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**A FOOT IN TWO WORLDS:  
UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS NEGOTIATING A LITERATE IDENTITY**

**By**

**Bette J. Shellhorn**

**A DISSERTATION**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Department of Education**

**2003**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **A FOOT IN TWO WORLDS: UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS NEGOTIATING A LITERATE IDENTITY**

**By**

**Bette J. Shellhorn**

**This study of immigrants negotiating language and identity in a Ukrainian American community examined the literacy and social life in sociolinguistic and historical perspectives, comparing pre-emigration life in Ukraine with life in the United States. Research sites in this community included several Ukrainian Catholic Churches and a Ukrainian Catholic Elementary and High School. My role as a participant observer in the community provided an intimate look at the community. Observation on site, interviews with participants in the community, surveys given to community members, and collecting primary and secondary source materials became the data focus. The question guiding this research was, How does the experience of a new immigrant group unfold when there are already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members? Analyzing, describing and interpreting data from historical records, and ethnographic study within this community presented an in-depth look at the immigration process within one community where literacy, spirituality, and social networks support English language learning and assimilation of American cultural identity. Community support also provides maintenance of strong and educationally supportive ties to the Ukrainian language, culture, religion, and education.**

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BETTE J. SHELLHORN  
2003

In  
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In honor of my parents, Philip and Pauline,  
who taught me to love books and to treasure knowledge.

To my husband, Terry, the love of my life,  
who selflessly loves me daily.

And for our dearest sons, Colin and Jason,  
who are the joy of our lives and  
my reason for pursuing the dream of education.

Any work of g  
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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Any work of great value is created in concert with many people. This dissertation is no exception. There are many people who have had a part in the learning process for me over the years. Susan Florio-Ruane has been a great source of inspiration for a number of years and an amazing dissertation director. Susan's timely words and poignant insights were so helpful during the entire dissertation process. Thank you. Many thanks to Lynn Paine, Laura Apol, and Jenny Denyer, for the coursework we shared during the doctoral program that prepared me for this study and for their guidance as my dissertation committee. Lynn Paine was the principal investigator for the one year pilot study completed before beginning my dissertation study. All of these superb women have been mentors and role models as scholars these past years of doctoral study. P. David Pearson, David Labaree, Taffy Raphael, and Suzanne Wilson have been generous with their knowledge and I am thankful for the opportunity to learn the fine points of scholarship from each one. There are many others over the years who have shared knowledge that has helped me to move forward with my research. My thanks to each one. The Detroit Ukrainian community warmly welcomed me and provided a world of knowledge for this study. Each conversation and activity that we shared was an exceptional experience. Thank you, all, for your willingness to share your time and your knowledge with me.



## THE PHOTOGRAPH

He finds it in his mother's drawer of souvenirs,  
blurred and bent; an out-of-focus photograph  
as brown and cracked as leather.  
The trees and foliage arch like feathers.  
There is a house, one story, in the rear,  
behind the lumpy humans growing up –  
those arms and shoulders so rigidly posed,  
those faces like smudged thumbprints on a wall.  
He must recognize these children –  
by a slouch, a shape, a tilt of the head –  
as his uncles and aunts. One daughter  
is massive, and the other, the boy's mother,  
is as slim and tall as her eldest brother  
and the man who sits stiff-backed in front  
beside the round little woman in a shawl.

The details of each shape are off-center,  
the photo looks as if it had been taken  
at the instant people, house, and trees  
were shaken by an earthquake or a wind.  
The more he looks at it, the more the boy  
cannot be sure of where this is, or when.  
The house could be in Kovno, Vilna, or Carnarsie.  
Is this his uncle, really? That his aunt?  
The photo could belong to someone else.  
The family could be anyone's.

By Morton Marcus (Marcus, 1988)



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## **PREFACE**

This is a study of identity formation during the immigration process for an Eastern European immigrant community living in the United States. The study focused on a group of Ukrainian immigrants living near the Detroit area. Research sites in this community included several Ukrainian Catholic Churches and a Ukrainian Catholic Elementary and High School. Worship services at the churches were offered in English and Ukrainian to church members and their families. Classes at the schools included English and Ukrainian courses for K-12 students. The public also participated in church events in English and/or Ukrainian. My role as a participant observer in the community provided an intimate look at the community. By analyzing, describing and interpreting the data collected within this Ukrainian American community, a greater understanding of the immigration process for immigrants emerged to view the role of identity formation in the immigration process.

The main research question for the study was: How does the experience of a new immigrant group unfold when there are already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members? A variety of research methods were used to study the Ukrainian American immigrant community. Qualitative research, using ethnographic research methods helped to define the research paradigm. The study used participant perspectives and the participants in the Ukrainian community had an interest in the findings about the community. Observation on site, interviews with participants in the community, surveys given

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For example, observation during worship services at the churches and classes at the school provided a view of daily life at the church and school. One-hour interviews with some of the participants brought clarity to individual experiences for a variety of informants. The interviews were audio taped, (where permission from the participants was granted) to obtain a closer look during the analysis of transcripts. Interviews less than one hour in length, observation field notes, audio taping of events and interviews, public information about the surrounding community and the immigrant experience, oral and written personal history by family members and other members of the group, and information observed from participation in the worship services and language classes were other research methods used during the study. Direct quotes were not used in this study to protect the anonymity of participants. Names of people who are deceased were used, however, pseudonyms were used for participants that are currently living, and all data was securely kept in my possession during the study. An explanation of the research process regarding the use of names and quotes can be found in Appendix A. Another method used to accompany the fieldwork research described above included historical research of primary and secondary sources documenting the immigration process for adults and children in the Ukrainian American community.

The study contained a variety of dimensions in the community. Data sources reflected the variety and scope of the study. Analysis of these diverse

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data sets involved the generation and refinement of assertions by means of constant comparing of data sources, looking for information about the actions of participants, finding artifacts that pertain to the immigrant community, and noting relevant conversations within the community. Thoughtfully processing the data by perceiving, comparing, contrasting, collecting, ordering, connecting, and speculating provided the ability to construct and test theories, hypotheses, and interpretations about the data, to inform the study. For the purpose of analysis, the data was organized and classified initially into systematic groupings of similar types of data, finding patterns in the data and then organizing those patterns and findings into categories that helped to describe, explain, and interpret the data findings.

Analysis took place in three stages, called, "item", "pattern", and "structure." "Items" included concrete, tangible, and specific information and units of data. "Patterns" consisted of categories or groupings of items that relate to each other or fit together into a pattern. "Structures" were composed of larger groups of patterns. Sometimes a relationship between patterns helped to form or explain a theory or hypothesis about the phenomena. This study was grounded in ethnographic and constructivist perspectives. The constant comparative approach provided inductive analysis of data, allowing data to be considered in layers, and this approach facilitated interpretation of the study. Culture was a Principal lens through which identity formation was observed and studied in the Community, as the immigrants became literate. (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999, p. 66.)

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The analysis also used extant theoretical models and literature to inform and test interpretations. For example, socio-cultural theory, or social-constructivist theory informed the research and provided a conceptual framework for the study. The term “constructivist” was used to indicate a social construction of reality, which means that what participants know and believe to be true about the world is constructed, or created and built, as people interacted with one another over a period of time in specific social settings (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

“Constructs” used in the study explain concepts with greater detail. “A construct is a concept used to put together, to ‘construct,’ a mental model that helps you image unobservable processes presumed underlying events you can observe” (Polansky, 1991, p. 25). Two constructs used in the study are the terms, “immigration process” and “identity formation.” Several perspectives of the “immigration process” and “identity formation” informed the project. The immigration process began before the émigrés left Ukraine, continued during the journey to America, and included settling and becoming assimilated into the Ukrainian American community in Detroit. I argue that the immigrants who have come in previous times and who are still living in the existing immigrant community, within the United States, have helped to shape and form the immigration process, or the process of emigration from the homeland, to immigration in the United States. This “immigration process” included the formation of identity and is influenced by the spirituality of the ethnic community. During the “immigration process,” it can be noted that within the Ukrainian



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community, the existing community members mentored or scaffolded the new immigrants coming to the established Ukrainian community. The process of mentoring or “situated learning,” as described by Lave and Wenger (1991) can be noted in the Ukrainian immigrant community. Those who could be considered “old immigrants” or second and third generation immigrants facilitated the process of learning in a new situation for the “new immigrants” or for those who have recently come to the community from Ukraine. In the process, “identity formation” took place for the immigrants who remained in the community as well as for those who left the community of Ukrainian Americans. This mentoring process facilitated identity formation and helped new immigrants to become successful contributing Ukrainian Americans while living in the community.

“Identity formation” was another construct used in this study. This term was used to explain the process that began as new immigrants settled in the Ukrainian American community and found their own uniqueness and individuality as a Ukrainian American. In this community, Ukrainian culture and spirituality are a part of daily life. New immigrants who became a part of this community embraced the existing characteristics of the cultural and spiritual ways of life for Ukrainian Americans. The process of coming to America as a Ukrainian and becoming a literate Ukrainian American is called “identity formation” in this study.

There are implications for this study that can lead to further research in the field of education of immigrants, for bilingual education of immigrants, and for research on networks and communities of immigrants as ethnic groups.

Immigrants in general, throughout the United States, are currently educated in

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inclusive and/or exclusive settings within elementary and secondary American schools. Public and private schools educate immigrants in a variety of ways. Some of the current methods for instruction have come under criticism. Strong and heated debates about immigrant education include the topic of finances for the education of immigrants and there is political rhetoric about the education process, largely due to the demands placed on the public education system where large populations of immigrants exist. My research informs this debate and provides evidence to support bilingual education of immigrants in private educational settings. As such, it enlightens the current reform discourse including the size of schools, the relation of schools to local communities as well as to national standards, and the ways that private schools (religious and charter) might infuse the curriculum with social or spiritual values enhancing students' motivation to learn.

There is also debate about the use of ESL or bilingual instruction for immigrants as they learn English in schools within the United States. This study looks at a particular, local approach to language and literacy education that is infused with both the value of and the practice of Standard English, as well as maintenance of the home language, or Ukrainian. This blend of the two languages is carried out during learning, especially by means of intergenerational networks, in Ukrainian American homes, and in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In this study, the Ukrainian American elementary and high school can be viewed as a strategic research site because its model has apparently succeeded by a developed system of education for immigrants that has proven successful for

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Finally, this study affords a way to think about the experiences of second and third generation immigrants and new or first generation, immigrants. Eastern European immigrants entering the US in the early twentieth century were often isolated and regarded as less able than earlier immigrants who came from Northern Europe and the British Isles. The language, politics, and religious practices made them seem (like other Eastern and Southern European immigrants) as outsiders, less able to succeed in school, and less able to perform the work of an educated citizenry. Like many of their peers, Eastern European immigrants contradicted these beliefs by assimilating into “mainstream” US language, politics, and socioeconomic life of Americans. However, unlike the history of other countries whose émigrés flooded the US until immigration was greatly limited in 1920, Ukrainians not only assimilated but, several generations later, in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, have become “new immigrants.” Reflecting social and political changes shaped by the fall of communism and the break-up of the USSR into discrete and independent nations, Ukrainians now have the option and in many cases the desire to leave their homeland for Ukrainian American communities, especially in large US cities.

As a result, like many other immigrant groups the Ukrainians coming to the US today come for many of the reasons that their forbears came. However,

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they are joined this time not by Poles, Jews, Italians, and Greeks, but by people from Latin America and the Pacific Rim. They are not greeted at Ellis Island among other speakers of strange sounding languages and practitioners of strange looking script, but they arrive at airports in many US cities and are often met by second and third generation Ukrainian Americans who have become full participants in American life – its language and institutions.



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## INTRODUCTION

### The Dance between Two Worlds

The process of immigration has changed dramatically several times during the past century for all immigrants, no matter where their place of origin.

Immigrants in this study have faced these changes by negotiating their place in life with a foot in the homeland and a foot in the new land upon immigration. This meant that Ukrainian immigrants in this study had a foot in two worlds: Ukraine and the United States. Dinnerstein and Reimers (1975) have noted that between 1880 and 1930 the United States received 27 million immigrants. Significant numbers of emigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe immigrated to America during this time in spite of adverse circumstances due to immigration restriction laws and a major depression in the United States. Many people from Russia came to the United States since the 1880's, but they were not considered or counted as a separate group. Instead, Russian emigrants were clumped with the European emigrants, leaving Russian immigrants without a voice and without consideration for their unique culture, language, and spirituality. Russian Jews in particular were restricted in their lives when in Russia and forced to live in the Pale of Settlement, which was a region stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. This area is now Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine.

Many Russians living in the Pale of Settlement between 1899 and 1910 emigrated from Russia to the United States. Many (67%) of the Russian Jews who came as immigrants, came to America with trade skills such as carpentry, shoemaking, painting, and butchering. These skills were learned and practiced in

the Russian Pale of Settlement and the skills were used in the United States within the Russian immigrant communities. Today, those immigrants coming from this area in Russia are called Ukrainians. A significant number of immigrants now come with professional and technical skills, education, and some knowledge of the English language. Foner (2001) divides today's immigrants into two camps: those who come with little education and training and those who come with specialized skills and college degrees. This "human capital" or the resource of human labor and the positive additions made to the American society that contemporary immigrants bring to the United States is also found in the Ukrainian immigrant community.

Yet, with so many immigrants from Ukraine who were added to the professional work force in America, their numbers were not counted as Ukrainians, or even counted as Russians, until the last decade. They were considered Europeans or "Other" when categorized. The story of Ukrainian immigration has been without a voice for over a century. Most Ukrainian immigrants were counted with Southern and Eastern Europe, with Slavic groups, or with Russian Jews. The voices of Ukrainians have been silenced and ignored for many years. It is my intention that this research about Ukrainian immigrants will provide a voice for Ukrainians, and bring the process of Ukrainian immigration into the ongoing conversation about immigration.

Immigrants from many different countries experience emigration from their homeland and immigration to the United States in a unique and individual way. However, there are similarities between many immigrant experiences that help

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us to understand the immigration process. Yet, immigrants are not aware of the process that is needed when they first arrive in this country. The “dance” between the two worlds has been explained in other studies, such as William Foote Whyte’s study, *Street Corner Society* (1973, p. 273), “To get ahead, the Cornerville man must move either in the world of business and Republican politics or in the world of Democratic politics and the rackets. He cannot move in both worlds at once; they are so far apart that there is hardly any connection between them. If he advances in the first world, he is recognized by society at large as a successful man, but he is recognized in Cornerville only as an alien to the district. If he advances in the second world, he achieves recognition in Cornerville but becomes a social outcast to respectable people elsewhere.”

In this study, I entered the “dance” between worlds as a participant-observer to better understand the process of immigration during identity formation for Ukrainian immigrants becoming literate in the United States. My research included unique perspectives and views to the identity formation during the immigration process. One view included a history of the immigrant experience, during segments of time from the late 1800s to the present. Each time segment related to changes in the immigration laws and policies of the United States, and the changing process of emigrating from Ukraine and immigrating to the United States. General information about immigration was compared to specific information about Ukrainian immigration to better understand the process and to give voice to those coming from Ukraine to the United States, who had been left out of the previous conversation. (DeLaet,

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2000), (Dinnerstein and Reimers, 1975, 1999), (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001), (Daniels, 1991).

Another view included the nature of the identity formation during the immigration process. As many Ukrainian immigrants came to the United States, they were brought into an existing community of Ukrainian Americans. This community was characterized by participation in the Ukrainian Catholic Church, by supportive Ukrainian social networks within the Ukrainian community, and by the education that was received in Ukrainian Catholic Schools also supported by several Ukrainian Catholic Churches within the extended community. The immigrants were a part of the Ukrainian community during the immigration process and the community helped to form a literate identity for each immigrant.

### **Research Approach**

Ethnography is a research approach to learning about the social and cultural life of people in a local setting (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). The goal of this educational ethnography was to learn about the social and cultural life of the Detroit Ukrainian American community to be able to better understand the process of immigration and the process of identity formation for Ukrainian immigrants in the Detroit community. Observation and interviewing were two critical activities used during the study to form ethnographic theory. Constructing meanings, interpretation, and associations or theories that are significant for the community provided a way for the conceptual framework to develop. The

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ultimate ethnographic objective was to condense social and cultural reality in the Ukrainian community to produce a coherent description of the community.

Ethnography has historically been considered both a product of research and a process for research (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Products of research for this study included interpretive stories and narratives about the Ukrainian American community. The process of research included face-to-face interactions with people in the community using ethnographic tools for data collection over a period of two years. In Addition, background information and historical primary **and** secondary source materials were added to the artifacts collected as part of **the** research process. To restrict the focus for the study specific lenses were **used** on particular aspects of the community.

One lens for this study focused on the Ukrainian Catholic Churches in the **com**munity, one lens focused on the Ukrainian Catholic Schools in the **com**munity, and one lens focused on the Ukrainian American community.

**Ob**serva**tion** field notes, interviews with participants, a survey, historical **in**formation and materials, and artifacts provided data for the ethnographic study.

**This** study was carried out in a natural setting within the Ukrainian community

**As a** participant observer, I was able to provide an accurate reflection of **Particular** perspectives and behaviors for participants in the community.

**I**nductive, interactive, and recursive data collection along with analytic strategies **provided** a way to construct cultural theories in this local setting. To provide a **circumspect** view of the community the study included organizing the data as it **was** collected and creating groups of data for analysis. During analysis, revisiting

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### **Dissertation Overview**

This dissertation has six chapters that together reflect a view of the Detroit Ukrainian American immigrant community. Each chapter highlights a different view of the community. Vignettes, poetry and quotations add richness to the information about the community and each narrative provides personal experiences to deepen the panorama of the community. Chapters include a review of the literature used for the chapter, information and data collected during the study about the topic of the chapter and together the chapters provide a landscape of the research for the dissertation. Chapter titles include: In the Beginning; Negotiating a Ukrainian American Literate Identity; Life in a Ukrainian American Immigrant Community; Then and Now: Shifting Roles of Language and Culture; Rushnyky in Detroit: Remembering, Remaking, and Re-Imagining Cultural Identity; and What Went Right? Revisiting the Patterns for Success.

Chapter 1 focused on the beginnings of the study and provided a description of the dissertation. Chapters 2 – 5, each, contain a detailed look at the separate parts of the study. Chapter 2 introduced the Ukrainian immigrant community and how community life developed over the years. Chapter 3 explained how Ukrainian immigrants formed a literate identity while living in the community. The chapter also tells of the provisions for educating Ukrainian Catholic immigrants and how the growing numbers of students in the community

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expanded the educational system in this Ukrainian Catholic community. Chapter 4 viewed the shifting roles of language and culture in the community. The community from the beginning chose to be decidedly bi-lingual, by providing English and Ukrainian languages throughout the church, school, and community. Chapter 5 focused on cultural identity for Ukrainian immigrants in Detroit. Artifacts, such as *rushnyky*, which are ritual cloths, were highlighted as a part of the Ukrainian American museum. Chapter 6 revisited the findings for the study and put the spotlight on the patterns for success that were developed and sustained for decades in the Detroit Ukrainian American community. Each chapter provided a window into the community and the rich details offered by the community provided a story of how the community began and how they have managed to successfully educate immigrants and pass on the culture and spiritual life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for more than one century. The chapters in concert convey and answer the research question, How does the experience of a new immigrant group unfold when there are already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members?

