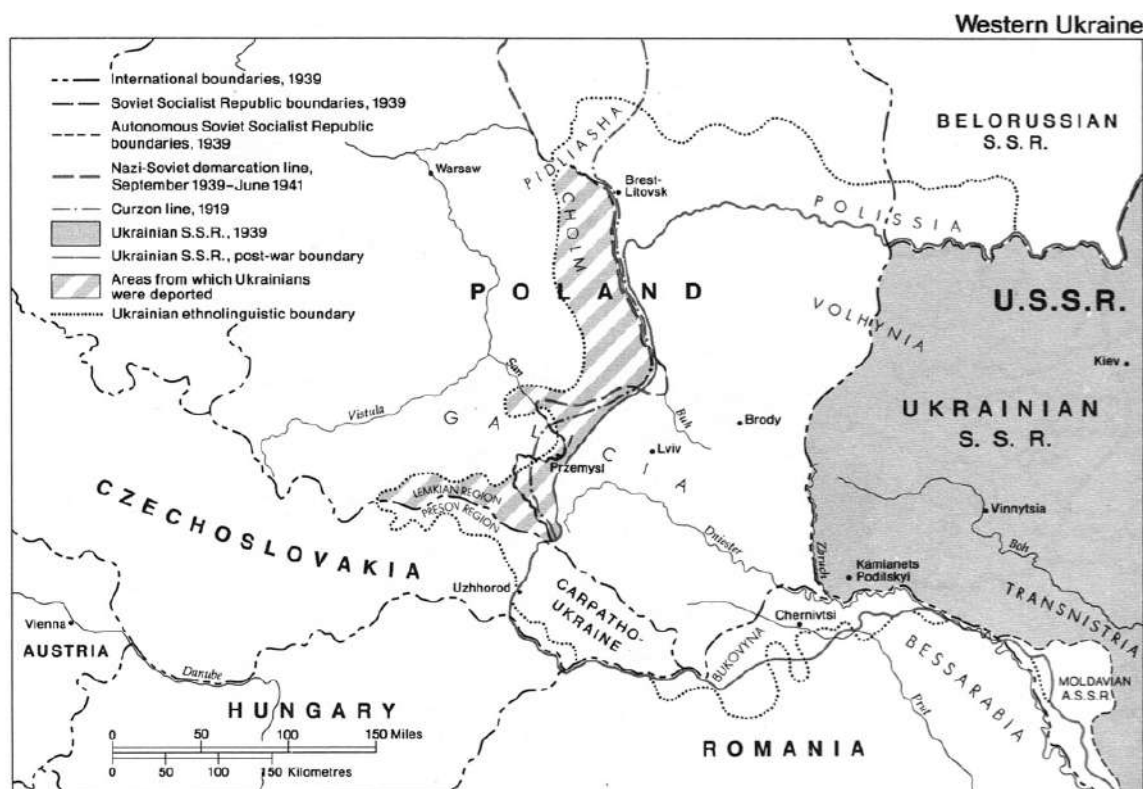


Figure 5-9 'Western' Ukraine (Source: Luciuk & Kordan 1987, p.14)

Map permission courtesy of Professor Lubomyr Luciuk

The extract below is taken from the memoirs of Katherine Hulme, a United Nations relief officer in Bavaria from 1945-1951, who recorded the daily lives of Displaced Persons housed by United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) at Wildflecken and other Displaced Persons camps.

When this vast population of slaves was uncovered by the Allied armies in 1945 they had been OST for nearly six years, ever since the first Nazi blitz into Poland and the later thrusts onward and eastward through Ukraine and up as far as the little Balt[ic] republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which stood like outposts of democracy only some three hundred miles from Leningrad and facing out towards Sweden across the Baltic Sea (Hulme, 1959,p.1)

Among the two million DPs still left in western Europe the discovery, identification and monitoring of ethnic Ukrainians in the Displaced Persons camps had become

the focus of Bohdan Panchuk, his colleagues in the RCAF, and Ukrainians in other allied units. Unfortunately, the task of saving many Ukrainian DP's from forcible repatriation was hampered by officialdom and bureaucracy.

“Disposal of Ukrainians” - Ukrainians are not considered as a nationality and will be dealt with according to their status as Soviet Citizens, Polish citizens, Czechoslovak citizens, nationals of other countries of which they may be citizens or as stateless persons. Persons styling themselves as Ukrainians who are Soviet citizens displaced by reason of war, identified by military commands and Soviet Representatives as Soviet citizens, if uncovered after 11, February 1945, will be repatriated to the USSR without regard to their personal wishes.

(Canadian Department of National Defence, War Diaries, Headquarters of the 3rd Canadian Division, 581.0009 (D87), Instruction and Policy Rulings (April 7, 1945; April 17, 1945)

In 1943 the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (UCSA), as an adjunct, established the Central Ukrainian Relief Fund (CURB¹⁰¹) which played a pivotal humanitarian role in the identification and salvation of thousands of Ukrainian DP's.

Many of the CURB members committed to military operations in newly liberated Europe were approached by Panchuk and his colleagues to help in the aftermath of the D-Day landings. He and his CURB teammates were part of the air and land support of Montgomery's Second Army. On the 6th June 1944, over 4000 landing craft and 310 ships were used to transport Allied forces onto the Normandy beaches.

“You couldn't find a Canadian fighting unit in which there weren't some Ukrainians. In fact, by that time, the legend in Europe among the Ukrainian Displaced Persons was that marching alongside the Canadian forces there was a Ukrainian Army coming to 'liberate' them ... One of the first dead youths I found in Normandy was a young Ukrainian lad in German uniform-I still have the documents somewhere. The Germans used Ukrainians as slave workers and young teenagers were forced to man anti-aircraft units in defence of the 'Atlantic Wall' (Luciuk, 1983b p.61).

¹⁰¹ 'Under the joint auspices of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, which is an Auxiliary of the Canadian Red Cross, and the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Incorporated, Authorised by the President's War Relief Control Board, there has been opened in the same building as our Club,[218 Sussex Gardens, Paddington,London W2] a Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (CURB). The purpose of the bureau in brief is to extend any and every moral and material aid possible on behalf of the sponsoring committee, all Ukrainian Refugees, Displaced Persons and destitute on the Continent'(UCSA Circular 21,para 4).

The numerically largest *fragment* of Ukrainians to arrive on British shores was that of the '*not repatriated*' during or after WW2. (Kubal, 2011). The establishment of the European Voluntary Workers' scheme provided 91,151 EVWs with an escape route from forcible repatriation. They were afforded swift entry through *government admission policies*. According to J.A. Tannahill (1958b, p.139) approximately 32% of these EVWs were Ukrainians (16,210 males and 4,720 females = 20,930). Were they labour migrants or refugees? Officially they were brought as workers, choosing physically demanding work rather than forced repatriation. Where Kay and Miles explore this dichotomy in their publication '*Refugees or Migrant Workers?*', my research supports the fact that most of the Ukrainians who came to the United Kingdom post-WW2 self-identified as refugees.

The *generation one* (G1) interviews had one common thread running through all the conversations. There was no mention of the term *migrant*. There was repeated use of the word *escape* from the European mainland, particularly from those territories which had surrendered to the Red Army.

Mum talked about getting put onto a cattle truck when she was 16 and driven to Germany where she did mostly farm work, and from there she ended up somehow in the Russian zone in Germany towards the end of the war. Because she was in the Russian zone, she was due to be sent back home where she had heard horrendous stories about what had happened to people that got sent back. It was the 1st of May, and the Russians celebrate May Day, so they started drinking and they all got drunk. While they were all drinking my mum and her friend decided 'Well, they're all drunk, we're gonna run from the Russian zone to the American zone which they could see, and they just made a beeline for the American zone. That's how she managed to come to this country, to Scotland (G2/N27).

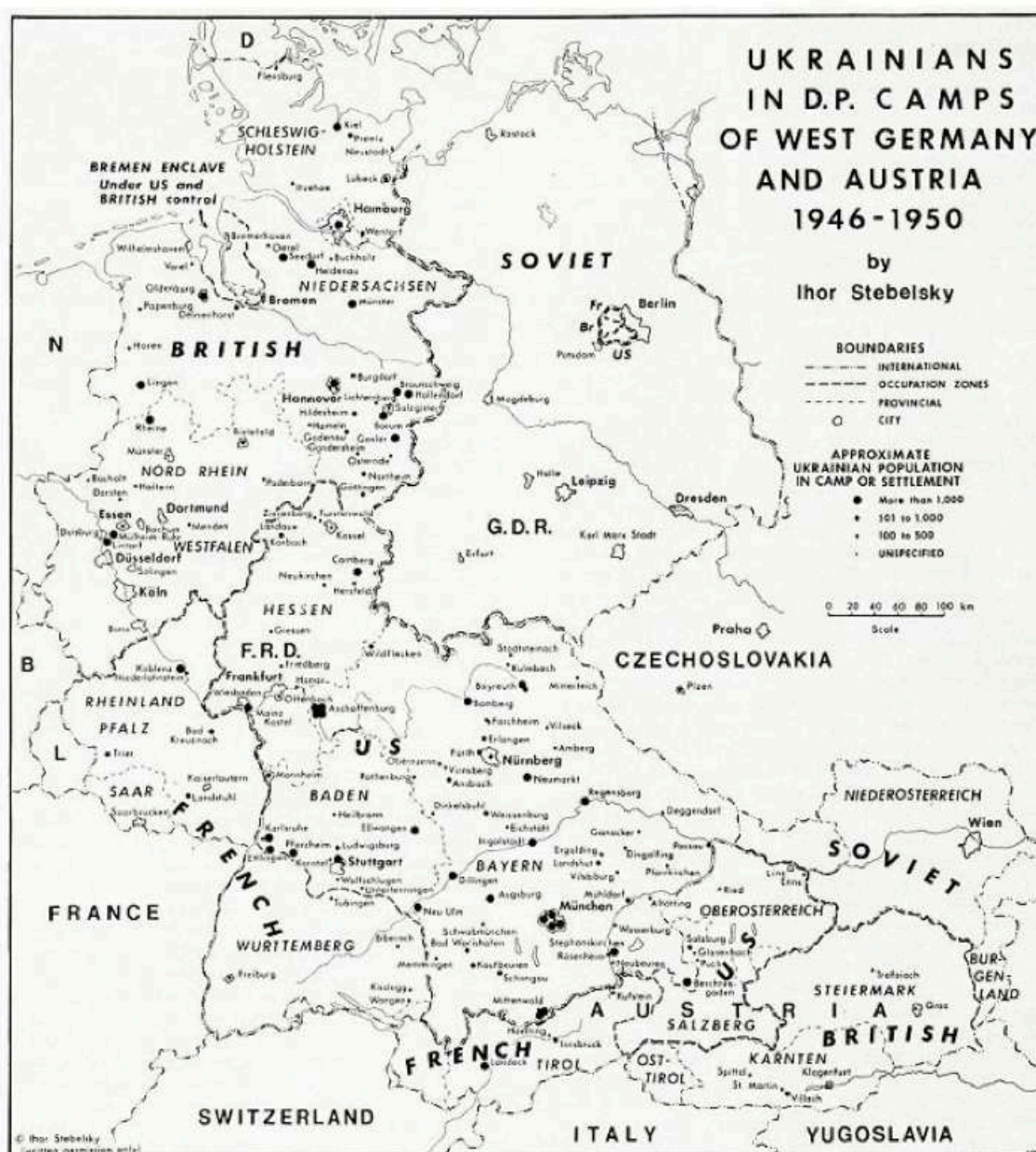


Figure 5-10 Ukrainians in the DP camps of West Germany and Austria 1946-1950

Map provided by courtesy of Professor Ihor Stebelsky, Professor Emeritus Retired, University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. Permission granted 9th October 2015. It should be noted that Ihor Stebelsky's demographics are confined to the American French and British zones. Soviet zone demographics for Ukrainian DPs were unavailable.

Stories of atrocities were circulating by word of mouth. The fear of repatriation is a deeply entrenched emotion which has lingered on throughout the lifetimes of my first-generation respondents. I earlier mentioned the nonagenarian lady who refused point blank to be interviewed. Her husband came on to the phone almost apologetically to say that she still suffered occasional nightmares from her time in Germany. The strength of this fear was succinctly underlined by Edward Crankshaw, A Scotsman journalist, writing from a Displaced Persons' camp in 1947.

Fear of Russians

'And that the refugees are quite capable of treading people underfoot is shown by the sort of thing that happens when Russian officers come in, complete with armed escort provided by the military commander, to harangue the refugees and persuade them to go home. Sometimes these visitors get hurt. Sometimes they are lucky and escape with a hustling. Once at Lysenko [a Displaced Persons Camp], when I was being shown round some of the rooms of the refugee families, I unthinkingly spoke in Russian to a proud and smiling young Ukrainian woman in the midst of her spotless pots and pans. It was not very good Russian, but it was good enough to strike terror into her. She was not expecting any Russians; the smile went out as though by magic, and first bewilderment then hostility, then tears chased across those homely features. The fear remained. It was not entirely banished by assurances of the Ukrainian camp leader-by the grins of the Control Commission officers with me- who are entirely trusted-or by my own swift reversion to English. It was an unpremeditated and instructive moment. She thought I had come from Moscow to take her "home". But here was her home now, and here she would stay until the time came to move farther West, farther way from the people whose very language made her turn pale'.

The Life of a Displaced Person; Freedom to Travel and Work, Crankshaw, E., The Scotsman Newspaper (1947, Dec 16th, p.4)

The last sentence of Crankshaw's is significant ...'people whose very language made her turn pale'. My G1 respondents unanimously expressed a dislike of hearing the Russian language. For them the language of 'the other' [pre-1939 both Russian and Polish] only served to emphasize their sense of Ukrainianness [ukrainstvo/українство].

The 'irritant' of being subjected to the administrative language of the colonizing 'other' lies in direct contrast to the present transnationals in Scotland who competently flit between both Ukrainian and Russian in their conversations. The effect of decades of Russification has resulted in many Ukrainians, by choice or circumstance, using Russian or Surzhyk¹⁰² as their first language [Field note].

Besides journalistic reports there were letters flooding towards the Military Governors and politicians alike.

¹⁰² Surzhyk [суржик] is a blend of Russian and Ukrainian.

During all our time here, we have been perpetually aware of the dread haunting peasant and intellectual alike that they would have to return to Russia. For the simpler people the fear is that they will be sent to Siberia, to work under conditions far worse than they now experience. They have realised that the West offers a higher standard of living than that which they would have in Russia and they are terrified lest their prolonged sojourn in Germany should mark them out for exile to Siberia and harsh treatment there.

The fear of the educated people is far more definite and based on the complete conviction that they will lose their lives as enemies of the Soviet regime.

Figure 5-11 Excerpt from Friends Relief letter regarding the fear of repatriation prevalent in Kreis Gosler Camp-

From Yvonne Marrack's Statement on Repatriation, signed 2nd February 1946 (NA FO 371/56792)

Letters and petitions were arriving from numerous élite organizations in the established Ukrainian émigré communities of the USA and Canada.

*Ukrainian National Women's League of America
Inc Detroit
Michigan 7th March 1946*

.... The Soviets have been trying to get their hands on the Ukrainian refugees, in order to liquidate their damaging testimony as to Soviet murder, rape, mass deportation and tyranny. Some neutral countries so far had resisted all pressure. A similar policy had been declared by the allied government; yet there are reports that officers in Europe are being humbugged by Soviet liaison commissions into surrendering large numbers of innocent unfortunates. Russia is not only exterminating or deporting all politically and culturally conscious elements but replacing them with large numbers of other racial stocks, chiefly Russian. The Ukrainian and other refugees in Western Europe constitute the sole free remnants of murdered nations. The crucial problem today is to save them from liquidation at Soviet hands and to assure them of a permanent sanctuary and the means of survival, either in Europe or on the American continents.

Irene Kozachenko-President,

Anna H. Bilous Secretary

*Michigan Council, Ukrainian Nat'l Womens' League of America, Inc.
Representing Lodges 5th, 16th, 23rd, 26th, 31st and 37th.*

Letter to the Foreign Office (N 3850/141/38) Rec'd 23rd Mar 46



Figure 5-12- The Wasp-DP magazine 1948

In terms of the theories of nationalism, which I explored in chapter two, it is often noted that a key element required to build a unified national identity is that of external threat. I have no doubt that the diasporic maintenance of Ukrainian national identity was reinforced not only by nationalist ideology but by their anti-Soviet attitudes and behaviours. The Displaced Persons magazine the Wasp [Osa/Oca] reflects the venom which Ukrainians felt for Soviet ideology. The magazine cover depicts the USA as the ‘true defender of the proletariat’ and the poetic verses below the cartoon are set to ridicule the USSR and Russia’s leading news agencies [TASS and Pravda].

‘In many places where they (the Soviet repatriation officers) were free to roam, they would stop a civilian in the street, and if they found a Ukrainian, they would very often load him into a jeep or vehicle, and that was it’ (Luciuk, 1983a,p.69). As far as females were concerned the scale of rape and pillage by the Red Army is a topic that until recently has remained almost taboo, except for writers such as Victor Sebestyen (2014, pp.114-128).

I remember my mum talking about her and her family's lives in the displaced persons camps and she remembers when the Soviets were combing through the camps looking for Ukrainians to repatriate. She remembers one night she and my uncle and her mum and dad basically crawling through the window of a barracks when what she called the Bolshevyky were coming to repatriate them. Somehow, they managed to get to a Polish camp and the Commandant at the Polish camp allowed them to pass as Polish when the Soviets came through. And so, it wouldn't surprise me that that fear of repatriation and to get as far away from the Soviets as possible was a real motivating factor to leave Europe completely. (G2/N35, p.4)

The fear of repatriation at that time prompted most to consider the UK as a sojourn or sanctuary, albeit temporary, a further migratory step away from Ukraine. Some first-generation respondents, particularly the nationalists, envisaged their time in Scotland as a stopover. In tandem with Robin Cohen’s typology, they had been dispersed from their homelands traumatically, bringing

with them the collective memories and myths which prompted many of them to idealize their ancestral homes. This in turn promoted the 'myth of return', the idea that when the Soviet Union eventually collapsed, they would be able to go 'home'. This myth of return was to be sustained over decades thanks to their strong ethnic group consciousness.

Meanwhile for those 'unable to return' who managed to avoid repatriation there was one inescapable, transitory 'funnelling' experienced by almost all of them - life in a series of Displaced Persons camps and hostels.

My mother was taken as forced labour to Germany; my father was taken from Western Ukraine. She worked in shipyards riveting ships together; father was on building sites; then they both ended up on farms in Germany, that's how they met, working on farms in close proximity to each other. They got together after the war finished and ended up in displaced persons camps. They got married in a DP camp started a family in the DP camp. I was born on the kitchen floor in the DP camp...

In the DP camps, they used to get the British and the Russians interrogating them so anybody from the East they used to take back. Anybody from Galicia or the Polish occupation they couldn't force back but anybody from Eastern Ukraine where my mother was from, they would have taken her back. My father stopped her from going back by saying she was his sister, that the Nazis took her from home without any schooling, no education, she was illiterate. It was truthful, she was illiterate because she lived through the Holodomor. When they were in the Russian Zone, he would speak for her and say, 'This is my sister, she can't read or write' and that's the way he managed to stop her from going back to Ukraine to get taken to Siberia. So, he managed to save her (N26).

In a symposium including sociologists, historians, psychologists, demographers and political scientists, Vsevolod Isayiw *et al* (Isayiw, 1992) focused on the 'primary importance of the *pre-immigration experience*' in West Germany and Austria. Among these refugees the creativity and synergetic energies of the pre-war academic, artisan, cleric, medic, and politician helped to quickly construct and establish the various camp social systems.

Isayiw *et al*'s book, *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after WWII*, published as a result of the symposium, contains chapters covering a number of aspects such as the economic and organizational structure of the Displaced Persons camps by Nicholas Bohatiuk (1992) and Theodore Ciuciura

(1992), the role of political parties and nationalist ideology by Vasyl Markus (1992b) and Myroslav Yurkevich (1992), the activities of both Uniate Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox churches by Alexander Baran (1992) and Bohdan Bociurkiw (1992), the establishment of nurseries and schools by Vasyl Markus (1992a), the powerful influence of women's organisations by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak (1992), the proliferation of literary activity by Danylo Husar Struk (1992), and Soviet repatriation attempts and the Allied responses by Mark Elliot (1992) and Yury Boshyk (1992).

It is important to note that while most DPs were intent on getting as far away from Ukraine as possible during the immediate post-war period there were others who were content to stay on the European mainland 'to prepare for return to a free Ukraine of the future'. Vasyl Markus has summarized the politics of the Displaced Persons camps succinctly (pp.12-139). Although the camps covered a wide spectrum of political ideologies-right, left and centre, the 'lumbering giant' of the OUN [his words] was to dominate the other Ukrainian parties in exile. The dominance of OUN was to come to Scotland's Ukrainians. I take up this point in the next chapter.

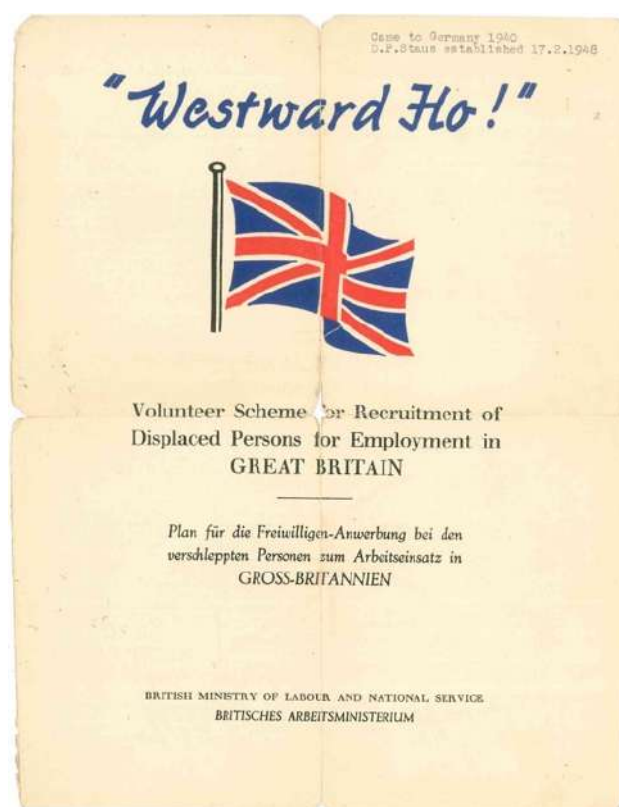


Figure 5-13 Westward Ho recruitment poster

Albeit temporary and transitional, studies of the *pre-emigration social system* by Ihor Zielyk (1992) of Ukrainian Displaced Persons' camps provide an understanding of how quickly these migrants could transfer the major features of their camp based social systems in order to speedily re-organize themselves when re-located. These same organizational capabilities contributed to the first generation's (G1) speedy *boundary building* of the Ukrainian communities that sprung up across the United Kingdom in the early 1950

Ukrainian émigré literature abounds with published and unpublished memoirs of the pre-migration period. Countless eye-witness accounts are located in Ukrainian archival repositories across the globe as valuable reminders of the social and psychological realities of the Displaced Persons' experiences.

By 1947, a proportion of the influx to Britain, almost two thousand Ukrainian DPs, found themselves transported to Scotland to work alongside other nationalities—mainly from the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. After WW2 many of the Ukrainian political refugees and displaced persons were heading for the North American continent—the USA and Canada. Extensive archives are to be found in repositories in both these countries.

The Fr. Aleksandr Babij, an itinerant UGCC priest, on arriving in Scotland at the same time as the EVWs, spent some considerable time identifying then travelling to visit the 44 camps scattered around the country. As mentioned earlier he sought sponsorship for a church-owned building, but at the same time listed not only the camps and hostels, but the names of those within who donated hard earned cash towards the purchase.

Using the original copy of his daybook it has been possible to construct a map of the Scottish locations of camps and hostels where Ukrainians were accommodated. The list of camps is in the endnotes^{xii}. These were not the only places where DPs were domiciled. Mention must be made of the efforts of well charted humanitarian achievements of remarkable local Scots such as Muriel Gofton¹⁰³, a woman who experienced the plight of refugees, having spent time in the European Displaced Persons camps.

¹⁰³ MURIEL Gofton, who died aged 84, dedicated her life to the well-being of a small group of refugees plucked from German camps and brought to purpose-built homes on the outskirts of Wishaw. Her story is a remarkable one of a woman who, after sacrificing academic aspirations, spent her thirties working in the so-called displaced persons camps of war-torn Europe, before returning to found the Cala Sona Refugee Enterprise in Netherton, Wishaw. The project, which began with a mansion house and later grew to include a neat row of prefabricated homes, was funded by money begged and wheedled from the Church of Scotland, Rotary Clubs and various local organisations. It provided a safe haven and a new start for seven families from across Eastern Europe, a few of whom remain in the homes to this day.



Figure 5-14 Entrance to Brahan Camp, Ross-shire, now long abandoned but still in situ

Grid reference NH 51823 5548 E:251823 N: 855478

Between October 1946 and December 1949 approximately 85,000 East European political refugees and displaced persons (Tannahill, 1958a, Tannahill, 1958b) arrived in Britain as part of the European Voluntary Worker (EVW) Scheme ¹⁰⁴. Of this number approximately 21,000 identified themselves as ethnically Ukrainian (Kay and Miles, 1992). Kay and Miles note (p.138) that ‘official concern was expressed at the tendency for some hostels to become ‘self-contained communities’ with little contact with the surrounding population’. This phenomenon is apparent when reading the numerous reports of camp activity to be found in the *Dumka* and the *Scotsman* newspapers between 1948 and 1955. I have scanned and collated these reports as testament to the speed with which the *mobilized élite* created boundaries and set about reinforcing Ukrainian national identity.

¹⁰⁴ For their terms and conditions of employment see Appendix pp 194-200 in Kay and Miles KAY, D. R. M. 1992. *Refugees or Migrant Workers? European Voluntary Workers in Britain 1946-1951*, London and New York, Routledge.

GREAT CHRISTIAN RALLY

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM The rally to protest against the persecution of CHRISTIANITY in Eastern and Central Europe will take place in BRAIDBURN VALLEY PUBLIC PARK, COMISTON ROAD, EDINBURGH on SUNDAY 26th June 1949, from 2 o'clock till 4.30 p.m. Nationalities taking part include British, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Serb and Ukrainian. Sacred songs will be sung by the fine Ukrainian men's choir and there will be other singing, national flags will be shown. You are earnestly requested to support the Rally by your presence and to make it known among your friends. Tramcars Nos 11, 15, 16 and 28 from Princes Street to Braidburn.

Scotsman 22 June 1949, pg1

<http://archive.scotsman.com/article.cfm?id=TSC/1949/06/22/Ar00131>

In every one of the Scottish camps the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) managed to create an officially registered Association 'branch' with a chairperson, secretary, treasurer, and cultural/educational liaison officer, the *Kult-osvitnyj referent*/культ-освітний референт, who would be responsible for identifying major commemoration dates and organising appropriate lectures or concerts to promote the particular date. I am fortunate to have in my possession the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) Minute books of Hallmuir and Creca Camps which record the dates of major commemorations in the Ukrainian social, cultural, and political calendar.

Work locations were generally outside the camps or hostels. EVW women were mostly directed to the textile mills or TB sanatoria. Men were restricted to forestry, farming, or mining. Some hostel residents were so content to live in these small communities that a few stayed permanently resident in the barracks and Nissen huts for decades after the war. Not an encouraging sign for a government who hoped for rapid assimilation of this foreign workforce. In 1949 a number (60 persons) of Hallmuir Camp's Ukrainian occupants were moved to just over the border to Smalmstown, near Longtown in Cumbria, and remained in situ until 1956, ten years after the war! Kay and Miles in their reflections on 'degrees of assimilability' (p.123) note that the Home Office mandarins were wary of the

camps' and hostels' ... 'establishment of independent communities speaking a foreign language'.

5.4.4 Fragment four (from 1947)

This fragment brought with it a history which attracts scholarly attention to this day. The 14th Grenadier Division of the Waffen SS, known in Ukrainian circles as *Diviziya Halychynna* (Дивізія Галичина), was composed of volunteers who originally came from the region of Galicia. The Division later incorporated other nationalities. Formed in 1943, it was decimated at the Battle of Brody in July 1944. The survivors were incorporated into a re-formed Division and saw later action in Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Austria before surrendering to the Western Allies in May 1945.

What kind of Ukrainian Prisoner of War was heading for Britain in May 1947?

There are two strongly opposed views. The first [positive] descriptor is offered by G.B. Panchuk who, after his visit to the SEP camp in Rimini, Italy, wrote a hurried memorandum from CURB [17/12/46] to the British Government regarding the characteristics of the personnel in this Division...

They are all very strongly and permanently Western minded. Many of them have relatives and friends in Canada and the United States and in countries in South America. They are all religious. The majority are of the Eastern Catholic (Byzantine or Uniate) faith and are strongly anti-communist. They are all educated and developed in the Democratic way of life. This is chiefly due to the polish citizenship which most of them had, to their relations and communications with their friends and relatives in Canada and the United States prior to the war, and to their general Christian principles and Western mindedness. The majority of them are excellent agricultural and industrial labourers and potential colonists. Most of them come from peasant stock. The bulk of them are young men between 18 and 30 years of age, strong, virile and healthy. In consideration of the characteristics listed it is submitted that the personnel in this camp at Rimini would make most excellent immigration material both from the point of view of colonisation and future citizenship and also from the point of view of any Western country's self-defence.

*(B. Panchuk) Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau, London, England,
December 17th, 1946*



Figure 5-15 Panchuk visits the Ukrainian SEP camp, Rimini, Italy (1947-4-3)

Panchuk and his CURB colleagues were searching for a diplomatic solution to the repatriation of this Division. Once the Treaty with Italy was signed in 1947 the British were to withdraw their forces leaving the Ukrainian Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEPs) to the mercy of the [then] politically left-leaning Italian authorities. Soviet repatriation commissions had already been hard at work trying to convince these men to return home¹⁰⁵.

Opposing [negative] views of the Division are far from promotional. I refer to Douglas Macleod's (2005) highly critical publication *Morningside Mataharis: How MI6 deceived Scotland's great and good*, and Per Anders Rudling's *'They Defended Ukraine': The 14. Waffen-Grenadier-Division der SS (Galizische Nr. 1) Revisited* (2012). A balanced discussion is offered in Olesya Khromeychuk's study of *'Undetermined' Ukrainians -Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS 'Galicia*

¹⁰⁵ A detailed description of the Soviet Repatriation Commission behaviour is outlined in Denis Hills recollections in an edition of the *Spectator* (December 1989, p.13) entitled 'You are the Grey Mass'. See also Revutsky (2005, pp.163-165)

Division'. She notes that there is a cohort of journalists and authors (2013, p.11), who have condemned the Division, (e.g. David Cesarani (2000) and Sol Littman (2003), who ...'offer highly emotional accounts of the 'Galicia's' history, which lacks balance and neutral analysis'. The historiography of this Division, the controversy and the 'exchanges' surrounding it are the subject of ongoing debate. It is not my intention within this thesis to divert attention to exploring what she calls the 'competing narratives'.

In his foreword to her study, David Marples coins the term 'the battle for memory' in Ukraine. I concur with him that this battle stems from 'an incendiary background to the general area of the study of Ukrainian wartime nationalism' (xvii). Having interviewed the few remaining G1 respondents who had been members of the Division or UPA (*Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia* / the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) I believe the memory wars will continue *ad nauseam ad infinitum*. What I have explored is how the nationalist influence among these former combatants (particularly that of their élite players) played out on a small community such as Scotland's Ukrainians. Chapter seven - *Cultural and political reproduction*, expands on the manifestations of this ideology.

5.5 Wave Four (from 1991-present)

In Ukrainian circles *wave four* is often referred to as the *chetverta khvyliia* (четверта хвиля), but in other conversations these migrants are also known as the *newly-arrived novoprybuli* (новоприбулі). It is important to distinguish between migrants who have freedom to communicate with the homeland and those whose traumas and fears of persecution restrict them. This *fourth wave* of Ukrainians cannot be likened to the exiles and refugees of the *third wave*. They are categorized as *transnationals* or *transmigrants*, terms which are explicitly differentiated from the concept of diaspora [which is the focus of this thesis]. One of the first widely accepted definitions of the concept was offered by that of Linda Basch *et al.*

We have defined transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated "transmigrants." Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations-familial, economic, social,

organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously (Basch, 1992, p.1).

The largest, Scotland-based cohort of Ukrainian transnationals is to be found in and around Glasgow. This cohort sustains strong ties with significant others in Ukraine. Their kinship and community networks are instantly available to them via their skills in employing digital technology. The newly arrived Ukrainian transnationals have created an online community and conduct all community correspondence and calendar planning through social media. Expedient use of social media also allows communication as a group without having to find and sponsor premises for physical meetings. Members of this online community, many of them tri-lingual, can conduct their correspondence effortlessly in Ukrainian, Russian, and English.

Unlike the first (G1) generation cohorts, Ukrainian transnationals have many advantages at their disposal. They use air travel as their first choice of convenience. Their remittances and goods flow steadily across borders, thanks to the efficiency of international baggage transportation. Their long-distance connections are regular and sustained. They have available, if they so wish, daily contact with the homeland, thanks to the immediacy of available and affordable hand-held technology, allowing them to contact the homeland from 'anywhere at any time'. In addition, many have taken advantage of satellite television channels and are constantly linked to Ukrainian news channels. Such connectivity is far removed [worlds apart] from the isolation experienced by the first (G1) settlers.

The declaration of Ukrainian independence (1991) brought with it formal, diplomatic linking between Scotland and Ukraine with a newly established Ukrainian Consulate in Edinburgh. The consulate not only deals with diplomatic correspondence but assists with economic and socio-cultural exchanges between both countries. Thanks to this diplomatic base, transnational Ukrainians resident in Scotland can exercise cross-border voting rights during homeland political election campaigns- via temporary polling booths in the Ukrainian Consulate building.

The transnational cohort is well represented by skilled migrants who have tertiary degrees or extensive specialized work experience. Professional qualifications are the hallmark of this group. Marine engineer, architect, university lecturer, opera singer, vet, translator, accountant, etc. are the occupations of a

sample of this small, highly professional core. I was fortunate in gaining access and interviewing a number of these individuals whom I have categorized as a ‘visible’ element of the community. The ‘invisibles’ are those Ukrainians who are in Scotland illegally and are confined to leading low profile lives. Although some of these individuals take part occasionally in community events, unsurprisingly none were willing to be interviewed.

5.6 Settlement & boundary creation

The arrival and settlement of Scotland’s generation of first settlers is marked by their being consigned to decades of carrying ‘alien’ or ‘uncertain nationality’ registration documents. Regardless of this discriminatory statelessness, most Ukrainians quickly set about reestablishing their collective identity. Others who chose to conceal their ethnicity are discussed later.