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## CHAPTER 1

### In the Beginning

Every story seems to begin with "once upon a time," and my once upon a time began during my childhood with the dream of pursuing an education. This dream was planted in my heart by my grandmother and my parents as I observed my family living with a foot in two worlds: America and Ukraine. The desire began when my parents read aloud to me every day. Books became a constant companion especially each night before going to bed, in the car on trips and any other time there was a minute to spare. One or more of my favorite books were read to me each day. From my earliest recollection my father instilled in me a love for reading, writing, and learning. At the age of three he took me to the local library and made sure I received my first library card. The first book I checked out of the library was about Papa Small and with that wonderful experience with books, I was hooked! Reading became a passion for me and is to this day. My father said, "Books are your friends," and I had great respect for books and always held them in great esteem. I felt a connection to the characters and the stories I read, always keeping my books close to me. Mother found a collection of music with stories that were read aloud and so I sat in my little rocker and listened to the stories and music I loved for hours on end.

During most holidays, our Ukrainian traditions were included in the celebrations. The attention of my family turned to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the surrounding Detroit Ukrainian community each holiday in the church year. My Ukrainian Baba, my grandmother, spoke Ukrainian and very little

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English. She celebrated Christmas in a Ukrainian way which meant Christmas was celebrated in January, not December. Our Ukrainian Christmas began in January and the holiday was called "Little Christmas" by my family. Baba brought a Christmas tree home on the traditional December 24 Christmas Eve and the family gathered to decorate the tree, baking cookies and making food for our own "Little Christmas." The excitement of our Ukrainian Christmas continued for many days after December 25. It was great to still feel the joy of the holiday **when** we opened our Christmas gifts and celebrated our own holiday in January **long** after everyone else had taken down the Christmas tree and celebrated the **traditional** January 1 New Year.

Soon after the Christmas tree was taken down sometime in January, Baba **beg**an to make *pysanky*, or Ukrainian Easter eggs. Easter was the most **im**portant holiday in our family and in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The **cele**bration began the first day of Lent and lasted 40 days. Making *pysanky* was **a sp**iritual experience and an expression of the Ukrainian Catholic faith. **Bless**ings were said for each egg and then small cups were used to hold the **pl**ant and mineral dyes used for coloring the eggs. Wax lines were drawn on the **egg**shells and each egg was fully decorated with colorful patterns. Rhythm, **balance**, space, and graphic placement of colorful Ukrainian designs meant that **the** process took several days. Baba finished egg making before Holy Thursday, **the** week just before Easter Sunday. When eggs were completed they were **pl**aced in a large bowl, warmed in the oven to melt the wax, and then each egg **was** wiped with a clean cloth to remove the wax. She worked night and day to

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make sure that everyone in the family would receive some of her eggs for Easter. Baba used traditional Ukrainian designs for each egg and every Easter Baba made sure that the grandchildren were given an Easter basket filled with a dozen eggs that were blessed by the priest at Immaculate Conception Church the Saturday eve before Easter.

Another Ukrainian tradition that Baba kept alive was to make embroidered cloths that adorned most everything in her home. *Rushnyky*, or Ukrainian ritual cloths, were used in the kitchen as table cloths or they were used to decorate the windows as curtains. *Rushnyky* could be found in the living room draped over a Ukrainian icon on the wall, or a *rushnyk* might be used as a doily to decorate a side table in the living room. Baba even used *rushnyky* in the bedroom, where they were placed on her dresser and over the headboard of her bed. I have fond memories of watching Baba make *rushnyky*. She carried her many colors of thread in a handbag and the handbag went everywhere she did. Her beautiful ritual cloths were given to me and to all of her children and grandchildren for our birthdays and other special events. *Rushnyky* became a part of our Ukrainian way of life.

Each tradition and cultural event seemed to encourage and nurture my dream. As an adult I began to have questions about how my grandmother and my family became Ukrainian American. When did Baba come to America? Where did she live and how did she support herself? She spoke Ukrainian and only knew a few English words, even though she lived to be 99 years old. How did she survive without speaking the native tongue of this country? How did my

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father learn to fluently speak, read, and write English? Why did my father have a different last name than my grandmother and aunt? How did my family become American? What is the process of becoming American for immigrants? All of these questions primed the pump and led to pursuing the answers through graduate school. And so the dream of education that began with my family in Ukraine many years ago became reality for me and for my family, in America.

### **Pursuing the Dream of Education**

My dream continued as I pursued graduate work and learned of the **discipline** of anthropology. Through the work of Susan Florio-Ruane and Taffy **Raphael** in their research on teacher book clubs (see, for example, Florio-Ruane **with** deTar, 2001). I was able to participate in learning about culture, **autobiography**, and literacy. As a graduate student, for two years I was a part of **the** Literary Circle. This was a voluntary teacher book club developed out of a **course** Florio-Ruane taught on "Culture, Literacy, and Autobiography." The **group** included experienced teachers from several local school districts who were **candidates** for the Masters Degree in Literacy and four doctoral students. The **four** doctoral students, along with Susan Florio-Ruane and Taffy Raphael, **worked** with the teachers in the Literary Circle for two years.

As participant observers, our project was to select and read **autobiographies**, meeting monthly to discuss connections of these books to **culture**, literacy, and our own lives as teachers. As we read autobiographies, we **looked** for ways to connect our own learning about literacy with our personal

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cultural histories. This group also worked to learn how autobiography could help teachers to understand culture and in turn help children through literacy instruction. We had opportunities to study the learning of the teachers within the group and also to write and reflect upon our own learning (Florio-Ruane, 2001; Glazier, McVee, Wallace-Cowell, Shellhorn, Florio-Ruane, and Raphael, 2000). This experience, combined with my already strong interest in literacy and culture in my family history prompted my serious consideration of a dissertation focused on the life and literacy learning of Ukrainian Americans.

Not everyone has a cultural community like the one in this study to learn from and be mentored by, but everyone can increase an understanding about culture and how it relates to students in the public school system. Through the autobiography work, I realized that using an anthropological lens in research could provide a way to pursue questions about my family. I designed and conducted a one year pilot study and then at the end of the year long study I began to plan my dissertation research. My decision to use ethnographic research to study the process of literacy and learning in one Ukrainian American community comes from the realization that ethnography takes a scientific position that human behavior and the ways that people construct and find meaning in their lives and in their worlds are locally specific and highly variable. This means that the method allowed me to investigate the Detroit Ukrainian American community in terms of the specific values and a way of living Ukrainian culture that are uniquely their own. Ethnography assumes that researchers need to first discover what people are doing and the reasons that they themselves give for

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their actions before we can analyze and interpret their actions. Ethnographic tools provide a design for discovery and exploration. (Erickson, 1985; Erickson and Schultz, 1981; Hammersly and Atkinson, 1995; LeCompte and Schensul, 1999; Schensul, et al, 1999) <sup>1</sup>

### **Description of the Dissertation Study**

The aforementioned one year pilot study prefigured the dissertation study and the findings of the pilot work became a strong foundation, a starting place for asking the questions and planning the study that would become the dissertation research. So much was already in place and the logical next step for the dissertation research was to continue in the same fashion with a larger educational ethnography study.

My dissertation research began with a desire to study the texts, experiences, history, culture, entrance into literacy, and symbolic forms of meaning for the Ukrainian community. Below I review some of the important methodological and epistemological features of the ethnographic approach I have taken in my research.

### **Educational Ethnography**

My role as an educational ethnographer followed the pattern of Clifford Geertz who views research through the lens of culture. "Culture is an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate.

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<sup>1</sup> For more information about the pilot study that led into the dissertation study, See Appendix A.

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perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life” (Geertz, 1973). Geertz notes, “A culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong” (Geertz, 1972).

Following the work of Max Weber, Geertz states, “The concept of culture I espouse . . . is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science of law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical.” (Geertz, 1973)

Clifford and Marcus (1986) state that, “Ethnography is actively situated between powerful systems of meaning. It poses questions at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion. It describes a process of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes.” The stories of and about immigrants in the Detroit Ukrainian community were situated between the powerful systems of meaning in Ukraine and the United States. Therefore, immigrants have a foot in two worlds: Ukraine and the United States. It is the process of immigration – emigrating from Ukraine and immigrating to the United States that have both a collective order and are individually experienced. This range of meanings can best be captured through qualitative research methods of ethnography.

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Bogdan and Biklen (1992) list a number of characteristics of qualitative research. The five features are listed as follows:

1. Qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument;
2. Qualitative research is descriptive;
3. Qualitative researchers are concerned with process rather than simply with outcomes or products;
4. Qualitative researchers tend to analyze their data inductively;
5. "Meaning" is of essential concern to the qualitative research.

My role in this study began as a participant and became one of a participant observer, or one who was intimately engaged in the lives of those in the study. For two years (2000-2002) I went to worship services, cultural events, school activities, and became a participant of the Ukrainian community in this study. The first year was the pilot study, which established me in the community, helped to find people to participate in the study, and located places of importance within the community. During the pilot study I made connections with people in the Ukrainian Churches, the Ukrainian schools, and in the Ukrainian community and some of the informants later became participants in the study. These community connections provided a way to enter the community as a participant observer during the dissertation research.

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### **Rationale for the Study**

There are multiple reasons for designing a research study in any certain way. My dissertation research also had multiple reasons for structuring the study as an ethnographic study. During graduate coursework I became introduced to cultural groups and how they develop over time. However, when I sought scholarship about Ukrainians and how this cultural group developed over time I found information about Russia and Eastern European cultural groups, but there was very little information about Ukraine or about Ukrainian immigrants. One reason for studying Ukrainian culture became a mission to include this culture group in academic scholarship.

A second reason for beginning this study was centered on the role of immigration for Ukrainians. When teaching college students at Michigan State University in methods for literacy instruction, I used immigration and westward expansion in the nineteenth century as a theme to model and explain educational history. This topic of immigration also did not include Ukrainians and as in other aspects of history all people coming from Russia were put into a group that was labeled "Russians." Ukrainians were not mentioned nor were they identified as part of the statistics for immigration. Doing this study became a way to expand the history of immigration to include Ukrainians as a group of people who came to America beginning with the first wave of immigration in the late 1800s.

A third reason for doing this study was to place a spotlight on the deep spiritual life that is intertwined with the cultural life for Ukrainian Catholics. My

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grandmother and her children have kept the Ukrainian Catholic spiritual life and cultural life alive and a part of our family for more than a century. Others living in the Detroit Ukrainian community have similar stories. It was and is my desire to share these stories of spiritual and cultural life so the world will know that Ukrainian Catholics have a voice in our world.

The study was structured as a qualitative, interpretive ethnography to fully capture the essence and details embedded in the Ukrainian immigrant community. Using multiple data sources and many layers of data brought a circumspect view of the community into sharper focus. This dissertation study was assembled on the findings of the pilot study and the literature studied during the pilot study became part of the data set for the dissertation study. Most of the historical information provided background knowledge which became a solid foundation for the rest of the study. Historical information, participant stories, cultural artifacts and observational field notes were compared to triangulate data and obtain an objective view of the Ukrainian immigrant community.

One purpose of this study was to understand how the experience of a new immigrant group unfolded when there were already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members. This study followed socio-cultural theory and procured a social-constructivist theoretical framework. Philosophical derivation of social constructivism followed the work of Bruffee (1984, 1986), Mead (1934), Wittgenstein (1953) and others who conceptualized knowledge as a social artifact that is preserved within a community. This meant that knowledge is not an objective reality that can be measured or quantified, but knowledge is

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formed and understood through social interactions. Psychological origins began with Vygotsky (1978, 1986), Wertsch (1985), and others who further developed these theories (Bruner, 1985; Cole, 1985; Rogoff, 1986). This viewpoint contends that knowledge is formed as individuals interact within a group, a community, or a society. In other words, knowledge is considered social in nature and learning occurs first between individuals in a social setting and then knowledge is internalized within an individual. Knowledge is constructed, or created, through the interactions of individuals within a group, community, or society.

Viewing the immigration process through socio-cultural theory or a social-constructivist lens offered a window to see how knowledge is constructed through the interactions of individuals in a social setting. When my grandmother came to America she learned how to become Ukrainian American through interactions within the Ukrainian immigrant community. It was a process; not a simple event. The community served as a context for situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991) where older immigrants mentored new immigrant arrivals. More knowledgeable immigrant peers within the Ukrainian network served as a temporary scaffold to support and guide my grandmother and other immigrants upon arrival in America during the immigration process.

### **Theoretical Framework of this Study**

In this study I asked the following major research questions:

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- How does the experience of a new immigrant group unfold when there are already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members?
- How do Ukrainian immigrants develop an identity as literate Americans?
- What is the role of spirituality for Ukrainian immigrants?
- What is the role of networks for Ukrainian immigrants?
- What role has mentoring within gender groups played in the immigration process?

Socio-cultural theory (Vygotsky, 1929, 1934, 1960, 1978; Wertsch, 1979, 1985) provided a theoretical framework for the design and conduct of my study.<sup>2</sup> Figure 2 captures the conceptual framework for the study in a one dimensional depiction which is like a snapshot of an in-motion process (Harre, 1984). Each of the four elements of Figure 2 (literate identity, people groups, culture, and history) have continually and repeatedly changed over time in a spiraling pattern that flows out from the concentric circles. This escalating movement reflects the tensions and growth of each element noted by the circles. Beginning with the center of the circles, the inner circle represents the focus of the study, or the literate identity circle. People groups, or the Ukrainian American immigrant community near Detroit, and the networks that were a part of the community became the context for the study and they are represented in the second circle. The third circle stands for Ukrainian culture that was a part of all aspects of the

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<sup>2</sup> See Figures 1 and 2 for data sources, participants, and a graphic of the conceptual framework. The four circles in Figure 2 each represent one part of the study.

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community and the fourth, or outer circle, signifies the social political history of the Ukrainian American immigrants in the study.

During the immigration process, new immigrants learn social and cultural conventions of the established cultural community through legitimate peripheral participation in a social and cultural networking community like the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community where my grandmother settled (Kuhn, 1962; Langer, 1987; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Vygotsky, 1986). Following socio-cultural theory as a plan for learning about the community provided a solid structure for the dissertation study. Qualitative methods used for the study included a social, historical, and cultural view based on the three assumptions of the social-constructivist theory about learning. One assumption is that knowledge is constructed, built, or created as people interact in a historical, social, and cultural setting. A second assumption is that higher mental functions, such as reading and writing, have both social and cultural characteristics. A third assumption is that established members of a cultural group, or a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991), can assist new members of a group, much as a scaffold provides temporary and flexible support to a building as it is being constructed. Immigrant communities that have established cultural networks can provide a type of scaffold for new immigrants joining the community.

Following methodologists such as LeCompet and Schensul (1999), I designed my study following several principles which I have adapted from their methodological writings:

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**1. The study is carried out in a natural setting.** This study was conducted in the natural local setting of the Detroit Ukrainian American community. Churches, schools, businesses and people within the community all had a part in this study. Data was collected on site within the normal activities and typical events of the community. Field notes were taken within the local community and interviews and questionnaires were operational with participants in the Ukrainian community during the course of their daily lives. The community has grown in membership over the last 100 years and the borders of the physical land now include another suburban city. With a radius of 20 miles from Immaculate Conception Church, which was the first church site in the community, St. Josaphat Church became a daughter church located in a nearby suburb. Immaculate Conception Academy, which included an elementary school, a middle school, and a high school, was also in the same suburb and the school was within five miles from St. Josaphat.

**2. Interactions with participants are face-to-face.** Interactions for this study were face-to-face contact with members of the Ukrainian community. Conversations took place before and after worship services, during social events, during the school day for the students, during other occasions such as weddings, visits to the museum, trips to the businesses in the community, or during scheduled appointments for interviews. Some of the face-to-face contact was with small groups of participants, such as a school class or a family. Additional interactions were with individuals who were interested in telling their story about the community. A number of the interactions were audio taped with interviews

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that had specific questions and field notes. Other interactions were spontaneous and impromptu without being taped and using only observation field notes. These interactions were all in the presence of the participants and included live interactions<sup>3</sup>.

**3. There is an accurate reflection of the participants' perspectives and behaviors.** Items for the interviews and questionnaires were chosen to reflect the perspective and opinions of the participants. Questions were designed to be open-ended which allowed each participant to share freely and with great detail. Interviews were carried out in a calm setting to help the person feel comfortable and relaxed while talking. The questions provided a way for the informants to share their thoughts and feelings about the culture, language learning, social interactions, and spiritual life within the community. Each participant answered in a different way, which shows the uniqueness of the individuals and revealed individual perspectives. Data collected at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School was shared with the principal, who offered ideas and added corrections where applicable. Items and artifacts from the Ukrainian church and school community were shared with people who were church members during the 1920s to the present for feedback and accuracy. Comments that were made by these informants were added to the data before analysis and interpretation to insure a circumspect view of the data. However, direct quotes are not provided in this study to provide anonymity for participants.

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix A for more information about interactions and interviews with participants.

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Each participant offered a unique view into the daily life within this Ukrainian community.

**4. Inductive, interactive, recursive data collection and analytic strategies build local cultural theories.** Members of this community gave artifacts from the Ukrainian community to me. The artifacts portrayed a cultural, distinctively Ukrainian lens that provided cultural knowledge about the community. Examples of artifacts included: *matryoshka* nesting dolls, *pysanky* Easter eggs, *rushnyky* ritual cloths, Ukrainian books, photographs, and Ukrainian language audio tapes. Historical information came in several forms:

- Books about Ukraine or texts from Ukrainian immigrants
- Materials given to me by participants, such as photos, yearbooks, and documents
- Artifacts used in the community, such as church bulletins, school booklets, and other documents used at the church or schools.

The study included a variety of perspectives and points of views that became lenses to view the research. Historical information and historical data items provided an historical lens for the study. Participants at the church offered a spiritual lens and students, faculty, alumni, and parents at the schools shared an educational lens. Community members provided a lens into the daily life within the Ukrainian networks of people. Information, artifacts, and historical information found at the Ukrainian Museum provided an objective way to check for accuracy of the information shared during interviews and provided in the surveys by members of the Ukrainian community.

Data collected from the study. For example, and business centers of the community, and the process of triangulation within the community. On to insure accuracy, repeating the process, the data led to a step in the study. Study were the participants and provided a narrative were grouped by data the group repeated until

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and formal interviews and articles about schooling all participants determined during the study. Reluctant to

Data collected pointed to several areas that could be developed for further study. For example, during the pilot study while observing the church, school, and business communities, a theory began to emerge that the church was the center of the community. Observation field notes, historical information about the community, and conversations heard during interviews were compared. This process of triangulation of data led to general and abstract ideas about the community. Once an idea was found to be true, a model was held up for testing to insure accuracy. The process of grounded theory formation continued, repeating the process until a pattern emerged from the data. Patterns found in the data led to forming hunches about the community, which provided the next step in the study. Hunches about the church community formed during the pilot study were then investigated in this dissertation study. This interactive work with participants and data sources led to a constant comparison of data items that provided a natural recursive process during data collection. Collected data items were grouped together to form categories. When a pattern was found for the data the groupings were placed in categories. This cycle of data collection was repeated until a grounded theory was established.

**5. Multiple data sources are used.** Observation field notes, informal and formal interviews, questionnaire, historical information, artifacts, and books and articles about Ukraine, Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian Catholic Church, and schooling all provided data for this study. The research instruments used were determined during the pilot study. People in the Ukrainian community were at first reluctant to speak with me and body language revealed that some people

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were uncomfortable with my presence in the community. This situation led to my participation in the events, such as worship services, school classes, and community events. Field notes were not written during events, but later when I was alone and away from the community I wrote observation notes. After a number of months of participating and conversing with people within the community, one person at the church and one at the school permitted a short interview. The questions were general in nature about their own opinions and memories within the community and each interview lasted a few minutes. During the year long pilot study trust began to develop and I was able to write my observations while in the presence of the participants. Observations on site documented events and then I commented on each event after the fact at a later time. Once the dissertation study began trust was established with participants and field notes were written while being on site.

Once my presence was accepted on site, observation field notes were made from a participant observer stance, rather than a participant position during the research. Rapport was developed during the pilot study and I was able to move from an observer to a participant observer during the dissertation study. This brought a more intimate view to the study. Worship services, school classes, community events and interviews were not only observed, but the notes became an account of someone who is participating in the events. Notes were written metacognitively, or in other words, the process for documentation was observing, writing, reflecting upon what was written, and then revising the field notes. Original field notes were made while being on site during the activity or

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**6. Behavior and beliefs are examined in context.** Many of the people who participated in this study came directly from Ukraine, but the setting for this study is the Ukrainian community that exists now in Detroit and a nearby suburb. Cultural behavior and beliefs were studied as they appeared in this specific Ukrainian community. This study is locally specific or in other words, the ways the people in this Detroit Ukrainian community make meanings and construct understandings of their world can be found in this specific location. These locally significant constructions of beliefs and behaviors found in the Ukrainian community can be very different from other cultures, even in the same locations. There are different cultures and ethnic communities co-existing in the same area, such as Polish, Muslim, Arab, and Indian. All of the ethnic communities live in the same areas as the Ukrainian community and they are often neighbors. The meanings of beliefs and behaviors, and the understandings of their own specific worlds can be very different from the Ukrainian perspective. This means that points of view can be distinct to their respective culture in this specific Detroit location. Therefore, due to the unique situation and perspective of the Detroit Ukrainian community in this local setting, ethnographic methods of investigation were used to discover what takes place within the Ukrainian community.

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Qualitative techniques were used to find the reasons individuals within the community gave for their actions. Ethnography is based on the concept of culture and Singer (1995) argues that participant observation is the cornerstone of ethnography.

#### **7. The concept of culture is a lens used to interpret results.**

Connecting with people in the Ukrainian community was a priority for an accurate and informed study about the social, cultural and spiritual life in the community. Finding someone to become a connection into the community became the first step in the pilot study. This connection provided entrance into the daily lives of the Ukrainian community. It was also very important for me to move about the events and people freely. In order to obtain a close, more intimate view of the culture in the community I needed to become one of them as much as possible, which meant a change in my stance as a researcher – from being an outside observer to a participant observer. Many of the events and traditions of behavior within the community were open to the public and that was where I began to take observation field notes. Observation field notes included the setting, noting the people involved, the actions and behaviors that took place, and any other details that seemed important in the context of the community.

As a participant observer during the dissertation study, the people became familiar with the process of me sitting next to them and taking observation field notes. Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church and schools were the first places for taking observation field notes. Weekly worship services offered an ongoing event where I could make repeated observations within the

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community. After I became a participant observer I was able to make contact with individuals in the community before, during, or after each worship service or community event. This provided a way to study language, community and culture.

### **Studying Language, Community, and Culture**

The dissertation project incorporated qualitative research to study the Ukrainian American literate identity for immigrants through language, community, and culture. English and Ukrainian are spoken and written in all areas of the community. Language practices became a focal point of study in the schools, churches, and in the community<sup>4</sup>. The community, both as a place in the Detroit area and as a group of Ukrainian immigrants, became a second focal point in the study. Culture, as it is lived out in the daily lives of the Ukrainian community was a third focal point in the research. These three focal points became the core of the study as fieldwork was carried out in the Detroit Ukrainian American immigrant community.

All fieldwork was done in the natural setting of the Ukrainian community and any information about language, community, and/or culture was written as description, with interpretation, but without adding a critical response or adding my evaluation to the text. This decision was made to provide anonymity for participants in the community and to honor the culture and language of my family and the participants in this study. As the study progressed, the process of

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<sup>4</sup>See Figure 5 for the language levels of fluency in English and Ukrainian for parents of students at the high school.

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immigration was studied as it related to language, community, and culture.

Rather than looking for outcomes or goals for those involved, the process of events and activities was studied. Inductive analysis meant that data about language, community, and culture brought about the analysis, rather than deductive analysis with the data being reduced to simple findings<sup>5</sup>. One goal for this study was to provide meaning and voice for the Ukrainian participants and to honor and understand those I observed in the study<sup>6</sup>.

The project consisted of a collection of oral history stories from Ukrainian immigrants and others in the Ukrainian community about language practices, community life, and Ukrainian culture. These stories or narratives were collected during the study in the following ways:

- Oral interviews
- Surveys about the language learning experience for immigrants and community members
- Field notes taken during fieldwork observations
- Public information that pertains to the Ukrainian community
- Events and activities that Ukrainians attend within the community

As a precaution to protect true identity of participants, oral histories were written as narratives and direct quotes were not included. Susan Florio-Ruane states in her book, *Teacher Education and the Cultural Imagination: Autobiography, Conversation, and Narrative*,

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<sup>5</sup> See Figure 4 for types of data and kinds of analyses used in this study.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix A for more information about interactions and interviews with participants.

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**“Narrative is imposed on the bits and pieces of experience to create a coherent sense of meaning spanning past, present, and future. Our stories can become so deeply sedimented that we lose awareness of them as social constructions.” (Florio-Ruane, 2001, 145)**

**Realizing this tendency for social construction when writing narratives, the stories used in this study are balanced with facts and information found in several of the following areas:**

- **The immigration process as noted by immigration and historical researchers**
- **Historical primary and secondary source information data collected during the pilot study**
- **Using several stories from different people for any one idea and comparing the information collected**
- **Confirming stories as true or factual through comparison with other data sources**
- **Triangulation of data to provide an objective process of checks and balances (Kelson and DeLaet, 1999), (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001), (Daniels, 1990), (Whyte, 1975), (Dinnerstein and Reimers, 1975, 1999), (Barkan, 1996), (DeLaet, 2000), (Foners, 2001).**

**In Robert Coles, *The Call of Stories*, the author noted the importance of describing events as they happen in the here and now. There is power given to a story through on site description and participants become empowered. Both**

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sources of data provide meaning and authenticity to a story. He writes about a student,

"He was reminding me, really, of the wonderful memetic power a novel or a story can have – its capacity to work its way well into one's thinking life, yes, but also one's reveries or idle thoughts, even one's moods and dreams. 'I come back from working with those kids and I think of what Chekov wrote in "Gooseberries." What he wrote isn't just another paragraph in a story; it is what's happening to you, right here, right now.' So it goes this immediacy that a story can possess, as it connects so persuasively with human experience" (Coles, 1989, 204-5)

Thick description as stated by Geertz (1973) was used during data collection, when writing observation field notes, and during the writing for this dissertation. Great detail about the setting, people, and feelings I had during events as well as the expressions on the faces of people as we were conversing were included in the field notes. Details about language usage, experiences in the Ukrainian community, and Ukrainian culture provided rich description during data collection and the interviews and narratives provided by the participants included thick description. Although the study is based on description with many details, it is none the less, interpretive.

Frederick Erickson uses the term *interpretive* for three reasons:

1. It is more inclusive than many other qualitative method terms;
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3. It points to the key feature of family resemblance among the various approaches. (Erickson, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1982, 1984)

Erickson's reasons contain the *raison d'être* for this interpretive study.

The research is inclusive, quantification is used in the study along with qualitative research, and there are a variety of approaches to this study since the study considers many different data sources and also has social, historical, and cultural aspects in each part of the study. For the anthropologist, a term used for qualitative methods is "interpretive", which notes a careful view of reality.

"Interpretivists view culture as both cognitive and affective, as reflected in shared meanings and as expressed in common language, symbols, and other modes of communication . . . Culture, then, is an abstract 'construct' put together or 'constructed' as people interact with each other and participate in shared activities." (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999)

Other scholars have described qualitative research. Bogdan and Biklen (1992), explain the term "qualitative research" as an umbrella term for several research strategies that have similar characteristics in research methods. Education, social science, and anthropology have all opened the doors of research to welcome writing about research with words that employ rich description, using data that is "soft" or in other words using rich, thick description when writing about places and conversations with people. This study involved language practices in many aspects of the Ukrainian community and a variety of ways that Ukrainian culture is lived out in the daily lives for participants; the information cannot be reduced to statistics. Therefore, qualitative research is the

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proper choice as a research paradigm for this study. Thick description following ethnographic methods was used to record and explain the process of research (Geertz, 1973 and 1993). In other words, I established rapport with the participants, chose participants, and observed and transcribed the interactions with participants using elaborate details and abundant descriptions.

The information and data collected about language, community, and culture was written with “rich description.” Every detail written in continuous narrative description, or what Erickson calls, “writing like crazy,” was used for interpretation. In this sense, I was a part of the participant voice that is written. My own thoughts and views were a part of the information that is interpreted in the study. This reflexivity provided an intimate look at the community.

Just as “interpretive” is used by anthropologists to note an interpretivist paradigm for research, the term “constructivist” is often used by educational researchers. Both terms denote a social construction of reality, which means that constructivists and interpretivists believe that what participants know and believe to be true about the world is constructed, or created and made up, as people interact with one another over a period of time in specific social settings (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

I used constructs to provide meaning for the participants and these were balanced by comparing my constructs with the constructs the participants *created* for the same information. One construct that was used is the term, “immigration process.” The research project was informed by several perspectives of the “immigration process.” In this study, I argue that the

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immigration process, or the process of emigration from the homeland to immigration in the United States, has been shaped by the immigrants who have come in previous times and who are still living in the existing immigrant community. This “immigration process,” as mentioned in the preface, involves the Ukrainian community as the immigrants assimilated into the community mentored the new immigrants coming to the existing Ukrainian community. The process of mentoring in the Ukrainian immigrant community made it possible for new immigrants to learn how to live in America when first coming to the Detroit Ukrainian American community. Mentoring with a concentration on language, community, and culture facilitated the assimilation process for new immigrants and provided a focus for data collection. This process of mentoring in the community has evolved over time according to changes in American society to meet the needs of new Ukrainian immigrants.

### **Data Sources**

Data for this study comes from observation field notes, primary sources, participant interviews, surveys, artifacts, historical and cultural information, public records, and miscellaneous information collected.<sup>7</sup> A pilot study from 2000-2001 provided background information about historical information, the immigration process involved for participants, and allowed me to become a participant observer in the community. Participants in the study include members of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church and St. Josaphat Ukrainian

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<sup>7</sup> See Appendix B for examples of UCRIHS permissions and Figure 7 for an example of the survey questions.

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Catholic Church, students and faculty at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Schools, and members in the Ukrainian American community in Detroit Michigan, and the Ukrainian American community in the Detroit suburb.

The numerous objet d'arts collected during this study display a wide range of cultural items significant to Ukrainians in this community. Some relics are part of the wider Ukrainian community, as it exists over time between Ukraine and America. Other artifacts were given to me by participants, some items were found during data collection, and some were sought through Ukrainian establishments and retail stores. During data collection, items that were found included various books, photographs, fabric, icons, foods, items of clothing, music recordings, language cassette tapes, a souvenir year book for the church and school community, church bulletins, advertisements for community businesses and groups within the community that appeared in church bulletins and school booklets, and textbooks used in the school.<sup>8</sup>

### **Setting and Context**

This study spanned two countries: Ukraine and America. Research for the study followed the socio-cultural and social constructivist theoretical framework which included a historical, social, and cultural context. Historical information about Russia and present day Ukraine were part of the context for his study. The local setting for the study included a Ukrainian immigrant community in the city of Detroit and a sister Ukrainian community in a suburban area within ten miles of the Detroit city limits. This Ukrainian American community of

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<sup>8</sup> See Figure 3 for a matrix of data collection used in this study.

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immigrants began in the city of Detroit in the late 1800s with Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church founded as a mission site for Ukrainian Catholic immigrants. Ukrainian networks soon formed in all areas of daily life and these networks provided form and structure for the community. Networks included businesses, schools, church and community committees, parent groups, student groups, musical cultural groups, planning and building committees, and other such networks for daily life. Cultural networks facilitated a way to offer support for new Ukrainian immigrants during the immigration process as they settled in America and became Ukrainian Americans. As the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community grew in numbers, the community expanded into the suburbs with St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church, which began as a mission Ukrainian Catholic Church in the 1950s.

Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church and St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church both support and maintain Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Schools, comprising an elementary school, a middle school, and a high school. The Ukrainian Catholic Church founded a grammar school in 1936 with classes provided for Ukrainian immigrants to not only learn English, but a full school curriculum was provided. Before a formal school was established, classes were offered to Ukrainian immigrant adults and children to learn English in the evenings. Rooms above the convent were used for classrooms and the priests and nuns of the parish were the first teachers. Aunt

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Maria remembers learning English in the evenings beginning in 1924<sup>9</sup>. (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Interview with Maria, 2002)

### **Participants**

Participants for the study include people from Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church, St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School, Ukrainian American community in Detroit Michigan, and the Ukrainian American community in the suburbs.<sup>10</sup> Observation field notes were made during all visits to the community. In addition, I also collected materials that were relevant to the study such as church bulletins, textbooks, advertisements, yearbooks, and other artifacts that pertained to the field notes. When leaving the field, I reread the observation field notes and wrote annotations about the experience, stating feelings, hunches, beginning theories that were emerging, and any other information that was helpful to the study. This reflexive lens allowed me to be a participant in the study as I was collecting data. Notes were written with "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) to include rich details and as complete a description of the setting, experience, people, and any other relevant information that was possible.

Interviews with participants were usually between 30 – 60 minutes in length. Some of the interviews were audio taped, but many of the interviews were brief and impromptu, without a tape recorder available. Oftentimes,

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 3 for a detailed account of the education of immigrants in the community and the process of literate identity formation for new immigrants in the Ukrainian community.

<sup>10</sup> See Figure 10 for a list of participants in the study. Participants came from the church, school and community.

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someone would be sitting next to me or walking near me and a conversation would develop leading into a short interview. Interviews provided first hand knowledge about the following:

- New immigrants who came to America in the last decade
- Immigrants who came to America as children
- Immigrants who have been here since the early 1900s
- Second generation immigrants and
- Third generation immigrants

All of the interviews provided a view into the lives of different family groups in the community. Interviews during the pilot study provided knowledge that revealed similar patterns in the events and information about the immigrants that presented questions to include in a survey that was taken during the actual study.

Questions asked during interviews were open ended and focused on the language practices, Ukrainian culture, and the community. Interview participants were free to answer however they chose. However, some participants did not answer any of the questions. During the dissertation study a survey was created and copies were given to the principal at the Ukrainian Catholic High School. The principal gave the survey to students chosen by the leadership at the school. Questions on the survey included information about nationality, language practices, education, culture, and life in Ukraine<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> See Figure 7 for a sample of survey questions used in this study. See Appendix B for copies of UCRIHS permission forms in English and Ukrainian.

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In addition to the interviews and survey, artifacts found and collected in this study provided an additional data source to compare with the interviews, survey, and observation field notes as a way to triangulate data. Artifacts varied in the type of artifact, the source of the artifact, the importance given to this study, and the significance of each artifact to Ukrainian life in the community. Types of artifacts found included: textbooks, yearbooks, catechism text, booklets, photographs, fabric (*rushnyk*), Ukrainian Easter eggs (*pysanky*), spiritual icons, Ukrainian foods, clothing, music, Ukrainian language tapes, church bulletins, advertisements for places in the community<sup>12</sup>.

The source of artifacts included: participant gifts, artifacts collected, and artifacts found during the study. Each artifact had a level of importance for the study from low to high. Clothing, foods, music, language tapes and booklets held an average importance to the study – they represented the culture, but they did not add to a knowledge base that was helpful for analysis or findings for the study. Textbooks, yearbook, catechism text, photos, fabric, icons, church bulletins, and advertisements each had a high level of importance for the study and each of these artifacts became important for the triangulation of data and for the analysis and interpretation of the findings. Artifacts in the study had a range of significance for the Ukrainian community. The ways that artifacts were used in the community displayed the level and types of significance of the artifacts to

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<sup>12</sup> See Figure 8 for types of artifacts collected in this study.

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community members. Significance was noted and grouped as: community, cultural, educational, historical, museum, or spiritual<sup>13</sup>.

Participants for this study came from a Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community and a Ukrainian community in a nearby suburb. Members from Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church and St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church became participants in the study. Faculty, students, and alumni from Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Schools and their business sponsors in the community were also informants and participants. People in the community also participated in the study through interviews and a survey. My own participation in the study as a participant observer provided a reflexive lens that was part of the story of my family and their membership in the Ukrainian community (Au, 1997; Krieger, 1991; Harding, 1987). Bennis advocates including the “self” in research, “The reflexive process can be an advantage, for it provides an ‘inside track,’ a ‘within-ness’ that other sciences lack.” (Bennis, 1968 in Krieger, 1991)

### **Analysis and Findings**

Analysis of the data came about in three stages: item, pattern, and structure. Items collected included church bulletins, survey responses, artifacts, taped conversations and face-to-face interview dialogue, and primary source

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<sup>13</sup> See Figure 9 for the cover terms of the artifacts used for data and how they were categorized into three segments of life in the Ukrainian immigrant community: spiritual life, daily life, and school life.

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historical information. Items that fit together were grouped into categories that related to each other and formed a pattern. Larger groups of patterns were arranged into structures. These structures were then placed in charts, tables, or some form of graphic image. For example, several questions on the survey presented to students at the high school revealed that mothers and fathers did not always have the same level of language fluency. A chart was then created to display all of the language fluency levels that were given, such as mother's English for speaking, writing, and reading and father's English for speaking, writing, and reading.