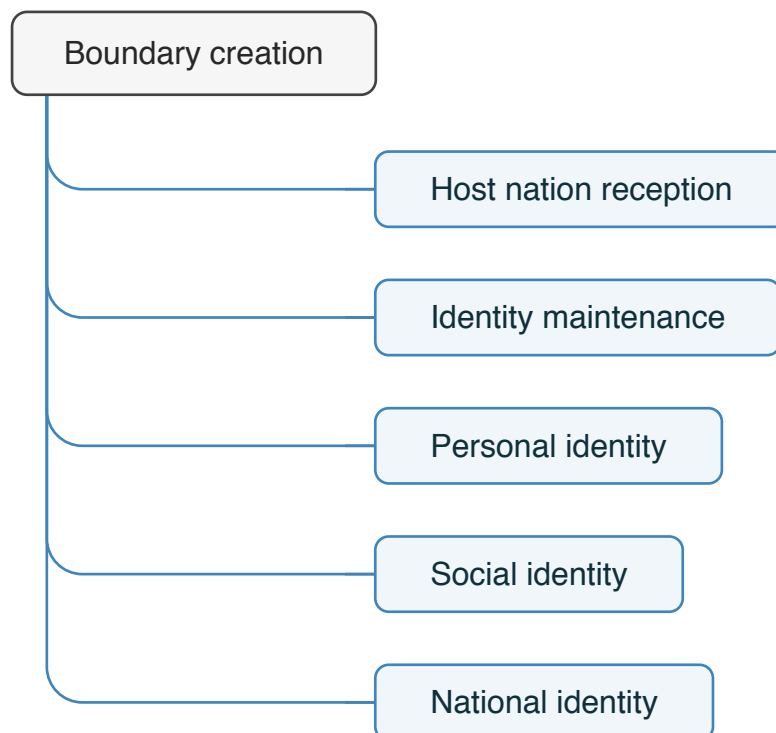


Figure 5-16 Concept map of boundary creation

There are two ways of conceptualizing *boundary creation*. The first is created by the *host nation* (the recipient society) placing restrictions on incoming immigrants. The second is that of immigrant *identity maintenance*, whereby migrants resist assimilation where possible, to create and maintain the ethnos boundaries of their own *imagined* community.

Much has been written about European Voluntary Workers' boundary creation by Elizabeth Stadulis (1952), J.A.Tannahill (1958b), Robert Perks (1984), Diana Kay & Robert Miles (1992), Janine Hanson (1995), Martha Dyczok (2000), Lubomyr Luciuk (2000), Linda McDowell (2003), (2005), Wendy Webster (2006) and Sheila Fitzpatrick (2015). In her article, '*Determined to get on*': *Some Displaced Persons on the Way to a future*, she elaborates on the DPs own agencies which they exercised both individually and collectively, stubbornly insisting 'on doing some things and not others' (p. 103) ... "Ukrainians insisted on identifying themselves on questionnaires as 'Ukrainians' by nationality, despite being told by UNRRA that this was not an option'. More on Fitzpatrick's article to follow in my summary.

5.6.1 Host Nation Reception

Kristina Bakkaer Simonsen is...'concerned with the impact of the host nation's identity on immigrants' feeling of host national belonging' (2016, p. 2). If we look to the recruitment of Ukrainians from the ranks of European Voluntary Workers to the post-WW2 British Labour market, we see restricted immigration in action. Nothing new here. Britain's history of *alien* restriction has spawned whole libraries of literature on this contentious topic. Governmental denial of the Ukrainians' status as refugees, with an official preference for the name European *Voluntary* Worker, has given rise to a numerous publications regarding this category of migrant.



Figure 5-17 Badge worn by Ukrainian *ost-arbeiters*

Diana Kay and Robert Miles (1992, pp. 42-65) provide a comprehensive summary of the recruitment process. They chart the complex origins of the Ukrainian and other ‘non-repatriables’ who had been forcibly recruited to the German war industries as *ost-arbeiters* (German; *labourers from the east*). Detailed research on Ukrainian slave workers has been carried out by Tetyana Lapan (2007), Tetyana Pastushenko (2009) and Helinada Hrinchenko (2015). This research was discussed at a symposium and commemorative exhibition in Ukraine in January 2016. To commemorate the 75th anniversary of the beginning of Nazi deportation of Ukrainians to Forced Labour in Germany an exhibition was held in Kyiv^{xiii} jointly between the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory and The Institute of the Ukrainian History entitled ‘It was Slavery’. www.warmuseum.kiev.ua, accessed 6th April 2020. (There is no longer a living Ukrainian (*ostarbeiter*) female in Scotland but there are the children of first settlers, the second generation (G2), who have taken a great interest in their parents’ wartime experiences).

Once removed from the European mainland to the United Kingdom immediate relocation and vibrant continuity in camp and hostel life allowed the refugees to not only engage in contracted employment but to strive at rebuilding their identities. Ukrainian workers, regardless of their pre-war craft, trade, or profession, were contractually bound to the terms and conditions that the British Government had set during the screening in the European mainland camps.

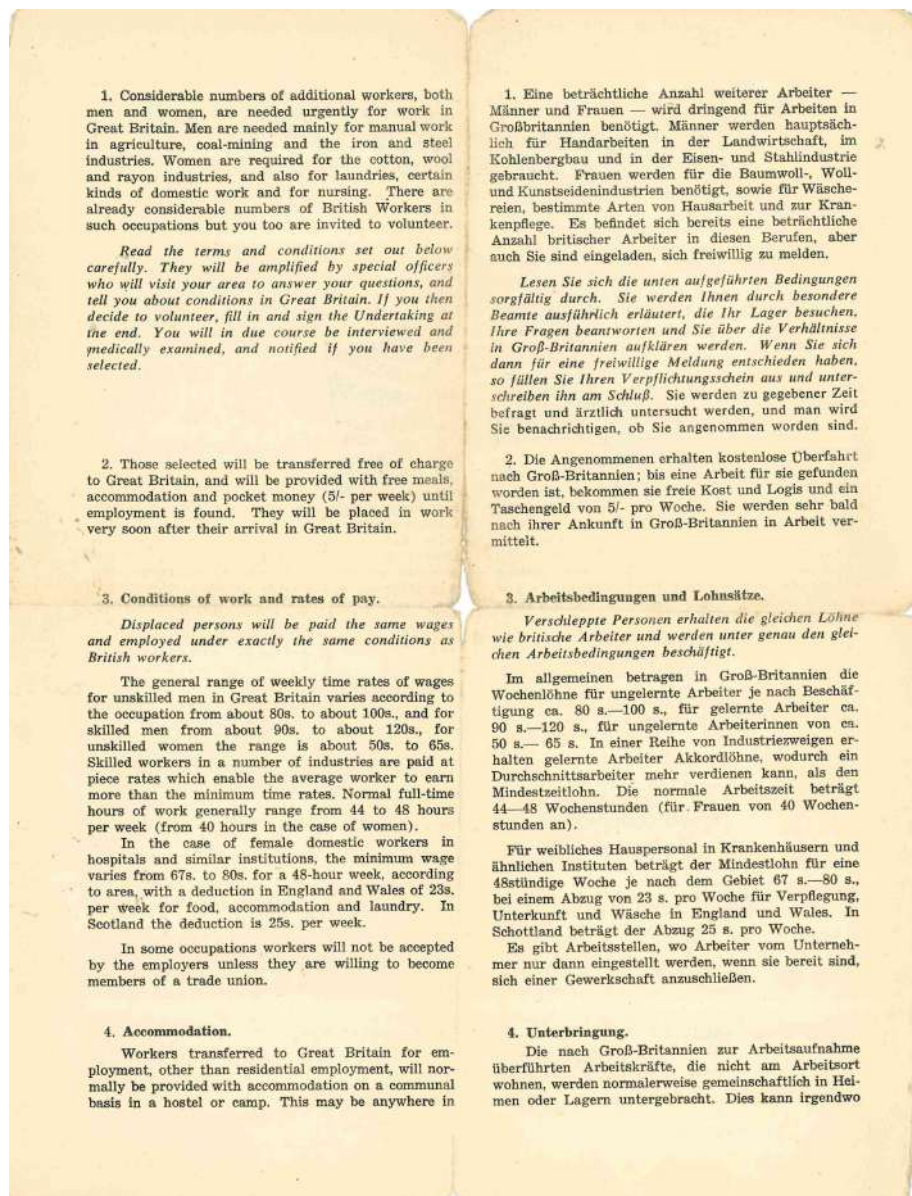


Figure 5-18 Second page of the Westward Ho terms and conditions

Post WW2 pilgrimages, protest marches, conferences, concerts, sporting events and general recreation reinforced both the mythical and symbolic dimension of migrants' concepts of national identity and self-image. Study of symbolic interactionist theories as promoted by Sheldon Stryker greatly assist understanding of the processes of self-identification. Throughout this study aspects of *symbolic interactionism* are borne in mind when interpreting the perennial calendar of religious, cultural and political events set by the first generation.



Figure 5-19, Edinburgh (1953.5.26) Ukrainian demonstration to commemorate the 20th Anniversary of the Holodomor

In this photo note the symbolism-national dress, national flag, trident emblem, religious crucifix leading the procession.

5.6.2 Personal identity

As well as choosing ‘the parts we play’ we must also consider behaviour where our personal identity is influenced by *interpellation*. The French Marxist Louis Althusser (1971) argued; ‘when people are recruited into identity positions, they are interpellated or hailed’. Interpellation, put simply is “a process whereby people recognize themselves in a particular identity and think ‘that’s me’.” (Woodward, 2000, p.19) This heuristic device helps to explain much of the life journey of any particular individual. Philosophically it parallels with Tennyson’s ‘I am a part of all that I have met’. Sociologically *interpellation* explains the gleanings and gatherings of one’s life journey and interaction with significant others and influential groups. Stryker argues that the gleanings and gatherings of life’s journeys are organised into a *salience hierarchy*. The ‘parts we choose to play’ are placed in an order of evocation. He highlights the idea of *commitment* as

a frame for conceptualizing the bonds between social structure and the self. Perhaps his 'commitment' is a form of tenacity. Some sociologists argue that identity is an elusive concept, fluid and ever changing.

However, behaviours that are high in an individual's *salience hierarchy* are likely to endure and be exercised frequently across a lifetime. Throughout the interviews with G1 respondents such 'commitment' explains why the greater proportion of this cohort remained steadfastly loyal to their religious and political persuasions throughout their lives. To understand the background of the first-generation individuals it is paramount that we examine the pre-WW2 contexts in which they grew from childhood to adulthood.



Figure 5-20 Ukraine in Europe before and after WW2 (Source: Luciuk & Kordan
Map permission courtesy of Professor Lubomyr Luciuk, Royal Military College of Canada

The identification of these individuals with the core culture into which they were born, merits attention. To understand why there was a need for most Ukrainian refugees to establish 'who they really were', a personal Ukrainian identity, we must look to the experiences of this first generation prior to the

outbreak of war, to the circumstances they endured in their respective homelands long before their eventual arrival in Scotland.

Ukrainians living in Polish territory before WW2 were formally afforded certain rights as a national minority. The Treaties of Versailles (28 June 1919) and Riga (18 March 1921), along with articles 108 & 109 of the Polish constitution, were intended to guarantee equality before the Polish laws. Theoretically they could maintain their own schools and use the Ukrainian language in public life. Superficially there were attempts to accelerate Ukrainian assimilation into Polish society. They remained a 'tolerated' national minority within Polish jurisdiction.

Well, in Ukraine my husband went to school in the village. He told me at first the teachers were half Polish and half Ukrainian because where he lived was on the Polish border. He was learning Ukrainian and Polish as well (G1/N1).

What this lady did not expand upon was that the duality of language learning was compulsory and a deliberate tool of the colonialising power. My father who also attended a similar school in the Ternopil school district (1932-39), once commented that 'village education was all that you were going to get'. The system was geared up to suppress all levels of education in the Ukrainian language. Many of the Prosvita Society reading rooms in towns and villages were closed. Polish parliamentary recommendations proposing a Ukrainian university were shelved. The suppression of a national minority's language and educational opportunities fed straight into anti-government hands and in this case the OUN. The boundaries of Ukrainianness [*ukrainstvo/українство*] were under siege.

I remember my father coming home when he was in the Polish army and telling my mother that his commanding officer had said to him, 'Don't talk to your family in Ukrainian'. Certain jobs were restricted to Poles only. At that time, we used the description of our religion as Greek-catholic (Eastern Rite), and once this was put on the application form it usually resulted in a refusal. Of course, our names themselves indicated immediately that we were not Polish but Ukrainian. (Bobak, 1989 , Memoirs p. 131)

The history of Ukrainian life in reconfigured, inter-war (1918-1939) Poland reflected an uneasy peace. Here we have a Ukrainian minority behaving

like a diaspora in its own territorial homelands. I return to Cohen's typology. By resistance to Polish occupation, Ukrainians in Galicia were to develop a strong ethnic group consciousness caused by a troubled relationship with their host society. There were differing attitudes afoot.

Magocsi identifies three approaches taken by Ukrainians in Polish territories at the time... '(1) the cooperative movement acquiesced to Polish rule and worked within it to create a solid economic and cultural foundation for the Ukrainian minority; (2) active participation in Polish civic life by political parties, which lobbied through legal means on behalf of Ukrainian cooperatives, schools and churches: and (3) armed resistance by paramilitary groups, which from the outset rejected Polish rule and strove in whatever way to destabilize society'. (2010, p. 632)

While the response to the expansion of Polish territories took two lawful directions the third gave rise to the spread of a radical paramilitary Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, (OUN) *Orhanizatsiya Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv/організація українських націоналістів*. This party came to the fore in 1929 and throughout the next decade began to wage anti-Polish campaigns in many spheres. As a result of their campaign's boundary maintenance this was not only strengthened but patriotic and nationalist feeling in Eastern Galicia spread rapidly in the 1930s.

The OUN established networks of agents and sympathisers throughout the region, operating secretly by way of 'cells' who communicated via clandestine couriers. The organisation's anti-Polish activities included infrastructural sabotage, assassination of leading opponents and dealing with 'traitors'. The organisation is thoroughly documented in Petro Mirchuk's *Narys istorii OUN -Pershyi Tom* (1968). Alexander Motyl (1985) has criticised Mirchuk's publication as a hagiography.¹⁰⁶

Mention must be made here of Ukrainians beyond Eastern Poland. The Second World War rampaged across all the ethno-linguistic Ukrainian territories and left millions in turmoil. When the Nazis overran Ukrainian territory, they

¹⁰⁶ A hagiography is generally considered as an adulatory and idealized biography of a founder, saint, monk, nun, or icon in any of the world's religions.

divided the country into two administrative districts - the *Generalgouvernement Distrikt Galizien* ('Western Ukrainian district of Galicia) and the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* of the eastern regions. From both these newly defined geographic territories [Figure 5-21 below] the Nazis took slave workers.

While most of Scotland's (G1) Ukrainians hailed from Galicia, a smaller number, born under Soviet rule, had escaped forced repatriation by various means. I managed to interview two respondents (G1/N3 and G1/N14) who were refugees from the Soviets. There are no exact statistics to determine how many million Ukrainians were involuntarily displaced during World War 2. Dyczok (2000) estimates this figure at around three million. Present attempts at more exact numbers by Ukrainian-based academics are ongoing. Helinada Hrinchenko (2015, p.1) claims that almost half of young soviet women born between 1923 and 1927 had been taken to the Third Reich. Within Ukraine, Tetyana Lapan (2007) interviewed nearly 600 people resident in the L'viv and Kharkiv oblasts who had been taken to Germany as forced labourers¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁷ For details of other *ostarbeiter* experiences of recruitment, forced labour and repatriation refer to Tetyana Pastushenko's research PASTUSHENKO, T. 2009. *Ostarbeiters from the Kyiv district: Recruitment, Forced Labour and Repatriation 1942-1953* Ostarbeiteryz Kyivshchyny: Verbuвання, примусова праця, репатріація 1942-1953. *Institute of History of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences*.



Figure 5.21-Map of Nazi occupation of Ukrainian territories

Reproduced with permission from Paul Robert Magocsi, *History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd rev. and expanded ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

While ‘western’ Ukrainians saw themselves stateless and were struggling against the suppression of their culture and language, ‘eastern’ Ukrainians within the U.S.S.R. fared no better. The korenizatsiya¹⁰⁸ [коренізація] following the Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1921) was a short-lived language and cultural revival. They were to live through renewed Bolshevik occupation, Stalin’s purges, the Great Terror, and the Holodomor. The Holodomor (Death by Hunger) is the popular Ukrainian noun used to describe the famine plotted by Stalin. At the time of writing academic debate rages between those who define this tragedy as an artificial famine and those who define it as genocidal. Both generational cohorts of respondents (G1 & G2) refer to the Holodomor as genocide.

By just being in Scotland, Ukrainians in their leisure time, were to freely express their political opinions, exemplifying Cohen’s ninth heuristic ...the

¹⁰⁸ The nativization policy aimed to eliminate Russian domination and culture in the soviet republics.

possibility of a distinctive, creative enriching life in a tolerant host country (1997, p.180).

5.7 Ukrainian Identity

In his second edition of the *'History of Ukraine: The Land and its Peoples*, Paul Robert Magocsi reminds us that '... people are not born with a national identity; they must learn that they belong to a particular nationality' (2010, p.377). Benedict Anderson too reminds us of the process of learning to be a nation:

In the eighteenth century, Ukrainian (Little Russian) was contemptuously tolerated as a language of yokels. But in 1798 Ivan Kotliarevsky wrote his Aeneid, an enormously popular satirical poem on Ukrainian life. In 1804, the University of Kharkov was founded and rapidly became the centre for a boom in Ukrainian literature. In 1819 appeared the first Ukrainian grammar-only 17 years after the official Russian one. And in the 1830s followed the works of Taras Shevchenko, of whom Seton-Watson observes that 'the formation of an accepted Ukrainian literary language owes more to him than any other individual. The use of this language was the decisive stage in the formation of a Ukrainian national consciousness'. Shortly thereafter, in 1846, the first Ukrainian nationalist organisation was founded in Kiev-by a historian! (2006, p.74)

One historian mentioned by Anderson is Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934) who became the first head of the Ukrainian state in 1918. Hrushevsky was a man who was not only a pivotal member of influential scholarly and cultural organisations, but who was also a politician at heart¹⁰⁹.

Identity maintenance is constructed by innumerable social and cultural influences. If we accept that *identity/identification* (Jenkins, 2014) are fluid and ongoing phenomena, then it is paramount that those who were intent on Ukrainian *boundary creation* maintained a constant flow of cultural activities within the

¹⁰⁹ Serhii Plokhyy PLOKHY, S. 2005. *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*, Toronto Buffalo London, University of Toronto Press. traces the career of Hrushevsky over 614 pages in his book *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*¹⁰⁹. Plokhyy credits Hrushevsky with the 'nationalization of the Ukrainian past', painting the historian as a nation builder who challenged both Tsarist and Marxist narratives and is widely considered to be the 'father' of the [primordial] historical narrative for Ukraine.

camp structure. Linda McDowell's *Workers, migrants, aliens, or citizens? State constructions and discourses of identity among post-war European labour migrants in Britain* (2003) takes up the issues of boundary creation and identity maintenance to do with DPs.

Focusing on Latvian women who came here because of the *Balt Cygnet* campaign, she argues that the Latvian influx challenged the assumptions of state policies when government officials of the time were convinced that full assimilation would be a direct outcome of the displaced persons' residency. How wrong they were. The Ukrainian DPs set a similar example. They too did not abandon their Ukrainian identities nor cultural traditions. They were adamant that these would become an integral part of their lives. Here is a historic photograph of Brahan Camp, Ross-shire in 1949. The male voice choir is singing Christmas carols on the 7th of January. The Ukrainian EVWs had taken the day off work to celebrate 'their' Christmas. (The Julian calendar is 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar).



Figure 5.22 -Brahan Camp Ukrainian choir, January 1949

In January 1949 this Ukrainian male voice choir entertained the other Displaced Persons camp occupants. These men could have performed in civilian clothing, but here have taken great troubles, at a time of material poverty, to recreate their national dress ¹¹⁰. In the background we partially see the Ukrainian Christmas message, *Khrystos razhdayetsia*/ Христос раждається/ Christ is born!

A note here on national costume. While modern generations of Ukrainians are given to elaborate embroidery, it was sufficient for the first generation to publicise their Ukrainianness by having a simple ribbon of embroidery on the collar of the shirt and/or down the buttonline. This ribbon alone was enough to herald the *vyshyvanka* [embroidered shirt] of a Ukrainian, regardless of his or her statelessness.

Both EVWs and PoWs were keen to impress on the host nation that they should be identified as cultured and intelligent people. In the *Annandale Herald and Record* newspaper from October 9th, 1947, we have an example of recently arrived Galicia Division prisoners of war to Hallmuir Camp, Lockerbie. Like the DPs who had already been arriving in Scotland since 1946 they too were anxious to showcase their skills and folk arts. I include the full article of their Open Day at the camp. I have emboldened certain words or phrases here to highlight aspects of cultural reproduction as practiced by the POWs. The men were keen to showcase their Ukrainian cultural heritage.

SPORTS DAY AT HALLMUIR

UKRAINIANS ENTERTAIN VISITORS

*The plight of displaced persons is generally regarded with sympathy in this country, and this feeling of friendliness extends no less towards those who are nominally prisoners of war in our midst. Most of those unfortunate men were dragooned into the military and labour battalions of the enemy against their wishes, and gladly gave themselves up to the Allies at the first opportunity. It was with readiness and pleasure, therefore, that many people in Lockerbie and district accepted the invitation to visit Hallmuir Camp on Sunday afternoon to join with the officers and men of the camp in their **sports day**. All who attended were given a cordial welcome on*

¹¹⁰ As a credit to their creativity their traditional Ukrainian loose trousers (*sharyvary*/шаривари) were sewn from redundant parachute silk.

arrival and directed to a building in which was housed a very attractive *exhibition of work* done by the men. *Wood and metal carving and decorations* are apparently popular pastimes, and articles such as *jewel boxes* were made and finished in a very credible manner. Using mostly improvised materials the men have adapted these with considerable talent to their purposes and are to be congratulated on their skill. Very clever, too, were the various *portraits and sketches of the camp and its personnel*, and there were quite clearly several artists among the men. Copies of the *camp newsletter* were viewed with much interest by the visitors, as were also such articles as *snapshot albums*. Proceeding towards the sports field the visitors were enthusiastic in their praise of the neat and tidy appearance of the camp itself and the utilization that had been made for every piece of ground for flowers and vegetables, examples of their *husbandry* also being on view. On the sports ground various foot races and competitions were taken part in by the men with obvious delight and pleasure, while the *comedy element* was provided in various amusing interludes. Especially attractive were the *national dances*, these being Ukrainian, the majority of the men coming from that country. Their *improvised national costumes* lent colour to the proceedings and they were heartily applauded by all present. The *camp choir* also delighted with *national songs*, and mention must be made of the important part played by the *camp orchestra* who contributed tuneful selections throughout the afternoon. Sports *group exercises to music* were also well, and a number of the men also took part in such items as 'pyramid-building'. A *boxing match* gave excitement and not a little amusement, and the big event to most of the men in the camp was the *football match* between the Hallmuir and Mouswald teams. Both had their quota of followers, and the game was thoroughly enjoyed by players and spectators alike. Some clever and fast play was witnessed, with the usual excitement when the goalkeepers, continental-like, made thrilling saves at the feet of the opposing forwards. Tea was provided for the visitors during the afternoon and much appreciated. All connected with this Ukrainian camp can take credit for a pleasurable and instructive programme, well-presented and effectively carried out.

Report from the Annandale Herald and Record, October 9th ,1947.

This report does not reflect the initial animosity shown towards the 465 Ukrainians who arrived at Lockerbie railway station at an earlier date to take up occupancy of the camp after the previous occupants, German prisoners, were repatriated.

'The men had to march in a long column, and as we marched through the main street we were booed and stoned. Some men threw the stones back then the locals stopped. We continued on, singing our Ukrainian marching songs all the way to the camp gates' (G1/N4).

A post card from 1948, kindly donated by one of the octogenarian respondents, was created and printed in Lockerbie Prisoner of War camp. The symbolism is plain to see. The lonely prisoner of war stands below a starry sky at [Ukrainian] Christmas. While his Prisoner of War camp is situated to the right, he is dreaming of the star shining above his idyllic native village thousands of miles away. The bottom of the card says, 'on Christ's Christmas', *z Rizdvom Khrystovym/ з Різдом Христовим*. The printing of emotionally charged graphics by the prisoners is just one small example of the power of [Michael Billig's] banal nationalism. Every picture tells a story, every artefact is a reminder. Nearly all the G1 respondents I spoke with had collections of these Ukrainian postcards. Such mementos and keepsakes were their quiet reminders of past experiences and who they still were.



Figure 5.23 Christmas card, Lockerbie POW camp, 1948

The origins of a Ukrainian national identity prompt perusal of extensive volumes of research and encyclopaedic collections too numerous to attempt here. What can be established following the interviews within this study, is that on arrival in Scotland these migrants, [refugees and exiles] were more than certain, and extremely vocal about, their nationality.

In the registration documents to follow we have evidence that when being photographed for identification many Ukrainians made a conscious effort to wear their embroidered shirt, [vyshyvanka/вишиванка] leaving officials no doubt as to their ethnicity.

The identity card is divided into two main sections. The left section contains personal information in three columns (German, Ukrainian, Polish). The right section contains a photograph, official stamps, and signatures.

Personal Information (Left Section):

- Kennort:** Przew. (Miejsce wystawienia)
- Kreish:** Stanisław (Starostwo powiat.) (Okres)
- Kennnummer:** 703 (Rozpoznawcze)
- Gültig bis:** 31. Dezember 1942 (Ważna do)
- Name:** Dawydnauy (Nazwisko)
- Geburtsname (b. Ehefrau):** (Nazwisko panieńskie u żony)
- Vorname:** Jan (Imię)
- Geboren am:** 14. Oktober 1910 (Urodzono w dniu)
- Geburtsort:** Przew. (Miejsce urodzenia)
- Kreish:** Stanisław (Starostwo pow.) (Okres)
- Land:** Galizien (Kraj)
- Beruf:** (Zawód) - (Zawód) - (Zawód)
- Religion:** gr. cath. (Wyznanie)
- Volkzugehörigkeit:** ukrainian (Przynależność narodowa)
- Besondere Kennzeichen:** (Szczególne znaki rozpoznawcze)

Official Section (Right Section):

- Photograph:** A black and white portrait of a man wearing a traditional embroidered shirt (vyshyvanka).
- Stamps:** Two circular stamps on the right side of the photograph, one labeled 'rechter Zeigefinger' and the other 'linker Zeigefinger'.
- Signature:** A handwritten signature in the center of the right section.
- Text:** 'Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers' (Podpis posiadacza karty rozpoznawczej) and 'den 31. Dezember 1942' (w dniu).
- Stamps:** Two circular stamps at the bottom, one labeled 'Dienstseigel' and the other 'Ausstellungsbehörde'.
- Text:** 'Ausstellungsbehörde' (Wydział wystawiający) and 'Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten' (Podpis sporządzającego urzędnika).

Figure 5.24- A typical identity card issued in the Generalgouvernement, distrikt Galizien

Printed in three languages, German, Ukrainian and Polish it identifies the carrier as Ukrainian.

If we look to political scientists such as Andrew Heywood (2012, p.173), the most basic definitions of national identity are linked to ‘cultural entities, collections of peoples bound together by shared values and traditions, in particular a common language, religion and history, and usually occupying the same geographical area’. He adds caution to this definition stating that ‘...there is no blueprint nor any objective criteria that can establish when and where a nation exists’.

The origins of any nation’s ‘birth’ calls for exploration of theories such as primordialism, perennialism, modernism, ethno-symbolism and a host of other contemporary interpretations of its formation. These are briefly explored in the next chapter. There was no doubt in the minds of my first generation (G1) respondents that they were Ukrainian, despite the political machinations of

various post WW2 governments or military governors who were adamant on declaring them as 'stateless'.

Those respondents who kindly allowed scanning of their original documents displayed their exemplary care and consideration held for official, administrative paperwork. While many who hailed from the territories governed by the USSR were falsifying their credentials (G1/N3), (G1/N14) to avoid forcible repatriation¹¹¹, others, particularly from the western regions of Ukraine, were tenaciously holding on to whatever documentation they had as it was all they had succeeded in bringing with them from the homeland.

The document below, which I enlarge for the readers' benefit, tells the common story of western Ukrainians. Those born in Galicia after the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Riga of were technically born in "Poland". This young man is designated as '*Pol.Ukr*' or Polish Ukrainian. However, he is deliberately wearing the male version of the national dress, a traditional embroidered shirt (vyshyvanka/вишиванка), and was determined to portray himself as Ukrainian.

Note that the document below is in lieu of a passport. No western Ukrainian of that time would have a dedicated Ukrainian passport. Note too that the young man has arrived in the US zone of post-war Germany devoid of official documentation and declares that he is ...unable to produce a birth certificate, marriage license, divorce papers, police record etc. Had he wished he may have changed his identification completely. He did not. In his case- he is who he says he is. His grandson has painstakingly researched his background and verified the details...

My grandfather was told where he was supposed to go and that's where he went. In the post-war period I don't think he was the kind of person to be fussy about where he was. He considered himself very lucky to have survived the war and to have come to stability and peace. He was happy to settle in Scotland. I don't think it was a choice, I mean he could have maybe perhaps moved somewhere else, but it really was a matter of circumstances (G3/N34).

¹¹¹ It was not only men like Aleksandr Krawczynski who falsified their names. Some individuals from Western Ukraine I suspect had changed their names. Some of their surnames, while unintelligible to officials, would sound hilariously ridiculous to Ukrainian speaking administrators. Who for instance would call himself Mr. Beetroot, Mr. Rabbit or Mr. Hedgehog? Some of course may be genuine and have originated from old Zaporozhian Cossack names which frequently cause a smile.

Office of the Military Governor № **E** 51657 ✱
 II. S. Zone of Germany 51657

CERTIFICATE OF IDENTITY IN LIEU OF PASSPORT

I. **ZAWALNYCKYJ** **Iwan**
 (name in full)

born at **Zubric** **Buczaczi** **Poland**
 (town) (district) (country)

on **2** of **April** **1928** **M** **Pol. Ukr.**
 (day) (month) (year) (sex) (citizenship)

..... intends to emigrate to
 (given & maiden name of wife, if applicable)

GREAT BRITAIN
 (country of immigration)

2. He (she) will be accompanied by **none**
 (List here all family members, with name, birthplace and date, and citizenship of each)

3. His (her) occupation is **Agriculture**

4. DESCRIPTION


Height **5** ft **9** inches

Hair **d'blond** Eyes **grey**

Distinguishing marks or features: **none**

Permitted to land on condition that the holder registers at once with Police, enters such employment as may be specified by the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and does not leave such employment without the consent of the Ministry.

STUTTGART
IRG
IMMIGRATION OFFICER
1 JAN 1948
HARWICH



Zawalnycki Iwan
 (signature of applicant)

5. He (she) solemnly declares that he (she) has never committed nor has he (she) been convicted of any crime except as follows:

6. He (she) is unable to produce birth certificates, marriage license, divorce papers and / or police record for the following reasons:

7. I hereby certify that the description of the person(s) whose photograph(s) is affixed hereto is correct and that he (she, they) declare(s) that the facts stated above are true.

Zawalnycki Iwan
 (signature of applicant)

Signed **15** **December** **1947**
 (day) (month) (year)

Paul G. ...
 (signature of certifying officer)
 Chief Registration and Documentation

Figure 5.25 Certificate of Identity in lieu of a passport

“Permitted to land on condition that the holder registers at once with the Police, enters such employment as may be specified by the Ministry of Labour and National Service and does not leave such employment without the consent of the Ministry” 17th January 1948. (Immigration Officer, Harwich)

The document also illustrates how host nation reception can interplay with identity maintenance. This young man arrived as a ‘Polish Ukrainian’. Born in the Buczacz district of Galicia which ... ‘the Polish government considered Ukrainian-inhabited eastern Galicia, a distinct territorial entity, and from March 1920 was referred to by the Polish name *Malopolska Wschodnia*, or Eastern Little Poland’ (Magocsi, 2010, p.627)

On leaving the village of Putatory, Kolomeya, then a part of Poland, for Nazi Germany as an *ost-arbeiter* this young woman’s identity is recorded as Ukrainian ‘власник цієї виказки є українцем’-the owner of this account is Ukrainian.

UKRAINISCHES HILFSKOMITEE
in
PRZEMYSL

Name *Lukmen*
Прізвище
Vorname *Stephanie*
Ім'я
Beruf *Landarbeiterin*
Звання
Geburtsdatum *30.7.1922*
Народжений дня
Geburtsort *Trankischyn*
Місце народження
Bekenntnis *gr. kret.*
Віросповідання
Familienstand *ledig*
Родинний стан
Heimatanschrift *d. Trankischyn*
Сталій побут (адреса)
p. Putatory H. Kolomea
Der Inhaber dieses Ausweises ist ukrainischer Vollangehöriger.
Власник цієї виказки є українцем.
Przemysl den *30.7.* 1942
Unterschrift des Inhabers
Підпис власника виказки
Eneparia Lukmen
Sekretär
Секретар
Obmann
Голова
Siegel
Печатка

Figure 5.26- Identity card of Ukrainian female from Western Ukraine 1942



Figure 5.27 Arbeitsbuch für ausländler/work document for foreigners

On arriving in Germany, she was issued with another ID which deliberately did not record her nationality. She is now simply a foreigner (*ausländer*). Her nationality, *volkszugehörigkeit* is left blank and she is sent on her way as 'stateless'.



Figure 5.28 Post WW2 Temporary travel document

Displaced Persons were officially treated as aliens and on arrival into the UK were officially recorded as 'uncertain' (U) status. They were issued with registration booklets with internal pages requiring to be stamped at local police stations should they choose to make long journeys.



Figure 5.29- Certificate of Registration document internal pages showing sequence of travel and residence

When these European Voluntary Workers entered Britain it was made very clear that they were considered as economic migrants to be allocated work in the [then] undermanned industries-forestry, mining¹¹², agriculture and textiles.

In figure 5-18 I included the first page of the Westward Ho recruitment document and quote from paragraph 1... (1) 'Men are needed mainly for manual work in agriculture, coal mining and the iron and steel industries. Women are required for the cotton, wool, and rayon industries, and also for laundries, certain kinds of domestic work and for nursing. (2) Those selected will be transferred free of charge to Great Britain and will be provided with free meals, accommodation, and pocket money (5/- per week) until employment is found. (3) In some occupations workers will not be accepted by the employers unless they are willing to become

¹¹² Mining was not confined to the extraction of coal. In an interview with (G1/N3), a first generation Ukrainian, he told me how he had lost a leg when working as a 'Tunnel Tiger' during the boring of tunnels for construction of the highland hydro-electric dams' scheme.

members of a trade union (4) Workers transferred to Great Britain for employment, other than residential employment, will normally be provided with accommodation on a communal basis in a hostel or camp.

I don't know how they ended up in Galashiels. I think it was to do with the textile industry. It was all woollen mills. My mother was a weaver- Selkirk and Galashiels were all tweed, textiles, tartan, and cloth weaving. Most of the Ukrainians in Galashiels also worked in these mills but some of them my dad knew from the camp in Germany. In fact, my godmother and her husband were both from the same camp in Germany (N15).

Their newly allocated 'alien' status did not deter most EVWs from insisting on recognition of their ethnicity. In some administrative departments there seemed to be no restriction on acknowledging who they were. The document below (Figure 5-30] is an example of government recognition that these incomers were Ukrainian. The Department of Agriculture PW12 document below, in alerting the Ukrainian farm worker to the terms and conditions of his compulsory 2-year employment in agriculture, puts emphasis on his identity. I quote...

(1) 'The Ukrainian must...', (2) 'The Ukrainian may...', (3) 'the Ukrainian will be required...' (4) 'The Ukrainian is entitled to...' (5) '...full board and lodging for the Ukrainian...' (6) 'The Ukrainian will be subject to...' (7) 'The Ukrainian will be entitled to...' (8) The Ukrainian will be entitled to... (9) '...the Ukrainian to obtain...'