Some patterns formed a relationship with other patterns and led to a hypothesis or helped to explain a theory about the study. Figure 5 is an example for language practices of the parents in this study<sup>14</sup>. The chart reveals that parents in the study practice Ukrainian and English language at home and in the community. This led to a theory that the community language practices are bilingual – using both English and Ukrainian in daily life. To test this theory, the data about language practices for parents was compared to the language practices during worship services. Both English and Ukrainian languages are used in worship services, which confirmed the theory of bilingual practices<sup>15</sup>.

Data collection continued until stable patterns were found in the data items. Items that fit together were put into a grouping and organized into tables and charts. Then, constant comparison of data groupings provided additional

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<sup>14</sup> See Figure 5 for an example of English and Ukrainian language practices of the parents at the high school.

<sup>15</sup> See Figure 6 for data of language practices for worship services.

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information. This information was compared with other data sources to find connections that could point to a hypothesis about the data. For example, after attending worship services for several months and collecting church bulletins, I noticed that each bulletin had a section with upcoming community activities and a section for advertisements of places in the community. When the activities were grouped together, they provided a view of events attended by community members. This knowledge opened up other sources of data for observation field notes and for participant interviews.

In like fashion, when the advertisements in the church bulletins were placed in a group and organized into sections, such as, restaurants, medical services, banks, etc. it was evident that there were many varied businesses and services available in the Ukrainian community. Ukrainian people in the community could choose stores and services within the community for most needs they would have in daily life and also for needs they might have throughout a lifetime. A hypothesis developed that the community offered goods and services to immigrants over a long period of time. This pointed to a stable economic base for the places in the community. If this was true, then certain places in the community would be sustained over many decades.

To test this hypothesis, the places noted in the 1963 Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church yearbook were compared with the chart of advertisers in 2002 to look for the same types of places and to note any of the places in 1963 were still part of the Ukrainian community in 2002. A model was

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then formed to use for analysis of the data<sup>16</sup>. In this case the model formed included several forms of data: places in the community noted in a 1963 church yearbook; places advertised in the church bulletins in 2002; and a chart to compare both lists of places. LeCompte and Schensul (1999), note that a model is formed from a hypothesized relationship between the items, the concepts, or domains of culture, which in this case is Ukrainian culture in the immigrant community.

The process of collecting data items, finding patterns for categories, and forming hunches that are tested for accuracy continued throughout the study. Glaser and Strauss (1967) referred to this process as “grounded theory.” In other words, this recursive analysis is the continuous interaction or constant comparison of data items until a stable pattern of the culture, a reliable cultural prototype forms that can be analyzed and interpreted. Spradley (1979) expressed the process as domain and structural analysis, whereas Merriman (1988) and LeCompte and Preissle (1993) call it recursive analysis.

Recursivity refers to the cyclical process of data analysis that moves back and forth between inductive and deductive analysis. Inductive analysis uses specific data items and forms more general explanations about the items. Deductive analysis begins with general explanatory statements and applies the statements to groups of specific data items. LeCompte (1990) terms the result of recursive analysis as a successive process, developing item, pattern, and interpretive levels of analysis. In this study the recursive process continued throughout the data collection and analysis of the data.

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<sup>16</sup> See Figures 16 and 17 for places in the community in 1963 and 2002.

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For example, during the one year pilot study the data of historical research information regarding immigrants pointed to immigrants coming to America and then contacting other family members to join them. During the dissertation study persons who were interviewed or participated in some way were asked if family members were in America. If they were not, the participant was asked if there were plans to bring the family to America. Most of the new immigrants in the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community were here and living with a relative or they were planning on a family member joining them in the future. This process of family immigration began with the first wave of immigration at the turn of the twentieth century. From the accounts of current new immigrants in the Detroit Ukrainian community one century later, it is evident that the pattern for immigrant family members in America to be joined by other immigrant family members is still a working model. The principal at the high school also stated that new immigrants came to the school to be sponsored by a relative, usually an aunt, uncle, or cousin. Findings from data analysis became hypotheses or grounded theories that included:

- The church was the center of the community: geographically, educationally, spiritually, economically, and socially.
- Leadership in the community beginning in the early 1900s first came from the church leadership.
- As the center of the community, the church provided the core values, cultural norms, spiritual guidance, and building space for community needs

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- The community networks established a way for the daily needs of immigrants to be met throughout a lifetime.
- The community offered mentoring for immigrants to facilitate the immigration process.
- The immigrants formed an identity as Ukrainian Americans through the interactions with people in the community and as the immigrants interacted within the community networks.

The dissertation study described in this chapter begins the conversation about the research for the study. In Chapter 2 community life for Ukrainian immigrants is introduced and described as the Ukrainian social networks in the Detroit community developed over the past century.

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## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Life in a Ukrainian American Community**

#### **Mikhail's Story**

This was the day five year old Mikhail and his family had waited for his whole life. It was a day filled with joyful anticipation and yet a fear of rejection hung over their hearts and clouded the anticipated joy. Mikhail stood in the long and winding line with his parents waiting for someone from the immigration office in New York to interview the family. The long-drawn-out line of immigrants standing in front of Mikhail's family seemed to blend in with Mikhail's family. They began to feel like family to Mikhail since they all spoke the same language. There were children playing with anything they could find that felt like home and beside each child Mikhail could see a number of adults standing with their eyes fixed on the children and looking afraid and worried. Each family stood together waiting for their turn to be heard by the immigration officers. The loud voices of people nearby speaking in a different language added to the anxiety that the Russian family felt as they prayed for God's favor in this situation.

Mikhail, a small child had health problems that affected his ability to walk and the family feared that he would be denied entrance to the United States. His family had prayed for weeks while still in Russia that they could stay together when they reached America and Mikhail had practiced walking about without help for weeks before they arrived in New York trying to hide his slight limp and hoping to appear "normal" to those in authority at the immigration office. Now the time was upon them and this day the family took their turn and went before the

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authorities. When Mikhail's family was called they walked forward together and said a prayer with each step for divine mercy. To everyone's surprise Mikhail was allowed to enter the country with the rest of his family. The remembrance of this special day in 1949 has been deeply implanted into the memory of Mikhail and his family. Now their dreams of a better life for the family would surely come true.

Russia was their homeland and the family had lived west of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the region that is now Ukraine. Generations of family had settled in the same area and the security felt from closeness between family members and neighbors was something that kept the family in Russia for so many years. However, there were small political uprisings frequently in and around Kiev which brought feelings of instability to Ukrainians. Mikhail's family often felt unsafe and they feared for their children's lives. His parents and grandparents had dreams of more opportunity in life. They wanted their children to have a good education which was not possible in Russia. The schools were far from the family home with many schools only in large cities. There was also a problem with transportation and living quarters for students which made school almost impossible for the children in Mikhail's family. Each class in Russia instructed using only the Russian language and students were not permitted to speak or write using Ukrainian. This also did not meet the family's needs.

Mikhail's family was Ukrainian and they did not want the children to become Russian. There was a push for what Mikhail's grandfather called, "Russification," which means that Russia moved throughout the surrounding

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lands and countries with the intent to dominate them and the result was to impose Russian culture, language, and way of life upon all of the people. Mikhail's family watched this happen throughout Europe and Asia and Mikhail's family felt the pressure of losing their Ukrainian voice, losing their culture, and they feared they would lose themselves in the process. Many families living in the Russian-ruled territories moved eastward to settle in Central and Eastern Asia. Those Ukrainians living in Central and Eastern Ukraine immigrated to America. The fear of being dominated and becoming Russian pushed Mikhail's Ukrainian family out of Russia and the dreams of personal freedom, financial success, and free education pulled the family to America where they believed they would be able to settle in the land where dreams came true. News about other Ukrainian families who settled in America in the past and found success in life brought courage to Mikhail's family to make the difficult decision to leave Ukraine and go to America. It stood to reason that if others could make it in America, they could too. (Pawliczko, 1994)

Once the family was safe in America they moved westward from New York to Michigan and settled in Detroit with other Ukrainian Catholic immigrant families in the Ukrainian community. The community of Ukrainian immigrants had been in the area since 1911 and there were Ukrainian networks in place so life could be carried on with other Ukrainians. There were churches, schools, banks, doctors, dentists, businesses, and establishments offered services such as restaurants, drug stores, beauty salons and barbershops. Stores for food, religious goods and imports/exports were near the houses where immigrants

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lived. Life in this community was full of Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian lifestyles. Mikhail and his family could walk from their home to church, school, and most any place else in the community. Soon after the family settled in the Ukrainian community, they were able to resume their Ukrainian lifestyle by attending a Ukrainian Catholic Church, going to Ukrainian markets for food and other household needs, and Mikhail and the other children went to a Ukrainian Catholic school – all within walking distance from their home. Mikhail's parents were no longer afraid when he left the family home for the Ukrainian community in America was a safe place to live.

Mikhail's parents and the children in the family joined Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church near Detroit. When Mikhail turned five he went to Immaculate Conception Grammar School where he learned English and Ukrainian throughout his education. It was a dream comes true for Mikhail and his family when they were able to speak Ukrainian at church and school. Mikhail and the other children joined in the Ukrainian spoken discussions with the rest of the class during religion classes and worship services in America. How proud his parents were to have a son in school since there was not the same opportunity for Mikhail in Russia. He continued his schooling at the Immaculate Conception High School graduating in 1963 with the rest of his class. This class was the first graduating class from Immaculate Conception High School. Graduating from high school was not the end of Mikhail's education. Mikhail then went to Wayne State University graduating in the field of education and obtaining bachelor and graduate degrees in education. (Interviews with Mikhail 2001-2002)

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Forty years later, in 2003, Mikhail is still living in the Ukrainian-American community near Detroit, however, he lives, works, and worships in the Ukrainian community in a nearby suburb. The community has now spread from Detroit to the suburbs and there are now two churches with St. Josaphat as a daughter church of Immaculate Conception, built in the 1980s. Mikhail has two children who also attend Immaculate Conception Schools and his family now attends St. Josaphat. The high school has successfully graduated 99% of all the graduating students at the school since the beginning in the 1960s. Immaculate Conception Schools began a \$2,000,000 building project in 2002 for the elementary, middle school, and high school located in a suburb ten miles north of Immaculate Conception Church. The K-12 schools have been successful for more than 65 years.

Mikhail's story is one of many stories from immigrants in the Ukrainian community. Each story expressed a longing for education, striving to achieve something in life, and having a steadfast loyalty to Ukrainian culture, spirituality, and Immaculate Conception Church and Schools. The immigration process for people in this community beginning with the first wave of immigrants in the late 1800s and continuing to the present is closely tied to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

My family and other immigrant families chose to leave their homeland, and settle in American immigrant communities where others speak the same language, value the same cultural traditions, and worship in the same way. Data for the study, as mentioned in the previous chapter, came from a community of

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Ukrainian immigrants that began in Detroit Michigan and grew in numbers and mission to an extended community in a suburb several miles from the original community.

### **History and Immigration**

Magosci's (1996) history of Ukraine was used throughout the chapters of this dissertation. The Basilian Fathers, pastors and spiritual leaders at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church wrote a history of the Detroit Ukrainian Catholic community in 1963 and this account of the beginnings of the Detroit Ukrainian community provided primary source materials for the dissertation study. Mary Antin's (2001) scholarship about her own experiences as a Russian Jewish emigrant and her accounts of the immigration process when coming to America provided another view to the immigrant experience. These three accounts of the immigrant experiences for Russians provided historical knowledge and information that was compared to current information about immigration for the Detroit Ukrainian community.

Foner's (2000) work, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration*, addressed education, employment, neighborhoods, gender, and race as the topics related to immigration. This book offered a critical assessment of "myths" that have affected how immigrants have been viewed by society. Foner revealed realities for both waves of immigration. Dinnerstein and Reimers (1977 and 1999) provided a summary of immigrant experiences and a reflection of the recent scholarship and public policies about immigration. *Ethnic*

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*Americans: A History of Immigration*, offered a concise and comprehensive overview of immigration from 1680 to 1996. Statistics and general information for Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, *The Ukrainian Chronicle* journal, Ukrainian Women's Alliance, Ukrainian Women's League of America, and Ukrainian people were other sources of information. Accounts from immigrants about their experiences were included. For example, one Ukrainian man in 1920s misidentified himself and when asked why, he said, "I usually say I'm Russian. If you say you're Ukrainian, the guy tells you, . . . 'What's that?' and you have to go into the whole history of Ukraine and explain to the guy what you mean. It is easier to just say you are Russian." (Dinnerstein and Reimers, 1999, p. 85-86).

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was mentioned in regards to the notion of interfaith marriages when in 1973, an Eastern Rite Catholic professor and pastor stated, "The danger from increasing interfaith marriages is not that Catholics will join some other churches or religions – but that they will become indifferent and estranged from religion in general." (Dinnerstein and Reimers, 1999, p. 187). This comment shows the serious thought given to the spiritual life for Ukrainian Catholics. Throughout my study, the notion that being Ukrainian and being Ukrainian Catholic was also a very important point in identity formation for the Detroit Ukrainian Catholic community.

*The Ukrainian Chronicle* was a journal published in the 1920s as a periodical offered in the Ukrainian language with news about current events in Ukraine and suggestions for how to cope with life in America. The Ukrainian

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Women's Alliance, which became the Ukrainian Woman's League of America in 1925, promoted the maintenance of traditional culture and they taught illiterates how to read while promoting the goal of a national Ukrainian state in Europe. Ukrainians were considered part of the "Slavic" group of immigrants that included Russians, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Slovaks, Slovenes, Poles, Croatians, Serbs, and Bulgarians. Together they accounted for 4 million new immigrants in the United States between 1890 and 1920s.

Barkan (1996) continued the conversation about immigrants with, *And Still They Come: Immigrants and American Society 1920-1990s*. Three segments of history are considered in Barkan's work: 1920-40, 1940-65, and 1965-1990. Barkan noted that there was some similarity in the ways new immigrant groups have replicated the efforts of their predecessors and contemporaries to cope with life in America. These similar ways of adjusting, or the *immigration process*, were a key aspect of my study. There were immigrant patterns that can be seen over the decades. Barkan summarized the process as, "While Americans debate, immigrants acculturate and their children integrate." (Barkan, 1996, p. 6) One of Barkan's main points for Ukrainians is that they, like Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Lithuanians, and other ethnic groups, entered their own ethnic communities when they came to America. Some postwar groups may have been better educated, more urbane, or perhaps more politically active, but the Ukrainian ethnic group and cultural community provided entrance into the American way of life for new immigrants.

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Kelson and DeLaet (1999) addressed the notion of immigration through the lens of gender. This work challenged the simplistic view that most scholarship assumed, that international migration resulted primarily with male workers. When women were acknowledged, the focus was on the low-wage labor sector of the world economy. Kelson and DeLaet maintained that there were a variety of occupational and social ways that women experienced international migration; migration was and is a complex and diverse experience that has not been fully examined for women.

Portes and Rumbaut (1996) provided a portrait of immigrant America and addressed the origin of immigrants: who they were and where they came from. Regarding language acquisition for immigrants, Portes and Rumbaut noted that first generation immigrants learned as much English as they needed to get by in America, but they continued to speak their mother tongue at home. Second generation immigrants grew up speaking the mother tongue at home, but English was spoken when away from home. The institutional pressures for Anglicization and the socioeconomic benefits of native fluency in English meant that in the public schools and in the wider society, English was expected. For third generation immigrants, English was the mother tongue spoken at home and English was used in public. A common thought about immigrants at the turn of the century was that immigrants had a lower intelligence or poor academic achievement due to bilingualism. A study in 1962 found that bilinguals actually performed best when there was a balance between languages. Switching from one language to another brought two different perspectives and found the

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*Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* by Roger Daniels (1990) provided comprehensive historical research on immigration. This work included both the immigration to the United States from around the world and the nationality of immigrants beginning with 1500 to the present. Daniels noted that in all of the statistics and information about immigrants, the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, and some parts of Germany were not recorded in the American data. The reason for this omission stems from national origin being listed when data was collected, not ethnicity.

Literature about immigrants opened the discussion about the process of immigration from Ukraine to America. Ukrainians have a story to tell that is all their own about their experiences of emigration from Ukraine and immigration to America. The following sections focused on the immigration process for the Detroit Ukrainian American community from primary source accounts of the Basilian Fathers who were leaders in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Ukrainian immigrant community began with a mission church in the early 1900s. In 1963, the Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy sent Basilian priests or Basilian Fathers who were also monks, to the Ukrainian Catholic churches in the Detroit community and from 1963 until the present Basilian Fathers have been pastors

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### **Emigrating from Ukraine**

Historically, life in Ukraine has been difficult for practicing Ukrainian Catholics for a number of centuries. In the midst of the persecution in the past century, the Ukrainian Catholic Church sought to carry out its mission in a new and different place where their hopes and dreams of living in freedom could be realized. The mission of the Ukrainian Catholic Church spread across the Atlantic Ocean to the United States and this new mission field in America was said to become, “the synthesis between the East and West by leading the East back to the One true fold. Because of this great mission, our Church has been persecuted through the ages not only by Orthodox Moscow, but also by Latin Catholic Poland” (The Basilian Fathers, 1963).

As many Ukrainian Catholics felt persecuted for their faith and way of life in Russia, Poland, and other surrounding countries in the late 1800's the Ukrainian Catholics turned their dreams to America and great numbers began to flee the persecution found in Russia and its surrounding countries. Ukrainian Catholic priests viewed Russia as “Godless Russian communists.” The priests could not understand how the communists seemed to tolerate the Latin Catholic Church of Poland by giving it its own church hierarchy, churches, schools, and newspapers and at the same time communists sought to exterminate the Ukrainian Catholic Church and other Eastern rite Churches by killing many

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<sup>1</sup> See Figure 11 for church and school growth between 1913 to 2002 of ICUCC and ICUCS.

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people and sending the rest to concentration camps in Siberia. Yet, the priests and faithful members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church continued to keep their faith and their Ukrainian Catholic Church continued to grow and, "walk its thorny path."

Ukrainian priests viewed the long-standing persecution coming from "enemies" in history such as, Czar Peter I and Catherine II of Russia, who, "not only tolerated Latin Catholics in Russia, but even granted freedom to these people. People of our rite, however, were spiritually tormented to no end" (The Basilian Fathers, 1963). This animosity between the Russians and Ukrainian Catholics involved different views about the beliefs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Ukrainian priests stated that the "enemies" spread false notions that the Western Latin Church is *the* Catholic Church. They noted that the Eastern Byzantine Rite did exist and was a part of the Catholic Church, which was a contradiction to this false notion. It was this "false view" of the Catholic Church as a Western Latin Church that was believed to be the root of so many controversies to this day.

This push from the Godless homeland for the Ukrainian emigrants was met with the pull of the "New World" freedom and American life for the immigrants who came to the United States. Stories of "streets of gold" and financial freedom were also being sent to Ukraine from those who left Ukraine and settled in America and this hope for success was an added blessing to the new immigrants. Large numbers of Ukrainians fled Ukraine with the first wave of immigrants that arrived at Ellis Island in the 1870's (Antin, 2001; Barkan, 1996;

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Daniels, 1990; Dinnerstein & Reimers, 1999; Foner, 2000; Portes and Rumbaut. 1996). My family left Russia in the early 1900s and settled in the Detroit Ukrainian community. Aunt Maria was the youngest female in the family and the only living family member. During a series of interviews Maria shared some of the events of her life and provided a firsthand look into the beginnings of the Ukrainian immigrant community. (Interviews with Maria 2000-2003)

### **Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church**

America became a mission place for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the late 1800's. Detroit was the site for the first Ukrainian immigrant church that was built during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A small Ukrainian community founded a parish on the West side of Detroit during the first decade of the 1900s. Ukrainians from all over the city of Detroit went to this church on Sunday mornings. Father Bartosh became the first pastor of St. John's parish in 1911. As more and more people moved to the East side of Detroit, it became inconvenient to travel to St. John's on the West side. Parishioners walked for miles or drove by carriage for hours to get to church on Sundays. Fr. Bartosh organized a committee to plan a new church on the East side and to collect \$600 to purchase land. Construction began in 1913 with the cornerstone blessed on December 25, 1913. The first mass was held on Palm Sunday, April 12, 1914. A Ukrainian National Home was built in 1915 several houses down the street from the church. This building became the Ukrainian Cultural Center and it was used for the Ukrainian Grammar School, parish organizations, parish dances, parish

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meetings, and all church related programs. Fr. Bartosh left the parish in 1918 and there were eight different priests at the church between 1919 and 1927. Maria remembers being a part of the church and learning from the nuns at night as early as 1924. (Basilian Fathers, 1963)

Fr. Chehansky arrived at ICUCC in 1936. He was young, energetic, and had a vision of the potential for the church that inspired spiritual growth and physical growth of membership and buildings. Three weeks after he arrived he founded the Apostleship of Prayer. That same year he founded the Immaculate Conception Grammar School and placed the school under the guidance of the Sisters of St. Basil<sup>2</sup>. Fr. Chehansky also began The Brotherhood of the Archangel St. Michael and the Sisterhood of Immaculate Conception, as well as a church choir. In 1941, a new church building was built and it was blessed during a ceremony in 1942. The parish was comprised of 200 families when he arrived – ten years later there were 1,000 families in the parish. The spiritual groups established at the church provided common values and spiritual motivation for growth in the community. During Fr. Chehansky's ten years at ICUCC the parish also purchased land in a suburb set aside for a summer camp for children and a picnic area for parishioners. He also started the Agenda Club for youth (Basilian Fathers, 1963).

According to the historical account provided by the Basilian Fathers in 1963, Fr. Bilynsky followed Fr. Chelhansky and began a new building project for the grammar school. The plans for the new grade school became reality and the building was completed in 1951. Fr. Schmondiuk issued the first Parish Bulletin

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<sup>2</sup> See Figure 12 for a history of the grade school from 1917 to 1964.

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which is still used for parishioners today. The church bulletins were and still are used at all worship services at ICUCC and each bulletin includes English and Ukrainian for bilingual texts.<sup>3</sup> He planned to build a rectory for the priests and a monastery for the sisters. Fr. Schmondiuk was responsible for many Ukrainian immigrants coming to Detroit. Fr. Knapp founded the first Ukrainian Catholic Parish Coeducational High School in the United States. The high school opened in 1959 with A Day of Prayer. In 1962 the Apostolic See and Bishop Gabro put Immaculate Conception Parish under the guidance of the Basilian monks. The arrival of the Basilian monks saw a new era of spiritual growth for the parish. As a monastic order, they held missions services and Lenten recollections and the priests taught in the grammar school and high school. The Basilian Fathers also provided an hour-long weekly radio broadcast called, "The Basilian Fathers' Ukrainian Hour." (Basilian Fathers, 1963)<sup>4</sup>

Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church became a place for first generation Ukrainian immigrants to call home. Portes and Rumbaut (1996, p. 95) state that, "For the most part, the first foreign-born generation lacks 'voice.'" The history of American immigration has a thread of fear that the "alien element" would bring disintegration and decay to the institutions of the country. Dinnerstein and Reimers (1999) note that intolerance for ethnic differences was one of the most serious difficulties new immigrants faced in America. Established United States citizens often held a "nativist" perspective, or an anti-immigrant perspective toward new immigrants. Daniels explains this perspective

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<sup>3</sup> Church bulletins for worship services are bilingual today at ICUCC and St. Josaphat.

<sup>4</sup> See Figure 13 to note spiritual guidance of priests and sisters in the community from 1911-1963.

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as a response to a specific aspect of immigration to the United States. Three phases of “nativism” can be found with discreet anti-immigrant activity. The anti-Catholic phase, aimed at Irish Catholics and to a lesser extent German Catholic immigrants flourished from 1830-1850s. There were fingers of this phase still in existence for many years after 1850. The second phase, the anti-Asian phase, began in 1870 with Chinese immigration thriving until the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Similar movements that followed included Japanese immigrants from 1905-1924 and Filipinos in the 1920s to 1930s. This movement, like the anti-Catholic movement never died completely. The third phase, or an “anti-*all* immigrants” phase began in 1880s. This phase gained momentum as a movement with general restrictions for immigration and continued to grow until the Immigration Act of 1924. This curtailed immigration to America for the next forty years. Daniels (1990) says there was never a time in American history when there was not a nativist perspective, or a nativist attitude. These attitudes led to fears of the unknown when new immigrants came to a community.

The immigrant churches were also attacked as a target for nativist fears and attitudes. Today, we see the restrictions placed on immigration as blatantly discriminatory and the notions that led to the restrictions seem false and unfair. Yet, with the anti-Catholic sentiment, the anti-all-immigrant attitude, and the governmental restrictions, the ICUCC community continued to grow and provided a way for first generation Ukrainian immigrants to have a voice in a new land through active participation at ICUCC. Therefore, the resilient ethnic identification of many communities such as the Detroit Ukrainian community and

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the unified ethnic politics that are based on cultural identity can be traced directly to the process of reactive formation as noted by scholars.

Glazer and others have stated that there is an American ethnic resilience found with immigrants in reaction to the discrimination they face in the receiving country. These negative experiences produced an identity of national origin, or ethnic identity as a basis for solidarity, rather than class or employment. The ethnic community at ICUCC has allowed Ukrainian immigrants to come to the United States and not experience the extent of discrimination that other immigrants have faced in different settings and at different times in history. The ICUCC community serves as a buffer for new immigrants which have a protective quality. I maintain that this community network at ICUCC has provided protection and support for new immigrants and this support allows new immigrants to move about the new country with greater ease and less tension than other immigrants who arrive in this country without a network, support group, or mentoring of others in the community to help with the immigration process. Portes and Rumbaut (1996), noted that it was natural for new immigrants to settle in community groups with the same culture and who spoke the same language. (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Glazer, 1954; Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996)

### **ICUC Grammar School**

Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Grammar School opened its doors to elementary school students at the Ukrainian House on Grayling Street in

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1917. The children came to the Ukrainian House after public school classes were over for the day. The evening classes at ICUCGS offered Ukrainian, Religion, and History. Before the Sisters of St. Basil the Great came to the school in 1928, the church cantors conducted the classes. Fr. Chehansky opened the parochial day school in 1936. The student body grew from 18 students in two classes in 1936 to 50 students in 1938, 108 students in 1939, 114 students in 1940, and the first graduating class from grammar school took place in 1941. As the school continued to grow, Fr. Schmondiuk started a school fund to build a new school building. The building fund collected \$70,000 and another \$30,000 was borrowed from the parishioners. Ground breaking Ceremonies brought another \$7,000 for the school. In 1951, Metropolitan Constantine Bohachevsky blessed the cornerstone of the new school building. By 1958 there were 608 students in the school, which required a large teaching staff. The Sisters of St. Basil the Great along with seven additional lay teachers made up the faculty. In 1963 there were 483 students enrolled at the school, filling the school to its physical capacity. (Basilian Fathers, 1963)<sup>5</sup>

In an interview with Aunt Maria, she recalled the longing for education that she experienced as a child. The males and females were treated differently at that time. Males were encouraged to go to public schools and females were kept from attending school. Yet, Maria kept her dream of education alive and pursued going to school. "I remember going to school at Immaculate Conception in 1924. My brothers went to the public school, but I wasn't allowed to go so I went to school at night. The nuns taught the classes and we met upstairs in the convent.

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<sup>5</sup> See Figure 12 for a history of the elementary school from 1917-1964.

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Mother was happy because I learned to speak Ukrainian, but I wasn't very good when it came to writing in Ukrainian. In the evening my family sat at the table for dinner and my brothers talked with my father about everything, it seemed. They even talked about politics, but I didn't know about the things they talked about and so I was quiet most nights. After a while, I stopped listening to the men talk. It was my way of fighting back for not being a part of the conversation."

(Interview with Aunt Maria, a member of the ICUCC community for 80 years.

She is now a member of St. Josaphat, 2001)

### **Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School**

The Ukrainian community in the United States worked to preserve the Ukrainian traditions and rituals, especially for Ukrainian youth. Parents wanted the Ukrainian Catholic Rite and the heritage of the Ukrainian culture to be shared with the young members of the community. Before the high school opened, parents watched children complete eight years of grammar school, and then go away from the community and eventually lose contact with their Ukrainian community at Immaculate Conception. It seemed obvious to those in authority that the work of preserving the heritage could not be accomplished without the Ukrainian Catholic high schools. Monsignor Knapp made a decision to organize the first Ukrainian co-educational high school in the United States. The goals were to: "1) preserve the youth in a religious spirit typical of our rite, 2) educate them with a solid, fundamental knowledge of Ukrainian language, history,

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literature, culture, and ancient customs, and 3) give them preparatory knowledge for admission to colleges and universities.” (Basilian Fathers, 1963)

A first step was taken in 1958 when Tau Beta Community Center was purchased. This decision received enthusiastic support from the principal who prepared the curriculum for the new high school. The building was prepared for the first students in 1959 and the graduates of the grammar school became the first students at the new high school. This vote of confidence added momentum to the project. It was said that the parents “unquestionably, placed their full confidence in their religious leaders and registered their children at the new high school.” (Basilian Fathers, 1963, p. 30) The name given to the high school was the Ukrainian High School and classes officially opened in 1959. A concert sponsored by the church choir in the Copernicus School Auditorium was provided for the Ukrainian community on December 6, 1959. It is worth noting that the event was called, “Ukrainian High School Day” and many Ukrainians became pioneer-founders of the school by giving generous financial gifts for the school. School colors were blue and silver and girls wore uniforms to school. A school newspaper was published and the beginnings of an athletic program for boys began in 1959 (ICUCC Yearbook, 1963).

The spiritual growth of the students was considered important from the onset. A school retreat became an annual event where Liturgy and Thanksgiving were celebrated and awards were given to the honor students. There were 32 students at the high school the first year and 95 students the second year. The old high school building was remodeled and the students went to a local public

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school for a time. Students returned to ICUC School in January 1961. A high school dance was held to celebrate the joyous occasion. Concerts provided by the high school choir for Ukrainians at the church and school, were enjoyed by the entire Ukrainian community. The high school events “were proving their effectiveness for the Ukrainian community.” (Basilian Fathers, 1963, p. 32)

By 1962 there were 185 students at the high school. The year was significant for the Immaculate Conception Ukrainian community for several reasons. In August 1962 the Basilian Fathers were appointed as the administrators of the parish. This tremendous work included: meeting the financial commitments of the parish, teaching the students at the parish schools, providing Liturgy and other religious traditions in the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and leading the immigrant community. This year was also the year for the first graduating class from the high school. Activities for the seniors included the senior class trip to Washington and New York, the Senior Banquet, Senior Prom, and Graduation Exercises June 9, 1963, which completed the secondary education for the first group of high school students. There were 30 graduates at the first commencement exercise. One of the first graduates became the principal at ICUCHS in the 1990s.

From the onset the high school curriculum included required classes for students. These required classes allowed all students to be well prepared for continuing their education at a college or university or to enter the business field with clerical skills. The curriculum in 1963 included two programs: a college preparatory course and a business course. College preparatory classes and

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Business classes each required four years of religion, English, Ukrainian, chorus, and health and physical education. Each student was also required to take two years of Mathematics and History (US History and East European). One year of biology and one semester of American Government were also required.

Electives for college prep included four years of Latin, world history, geography, two additional years of mathematics, general science or general business, two years of French or German, chemistry, physics, or two years of typing. Business electives offered in the program included two years of shorthand and typing, one year of Latin, world history, bookkeeping, and general business. Both programs also offered music, art, homemaking, and driver's training as general electives.

For several decades, the high school was located in the city, but the location changed to the suburbs in the 1990s. The Sisters of St. Basil the Great remained at the school for many years until one of the ICUCC graduates became the principal of the high school in the mid-1990s, becoming the first lay principal at the school. This was a turning point in the leadership. During my visits to the school during 2001-2002, the principal spoke of the changes that had taken place over the years. Not only was the principal the first lay person to serve as principal, but also the faculty for all of the subjects except religion were taught by laypersons. In previous years the Sisters of St. Basil were leaders and teachers at the school. In addition, the teaching staff included non Ukrainian speaking teachers who would not consider themselves Ukrainian. The curriculum for the 2001-2002 school years included requirements in the core curriculum, curriculum electives, and advanced placement classes. Of the required classes, all students

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are required to take four years of English, religion, and a foreign language. Students can take mathematics and science from two to four years. Three years of computer literacy are required and two years of physical education. Each student has one year of typing and one semester of health and civics. The curriculum electives include music, humanities, current events, foreign languages, accounting, and graphic arts. Advanced placement classes are also provided for mathematics and English<sup>6</sup>.

ICUCHS has a number of school activities, clubs, and service groups available for students that include: oratorical contests, Ukrainian Heritage Club, National Honor Society, chorus, yearbook, newspaper, computer club, debate club, foreign exchange club, lectors, SADD, ski club, Phi Beta Kappa, student council, audio tech club and students can work as departmental assistants. Athletics at the school include varsity and junior varsity basketball, women's basketball, baseball, softball, Jr. varsity women's volleyball, and soccer. The school athletic teams have received championship awards for: men's soccer - they were Soccer CHSL Champions in 1994; volleyball – District Champions 1995 and 1996; women's basketball CHSL Champions 1995 and 1996, and women's basketball District Champions in 1996<sup>7</sup>.

### **Activities, Athletics, and School Accomplishments**

During an interview, the principal at the high school noted that the school has a 100% graduation rate, 99% of the students go to a major university after

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<sup>6</sup> See Figure 19 for the ICUCHS 2002 curriculum

<sup>7</sup> See Figure 11 for development of ICUCS from 1913 to 2002.

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graduation, 50% of the graduates receive four-year scholarships, and 85% of the graduates receive philanthropic scholarships. The teacher/student ratio at the school is 1:5, or one teacher to five students. Since the school is a parochial school there is tuition for the students, but it is affordable so students can go to the school without the family experiencing hardship. During the 2001-2002 school year three families who had previously home schooled sent their children to ICICHS and the enrollment for the school year was 90 to 100. Immigrants come from Ukraine throughout the school year. Three new Ukrainian immigrant students came to the high school for the 2001-2002 school year. The school faculty has 8 teachers who are ICUCHS alumni and the suburban campus has 13.5 acres. The high school moved to the suburbs in 1999 and the school was noted as an "Outstanding American High School" in the *US News and World Report* in January 1999<sup>8</sup>.

Among the school accomplishments over the past 36 years, there have been more than 1100 graduates from the Ukrainian high school. Of the graduates, there are now more than 200 doctors, dentists, and health care professionals, more than 200 attorneys, and more than 200 engineers. The school graduates also consist of more than 100 business and administrative professionals, more than 75 of the graduates are educators, and there are two college professors, three principals – one elementary, one middle school, and one high school. Two graduates are US diplomats and seven graduates are journalists and authors. Six of the graduates are now in the entertainment industry and five graduates are criminologists. There are also two builders, two

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<sup>8</sup> See Figure 21 for school accomplishments.

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priests, one bishop, one Sister of St. Basil the Great, one archaeologist, one boxer, one forest ranger, one fireman, one international rock star, and one television broadcast journalist among the list of graduates at the high school.

In 2002, a building project began to combine the Immaculate Conception Schools and the Ukrainian Museum on an expanded suburban campus. Students moved into the completed facility during the 2003 school year. The ICUC Elementary School, the Academy or previously what was called the middle school and the high school are located in the same facility. There is also room for a museum to keep the Ukrainian heritage alive in the community. Funding for the \$2,000,000 school project came from the Ukrainian community itself. There were a number of options for supporters to donate money to the school through the IC Building Fund. The choices included: The Donor Tree, Personalized Engraved Bricks, Sponsor a Classroom, IC Schools Benefit Banquet, Donations from ICUCC, Donations from St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church, Large Glass Jar in the school for coins, Donations from Alumni, and Donations from the community<sup>9</sup>.

Of the financial supporters, there were 21 financial gifts between \$10,000 and \$150,000 given to the IC Building Fund by alumni, businesses in the Ukrainian community, two Ukrainian Credit Unions, and supporters from the Ukrainian community. These gifts of \$740,935 were part of the "Sponsor a Classroom" fund. One family donated \$150,000, one family and one credit union each gave \$100,000, anonymous sponsors gave \$40,000, a 1978 alumni family gave \$40,000, one family and two credit unions pledged \$30,000 each, five

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<sup>9</sup> See Figure 20 for donations given for the ICUCS building project in 2002.

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families donated \$25,000 each, and four families of which two are alumni, gave \$15,000 each. There were two family gifts of \$10,000 each, and one family gave \$5,000. An additional \$10,935 in donations came from memorials for the building fund.

The "Donor Tree" had options of \$1000, Bronze Leaf; \$5,000, Silver Leaf; \$10,000, Gold Leaf; or any amount could be given without a leaf. Each leaf could have an inscription with three lines of writing. This 15'x10' tree was designed by an alumnus from the 1973 graduating class and will be placed in the main lobby of the new school building with 6 ¼" x 3 ¾" bronze leaves, 7 ¼" x 4 ½" silver leaves, and 7 1/5" x 5" gold leaves. In a school newsletter the administrator of the school said this beautiful tree was to "represent our Immaculate Conception Schools' Family – strong, united, always growing and flourishing, while recognizing the donors, benefactors, and the work of countless people."

The *personalized engraved bricks* were placed in the entryway of the new addition and the choices for donors included a 4" x 8" brick with two or three lines of writing for a donation of \$125, or 8" x 8" with up to six lines of writing for a donation of \$250. Each brick has a logo, graphics, a message, family names, or other text. Homecoming for the high school took place Oct. 12, 2002 and that weekend included the IC Schools Benefit Banquet at the Ukrainian Cultural Center across from St. Josaphat Church.

All of the funds for the building project were advertised within the Ukrainian community. The money donated came from church members, school

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families, faculty, and alumni, and people living in the Ukrainian community.

There were no attempts made to advertise outside of the community. This great outpouring of financial gifts was evidence of the importance of education in the community. Several generations of new and old immigrants offered financial support for the ICUC Schools and the entire community displayed a commitment to the future of the schools and to the youth in the Ukrainian community.