<p style="text-align: center;">P.W. 12 (Ukrainian farm worker)</p> <p><u>TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR UKRAINIAN PRISONERS OF WAR ENTERING INTO EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND.</u></p> <p>1. <u>ALIEN RESTRICTIONS.</u> The Ukrainian must, immediately after signing the Agreement, report to the Police of the district in which the hostel in which he is going to live is situated for registration as an alien civilian. He will be required to produce to the Police the <u>Certificate of Release</u> (WO/NR 233) received from the Commandant of his camp, 2 passport size photographs and a fee of 1/-. He will be subject to the requirements of the Aliens Order which all aliens in the United Kingdom must observe, and which will be explained to him by the Police. As soon as possible after obtaining his Police Certificate of Registration he must report to the local National Registration Food Executive Office for the purpose of obtaining a National Registration Identity Card and Ration Book.</p> <p>2. <u>CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.</u> The Ukrainian may only be employed on work normally undertaken by an agricultural worker. The Department will pay wages and overtime at not less than the appropriate minimum rate for male agricultural workers and allow holidays with pay in accordance with the Orders of the Scottish Agricultural Wages Board. The present minimum wage rate for adult male agricultural workers is £4.10.0 per week of 48 hours.</p> <p>3. <u>NATIONAL INSURANCE.</u> The Department and the Ukrainian will be required to pay the appropriate contributions prescribed in the National Insurance Acts in respect of male agricultural workers.</p> <p>4. <u>SICK PAY.</u> The Ukrainian is entitled to the same sick pay conditions as a British agricultural worker in the Department's employ. Medical certificates are required for absences of more than three days and may be required for absences of three days or less.</p> <p>5. <u>BOARD AND LODGING.</u> The Department will provide in one of their hostels, full board and lodging for the Ukrainian for which they will be entitled to deduct from wages the appropriate weekly amount fixed by the Agricultural Wages Board, such value at the present time being £1.10s.0d. per week.</p> <p>6. <u>INCOME TAX.</u> The Ukrainian will be subject to liability for Income Tax as in the case of other farm workers and the Department must make the necessary P.A.Y.E. deduction from his pay when due.</p> <p>7. <u>WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.</u> The Ukrainian will be entitled to the protection afforded by the National Insurance Acts, 1946.</p> <p>8. <u>FOOD RATIONS.</u> The Ukrainian will be entitled to the rations allowed for civilian agricultural workers.</p> <p>9. <u>CLOTHING AND CLOTHING COUPONS.</u> (a) <u>Clothing.</u> Arrangements have been made with the Military Authorities for the Ukrainian to obtain an outfit of clothing additional to that which repatriated prisoners of war are permitted to retain. For this additional outfit consisting of a pair of boots (10/9), a blouse (9/11), suit of overalls (11/7), and a pair of trousers (9/9), all of the type normally issued to prisoners of war, he will be charged the sum of £2.2s.0d. for the full outfit or the sum appropriate for the articles. This amount, which will be paid by the Department, will be recovered from the Ukrainian within the first four weeks of employment.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">P.W. 12 (Ukrainian silsko - hospodarskyj robotnyk)</p> <p><u>ZHODY TA UMOWY DLA UKRAJINSKYCH WOJENNO-POLONYNYCH WSTUPAJUCZYCH W ZATRUDNIENIA W SILSKO - HOSPODARSTWI Z DEPARTAMENTON SILSKO - HOSPODARSTWA DLA SZKOTIIJI.</u></p> <p>1. <u>CHUZYNOCKI OBEZEZENNIA.</u> Ukrajinec' musyt' widrazu pisla pidpysannia uhody zholosytysia na policiju teji okruhy w jakij znachodyt'sia tabor, de win bude zyty, dla rejestraciji, jak cywilnyj zeuzynec'. Win musytyme predstavty policiji poswidku zwilnennia (WO/NR 233) otrymanu wid komandanta swoho taboru, 2 fotohrafiiji paszportowoho rozmiuru i wnesty oplaty 1/-. Win bude pidporiadkowanyj wy-moham Chuzyneckoho Nakazu, jak i wsi czuzynci w Zjedyneni Koroliwstwi, i jakyj bude pojasnanyj jomu policiji ju. Jaknajszwydsze pisla otrymannia policijnogo certyfikatu rejestraciji win musyt' zholosytysia do miscewoho Urjadu Narodnoji Rejestraciji Charczowa Ekzekutywu, szcjob otrymaty osobystu wykazku Narodnoji Rejestraciji ta Pajkowu Kryzku.</p> <p>2. <u>UMOWY ZATRUDNIENIA.</u> Ukrajinec moze buty zatrudnonyj lysze na roboti, przyznaczeni j dla silsko-hospodarskoho robotnyka. Departament bude platyty jomu normalnu platniu za ponadhodynowu pracy, ne menszu wid widpowidnych minimalnych rat dla szolowicznych silsko-hospodarskych robotnykiw i dozwoilty na platni wdypusky, zhidno z nakazamy Szkots'koho Chliborobskoho Urjadu Platni. Toperiszna minimalna platnia dla dorosloho muzeskiego silsko-hospodarskoho robotnyka wstanowlena na £4.10.0 za 48 hodynnyj tyzden'.</p> <p>3. <u>OBEZPECZENIA NARODNIE.</u> Departament i Ukrajinec zobowiazani wplaczuwaty widpowidni wkklady przyznaczeni Zakonom Nacjo-nalnoho Obezpezczenia widnosno muzeskyh silsko-hospodarskyh robotnykiw.</p> <p>4. <u>PLATNIA DLA CHORYCH.</u> Ukrajinec' je uprawnnyj do takych samych umow platni dla chworych, jak i brytyjskyj silsko-hospodarskyj robotnyk zatrudnonyj Departamentom. Wymahajetsia likarskyh wykasok za neprysutnist' pry pracy ponad 3 dni, ale mose wymahatysia za neprysutnist' 3-och den' abo i mensze.</p> <p>5. <u>CHARCH I POMESHKANNIA.</u> Departament zabezpeczyt' w hosteli powryj charch i pomeshkannia dla Ukrajinciw za szcbe bude uprawnnyj widtiahnuty z platni widpowidnu tyznewu sumu, wstanowlenu Chliborobskym Urja dom platni: taka suma w toperisznij czas wynosyt' £1.10s.0d. na tyzden'.</p> <p>6. <u>DOCHODOWYJ PODATOK.</u> Ukrajinec' bude pidporjadkowanyj obowjazkowi splaczuwannia dochodowoho podatku, na riwni inaszych silsko-hospodarskyh robotnykiw i Departament musyt zrobyty neobchidni podatkiw /P.A.Y.E./ widtiahnennia wid joho platni koly prychedyt' na ca czas.</p> <p>7. <u>ROBITNYCZE WIDSZKODUWANNIA.</u> Ukrajinec' bude uprawnnyj do zabezpezcennia, jako dajut' zakory Narodnoho Obezpezcennia, 1946.</p> <p>8. <u>CHARCZOWE PAJKUWANNIA.</u> Ukrajinec' bude uprawnnyj do pajkiw, dozwolenych dla cywilnych silsko-hospodarskyh robotnykiw.</p> <p>9. <u>ODIAH I ODIAHOWI RUPONY.</u> (a) <u>Odiat.</u> Zrobleno spilne zariadzennia z wijskowemu wladomu, szcbe Ukrajinec moze otrymaty komplet odezi wdodatku do toho szcbe dozwolejatsia zatrymaty repatrirowano mu wojenno-polononemu. Za cej dodatkowyj komplet, szcbe skladajetsia z pary czerewykiw (10/9), bluzy (9/11), kombinowu (11/7) i pary sztanliw (9/9), toho samoho typu, szcbe zwyczajno wydajetsia wojenno-polononemu, win bude obtiazeryj sumu £2.2s.0d. za powryj komplet, abo sumu, widpowidnoju do reczaj. Cej rachunok jakyj bude zaplaczennyj Departamentom bude widtiahnanyj wid Ukrajinca na protiazi perszych czotyry tyzni zatrudnennia.</p>
---	--

Figure 5.30- Dept. of Agriculture, Ukrainian POW farm worker terms and conditions of employment Courtesy of G2/N29

As a concession to recognising identities the document is printed in two languages -English and ‘Ukrainian’ [of sorts]. The Ukrainian is typed, not in the Cyrillic alphabet [there were no Ukrainian typewriters around] but using the Latin alphabet. Most Galician Ukrainians would be able to read and pronounce this Polonised/Latinised version of their language because the first-generation settlers, had been obliged to learn Polish at school in addition to their native language.

Locating the Ukrainian ‘first settlements’ in Scotland will remain an unfinished and possibly impossible task. Thanks to the much-travelled Fr. Babij and his UGCC priest’s *odnodnivka* [daybook], we can identify 43 camps and hostels where Ukrainians had registered themselves as formal ‘branches’ of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). Archived, bound copies of the *Ukrains’ka Dumka* newspaper reveal numerous short reports from the daily life of these camps. Linked to recurring fears of forced repatriation, many of the reporting contributors chose to remain anonymous or used pseudonyms.



Morton Hall

The hostel in Morton Hall, Edinburgh, is known in Scotland for its protest action against the government’s plans to repatriate those unable for work to Germany. The hostel’s Ukrainian occupants celebrated with a traditional Ukrainian Christmas supper.

The celebrations were opened by Mr. Mysko with a speech in English for the benefit of the Scottish guests, and among them reporters from the Edinburgh newspapers. Following this the head of the local branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB), Mr.J.Hutsiak spoke.

The evening was one of all the usual traditions and at the request of the guests the workers’ orchestra played carols and songs. The evening concluded with the song for ‘long life’.

[One who was] Present

Figure 5.31 An excerpt from the *Ukrains’ka Dumka* newspaper 7th Jan 1949, p.4 (with translation)

When contracted labour schemes had run their course, the EVWs began their internal migration from camps and hostels to urban conurbations. The early 1950s saw the closure of the Scottish camps and hostels, with Ukrainians heading in many directions. They began to seek work in other parts of Scotland and the industrial heartlands of England. *Chain migration* from Scottish camps and hostels to the textile producing towns and cities of England happened at a pace. Others were determined to continue to the North American continent. The dispersal almost emptied the Scottish camps. The remaining workers began to spread across Scotland in search of further contracts. Although the dispersal saw some setting up homes in peripheral, scattered locations it was the Scottish towns which attracted greater numbers of Ukrainians. My visit to the Scottish Catholic Archives discovered the large, framed vellum gifted by Ukrainian Catholics to (then) Archbishop Gray on the 25th anniversary of his priesthood. This records how many formal township groups of Ukrainians existed in Scotland in 1960. The vellum is personally signed by the leaders of each community.



Figure 5.32 Framed vellum presented to Archbishop Gordon Gray 14th August 1960 Courtesy of Scottish Catholic Archives

Reading from left to right we see urban Ukrainian communities in Grangemouth, Galashiels, Annan, Dumfries, Haddington, Perth, Easthouses, Edinburgh, Dundee, Dalkeith, Glasgow, Lockerbie, Carlisle, Tranent and Dunbar.



Figure 5.33 Map of Scotland showing locations of Ukrainian communities

In the map above the settlement pattern shows most Ukrainians located where work, mostly manual, was in plentiful supply.

The subject of Ukrainian national identity permeates the lives of Ukrainians across the globe, both at home and in the diaspora. Magocsi, writing about the roots of Ukrainian nationalism, describes Galicia as the ‘Ukrainian Piedmont’ (2002). Most of my respondents hail from western Ukraine where the sense of Ukrainian identity was, and still is, particularly strong. For convenience they (G1) were bureaucratically regarded as economic migrants but in reality, they considered themselves as refugees and exiles.

Self-identification as Ukrainian refugees remained with the first generation across the many decades of their lifetimes and led to proactive cultural and political activities which have been passed on to subsequent generations.

This leads seamlessly to exploration of political ideologies incumbent within both generational cohorts. The following chapter looks to the migrants’ displays of patriotism and the influence of Ukrainian nationalism. These behaviors demand an analysis of the cultural reproduction and creation of the frameworks of their ‘institutional order’ (Jenkins, 2104).

Chapter 6 Cultural & Political Reproduction

It didn't take us long to settle down at the Hallmuir camp and we soon began to establish our cultural and spiritual lives. There were two separate barracks which the British said we could use as chapels, so we turned one into a Greek Catholic chapel and the other into an Orthodox chapel. Father Oleksandr Babiychuk from Edinburgh used to come and do mass and confession in the Catholic chapel and an orthodox priest whose name I've forgotten used to come and do mass in the Orthodox chapel (G1/N4).



Figure 6-1 Concept map of Ukrainian cultural and political reproduction

This chapter explores the cultural and political reproduction which underpinned and mobilised the collective memory and identity formation of the first settler generation (G1). The first generational cohort were different than any group before or after them and therefore I have chosen to emphasise their importance in the formation of the diaspora here in Scotland.

Over the seven decades since their arrival, the constant employment of Ukrainian myth and symbol by nationalist élites took on an importance analysed here. Figure 7.1 above introduces the elemental influences and aspects of this tenacious

community building and boundary construction. The sequenced politicisation is traced back to the embryonic periods of cultural reproduction, initially in their home territories, then in the WW2 camps and hostels of Germany and Italy, and finally in Scotland.

In his article, *Large-Group identity: 'Us and them' polarizations in the international arena*, Vamik D. Volkan (2009) focuses on the large group identities of ethnic, national, religious and ideological communities. Within the interactions of large groups, he highlights both the desirable and destructive power of 'otherness'.

His definition of large-group identity parallels with that of Benedict Anderson's *imagined community* ...

'Whether religious, national, ethnic, or political /ideological- as the subjective experience of thousands or millions of people linked by a persistent sense of sameness, although they simultaneously share many characteristics in common with persons in 'foreign groups'. In such large groups most of the individuals will never meet during their lifetimes. They will not even know about the existence of many others belonging to the same entity. Yet they share a sense of belonging, usually through a language, nursery rhymes, songs, dances, food and especially realistic and fantasized mental images of their history' (2009, p.6)¹¹³

In my theory chapter I explained how the Ukrainian nationalists set out to achieve community cohesion by building on 'all that had gone before'. They made concerted efforts to maintain strong communication links with Ukrainians who were scattered across Scotland and the rest of the UK. As the Cold War took its grip on post-WW2 Europe the first-generation Ukrainians in Scotland became increasingly politicised and demonstrated many features of a classic diasporic group 'in exile'.

In their communications with the DPs and POWs the nationalists proactively promoted what Volkan calls *chosen glories* and *chosen traumas*. There is no difficulty in identifying a nation's *chosen glories*, they are the essence of a nation's popularly presented history.

I return to the transgenerational transmission of trauma in my concluding chapters when discussing Marianne Hirsch's concept of *postmemory*.

¹¹³ Volkan offers a comprehensive analysis of the psychological processes which contribute to the development of 'Us and them' sentiments, which I return to later.

6.1 Nationalist Ideologies

We elected Mychaylo Kvasnyi as Cultural Officer and with him in charge we organised a variety of programmes for different anniversaries and national holidays such as ‘Heroes Day’ when we paid homage to Ukrainian heroes such as Taras Shevchenko, Stepan Bandera and Evhen Konovalets, as well as forming a drama group, an orchestra, and a football team (G1/N4).



For a Ukrainian, independent sovereign nation

Freedom to individuals

Freedom to nations

Freedom's Path

Socio-political monthly

6th June 1948 Yr.1

Figure 6-2 Vyzvol'nyj shliakh Freedom's Path distributed by OUN Z

Front cover of the 21 page stenographed nationalist magazine distributed in the camps.

I return to Robin Cohen's reference to the salience of Wittgenstein's *fibres of meaning*, where ... 'we need to compare diasporas along the length of each

fibre, bearing in mind they entwine with one another and in doing so strengthen the diasporic rope' (2008, p.162). Two *fibres* which cannot be ignored here are those of *cultural* and *political reproduction*. This chapter focuses on how these *fibres* were repeatedly employed by two small, highly proactive groups of Ukrainian nationalists.

It is helpful to visit the three phases of Hroch's *fermentation process*. Phase A- 'where activists commit themselves to scholarly enquiry into the linguistic, historical and cultural attributes of their ethnic group'¹¹⁴. Jan Kozik's (1986) documentation of the Ukrainian national movement among activist Galician 'Ruthenians' 1815-1849 typifies this phase¹¹⁵. Kozik, speaking generally of the re-awakening of the Slavic nations explains that ...

History was invoked to display the continuity of the nation's life and the grandeur of its traditions, thereby to contrast the glorious past with the impoverished present and to demonstrate that a nation once capable of independence could regain it again in the future (1986, p.4).

Phase B - 'A new cohort of activists appear who are intent on winning over as many of their ethnic group as possible with the aim of creating a nation'. Major figures in Ukrainian historiography who typify this phase are those such as the national (Decembrist) poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) in tsarist Ukraine and the Galician scholars known as the *Ruthenian Triad*¹¹⁶.

Phase C - 'a mass movement is formed to compete in the struggles for Independence'. If we take the period of the Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1921, we are introduced to the *primordialist* historian and prolific publicist Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934) and his multi-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. Hrushevsky's *raison d'être* being to remind Ukrainians that they hailed from the once great principality of Kyiv-Rus. Serhiy Ploky has this to say...

¹¹⁵ Ukrainians in the nineteenth century were divided in their attempts at national awakening because of their division into different states. Almost 15% of Ukrainians lived outside Russian tsarist rule in the Austrian Empire.

¹¹⁶ The Ruthenian Triad (*Rus'ka Triitsia*/Руська Трійця) was a proactive Galician literary group which came into being during the period of Romanticism. The group led by Markian Shashkevych (1811-1843), Ivan Vahylevych (1811-1866) and Iakiv Holovatsky (1814-1888), took a great interest in folklore and history. One of its main objectives was the establishment of Pan-Slavic unity.

Hrushevsky's book struck me as a revelation about the Ukrainian past- a truth hidden from us by official Soviet historiography and the regime it supported. It was my first encounter with an alternative account of East Slavic history, one that went far beyond the class-struggle-driven and Russocentric narrative of Soviet historiography. Its scholarly appeal and the fact that it was prohibited in the USSR made it particularly attractive in my eyes. From that point on, I knew what the history of Ukraine was and how the Soviet version had to be reconstructed to meet the demands of historical scholarship" (Plokhy, 2005:ix).

Hroch is keen to point out that not all patriots in the national movements of Central and Eastern Europe could be classed as nationalists and that nationalism was only one of the many manifestations of national consciousness to emerge from his '*fermentation-process*'. He also recommends comparative research into 'the social physiognomy of the leading patriots-above all the national intelligentsias in the region' (1993, p.13). Where he points to unexploited opportunities for ...' interpretation of national stereotypes, of the political culture and social sentiments of the patriots. This was a central aim of the Ukrainian nationalist factions who were contributing to the newspapers and journals which were circulating in the early communities of the time.

Students of Ukrainian nationalism will find that Myroslav Shkandrij's research (2015) responds to Hroch's call by focusing not only on the major political figures associated with Ukrainian nationalism but also to those 'lesser known' nationalist ideologists and *littérateurs* whose writings have contributed to 'the fermentation' of nationalist fervour.

Shkandrij's is a refreshing approach to the historiography of Ukrainian nationalism, taking studies beyond the confines of Dontsovian ¹¹⁷ dogma. While the diachronics of Hroch's three stages are a helpful heuristic tool, more relevant to the findings of this study are readings of Anthony Smith's *ethno-symbolism*. He describes a nation as '...a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.' (Smith, 1991, p.14). His definition of *ethno-symbolism* refers to '... an approach which emphasizes the role

¹¹⁷ Dmytro Dontsov (1883-1973), a native Russian by birth, was a major theorist of Ukrainian nationalism whose writings condemned *Polonophilia*, and *Russophilia*. His works had a profound influence on large sections of Ukrainian youth who, in the inter-war years, were experiencing Polish and Russian subjugation.

of myths, symbols, memories, values and traditions in the formation, persistence and change of ethnicity and nationalism' (Smith 2001d, p.84).

I concur with his emphasis on the evocative element of myth '... even if it is purely fictive and ideological in character, endows the members of a community with a powerful sense of belonging.' Smith (2000, p.67) While paying heed to the historic influences which impact on national identity, he also acknowledges how modernity has influenced and metamorphosed the concept. Smith's concept of *ethnosymbolism* assists understanding and appreciation of Ukrainian emotional attachment to both symbol and myth.

For ethno-symbolists, that means analysing communities, ideologies, and sense of identity in terms of their constituent symbolic resources, that is, the traditions, memories, values, myths, and symbols that compose the accumulated heritage of cultural units of population (2011, p.16).



'Of course the nationalists, while not monolithic in their ideologies, tended to see nations as latent, and their self-appointed task was to 'awaken' the energies and hidden vitality of the national community and its members through rediscovery, purification and politicisation of its authentic culture, so as to emancipate 'the people' and extend citizenship to ever wider strata of the designated national population'. (Smith, 2011, p.224)

Figure 6-3 Surma Сурма, the Bugle Publication of OUN (Z), OUN abroad- OUN za kordonom
Courtesy of the Ukrainian Information Service

The frontispiece of this October 1950 publication exemplifies some of the features of ethnosymbolism. Firstly, the journal is called the Bugle- a militaristic

call to arms. The typeface is in black-the colour of mourning for a lost heroic figure of the Ukrainian National Revolution, -no less than the Major General of the resistance movement. Accompanying graphics, the tryzub, the cross, the sombre font etc all contribute to a sense of deep national loss. Ethnosymbolism at its most poignant.

6.2 Ukrainian nationalism's macrostructure

Many efforts have been made to analyse the nature of nationalism and to determine the sources of its vitality. None have been entirely successful, for, like all dynamic movements which spread far beyond their original habitats, nationalism has been coloured and transmuted by the varied milieus in which it has become established. (Armstrong, 1990, p.2)

Despite the ravages of time, sixteen (G1) ageing respondents were located and interviewed. Nine of the respondents were former members of the Galicia Division. Of these nine, five were lifelong members of the OUN(B) [Stepan Bandera faction] and one a supporter of OUN (M) [Andrii Melnyk faction]. All but two have sadly passed away since the outset of this research. These individuals, despite being octogenarian and nonagenarian, displayed a tenacious adherence to their different versions of Ukrainian Nationalism.

Shkandrij has written that following WW2 “there was not one Ukrainian nationalism, but many, all of which were clashing over a great many things”. Steven Vertovec notes the same ...

Awkward encounters or serious intra-diaspora conflicts tend to arise as new waves of migrants meet people of previous waves who preserve bygone traditions or who left with greatly differing political views and circumstances (2005, p.4).

If we return to inter-war Poland, we observe an ‘old guard’ of nationalists led by Konovalts then Melnyk (OUN-M), as opposed to the younger radicals led by Bandera (OUN-B). This fact alone is a reminder that the first generational (G1) cohort, was an amalgam of four fragments, each having brought with it a unique cultural, historical, and political baggage. My literature review [chapter three] contains a reference to the CIUS symposium on post-war camp and hostel life in the allied occupation zones of Austria and Germany. It cites a prominent paper by

Myroslav Yurkevich who elaborates on the activities of the *Ukrainian nationalists and displaced persons' politics, 1945-50* (1992, pp.111-146). He describes the WW2 nationalist split succinctly...

Tension developed rapidly between the two groups. The OUN leadership, headed by Colonel Ievhen Konovalets, was drawn almost entirely from the older ex-officers who resided in various cities of Western and Central Europe in order to escape harassment by the Polish authorities. The risks of the OUN's terrorist activity in Western Ukraine were borne by the younger men, who came to feel that their elders were turning into coffee-house dilettantes. Their bitterness increased when the Polish police penetrated the OUN's conspiratorial network, arrested many of the younger leaders, and had them sentenced to long terms of imprisonment (p.126).

Old allegiances die hard. Almost half a century later Graham Smith and Peter Jackson (1999), when conducting oral testimonies of settled Ukrainians in Bradford, England, rejected the idea of a unitary Ukrainian community suggesting that ... 'the impression of unity, prior to independence [1991], was a public position policed by the Ukrainians' political and religious leadership and based on the imposition of selective silences and collusions.'

6.3 Camp and Hostel Life

In addition to myself there were seven other soldiers in my tent-Volodymyr K, Volodymyr D, Volodymyr H, Myron K, Mychailo R, Volodymyr S and Vasyl S. I got on well with nearly all except Volodymyr D. He was a Melnykivets and thought he knew everything (G1/N4).

So began political in-fighting, not only in the Displaced Persons camps, but in the Prisoner of War camps among the ranks of the former Galician Division soldiers. Nonagenarian respondent (N4), when describing his two years under canvas in Rimini camp, confirmed that the publication of camp newsletters resulted in two main political factions 'spreading their printed word'. The newsletter entitled *Zhyttia v Tabori/ Життя в Таборі, Life in the Camp* was the mouthpiece of the Banderites OUN(B) while the *Batktivshchyna/Батьківщина, Fatherland* production was that of the Melnyk OUN(M) faction. Original copies of both these newsletters can be found in the Shevchenko archives, London. For a summary of the political rivalries in Rimini SEP camp see Wsevolod Budnyj's *Persha*

Ukrainska Dyviziya Ukrainskoi Natsional'noi Armii v Brytanskomy Poloni v Italii: Rimini 1945-47 Zbirnyk 1 (Budnyj, 1979b, pp.281-284).

The intriguing story of how these SEPs were transported to Britain is worthy of a separate dissertation. Much of the detail can be gleaned from the countless ex-combatant memoirs, many of them serialised in the journal [Visti Komбатанта](#) [Вісті Комбатанта/*Veterans' News*]. It is no secret that the political factions brought their rivalries firstly to the Prisoner of War camps in Scotland and subsequently to the Scottish hostels.



Figure 6-4 Deserted Prisoner of War / EVW camp, Tannadice

On the wall is visible the Ukrainian Trident accompanied by the motto Glory to Ukraine-Glory to Heroes

Both the European Voluntary Worker and the Prisoner of War *fragments* brought with them not dissimilar calendars of commemorative practices which had been firmly established by the inter-war generations of their parents and grandparents. This high-profile culture of commemoration underpinned a common symbolic frame encompassing all Ukrainians. Proof of this lies in how their *eastern compatriots* (skhidniaky/східняки) were quick to support the proactivity of the Ukrainian nationalists in their midst. By cross-referencing early *Ukrains'ka dumka*

reports of camp and hostel life with the collection of historic photography contributed by (G1) respondents, I can argue that the embryonic years of first-generation (G1) settlement witnessed the most prolific period of Ukrainian nationalist activity in Scotland. The *ethnosymbolist* agenda was well under way.



Figure 6-5 Brahan Camp Ukrainian Prisoner of War choir, Ukrainian Christmas¹¹⁸, January 1949

In the photograph above, note the barrack decorated with the words ‘Христос родився’ *Christ is Born*. To the right of the photo on the wall can be seen the Ukrainian trident set in a heraldic poster. To the left of the photo, behind the choirmaster’s head, is a portrait of Evhen Konovalts, the founding ‘old guard’ Ukrainian nationalist leader assassinated by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam in 1937. Portraits of fallen heroes were, and still are, commonplace in Ukrainian dwellings.

Despite their official post-war status as immigrant workers of *alien* status, there was no doubt in the minds of the first settler (G1) respondents that they were not *migrants* but were *refugees*. I repeat that the common, accepted phraseology of first generation (G1) Ukrainians in their early dialogues speaking of themselves as ‘*the fleeing ones*’ (*bizhentsi*/біженці) and living ‘*in exile*’ (*na zaslantsi*/на засланці).

¹¹⁸ The eastern orthodox churches use the old Julian calendar when fixing religious feasts such as Christmas and Easter. The calendar falls 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar.

As a child I was privileged in the early 1950s to participate in the dying days of the Displaced Persons camps and hostels. My father had been awarded a contract to act as the closing warden for Hostel 83, Creca Camp, near Annan. It had been a WAAF training camp during the war and boasted barracks that were of a high quality compared to general camp construction. I played in and around this camp during the period when many of the 150 Ukrainians were leaving for other destinations. Some were heading south to England and the prospect of finding work. For others, their sojourn in Scotland was merely a stepping-stone to continued emigration to other continents [Field note].

The self-identification of these refugees was a major prompt for them to remind the world that they had left a homeland to which they hoped to return.

6.4 Early Political Activities

Both OUN factions, in tandem with the itinerant UGCC priests, succeeded in influencing the collective memory of the camp inhabitants, always weighting the commemorative events in favour of nationalist mythology. By organising fleets of buses to gather participants from the various camps and hostels, both patriots and nationalists travelled to the major cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh to publicly demonstrate against the political conduct of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Russophobia was at its height. The main organisers of the demonstrations were the nationalist members of the Galicia Division, who had initially been given a hostile welcome as ‘German’ prisoners of war when arriving in Scotland. The Cold War had progressed and the USSR, formerly a member of the Allied forces, was now being seen in a different light.

By 1948 there was a general belief in political circles that a Third World War was possible (Sebestyen, 2014, pp.163-189). This fear prompted the British intelligence services to show an interest in the nationalist Balts and Ukrainians. Ukrainians in Scotland were now afforded a different reception. A nucleus of their élite actors was welcomed into the Scottish League for European Freedom (SLEF) where they played a very active part. Although the Ukrainians had been officially recruited as European Voluntary Workers or imported as Prisoners of War, they soon began to publicise and promote themselves not only as exiles but as committed anti-communists. Despite official British government nomenclature (*labour migrant, European Voluntary Worker, or alien*) the reality was that they

had escaped forcible repatriation and now began to proactively promote themselves as refugees. Refugees frequently consider themselves as members of a *victim diaspora*. They routinely self-identified as victims of ‘the crimes of Moscow’ (Stewart, 1952). The result of this self-identification led to Ukrainian nationalist post-war cooperation with the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) commonly known as MI6. I note this intrigue because it is yet another instance of recognition, albeit unofficially, that the government considered the Ukrainians as a separate ethnicity and knew only too well of Ukrainian aspirations towards [non-communist] statehood. The *myth of return* had been well and truly implanted in the *imagined* community.

One of my first interviews was with the widow (G1/N6) of a proactive member of OUN-B. During the interview she broke off in a tangent and began to talk about her husband’s involvement in a covert operation, sending agents into Ukraine to link with Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) insurgents. She told me that her husband was trained by ‘the government’ [MI6] and he was due to take part in the next exercise which was suddenly cancelled.

I remember he went off to lots of meetings throughout Britain, he was with a group of people who were continuing what had been happening when they were in the ‘Division’ [Galicia Division], and as long as the Iron Curtain was there, they continued to try in some way, shape or form to fight the Soviet occupation. So, he was very much involved in that. Most of these meetings were what we called ‘secret service’, we didn’t hear what happened, what went on! He was very active in the community (G1/N6).



Figure 6-6 Ukrainian and Balt exiles in George Square, Glasgow, 1950 are addressed by an OUN-M[e]lnyk activist

An account of the early OUN activities in Britain is given by Stephen Dorril (2000, pp 223-267) in his *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service*. While Dorril's script is very detailed it is occasionally given to emotive, unsubstantiated statements. Recently Douglas MacLeod's semi-journalistic publication *Morningside Mataharis: How MI6 Deceived Scotland's Great and Good* (2005, pp.127-146) describes Ukrainian involvement with the SLEF in a very negative manner. He lacks Dorril's commitment to detail such that his account reads as a 'paperback' which unashamedly features bias, base ridicule and emotive language.

Nationalist cooperation with MI6 met with abject failure. In later years it was discovered that the double agent Kim Philby had betrayed this and other operations, causing the deaths of recruited Balt and Ukrainian nationalists. As a possible outcome of this dissertation, extended analysis of the espionage and conspiracies concerning these events would prove fascinating, particularly when documents in the National Archives (NA) are released.

Lubomyr Luciuk, Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Royal Military College of Canada had this to say when I asked about the clandestine

use of recruited volunteers willing to re-enter Ukrainian territory during the late 1940s, early 1950s, to report on and possibly sustain the insurgency.

During the Cold War some displaced persons and political refugees, understandably firm in their anti-communist attitudes, were recruited by the governments of the West to serve as a counterweight to the left-wing elements found within British, Canadian, and American society. States act in their own self-interest and so there is nothing particularly surprising or even malevolent about what was done in that period.

Macleod and other authors from the far-left wing of British society were always too ready to label nationalist Ukrainians as ‘fascists’. There are other academics who dispute such polarised descriptors.

Where I'd dispute those kinds of descriptions - were these people fascists? No, they were anti-communist, they were right-wing, they were Ukrainian patriots, they were people who had seen both the Soviets and the Nazis on their land and had suffered in the Holodomor, and they sometimes had to make difficult choices.

The ‘difficult choices’ made by the Galician Ukrainians during the war are frequently labelled as collaboration. Polarised debate has been ongoing for decades around this and I predict will continue ‘ad infinitum’. Is it only the political scientists who understand the concept of ‘my enemy’s enemy is my friend’?



Figure 6-7 OBVU activists lay wreaths in Edinburgh March 1950

Commemorating the death in Ukraine of the commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) Roman Shukhevych.

In Scotland the OUN-B[andera] faction was greater in number and were the more prolific activists. They held frequent commemorative events which were encouraged and supported by the Scottish League for European Freedom (SLEF).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ According to Dorrill (2000, pp.425-449) the SLEF was an MI6 'front'. It was set up in 1944 as a sister organisation to the British League for European Freedom (BLEF) by its Chairman John Finlay Stewart who was 'instrumental in bringing over a number of Poles, then Balts, Croats and finally Ukrainians' (p.432). In 1946 it acquired a base in Edinburgh. By 1950 it is accused of bringing in the most extreme of the emigres and cooperating with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). In addition to organising conferences and supporting demonstrations it published a copious amount of well-produced information bulletins, brochures and books with such titles as *Fraudulent Russian Propaganda Exposed*, *Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times*, *Russia the World's Peril*, *The Crime of Moscow in Vinnytsia: Testimony on the Murder of 9,439 Ukrainians by the Soviet NKVD etc.* By 1954 it ceased to be of use to the Foreign Office propaganda unit. J.F.Stewart died in 1958 much mourned by Scotland's OUN and ABN supporters. I have acquired a small number of the SLEF 's original publications. Its pamphlet collection can be found in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Figure 6.8 Front Cover of ABN Correspondence supported by the SLEF

Late 1940s arrivals of Ukrainian activists in the ranks of the DPs and PoWs coincided with the intensification of animosities between Britain and the Soviet Union. Nationalist politicisation of the Ukrainian imagined community ran parallel with their coalition with larger anti-Soviet elements. The SLEF welcomed aboard the formal representative of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-B), Yaroslav Stets'ko, who began to visit Scotland frequently. Together with representatives of other exiled groups the Ukrainians cooperated in numerous seminars and gatherings. Their conventions were organised with the help of the SLEF and sub-titled as gatherings of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). For example, a *Convention of Delegates of Resistance Movements*- organised by the ABN, was held in Edinburgh on the 12th, 13th, and 14th June 1950 and convoked under the auspices of the Scottish League for European Freedom (SLEF). The

Presidency of the Convention included 35 authorised delegates from the underground movements of 17 nations¹²⁰. The shifting sands of espionage, political intrigue, and all that they entail, can turn today's friends into tomorrow's enemies. For the Foreign Office, 'my former enemy's enemy [USSR] is no longer my friend'.



Figure 6-8 Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-B) and former combatants of the OBVU welcome Bandera's Deputy, Yaroslav Stetsko to Edinburgh June 1950

Later that year in October the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Roman Shukhevych [aka *Taras Chuprynka*] was cornered by the Soviet secret Police and shot. Most of the Scottish camps containing Ukrainians held commemorations in his name.

¹²⁰ Latvians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbians, Croatians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians and the peoples of Idel-Ural. Press representatives at the convention included the Writers' Associated Press, Reuters, the Press Association, The Scotsman, the Daily Express, News Chronicle, Evening News (Edinburgh), Evening Dispatch (Edinburgh), Glasgow Herald, Daily Record and the Near and Far East News agency.

As the 1950s progressed, many Ukrainians were bent on further emigration to Canada and the USA, but members of the small nationalist cells who chose to settle in Scotland remained proactive throughout the ensuing fifty years of the Cold War.

Following the Ukrainian heritage event in 2018 a highly confidential registration document, shown to me by the son of a deceased [leading] OUN activist, confirms that there are no remaining first settler OUN members alive in Scotland at the time of writing.

6.5 Early community building

Eric J. Hobsbawm (1917-2012) promoted the notion that nations and nationalism are products of social engineering. He created the term ‘invention of tradition’ defining it as...

[a] set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual and symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past’ (1981).

Hobsbawm’s views on those who invent rituals and symbols to capture the public imagination in today’s world would be attributed the title ‘spin doctor’. The Ukrainian setting down of tradition was accompanied by the printing of calendars. The *kalendaretz*/календарець (pocket diary below) was issued by the then nationalist-controlled, embryonic Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB). They had imported the idea from the Rimini Prisoner of War camp where

the first *kalendaretz*, printed in the Vatican, was gifted to the Ukrainian Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP).



Figure 6-9 Internal pages of the *kalendaretz* (pocket calendar) 1948

Besides the religious importance of each December day, there is a monthly breakdown of important historic dates which encouraged Ukrainians to not only remember but to consider commemorating formally. On the right-hand page, we have four months January -April outlining commemorative dates of major political uprisings, deaths of fallen heroes, the birth of national poets, and historic reminders of subjugation. This small pocket calendar was issued annually to subscribers of the *Ukrains'ka dumka* newspaper. The calendar is just one exemplification of a product linked directly to Emilio Gentile's concept- 'the sacralisation of politics.'

The sacralisation of politics takes place when politics is conceived, lived and represented through myths, rituals and symbols that demand faith in the sacralised secular entity, dedication among the community of believers, enthusiasm for action, and a warlike spirit and sacrifice in order to secure its defence and its triumph. (Gentile, 2000, pp. 21-22)

In Scotland, the Ukrainian social calendar, and the enduring collective memory from 1947 and onwards throughout the ensuing fifty years, was characterised by regular, commemorative activities committed to nation-building [in exile] and the maintenance of national myths. Frequent employment of such myths was standard practice for both factions of nationalists. Gerard Bouchard (2013, p.99) explains myths in four distinctive respects:

They are a complex of contending elements-fact and fiction, reason and emotion, conscious and unconscious beliefs; they have meaning in terms of both a particular social and historical setting and grander universal symbols and narratives; they possess an almost sacred, self-perpetuating power; and they can function either to promote or to inhibit social change.

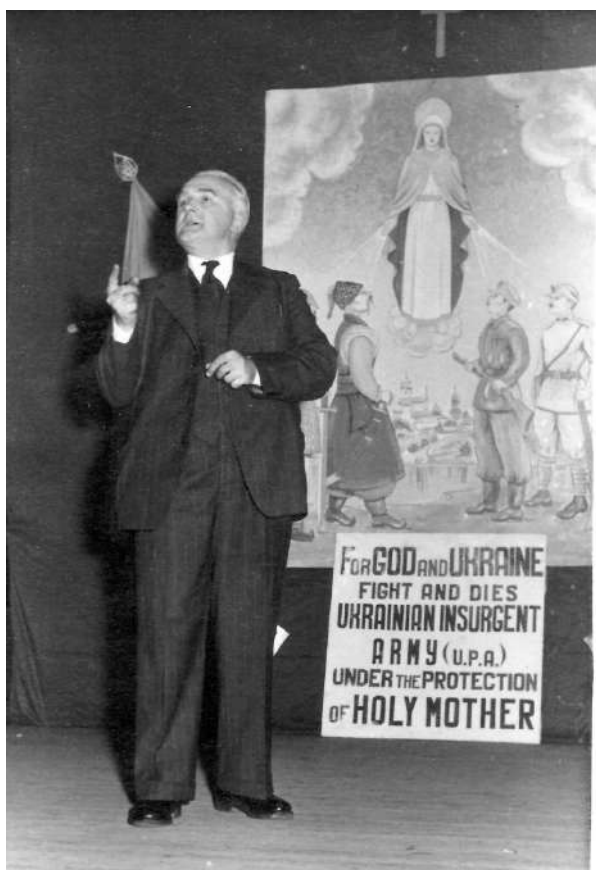


Figure 6-106-11 Dr Lyatyshevsky delivering a speech condemning the controversial 300th Anniversary of Treaty of Pereyeslav (1654).

Paul R. Brass emphasises the practice of employing myths. In concordance with Sheldon Stryker's *symbolic interactionism*, Brass identifies instances of symbolism being exploited, arguing that cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic groups frequently become political resources for élites in their struggle for power and prestige. He notes how nationalists employ cultural resources, subsequently transforming them into their own myths and symbols. Such manipulative practices facilitate the creation of political identities, and subsequently the generation of greater support for their various campaigns and causes.

More than four decades ago Joshua Fishman (1975, p.16) touched on this aspect when he wrote;

'History and ethnography are the reservoirs of symbols and myths which nationalist elites first mine and then refine in their quest for ethnically unifying and energizing themes. Every group has 'some

heroic forefather who called for national unity or national reassertion in the past (Deutsch 1964b, p.51), some gallery of great poets or sayers, and some archive of moving poetry and sayings, some aspirations that have remained with it as echoes and memories in folktales and folksongs.'

The works of both Fishman (1975)) and Brass (1979) strike a chord with the perennial participation in, and observation of, Ukrainian collective cultural and political activity being firmly rooted to religious observance. An example of an annual religious event, popular with first settlers was the Ukrainian 'pilgrimage' to Carfin Grotto, Lanarkshire.



Figure 6-12 Ukrainian Pilgrimage to Carfin Grotto 1958 (Photo from the Lyatyshevskyj archive)

Visitors to Carfin Grotto are left in no doubt as to how the Ukrainians officially narrated their existence in Scotland. Etched in granite- *'Exiled from their homeland, their church "in chains" and their brothers and sisters having sacrificed their lives for Christ and the freedom of Ukraine'*. This symbolic stone, revered by elements of the community, is one small element exemplifying Hroch's concept of 'patriotic agitation'.

Whether it is Edinburgh's Ukrainian community centre on Royal Terrace, the church in Dalmeny Street, Leith, or the majority of first generation (G1) homes, I can report these locations to be replete with artefacts of cultural, religious, and political reproduction- what Geoffrey Hosking calls 'evocative symbols' (2016,

p.212). There is hardly a religious family home without its domestic ikon. In these same locations there is no lack of the Ukrainian trident (tryzub/ тризуб) artistically incorporated into countless decorative artefacts linked to Ukrainstvo, (українство/Ukrainian-ness).



Figure 6-13 the tryptych memorial to the Ukrainian 'Church in Chains', erected at Carfin Grotto 1977

6.6 Micro-structural theory

In a shift away from macro-scale theorists, social psychologist Michael Billig (1995) produces his theory of '*banal nationalism*'. While placing the rise of nationalism within modern contexts, Billig leads the move towards micro-scale theorising. His micro-structural concept exemplifies how the Ukrainian identity of the first generation may have been subtly constructed and sub-consciously reinforced. His description of national identity is located firmly in the everyday world of personal and social psychology.

Identity in common talk is something which people have or search for. One might think that people today go about their daily lives carrying with them a piece of psychological machinery called a 'national identity'. Like a mobile telephone, this piece of psychological equipment lies quiet for most of the time. Then the crisis occurs; the president calls; bells ring; the citizens answer; and the patriotic identity is connected. (1995, p.6)

One of Billig's examples of the 'banal flagging of nationhood' is where he cites the British daily newspapers having one thing in common ... 'whether tabloid or quality, and whether left-wing or right wing, address their readers as members of the nation'. This same approach was employed throughout seven decades of distribution (1946-2017) by the leading Ukrainian language newspaper, the *Ukrains'ka dumka (Ukrainian Thought)*. Posted out to subscribers, the newspaper arrived regularly through the letterbox, subconsciously and continually reminding readers of their Ukrainian identity and their 'belonging to the Ukrainian nation'.

In so many little ways, the citizenry are daily reminded of their national place in the world of nations. However, this reminding is so familiar, so continual, that it is not consciously registered as reminding. The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building, (1995, p.6)

When looking closely at the vernacular historic photographs¹²¹ appended to this research, readers will observe, in the background and peripheral areas of the photos, political artefacts, particularly portraits of great *littérateurs* (Shevchenko, Franko, Hrushevsky), fallen heroes (Petliura, Konovalets, Shukhevych, Bandera, etc)- accompanied by cultural artefacts (the trident, embroidered towels, painted Easter eggs) all of which, like Billig's flag, sit silently and subconsciously reinforcing national identity.

Political and historical sociologists Jonathan Hearn et al (2007) also distinguish between *macro* and *micro*, the relationship between the social and personal dimensions of national identity, advising that 'individual agency should be studied in relation to social organisational contexts' (2018, p.603). In 2018, together with Marco Antonsich they offer an alternative definition of *banal nationalism*. They use the term '*everyday nationalism*' which focuses more on the '*practical accomplishment of ordinary people doing ordinary things*' (2018, p.594) and how nationalism can be created from 'the bottom up'. The expressions and displays of Ukrainian nationalism witnessed and experienced throughout my

¹²¹ The vernacular genre, as popularly described, includes indigenous or 'native' photographs, typically made by unknown or amateur photographers that tend to depict common subjects, objects, family, and events of daily life. There are literally millions of these vernacular historical photographs, which are becoming more accessible and widely available to researchers' (Margolis 2011) See Annete Kuhn's methodological approaches to photography and cultural memory (2007, p.284).

lifetime, circulate in both the *macro* and *micro* arenas. We can include the issue of domestic cuisine, especially the national dishes, as part of the everyday allegiance to Ukrainian identity. Almost all the (G1) wives and mothers, especially those from mixed marriages, were keen to learn Ukrainian cookery. As children we would compare family hospitalities on whose parents made the tastiest beetroot soup (*borsch*/борщ) or produced the finest potato and cheese dumplings (*pyrohy*/пирог). The prevailing attitude was ... ‘How could you possibly be Ukrainian if you did not know how to cook the national dishes?’

The most valued everyday accomplishment which sub consciously reinforces identity was command of the Ukrainian language. How often have I heard the comment- He or she speaks good Ukrainian!

Speaking grammatical Ukrainian adeptly is no mean feat. At many commemorative events the most competent orators were engaged to inspire the audience, often with a rousing patriotic speech or a tear-jerking poem. I still chuckle at the thought of my first day at Saturday school when Engineer Savchenko (an old monarchist from Poltava) was hired by our parents to teach us Ukrainian. He did not lack confidence. ‘Forget what your [peasant] fathers have taught you- I am going to teach you to speak real Ukrainian’.

A final comment on banal or everyday nationalism concerns religious observation. Praying and singing hymns in Ukrainian could engender powerful emotions, particularly when the priest was an acknowledged nationalist. Father Matyczak regularly chose the hymns that would make a coward fight.

About boundary creation, I was not surprised, when interviewing Professor Luciuk [who is of a similar age to myself], that his young days as Ukrainian Canadian were not dissimilar to my own in Scotland. I quote from the interview...

We were a tiny community of post-World War II refugees. They represented all the sort of different constituencies. There were people like my parents who were connected to the nationalist movement; there were people who'd been in the Ukrainian insurgent army; there were people who'd been in the Divizia [Galicia Division]; there were people who were more on the Melnykite side; there were people like my godmother who survived the Holodomor, who came from Eastern Ukraine. We had quite a hromada [community]- it was actually a very diverse sampling of that post-war community, - but because it was so small, perhaps 30 families, everyone more or less got along (G2/N27).

So here in Scotland their shared ethnicity, and common histories enabled Ukrainians to rally around a binding collective which became a salient feature despite the scattered groupings of their imagined community. Their *refugee, exile, Displaced Person and Prisoner of War* narratives allowed them to share key perspectives and experiences.

These mutual experiences supported them through the difficult days of embryonic 'settling'. Ukrainian customs and commemorations, interpellated from their pre-war territorial homelands (Jenkins), continued in exile to be bound firmly to Ukrainian myth, history, and religion. If we look to pilgrimages to Catholic grottos such as Carfin, Lanarkshire we note how they performed several functions. While these occasions fulfilled the immigrants' religious duties there were simultaneous social opportunities to 'meet and greet' their own.

Meeting and greeting others of similar political persuasions was also a priority of the élite actors. In the early 1950's when the Ukrainians were still resident in Scotland in much greater numbers, they frequently joined forces with the Lithuanian (Catholic) community to demonstrate against 'Russian imperialist aggression'. For these exiles the term *Cold War* was a harsh reality. They were to spend much of their free time nation-building in exile.

Visible displays of Ukrainian patriotism and nationalism were never confined to males. My historic photographs are proof that the wives and daughters of Ukrainians were willing to march in public demonstrations through Scottish streets dressed in their finely embroidered national costumes. The ethnic Ukrainian females who settled in Scotland played a major part in the promotion of their political and cultural identity. In 1948 they formalised [*The Organisation of Ukrainian Women*](#)¹²². Post WW2 data record the ratio of Ukrainian EVWs as four males to one female. Despite this 4:1 ratio, Ukrainian women not only rallied their ethnic female colleagues into proactive groups, but the organisation also succeeded in recruiting the wives and partners of Ukrainian men who had not married within their ethnic boundaries. Within those communities where a

¹²² The basic tenets of this organisation were transported from the German DP camps. Founded in 1945, following a symposium in Augsburg, the embryonic group awarded themselves the title of the Federation of Ukrainian Women in the Emigration *Obyednannia Ukrains'kykh zhinok na emihratsii*/Об'єднання Українських Жінок на емірації.

communal centre existed, first settler Ukrainian women and wives of Ukrainians established themselves as indispensable agents in the promotion of community activities. The calendar of events organised by the first settler females in the early years of settlement included a substantial contribution to cultural activities. Plays conducted in Ukrainian language such as the one in Figure 6-14 are an example.



Figure 6-14 Ukrainian touring play 1950c

From the Lyatyshevsky collection

6.7 The Cold War years

Victor Sebestyen had this to say about the origins of the Cold War in his book entitled ‘1946: The Making of the Modern World’...

When, as a historian, I tried to trace the roots of all these events and stories I returned continually to one reference point: 1946. The immediate post-war year laid the foundations of the modern world. The Cold War began, the world split on ideological lines, and Europe began to divide physically on two sides of the Iron Curtain. (2014, p.xvii)

As Europe began to divide physically so too did the Ukrainian community. There were those who ‘stepped up’ and those who ‘walked away’. The *Cold War* impacted differently on different Ukrainian families-while some were at the forefront of political demonstrations, there was a minority who deliberately played a low profile. In their defence it must be recognised that discovery and fear of repatriation never really left this small number of people, particularly those who hailed from Eastern Ukraine.

I think my mother was selective about how and when she integrated into the Ukrainian community... she just kept herself very much to herself, it was the choice that she made. I remember my brother saying that she had this kind of paranoia about being eavesdropped upon by the Soviets and I suppose there was this feeling that they were over here but they were still here because of the situation behind the Iron Curtain and all the things that were going on - and in fact my mother's own father was imprisoned for such a long time so she knows it can happen to you, so she was very, very careful about these things - suspicious, but warm at the same time (G2/N18)

While most former members of the Galicia Division rallied around a very proactive former combatants' association (OBVU), there were others who divorced themselves from all contact with their military past. When I interviewed military historian Michael Melnyk he had this to say...

Quite a few of them changed their identities and dropped out of circulation. They were known to each other. For example, one particular veteran might say to me, well so and so, resides here or lives here but they were people, I am not necessarily saying they had anything to hide, but they felt that they had finished with Ukraine. They weren't ever going to go back to that environment. And I suppose for their own protection and the protection of their families they effectively wanted to 'disappear'. I think it was quite common (G2/N12).

The penultimate question of my semi-structured interview is: Why has a Ukrainian community endured in Scotland from 1946 until now?

Throughout the Cold War those ‘who stepped up’ exhibited a military like tenacity which requires elaboration. While most of Scotland's Ukrainian POWs married non-Ukrainian women, we must remember that these men had been routinely subjected to military discipline, both in WW2 and in post WW2 internment. They had not been formally released until 1949. When these soldiers of the Galicia Division arrived in Britain, they became the proactive force behind

the formation of the *Obyednannia Buvshykh Voyakiv Ukraintsiv*, The Union of Ukrainian Former Combatants (OBVU). Michael Melnyk offered his views of stereotypical members of that organisation.

There were two predominant factors within the Ukrainian [first settler] community. The first was military discipline. Their discipline while the veterans were held in Rimini [Italian SEP Camp 1945-47] was acknowledged by the British [Camp Command] in documentation in the Public Records Office or the National Archives in Kew, to have been exemplary. That must have been at least in part due to the fact they were still part of what they had maintained- which was a military structure. So that's to their credit. When they came to this country they were also held in camps, retaining that same kind of organisation. I found some of them to have been quite resentful and did not enjoy military discipline. However, where they didn't enjoy the military discipline- they wholeheartedly embraced their religious discipline. I don't know whether that makes any sense to you. What I am trying to say is the two elements that I thought directly that gave the community its own identity were the military discipline they had inherited, having served in military units, and the discipline that's inherent within their religious beliefs. They were predominantly Roman [Uniate] Catholic. I found a few of them were thankful to be away from the structure of having effectively non-commissioned officers and people in charge telling them what to do. However, they were quite willing and happy to replace it with a different kind of discipline. That would have been the discipline of being an adherent of the Uniate Catholic faith. And that effectively preserved the structure. The military aspect was imposed on them whereas the religious aspect was given freely.

Michael Melnyk's comment prompted further analysis of the role of military veterans. It was no secret in the diasporic community that *svyata*/святa [solemn feast days], commemorations and *akademii*/ академії [academic lectures] were tenaciously supported by the former combatants' organisation throughout the seven decades of its formal existence in Scotland. Scouring of bound copies of the *Ukrains'ka Dumka* newspaper has revealed hundreds of reports of commemorative events which had been either instigated or supported by these former veterans. The transition from military training, to active combat, to Surrendered Enemy Personnel, to Prisoner of War, to European Voluntary Worker, to harsh employment in early civilian life had instilled in many a tenacious, disciplined core of organisational proficiency which never really changed. Add to the mix that many of the most industrious members who supported the social, political, and religious events were unrepentantly nationalistic and fiercely patriotic.

This chapter has taken to examination of Ukrainian nationalist activities of the first generation because it impacted directly on the behaviours and allegiances of the next generation (G2).

We enter the next chapter pondering over a difficult question, plucked from reading Ozirkimli, where he asks; ‘Why are theories of political transformation unable to explain the passions generated by nationalism?’ (2017, p.136). This brief forage into aspects of cultural and political reproduction can confirm that, regardless of conviction, reason or logic, the elderly (G1) respondents did not lack passion. Nor did they fail to pass on to the second generation the intense emotions linked to their exilic existence.

Chapter 7 The Bridging Cohort-Generation Two

The experiences of immigrants—and their children—are grounded in particular historical periods. This seems obvious. What is not obvious is exactly how the historical context matters’ (Foner, 2009 p.25).

Marina Gorodeckis, whose thesis on *Aspects of upbringing influencing the children of European immigrants in Great Britain*, was carried out in the late 1960s when the second-generation (G2) Ukrainians across the whole of the United Kingdom were highly visible as a group, writes ...

To understand the process of assimilation of a particular group of second- generation immigrants in a particular country, the basic cultural background of their parents must be taken into account. Further it is assumed that the adults of the minority among whom the child is growing up must be placed into their historical context and their experiences as members of a particular time have to be taken into consideration. (Gorodeckis, 1968 p.2)

Scotland’s Ukrainian *imagined* community differs from other Ukrainian enclaves in the United Kingdom by the fact that the present (G2) second-generation population is predominantly hybrid. The very high proportion of exogamous marriages produced an exceptional cohort of children whose lives have been inextricably linked with the forces of cultural and political reproduction promoted by their parents.

My generational focus on the progeny of the first settlers emphasises the community’s changing diasporic lifestyles and is fundamental to an understanding of migrant adaptation. By interviewing these respondents, I was able to chart how they and their parents progressed through a period of six decades of the assimilation process. As a result, I have named these respondents ‘*the bridging cohort*’, linking the first settlers to subsequent age groups.

This is generation where a sizeable proportion of children ‘stepped up’ to replenish the ranks of their politically conscious parents. To explain how this cohort bridged the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ ways I begin with the old Ukrainian proverb ‘Apples don’t fall far from apple trees’ [Яблуко від яблуні далеко не падає]. To comprehend the apple, first look at the tree. To interpret the (G2) respondents’ world views, one must look back to a timeframe, to the ‘old ways’ and particularly the social status of their first settler parents on arrival in 1946.

7.1 Demographics of G1 Arrival

My mother was forcibly taken as slave labour when she was 17. She was put to work on a German farm because all the young Germans were away at the front. Western Ukraine, where my mother came from, had a predominantly peasant culture where people were used to working the fields and were self-sufficient. They were an obvious choice for the Germans to take away (G2/N15).

Demographic profiles of *first generation* (G1) Ukrainian settlers are available in Isaac (1949), Stadulis (1952), and Tannahill (1958). Their combined studies confirm that in comparison to the large number of Ukrainians EVWs and POWs who came to Britain, those who finally settled as Scotland's *imagined community* of Ukrainians, comprised a very small cohort of the original influx. This table shows the number of arriving DPs via the Westward Ho scheme.

Nationality	Male	Female	Total
Ukrainian	17,143	4,848	21,991
Polish	9,112	4,429	13,541
Latvian	9,650	2,127	11,777
Yugoslav	9,191	932	10,123
Lithuanian	4,775	962	5,737
Estonian	2,915	1,215	4,130
Hungarian	2,153	436	2,589
Czech-Slovak	1,196	177	1,373
Romanian	479	141	620
German Sudeten	0	313	313
Stateless	136	110	246
Stateless (Russian)	130	38	168
Bulgarian	89	10	99
Greek	58	16	74
Russian	6	1	7
Italian	2	1	3
Argentinean	0	2	2
Luxembourger	0	1	1
Holland	1	0	1
French	0	1	1

Finnish	0	1	1
Totals	57036	15761	72797

Figure 7-1 Recruitment by nationality, “Westward Ho!”, up to 31 July 1949

Ministry of Labour statistics, Source: NA, HO 213/1001.

I continue with demographic data, recorded when the ‘Galicians’ were in transition from the Italian SEP camps to the UK. Table 1 indicates that the bulk of these men were from western Ukraine, with only 9.2 % from the central and eastern provinces.

Nationality	Territory	Number	%
Ukrainians	Galicia and Western Ukraine	7900	85.4
Ukrainians	Central and Eastern Ukraine	850	9.2
Ukrainians	Volhynia and Kholm	325	3.5
Ukrainians	Bukovina and Subcarpathia	100	1.1
Russians, Poles, Germans, Slovaks		75	0.8
	Total	9250	100

TABLE 1 242

Figure 7-2 Territorial origins of Ukrainian POWs of the Galicia Division

Source¹²³; Budnyj, W., *Rimini 1945-47*, (2005, p.56)

In addition to the territorial origins of the POWS, we have an administrative officer’s breakdown of the social status of these men in the next chart. Of this number 1,427 Galicians arrived in Scotland in 1947. The table indicates below

¹²³ This chart is confirmed by a primary source document, hand-written ¹²³ by an anonymous officer of the Division, and kindly contributed by author Michael James Melnyk.

summarises their social status, showing the large number (6,286) of unmarried men.

Table 1

Age of Prisoners of War (PoWs)			
Under 20	44		
From 20-25	3341		
From 25-30	2586		
From 30-40	157		
From 40-50	465		
Over 50	110		
No information	200		
Marital Status			
		364	With families in Germany
		80	With families in Austria
Married with children	1327		
Married no children	498		
Single	6286		
No information	200		
Religion			
Greek Catholic	7237		
Orthodox	860		
Others	17		
No Information	200		
Knowledge of English <i>At above mentioned time</i>			
Beginners	2600		
Able to write and read	835		
Good knowledge	232		

Budnyj's symposium on occupants of the SEP camp in Rimini describes in detail the number of educational courses organised between 1945 and 1947, the period of their incarceration in Italy. A small number of these soldiers had acquired pre-war qualifications and were put to coaching those men who had only a basic education. Obviously their [the instructors'] qualifications would not be ratified by professional associations in the UK. Interviews with respondents confirmed this. Fortunately, most of the younger soldiers took advantage of the many varied courses organised

by their older, professionally qualified colleagues which helped prepare them for transition. Obviously English language courses were popular, but on arrival only 232 were credited with a good knowledge of English.

Most of the Ukrainians who settled in Britain after the war had modest educational achievements, having been denied access to educational opportunities in the Ukraine. They often had few resources and took menial jobs despite being capable of better things. (Swann Report 1985, p.712)

The available demographics underline just how small Scotland's embryonic, *imagined* Ukrainian community was compared to Ukrainian settlement in other parts of Great Britain. For example, there were more Ukrainians established in Bradford (circa 3,000) than in the whole of Scotland (approx. 1500)

Moving on to prospects of marriage, of the ethnic Ukrainian females who had arrived as EVWs, most had decided to opt for work in the textile mills in England. A few remaining ones had chosen to work in Dundee and Galashiels. Some were sent as auxiliaries to nursing homes and sanatoria in the Highlands.

The number of single males far outnumbered available Ukrainian females. This had a direct impact on Scotland's Ukrainians. The dearth of available single Ukrainian women explains the consequentially exceptional high number of mixed marriages. Eligible Ukrainian women were quickly courted as soon as the men were officially 'released' into civilian status in December 1948. The remainder of young Ukrainian males were left in a situation of choice between an exogamous relationship or simply remaining unattached. There were also men who were married before the war and who would remain single rather than commit to potentially bigamous marriages. The dearth of eligible Ukrainian females is the primary reason why Scotland's Ukrainian community is unique. The solution for the newly released POWs was to marry 'foreigners.'

Intermarriage was very common among the Ukrainians and the Poles who lived up in the Scottish Highlands. Because there were no women who came with them, they had nobody else to marry but the local population (N34).

To indicate how the Ukrainian *imagined* community became so demographically unique, I include a table made up from the UGCC Marriage register, the *Liber Copulatorum*. In 1949, at the peak of first generation (G1)

activity, UGCC records show 900 'Ukrainian' families living in Scotland. By 1985 the processes of further out-migration and assimilation leave only 500 traceable families scattered over thirteen identifiable clusters. The following table shows the pattern of mixed marriage as registered by the UGCC.

Table 2 -Ukrainian UGCC marriages in Scotland 1949-1975

Year	Austrian	German	Irish	Italian	Scottish	Ukrainian	Yugoslavs	Scottish males	Total
1949					2	16			18
1950		1			6	11			18
1951		1			9	15			25
1952					5	2			7
1953		1		5	4	5	1		16
1954		1	1	4	11	2			19
1955		1		9	12	2			24
1956	2	2		4	6	3			17
1957			1	5	7				13
1958		3		4	4	1	2		14
1959				10	2	2	2		16
1960					8	6	1		15
1961			2	3	3	1			9
1962				2	3	1			6
1963				1	5				6
1964				2	2	1			5
1965				2	2	1			5
1966					1	1			2
1967					3	3			6
1968					2	1			3
1969					1				1
1970		1			1				2
1971					1				1
1972					3				3
1973					1	2			3

1974									0
1975					4	1		3	8
Total	2	11	4	51	108	77	6	3	312

Although these numbers concern only Uniate Greek Catholic marriages, they offer an interesting pattern of inter-ethnic marriage which may not represent the total ‘Ukrainian’ *imagined community* beyond the borders of this religious group. We have no way of confirming accurate marital numbers as no Scottish registrational statistics are available to chart Ukrainian exogamous, non-Uniate marriages. Despite statistical paucity, the UGCC numbers offer an indicator- but the numbers provide only one variable. Access to the UGCC register only gives a flavour of the proportion of exogamous marriages as there is no way of accurately amassing the number of weddings which took place outside the UGCC, for example in registrars’ offices across Scotland.

Time moves on and we witness the marriages producing the offspring that is now the second generation.

7.2 Offspring (G2) Hybridity

The title ‘offspring’ should be clarified here because the average age of this *bridging* (G2) generation, at the time of interviewing, is mid to late fifties and early sixties. Interviewing the (G2) *bridging cohort*, has been particularly enlightening. Much of the first settler generation has passed away and the majority of (G2) respondents is approaching retirement. These respondents offer deep observations and often emotional accounts of first settler cultural and political reproduction. They have been participants in Hroch’s *fermentation process* for many decades. All but five of the G2 respondents interviewed were the children of (G1) mixed marriages, the progeny mostly of Ukrainian men with Scottish women or females of other nationalities.

I have included a table of Scotland's Ukrainian Uniate Catholic baptismal ceremonies entered in the UGCC *Liber Natorum* date from 1949-2011. We see from the table 8.3 above that there were no great numbers of Ukrainian females available for matrimony-thus the high rate of Ukrainian males espousing women of other nationalities. As for the number of children born to these marriages, we again only have the following Register of Births data ...

Table 3

1948	2	1964	23	1980	1	1996	2
1949	12	1965	23	1981	1	1997	4
1950	18	1966	10	1982	9	1998	1
1951	38	1967	17	1983	3	1999	3
1952	20	1968	6	1984	4	2000	1
1953	32	1969	9	1985	6	2001	1
1954	39	1970	8	1986	0	2002	1
1955	39	1971	3	1987	1	2003	0
1956	37	1972	3	1988	4	2004	0
1957	30	1973	2	1989	3	2005	2
1958	38	1974	3	1990	2	2006	2
1959	35	1975	4	1991	0	2007	1
1960	37	1976	10	1992	4	2008	1
1961	32	1977	1	1993	3	2009	2
1962	26	1978	4	1994	5	2010	1
1963	30	1979	3	1995	4	2011	4
						<i>Total</i>	670

Baptismal data from the UGCC Register of births

These are church records only. We have no available statistics for children born into non-UGCC families such as Ukrainians marrying partners of other faiths. Numbers also take no account of Ukrainians marrying partners who are not religious in any way. The greatest numbers of births were in the early years of settlement in the decade 1951-61 when there was an average of 30 baptisms per year.

If more time were available to scour the 670 certificates of baptism like the one appended below, this would provide many interesting details regarding dispersal and geographical locations of both urban and rural Ukrainian settlement in Scotland as well as the homeland origins of the parent.

Numerus positionis	Annus, mensis et dies		Nomen	Religio ucraino-catholica	Sexus		Thori		Parentes Nomen et cognomen eorum religio et conditio	Patrini Nomen et cognomen eorum religio et conditio	Adnotatio
	natiuitatis	baptismi et confirmationis			puer	puella	legitimi	illegitimi			
<u>Annus Domini 1948.</u>											
1.	1948.	Februarii 29. Mai 29.	Bankfoot Bohdanus	ucr-cath.	puer	+	legitimi	+	Nicolaus Sweryol filius Gregorii et Parasceviae natae Trusz * 4. II. 1921, ucr-cath.; Maria Flurska filia Basilii et Angelinae natae Klym, ucr-cath., * 5. II. 1924. cap. 22. I. 1945. operarii agriculturae in Bankfoot, Perthshire.	Demetrius Myroniuk ucr-cath.; Vira Omelant caute uxor deus- rii, ucr-cath.; operarii agriculturae in Bankfoot.	ucr. buq. s. s. 1948.
Baptisavit et confirmavit Alexander Babij, cur. anim. in Scotia.											
2.	1948.	2. Junii 1948. 1. Januarii 1949.	Loch Lode. Joannes	ucr-cath.	puer	+	illegitimi.	+	Eva Cap filia Joannis et Pelagiae natae Rylo; ucr-cath. operarii agriculturae in Loch Lodee Carron	Joannes-Viliam Capel; Muriel Adamson Mail; cives in Carron- bridge, North- umberland.	ucr. buq. 21. I. 1949.

Figure 7-2 the first extract in the births register of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Scotland

Courtesy of the UGCC Chancery Archivist-Fr. David Senyk

The age range of the G2 respondents varies but is primarily located within the period 1948 to the present, which identifies many of the bridging cohort as individuals approaching, or within, their pensionable years. Of my twenty-five respondents only three had been born in the post-WW2 European DP camps. The greater number were born in the years 1951 -61. Having spent a lifetime as the children of refugees [their perceptions] they present this study with interesting embodiments of hybridity and pan-ethnic identity.

Like all children of my (G2) generation a common question was- What did you do in the war, dad? As mentioned earlier, there were a few cautious parents who never discussed their past but there were many more who wanted to tell. In these cases, such was the parental (G1) influence that some (G2) respondents could repeat verbatim their parents' experiences.

My dad was quite a raconteur, I had no brothers and sisters, so obviously he told me. My wife is of Ukrainian origin, she knows hardly anything about her father because he never used to talk to her about these sorts of things. Lots of them [DPs] didn't want to talk about their background and how they got here, whereas others were very keen. Obviously, I had that sort of relationship, luckily, with my father, which is why a lot of this is so clear in my mind (N15)

Alexandria Dellios (2018) in her article *Remembering Mum and Dad: Family History Making by Children of Eastern European Refugees*, frames a theory of *post-memory*, analysing how the close proximity of parental accounts of pre-war and wartime experiences had consciously or subconsciously impacted on the next generation.

Children of proactive members of the Ukrainian community were engulfed by what Hroch (1993) defines as *patriotic agitation* and ‘fermentation of national consciousness’. As mentioned earlier, institutionalising the Ukrainian identity became an immediate priority for the mobilized élite of the first settlers.

This meant the purchase of premises in towns which would double up as meeting places and ‘cultural centres’. Within these buildings many cultural [non-transnational] activities took place. Dance groups, choirs, theatre groups, and discussion groups of political issues flourished. While they could not communicate with the home country this was not going to stop them from constructing a collective identity via tenacious re-enactment of the cultural activities of the social spaces they had left behind. The politics of the first-settler cohort set the starting point, from which would emerge a generation of mostly patriotic, hybrid offspring.

The Ukrainians’ high rate of inter-ethnic marriage took my generational research further into the concept of hybridity. Papers by John Hutnyk (2005), Marta Erdal (2016) and Miri Song (2017), were helpful precursors in preparing dialogue with respondents of the *bridging cohort* (G2).

I concur with the Erdal *et al* conclusions that *victim diasporas* such as the Ukrainians, ‘still hold tightly to both the values of their motherland and mother country’ (2016, p.2). Simi Malhotra (2007)’s paper asks how well a diasporic community can retain its ‘original’ identity and questions ‘the extent to which it gets hybridized as a result of its contact with other socio-cultural forms and spaces’ (2007, p.13). Miri Song asks ...