### **St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church**

The early Ukrainian immigrants in the late 1800s came for economic reasons, primarily. Isajiw and Makuch (in Pawlickzko, 1994) noted that the western regions of Ukraine – Halychyna, or Galicia, Transcarpathia, and some from Bukovyna – were the areas in Ukraine where the first emigrants lived. The people in this area were predominantly from the Uniate Church, or the Greek Catholic Church, as they were known at that time or as Ukrainian Catholics in today's terminology. Immigrants from this area of Russia were peasants who were farmers or who were engaged in agricultural work in Russia. The group of immigrants had one of the highest illiteracy rates of all immigrant groups (Isajiw and Makuch, in Pawlickzko, 1994, p. 375). The Basilian Fathers believe that the "Providence of God" led the founders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America to come to "this side of the ocean along strange paths" (Basilian Fathers, 1963, p. 20). When the Ukrainian Church came to America, the Byzantine Rite, or the Eastern Rite also became the order and structure adopted for the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

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The first wave of Ukrainian immigrants identified with “rite” more than the teachings of the church. Rev. Voliansky, the first Ukrainian Catholic priest, came to America in 1884. With his arrival, he laid out a blueprint for community growth of Ukrainian organizations – parishes, schools, fraternal organizations, cooperative associations, cultural choirs, orchestras, and theater and dance ensembles, and the press. This pattern, still used today, and can be found in the Ukrainian community in Detroit. These early organizations of immigrants were closely tied to parishes. As time went on parallel organizations developed, with some distancing the organization from the church. (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Canadian Catholic Conference, 1975; Pawliczko, 1994; Solovey, 1970)

### **Places in the Ukrainian Community Network**

Ukrainian Catholic identity formation began with a blueprint created by the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The blueprint or model for creating, developing, and maintaining a Ukrainian Church community was embraced by the founding priests of ICUCC from the very beginning. Fr. Bartosh set the plan in motion when ICUCC began in 1913. The mission of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as told by the Basilian Fathers has been handed down by the “Providence of God” and the Ukrainian Catholic Church has “been trusted with the great mission of becoming the synthesis between the East and the West by leading the East back to the One true Fold” (Basilian Fathers, 1963, p. 6).

As ICUCC developed over the decades its members began to move from the city to the suburbs and in keeping with the mission of the church, ICUCC

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began a mission church in the suburbs of Detroit in 1963. This mission grew to become the new St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church. Fr. Jerome, who was a mission priest and assistant pastor at ICUCC, became the administrator of the St. Josaphat parish. He began a building project in 1963 for \$250,000 and then became pastor at St. Josaphat in 1964. Today, St. Josaphat has several large additions to the original building and these additions provided space for many of the Ukrainian network organizations, such as choirs, orchestras, dance ensembles, etc.

In keeping with Fr. Voliansky's 1884 original plan to develop a community around the church, a building for community and cultural events was built across the street from St. Josaphat. The Ukrainian Cultural Center provided the ability to combine ICUCC and St. Josaphat events. ICUC Schools Benefit Banquet at 4:30 on a Sunday in October 2002 became a celebration for the entire Ukrainian community in Detroit and the suburbs. In addition, the Ukrainian network included businesses and services for the Ukrainian population in Detroit and the suburbs.<sup>10</sup>

The first settlers in the Detroit Ukrainian community began creating the community with additions to ICUCC. In addition to the church the first rectory which was the center for Ukrainian habitation was added in 1913. IC Parish grade school was an addition to the community in 1917. In 1925 the Iwan Kotlarewsky Dramatic Society, with 46 performers in Ukrainian traditional costumes added cultural flare. The Sister's Convent was another building added to the community in 1928. In 1929 the "Kotlarewsky" Choir, with 85 performers in

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<sup>10</sup> See Figures 16 and 17 for places in the community in 1963 and 2002.

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traditional Ukrainian costume became part of the network. There was a local Red Cross project for parishioners and a truck brought the Red Cross organization and services to the parish.

Evening school classes were provided for 28 children from north Detroit, who were not enrolled in the parochial day school beginning in 1917. Fr. Chehansky and Mr. Nachwostach were the teachers. Fr. Chehansky was instrumental in beginning a church choir with 41 adults dressed in traditional costume, a Ukrainian band with 21 members, The Apostleship of Prayer, Blessed Virgin Mary Sodality, Sisterhood of the Immaculate Conception Church, 17 young men served the church as Knights of the Altar, and a bowling league with 50 IC members was sponsored by the church.

In 1963, the network in the Detroit Ukrainian community included a number of businesses. Following, is a list of some active businesses in the community: Three businesses (Steel, Iron, Lumber); two funeral homes; three banks; one credit union; two drug stores; one insurance agency; three food stores; two furniture stores; four gas service stations and fuel oil companies; one hair salon; one building corporation; two home improvement businesses; one greenhouse; one hardware; four import/export businesses; three religious goods stores; one photo processing business; two fire departments; and one cemetery.

The network plan for developing and maintaining the Ukrainian community has continued for decades. All of the businesses and places in the Detroit area that were in business and advertising within the Ukrainian community in 1963 were open for the Detroit community in 2002 and in addition now another

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Ukrainian community network has been established in the suburbs. By the year 2002 the Ukrainian community network in Detroit expanded and included a network in the suburbs. Now, two Ukrainian Catholic Churches – Immaculate Conception and St. Josaphat provide leadership in the expanded community . Three Ukrainian Catholic schools at ICUCS are a part of the community with an elementary school, a middle school, and a high school. The Ukrainian Cultural Center has been a place for the community to offer banquets, cultural events, and other activities that needed a lot of space for many people. There were six funeral homes, two credit unions, two drug stores, one insurance agency, and two restaurants in the community in 2002. Medical and dental services included five physicians and two dentists. There was one hair salon, one home improvement store, six real estate companies, two plumbing companies, four roofing companies, one heating and cooling, two import/export stores, one religious store, two photo processing/photographers, a retreat/picnic grounds, one auto dealer, one retirement village, and one cemetery in the Ukrainian network.

### **Ukrainian People**

Ukrainian people have a significant place in the history of the churches and schools in the Detroit Ukrainian community. Photographs of priests, nuns, parishioners, committee members, community events and community groups have been taken since the first church was established in 1913. In a Golden Jubilee Souvenir Yearbook that was published by ICUCC and the parochial schools in 1963, pictures of community people, places, and events were included

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**in** the book. One half of the book contained text in English and Ukrainian with **the** story of the Detroit Ukrainian community and one half of the book contained **photographs** of the people and events of the parish community. The photograph **section** of the book has the following text included as an introduction:

“OUR PARISH LIFE IN PICTURES – To capture the span of fifty years of parish work presents a problem. There are so many records to search; people to interview; and then, reluctantly, conclude that the picture is not quite complete. However, photographs are always helpful to portray a more complete story of our parish. We were fortunate to collect nearly 500 photographs in our church and school archives. Here we report those that shed light on our bustling past and present. As we glance at these pictures of the Immaculate Conception parish, may these memories of the past spur us on to greater deeds in the future” (Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 1913-1963).

Great attention to detail was provided by those creating the yearbook to **accurately** describe the people in the photographs and explain the context for the **pictures**. Beautiful colored photos of some of the icons painted on the church **walls**, ceilings, and in the altar area were included in the book. The icon painter **was** not only noted on each colored picture, but photographs of Mr. Dmytrensky **and** Mr. Konka were also included, complete with easel, paint and brushes in **hand**, standing by their work in the church as it was placed within the sanctuary. **Many** photos proudly exhibited the “first” happenings of the parish.

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There were photos of the first altar made for the church, dated 1914.

**O**ther photos of “firsts” include: The first rectory in 1913; the first parochial grade **s**chool; the first Sister’s Convent; the first marriage in the church in 1913; the first **c**hild to be baptized in 1913; the “pioneers” of the parish who served on the **f**ou nding committee; the first church hierarchy of the parish; and the first **t**raditional Ukrainian choir. Pictures of ICUCC as it was being built and pictures **o**f **t**he grade school as it was built next to the church along with photos of the first **s**ervice in the new ICUCC building in 1941 were a part of the yearbook. The first **p**arish “First Holy Communion Sunday”, which was noted as, “One of the most **p**recious days in the life of a parish . . . a procession of ‘innocents’.” Each **p**icture had a caption of text included and many of the photos had the date of the **p**icture included with the text.

All of the details and the care taken to showcase many people and events **i**n **t**he parish suggested that Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church, **U**krainian culture, Ukrainian Catholic spiritual life, and the Ukrainian immigrant **c**ommunity connected to the church have been treasured by the Ukrainian **i**mmigrant community for many decades. One can grasp the importance of **p**eople to this community through the photos that have been taken over the years **a**nd then chosen for the Jubilee Yearbook. The first picture in the yearbook was **a** **f**ull-page color photo of the painting of “The Mother of God Immaculate **C**onception Ukrainian Catholic Church”, which fills the domed ceiling over the **a**ltar area of the sanctuary. Next, there is a photo of Pope Paul VI, with a photo **o**f **t**he telegram sent to IC parish on the event of the Golden Jubilee. The

**tele**gram was from Western Union and had the following text: "ON THE  
**O**CCASION OF THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION  
**P**ARISH UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE HOLY FATHER CORDIALLY  
**I**MPARTS TO THE BASILIAN FATHERS, SISTERS, FACULTY, CHILDREN OF  
**G**RADE AND HIGH SCHOOLS, PARISHIONERS AND BENEFACTORS HIS  
**P**ATERNAL APOSTOLIC BLESSING" (Basilian Fathers, 1963).

One of the strong features of the Ukrainian American community was the  
**way** its institutions (e.g. school, church, commerce) have interwoven both the  
**Ukrainian** and English languages, forms, functions, norms and traditions. The  
**main**tenance of this state over generations suggested that it is not "merely" a  
**trans**itional state between Ukrainian and US experience, but an integration of  
**cultures** in ways which transform, invent, and re-invent Ukrainian American  
**cultural** identity and, as such, scaffolded and facilitated the experiences of new  
**arrivals**. The next chapter, "Ukrainian American Literate Identity," deals with this  
**dynamic** in the learning of language genres, registers, and speech events.

she was of course Auntie's adult nephew, and she was

## CHAPTER 3

### Ukrainian American Literate Identity

#### **H**elen's Story

For most of my growing up years, I have been told stories about my **gra**ndmother leaving Russia and coming to the United States. The stories **beg**an with my grandmother as a young woman. Early in the twentieth century **a y**oung woman, born in 1886, and her young husband came to the United **Sta**tes from Lviv, Russia. During their visit, a rebellion broke out in Ukraine **and** the borders of their Ukraine homeland changed from relatively **inde**pendent Ukrainian villages and cities to Russian occupied areas. My **gra**ndmother was not allowed to return to her homeland. Determined to build **a li**fe for herself in America she and her husband raised a family in America. **Aunt** Maria remembers the experiences of the children as they began their **sch**ooling. The young males were sent to a public school when they became **est**ablished as citizens of the United States, but the females were not **enc**ouraged to go to school to increase their knowledge or their English **lan**guage skills. When the sons arrived at public school, their first and last **na**mes were changed from "Ukrainian names" to "American names." The **adu**lt males in my family had a last name different from the rest of the family. **Aunt** Maria repeatedly sought to be included at school and after several years of **lon**ging to go to school she was sent to the Ukrainian Catholic School, but **she** was not able to attend the public school with the males.

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Aunt Maria remembered beginning school in 1924 when she was five years old. The classes were at night and the nuns taught English to the children and other adult immigrants in classrooms that were above the convent. Maria longed to know the same things that were taught in the public school, but she was not allowed to join her brothers. Like the rest of my family, Maria held fast to the dream of education throughout her life.

My grandmother chose not to learn English for many years as a way for her to claim her sense of agency, voice, and independence in this situation where she was forced to silence her Ukrainian self. Maria stated that Grandma chose not to be assimilated into American culture and did so by remaining solely in the Ukrainian culture in the community. She was active in her Ukrainian Catholic Church and found support within a community of Ukrainian immigrants. Grandfather died during the 1930s leaving Grandma with young daughters and sons. During World War II the sons were drafted and sent overseas to war, but the women remained at home. Grandma still did not read, speak, or write English, but the absence of men in the family now made it very difficult for her to carry on daily life in an English speaking world where she frequented the grocery stores, banks, and other English speaking businesses that were needed to keep life going. Maria also yearned to communicate with her mother using English so after a great amount of persuasion my Grandma agreed to learn how to speak English. Interestingly, comic books were the texts used to teach my Grandma the English language. Maria brought several comic books home and the two women sat at the



kitchen table and read the books together each evening. (Story told by my Aunt Maria as she remembered the family history, October, 2002)

The story of my family coming to America and becoming literate is one of many immigrant stories. Other immigrant groups have similar stories of becoming literate in America and each group has language practices for the native language and for learning English. My family became literate Americans in an educational system that was bilingual, honoring their native tongue and also providing English language classes. This study looked at a local private school system that has been in place for nearly a century.

This chapter highlights the language and literacy learning experience of Ukrainian Americans in the community I studied. The process of forming this specific educational approach to learning English and at the same time honoring the native Ukrainian language began in Russia with centuries old oral traditions of language usage that also combined folk and formal culture. Oral language and written language practices were embedded in the cultural traditions of the Ukrainian people in this immigrant community. These cultural mores included both the folk culture or grass roots cultural practices of everyday life and formal cultural rituals and customs that have been taught and thoughtfully handed down over the generations.

Language practices and cultural lifestyles were originally brought to America by the church leadership and later maintained by the Ukrainian immigrants themselves. Patterns of oral and written Ukrainian and English language usage were established by the Ukrainian Catholic Church leadership

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in the early 1900s and carried out at Immaculate Conception Church and in the Immaculate Conception School curriculum from the beginning. One century later, similar patterns of bi-lingual language practices and Ukrainian cultural customs are still used in the churches, in the schools, and in the community.

Today, Ukrainian immigrant parents and their children arrive in the Detroit community and have come already competent in Ukrainian or a first language and having acquired the sociolinguistic knowledge needed to communicate appropriately in their first language and home culture. In addition they are, in many cases, already learning English as a second or third language in Ukraine. These are language and cultural resources they bring to America and on which use to function in the new community (e.g. church, school, commerce, etc.) Once the family settles in the Ukrainian American community the immigrant children are placed in a learning situation at Immaculate Conception Schools where they learn English, but keep their native Ukrainian language as they learn to communicate with others at school and in the community. The Ukrainian immigrants are therefore able to understand and communicate with others in the community by using the Ukrainian oral and written language in the new American setting. This established pattern of bilingual communication within the Ukrainian community provides an entrance into the American way of life as the Ukrainian language offers a stepping stone to enter a new and foreign land.

## **Ukrainian and English Language Practices**

My study focused on Ukrainian immigrants becoming literate Americans in a local community in the Detroit area. This meant that the study included language practices during literacy learning for Ukrainian immigrants in the community. English and Ukrainian languages were used in everyday activities in the community and the research incorporated language practices during worship services, school classes, and community events. A comparison was made between the language practices that were established in the community in the early 1900s and those language practices used in the community today. The bilingual pattern of Ukrainian and English usage in the church, school, and community has remained stable with very few changes made over the years.

This chapter focuses on the patterns of language usage which serve as resources for new members in the community for learning English and for their maintaining sociolinguistically a “foot in two worlds.” These patterns were established by the Ukrainian Catholic Church leadership in Russia and brought to America in the early 1900s. Oral and written forms of Ukrainian and English languages, and Ukrainian culture and American culture, were blended to create a bilingual and decidedly Ukrainian American cultural form of communication for Ukrainian American immigrants. These patterns of language usage in the Detroit and suburban Ukrainian churches, Ukrainian schools, and in the larger Detroit and suburban Ukrainian community remain bilingual and bicultural today.

### **Language learning and the social ecology of the community**

This analysis follows Barton's categories of *register*, *genre*, and *discourse*. When speaking, people choose a register, or a specific and identifiable way of talking that is appropriate for the context, as it is defined by Barton (1994). Russian and Ukrainian people living in Russia developed registers to communicate in specific situations. Russian peasants were often not literate, yet they were able to participate in community events through oral discourse registers. Ukrainians living in Russia also used registers to communicate during traditional cultural events, customs, and rituals in Russia. Two examples include the event of going to a Russian bathhouse and going to a church worship service. Peasants living in Russia going to a secular bathhouse or religious church service participated, using oral language. Each of the two events in Russia required knowledge of the specific language register being used to fully participate in the event of going to a bathhouse or a church service or even to become a part of a particular discourse community. Thus, we can assume that immigrants arrive in the US perhaps unfamiliar with US speech events, but quite familiar with Ukrainian ones. They also have acquired in their primary culture an understanding of the ways that language is used not only to convey information but to shape and participate within activities. As such, they bring readiness to apply these skills and strategies in a new language and in, perhaps new activities. Immigrants coming to the Detroit Ukrainian community learn to communicate through participation in

community events in similar ways that were practiced in Russian bathhouses and in church worship service events while living in Ukraine.

### **Learning Register and Genre by Participation**

Just as oral language is identified by *registers*, written texts are commonly identified by different *genres*. Barton (1994) defines genre as commonly identified different forms of writing. For example, historical fiction, poetry, and folklore are all different genres of written text. Going to a church service in Russia meant that a specific register and genre was used during the worship services. Participants in the worship services learned the particular register and genre to be a fully participating member of the church discourse community. In addition to language conventions in the Russian and Ukrainian community, cultural and spiritual traditions and rituals were also included as a part of the Ukrainian discourse community.

In *Russia – Women – Culture* (Goscilo and Holmgren, 1996), the notion of Russian bathhouses (*bania* in Russian), which cleansed the body, is compared to Russian churches, which cleansed the soul. For centuries there were village *bania*, family *bania*, so-called black *bania* (or unvented), and white *bania* (or vented) in Russia. There were also closed *bania* (pre-Soviet, Soviet, or post-Soviet) where certain people were excluded. Russians may have experienced the bathhouses at some point in life, beginning in the centuries prior to the formation of the dominant Christian Church. In the Tale of Bygone Years, one of the utterances that Andrew was to have said

regarding his travels states: "I saw with wonder the Slavic land as I traveled through it. I saw wooden baths, and how they heat them red-hot, and undress . . . and anoint themselves with tallow, and take upon themselves a young twig switch, and beat themselves, beating themselves to the point that they barely escape alive, and pour cold water over themselves, and so are revived. And so they do every day, being in no way tormented by it, though they torment themselves; and in this way they carry out their washing and not the torment" (Dmitriev and Likhachev, 1969).