With demographic changes such as generational change who counts as multi-racial or mixed race? This question has yet to receive significant attention. Although mixing is becoming more commonplace, the question of who counts as multi-racial is far from straightforward, especially as we look down the generational pipeline- when multi-racial people have children and grandchildren of their own (Miri Song, 2017, p.2)

For John Hutnyk, hybridity is ‘a convenient category at the edge or contact point of diaspora, describing cultural mixture where the *diasporized* meets the host in the scene of migration’ (2005, p.79). These are fascinating questions. My observations of my own generational (G2) *bridging cohort* are obviously influenced by my positionality. Social legacies have an impact on children whose parents have experienced trauma. My (G2) peers are no strangers to this phenomenon.

Like (G2/N15)’s raconteur father I too could repeat verbatim my father’s wartime experiences. Helping to write his memoirs in old age I could remind him of ‘paragraphs’ he had forgotten. We could narrate our parents’ experiences so accurately a researcher would know instinctively that we had heard parental accounts repeatedly over many years. Like me, most of my (G2) respondents were able to reconstruct ‘forgotten’ or ‘hidden’ experiences of their parents and were happy, when being interviewed, to know that ‘someone should be writing all this down’. It is opportune here to mention Marianne Hirsch’s concept of *postmemory*, ...

...the relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experience of their parents, experiences that they “remember” only as stories and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memories in their own right. (2008,p.8).

I return later to a further analysis of Hirsch’s concept of *postmemory*. Looking diachronically along Miri Song’s ‘generational pipeline’ I have seen Ukrainian diasporic identification undergoing ‘dilution’, also interpreted as *segmented assimilation*. Second generation (G2) assimilation accelerated at speed as a result of the fact that the majority of this cohort are the progeny of parents whose worlds centred around the simultaneous influence of two cultures.

Caroline Brettell and Faith Nibbs (2009, p.678) posit that ‘the so-called second generation no longer choose to emphasize one identity over the other but

that their identities are more fluid and multifaceted'. Proactive members of Ukrainian *bridging cohort* exemplify this 'fluidity', having lived with the powerful influence of the (mostly) father's Ukrainian-ness (*ukrainstvo/українство*) and the maternal, non-Ukrainian, (viz Austrian, German, Irish, Italian, Scottish, Yugoslavian) cultural background. My insider/outsider positionality often kicks in when observing the different families at social gatherings. A keen observer can spot the Teutonic, Celtic or Latin traits in certain G2 behaviours which stem from their maternal influences, and obviously from the more general influences such as their educational achievements and social networks.

And yet the segmented assimilation of the progeny is visibly linked to Ukrainian diasporic politics. For the patriots and nationalists, not all was lost to 'dilution'. While cultural reproduction was taking place under 'fluid' circumstances, the second generation's political awareness was being proactively fostered and nurtured by the synergies of home life, Saturday school, religious observance, summer youth camps, dance groups, orchestras, and participation in all forms of commemoration, be they political, religious, or cultural.

By interviewing so many (G2) respondents, it became apparent that this interplay had produced a powerful outcome. Here were families who deliberately attempted to resist acculturation, consciously choosing not to assimilate fully into Scottish society. In these cases, the cultural events and political debates and activities were commonly introduced by the Ukrainian parent- despite being committed to an exogamous marriage. I would even risk concluding that many 'foreigners' (G1) were supportive of their partners, having been successfully 'Ukrainianised' [my term].

7.3 Cultural reproduction

The cultural and political activities which impacted on the (G2) second generation fall into four sub-sets; religious observation, Saturday schooling, the arts and summer camps- their foundational structures having been brought from the pre-WW2 homelands. After reading Lea Kreinin's thesis, concerning Estonians in Scotland, I realised that my decision to focus on the second generation was a logical step...

I started out interviewing [Estonian first-settler] offspring mainly in order to find out information about their parents, most of whom are already dead, but then decided to include them because what they said in the interviews was so strikingly similar to what the older generation said. (2018 p.18)

Nancy Foner's *The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes* posits that ...'immigrants' pre-migration cultural conceptions and social practices continue to have force in the host country as first settlers continually draw on pre-migration family experiences, norms and cultural frameworks while carving out new lives for themselves' (1997 p.962) This has certainly been the case with Ukrainians in the UK.

When *institutionalising identification* (Jenkins, 2014), the first settlers wasted no time in forming an 'umbrella' organisation which would stretch right across the British Isles, coincidentally inaugurated in Scotland. The CEO of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain had this to say about its inauguration...

Q. As CEO of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) can you give me a raison d'être for its creation?

All the ensembles that were being created from the very beginning were done to promote one cause, a free and independent Ukraine. They all professed "God and Ukraine to promote and further the cause of a free and independent Ukraine. This explains why they would quite often find themselves on a Saturday afternoon in some muddy field in a small village, dancing Ukrainian dances in all sorts of weather, because they wanted to show off their culture, their very rich culture, to make friends and integrate within the community to promote their country, which was oppressed. They set up schools to bring the next generation up to be Ukrainians, to understand the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian history, culture, literature and so on.

Here we have aspects of Hobsbawm's *Invention of Tradition* playing a major role, not only in the cohesion of the first settler group but in institutionalising the identification of both generations of Ukrainians. Second generation Ukrainians, attending and participating in their parents' 'traditional' events became immersed, not only in cultural practices that had been brought from the home country, but also in the political legacies of their parents. No sooner could the offspring walk and talk when they were encouraged to attend Saturday School

where, besides learning the language and history of Ukraine, they were taught to dance, sing songs, and recite poetry.

7.4 Political reproduction

As indicated earlier, during all the years of the Cold War, the political and religious ‘notable dates’ as described in the *Calendar of a Ukrainian (kalendaretz ukrainsia, календарець українця)* paved the way for first generation to assemble a series of regular political gatherings where their offspring were encouraged (obliged?) to attend. While some children found such events unattractive, others became motivated to learn all about Ukraine. and the cause of the first-generation exodus from their home territories.

In constructing collective memory, groups draw on a range of source materials that include remembered experience as related by members of the group and narratives of history found in books, libraries, museums, monuments, archives, film, and television. Important, too, are literary and visual culture, family photographs and memorabilia. (Weedon, 2012 p.144)

Ron Eyerman and Bryan Turner (1998,P.93) argue that ‘generational cultures become embodied in their cultural dispositions’. These dispositions incorporate aspects of language, poetry, song, dress, cuisine, and a host of accompanying behaviours linked with symbolic ethnicity. Zygmunt Baumann’s article (1986) *Memories of Class*, posits that ‘generations can succumb to the institutionalization [even crystallization?] of memory by way of collective cultural rituals and narratives.’ This was certainly the case with Scotland’s first settler Ukrainians whose formal, perennial calendar of events, (both cultural and political), was designed to attract maximum participation from all corners of the country.

The establishment of a UK wide religious eparchy, the creation of Ukrainian Saturday Schools¹²⁴ across the country, the re-instatement of summer camp scouting activities and regular attendance at commemorative events - all

¹²⁴ The Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Vukhovnykiv-Спілька Українських Учителів та Виховників

contributed to a synergetic imprinting of Ukrainian collective memory ¹²⁵ on the second generation.

First-settler nationalist élite wasted no time in implementing their *politics of memory*. The link between politics and religion became the bedrock of the community. The Ukrainian *mobilized élite* had worked hand in hand with the religious establishments since WW2. Ukrainian DPs and POWs in Scotland were predominantly Uniate Catholics. The UGCC, working in tandem with the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) wasted no time in establishing itself in Scotland. It sent itinerant priests to spend the immediate post-WW2 years travelling around Scotland to visit their ‘flocks’, not only in the 40+ camps and hostels depicted in the map (Figure 6.12), but also to seek out isolated Ukrainians working in outlying places. The succession of priests who served the Scottish and northern English parishes not only sustained religious rites, but regularly infused openly political comment in their sermons.

Their church had been banned by the Soviet authorities in Ukraine from 1946 onwards, wherefrom the priests considered themselves pastors of a *church in exile* linked to a *church in the catacombs* [on Ukrainian territory]. The first two priests appointed to Scotland in 1948 had served as chaplains in the Galicia division. They were overtly nationalist, their sermons sprinkled with anti-Soviet comment designed to induce hatred of the ‘Godless regime’ in the homeland. Brief glances through the prayer and hymn books of the period reveal openly nationalistic hymns- hymns imprinted in the minds of the (G2) respondents, some of whom can still sing these songs by memory. An old favourite was ‘Great God’.

Боже великий, Творче всесвіту,
На нашу рідну землю споглянь.
Ми будем вірні Твому завіту
Вислухай нині наших благань.

Нарід в кайданах, край у руїні
Навіть молитись ворог не дасть!
Боже великий дай Україні
Силу і славу волю і власть!

¹²⁵ Use of the term ‘collective memory’ is first attributable to both Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious life* (1915) and his student Maurice Halbwachs, *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1925).

Great God, Creator of all
 Look down on our motherland
 We will be faithful to your testament
 Listen today to our pleas.

Our nation in chains, our country in ruin
 Even with prayer our enemy does not succumb!
 Great God, give Ukraine
 Strength and glory, freedom and ownership.

In the early days in the camps and hostels UGCC priests registered practising Ukrainian Uniate Catholics and asked them to sponsor the purchase of a large ‘church’ house in Edinburgh. Each donation of money was recorded and printed in a booklet with the most generous donors at the top [no psychological pressure here?] Many committed to more regular sponsorship. One of the (G1) respondents, had this to say...

That’s right the men gave a shilling a week, the ones at Macmerry Camp gave a shilling a week of their wages because they only got a shilling a day or something, and they bought Mansion House Road (G1/ N3).

The house became more than a manse and a community centre. It contained many large rooms and an extensive garden. Although there existed an agreement between the Roman Catholic church and the Ukrainian eparchy that Ukrainian priests could say mass in Roman Catholic churches, it was always the determination of the Ukrainians to have their own church. Years were to pass before that could become a reality so in the meantime a small ‘home chapel’ was established within this large house.

We travelled from Tranent to go to the small Ukrainian chapel when it was in Mansion House Road, and then we got to leave to say mass in the church at Sacred Heart, and then we went to St Pat’s in the Cow Gate. We ended up at St Columba’s up before we got the church in Dalmeny Street (G2/N29).

Itinerant UGCC priests were also noted for their determination and tenacity in travelling the length and breadth of Scotland (and northern England) in order to celebrate mass in local catholic churches, pay pastoral visits to homes of ‘parishioners’ and dispense various religious services.

Fr. Matyczak, the priest, used to come and say Mass once a month in Galashiels in the Catholic Church in Galashiels. There'd be two Roman Catholic Masses, one at 9, one at 11, then Fr. Matyczak would do one at 10 and as soon as we came out of church. Because in the early days there wasn't even a club - he would do the announcements outside, round the back of the church, even when it was howling wind, rain, he would do the announcements very quickly. That's how the information was passed round (G2/N19).

Ukrainian religious feast days and 'rites of passage' (baptism, confirmation, marriage etc.) played a major (if not the major) part in the institutionalisation of collective identification. By 1964 the community had purchased a disused Church of Scotland church and reconstructed the architecture of the roof to resemble a Ukrainian church. From the official War Office records of the 1500 POWs who arrived in 1947, alongside an undeterminable number of EVWs, the UGCC registered 900 families in 1949. The first baptisms and confirmations took place in 1948. By April 1952, at the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) Annual General Meeting in Edinburgh, 1200 Ukrainian individuals had been identified as resident in Scotland. From that time on the UGCC kept records.



Figure 7-3 Fr. Matyczak in Ukrainian church, Dalmeny St., Leith 1966

I was baptised in the church house at Mansion House Road, Edinburgh, which was used while the Ukrainians didn't have a church. We would go every fortnight to St Columba's [Catholic] Church at Causeway Side and then attend the chapel at Mansion House Road when there were specific Ukrainian celebrations or commemorations, and then of course Dalmeny Street, when the church was then bought and opened in 1964 (G2/N25).

Saturday schools

The role of language, a major feature linked to identity and identification, meant that no time should be lost in setting up 'schools. When the first settlers arrived, many with non-ratifiable or very poor educational credentials, the education of their (G2) children was to become a priority. Both patriots and nationalists worked proactively in tandem to encourage (G2) attendance at Ukrainian 'Saturday schools'-this in addendum to the same children attending the routine educational week in the average Scottish primary or secondary establishment. The Swann report (1985, p.716) described the typical Ukrainian Saturday School, highlighting its positive features ... conducting choirs, tutoring dance groups, recruiting for summer camps, teaching the equivalent of all levels from kindergarten to sixth form studies etc -all organised by unpaid volunteers. Not all Saturday schools had an Engineer Savchenko as their tutor. These respondents had almost the opposite experience.

Oh, it's hard to remember what we were actually taught, I can remember horrible cups of tea, ha! [laughs] We were taught aspects of the grammar as well as simple sentences. It was a cultural thing as much as anything else, I mean I can remember 'Otets Matyczak' [Father Matyczak, the Ukrainian priest] coming and teaching us certain things and history of Ukraine rather than the language as such. I think we were spoken to in Ukrainian without it being a lesson in grammar. There was limited grammar because the people that were teaching us weren't teachers themselves, they were just people who spoke Ukrainian in their own way, and they were passing on their knowledge to us (G2/N18).

We used to have shkola [school] and dancing practice in the actual attic. I didn't go to shkola very frequently because I could already speak Ukrainian because both my parents were Ukrainian, a lot of the other kids were from mixed parentage obviously. My dad said 'I don't see any point', and even the teachers would say 'I don't know why you're sitting here because we can't teach you". They

were teaching such a basic level of Ukrainian - I was just sitting there bored (G2/N15).

Anastasia Baczynskyj's (2009) thesis, *Learning how to be Ukrainian: Ukrainian Schools in Toronto and the Formation of Identity 1947-2009* succinctly explores the educational development of second generation Ukrainians. She explores both the formation of *collective memory* and the *crystallization* of Ukrainian identity. Her findings are common to the better organised Saturday schools that were established in Scotland between 1954 and the early 1970s. She reminds readers how the formation of collective memory in the Displaced Persons camps played a pivotal role in determining future processes of identification. In accordance with major theories of identification I have mentioned earlier [G.H.Mead, Erving Goffman, Richard Jenkins] she illustrates how identity is fashioned and that no one is born with a pre-determined identity- hence the title of her thesis-*Learning to be Ukrainian*. She emphasises that the Displaced Persons' borders of Ukrainianness were rooted in the traumas of Russification and Sovietisation (2009, p.6)

In the 1950s I attended Saturday school. My teacher was not a qualified teacher. He was a retired professional forestry engineer from Poltava. His spoken Ukrainian was impeccable and therefore he was elected by the fathers' committee [bat'kivs'kyj komitet/ батьківський комітет] to teach our small class of six children. He was a sworn monarchist, a follower of Hetman Skoropadsky. In other communities in Scotland the teachers were followers of other political leaders- Petliura, Shukhevych, Melnyk and Bandera- a very mixed bag but all sharing the basic tenets of their versions of patriotism. All were determined to teach us the Ukrainian language. Not all children enjoyed attending Ukrainian Saturday school. The Cyrillic alphabet, the grammar and the diction posed a challenge, particularly for those children from mixed marriages. One other subject not officially in the curriculum I now recognise as political indoctrination!

Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) argued that that all social and cultural meanings are forged in the learning of a language. On the plus side, the Ukrainian Saturday school, (*shkola Ukrainoznavstva* / школа українознавства) School of Ukrainian Studies, reinforced the Ukrainian part of our self-identification, not only with the language, but also with knowledge of the major figures of

literature, [Shevchenko, Kotliarevsky, Franko] history, [Hrushevsky, Mikhnovsky] and religion [Volodymyr the Great, religious martyrs]. Although we were learning about a country that we had never seen it was ‘important for us to know all about Ukraine as one day it will be free!’ (Engineer Mykhailo Savchenko).



Figure 7-4 Ukrainian Saturday School, Edinburgh 1954

From the Lyatyshevsky archive

Figure 7.5 of Ukrainian children in 1954 tells just one story of cultural reproduction as it impacted on the G2 pupils. In all Ukrainian premises, be it church, school or community centre, there was an abundance of cultural and political imagery.

Features of Michael Billig's *banal nationalism* are evident in this photograph- in the background are the portraits of Symon Petliura (1879-1926) and Roman Shukhevych (1907-1950), both assassinated and now firmly entrenched in the pantheon of Ukrainian nationalist martyrology. Note also the symbolism of the Ukrainian national trident, shielded by traditional embroidery and finally, atop all other artefacts, the Christian crucifix.

The few children who did have command of the Ukrainian language had access to printed versions of non-Soviet, nationalist history printed in Germany, Belgium, Britain, Australia, Canada and the USA. Those children who were learning Ukrainian, literally as a foreign language, had access to a limited number of English language pamphlets of Ukrainian history. Many of the G2 respondents commented that the versions of Ukrainian history differed entirely from the Eastern European history taught in the public schools in Scotland. No surprise here. Moving on to other aspects of education we look at the impact of the arts upon this same generation.



Figure 7-5 -Ukrainian Mandolin Group, Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh 1965

Most communities encouraged the creation of children's choirs, dance groups and orchestras. It was never too late to enrol a pupil ...

My first contact with the Ukrainian community was through NN, who was setting up a Ukrainian Saturday school. He did a tour of the local area recruiting pupils. I must have been about 12 or 13. That was the start of my involvement with the community. While doing Saturday School we would do an end of year concert. He got in a guy to teach us dancing. He himself would help the choir (G2/N19).

While many children could sing, dance, and play a musical instrument - a number could not. For them, not all was lost - recitation of patriotic and nationalist poetry was not only popular but became a fundamental inclusion in the program of the commemorative events.

Annual summer camps

Another avenue of political and cultural reproduction to impact on the youth was the formation of annual summer camps. As soon as the first generation could organise itself, the political élite re-created a UK wide youth organisation that was to take on a highly political credo. The Ukrainian Youth Association (Spilka Ukrain's'koi Molodi/ спілка української молоді) SUM, first suppressed in 1925 in Ukraine, began its jamborees and summer camp activities in Britain in 1949 when the majority of the [then] 'youths', mostly members of the Galicia Division, who were in their late twenties and early thirties.

The embryonic British-based section of the Ukrainian Youth Association was heavily weighted towards an 18-25 membership. When the second generation came of age, *Spil'ka Ukrain's'koi Molodi (SUM)* flourished, experiencing its highest recruitment of teenage membership in the late 1960s and early 1970s.



Figure 7-6 Ukrainian Youth (SUM) Annual all UK jamboree, Manchester 1952

Children being primed for future proactivity in the community were encouraged to join one of two youth organizations, either the nationalist (OUN-B) SUM or the traditional, conservative leaning scout movement PLAST¹²⁶. Julia Lalande's thesis, - *Building a Home Abroad*, succinctly summarises these movements ...'when it came to the preservation of language and culture Ukrainians in the emigration had to fight for the soul of the Ukrainian youngsters so that they would later continue the liberation flight' (Lalande, 2006).

Ukrainian communities across the British Isles, Scotland included, were encouraged by Ukrainian nationalists [note the adults in the second row of the photo] to prepare young people for 'an eventual return to the homeland'. Without *Summer camps* and *Saturday schools* there would have been little if any recruiting the second generation (G2) to stay involved in the ongoing political struggle for 'a

¹²⁶ For a comprehensive description of the history of PLAST, founded in L'viv in 1912, see MACIW, C. M., MYRON 1988. Plast-Ukrainian Youth Association. In: CIUS (ed.) *Research Report*. Edmonton: University of Alberta. As there are no existing members of PLAST in Scotland at the time of writing, interviews were conducted specifically with (G2) respondents who had been members of SUM in their youth.

free Ukraine'. During the Cold War both generational cohorts (G1&G2) aligned themselves to campaigns to give external assistance to the dissident movements within the homelands.



Figure 7-7 Ukrainian Youth Association summer camp-Middleton, Midlothian 1960s

Although *litni tabory*/літні табори *summer camps* were held in Scotland, as these young children grew into teenagers, a number travelled to England in the summer to participate in a UK wide Ukrainian Youth gathering. These (SUM) camps were modelled on a militaristic template and more politically focussed than the Ukrainian Scout Movement many of the adult instructors who visited the camps to lecture to the young people were members of the Ukrainian Former Combatants' Association (OBVU).

The cultural and political reproduction so tenaciously preserved and promoted by the members of the first generation (G1) is still alive in these summer camps and now continued by second and third generation instructors.

In Derbyshire a former WW2 military camp was purchased near Weston-on-Trent where, to this day, there is an annual nationwide summer camp. Ukrainian children of both exogamous and exogenous marriages are led through cultural and political lectures on Ukrainian themes and encouraged to adopt some of the basic tenets of 'Ukrainianness'. Some of the present day mobilized intelligentsia still

visit the camp to give lectures and presentations on the Ukrainian struggles, past and present against the ‘*bilshovyky*¹²⁷’ [Bolsheviks/більшовики].



Figure 7-8 Annual (SUM) summer camp, Weston-on-Trent, Derbyshire 1965

The militaristic nature of the summer camps did not appeal to all children and through time the onset of assimilation contributed to a decline in the participating numbers. The camps however take place to this day with diminished numbers of third and fourth generation participants¹²⁸

Q. What do you remember of the summer camps?

...you go to speak Ukrainian and to learn the customs and, I must admit in my childhood there was a bit of military drilling. You got to interact with almost all second-generation Ukrainians. Some of the teachers were obviously people of our fathers' generation, but most of camp was for second generation Ukrainians. SUM is a worldwide organisation and there would be 'sumivtsi' [association youths] sometimes from America, from Canada, and you got to interact with them, which was really good (G2/N14).

¹²⁷ Bilshovyk більшовик [Bolshevik] is a derogatory term used by Ukrainian nationalists for Russian and Ukrainian communists and their sympathisers.

¹²⁸ For a history of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain see: FEDCHYNIK, I. D., YAROSLAV 1954. SUM u V.Brytanii. In: I.FEDCHYNIK, Y. D. (ed.) *Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi na Chuszyni: The Ukrainian Youth Organisation Abroad*. 1st ed. London: Mercurius Press, . also Panas PANAS, R., SHL*I*AKHETKO, V. & PAVL*I*UK, V. 2002. *SUM u Velyki*i Brytanii : ponad pivstolitt'i*a pra*t*si z molodd*i*u*, London, Spilka Ukraïns*koï Molopdi u Velyki*i Brytanii.

And finally, a (G1) Scottish mother's view of the Ukrainian Youth Association

I thought it was excellent, I think my children had a wonderful childhood and most of the other children too because they were so involved in the dance group and mandolin orchestra. My daughter attended Saturday school - my son tried to skip that for football, [laughs] ha, ha, ha! My daughter benefited from that, he didn't'. But he started traditional Ukrainian dancing at a very young age, so we toured the Lothian areas giving concerts, and then participated in the annual competition in Leicester for the various groups. People used to say that my children would come back home from the weekend being so tired they wouldn't do well at school - they've done brilliantly! I'm dead proud, but I think most of the young ones at that time - and there were a lot of them - benefited greatly from what went on in the community (G1/N6).

Second generation children who attended the Ukrainian community centres were mostly pleased to be taught traditional dancing, play an instrument in the orchestra, or sing in the choir. However, they were also encouraged to provide the entertainment at commemorative events, plucked from the 'Calendar of a Ukrainian'. The commemorative events were always charged with emotion and never occurred without some subtle (and not so subtle) political indoctrination. The events were notoriously long and required strength of body and mind to endure them, but as Ukrainian Youths, (*sumivtsi*/сумівці) it was expected that they would participate. The programme was a not-so-subtle blend of both Michael Billig's features of *banal nationalism* and overt [unashamed] indoctrination were in fully in evidence. The audience of adults and children was typically dressed in national costume, the room decorated with portraits of heroes, poets, dissidents, saints etc, all to remind both parent and child of their roots. The *academia*/академія is the traditional Ukrainian gathering with an emphasis on both culture and politics. The long akademii always concluded with spirited singing of the Ukrainian national anthem. While some presentations were cultural there were few *akademii* that did not contain a strong element of anti-Soviet acrimony. The frequency of the academia was also about the preservation of heritage as many lectures were given to history or literature. Julia Lalande (2006, p.205) has this to say...'the desire to maintain one's language and cultural heritage seemed like a mission for many Ukrainians after the war.



Figure 7-10 Ukrainian Christmas Eve, Galashiels, January 1954

According to Ronald Eyerman ... 'a generational cohort survives by maintaining a collective memory of its origins, its historic struggles, its primary historical and political events, and its leading characters and ideologists (1998,p.97).

Many second-generation Ukrainians in Scotland were encouraged to uphold the collective memories and narratives of their Ukrainian-born parents. Despite the large number of exogamous marriages, the second generation has demonstrated fluidity in its approach to identity and memory, forming their own frames of reference and generational *habitus*. Many of the (G2) respondents have not forgotten the decisive ideological and political stances of their first-settler parents.

The community centre in Edinburgh was, and still is, decorated throughout with portraits of major figures and paintings of [non-Soviet] great moments in history. The G2 generation which eventually took stewardship of the centre reverentially maintains displays of its contents. Although there are not so many commemorations now, the main ones are still held. Over and above the religious gatherings at Easter and Christmas and the annual pilgrimage to Carfin Grotto, the community still celebrates the re-establishment of Ukrainian Independence 24th August 1991 and commemoration of the Holodomor 1932-33.

These and other functions are attended by Ukrainians from all around Scotland as well as members of the Ukrainian Consulate and newly- arrived migrants. One unique function is the Burns Shevchenko Supper held each year nearest to the date of Shevchenko's birthday. The symbolism here is important. Ukrainians see many parallels between themselves and Scots, especially in historical terms. This is explored by Stephen Velychenko in his *Empire Loyatism and Minority Nationalism* (1997).

The high number of mixed marriages has always assisted relationships with many Scottish social groups. An event like the Burns Shevchenko Supper leads me to review the impact of assimilation.

7.5 Segmented assimilation

Having introduced the classical concept of assimilation in my theory chapter it is now appropriate to focus on its effect within the second generational cohort of Ukrainians. I turned to the *segmented assimilation theory* as proposed by Alejandro Portes (2005), (2011) and Min Zhou (1997) who look specifically to the adaptation of the second generation. They challenge classical theory in proposing that ... 'an integrated second generation "moves up" and does better economically, but they deliberately do not give up on their own culture. So that delays the development of cultural integration'.

Sebahattin Ziyarak (2015, p.146) emphasises that this theory is designed solely to describe the children of immigrants. Ziyarak identifies three possible pathways of second-generation mobility-(1) Upward mobility into the middle class, (2) downward mobility into the underclass and (3) economic upward mobility into the middle class [which I interpret as acquiring wealth without necessarily an accompanying upward cultural shift].

In the 1980s Sergei Cipko conducted a survey of second-generation Ukrainians in Britain to ascertain the ways in which they perceived their communities. When he asked his respondents whether the Ukrainian community would assimilate completely, 42.5% did not know, 34% believed that it would, and 23.5% thought it would not assimilate. He concludes ...

the attitudes and concern of British-born Ukrainians, of which the present survey offers a glimpse, deserve to be studied in greater depth. However, we are inclined to doubt whether a larger sample would produce conclusions substantially different from those given above. (1986,p.46)

Cipko made no attempt to ‘classify’ his respondents. A considerable amount of time has elapsed since the early 1950s and 1960s, allowing a diachronic exploration of the pace of assimilation. This section explores the assimilation process as experienced by my second generation (G2) respondents and other (G2) Ukrainians in Scotland. Caroline Brettell and Faith Nibbs (2009) offer their caution regarding the concept of assimilation. While most of us consider assimilation as an entrance into the mainstream of society she reminds us that the mainstream is not a uniform thing but ...’a semantic convenience ... highly variegated along such lines as age, region, political orientation, social class, the urban vs. rural divide (but it remains by definition the social and cultural settings where whites, the dominant group, feel at home’.

Recent research suggests that the children of immigrants, the so-called second generation, no longer choose to emphasize one identity over the other but their identities are fluid and multifaceted.

As individual agents, these young people selectively choose defining ethnic characteristics from social domains in which they operate-their families, social networks, school environments, media images, popular culture, and the broader dominant culture. (Brettell, p.679)

Focussing on the G2 respondents and the influence of mixed marriage on their identities, I set out to see if my findings corroborate Brettell’s conclusions. Throughout all my meetings with G2 respondents I remained mindful of their attitudes towards, and experiences of, dual ethnicity.

Q. As the child of a mixed marriage how do you view your identity?

My identity as a person of Ukrainian heritage was something that was not clear to many people. Even though we had a small Ukrainian community that was fairly active and fairly close, supportive, my teachers both in high school and even at university had a very vague sense of Ukrainians as a distinct people. So essentially, I grew up in a world where there was no such thing as a Ukrainian, which is odd because my parents would tell me I was Ukrainian, I remember shortly after 1991 buying one of those table

atlases, and there was a two page spread of Ukraine. I nearly cried because up until that point Ukraine was portrayed as perhaps a Soviet-Ukrainian entity within the Soviet Union or sometimes just as a region, it was not clear, so that sense of identity for me is a political it has a lot to do with a map; "So where are you from, who are you?" And if you can't tell me, you can say "Well I'm from Scotland", right? So I can say oh, well, I don't know where Scotland is so I look in an atlas "Oh, there's Scotland, OK, now I know where you're from"; so I attach your identity to a place and in my case the place was spiritual, psychological, social in the context of a very small community, but it couldn't be much broader than that probably until my parents sent me to summer camp. (G2/N27)

I can concur with Janine Hanson's (1995) research, '*Sympathy, Antipathy, Hostility: British Attitudes to Non-Repatriable Poles and Ukrainians after the Second World War and to the Hungarian Refugees of 1956*' into community relations between Ukrainians and English. She recorded differing local attitudes towards first and second generations. She found that 'although Ukrainian exiles [G1] often describe the local population as having been 'friendly' towards them, this was often on quite a superficial level. Second generation Ukrainians, in contrast, tend to have mixed groups of friends' (1995 p.419). Having been born and raised in Britain they are more inclined to socialize with the local community than first generation Ukrainians. These findings reflect a similar situation in Scotland where my (G2) respondents reported numerous friendships and pastimes forged outside the Ukrainian *imagined* community.

In the decades before the onset of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness), the synergetic efforts of the first two generational groups built a solid socio-cultural base not just in Scotland but across the United Kingdom. Although correspondence between Ukraine and Scotland had resumed in the early 1950s it was always suspected of having been monitored and in many cases, censored. In addition, the Cold War severely restricted any possibility of travel between families.

From the turning point of 1991, many began to flock back to the homelands, despite the poor infrastructure there. The western Ukrainian border is two thousand miles from Scotland. The gruelling bus journey still takes 48 hours (I have done it) and rail networks are still frustratingly cumbersome. While air travel has been possible since independence, the infrastructure of mostly second-rate (ex-military)

airports and badly maintained roads still hamper tourists who wish to visit minor urban and most peripheral [rural] settlements. However, in very recent years the advance of globalisation has been accompanied by the digital revolution.

Today, technology makes it far easier for groups to function as transnational communities for identity maintenance and political mobilization. In particular, cheap air travel and phone calls, the internet, and satellite television have made staying in touch affordable. Indeed, the proliferation of websites testifies to the strength of “digital diasporas” supporting common interests and identity. (Vertovec, 2005)

The exponential advances of communications technology within the last decade have had a major impact on far-separated relationships. While Scotland to Ukraine landline and mobile telephone conversations remain prohibitively expensive, the use of online social media and especially free-of-charge, cloud-based internet applications¹²⁹ have contributed to increased inter-family communication and familiarity across national boundaries.

Ukrainian independence gave way to a flurry of visits by families from Scotland back to the homeland territories. Many first settlers took themselves and their ‘children’ back to their original ethnic territories. As well as experiencing the disappointing post-Soviet Ukrainian infrastructure, culturally there were some surprises...

When my parents spoke, everyone stood back and kind of smiled gently because their Ukrainian language and manner of speaking had fossilised. In Scotland’s Ukrainian community it [the Ukrainian language] is being used in a limited context, but not enough. Their spoken [Ukrainian] language kind of froze a little bit, and they were having their daily dealings within the Scottish community and learning the [English] language then going back to Ukrainian but only speaking Ukrainian as it was spoken then, [my underlining] so when people were speaking to my parents, they found them very charming because they found that their language was old fashioned. I didn’t know the difference, but it was one of the people that we met up with said ‘We love speaking to your parents because they sound so gentile’ and their language was from a time gone by. Having gone ‘home’ in the 1990s, some 50 years had elapsed (G2/N18).

¹²⁹ E.g. Skype for computers and Viber for mobile phones

Times have changed radically for *the bridging cohort*. This is a generation that has lived through the first Cold War, witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall, and followed the years of revived Ukrainian Independence. The CEO of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) has an interesting interpretation of where the *bridging cohort* now stands.

That ‘push’ [cultural and political reproduction] went on through the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and it only really started diminishing in the late 1980s coinciding with Glasnost and Perestroika, as Ukraine began to find more freedom - although it wasn’t fully free by any stretch of the imagination in the late 1980s but by the time Ukraine gained her independence that first generation had probably reached the age of 60-something and it was a time for them to visit home, visit brothers and sisters in Ukraine, and the urgency with which they promoted that Ukrainian culture and pushed the next generation to continue promoting it began to diminish. The second generation equally lost that push perhaps through being bombarded in those very early years of post-independence, literally bombarded on a weekly basis by Ukrainian groups coming over here, very accomplished dancing groups that could perform the songs that the second generation sang for many years. Perhaps as a result of that a sort of inferiority complex set in, either an inferiority complex or a complex of ‘Well our job is now done and we do not necessarily need to promote Ukrainian culture because we’ve got an abundance of it in Ukraine that can be tapped into and these people can be brought over to promote Ukrainian culture’.

This interpretation of second generation ‘diminishing involvement’ is frank and appears to dismiss the important role of the diaspora. However, recent traumatic events in Ukraine have rekindled renewed interest in a nation that three decades after so-called independence is still struggling to establish its sovereignty. There can be no doubt that, as the children of refugees who have lived in the so called ‘exile bubble’ for so long, the G2 respondents possess a different world view from the homeland Ukrainians of their peer generation, or younger *transnationals*¹³⁰, who have begun to migrate out across the world.

¹³⁰ Ukrainian *transnationals* are resident in Scotland, both legally and illegally. In a future addendum to my research, I intend to explore the cultural and political differences between members of the *bridging cohort* and the newly-arrived [*novoprybuli*]. Some interviews with the officially registered transnationals have already been secured. When trying to secure interviews with Ukrainians in Scotland who are here illegally, they all [understandably] refused.

Soviet legacies lumbered on in Ukraine long after independence and were met with constant frustration on behalf of the diaspora until the Orange Revolution in 2014. Sadly, the reality of a truly independent Ukraine is still a long way off. Many G2 individuals, thanks to digital technology and instant communication, follow the progress and egress of the various Ukrainian governments as they come and go. Unfortunately, corruption at every level undermines progress. There is unrelenting Russian indignation at Ukraine's independence. Recent events such as the annexation of Crimea and the war in the eastern provinces point to Russian military aggression threatening the fragile independence of Ukraine.

In the diaspora this threat to Ukrainian independence has rallied a cohort of transnationals to engage in 'Russia watching'. Where they might be categorised as labour migrants by some, these individuals see themselves as patriotic, caring deeply about the fate of their homeland. The embryonic Glasgow community of 'newly-arrived' Ukrainians is very active on social media, continually responding to anti-Ukrainian troll malevolence. Here the diasporic formula blurs between migrant and refugee, especially for the transnational who hails from the eastern oblasts of Luhansk and Donetsk.

Chapter 8 Summary Analysis

Scotland's first settler Ukrainians personified two (Weberian) *ideal types*, the displaced person and the former prisoner of war, both unrepatriable. Their combined activities were marked by tenacity and synergised resistance to Soviet ideology. The outcome of this *imagined* community's perennial anti-Soviet activities led to decades of their loyal support for the politically proactive Ukrainian élite.

My study focussed on the socio-political processes of the community's first settler (G1) cohort and their progeny (G2).

During a period of five years studying the research population my positionality afforded me alternating insider/outsider participation and observation of the two founding generational cohorts. Prior to the formal period of research, I had spent six decades of inclusion in the *imagined* community of Ukrainians in Scotland.

My analysis was confined to three major areas of interest - Ukrainian post-WW2 dispersion, homeland orientation and diasporic boundary maintenance. With regard to boundary maintenance, first settler (G1) Ukrainians in Scotland are to be commended for the cohesion which they have achieved in the face of two major challenges- the exceptionally high number of their exogamous marriages (90%), (Muttarak, 2015) and their being scattered over the widest geographical area of any Ukrainian community in Britain.

The first generation (G1) succeeded in holding fast to the cultural and political values held by them on their arrival as post-WW2 refugees. My study proposes that this tenacity stemmed from the traumatic experiences of displacement, the educational impact of the camp and hostel life, and the mobilized elite's 'settled' attempts to nation-build from afar.

Closer examination of the behaviours of both generational frames of the diasporic community required a heuristic device. I turned to the four tools of social science which Robin Cohen uses to delineate a diaspora. These are (1) emic/etic relationships, (2) the time dimension, (3) common features and (4) ideal types (Cohen, 2008, p.15) In the spirit of 'Wittgenstein's fibres of meaning', this chapter employs Cohen's heuristic device where he too likened his approach to 'a diasporic rope'.

8.1 Emic/etic relationships

The active political, social and cultural leaders of the putative diaspora will have to organize effective institutions to create and shape diasporic sentiments, and galvanise them to a common purpose (Cohen, 2008 p.16).

I was born in Scotland in 1950, the child of a marriage between a Ukrainian Prisoner of War and a local Scottish girl. In the decades preceding this dissertation, and throughout the recent five years of research, I was privileged in being able to interpret the Ukrainian *imagined community* from two points of reference, two cultural contexts- Ukrainian and Scottish. This ‘insider/outsider’ rotational paradigm afforded me the opportunity of choosing to be one or the other, and frequently, where worlds met, both *observer* and *observed*. The social dynamics of *observer* and *observed* is not limited to the researcher’s lens. The emic/etic relationship can also serve a wider purpose, in this case the concept’s application as a socio-political tool.

Looking to Cohen’s ‘galvanisation of diasporic institutions towards a common purpose’, it is necessary to consider the exercise of *multiple membership* of Ukrainian cultural groups. This was encouraged by cells of Ukrainian nationalists and their patriotic sympathisers in each location. In Scotland, where the Ukrainian community was small in numbers compared to others, it was possible to achieve multiple membership without difficulty. It was quite common for a first-generation Ukrainian to be a member of e.g., ...the community centre/’club’ (AUGB founded 1946), to play a pivotal role on the church committee of the UGCC, to be a trustee of Saturday school (SUUV founded 1955), regularly attend the community centre/’club’) and could even be an adult instructor [senior member] of the youth organisation SUM (founded 1948).

Many of those who had been in the Polish Armed Forces (PAF), the Galicia Division or the Ukrainian Partisan Army UPA became members of the Former Combatants’ Association OBVU (founded 1949). Ukrainian speaking women of the Organisation of Ukrainian Women OUZh (founded 1948) were key contributors to the activities of each institution. Those who held multiple memberships were usually subscribers to Ukrainian language newspapers-the most popular being the *Ukrainian Thought* [Ukrains’ka Dumka/Українська Думка] and the *Way to Victory*

[Shlyakh Peremohy/ Шлях Перемоги]. I personally knew of individuals who held multiple memberships of diasporic groups and have historic photos as evidence.

The prime objective of the nationalist cells was to rally the community towards ‘their’ common purpose. Such infiltration was thinly disguised. Once having achieved pivotal positions in these institutions it would take decades for the nationalist grip to be loosened. In fact, mortality has been the deciding factor as the first generation succumbs to old age, infirmity, and its passing into eternity.

8.2 The time dimension & wisdom of hindsight

The second scientific tool promoted by Cohen- the passage of time combined with the wisdom of hindsight. From the earliest days, resident academics of the *mobilized élite* used a terminology of displacement which initially did not include the term *diaspora*. Many Ukrainians were encouraged to refer to themselves as *refugees* [bizhentsi/біженці], and as ones who lived ‘*in exile*’, [na zaslanni/на засланні]. They certainly did not proclaim themselves to be a *diaspora*. For most it was more important to promote their national identity as *Ukrainians*.

There were a few who instantly chose the path of straight-line assimilation. During my tours of meeting and interviewing, some respondents pointed to other ‘Ukrainians’ who had concealed their ethnically identifiable identity by changing their names, deliberately preferring to acculturate.

It is now virtually impossible to ascertain the numbers of Ukrainians who have become fully acculturated. While I am not personally acquainted with any acculturated G1 migrants, I am aware of a small group number of second-generation Ukrainians who have never taken an interest in their Ukrainian heritage and cannot utter a single word of the language (Sheffer’s *dormant* individuals and my *indifferent* individuals).

This study concerned itself primarily with the activities of first generation ‘core’ members’ and the ‘members by choice’ [descendants of mixed marriages], the *members by choice*, who presently organise Scotland’s formal, public-facing activities. of the (AUGB) maintain strong, renewed ties to the ‘past’.

For the second generation (G2) their parents' *kalendarets ukraintsia*, once filled with a commemoration for every week of the year, is no longer adhered to. Commemorations are now restricted. A glimmer of hope for continuity may lie with some of the *novoprybuli* who, since the events of the Orange Revolution, Maidan, the annexation of Crimea and the war in the east, seem to have rallied politically. As transnationals they are in touch with everyday events in Ukraine, and follow Ukrainian media with great interest. Much has been written about the differences between the *novoprybuli* and the old diaspora but the *novoprybuli* reality is that they share a common concern for Ukraine's attempts at nation-building.

8.3 Consolidated list of common features

The third social scientific tool promoted by Robin Cohen is described as the common *features of diaspora*. From the earliest days of this study his heuristic devices have provided a roadmap for my research, allowing me to checklist all that I have met. It is no accident that my summary analysis is placed against each of his nine criteria (2008, p.17, Table 1.1). My summary takes each criterion in turn.

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions.

There can be no doubt that first generation Ukrainians were dispersed. The four classic waves of Ukrainian migration from 1880 to the present have despatched Ukrainians to nearly every continent on the globe, and certainly to the 46 known and identifiable countries as identified by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko (1994a) in her demographic guide *'Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Diaspora'*. My interviews focused on displaced persons and former POWs who were not dispersed by poverty or overpopulation but by traumatic events resulting from WW2. The ethnic Ukrainians were not scattered from a 'centre' but hailed from a number of territories within Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and the USSR.

Scotland did play host to Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine (The Ukrainian S.S.R.), but their numbers were both small and difficult to locate¹³¹. These few respondents were mostly *ost-arbeiters* [eastern workers] who had avoided being forcibly transported back to the USSR after WW2. Two of my veteran (G1) respondents who had arrived with the Galicia Division were former deserters from the Red Army who had joined the retreating Galicians and who had falsified their identities to avoid being repatriated to the Ukrainian SSR.

The history of Stalin's harsh treatment of these people is awash with trauma. One well documented story of an Eastern Ukrainian who came to be exiled in Scotland concerns the late Aleksander Krawczynski (2015), 'Alek the Pole'. He was one of the millions of Ukrainians dispersed by the events of WW2, who at the conclusion of the war succeeded in creating a 'Polish' identity for himself, such was his fear of being repatriated to the USSR. For some the fear had turned to paranoia...

I contacted one of my [late] father's friends and he told me, quite unbeknown to me at the time, that from the time that they were freed in this country, which was 1948, until the early 1970s when my father died, he and my father purchased and maintained a boat at [x]. We lived quite close to the coast. The purpose of maintaining that boat was because they were obsessed, even until the day he died, that they would be repatriated. And as a consequence of that they purchased and maintained the boat so that in the event of the eventuality of their being repatriated they had an escape route. That was something that I didn't know, but for somebody to go to that length it must have been a very real threat which they took very seriously (G2/N12).

2. Alternatively, or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of a trade or to further colonial ambitions

I deliberately chose to fleetingly summarise four classic waves of Ukrainian migration [from 1880 to the present] to present the reader with comparisons between a *labour*[economic] migration and a *victim* diaspora. My research

¹³¹ Two of the (G1) respondents from Eastern Ukraine agreed to be interviewed. The male agreed to be formally interviewed and the second, a female, agreed to talk unrecorded about life in Kyiv before and during the Nazi occupation. Previous to the arrival of Hitler's troops she had been approached by the NKVD to become an informer. She declined, and as soon as the Reichskommissariat began to deport Ostarbeiters, she joined the trainloads of workers being transported to Germany

focussed on political refuge, choosing to concentrate on two generational cohorts of *Wave Three*. These two cohorts, DPs and POWs, cannot be considered as 'expansion' as they were displaced and ejected from their homelands by the ravages of war.

3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements

'Collective memory cannot be divorced from its construction in culture'
(Sicher, 2000 p.56).

Collective memory is commonly considered as the memory of a group of people passing from one generation to the next. For others it is ... 'the shared pool of memories, knowledge and information of a social group that is significantly associated with the group's identity'. The promotion of *collective memory* has been an integral element of Ukrainian identity politics for decades in Scotland. As Efraim Sicher attests, ... 'it is in narrative that memory is inscribed' (2000, p.59). My findings concur with Seffer's claim that ... 'the past can be pliable and adaptable, fluid and opaque, polysemous and deconstructed, but it has achieved an importance which has shifted from remembrance of time to memorialization in sites of memory' (p.59). Lubomyr Luciuk simplifies this definition by simply calling the phenomenon the '*migration of memory*' (2001).

The progeny (G2) of the surviving DPs and POWs have long been participants of numerous commemorative events linked with the past of their parents and grandparents. Like Sicher's Holocaust casualties, Scotland's surviving first settler Ukrainians suffered a 'total uprooting from community and familiar landscapes' ...leaving 'the psychological scars of the trauma' on the next generation.

On a personal note, I grew up constantly listening to my father and his father's peers [many of whom were compulsive storytellers] recounting memories of the homeland, displacement and war. Like others of my second-generation peers (G2), as the *child of a survivor* I readily identified with their collective memory of loss and trauma. Even though these memories have not been experienced personally, many (G2) respondents are able to re-visit them via photo

elicitation, combing historical documents and listening to oral testimonies. Sicher adds ...

Oral history has shifted the perspective of the past to that of the witnesses, a people's war that tells of vastly different experiences on a day-to-day basis, each a fragment of something larger and incomprehensible but which can never be told in its totality and which is impervious to the moral judgement of some master narrative (Sicher, 2000, p.79)

The master narratives in this study are first settler (G1) legacies locked in the arena of opposing interpretations of the past. The opposing interpretations, according to Oxana Shevel in her article, '*The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine*', incorporate the age-old phenomenon of 'one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist'. She defines them as 'oscillation between ideologically charged narratives of the past' (2011 p.138). Soviet paradigms of the OUN¹³² and UPA¹³³ labelled members of these organizations as "villains" and 'terrorists', whereas Scotland's first settlers regarded their nationalist peers as 'heroes'. Not dissimilar from present day interpretations of the IRA.

The historic photo below is an example of how Ukrainian community rooms portrayed these heroes. Second generation respondents who attended Ukrainian Saturday schools in Scotland were never going to be directed away from an ethnocentric interpretation of Ukrainian history. In the figure below we see a typical schoolroom in a Ukrainian community centre-with its pantheon of heroes - in this case Symon Petliura WW1 and Roman Shukhevych WW2.-

¹³² For a comprehensive history of the OUN see MIRCHUK, P. 1968. *Narys Istorii OUN 1920-1939*, Munich -London- New York, Cicero Ukrainian Publishers.

¹³³ For an overall assessment of UPA warfare see TYS-KROKHMALIUK, Y. 1972. *UPA Warfare in Ukraine*, Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. (1972)



Figure 8-1 Community schoolroom decoration

None of the first settler teachers and educators concerned themselves with Soviet politics of memory. They distanced their teachings in direct opposition to the Soviet cultural legacy that had swamped their homelands. For them the Sovietisation of monuments, institutions and Soviet regime's celebrations were a toxic fabrication, a brutal and blunt 'invention of tradition (Hobsbawm). My father used to cringe on hearing the phrase 'The Great Patriotic War'. For him and his colleagues there was no such thing. The Galicia Division and the UPA were the heroes.

Ukrainian politics of memory endure to this day. From the earliest days of their arrival both DPs and PoWs deliberately ‘de-Polonised’ and ‘de-Sovietized’ their pre-WW2 lives. They glorified their own heroes, Petliura, Konovalets, Shukhevych, Bandera. For them the commemoration of ‘the artificial famine of 1933’ was always referred to as *genocide*¹³⁴.

For them the Great Patriotic War (WW2) was a massive political lie. Their commemoration of Ukrainians who had sacrificed their lives in war took the form of *Svyato Pokrovy/ Свято покрови* ¹³⁵. The major claims of Soviet historiography (which many western academics of the time did not dispute) were never accepted by the first settlers.

The first generation’s ‘alternative past’ embodied Hrushevsky’s interpretation and his vision of Ukrainian nationhood. For them this meant that Russians were never their ‘elder brothers’, Ukraine had not joined the Tsarist or Soviet empires through choice, [there had always been a vein of ethnic hostility between Russians and Ukrainians] and that the eastern Slavs such as Ukrainians and Belarusians were not regional versions of Russians. These interpretations lay at the very core of first settler existence. An example of their anti-Soviet interpretation is given below.

¹³⁴ The difficulty of classifying the *Holodomor* as a genocide in international law has not stopped a series of Ukrainian governments from trying to do so APPLEBAUM, A. 2017. *Red Famine: Stalin’s War on Ukraine*, UK, Allen Lane. The impact of the famine as a unifying national memory for Ukrainians has long been understood in Scotland’s Ukrainian community. From the earliest days of exile, they have commemorated this artificial famine as the Soviet Communist party and Stalin’s deliberate attempt to obliterate the Ukrainian peasantry from the map. She writes ‘... the generation that experienced and survived the famine carried the memories with them forever. But even the children and grandchildren of survivors and perpetrators continue to be shaped by the tragedy’ (p.363).

¹³⁵ The Christian feast of Pokrova (Intercession of Theotokos) is traditionally held on 14th October. Theotokos of Pokrova was considered as a protector by Ukrainian Cossackry. In addition, it is also considered as the foundation day of the Ukrainian Partisan Army.



Figure 8-2 Typical protest leaflet as distributed by demonstrating Ukrainians
Courtesy of the Ukrainian Information Service (UIS)

Even with the demise of the first settlers some commemorations and protests endure. There is a hard core of second-generation (G2) activists who organise events around the more prominent dates in the political and religious calendar. The puzzling question is ‘why does the second-generation care about commemoration?’ The answer perhaps refers to a term mentioned earlier Marianne Hirsch’s intergenerational transmission of trauma- *postmemory*.

Postmemory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. (2008 p.103)

Hirsch, quoting Eva Hoffman, describes the second generation as ... ‘the *hinge generation* in which received, transferred knowledge of events is being transmuted into history or myth’. Just as Hoffman talks of the Jewish *hinge generation*’s ‘guardianship of the Holocaust’, it is not difficult to envisage the politically active peers of the *bridging cohort* in a parallel role as ‘guardians of the Holodomor’ and other major tragedies which have befallen their Ukrainian parents and grandparents.

Ernst van Alphen (2006) speaks of a ... ‘fundamental continuity between first and second generations (p.474) He quotes Epstein who does not use the term second generation but instead refers to the ‘children of survivors, and speaks of ... ‘victimship and survivorship and the rhetoric of victimhood and the transmission of victimization P.476

Like most survivors, neither [parent] imagined how, over the years, I had stored their remarks, their glances, their silences inside me, how I had deposited them in my iron box like pennies in a piggy bank.

If we choose to employ Epstein’s term ‘children of survivors’ instead of second-generation (G2), then this might explain why some of my generation feel so closely connected to the trauma of my father’s homeland, exodus and displacement. A goodly number of my (G2) respondents, especially those who were born in the German displacement camps, certainly display public behaviours of ‘not letting go’ of the experiences of endured by their parents.

And now a word concerning the ‘myth about the homeland’. On their very arrival in Britain the politically motivated élite fostered the myth of return to the home territories. The Ukrainian language media [newspapers, journals, and pamphlets] of the time set about promoting the idea that the European Voluntary Workers and Prisoner of War sojourn in Britain would be short lived as there were rumours of a third world war which would ‘liberate Ukraine from the Soviet yoke’. The founding members of the various Ukrainian institutions, who set about mobilizing the

imagined community, would have had no difficulty in appreciating the practicalities of the *ethnosymbolist* school of thought as identified by Armstrong (1982), Smith (2009) and Hutchison (2008). As Gerard Delanty notes...

‘Ethnosymbolism differs from primordialism in that it locates the power of national identity in history and cultural symbols rather than biology and evolutionary psychology (2008, p.2).

4. An idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety, and prosperity, even to its creation

Scotland’s Ukrainian community is unique in that it consists of almost entirely of members of only two diasporic fragments who arrived here in the late 1940s. Beyond the ranks of the nationalist DPs and the POWs one will find occasional political opinions much in the minority. By 1978, at the peak of Ukrainian diasporic visibility, Petryshyn’s case study of the political dimension in ethnic community development (1980, pp.269–300) lists seven active and three inactive émigré political parties (his Table 13, p.269). In Scotland there were only two main protagonists, OUN-(M) and OUN-B) sometimes referred to as OUN-(R), who won ‘control’ over the community. This is one of the phenomena which identifies Scotland’s Ukrainians as a unique diaspora. While the two factions remained divided throughout seven decades, time and happenstance eventually determined the demise of the OUN-M), leaving members of the OUN-B to become the dominant political driving force.

As Petryshyn so well describes in his study, the monocratic ideology promoted by members of the OUN-B led them to believe that they were singularly responsible for consolidating the main diasporic institutions of Scotland’s Ukrainians [AUGB, OBVU, SUM and OUZh] into a synergised campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda and activity. They promoted themselves as ‘the disciplined, centralized political leadership enhancing the ability of their ethnic group to develop its religious, social, and cultural organizations’ (Petryshyn, 1980, p.270). Interviews with members of both OUN-(B) and the last living member of OUN-(M), leaves me convinced that the physical and ideological tenacity of these nationalists was the vital factor in *boundary creation* and survival of the community as a visible entity.

Previous chapters have highlighted how the political and cultural reproduction which took place over seven decades became the hallmark of the mobilised nationalist élite. The employment of Ukrainian myth and symbol, the ‘invention of tradition’ and politicisation of the communities intensified as the period of displacement eventually turned to long years of exile, extended by the intensification of the Cold War. Establishing and promoting their version of collective memory became a priority of Ukrainians who now had the freedom to engender multiple aspects of this phenomenon.

The church, in tandem with the mobilized nationalist élite, created a powerful influence on diasporic *collective memory*. The UGCC priests overtly supported the nationalist vision of a free independent Ukraine. They too encouraged and inspired the first two generational cohorts (G1&G2) to focus on aspects of nation-building from afar. Their perennial promotion of religious observance and all that it entails, played a leading role in the retention of religious faith, culture, and identity. Most of my (G1) respondents were able to speak with knowledge and conviction about the history of the Uniate church, particularly its 1946 dissolution [by the Soviets] and ensuing tragedies. The G2 respondents who had attended Saturday School as children and teenagers in the 1950s and 60s were also well versed in its major events and feast days. The interpretations of Ukrainian historiography offered by respondents of both generations, were similar and vehemently anti-Soviet.

While some historians like to credit western Ukrainian territories with being its ‘Piedmont’ -this is unfair. The Ukrainians I knew who escaped from forcible repatriation and spent a lifetime in the diaspora were equally patriotic and rightfully claimed that they endured equally traumatic subjugation. This is true.

Every nation has its own myths and national symbols. *My imagined* community has successfully achieved seven decades of perennial commemoration of their heroes and saints. Credit must be given to their ideological tenacity. The organisation of political campaigns and events saw its zenith when the first generation were mostly in full employment and particularly during the years of the Cold War.

5. The frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland

During the time of the Cold War there was never going to be a return movement in the classical sense. The DPs and POWs were tarred by the USSR as ‘bourgeois nationalists, Banderites etc., branded by the communist regime as traitors. In the diaspora the élite actors ignored Soviet propaganda and perpetuated the message that there would be an end to the Soviet regime followed by a return to a free, independent Ukraine.

The overthrow of the communist regime predicted in the 1950s by the WW2 escapees from the USSR would not be realised for another fifty years. The UPA had been hunted down and many of their supporters were exiled to the Gulags or work projects thousands of miles from their home territories. Not until independence in 1991 did the majority begin to think about venturing ‘home’. There are instances of one or two Ukrainians from Scotland returning [as very old men] to their ethnic territories. These were bachelors who had never married or built a family life ‘abroad’. Following independence many of the *bridging cohort* accompanied their aging parents on holiday to Ukrainian territories. Few, if any, second-generation individuals returned permanently. Even those few individuals who have chosen contractual work in Ukraine maintain a base in Scotland.

6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate.

The Prosvita culture of self-help and self-education imported by the mobilized élite had been well established before the arrival of the DPs and PoWs (Isayiw et al, 1992). Regardless of their differing territorial origins, the refugees always insisted that they were Ukrainian and not a subgroup of Russians or Poles. Ukrainian diasporic literature has always been firmly rooted in the promotion of a common history. From the earliest poets, (e.g. Kotliarevskyj, Shevchenko, Franko) to historians past and recent (eg Hrushevsky, Subtelny, Magocsi, Plokyh) Ukrainians have been nation-building for at least two centuries (Anderson, 2006). The cultural heritage passed down over these years has been a pivotal factor in maintaining their distinctive ethnos.

7.A troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group

Scotland's Ukrainians arrived as *aliens*, without passports. At registration the majority refused to change or 'anglicise' their surnames. Later, others aspired to British citizenship and considered the ownership of a British passport as a possible buffer against potential repatriation. Within a host society, even a multicultural society, the possession of a surname that is different will always arouse curiosity. All the first settler (G1) respondents and most of the G2 interviewees all declared a pride in their surnames regardless of the attitudes shown by certain sectors of society. This is a feature of the core group rather than that of the margin or dormant groups.

An uncomfortable aspect of Scotland's history is sectarianism. In certain circles 'foreign' surnames still represent a heritage of 'the other'. When the DPs first arrived as 'labour' migrants they took up physical jobs in vital industries. They not only met with trade union hostility but were also confronted with what Robert Winder (2004) called 'the bloody foreigner' syndrome. British reaction to Ukrainians and educating public opinion about them were two persistent challenges (Kay & Miles, 1992, 120-144). Sociologists have shown how migrant relationships with host societies historically wax and wane.

Since WW2 one troubling accusation has perennially dogged the personnel of the Galicia Division. On their arrival there had been Parliamentary voices calling for thorough screening for war criminals living in the UK. The Division's personnel had already been screened¹³⁶ before leaving the SEP camp (Hills, 1989) and the issue seemed to be laid to rest following D.Haldane Porter's *Refugee Screening Commission Report on Ukrainians in SEP Camp No.374, Italy*. However further accusations of criminality resurfaced in the late 1980s following the 1986 Deschênes Commission of Enquiry into War Crimes in Canada, an enquiry which preceded the 1989 Hetherington-Chalmers Report which rekindled the issue of war criminality in the UK (Hansard, 1989).

TYS-KROKHMALIUK, Y. 1972. *UPA Warfare in Ukraine*, Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.¹³⁶ See D.Haldane Porter's *Refugee Screening Commission Report on Ukrainians in SEP Camp No.374, Italy*. LACAB/18/RSC/RIC, 21st Feb 1947

Accusations which should morally focus on individuals but deliberately attempt to incriminate the majority, leave a *Damoclean sword* of suspicion hanging over ‘the accused’. Sloppy journalism and sensationalist writing cause bitterness and anger among the innocent majority. This is not the place to revisit these reports. While war criminality should always be investigated, we should remain aware that writing which is irresponsibly constructed does a huge disservice to the good name and reputation of honest freedom-loving men and women who prided themselves on having exercised their interpretations of patriotic duty to defend Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia against the Red Army.

8.A sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial

There exists a World Congress of Ukrainians *Svitovyi Kongress Ukraintsiv*/світовий конгрес українців [The Ukrainian World Congress](#), founded in 1967 in New York. It represents the interests of Ukrainians scattered globally in the diaspora while co-ordinating an international network of member organizations ...‘that support and promote the Ukrainian national identity, spirit, language, culture and achievements of Ukrainians throughout the world’.

The SKU also promotes the civic development of Ukrainians in their countries of settlement, while fostering a positive attitude towards Ukrainians and the Ukrainian state. Finally, the SKU defends the rights of Ukrainians, independently of their place of residence in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

9.The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.

Scotland has been a sanctuary for migrants for hundreds of years. Recently, as part of understanding of the plight of other ethnic communities in Scotland, and to reflect on its pluralism, I found time to interview representatives of the Italian ¹³⁷

¹³⁷ I wish to thank Giancarlo Rinaldi, author of *From the Serchio to the Solway* (1998), a micro history of the Italian community in Dumfries and Galloway. I also wish to thank his father, Loreno Rinaldi, a former history teacher in Dumfries and Galloway who, like myself, remembers his ‘early’ community and was willing to be interviewed.

and Jewish¹³⁸ communities. The links I have formed with the Garnethill synagogue will become a further source of research in the future given there were so many primary resources yet to be explored and analysed regarding pre-WW2 Ukraine. Interest in this area led me to a UCL book launch in May 2018.

During my travels I secured an interview with Professor Paul Robert Magocsi (2016) in his capacity as co-author (with Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern) of *'Jews and Ukrainians : A Millennium of Co-existence'* (2016). The arena of Ukrainian -Jewish relations, sadly too often dogged by negativity, is an area that is now experiencing scholarly moves towards greater co-operation and mutual respect. Both authors are leading academics within the [Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter](#). It is nothing but refreshing to witness this development after enduring decades of accusations that Ukrainians are anti-Semitic.

8.4 Weberian ideal types

Are Scotland's Ukrainian first settlers a 'victim diaspora'?

Nancy Foner reminds us 'the experiences of immigrants -and their children- are grounded in historical periods' (2009, p.25). David Goodhart in his treatise on the failures and successes of post-WW2 immigration reminds us that 'a political community does not exist merely in the present. It is the product of the countless small and large sacrifices of past generations' (2014 p.202). With these observations in mind, it is paramount that the reader understands the historical events (especially 1917-1939) which impacted on the pre-WW2 family structure of the first settlers. The sequence and synergies of these events lead towards defining the Ukrainians in Scotland as a segment of a victim diaspora.

The nationally conscious Ukrainian (G1) respondents who arrived in Scotland in 1946 were well versed in the traumatic events which had occurred in the past. Over and above their ability to quote major instances and events from 'the real history of Ukraine' (G1/N3), they could elaborate with knowledge and passion on

¹³⁸ I wish to thank Harvey Kaplan, of the Garnethill Synagogue's Scottish Jewish Archives Centre ([SJAC](#)) for his help in identifying Jewish families who originated from Ukraine. I thank him for sharing with me his family memoirs entitled *From Ghetto to Gorbals: The Felmans of Kamenets - Podolsk*. Thanks also to Dr. Kenneth Collins, author of *Second City Jewry* (1990) and *The Jewish Experience in Scotland: From Immigration to Integration* (2016), and who kindly allowed me access to *Zev's Children*, the memoirs of his Collins (Kagarlitzky) family.

the life experiences of their immediate family- their own parents and grandparents. The four individuals who professed to be Ukrainian nationalists, 3x OUN(B) and 1x OUN(M), could recount examples from *their* timeline of ‘imperialistic subjugation and persecution’(G1/N2). This was the cohort who seemed to know nearly every date in their *kalendaretz ukraintsia* /календарець українця (calendar of a Ukrainian).

Victimisation in Western Ukraine

Paul Robert Magocsi’s *History of Ukraine*, Chapter 46, *Ukrainian Lands in Inter-war Poland*, gives one of the best accounts of the trauma experienced by Western Ukrainians in the period 1921-1939. Following WW1 Poland had signed international treaties promising to respect equality for its national minorities. Ukrainians in Eastern Poland had enjoyed a state of equality with Poles during the Austro-Hungarian rule but were to find that the future promised to be very different. The closing of many the Prosvita societies (2,879 in 1914 to 843 in 1923) and the university departments (*katedry*) heralded an outright assault on Ukrainian education at all levels. It was a signal that, what was to come, would be far from comfortable.

There were Ukrainians who acquiesced to Polish rule and who did participate in civic Polish life, but the region gained notoriety for the internal conflict between the Polish authorities (military and police) with armed Ukrainian paramilitary resistance. At the same time the region saw a rise in the number of Ukrainian political parties, particularly the UNDO, a party which opposed the settlement of Poles in ethnic Ukrainian territories. A brief but informative account of the Western Ukrainians’ subjugation by the inter-war Polish Government is found in an address entitled ‘The Ukrainian Question’ given by Lancelot Lawton in a committee room of the House of Commons on May 25th (1935 pp.144-146). In a few paragraphs he comprehensively summarises how the Poles were ‘systematically colonising Western Ukraina’.

Victimisation in Eastern Ukraine

While western Ukrainians were subject to the Polish Republic's colonisation (Polonization) of Galicia, those in the eastern Ukrainian lands of the Soviet Union fared no better in the inter-war years. The historian Norman Davies had this to say ...

In the 1930s the USSR was turned into a grotesque, gargantuan laboratory of social engineering and human misery. Tens of millions toiled in indescribable deprivation to build the dams, canals, factories, and new towns that the five-year plans demanded. Millions died from exhaustion, maltreatment, or executions. Whole classes like the kulaks, or small landowners were slated for elimination when agricultural land was collectivized. Whole generations were uprooted and sent for slave labour. And whole countries, like Ukraine, which had resisted, were laid waste. (2006 p.49)

The concluding years of the 1930's witnessed *The Great Terror*¹³⁹, (1937-39) as reported in Chapter 3 of Timothy Snyder's *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (2010). '...the Soviet purges within the army, party, and NKVD were the prelude to Stalin's Great Terror, which in 1937 and 1938 would take the lives of hundreds of thousands of people for reason of class and nation' (p.78). In Ukraine this period was known as the *Yezhovschyna*/Ежовщина the brutal repressions masterminded by Nikolai Yezhov (1895-1940). According to Snyder '...all in all, in 1937 and 1938, NKVD men shot 70,868 inhabitants of Soviet Ukraine in the kulak operation' (p.84).

Across the whole of the Soviet Union Snyder records that the fulfilment of Order 00447 meant that hundreds of thousands of people would be liquidated in the brief period of 18 months. He estimates that '... of the 681,692 recorded death sentences in the Great Terror, 123,421 were carried out in Soviet Ukraine and this does not include natives of Soviet Ukraine shot in the Gulag' (p.107). The memoirs of O'lha Mak (1954), a professor's wife from Poltava, make chilling reading regarding the Stalinist purges in Ukraine see- *Z Chasiv Yezhovschyny-Spohady* [З Часів Ежовщини / Memoirs from the time of Yezhov]. The elimination of Ukraine's elite in the 1930s-the nation's best scholars, writers, and political leaders as well as its most energetic farmers continues to matter. The Great Terror in the east, the

Pacification meted out to the Ukrainians of Galicia in the western territories, the displacement of war, forcible repatriation and deportation to the gulags all amount to justifiably defining the (G1) generational cohort as members of a classic *victim diaspora*.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Empirical findings

Before launching into this study, I spent many reading room hours analysing the significant literature that was to precede my efforts. Much of this diasporic literature is the work of academics of Ukrainian heritage in the USA and Canada where Ukrainian Studies have been established for decades. Taking into consideration the existing breadth and depth of studies concerning displaced persons and Ukrainian WW2 former combatants, my fieldwork was directed at two *fragments* of the *third wave*, specifically first two generational cohorts, post-WW2 settlers (G1) and their progeny (G2).

The aim was to assess how these two generational groups fit with the major parameters of diasporic theory. Throughout the case study, reflection returned frequently to the major question. *Is the term 'diaspora' of limited use when referring to Scotland's Ukrainian community?* While there are parallels with analysis of other Ukrainian communities scattered across the globe, (e.g. Australia, Canada and the USA) the Ukrainian community in Scotland stands unique. In unison with other Ukrainian *enclaves* in the United Kingdom analysis of this imagined community had been long overdue.

Robin Cohen gives salience to 'the wisdom of hindsight' and the 'passage of time' (p.16), emphasising that a considerable amount of time must pass before judgement can be made on how a community qualifies as a diaspora. It comes as no surprise to conclude that the first generation (G1) of Scotland's Ukrainians, the EVWs and POWs, were without doubt a classic *diaspora*.

When looking to the second generation (G2), Rogers Brubaker's 'putative constituency' (2005, p.13), my findings concur with the changing nature of diasporic communities as they journey through time and succumb to the processes of assimilation. When researching the second generation (G2), I sought respondents from seven categories; (1) Scotland-born progeny of first-settler, endogamous marriages (2) Scotland-born progeny of exogamous marriages (by far the greater number) (3) Élite community actors (4) Published authors on the subject of Ukrainians (5) Noted academics and scholars of Ukrainian studies (6) Novoprybuli, (7) 3rd Generation. This number of respondents prompted the need to

travel beyond Scotland to interview those who had relocated to other parts of the UK and beyond. Travel to the USA and Ukraine allowed access to significant archives there.

During the long years of the Cold war Scotland's Ukrainian imagined community maintained many symbolic aspects of Ukrainian culture, religion, and anti-Soviet politics. The political left in Scotland were always ready to link Ukrainians to the 'right wing', in the same way as Soviet propaganda continually referred to them as 'bourgeois nationalists'. During the most proactive years of the first-generation (G1), use of the Ukrainian language was considered a prerequisite for maintaining ethnic identity and group boundaries. However, the high rate of interethnic marriage had a severe impact on the common use of the Ukrainian language. Loss of language fluency for the non-Ukrainian speaking second generation (G2) seems not to command the importance shown to it by their parents. Many of the (G2) respondents still feel themselves to be 'Ukrainian' and display a visible allegiance to aspects of *Ukrainstvo*/українство, Ukrainianness.

My study set out to explore the diasporic features of Scotland's imagined Ukrainian community. Superficially, the present cohorts consider themselves to be united, yet I conclude that the present community is compartmentalised by dint of class, gender, and education. As assimilation bites even deeper the 'old ways' and the 'old timers' are fast disappearing forever.

Fourth wave (*chetverta khvylya*/четверта хвиля) migrants in Scotland now live alongside third (G3) and fourth generation (G4) settlers. This heralds the social reality that there are now multiple layers of Ukrainianness within the imagined community. This leads to differing collective memories and competing understandings of Ukraine. For the settler generations it is the ancestral homeland, for fourth wave transnationals it is also home. The settler generations trace their origins to war, dispersion and exile-they were political refugees. The fourth wave transnationals are economic migrants.