Russian baths, or *bania*, became an alternate temple or church, a secular place that served to identify someone as being Russian, particularly if there was not a church nearby. *The Primary Chronicle* states that bathhouses were located from Kiev in the south to Novgorod in the north. The ritual of going to the bathhouse was rich in symbolism. A *venik*, or twig broom, served as a secular cross. Andrew was to have mentioned the *venik*, "[they] take upon themselves a young twig switch," when visiting the *bania* centuries ago. There was also a connection between the *venik* and the church calendar. Bathhouses, the richness of culture associated with the *bania*, used for centuries by Russians were closed and sold for more lucrative land endeavors during the Communist era. The custom of going to the bathhouse and the "cleanliness" that was sought has been compared to the present day Russian Church. With the closing of the bathhouses, the *bania* custom that was cherished for centuries and had been a part of Russian identity was suddenly gone. The cultural literacy that was a part of going to the bathhouse may have

been sought in other ways through the church. There was a “*bania*” type of literacy that was understood and practiced by those who followed the secular rituals on the Sabbath Day. The cultural practices and the knowledge of what to do when going to *bania* became a form of literacy that Russians acquired as they frequented and followed the folk cultural custom of going to the *bania*.

This *bania* register, or oral language discourse used in a secular setting is similar to the spiritual register found in Ukrainian churches – both in Ukraine and in the United States. Many of the rituals used during worship services follow the same type of actions that were used in the *bania* (Goscilo and Holmgren, 1996). Russian *bania* provided a way for Russians to learn conventions of the Russian culture and become literate to the ways of the *bania*. In much the same way the Russian and Ukrainian church offered a place to learn the cultural and spiritual conventions of the church. There is a connection between the Russian register used in the Russian *bania* and the Ukrainian register used during church services. *Bania* represents secular discourse conventions and the church services represent spiritual discourse conventions. Both began with oral registers.

So it is logical that the educational system for immigrants in America would also follow the tradition of using oral language in the community, church, and school settings in America. *Bania* register and church oral traditions in Russia were continued in America. In a similar way learning the English language and the American culture in the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community also has an oral discourse that is part of the language practices in



the community. The centuries old conventions of oral language usage in the Russian community are carried out during Ukrainian American church services and school classes where oral Ukrainian and English is used in daily language learning. Students learn English in the classroom through oral lessons and the teachers use oral language when instructing at the school. The pattern of using registers for learning and for communicating that began in Russia was brought to America and remains a method of instruction for new immigrants learning English in the community.

These oral language practices are centuries old patterns for communicating in the Ukrainian community. Centuries ago, the priests were the literate leaders in the church and through modeling, teaching, and leading, they provided oral support to uphold and maintain learning for the parishioners. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has certain oral practices that are different from the Roman Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church. These differences become important to Ukrainian church members who learn the conventions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which are a unique part of the Ukrainian register and genre found in the Ukrainian American Catholic immigrant community in Detroit. (Basilian Fathers, 1963)

### **Learning in Russia and America**

There is a link between education in Russia and education in America and this connection can be noted for the education of immigrants. Language practices and linguistics or the study of language brought language, per se,

into the conversation about becoming literate. With the entrance of linguistics this new way of viewing language provided a way for Russians and Americans to think about language learning. This fresh awareness became important to the education of immigrants in America during the immigration process of forming a literate identity. Through linguistics it was noted that changes of dialect were a natural part of communication for many immigrants including immigrants from Ukraine. A dialect is associated with a specific geographic location. The term dialect is more than an accent, which is a different pronunciation of the same words. Dialect includes a different sound system, syntax and vocabulary, and phrases of language. These changes of dialect, or code shifting, can be noted for new immigrants coming from Ukraine since the beginning of the Detroit Ukrainian community. Multilingual communities in some cultures have language practices that change for different social situations. This means that a change of social settings brings a change in the specific and particular language spoken, which is called code-switching. Those immigrants living in areas of Ukraine that shared borders with other countries learned to code shift or change dialects to fit the needs for any situation in life. Barton (1994) explains this as literacy events that are a part of the distinctive literacy practices associated with each community. For example, someone living in Ukraine near the border of Poland may speak fluent Polish and Ukrainian.

The church in Russia and America has been a major factor in education for Ukrainians. For centuries the church played a leading role in Ukraine's

educational system. Most Russian elementary schools were located next to village churches and these parish sextons, *diak*, operated the schools.

Russian became the language of instruction for all subjects after 1765. By the end of the eighteenth century Ukrainian territories in the Russian Empire had a comparatively strong educational system. However, the education was readily not available to peasants.

Now, education in Ukraine is available to most people. All of the participants in the research for this study who came from Ukraine were educated in Ukraine prior to their arrival in America. Students noted that the culture and religious traditions in Ukraine were similar to those in the US. Recent Ukrainian immigrant students stated that there were more science and math courses offered in Ukrainian schools than offered at Immaculate Conception Schools. The principal at ICUCS said that new immigrants from Ukraine come with more knowledge in science and math than American students. Time American students usually spend in science and math classes at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School are spent with additional English classes for new Ukrainian immigrants at the school.

In an interview with one of the teachers at Immaculate Conception who came from Ukraine in 2000, it was noted that teaching methods are different in Ukraine than at Immaculate Conception. For example, when teaching history in America dates and names of people are important and students are often expected to memorize facts. In Ukraine the big ideas or large issues are considered important and the facts are details that are not memorized. The

teacher said he had to change his way of teaching when coming to America. Also, he brought books from Ukraine to use for instruction at Immaculate Conception, but had to adapt the information so the students could learn in the manner they were used to as with other American teachers at the school who were born in America.

Recent immigrant students from Ukraine said that school in America was similar to school in Ukraine. Students coming from Ukraine stated that subjects in Ukraine included art, choir, Ukrainian literature, Polish literature, World literature, Ukrainian government, Russian history, Ukrainian history, World history, Eastern European history, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, chemistry, physics, biology, Ukrainian, Polish, Latin, French, German, Russian, and English. Recent immigrants said they liked school in Ukraine. One student said school was “fun” in Ukraine and another student said school was “very interesting and tough” in Ukraine.

Students were asked in a self-reported survey how long it took to learn English and recent immigrants stated “not long”, “one year”, or “two years.” At Immaculate Conception Schools there are a number of teachers who speak, read, and write fluent Ukrainian and all of the teachers have fluent English skills. Though all of the classes are taught in English at the school teachers help new immigrants with English. During all of the interviews with students the principal was present and translated what I said in English into Ukrainian when the person being interviewed did not understand my English.

When recent student immigrants to the US were asked about the language practices in their American home with their family all of the immigrants said they spoke Ukrainian at home. One of the student immigrants who lived in the US for three years said she also spoke Russian and English at home. It is also interesting to note that all of the students who participated in the survey were asked if they considered themselves to be Ukrainian or American and all of the recent immigrants said that they were Ukrainian. When students who were born in the US were asked about language practices in their home 33.3% said they spoke only English at home, 58.3% spoke both Ukrainian and English with English being their primary language, and 8.3% spoke both Ukrainian and English with Ukrainian being their primary language. These results showed that the majority of student families in the Ukrainian community spoke some Ukrainian at home, with most families having bilingual language practices at home.<sup>1</sup>

The bilingual language practices today in the Ukrainian American community are a continuation of the language practices that are a part of life in Ukraine. When the Ukrainian community bilingual language practices were set in place in the early 1900s, the pattern became a way to continue the bilingual practices of daily life in Russia. Education in Russia at the turn of the century was also included in the pattern of education established at Immaculate Conception School (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Magosci, 1996).

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<sup>1</sup> See Figure 5 for language practices of parents in the community.

## **Ukrainian Immigrants Becoming Literate Americans**

In Russia the intellectual community provided written texts that encouraged and promoted education for all Russians. However, the texts were not accessible to Russian peasants who communicated with oral registers. Yet the mindset and trend in Russian society during the mid-1800s was to make sweeping changes in the country. This thrust was felt by all Russians including Ukrainian peasants. When Russians and Ukrainians emigrated from Russia to America they came with a desire for education, a hunger to become literate with oral and written language (Basilian Fathers, 1963). As early as the 1880s, Ukrainians were well aware of the importance of a good education. If an immigrant was to survive in the New World getting an education was the process for procuring upward mobility.

However, the teachers of immigrants viewed the education for immigrants in a different way. The goal of many Americans for instruction for adult immigrants was to teach English in such a way that immigrants would learn English to communicate thoughts and acquire the thoughts of others. Trained language teachers in the early 1900s believed that speaking English was the psychological basis for teaching English and speaking preceded learning to read and write. In other words, visual symbols needed to be presented in association with auditory symbols acquired in oral language. This method of using oral instruction was also carried out at Immaculate Conception School from the beginning of the school classes.



My study focused on two forms of everyday literacy for the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant group. One form of literacy pertains to the oral language (*registers* such as *bania*, which was previously noted) for Ukrainian people that began in the church, centuries ago. This original century's old language was called Old Church Slavonic and was spoken by the people, yet only priests, elite groups, and educated people were able to read the language. The other form of literacy pertains to how immigrants accessed the English language and American culture. This form of literacy includes Ukrainian and English textbooks, texts provided by the church, and also comics – both comic strips and comic books.

Upon coming to America Ukrainian immigrants negotiated a Ukrainian American literate identity that included Ukrainian and English languages in spoken and written forms. In addition, creating a Ukrainian American literate identity incorporated Ukrainian cultural practices that included both Ukrainian and American customs and traditions. As Ukrainian immigrants learned to live in America they were negotiating two separate worlds: Ukraine and America. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Catholic Schools, and the established Ukrainian American community all supported and facilitated this negotiation by blending the two worlds into a new Ukrainian American literate identity. This Ukrainian American community mentored new Ukrainian immigrants as they formed a Ukrainian American literate identity. The community provided a solid foundation and a familiar structure that offered a





stable and effective way for new immigrants to negotiate an identity between the two separate worlds.

As the community educated the immigrants from Ukraine, the educational history in Russia also had an impact on Ukrainian immigrants. Ukrainian immigrants have been interested and they have pursued education for themselves and their children for many years. With several centuries of Russian life putting education in the forefront, Ukrainians followed the pattern and established the tradition of seeking to be literate and educated. When Ukrainian immigrants settled in America the early years of immigrant life were situated around the church. The church and parish organizations provided a way to establish Ukrainian group identity.

As well as religious life and Ukrainian network associations, Ukrainian immigrants in America sought an education. It was common during the first wave of immigration from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century for the establishment of Ukrainian-language schools, for educational funds, educational committees, a school board, and all-day Ukrainian schools for elementary, secondary, and college levels to be founded and maintained. *Prosvita* reading rooms, libraries, and education courses all served the needs of adult immigrants. It was common to see many Ukrainians create independent enterprises; Ukrainian credit unions and savings and loan associations began to serve Ukrainian communities. There were Ukrainian newspapers, journals, and books informing Ukrainian readers about events in the United States, around the world, and in Ukraine. Radio broadcasts often



featured Ukrainian music and news; church sponsored programs included religious broadcasting. Ukrainian artists, sculptors, musicians, and professionals in many fields cultivated the fine arts, established architecture, folk art, music, dance, theater, and film, and choirs, dance and theatrical ensembles were organized in the immigrant communities. Archives, museums, and libraries all served as depositories of Ukrainian books and artifacts.

Ukrainians and the nation of Ukraine have considered ethnic identity extremely important. Ukrainians fought to preserve the Ukrainian language, religious beliefs, customs, and traditions that were constantly being threatened by domination of Russia and foreign nations. Pawliczko (1994) stressed the fact that when Ukrainian immigrants arrived in new countries they immediately began to establish churches and organizations as a way to ensure that their religion and culture would be kept alive. The Ukrainian church played a vital role in the preservation of ethnic identity. Parish life was not only the center of faith and spiritual life for Ukrainian immigrants, but the church was the center of community life as well. The first years of Ukrainian immigration became a time of settlement for immigrants. Priests provided moral support for Ukrainian immigrants and they helped to preserve the Ukrainian language, culture, customs, rituals, and traditions of Ukrainian life. The social and cultural life for Ukrainian immigrants centered on the Ukrainian church. Ukrainian immigrants have sought to become literate Americans and the church provided the structure and resources for education. Even today, the

church is the center of the educational system for the Ukrainian immigrants living in Detroit. (Glazer et al, 1963; Pawliczko, 1994; Subtelny, 1991; Wolowyna, 1986)

### **Learning Language and Culture in America**

The education of Ukrainian immigrants in the Detroit community became a function of the church as described in Chapter 2 (and echoing the literacy functions of the church in Ukraine described above). Unlike the public schools for immigrants in the early 1900s that only offered classes for immigrants to learn to speak English, the courses offered at Immaculate Conception included a full curriculum with college preparatory courses. Students learned English and Ukrainian in the full time day school since 1936 and in the high school since 1959. Both languages are still offered to all students in K-12 classes. From the beginning of Immaculate Conception School Ukrainian culture has also been a large part of the school community. School festivals, concerts, choirs, and other Ukrainian culture events have been provided from the beginning by the school to foster Ukrainian culture in the school.<sup>2</sup>

The church began to publish texts for immigrants to learn English in America in the early 1900s and the books included illustrations to make the new language accessible. Books for teaching catechism were written in Ukrainian and also had illustrations to facilitate learning. These and similar texts were used in the school and church in formal educational settings. In a

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<sup>2</sup> See Figures 18 and 19 for school curriculum in 1963 and 2002.

similar way, everyday educational settings included other texts that were informal and used by families in the home. Comic texts were one example that was readily available in newspapers, in comic books, and in comic strips. Comics became informal texts that were used in homes by the family for immigrants to gain knowledge of English and at the same time learn about American culture. In this way immigrants developed a sense of autonomy by learning English and parts of American culture through the use of reading and sharing comics with the family at home.

Nye (1998) and Goulart (1986) captured the role of comics for immigrants and they stated that comic strips became a viable way for new immigrants to learn English and understand American culture. One of the reasons for writing and publishing comic strips was for the immigrant community. Comic strips and comic books have played a role in literacy learning for immigrants in the last century. Many immigrants found comics to be affordable and readily available in most stores or news stands where newspapers were sold.

Interest in my aunt's story about teaching Grandma to speak, read, and write English using comic books led me to view the genre of comics as a viable way to become literate as an American. Aunt Maria found comics to be a tool for Grandma to learn ideas about culture in American life and a way for Grandma, as an immigrant, to learn how to speak and write English. Each different country that published comics could be distinguished from one another by the differences in the pictures. The interactions and dialogue

between characters revealed subtle cultural patterns which followed distinct prototypes that varied from country to country. Examples of culture are found in comics through portrayals of family life, episodes of war, the tension between the rich and the poor in society, interactions and relationships between people, foods and eating habits, clothes, the words used through the language written as text, and the gestures and facial expression of characters in the comics. The choice of words and the language usage in comics made the conventions of the English language as it is used in daily life accessible for immigrants.

My aunt chose to read comic books as a young child to learn American culture. She in turn thought the easy access she found to the English language and culture would benefit her mother. Comics allowed Grandma an access to the same conventions of American life. The stories Aunt Maria told about this process of teaching her mother to speak, read, and write English revealed that my aunt read aloud to my grandmother and they shared the pictures while reading the comics. Aunt Maria said that when my grandmother had questions about the text my aunt would answer in Ukrainian, and then, move on with the English text. This was the process my family used to learn about life in this new country.

Becoming literate for my grandmother included listening to my aunt read aloud, Grandma reading along with my aunt as she read aloud, and finally my grandmother was able to read comics alone. The *Read Aloud*, *Read Along*, *Read Alone* strategy is an effective strategy for teaching reading

that is used in classrooms across the United States today (Adams, 1990; Clay, 1967; Cooper, 2002).

Comic strips have been considered to be a narrative art developed across cultures and over time. Marshall's history book of American comics noted the intent of publishers using language and picture images in such a way as to engage immigrants. "There was no coyness about the Katzies origin, either, inspirationally or ethnically; in fact, the prime motivator was probably commercial. A German born cartoonist drawing a feature about Germans reminiscent of a German children's book classic was obviously meant not to lampoon, but to attract German readers. Immigrants still composed a large percentage of urban subduction to the language, and publishers aimed by simplified dialogue, clearly delineated drawings, and sympathetic types, to cater to these readers." (Marshall, 1989, pp. 42-43) Publishing comics for a specific cultural audience became one way for immigrants to access the English language, American culture, and the use of illustrations along with the text provided additional cues for immigrants during literacy learning.

Other people have also known immigrants who have used comic books to access the English language even though specific comics were not noted. Susan Florio-Ruane shared that her great grandfather also read comic books to learn English and that during the 1950's her English-fluent grandfather used comics to teach her to read when she was a child. Jesus Garcia remembers buying comic books when he was a child during the 1980s when his family



came from Mexico. During a casual conversation, he said, "I felt foolish to spend money on comic books rather than on candy like other children in my class at school, but I found comic books to provide information about life in the United States and the English language that helped me in the transition to life in a new country as my family and I were immigrants from Mexico." Audre Lorde, a first generation immigrant from the West Indies writes a chapter in her autobiography, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*, about going to a comic book store when she first came to America. Susan, Jesus, and Audre all provided evidence of the value of comic books for immigrants to the United States. All three examples revealed that comic book users found comics to be an informal way to become literate in English and to learn about American culture.

### **Learning Oral and Written Language Practices**

The Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community provided lessons for learning English and becoming literate that have a tradition of orality, or using oral language for instruction. More than 1000 years ago Old Church Slavonic was a language used in parts of Russia that combined registers and genres. The origin of oral language for Ukrainians began in Russia during the ninth century. Old Church Slavonic was used in spoken form during church services in Russia. Several scholars (Magosci, 1996; Gilbert, 1993; Heyman, 1993) included Old Church Slavonic language as part of the history of Russia and Ukraine which provided a better understanding of the current oral

language usage for Ukrainian immigrants in the Detroit community. Magosci noted that Old Church Slavonic as a written language was created by Cyril and Methodius between 860 and 880 A.D. They were brothers, Byzantine civil servants, and fervent Christians who came to Ukraine as missionaries. This language was derived from Macedonian dialects spoken in the Balkans. Their disciples created a new Slav script based on Greek letters that became the Cyrillic alphabet. The arrival of the Cyrillic alphabet brought a written language. A Kievan religious literature appeared in Old Church Slavonic which was the language used in church services.

Heyman (1993) stated that Old Church Slavonic was an acquired language for Kievan Russia in 988 A.D. that became necessary with the conversion of the population to Christianity. Old Church Slavonic became the language of religious documents, the language used for church services and secular literature of poetry and historical chronicles were written in Old Church Slavonic. Much of the Ukrainian cultural development to the twentieth century was the struggle between leaders who favored maintaining a literary “high language” (Church Slavonic, Greek, Latin, Polish, or Russian) and those who desired to raise the spoken Ukrainian vernacular to a level that could be used for intellectual and literary communication (Magosci, 1996).