9.2 Key Contributions

Scotland's Ukrainian *imagined community* is certainly a complex formation. The organisational structures which impacted on each generation have been explored and yet still leave room for further analysis. Raul Moreno-Almendral, in his

‘*Reconstructing the history of nationalist cognition and everyday nationhood from personal accounts*’, talks of the valid contributions of aspects of *national identity*, *experience* and *memory* in the study of nations and nationalism. He says that when individual agents...

[n]arrate their lives employing the nation as a meaningful category, they are not producing mere second-hand reflections of superior and prior realms, but are performing micro-historical acts of nation-making that are significant for understanding any case of nation-building. (2018 p.1)

In 2011 a THEMIS Scoping Study by Agnieszka Kubal *et al* claimed that ‘the Ukrainian community in Britain generally is actually in decline or stagnation.’ (Kubal, 2011 p.11). My research prefers that Kubal’s ‘decline’ should be translated as *segmented assimilation*. The ‘stagnation’ too has metamorphosed since the start of what Stephen Velychenko (2015) calls the third Russo-Ukrainian War.

I engaged with 65 respondents during this multi-sited research. I conducted additional data gathering from the five Annual Heritage Events 2015-2019 which were attended by Ukrainians from all around Scotland and some from England. These successful events assisted the discovery and sharing of unique cultural artefacts and historic images. In their own small way, they have provided Scotland’s Ukrainian community with a pictorial history which did not exist before conducting this research.

Over and above the formal interviews and conversations I met one or two casual acquaintances [of Ukrainian heritage] who had long ago disassociated themselves from any formal Ukrainian group. They declined to be formally interviewed but ‘would e-mail me some childhood memories.’ An example of a Ukrainian child’s memories of Glasgow ^{xiv} is to be found in the appendices.

9.3 Theoretical discussion

No one would deny that over the last few decades we have witnessed a proliferation of meanings of the term diaspora, yet it remains a proper noun popularly linked to interpretations of *dispersion*. I can now disagree with Stéphane Dufoix’s claim that the term is ‘theoretically lifeless’. Hundreds of existing

interpretations brought life to the study. Among them particularly those of Armstrong (1976), Sheffer (1986), Safran (1991), Clifford (1994), Cohen (1997), Anthias (1998), Tölölyan (2000), Satzewich (2002), Amersfoote (2004), Reis (2004), Brubaker (2005), Vertovec (2005), Cho (2007), Harutyunian (2012), and Alexander (2017). Numerous journals, all mentioned in the bibliography, were indispensable.

I have explored the historiography of this community's departure from their Ukrainian homelands, their arrival in Scotland, their settlement and boundary creation. The interdisciplinarity of my dissertation's empirical findings repeatedly visited related theoretical concepts of identity, boundary maintenance and nation-building from afar.

The study chose to concentrate on the first two generational cohorts, the post-WW2 settlers (G1) and their progeny (G2) to assess how the two generational groups related to each other. What has determined the uniqueness of Scotland's Ukrainian *imagined community*, compared with other Ukrainian diasporic groups scattered globally, is its exceptionally high instance of exogamous marriage (more than 90%). This fact alone led seamlessly to analysis of second generation's (G2) behaviours and activities as templated against the theoretical concepts of hybridity and segmented assimilation.

Despite the ravages of time and the near demise of the first generation there is an enduring legacy. That legacy is the continuity of the political struggle for Ukrainian sovereignty. Journalists, historians and academics are concerning themselves with all the issues that presently confront the nation-building efforts of Ukraine as it struggles with internal strife, corruption, fifth columnist treachery, annexation of its territories and a defensive war with Russia.

I suspect most of my G2 peers who live in Scotland have succumbed to the forces of assimilation and sadly many will probably have become totally acculturated and hardly utter a word about their heritage. Others, a handful compared to the total *imagined community*, remain concerned and are still committed to 'Russia watching' on a very proactive level.

Towards the end of the period of research the study began to be drawn ever closer to the phenomenology of diaspora. The application of *photo elicitation* in

the interviews steered me towards an affinity with the work of Marianne Hirsch. Both her book *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (1997) and her article, *The Generation of Postmemory* (2008) struck an important chord with me.

The first generation was undoubtedly a diaspora, and most certainly a *victim diaspora*. Looking to Lubomyr Luciuk's phrase 'the migration of memory', an embryonic thought is offered here concerning some of second generation individuals' proactive allegiance to the activities of the first settlers. If they have "learned to be Ukrainian" [as per Anastasia Baczynskyj's thesis], then what has contributed to their tenacity? My response lies within synergised concepts of memory and the triadic relationship between *collective memory*, *postmemory* and *martyrology*.

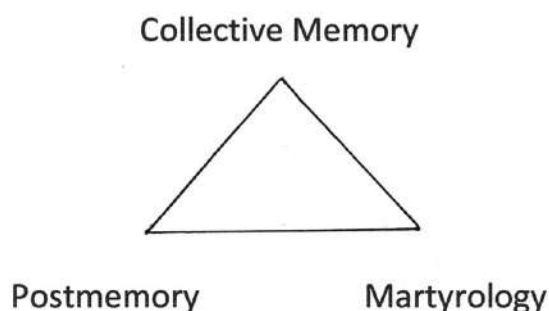


Figure 9-1

Triadic nexus – conceptual intersection of memory theories

Discourse surrounding the term “collective memory” began with Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), but it was his student Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) who was the first sociologist to formulate the term. The Ukrainians in Scotland are a numerically small social group identified herein as an Andersonian *imaginary* community, but it has been a cohesive group, having enjoyed the construction and maintenance of its public facing identity over 70 years. This identity endured as the result of nationalist proactivity and promotion of ‘their’ collective memory-narratives, symbols, myths and traditions. Halbwachs emphasised how commemorative events underpin memory reinforcement. Commemorative literature and narrative are two powerful transmitters of collective memory. Ukrainian *akademii* made substantial use of both.

The second element of the triadic nexus is Marianne Hirsch's *The Generation of Postmemory*. 'Post memory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right' (2008, p.100). Hirsch analyses the relationship between Holocaust survivors and their children, expanding on parent/child interaction and the transmission of trauma. Much of her theorizing about *postmemory* is applicable to the children (G2) of Ukrainian DPs and POWs.

Hirsch along with other authors researching victimhood and survivorship, Carl Freidman (1997) and Eva Hoffman (2004), turns to phenomena of 'obsessive talking'. Many G2 respondents related to their childhood experiences of a parent talking about the injustices of the war, some on an almost daily basis, revisiting the past and relating it to his or her family. [This behaviour is in direct contrast to the few respondents whose parents 'never mentioned the war']. Those children, which Hirsch calls the 'hinge generation' who listen to repeated narratives can become 'guardians'. Her exact quote is...

At stake is precisely the guardianship of a traumatic personal and generational past with which some of us have a living connection and that past's passing into history (2008, p.104)

She goes on to examine 'intergenerational acts of transfer, a discussion actively taking place in numerous important contexts outside of Holocaust studies.' Most members of the bridging cohort, with their knowledge of non-Soviet Ukrainian history, can equate to the scale of the Holocaust and comprehend how the memories of victimisation and murder can be carried forward so vividly in the minds of the children of survivors. For many (G2) respondents, the injustices of the Holodomor, Great Terror, Nazi invasion, the Holocaust, deportation to the Gulags and Soviet subjugation seem to have been transferred as poorly suppressed (G1) parental emotions.

Sandra So Hee Chi Kim (2007), in her *Redefining Diaspora through a Phenomenology of Postmemory*, concurs with Hirsch's argument that the 'children of exiled Holocaust survivors, although they themselves have not lived through the trauma of forced separation from home, remain deeply marked by their parents' experiences.' Kim's article supports the impact of *postmemory* and argues that...

Diaspora must be understood as a phenomenon that emerges when displaced subjects who experience a loss of “origin” (whether literal or symbolic) perpetuate identifications associated with those places of origin in subsequent generations through the mechanisms of postmemory (Kim, 2007, p.337).

Kim believes that ‘one’s past can be passed on to another. The focus is not only one’s memory of one’s own memories but also one’s memory of another’s memories’ (p.341). I can confirm that many of my G2 generation, the bridging cohort, also remain deeply marked by their parents’ experiences.

The third element of the triad is that of *martyrology*. Uilleam Blacker’s *Martyrdom, Spectacle, and Public Space: Ukraine’s National Martyrology from Shevchenko to the Maidan (2015) ...* traces the concept of martyrdom through Ukrainian cultural history from the 19th century to the present’. The first settlers brought with them their own specific martyrs, both religious and political. Examine the background of my historic photos included in this study and you will notice portraits of assassinated Ukrainians [Petliura, Konovalts, Shukhevych, Bandera etc] plucked from the pantheon of Ukrainian martyrology to remind visitors to the community centres of the not-so-distant past. Portraits of these ‘martyrs’ were/ are to be found in many present-day Ukrainian homes.

I therefore argue the potent synergy of these three elements of memory is what sustains the continuity of purpose, transmitted between the first settler (G1) generation and their (G2) progeny. When Yaroslav Bobak wrote his autobiography he entitled it ‘Ukraine is not dead yet’ (the title of the Ukrainian National Anthem). A baton has been handed over. The stereotypical first generation (G1) Ukrainian worldview of Bobak and his peers has been passed down, and maintained in Scotland, to a generation of children of mixed marriages.

9.4 Reflections on this study

In the absence of a team, my journeys as a sole researcher often equated to the ‘loneliness of the long-distance runner’ (Sillitoe, 1959). My singular efforts over a period of five years offer only an abbreviated selection of empirical material and analytical work. Interviewing so many respondents from three

generations took me to communities and individuals in all parts of Scotland and beyond. Extended research pointed me to archives in the UK, Ukraine, and the USA. I met with travelling authors and scholars in coincidental locations-airports generally or as agreed mutual attendances in various archives.

Many of the narratives, events and issues resulting from the hour-long dialogues cannot be included here due to protocols of word limit. The analysis focused on the diasporic behaviours of an imagined community- a community scattered across a wide geographical spectrum of a Scotland which is still a challenging environment for travelling writers. As well as visiting urban locations I very much enjoyed travelling to meet individual nonagenarians and their families who had, by choice or fate, settled in small towns or remote locations.

This thesis is written but plans are afoot to leave many resources by way of a legacy. Much of what is not included here can be used to create tangential lectures and presentations on deeper aspects of my study-much like the evening lectures which I presented for each of the heritage events. Beyond these pleasant activities there are harsh political realities.

9.5 Opportunities for further research

There are collectivities and communities which extend across geographical spaces and historical experiences. There are vast numbers of people who exist in one place and yet feel intimately related to another. (Cho, 2007)

There can be no doubt that Scotland's first generation (G1) Ukrainians, led by a nationalist elite, displayed a strong ethnic consciousness, particularly in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The great numbers photographed marching in George Square and elsewhere soon diminished in the mid 1950s as many headed for Canada and the USA early years after their first settlement.



Figure 9-2 Ukrainians marching to demonstration in George Square, Glasgow 1950
[on the occasion of the death of Roman Shukhevych, UPA Commander]

The sense of Ukrainian ethnic identity had been formed in the DP camps and POW camps of the European continent even before these individuals arrived in Scotland. During the long years of the Cold war Scotland's Ukrainian imagined community maintained many symbolic aspects of Ukrainian culture, religion, and anti-Soviet politics. The political left in Scotland were always ready to refer to Ukrainians as right wing much in the same way as Soviet propaganda continually referred to them as 'bourgeois nationalists'.

Most of the G2 respondents I interviewed have experienced a level of upward social mobility which seems to have given them the confidence to be 'visibly Ukrainian'. This is in direct contrast to the preferred low profile of some first settlers who were unable to defend themselves against host nation hostility and particularly against anti-Ukrainian authors and 'scholars' who excel in defamatory writing.

My research was always intended as a marker towards 'next steps'. One remaining challenge is how to draw subsequent generations into researching their inherited *diaspora*. As first and second generations succumb to the ravages of

time, the assimilation process, further inter-marriage, the almost complete loss of language, now threaten to erase any trace of first-settler aspirations.

When will acculturation be complete? This question opens further portals of social and political science, where it is hoped that Scottish-born third and fourth generation 'Ukrainians' will engage with Ukrainian studies.

Ukraine is an extremely fascinating subject with no proper analytical language to describe it, and the development of Ukrainian studies could bring important insights into the comparative and entangled research on violence, identification, hybridity, economic infrastructure, situational nationalism and situational bilingualism. (Portnov, 2015) p.731

Research is ongoing and does not stop here¹⁴⁰. My case study has accessed Sheffer's 'core' group (2003, p.100), leaving ample opportunity for others to investigate the 'marginal' and 'dormant' elements of this community. A considerable amount of gathered data has not seen the light of day within this dissertation. There are filing cabinets of data yet to be distributed to appreciative archival collections. Some dissertations go on to become a book and I hope that this will be one of the outcomes of this data collection. Much of the historic material is already scanned and will be contributed to identified archival institutions in Ukraine (Kyiv & L'viv), London (AUGB), Glasgow University, Scottish Screen Archive etc. Further work now remains to scan and share more of the original documents and photographs which have been unearthed thanks to this whole exercise.

¹⁴⁰ On a personal note I intend to follow up the emigration pathway of my own grandfather, whom I never met, who 'emigrated' temporarily to Alaska following the defeat of Petliura's army. He returned to Ukraine with hard-earned money for the renewal of his farmstead. The post-WW2 arrival of the Soviets in Western Ukraine and their creation of the collective farm system left my grandparents robbed of the fruits of migratory labour and impoverished them for the rest of their lives.



Пошлю Вам знімку
Погляньте що робили червоні
закриючи нами з концетри
в 41 році. У Львові в тюрмі
то все було по цій Україні
Україні

Посилаєм Вам знімка.
Подивитись що робили
червоні, як відступали з
Галичини в 41 році. У
Львові в тюрмі. То все було
по цій Україні».

Figure 9-3

Ukrainian, Jewish and Polish victims of the NKVD at the withdrawal of the Red Army from L'viv, June 1941

Inscription on the rear -We are sending you a photo. Look what the Reds did on retreating from Galicia in 1941. A prison in 'Lviv. This happened throughout Ukraine.

My findings confirm that Scotland's Ukrainians considered themselves to be, not only a diaspora, but a *victim diaspora*. I understand why John Paul Himka calls for... 'the construction of a more complex, more reflective, more difficult collective memory (2005, p.17). Looking forward to his 'blank spots in the collective memory of the Ukrainian diaspora' prompts consideration of future opportunities for research.

Further research

Despite the volume of information gathered within, this thesis is far from complete. Numerous avenues of further research are open to interested students. Apart from a plethora of journalists, the community has been largely ignored by historians and social scientists. Further in-depth studies could include specific foci on the history, politics, or cultural activities of this group. These would benefit from the efforts of detached academics rather than that of an insider.

The community's post-WW2 arrival did not attract extensive documentation at the time, but there exists a wealth of primary source material yet to be unearthed from the national archives and many other sources highlighted in this study. These could include:

- Comparing and contrasting the Ukrainian experience with another group of homeless foreigners in Scotland (Latvians, Lithuanians, Jews or Poles) would contribute meaningfully to further studies of the diasporic context.
- A systematic historiographical account of the post-WW2 period. Closer scrutiny of the first decade of the group's arrival offers a fascinating micro-study, especially if accompanied by extracts from past issues of the *Ukrainska Dumka* community newspaper.
- More research is needed in comparing *fragments* of migratory waves. Inter-wave comparisons between the long-established community and the newly arrived Ukrainians beg further analysis.
- This study charts the assimilation process linked to early settlement, but there is much yet to be gained from a future focus on the generational units further 'down the line', particularly the third and fourth cohorts.
- It is hoped that the historiography of Ukrainian population movement described herein will link not only to formal Ukrainian Studies but to the wider dialogue surrounding migration studies in general.

Where studies of Scotland's *imagined* Ukrainian community may once have lacked a catalogue of available primary and secondary sources, this thesis provides that index, and now paves the way for further, more extensive research.

References

- ALBA, R. 2017. Continuities in assimilation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40, 1430-1437.
- ALEXANDER, C. 2017. Beyond the “The ‘diaspora’ diaspora”: a response to Rogers Brubaker. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40, 1544-1555.
- AMERSFOORT, H. V. 2004. Gabriel Sheffer and the Diaspora Experience *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 13, 359-373.
- ANDERSON, B. 2006. *Imagined Communities* -, London & New York, Verso.
- ANTHIAS, F. 1998. Evaluating Diaspora Beyond Ethnicity. *Sociology*, 32, 557-580.
- APPLEBAUM, A. 2017. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*, UK, Allen Lane.
- ARMSTRONG, J. 1976. Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas. *The American Political Science Review*, 70, 393-408.
- ARMSTRONG, J. 1990. *Ukrainian Nationalism* Englewood, Colorado, USA, Ukrainian Academic Press.
- BACZYNSKYJ, A. 2009. *Learning how to be Ukrainian: Ukrainian Schools in Toronto and the Formation of Identity 1947-2009*. M.A., Ontario Institute of Studies in Education University of Toronto.
- BAKER, S. E. 2012. How Many Qualitative Interviews is Enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research. *National Centre for Research Methods*.
- BANKS, M. Z., D. 2015. Photo-elicitation with archival images. In: SEAMAN, J. (ed.) *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage.
- BANTON, M. 2015. John Rex's main mistake *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 1369-1381.
- BARAN, A. 1992. The Ukrainian Catholic Church. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada, University of Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- BASCH, G. S. 1992. Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration.
- BAUMANN, Z. 1986. Memories of Class. *Acta Sociologica*, 29, 359-371.
- BEN-RAFAEL, E. 2013. Diaspora. *Current Sociology Review*, 61, 842-861.
- BERG, METTE LOUISE 2009. Introduction: Reimagining Migrant Generations. *Diaspora: A journal of Transnational Studies*, 18, 1-23.
- BERGER, J. 1992. *Keeping A Rendezvous*, New York, Vintage International.
- BERGER, R. 2015. Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research* 15, 291-234.
- BETHELL, N. 1976. *The Last Secret: Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-7*, London, Futura Publications.
- BILLIG, M. 1995. *Banal nationalism*.
- BLAZEJOWSKYJ, D. 1988. Schematism of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In: CHURCH, T. U. C. (ed.). Rome 1988: Vatican.
- BOBAK, Y. 1989 Ukraine is not Dead Yet. In: EDENSOR, T. (ed.) *Moving Worlds: Personal Recollections of Twenty One Immigrants to Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Polygon.
- BOCIURKIW, B. R. 1992. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in West Germany, 1945-50. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada, Edmonton, University of Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

- BOHACHEVSKY-CHOMIAK, M. 1992. The Women's Movement in the DP Camps. In: ISAYIW, B. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War 2*. Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.
- BOHATIUK, N., G. 1992. The Economic Aspects of Camp Life. *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- BOSHYK, K. A. 1988. *Research Report No.29*. University of Alberta
- BOSHYK, Y. 1992. Repatriation: Ukrainian DPs and Political Refugees in Germany and Austria, 19. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada, Edmonton, University of Alberta
- BOUCHARD, G. 2013. POUR UNE NOUVELLE SOCIOLOGIE DES MYTHES SOCIAUX: UN REPERAGE PRÉLIMINAIRE *Revue européenne des sciences sociales*, , 51, 95-120.
- BOWEN, G. A. 2009. Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9.
- BRANNEN, J. 2004. Mixed Methods Research. *ESRC National Centre for Research Methods*, 005.
- BRETTELL, C. 2015. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, New York & London, Routledge
- BRETTELL, C. A. N., FAITH 2009. LIVED HYBRIDITY: SECOND-GENERATION IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION THROUGH COLLEGE FESTIVAL. *Identities*, , 16, 678-699.
- BRUBAKER, R. 2005. The 'Diaspora' Diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 1-19.
- BRUBAKER, R. 2017. Revisiting "The 'diaspora' diaspora". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40, 1556-1561.
- BUDNYJ, V. A. S., OREST. 1979a. *Ukrainian National Army First Ukrainian Division in British Internment in Italy Rimini 1945-1947 Symposium 1*, New York, Veterans of the First Division of the Ukraonian national Army First Ukrainian Division
- BUDNYJ, W. 1979b. *Persha Ukrainska Dyviziya Ukrainskoi Natsional'noii Armii v Brytanskomy Poloni v Italii: Rimini 1945-47*, New York, Computoprint Corporation.
- BULBRING, M. 1954. Post-War Refugees in Great Britain. *Population studies*, 8, 99-112.
- CARSWELL, A. 2012. Chapter 9-Bonnie Fechtters: The Polish Army and the Defence of Scotland 1940-42. *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500-2010*. Edinburgh.
- CESARANI, D. 2000. The Waffen-SS Comes to Britain II: The Ukrainians. *Justice Delayed: How Britain became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals*. 2nd ed. London: Pheonix Press
- CHAPLIN, E. 2011. The Photo Diary as an Autoethnographic Method" In: PAUWELS, E. M. L. (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- CHO, L. 2007. The Turn to Diaspora. *The Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17.
- CIPKO 1991. In Search of a New Home:Ukrainian Emigration Patterns between the Two Wars. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 16, 28.
- CIPKO, S. L., OLEH 1986. Survey of Second-Generation Ukrainians in Britain Cipko, Serge;Leszczyszyn, Oleh *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*; Winter 1986; 11, 2;

- ProQuest pg. 41. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*; Winter 1986; 11, 2; ProQuest pg. 41, 11, 6.
- CIUCIURA, T. B. 1992. Common Organisational Efforts, 1945-52: Structure and People. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- CLIFFORD, J. 1994. Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9, 302-338.
- COAKLEY, J. 2017. 'Primordialism' in nationalism studies: theory or ideology? *Nations and Nationalism* 1.
- COHEN, P. 1999. Rethinking the Diasporama *Patterns of Prejudice*, 33, 3-22.
- COHEN, R. 1995. Rethinking 'Babylon': Iconoclastic conceptions of the diasporic experience. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 21, 5-18.
- COHEN, R. 2008. Global Diasporas: An Introduction. *Global Diasporas* v 5. 2nd ed. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis,.
- COLLIER, J. 1957. Photography in anthropology: a report on two experiments. *American Anthropologist*, 59, 843-859.
- COLLINS, K. 2016. *The Jewish Experience in Scotland: From Immigration to Integration*, Israel, Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.
- CRANG, M. 2003. Qualitative methods: touchy, feely, look-see? *Progress in Human Geography*, 27, 494-504.
- DAVIES, N. 2006. *Europe at War 1939-1945: No Simple Victory*, London, Pan Macmillan.
- DELANTY, G. E. A. 2008. Debate on John Hutchinson's Nations as Zones of Conflict. *Nations and Nationalism* 14 (1), 2008, 1-28., 14, 1-29.
- DELLIOS, A. 2018. Remembering Mum and Dad: Family History Making by Children of Eastern European Refugees. *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 36, 105-124.
- DENSCOMBE, M. 2014. *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects*, Open University Press.
- DENZIN, N. 2012. Triangulation. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 6(2) 80-88, 6, 80-88.
- DEVINE, T. 2012. The New Scots. *The Scottish Nation - A Modern History*. Edinburgh.
- DIUK, A., M. 1985. *Assimilation or Segregation? The Ukrainian Ethnic Community in Coventry*. University of Oxford.
- DORRIL, S. 2000. *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service*, New York, Touchstone.
- DRISKO, J. 1997. Strengthening Qualitative Studies and Reports : Standards to Promote Academic Integrity. *Source: Journal of Social Work Education*, 33, 185-197.
- DUDA, S. 1988. *The Ukrainian Community in Leicester: A People in Exile*.
- DUFOIX, S. 2008a. Diasporas. *Diasporas*. California Scholarship Online.
- DUFOIX, S. 2008b. What is a Diaspora? *Diaspora*. California; University Press: California Scholarship Online: March 2012.
- DYCZOK, M. 2000. *The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian refugees*, New York, St. Martin's Press in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford.
- ELLIOT, M. 1992. The Soviet Repatriation Campaign. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada, Edmonton, University of Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- ERDAL, M. B. L., ALESANDRA 2016. Polish migration within Europe: mobility, transnationalism and integration. *Social identities*, 22.

- EYERMAN, R. A. T., BRYAN S. 1998. Outline of a Theory of Generations. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 1, 91-106.
- FALCONER, D. S. L., M 1952. The Environment in relation to selection for size in mice. *Journal of Genetics*, 51, 67-80.
- FEDCHYNIAK, I. D., YAROSLAV 1954. SUM u V. Brytanii. In: I. FEDCHYNIAK, Y. D. (ed.) *Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi na Chuszyini: The Ukrainian Youth Organisation Abroad*. 1st ed. London: Mercurius Press, .
- FINNIN, R. 2015. Ukrainian Studies in Europe: New Possibilities. *Journal of Ukrainian Politics and Society*, 1, 18-22.
- FISHMAN, J. A. 1975. *Language and Nationalism- Two Integrative Essays*, Massachusetts, Newbury House.
- FITZPATRICK, S. 2015. 'Determined to get on': Some Displaced Persons on the Way to a Future . *History Australia*, 12, 102-123.
- FONER, N. 1997. The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans. *The International Migration Review*,, 31, 961-974.
- FONER, N. 2009. Mobility Trajectories and Family Dynamics: History and Generation in the New York Immigrant Experience. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, , 18, 24-43.
- FOURON, G. G. S., NINA 2001. *Georges Woke Up Laughing: Long Distance Nationalism & the Search for Home*, Durham/London, Duke University Press.
- GANS, H., J. 1992. Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, a Bumpy-Line Approach. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27501012>, 12, 42-52.
- GASH, S. 2000. *Effective Literature searching for research*, Aldershot, Gower Publishing.
- GEERTZ, C. 1973. Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays*. ALC Humanities e-book.
- GENTILE, E. 2000. The Sacralisation of Politics: Definitions, Interpretations and Reflections on the Question of Secular Religion and Totalitarianism. *Totalitarian Movements and Political religions*.
- GIDDENS, A. 1984/2013. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, University of California Press.
- GILROY, P. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- GOCKYJ, W. 1990. *Na Druhomu Etapi: On the Second Etape: Memoirs*, London, Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.
- GOCKYJ, W. 1992. *Z Premeyshlia do Rimini-From Premyshl to Rimini Memoirs Tome 2*, London, Blackburn's of Bolton Ltd.
- GOFFMAN, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York, Penguin Group.
- GOODHART, D. 2014. *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-War Immigration*, London, Atlantic Books.
- GORODECKIS, M. 1968. Aspects of Upbringing Influencing Assimilation among the Children of European Immigrants in Great Britain.
- HAGOEL, L. K.-F., D. 2016. *From the Margins to New Ground: An Autoethnography of Passage between Disciplines*, Rotterdam, Sense Publishers.
- HANSARD 1989. War Crimes Inquiry Report. London: House of Lords Debate.

- HANSON 1995. Sympathy, Antipathy, Hostility: British Attitudes to Non-Repatriable Poles and Ukrainians after the Second World War and to the Hungarian Refugees of 1956.
- HARALAMBOS, M. H., MARTIN, CHAPMAN, STEVE AND MOORE, STEPHEN 2013. *Sociology Themes and Perspectives*, London, Harper Collins.
- HARPER, D. 2002. Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17, 13-26.
- HARRESS, C. 2015. How The Ukrainian Diaspora In The US Is Funding The War Effort In East Ukraine. In: HARRESS, C. (ed.) *Online Business News*.
- HARRISON, A. K. 2018. *Ethnography*, Oxford, OUP.
- HARTZ, L. E. A. 1964. *The Founding of New Societies : Studies in the history of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia* New York, Harcourt, Brace and World
- HARUTYUNYAN, A. 2012. Challenging the Theory of Diaspora from the Field. *Working Papers des Sonder- forschungsbereiches 640 1/2012*,.
- HEIKE, M. W.-D. 1988. *The Ukrainian Division "Galicia" 1943-45*, Canada, Shevchenko Scientific Society.
- HEYWOOD, A. 2012. *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- HILLS, D. 1989. You are the Grey Mass. *The Spectator*.
- HIMKA, J. P. 2005. War Criminality: A Blank Spot in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora. *Spaces of Identity*, 5.
- HIRSCH, M. 2008. The Generation of Postmemory. *Poetics Today*, 29.
- HRINCHENKO, H. 2015. *Radianski prymusovi robitnytsi v nimetskykh doslidzhenniakh natsional-sotsializmu* Soviet Forced Labourer Women in German Researches of National-Socialism. Available: <http://uamoderna.md/grinchenko-soviet-female-ostarbeiters> [Accessed 24th Oct 2016].
- HROCH, M. 1993. From National Movement to Fully-formed Nation. *New Left Review* 17.
- HRYCYSZYN, M. 2002. *God Save me from my Friends And from my Enemies I'll Save Myself Alone*, Cambridge, England, Vanguard Press.
- HULME, K. 1959. *The Wild Place*, Pan books.
- HUSAR STRUK, D. 1992. Organisational Aspects of DP Literary Activity. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- HUTNYK, J. 2005. Hybridity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 79-102.
- ISAYIW, W., W. BOSHYK, J. AND SENKUS R. 1992. *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press.
- JACOBS, J. A. F., S. 2009. Interdisciplinarity: A Critical Assessment. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 2009. 35:43-65, 35, 43-65.
- JANICE., M. M. M. 2015. Situating and Constructing Diversity in Semi-Structured Interviews. *Global Qualitative Nursing Research* 1, 12.
- JENKALA, M. 1985. Chapter 13: The Educational Needs of Children of Ukrainian Origin. In: JOSEPH, K. (ed.) *The Swann Report (1985) Education for All: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- JENKINS, R. 2014. *Social Identity: Fourth Edition*, London and New York, Routledge.
- KAPLAN, H. 2006. *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901*, Glasgow, Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

- KAY, D. & MILES, R. 1992. *Refugees or migrant workers? : European volunteer workers in Britain 1946-1951*, London, Routledge.
- KAY, D. R. M. 1992. *Refugees or Migrant Workers? European Voluntary Workers in Britain 1946-1951*, London and New York, Routledge.
- KAY, R. O. J. 2011. Emotional Engagements with the Field: A View from Area Studies. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63, 1275-1293.
- KELEBAY, Y. 1980. Three Fragments of the Ukrainian Community in Montreal 1899-1970: A Hartzian Approach. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 12.
- KENNEDY, J., E. 2014. Preparation and Display of Historical Photographs and Documents. *Preserving History: How to Digitally Archive and Share Historical Photographs, Documents, and Audio Recordings*. USA: archivehistory.jeksite.org.
- KERNBERG, T. 1990. *The Polish Community in Scotland*. PhD, Glasgow University.
- KHOROSHILOVA, Y. 2001. *British and American relations with Independent Ukraine 1917-21 and 1991-1994*. PhD, University of North London.
- KHROMEYCHUK, O. 2013. The Undetermined Ukrainians-Post-War Narratives of the Waffen SS 'Galicia' Division. *Nationalisms Across the Globe*, 11, 197.
- KIM, S. S. H. C. 2007. Redefining Diaspora through a Phenomenology of Postmemory. *Diaspora: A journal of Transnational Studies*, 16, 337-352.
- KINCHELOE, J. 2001. Describing the Bricolage: Conceptualizing a New Rigor in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry, Volume 7 Number 6, 2001* 679-692, 7, 679-692.
- KONDRASHOV, O. 2007. *An Exploratory Study of Fourth Wave Ukrainian Immigration in Winnipeg*. M.A.
- KOSHIV, J. V. 1997. *British Foreign Office Files on Ukraine and Ukrainians*, University of Alberta.
- KOZACHENKO, I. 2013. *Eastern Slavic Disaporas in the UK: The Making of Communities*. PhD, University of Aberdeen.
- KOZIK, J. (ed.) 1986. *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia 1815-1849*, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS).
- KRAWCZYNSKI, A. 2015. *I Looked Back: A Ukrainian Childhood & WW II*, Inverness, Mike & Val Falcon.
- KRAWEC, R. 2016. *Association of Ukrainian Soldiers in the Polish Army* [Online]. London: AUGB. [Accessed 26 Oct 2016].
- KREININ, L. 2018. *Estonians in Scotland. From isolation to transnational ways of living?*. PhD, Glasgow University.
- KROCHMALUK, R. 1978. *The Glow in the East-Memoirs and documents of a member of the Military Board 'Galicia' (1943-1945)*, Toronto & New York, Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the 1st Ukrainian Division UNA.
- KUBAL, A. A. B., OLIVER 2011. The Evolution of Ukrainian Migration to the UK (THEMIS Scoping Study). In: IOM (ed.) *Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems*. University of Oxford: International Migration Institute.
- KUHN, A. 2007. Photography and cultural memory: a methodological exploration. *Visual Studies*, 22, 283-292.
- KURLAK, F. 2001 RE: Re: "SS in Britain", ITV, Sunday 7th January 10.55 p.m.
- KURLAK, F. 2015. Spreadsheet of Early AUGB Branches in British post WW2 Camps and Hostels 1947-1949. In: AUGB, C. A. H. M. O. (ed.) *Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet*. London: AUGB.
- KUZIO, T. 2002. History, Memory and Nation Building in the Post Soviet Colonial Space. *Nationalities Papers*, 30.
- KUZIO, T. 2015. John A. Armstrong's contribution to the study of nationalism and Ukrainian nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism* 21, 171-176.

- LACOSTE, Y. 1989. Géopolitique des diasporas *Hérodote*, n° 53, 2ème trimestre 1989 [compte-rendu], 53, 1125.
- LALANDE, JULIA. 2006. *Building a Home Abroad- A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War*. Hamburg University.
- LAPAN, T. 2007. Usni Istorii Halychan-Ostarbeiteriv: Spetsyfika Prymusovoho Dosvidu; Oral History of Galician Ostarbeiters. *East /West .Edition 11-12 Special Edition Схід / Захід. Випуск 11-12. Спеціальне видання, 11-12* Special Edition, 26.
- LAPENTA, F. 2011. Some Theoretical and Methodological Views on Photo-Elicitation. In: PAUWELS, E. M. L. (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- LAWTON, L. 1935. *The Ukrainian Question*, The Serjeants Press, London, House of Commons.
- LEHIT, A. 1958. *Za Drotamy: Tabir Vovenopolonnykh Ukraintsiv Austria-Italia-Anhlia 1945-1948*, Ukrainian News N.Ulm, Germany.
- LICHTERMAN, P. 2017. Interpretive reflexivity in ethnography. *Ethnography*, 18, 35-45.
- LOGUSZ, M. 1997. *Galicia Division: The Waffen-SS 14th Grenadier Division 1943-1945*, Atglen PA, USA, Schiffer Military History.
- LUCIUK, L. 1983a. *Heroes of Their Day*, 1983, Multicultural History Society Ontario Heritage Foundation.
- LUCIUK, L. 1983b. *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, Ontario, The Multicultural History Society Ontario Heritage Foundation.
- LUCIUK, L. 2000. *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- LUCIUK, L. K., B. 1987. *Anglo-American Perspectives on the Ukrainian Question 1938-1951*, Ontario, The Limestone Press
- LUTZ, C. A. C. J. L. 1993. Reading national geographic *National Geographic* 59.
- LYNCH, M. 2000. Against Reflexivity as an Academic Virtue and Source of Privileged Knowledge. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 17, 26-54.
- MAC, R., D. 2009. *The Winding Path to Freedom-A Memoir of Life in the Ukrainian Underground*.
- MACIW, C. M., MYRON 1988. Plast-Ukrainian Youth Association. In: CIUS (ed.) *Research Report*. Edmonton: University of Alberta.
- MACLEOD, D. 2005. *Morningside Mataharis; How M16 deceived Scotland's Great and Good*, Edinburgh, Birlinn.
- MAGOCSI, P. R. 2002. *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont*, University of Toronto Press
- MAGOCSI, P. R. 2010. *A History of Ukraine: The Land and its Peoples*, Toronto Buffalo London, University of Toronto Press.
- MAGOCSI, P. R. A. P.-S., YOHANAN 2016. *Jews and Ukrainians - a Millenium of Co-existence*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press
- MAK, O. 1954. *Z Chasiv Yezhovshchyny (in the time of Yezhov)*, Munich, Ukrainian Publishers.
- MALESEVIC, S. 2018. Nationalism and the longue durée. *Nations and Nationalism* 24 (2), 2018, 292-299. DOI: 10.1111/nana.12410, 24, 292-299.
- MALHOTRA, S. 2007. Hybridity, Co-Optation, Subversion Theorizing Diaspora in the Context of Postmodernism and Globalization. *Diaspora Studies*, 1, 1-15.
- MAO, L. 2016. Embracing the Spiral: Researcher Reflexivity in Diverse Critical methodologies. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*.

- MARGOLIS, E. R., JEREMEY 2011. 18 Methodological Approaches to Disclosing Historic Photographs". In: PAUWELS, E. M. L. (ed.) *he SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- MARKUS, D. 1992a. Education in the DP Camps. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada, Edmonton, University of Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- MARKUS, V. 1992b. Political Parties in the DP Camps. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- MARTINIELLO, M. 2017. Visual sociology approaches in migration, ethnic and racial studies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40, 1184-1190.
- MARTOVYCH, O. 1950. *Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times*, Buchdrukerie Universal, Munich, Scottish League for European Freedom.
- MASLEN, H. G. 2011. *The British Government and the European Voluntary Worker Programmes*
- The Post-War Refugee Crisis, Contract Labour and Political Asylum, 1945-1965*. PhD, Edinburgh.
- MCDOWELL 2005. *Hard Labour: The Forgotten Voices of Latvian migrant Volunteer Workers*, London, University College London.
- MCDOWELL, L. 2003. Workers, migrants, aliens or citizens? State constructions and discourses of identity among post-war European labour migrants in Britain. *Political Geography*, 22, 863-886.
- MCLELLAN, E. 2003. Beyond the Qualitative Interview: Data Preparation and Transcription. *Field Methods*, 15, 63-84.
- MCRAE, K. D. 1978. Louis Hartz's Concept of the Fragment Society and its Applications to Canada. *Canadian Studies*, 5, 13.
- MELNYK, M., JAMES 2016. *Volume 1 On the Eastern Front April 1943 to July 1944*, United Kingdom, Fonthill.
- MELNYK, M. J. 2002. *To Battle-The Formation and History of the 14th Galician Waffen-SS Division*, Solihull, Helion and Company Limited.
- MICKECZ, R. 2012. Interviewing Elites: Addressing Methodological Issues. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 18, 482-493.
- MIRCHUK, P. 1968. *Narys Istorii OUN 1920-1939*, Munich -London- New York, Cicero Ukrainian Publishers.
- MORAWSKA, E. 2008. Research on Immigration/Ethnicity in Europe and the United States: A Comparison. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 49, 465-482.
- MORDEN, M. 2016. Anatomy of the national myth: archetypes and narrative in the study of nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism*, n/a-n/a.
- MORENO-ALMENDRAL, R. 2018. Reconstructing the history of nationalist cognition and everyday nationhood from personal accounts. *Nations and Nationalism*, 1, 1-21.
- MOSER, M. 2013. *Language Policy and the Discourse on Languages in Ukraine under President Yanukovich (25 February 2010-28 October 2012)*, Stuttgart, ibidem-Verlag.
- MOTYL, A. J. 1985. Ukrainian Nationalist Political Violence in Inter-War Poland 1921-1939. *East European Quarterly*, 19, 49.
- MUTTARAK, R. 2015. Marital assimilation: Interethnic marriage in Britain. *Australian Population Association 12 th Biennial Conference*. Canberra, Australia.

- NEBESNIAK, Y. 1997. *Iz Chervonoyi Kalyny na Chervonu Rozhu -A Century of Ukrainian Settlement in Manchester 1897-1997*, Rome- Lviv- Manchester, Ukrainian Salesian Fathers of the Eastern Rite.
- OLESKIW, V. 2016. Основуючі Збори СУБ-Спогади Учасника-Inaugural AGM-Memories of a Participant. *Українська Думка-Ukrainian Thought*, 6th Feb 2026, p.8.
- OZKIRIMLI, U. 2017. *Theories of Nationalism: A critical Introduction*, London, Macmillan Palgrave.
- PANAS, R., SHL*I*AKHETKO, V. & PAVL*I*UK, V. 2002. *SUM u Velyki*i Brytanii : ponad pivstolitt*i*a pra*t*si z molodd*i*u*, London, Spilka Ukraïns*koï Molopdi u Velyki*i Brytanii.
- PASTUSHENKO, T. 2009. Ostarbeiters from the Kyiv district: Recruitment, Forced Labour and Repatriation 1942-1953 Ostarbeiteryz Kyivshchyny: Verbuvannya, prymusova pratsya, repatriatsiya 1942-1953. *Institute of History of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences*.
- PAWLICZKO, A. L. E. 1994a. *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Diaspora*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press
- PAWLICZKO, A. L. E. 1994b. Ukrainian Immigration: A Study in Ethnic Survival. *The Center for Migration Studies Special Issues*, Volume 11 88-110.
- PERKS, R., B. 1984. A Feeling of Not Belonging: Interviewing European Immigrants in Bradford. *Oral History*, 12, 64-67.
- PETRYSHYN, R. 1980. *Britain's Ukrainian Community: A study of the Political Dimension in Ethnic Community Development*. PhD, University of Bristol.
- PLOKHY, S. 2005. *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*, Toronto Buffalo London, University of Toronto Press.
- PLOKHY, S. 2015. *The gates of Europe : a history of Ukraine*, New York, Basic Books.
- POLONSKA-VASYLENKO, N. 1995. *History of Ukraine*.
- PORTES, A. 1997. Immigration Theory for a New Century. *International Migration Review*, 31, 799-825.
- PORTES, A. 2011. Dreams Fulfilled, dreams Shattered: Determinants of Segmented Assimilation in Second Generation Immigrants. *Social Forces*, 89, 733-762.
- PORTES, A. R., RUBEN 2005. The Second Generation in Early Adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 983-999.
- PORTNOV, A. 2015. Post-Maidan Europe and the New Ukrainian Studies. *Slavic Review*, 74, 723-731.
- PROSSER, J. 2008a. Introducing Visual Methods. In: LOXLEY, A. (ed.) *National Centre for Research Methods NCRM Review Papers NCRM/010*. University of Dublin, Eire
- : Trinity College,.
- PROSSER, J. L., A 2008b. Introducing Visual Methods. *ESRC National centre for Research Methods*, NCRM Review Papers, 65.
- R., K. A. D. 2014. Exploring the Role of Interwave Dynamics in Stagnating Migration Flows: Ukrainian Migration to the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 12, 274-292.
- RALDUGINA, T. 2009. *Stepan Bandera: Documentary Evidence*, Kyiv, Ukraine, Pheonix.
- REID, A. 1997. *Borderland*, London, Weidenfield & Nicholson.
- REIMANN, G. 2005. Ethnographies of Practice-Practising Ethnography. *Journal of Social Work Practice* 19, 87-101.

- REIS, M. 2004. Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on “Classical” and “Contemporary” Diaspora. *International Migration Review*, 42, 29.
- ROSSOLINSKI-LIEBE, G. 2014. *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist; Fascism, Genocide and Cult*, Stuttgart, Ibidem-verlag.
- RUDLING, P. A. 2012. ‘They Defended Ukraine’: The 14. Waffen-Grenadier-Division der SS (Galizische Nr. 1) Revisited. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 25, 329-368.
- SAFRAN, W. 1991. Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1, 83-99.
- SALMOND, A. 2014. Alastair Campbell meets Alex Salmond. *GQ Gentlemen’s Quarterly*. Conde Nast International.
- SALZMAN, P. C. 2002. On Reflexivity. *American Anthropologist*, 104.
- SATZEWICH, V. 2002. *The Ukrainian Diaspora*, London and New York, Routledge.
- SAUNDERS, D. 1988. Britain and the Ukrainian Question. *The English Historical Review*, 103.
- SCOTLAND, N. R. F. 2013. Archive Preservation Guidelines for Private Owners.
- SEBESTYEN 2014. Rape and Pillage. *1946 The Making of the Modern World*. London: Macmillan.
- SHAKESPEARE, W. 1623. As you like it. *First Folio*.
- SHANDRUK, P. 1959. The Surrender. In: SMAL-STOCKI, R. (ed.) *Arms of Valor*. Robert Speller & Sons, New York.
- SHEFFER, G. 1986. *A New Field of Study: Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, London, Croom Helm.
- SHEFFER, G. 2003. *Diaspora Politics: at home abroad*, Cambridge University Press
- SHERRY, S. E. A. 2013. Using Archives and Libraries in the Former Soviet Union. *British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies*, 71.
- SHEVEL, O. 2011. The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society; A Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post Soviet Ukraine. *Slavic Review*, 70, 137-164.
- SHKANDRIJ, M. 2015. *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology, and Literature, 1929-1956*, New Haven, London, Yale University Press.
- SICHER, E. 2000. The Future of the Past: Countermemory and Postmemory in Contemporaray American Post-Holocaust Narratives. *History and memory*, 12, 56-91.
- SIMONS, H. 2012. Evolution and Concept of Case Study Research. *Case Study Research*. Sage Publications.
- SMITH, A. D. 2009. *Ethnosybolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*, Routledge.
- SMITH, G. J., P. 1999. Narrating the nation: the ‘imagined community’ of Ukrainians in Bradford. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25, 367-387.
- SMITH, R. C. 2003. Diasporic Memberships in Historical perspective: Comparative Insights from the Mexican, Italian and Polish Cases. *International Migration review*, 37, 724-759.
- SNYDER, T. 2010. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, London, The Bodley Head.
- SONG, M. 2017. Generational change and how we conceptualize and measure multiracial people and “mixture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40.
- SPROULL, N. 2002. *A Handbook of Research Methods: A Guide for Practitioners and Students in the Social Sciences*, The Scarecrow Press
- SRIVASTAVA, P. 2006. Reconciling Multiple Researcher Positionalities and Languages in International Research. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, Volume 1, Number 3, 2006, 1.

- STACHURA, P. D. 2011. God, Honour and Fatherland: The Poles in Scotland, 1940-1950, and the Legacy of the Second Republic. In: DEVINE, T. M. (ed.) *Scotland and Poland: Historical Encounters, 1500-2010*. Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd.
- STADULIS, E. 1952. The Resettlement of Displaced Persons in the United Kingdom. *Population Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Mar., 1952), pp. 207-237.
- STEWART, J. F. 1948. Ukraine and Mr. Manuilsky. *The Scotsman*, 8th October 1948, p.4.
- STRYKER, S. 2008. From Mead to a Structural Symbolic Interactionism and Beyond. *Annual Review of Sociology* 34, 35-41.
- SYROTA, R. 2005. Ukrainian Studies in Inter-War Britain: Good Intentions, Major Obstacles. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 27, 149-180.
- TANNAHILL, J. A. 1958a. *European volunteer workers in Britain*, Manchester U.P.
- TANNAHILL, J. A. 1958b. *European Volunteer Workers in Britain*, The University Press.
- TENNYSON, A. L. 1833. Ulysses.
- TERLEZKI, S. 2005. *From War to Westminster*, Barnsley, Leo Cooper Ltd.
- THOMAS, G. 2013. *How to do your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Sciences*, California, Sage Publications.
- TOLOLYAN, K. 1991. The Nation-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1, 3-7.
- TOLOLYAN, K. 1994. Diasporama. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 3.
- TOLOLYAN, K. 2012. Paper 55 Diaspora Studies: Past, Present and Future. Oxford: International Migration Institute.
- TURKO, T. 1995. *A Happy Person*, London, Ukrainian Publishers.
- TYS-KROKHMALIUK, Y. 1972. *UPA Warfare in Ukraine*, Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.
- VAN ALPHEN, E. 2006. Second Generation Testimony, transmission of trauma and postmemory. *Poetics Today*, 27.
- VANNER, C. 2015. Positionality at the Center: Constructing an Epistemological and Methodological Approach for a Western Feminist Doctoral Candidate Conducting Research in the Postcolonial. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1.
- VELYCHENKO, S. 1997. Empire Loyalism and Minority Nationalism in Great Britain and Imperial Russia 1707 to 1914: Institutions, Law and Nationality in Scotland and Ukraine. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39, 413-441.
- VERHAEGHE, F. E. A. 2016. Structural assimilation in young first-, second- and third-generation migrants in Flanders. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.
- VERTOVEC, S. 1999. Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, 447-462.
- VERTOVEC, S. The Political Importance of Diasporas. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, 2005 University of Oxford.
- VERTOVEC, S. 2017. Mooring, migration milieus and complex explanations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40, 1574-1581.
- VERYHA, W. 1984. *Pid Sontsem Italii- Under the Italian Sun ; Soldiers of the Division "Galicia"-the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian national Army in the British prisoners of War Camp '5C' in Bellaria, June-October 1945*, Toronto, Canada, Shevchenko Scientific Society.
- VOLKAN, V. D. 2009. Large-Group Identity: 'Us and them' polarizations in the international arena. *Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society*, 14, 4-15.

- WEBER, M. 1947/1975. *Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, New York, Free Press.
- WEBSTER, W. 2006. Defining Boundaries: European Volunteer Worker Women in Britain and Narratives of Community. *Women's History Review*, 9, 257-276.
- WEEDON, C. J., G. 2012. Collective memory: theory and politics. *Social Semiotics*, 22.
- WENGER, C. 2001. Interviewing older people. In: HOLSTEIN, J. F. G. J. A. (ed.) *Handbook of Interview Research*. Sage Publications.
- WENGER, Y. 2000. Miy Korotkiy Zhyttyepys- My Short Biography. *Personal Memoir*, 109.
- WENGER, Y. 2018. *Winding Path: memoir of a young Ukrainian during WW2*, London, Private.
- WILSON, A. 1993. <Thesis-Modern Ukrainian Nationalism -Andrew Wilson.pdf>. PhD, University of London.
- WINDER, R. 2004. *Bloody Foreigners-The Story of Immigration to Britain*.
- WOODWARD, K. 2000. *Questioning identity: Gender, Class, Ethnicity*, London, Routledge.
- YAREMKO, D. 1985. *Spohady-Memoirs*, London, Ukrainian Publishers Limited.
- YEKELCHYK, S. 2007. *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- YURKEVICH, M. 1992. Ukrainian Nationalists and DP Politics, 1945-50. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- ZAHACHEVSKYI, E. 1968. *Bellaria, Rimini, Anglia-Erinerungen-Reortazh-Spohad*, Munich, Cicero.
- ZAHRA, T. Spring 2010. Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis *Slavic Review*, 69, 93-119.
- ZELINSKY, W. L., BARRET, A. 1998. Heterolocalism: An Alternative Model of the Sociospatial Behaviour of Immigrant Ethnic Communities. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 4, 281-298.
- ZHOU, M. 1997. Growing Up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 63-95.
- ZIELYK, I. V. 1992. The DP Camp as a Social System. In: (EDS), I. E. A. (ed.) *The Refugee Experience; Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War Two*. Canada, Edmonton, University of Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.
- ZIYANAK, S. 2015. Critically Assessing Classic Assimilation Theory and Alternative Perspectives for Immigrants and the Second Generation in the United States. *Race, Gender and Class*, 22, 143-149.

Endnotes

i **At the Holy Cross Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Queens borough of New York** on a Sunday afternoon in late February, Ivan Rodichenko is delivering a presentation to a rapt audience before him. As images of war-torn eastern Ukraine appear on the projector screen behind him, it becomes clear he has not travelled all the way from Kiev to deliver a religious talk. The real reason Rodichenko, a soldier with a volunteer battalion fighting in the East Ukraine conflict, came to the U.S. is contained in a white envelope that is passed from table to table. One by one, the group of about 40 people write their names down on a piece of paper and then slip money into the envelope. Departing this church basement in New York, the money will be turned into basic equipment for the cash-strapped Ukrainian volunteer battalions that are helping the regular army fight pro-Russian separatists. Almost everyone in the room is an immigrant who still calls Ukraine home and harbours strong feelings of nationalism.’ “Without this help from people like them, the war is already lost,” said Rodichenko, 33, who is midway through a tour of the eastern U.S. to raise money for the 25th Territorial Defense Battalion of Kiev [Kyiv], a military unit that was mobilized in the wake of the eastern Ukraine conflict.

<http://www.ibtimes.com/how-ukrainian-diaspora-us-funding-war-effort-east-ukraine-1846674> - accessed 15/3/2015@08.15 GMT

ii

iii The two popular macrohistories published in English are by Orest Subtelny *Ukraine: A History* (1988) and Paul R. Magocsi’s *A History of Ukraine* (2010)- both published by the University of Toronto Press.

vi My found historic images fall into two categories. Originals and scanned copies. Paper-based original photos are stored in plastic sleeves and backed up by scanning them and placing them in a digital collection-a compact disc (CD). All paper-based images are stored in robust, dust-proof jackets, boxed, catalogued and numbered according to the individual or family that has contributed to the archive. There are separate folders for each contribution. Images are scanned on a flat-bed scanner, unless when searching in an archival institution where I use a hand-held scanner. Images are captured at 300 dpi and saved as *jpeg format*. They are categorized using the capitalised first four letters of the contributor’s surname and a number. For example, the ten historic photos scanned from the Nakoneczny family collection are contained in an encrypted electronic file coded NAKO and are numbered NAKO 1 to NAKO 10. Where possible the date of the photo’s first use is noted. If the month and/or day are unknown, those are left out and replaced with ‘c’ for circa. For example;

1907c -is used for a photograph estimated to have been taken some time in 1907.

1907-07-c suggests that the photo indicates sometime in July of that year, day uncertain.

1907-07-07 would be used to accurately pinpoint the 7th July 1907.

viii



University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Thesis: The Migration, Settlement and Assimilation of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Scotland.

Researcher: Peter Kormylo,

GUID:

e-mail: _____

mobile:

Skype:

Interview Outline:

Each face-to-face interview is semi-structured to allow respondents to expand on possible emerging themes. It will last approximately one hour and will be audio recorded. It will then be transcribed, and the participant will be offered the transcript with the right to delete any part they do not wish included.

Subject Areas for Discussion with All

Where were you born?

Are both your parents of Ukrainian ethnicity?

Do you speak, read and write Ukrainian?

How many languages do you speak?

How long have you lived here?

What circumstances led you to be in Scotland?

What made your family settle here as opposed to another country?

What were the difficulties your family encountered in settling here?

Have you undergone education in Scotland?

What would best describe how you feel about your identity?

Do you have children and if so, how do they feel about their Ukrainian heritage?

Do you return to Ukraine from time to time?

What are the challenges for newly arrived Ukrainians in Scotland?

Why has a Ukrainian community endured in Scotland from 1946 until now?

What does the future hold for Scotland's Ukrainians?

ix

Interview and conversation respondents -anonymous

Code W3/F3/G1: Wave 3, Fragment 3, Generation 1

W3/G2/E: Wave 3, Generation 2, Elite respondent

W3/F4/G3: Wave 4, Fragment 4, Generation 3

W4/G1: Wave Four, Generation 1

<i>15 First Generation Respondents</i>		
Code	Topic researched	Date
W3/F3/G1	Annan Ukrainians/Creca Camp	18 Jan 2016
W3/F3/G1	Tranent & MacMerry Camps, OUZH	20 Feb 2016
W3/F4/G1	Tunnel Tigers/, Reichskommisariat	20 Feb 2016
W3/F4/G1	Lockerbie Prisoner of War camp	17 Mar 2016
W3/F4/G1	History of Edinburgh, OUN (B)	7 Apr 2016
W3/F3/G1	Cold War operations	21 May 2016
W3/F4/G1	Galicia Division, OUN(B)	26 Jun 2016
W3/F3/G1	Orlyk Dance Group history	9 July 2016
W3/F4/G1	Volyn, UPA OUN (M)	27 Jan 2017
W3/F4/G1	Galicia Division, Rimini Camp, Baudienst	23 Mar 2017
W3/F4/G1	Galicia Division, Haddington Camp	3 May 2017
W3/F4/G1	Poland, Operation Vistula,	5 Feb 2017
W3/F4/G1	Haddington Prisoner of War camp	4 Apr 2017
W3/F3/G1	Galicia, Operation Wisla, UGCC	9 June 2017

W3/F3/G1	Operation Wisla	19 Nov 2017
18 Second Generation Respondents		
W3/F4 /G2	Annan Children's Choir + Photos	10 Jan 2016
W3/F4/G2	Galicia Division	16 Feb 2016
W3/F4/G2	Family History	26 Mar 2016
W3/F4/G2	Annan Ukrainian Community	26 Mar 2016
W3/F3/G2	Politics/Displaced Persons camps	26 May 2106
W3/F4/G2	Saturday School/Dance Groups/SUM	20 Feb 2016
W3/F4/G2	School/ SUM	25 Aug 2016
W3/F3/G2	Dundee Ukrainians	19 Jul 2016
W3/F4/G2	Identity, Haddington and Rimini camps	4 Nov 2018
W3/F3/G2	Edinburgh Community	29 Jan 2017
W3/F4/G2	Ukrainian Scottish hybrid identity	3 Jun 2016
W3/F4/G2	UGCC church in Scotland	4 Nov 2018
W3/F3/G2	DP Camps- Cala Sona	21 Jan 2017
W3/F3/G2	Galashiels Community	21 Jan 2017
W3/F4/G2	Mother's Eulogy	10 Aug 2016
W3/F3/G2	Father's proactive profile	10 Aug 2016
W3/F4/G2	Emigration to Canada	12 Aug 2017
W3/F3/G2	Galasheils community	1 Oct 2016
4 Third Generation & Novoprybuli Respondents		
W4/F4/G3	Ukrainians in Braham Camp	24 Feb 2017
W4/G1	Fourth Wave cultural activities	13 Jan 2017
W4/G1	Fourth Wave cultural activities	5 Jan 2017
W4/G1	Online Ukrainian Community in Glasgow	8 Jan 2017
9 Elite Respondents		
W3/G2/E	History of AUGB	21 Sep 2016
W3/G2/E	History of Ukraine	30 Apr 2018
W3/G2/E	Ukrainian Global Diaspora	20 June 2017
W3/G2/E	Italians in Scotland	25 Nov 2016
W3/G2/E	Italians in Dumfriesshire	18 Nov 2016
W3/G2/E	Ukrainians in Canada	23 Feb 2017
W3/G2/E	Nation building in Ukraine	Mar 2017
W3/G2/E	Online encyclopaedia	21 Sep 2016
W1/G4/E	Jewish Community	5 Jul 2017
20 Conversations		

W3/G2/N	Glasgow early community	11 Nov 2015
W3/G2/N	Edinburgh Community	5 Dec 2015
W3/G2/N	Hawick Community	5 Dec 2015
W3/G2/N	Distanced from the Community	6 Dec 2015
W3/G2/N	Involvement in community	6 Dec 2015
W3/G2/N	Kozatske Bratstvo bandura trio	23 Aug 2016
W4/G3/N	Ukr.Church in Scotland	15 Oct 2016
W4/G3/N	Cultural Activity in the Diaspora	15 Oct 2016
W4/G3/N	Russ.Ukr. Bi-lingualism	16 Oct 2016
W4/G2/N	Scotland as a base	16 Oct 2016
W4/G3/N	Seeking work in Scotland	16 Oct 2016
W3/G1/N	KGB harassment post WW2	22 Oct 2017
W3/G2/N	Farm Labouring	22 Oct 2017
W3/G2/N	Farm Labouring	22 Oct 2017
W3/G2/N	Father's art / Ukrainian iconography	23 Oct 2017
W3/G2/N	Brahan Camp	23 Oct 2017
W3/G2/N	Lockerbie camp	23 Oct 2017
W3/G2/N	(AUGB) Edinburgh	4 Nov 2018
W3/G2/N	Edinburgh Dance groups	4 Nov 2018
W3/G2/N	Lockerbie camp and community	4 Nov 2018

x



College of Social
Sciences

Participant Information

(Plain Language Statement-also available in Ukrainian)

The Migration, Settlement and Assimilation of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Scotland.

The purpose of this study is to research the origins, intentions and activities of the Ukrainian community in Scotland. It will take place between October 2015 and March 2019 with interviews taking place from mid-November 2015 onwards.

Before you decide to take part in this research study it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may choose to leave the project at any time. Even if you decide to take part you can choose to withdraw at a later date without giving any reason. Additionally, you can choose not to answer certain questions and/or withdraw your answers after the interview.

Each audio-recorded interview will last approximately an hour and then be transcribed. The interview can be conducted in your home or in a relatively quiet, public place such as a café or a library- your choice. All information, which is collected about you during the course of the research, will be kept **strictly confidential**, will be protected as a pseudonym and will be used instead of your real name in the final dissertation. This information will be password protected in a computer. Please be aware that because of the small size of the Ukrainian community in Scotland your anonymity cannot always be guaranteed.

Assurances on confidentiality are strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University is obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies or agencies. We ask that you consent to the researcher keeping the information you give at the interview so that it can be used for future studies. Research data may be retained for longer than ten years. **Your personal data will be destroyed at the end of the project in March 2019.** This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Glasgow College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

If you require further information please get in touch with Peter Kormylo. His supervisors are:

Dr. Valentina Bold Email: valentina.bold@glasgow.ac.uk

Dr. Moya Flynn Email: moya.flynn@glasgow.ac.uk

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project, you can contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer Dr Muir Houston Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

^{xi} *Correspondents* who contributed graphic material to the Heritage collection.

Name	Contribution
Allison-Antoniuk	Photos /documents
Bobak-Stirrat	Photos/documents/memoirs
Biley	Photos
Beaton	Photos
Boyko	memoirs
Czys	Photos / documents
Darowsky	Photos
Dudziak	Photos
Horetskyj	Photos

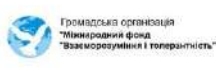
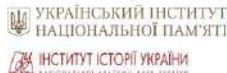
Karpa N.	Photos
Karpa M.	Photos
Kaszuba	Photos
Kishchuk	Photos
Koturbasz	Photos
Kuchta	/ documents/
Kravchynski	memoirs
Lyatyshevsky	Photos film archive
Lessyko	Photos
Mazur	Photos
Macrae-Mychajlyshyn	Photos
Mitchell-Fedoruk	Photos
Morykit	Photos / documents
Mycko	Photo
Mykytyn	Written memories
Nakonecznyj	Photos
Piatnyczuk	Photos
Prychidnyj	Photos
Ross	Photos
Skicko	Photos
Rozhin	Photos
Steele	Photos
Swecz	Photos
Sweryda	Photos / documents
Tymkevycz	Photos
Urquhart-Brykailo	Photos
Zajac	Photos
Zawalnycky	Photos

xii **Scottish & Northern English Hostels which held significant numbers of ethnic Ukrainians**

1. E.V.W. Hostel, Amisfield Park, Haddington, East Lothian
2. E.V.W. Hostel, East Fortune
3. Ukrainian Macmerry Hostel, Nr. Tranent
4. E.V.W. Hostel, Mortonhall Edinburgh
5. EVW Hostel Deer Park, Dalkeith, Midlothian
6. Miners' Hostel Armadale, West Lothian
7. Victoria Park, Peebles
8. Thorneycroft Hostel, Selkirk
9. Barony Hostel, Parkgate, Dumfriesshire
10. Burbrae Hostel, Galashiels
11. ICI Hostel, St. Boswell's, Roxburghshire
12. Springwood Hostel, Kelso Roxburghshire
13. Winfield Camp, Berwick on Tweed

-
14. E.V.W. Hostel by Girvan, Ayrshire
 15. Hallmuir Hostel, Lockerbie, Dumfriesshire
 16. RAOC Camp, Kirtlebridge, Nr.Lockerbie, Dumfriesshire
 17. Kingencleugh Hostel, Mauchline, Ayrshire
 18. Ind. Hostel, Beith, Ayrshire- Ukrainian Women's Hostel
 19. E.V.W. Ballado Hostel, Nr. Kinross
 20. YMCA Hostel Tannadice, Nr.Forfar, Angusshire
 21. E.V.W. Hostel Crieff, Perthshire
 22. Dunning Hostel, Perthshire
 23. YMCA Hostel, Sandyhillock, Craigellachie, Banffshire
 24. Brackla Hostel, Nairn
 25. North Hill Camp, Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire
 26. Castle Rankine Camp, Denny, Stirlingshire
 27. Wilton Hostel, Hawick
 28. E.V.W. Hostel Munloch, Ross-shire
 29. Y.M.C.A. Hostel, Raylees, Elsdon, Newcastle on Tyne
 30. Ansmuir Hostel, Ladybank, Fife
 31. Reves House, 71 Broughty Ferry, Dundee
 32. E.V.W. Hostel, Inverloch, Fort William
 33. Y.M.C.A. Hostel, Bela River, Nr. Milnethorpe, Westmorland
 34. Y.M.C.A. Hostel No.2, Ponteland, Northumberland
 35. Ryton Miners' Hostel, Ryton on Tyne
 36. Y.M.C.A. Hostel, Windlestone, Ferryhill
 37. Balhary Hostel, Nr. Alyth, Perthshire
 38. E.V.W.Hostel, Monymusk, Aberdeenshire
 39. Y.M.C.A Hostel, Kildary, Ross-shire
 40. Newbattle Miners' Hostel, Dalkeith, Midlothian
 41. E.V.W. Hostel Creca, Annan, Dumfriesshire

This list may not be complete. Other camps may have existed outwith this list. I have the original primary document and I am presently researching other possible locations of camps in order to keep revising my 'map'.



ПАМ'ЯТНІ ЗАХОДИ

До 75-ї річниці від початку вивезення населення України на примусові роботи до Німеччини

«То була неволя...»

18 січня 2016 р.
Вхід вільний

12:00 «Остарбайтери» – музейна рефлексія в експозиційному просторі.
– Презентація музейної колекції та нових досліджень проблеми заступником генерального директора Національного музею історії України у Другій світовій війні Любов'ю Легасовою
– Спогади колишніх остарбайтерів Надії Слесаревої та інших

12:30 Українці на примусових роботах у нацистській Німеччині. До історії проблеми.
Виступи:
– Голови Українського інституту національної пам'яті Володимира В'ятровича
– Президента Громадської організації «Міжнародний фонд «Взаєморозуміння і толерантність» Ігоря Лушнікова
– Завідувача відділу історії України періоду Другої світової війни Інституту історії України НАН України Олександра Лисенка
– Дослідника історії Другої світової війни, колекціонера Дмитра Піркла

Демонстрація документальних свідчень українських примусових робітників

14:00 «Музейна платформа історика».
Зустріч із старшим науковим співробітником Інституту історії України НАН України Тетяною Пастушенко.
Тема: «Українські примусові робітники в нацистській Німеччині. Довгий шлях до визнання».

Демонстрація документальних свідчень українських примусових робітників



Місце зустрічі:
Головна експозиція Національного музею історії України у Другій світовій війні

Контактний телефон: (044) 285-94-52
(097) 198-98-07

E-mail: info@warmuseum.kiev.ua
Сайт: www.warmuseum.kiev.ua

Адреса: м. Київ, вул. Лаврська, 27

xiv Memories of Glasgow- (Ivan Mykty'n's resume of childhood life in Glasgow)

Food

I remember going to delicatessen with my father to buy European style cold meats and sausages. The shop was situated in the old Gorbals area of Glasgow. Ukrainians or Poles must have run it as my father spent time talking to them. Lewis's in Argyle Street was another favourite shop. It had a food hall which also sold European cold meat. I found out later that this was because a large number of the in-house cooking staff were East Europeans. I believe they eventually set up a manufactory in an industrial unit near Clyde Street, Glasgow. It had a public counter we used to visit. They may have started in Crown Street, Glasgow where they baked rye bread.

Church

There were regular perhaps monthly, Ukrainian services in a convent in Garnethill, Glasgow. I remember these as very long afternoons spent listening to people speak and pray in another language. I became quite adept at counting plaster mouldings on the ceiling. The services had a serious sombre feel about them; an opportunity to show the rest of the community how pious you were.

Easter

We celebrated Orthodox Easter annually. Even then I recognized it as deeply ritualistic. A special basket had to be prepared filled with special painted eggs and special bread all cosseted in a special embroidered cloth.

The bread Babka was a source of endless wonder. There were countless conversations on the number of eggs and the amount of butter it should contain. I can remember my mother staying up most of the night baking her Babka. My memory of the taste was of a dense very yellow cake-like bread tasting strongly of yeast. Years later when I visited Lviv at Easter the Babka mystery was solved. It is pannetone!.... and no one knew how to make it. There were also painted eggs - though these were done “professionally” by adults. Horseradish also played an important part.

Christmas

We celebrated Ukrainian Christmas. We usually had a meal that included carp (tinned) and Kutya - a mix of wheat, poppy seeds, honey and nuts. An extra place was always set for “the ghost”

Concert and Meal

I remember attending a concert in a hall somewhere in Glasgow. I do not remember anything about the concert content, but I do remember the meal that was served. As it was the first time I tasted Pyrohyi. I liked them. After that we had them at home several times.

Saturday School

I attended a Ukrainian language for a short period. I don't know why but my father withdrew me from it.

Summer Camp

We were sent to a Ukrainian summer camp in Middleton. I remember it as a miserable experience. Most other children knew each other. We did not know we had been left pocket money, so every evening when others went to the tuck shop we stood and stared.

People

I vaguely remember my godfather who lived in a small cottage in Leadhills. His name was Jimmy Ladnik and was from Yugoslavia. He got married and moved to Symington. I heard later that he died of lead poisoning. My father's friend Kurt Furst came from around east Berlin he was I think a Grenadier or Fusilier, they lived in Pitnane, Lanarkshire. I think he was an NCO in the regular army. Walter Pushkar lived in 3 Gray Street, Glasgow. I remember he originally in a laundry. His wife worked in Treron's, Sauchiehall Street. He got a job with a tomato grower just outside Ayr and they moved there. Joe Orluta also lived in 3, Gray Street next door to Pushkar. Joe worked for a timber company and drove a truck, the company had an east European name. Nikki ? and his Wife lived in Apsley (or next street) Street, Partick, I don't remember what either of them did. I can remember that I tried their potato soup and was aghast at the taste. Shepka (We were told to call him *Pan* [Mr.] because he was old) had a very small shop repairing clocks and watches in Kelvinbridge, Glasgow. It was either at the staircase going down to the subway or on Gibson Street at the bridge opposite Kelvingrove Park gates. We visited a Ukrainian who lived in Dixon Avenue or other street at the bottom of Victoria Road on east side. We went to a party in a house in Park Drive, Glasgow - About half-way down the west side. Jacob ? and his wife May who lived in Motherwell. I believe they had a son called Michael. Reptyk and his wife who appeared more affluent than others moved to Gloucester. We visited them there once. I also remember Gloucester's Ukrainian club which was busy. Reptyk had a detached house with a garden in which he grew his own vegetables and tobacco; clearly his vision of the good life was to be a self-sufficient farmer. There was a

woman whose name I have forgotten She appeared to be knowledgeable about all things Ukrainian, I think she also had something to do with teaching Ukrainian in the Saturday school and with organizing summer camps.