Ukrainians had access to this language in spoken form through the Ukrainian Catholic Church where Old Church Slavonic was used much like Latin was used in the Roman Catholic Church. Old Church Slavonic was the oral language used in churches in Ukraine until recent times. This pattern of

oral language usage with Old Church Slavonic became the pattern used in learning English for the Detroit Ukrainian immigrants. Centuries of oral language habits in the church were continued when the language changed in the 1802 and Ukrainian became the language used in church services as it replaced Old Church Slavonic. The prototype of using oral language during worship services continued, even when written Ukrainian was used in the church services. Both oral and written forms of Ukrainian have been used in the Ukrainian Catholic Church today.

The Ukrainian language is an independent language with roots in the Slavic family of languages and with Indo-European roots. Ukrainian became the written and spoken language in Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth century. The majority of Ukrainian immigrants in the Detroit community speak the Ukrainian language and though they may come from a number of oblasts in Ukraine they all speak and write the same version of the Ukrainian language.

Present day Ukraine has twenty-five regions or oblasts which provide Ukrainian ethno linguistic boundaries. The oblasts do not coincide with the historical names and historical regions of the country. Ukraine has (1) a dominant or principal ethno linguistic group within the borders as well as members of the same group living on adjacent terrain in nearby states, and (2) one or more ethno linguistic groups different from the principal one. Magosci (1996) states that there is little variation in dialects and sub dialects throughout the northern, the eastern, and even much of the western dialectal regions in

Ukraine. Over the past centuries Old Church Slavonic was gradually replaced by the Ukrainian language in Ukraine and the Ukrainian language in oral and written forms is used by Ukrainian immigrants in America.

Today, Ukrainian is spoken in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian American community in Detroit. The oral traditions of using language in church services, in education, and in community activities began in Russia and these traditions were brought to America. Oral ways of communication were also set in place for the education of immigrants and other students at Immaculate Conception Schools. Patterns used for language practices in Russia became patterns used for language practices in America. The Detroit Ukrainian American community formed a literate identity through oral and written language usage.

### **Negotiating a Ukrainian American Literate Identity**

Ukrainian immigrants in the Detroit Ukrainian community become literate Ukrainian Americans through oral and written forms of English and through English text and illustrations. The school has used oral instruction as a form of teaching for many years. Language practices for the community include oral and written forms of English and Ukrainian. During the dissertation research a survey by self-report was given to participants relating to the language practices of the students and parents in the community. Some of the parents and children were US born and some of the parents were recent immigrants from Ukraine. Survey results noted that 75% of all mothers and 69% of all fathers, whether US born or from Ukraine spoke English

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fluently. Results showed that 50% of both mothers and fathers spoke fluent Ukrainian. In addition to oral language practices in the home, reading and writing practices for parents revealed that a majority of parents had fluent reading and writing skills in English as well as Ukrainian.<sup>3</sup> Parents in the survey represented US born as well as new arrivals from Ukraine. In both groups the majority of parents in the Detroit Ukrainian community had fluent English and Ukrainian language skills, or bilingual language practices.

The church services also have bilingual language practices. Both languages are used in the worship services at Immaculate Conception and St. Josaphat churches and the church bulletins for both churches are bilingual with English and Ukrainian languages used side by side on a page. There is a pattern of offering worship services in English and Ukrainian for both churches and this tradition began in 1913.<sup>4</sup> There are twice as many worship services offered in Ukrainian at both churches than in English. Again, this supports the notion that the community is bilingual. The church offers both languages in oral and written forms.

The Detroit Ukrainian American community that began at the turn of the century has established a Ukrainian American literate identity by negotiating language practices and culture. By combining ways of living that were known in Russia to the new ways of living in America, immigrants were able to form a new pattern of living that mingled the Ukrainian traditions with the American customs. This new Ukrainian American literate identity is maintained through

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<sup>3</sup> See Figure 5 for the language practices of parents in the Ukrainian community.

<sup>4</sup> See Figure 6 for language practices during worship services for both churches.

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patterns of language usage and cultural practices that are a part of the immigrant community. The church, school, and community work together to support the Ukrainian American literate identity formation.

This effort to create and maintain a Ukrainian American literate identity was originated by Ukrainian Catholic Church leaders who have also been the leaders at the school. The church worship services and school classes became a way to structure learning for new immigrants and to maintain the language and cultural conventions for established members in the community. Through bilingual practices of using Ukrainian and English new immigrants were able to come to America and join the existing community in a relatively short amount of time. Through this community structure a special way of helping new Ukrainian immigrants to become literate Ukrainian Americans evolved by using oral and written forms of Ukrainian and English, by implementing Ukrainian culture through folk and formal cultural practices, and by providing continuity over time that has become a pattern for success. New immigrants from Ukraine have been coming to this community for nearly a century and the pattern for success that began in 1913 is still in place today. Church leaders continued to facilitate the process for new immigrants as they negotiated a literate Ukrainian American identity. The next chapter notes the shifting roles of language and culture as they occurred in the past and as they are practiced today.



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## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Then and Now: Shifting Roles of Language and Culture**

#### **Elena's Story**

She was small in stature, but larger than life to her family and friends. Elena was said to have “dancing eyes” and a contagious smile that drew everyone to her. Born in Russia during the late 1800s, she was bright and inquisitive, and she longed to learn how to read and write. Books were not a common item in her home, but Elena was thrilled whenever she could get her hands on a book. Her family often found her drawing pictures on the hard ground with “stories” as she called them, of places she wanted to see in the world. Nevertheless, education was not a part of her life in Russia. Elena learned to read and write some words through her older cousins and other relatives who lived nearby. Whenever she mentioned going to school she was told there was too much work to be done on the farm where her family lived and there were no schools near her home so Elena was left with only a dream of going to school and getting an education. Elena was determined to keep the dream of education alive throughout her long life.

Her parents and grandparents had always lived in a part of the country where harsh winters were a way of life and it was accepted that the climate made life difficult. Her ancestors were said to be of Austrian descent and she had uncles with a military background, yet living with many relatives in the small town of Lviv Russia was always home to Elena. Her childhood was spent on a farm and her family often spoke of their own hope for a better life. Although Elena's

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grandparents were content with life as it was, Elena's father and mother had a dream to strive for "something more" in life. Life had become complicated in Russia and there were many changes taking place all over the land. Russia began to annex surrounding countries on the western border of Russia when Elena was a small child. Many new neighbors were moving in all around the farm coming from Austria, Poland, Germany, and from other parts of Russia. There were several different languages spoken in her small town now and new people were no longer just "passing through" her village, but now they were settling in Lviv. Some of the new villagers spoke Polish, some spoke Russian and there were a few who spoke German, but Elena's family spoke only Ukrainian. Elena and her family were proud to call themselves "Ukrainian." The family became set in their ways and clung to the Ukrainian culture, spiritual life, and traditions.

For many years before the new settlers arrived all of the people living in the village attended the same church – it was not Roman Catholic and it was not Russian Orthodox. Everyone went to a Greek Catholic Church where they spoke Ukrainian and kept much of the Ukrainian culture alive in the church traditions. Elena's parents had told her the story about the church and how the Greek Catholic Church had its beginnings in the Byzantine Empire which was far from Lviv, but the Greek Catholic Churches shared the same beliefs and followed many of the same rituals as the Catholic Church in the Byzantine Empire. Other Catholic Churches spoke Latin or Russian during worship services, but in the Greek Catholic Church services everyone spoke Ukrainian during all of the

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services. Elena felt special that she and her family could worship and speak their own language, the language that had been spoken in Lviv since the Kievan Rus' era in the eleventh century.

The flame of the family dream for "something more" was ignited and passed on to Elena's older sister who found "something more" in America where she became a mail order bride and married a man born and raised in Alberta Canada. The first wave of immigrants to Canada spanned the years 1891-1914 with 250,000 Ukrainians settling in Canada. Most of the Ukrainian immigrants settled in urban areas to work as laborers in mines, on farms, as domestics, and as forestry laborers. Many immigrants went to the northern Peace River region of Alberta. Rosa lived in Alberta, where her new husband worked as a laborer in the mines (Pawliczko, 1994). Stories sent home from Canada were wonderful and brought hope of a better life to the entire Lviv community. Soon Elena began to save money to travel across the ocean to visit Rosa and her new husband. As a young teen at the turn of the twentieth century, Elena joined the ranks of emigrants, left her family in Russia and traveled to see her newly married sister in Alberta Canada. Elena's intention was to go and visit for a short time and find work to support herself while in America. When she had saved enough money to travel back to Lviv she was planning on returning home to her family in Ukraine.

While visiting in Canada the shocking news came to Elena in 1905 that the land borders of her much loved native country in Ukraine had changed. Russian officials now controlled the village that was home. The place where

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everything felt so secure and where Elena found such nurture throughout her life was now in the hands of Russians, not Ukrainians. Peasant groups throughout the western border of Russia became discontent with life in Russia and many small groups chose uprising against Russian domination which led to the first wave of emigrants. Those who did not choose to join the revolt decided to emigrate from Russia. There were about four million new American immigrants coming from Austro-Hungary and three million coming from Russia from 1891-1914 (Dinnersten and Reimers, 1999). Many of these immigrants went to Canada and settled throughout Alberta. The new immigrants formed ethnic communities often making the Ukrainian church community the center of the community. The world in Russia that Elena once knew no longer existed.

Everything changed for Elena and her world was turned upside down. The former government in Russia was disbanded and new government officials were in charge of all aspects of life in Russia. Her documents for returning home were not acceptable in the new regime and Elena became a stranger to her Ukrainian homeland overnight – a political refugee without a place in Russia to call home. Her family home was now in a new province and her hope for going home and entering Russia was not to become a reality. Elena, strong of heart and determined in will set her sights to remain in America where she stayed with her sister and began creating a new life – an American life. Edmonton Alberta became Elena's new home and the young Elena married Vladimir who was several decades her senior. Vladimir's family settled in Alberta when he was a



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The young Elena and older Vladimir began their life together with a common Ukrainian heritage. It was comforting to Elena to speak Ukrainian in her new Canadian home. Their livelihood consisted of Elena making *pysanky* Ukrainian Easter eggs and selling them in many places throughout Canada. Elena made *pysanky* using raw chicken or goose eggs, blowing out the insides by inserting a pin in both ends of the egg. Then she would dye the eggshells using plant and mineral dyes such as beet juice for red dye and a sulphur solution for black dye. She began with the process of creating designs on the egg by using a handmade stylus, called the *kistka*, dipped in hot bees wax to draw the wax design on the white egg. Then the egg was dipped into a series of different dye colors, from the lightest yellow color to the darkest black using the bees wax and handmade stylus to create designs between the different layers of color. This process continued using more wax and dipping the egg into different colors until a beautiful design appeared. The bees wax was then taken off the egg and a marvelously colored egg was discovered to be enjoyed and celebrated.

Making *pysanky* eggs allowed Elena to work and earn a living, to weave her cultural craft into her new life, to become part of the Ukrainian ethnicity in America, to include her spirituality in her work, and to be an active part of the economic system in America. Elena and Vladimir joined the many immigrant families who were contributing members of American society. She was a partner

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with her husband and they combined their incomes for the good of the family. Vladimir did manual labor and together they raised six children. Edmonton Alberta was there home for many years until the children were school age. Elena's lifelong dream of getting an education became a passion for her as she fought to insure the reality of the dream for her children.

Vladimir and Elena were concerned about their children and wanted them to get an education. Elena heard stories in the Edmonton Ukrainian community about "free education" for immigrants who lived in the United States. Many of the first wave of immigrants came for only a short time as sojourners, to earn money and then returned to their European countries, others went to Ontario Canada to work in the burgeoning industrial factories, and a number of immigrants went to live in the United States. Stories were told in the Edmonton Ukrainian community of the growing Detroit Michigan Ukrainian community and how children were educated in the evening, by the priests and nuns at the Ukrainian church. Family members who settled in Detroit sent glowing reports about the opportunities for employment in the factories and wonderful stories about the new Ukrainian Catholic Church community that was growing rapidly.

This new Detroit Ukrainian community was budding and blossoming with a large wave of immigrants coming from Russia and Europe. The hope of an "educational dream come true" inspired Elena and Vladimir to relocate in Detroit. The family moved to the United States and settled in Detroit Michigan in 1915, where they became members of the Ukrainian community and they joined the new Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church. There were other

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Ukrainian families also leaving Canada and coming to the Detroit Ukrainian community with the hope of educating their children. The Ukrainian immigrant community was increasing in size on a regular basis.

The Ukrainian church was the center of community life for immigrants and often the priests were the only educated persons in the community. Father Bartosh was the priest at ICUCC when Elena and Vladimir arrived in Detroit in 1915. The number of church members had grown to such a large number that the ICUCC parish also included a new church building and a rectory for the priest. By 1917, a convent was built for the nuns of the parish, a new Ukrainian grammar school began and a building was purchased for the Ukrainian Cultural Center, which housed events for the Ukrainian community.

Throughout Elena's sixty years at Immaculate Conception Church she remained an active member of the church and an active member of the Ukrainian community. Her daughter, Rose, tells of her loud voice in politics. Elena joined several informal groups of Ukrainians who were politically minded and friendly debates were heard amongst her friends in most social situations. The social interactions were within the Ukrainian community throughout her lifetime and new Ukrainian immigrants joined in the community gatherings. Vladimir did not join in with the church and community activities, but he kept the conversations alive at the dinner table with the four sons. Daughters were not included in the discussions and Elena chose to remain passive and not join in the conversations at the dinner table. Elena's identity as an autonomous person began with her Ukrainian family in Russia and continued with her entree into new situations and

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cultural contexts as an adult. As Elena became an adult she fought to keep her Ukrainian Catholic identity. This spiritual and cultural identity can be seen in the choices she made throughout her lifetime.

During all of the years before World War II in the United States Elena refused to learn how to speak or write English. This was one way that Elena could make her own decisions and since she considered herself Ukrainian she saw no need to learn English. However, as the years progressed, life in the Ukrainian community began to include others who spoke only English. Rose taught Elena to speak and read English using comic books during WWII when Vladimir had passed on and the sons in the family went to war. Rose convinced Elena to learn English so she could carry on the business for the family with banking, going to the market, buying new clothes – all of which were carried on by the sons in the family before the war. Elena learned enough English to carry on daily life, but she continued to speak only Ukrainian to her friends and family for the rest of her life. Rose never married and after Vladimir died in the early 1940s, Rose and Elena lived together in the Detroit Ukrainian community until Elena died in 1976. Elena and Vladimir had eleven grandchildren, sixteen great-grandchildren and all of the family lived within thirty miles of the Detroit Ukrainian community. All of the grandchildren graduated from high school and six of the grandchildren went on to attend a college or university. The dream of an education continues in Elena's family to this day.

From the beginning of the Detroit Ukrainian community a pattern was set for bilingual usage of Ukrainian and English in church services, school classes,





and in the Ukrainian American community as described in the previous chapter. Time brings about changes to all aspects of life as patterns for living become inefficient or ineffective. Common practices in the Ukrainian community were put to the test as the roles of language and culture shifted to fit in with American life. Any group encounters various challenges over time as changes take place in the world that relate to language practices and cultural distinctions. The Detroit Ukrainian American community also experienced language and cultural challenges from its beginnings in the early 1900s. Then, the community faced language decisions about how English and Ukrainian would be used in the church, in the school, and in the community. Cultural decisions were made about Ukrainian traditions, rituals, and customs that would be kept in the community and which American ways of life would be embraced by community members. Some of the language and cultural decisions that were a part of the immigrant community began to shift and roles began to change to keep up with the changing ways of American life.

Now, first, second, and third generation Ukrainian immigrants face different cultural changes and shifting language practices within the community. The community has set roles for language and culture that help new immigrants negotiate their place within the Ukrainian American community. Over time language and culture roles in the community changed and shifted to fit the needs of society. These shifting roles of language and culture created a dynamic tension that was traversed by all immigrants coming to a new land. The tension was and is felt as new immigrants began to experience the revised roles of

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language and culture from one country to another. Adapting to a new language and its conventions in a foreign culture meant learning to live with a foot in two worlds. One foot has been firmly planted in the homeland where there was familiarity and security of language and culture. The other foot was set on new ground in an unfamiliar land where there were novel language practices and somewhat different cultural customs.

In addition to the tension felt by new immigrants with the shifting roles of language and culture, there was also tension for immigrants that had lived in the community for a number of years. These tensions were felt between what had happened in the past and what was going on now in a community, or what I call “Then and Now.” This study focused on several generations of Ukrainian immigrants living near Detroit for more than 90 years. The community that began in 1913 and the community that exists today have some things in common and some things that have changed. These changes between when happened *then* and what is happening *now* created tension for new immigrants coming to the community and for old immigrants who are established in the community. Each person experienced some form of pressure in a unique way as culture and language changes became overt. With the addition of new people to the community, the existing community members were faced with a choice to either change with the growing needs in the community or leave the community and settle somewhere else. Changes over time that are addressed in this chapter include education and immigrants, culture, and the community. This study

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focused on new immigrants and those community members who remained in the community for one or more generations.

## **Education and Immigrants**

### **Then: 1900 to 1936**

The education of immigrants has been a source of debate since the 1920s. It was thought that immigrants only needed to learn how to speak English. Education for immigrants at the beginning of the 1900s was considered to be a way to “Americanize” the new arrivals. Americanization was the uniting of new native-born Americans with foreign born immigrants for the purpose of perpetuating the political, domestic, and economic American way of life. In the 1920s it was thought that Americanism would develop best through mutual contributions of a giving and taking for the new immigrants and the older Americans in the interest of the “commonweal.” Thompson (1920), in *Schooling of the Immigrant*, explained that education was to foster a sense of nationalization through a common language, training in citizenship, and democracy. Problems arose with the waves of immigrants and this led to public and legal policies regarding immigration and education. Variations in community programs, poor attendance of immigrants at school, and illiteracy in English were some of the problems noted.

Thompson noted that beginning in 1915, Detroit put a tremendous effort into attracting all adult non-English-speaking immigrants for education. The industrial expansion of the city led to thousands of immigrants coming to Detroit.

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Several influences in the community united to support learning English for immigrants, such as the Chamber of Commerce, the city government, the school department, and the churches of all denominations were active in recruiting immigrants to learn English. The press had a publicity campaign and with all of the thrust for enrollment in night school there was an increase of immigrant students of 153%. Detroit may have gained as much as 1,000% increase in enrollment yet not half of the immigrant population was reached. All communities had a similar situation regarding non-English-speaking immigrants. In 1915, Detroit had an enrollment of 11,000 immigrants which was much more than other cities in the United States yet it was only 5% of the number who might have gone to night school to learn English.

One problem that all schools faced was poor attendance by immigrants. Many immigrants who did go to school to learn English did not attend regularly and many were not able to learn enough English to become American citizens. Parochial schools and private institutions also offered English classes, but the statistics for attendance and number of students in the schools was often not recorded. All of this led to the fact that 70-90% of immigrants remained unnaturalized, or in other words, the majority of immigrants were not and did not become American citizens.

A second problem was noted for the methods of teaching English. Instructors were left to their own way of teaching. There were no standards for teaching or strategies for teaching the English language. When teachers were asked about special equipment used for teaching immigrants, 40 did not answer,



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28 reported no special equipment, and 10 misunderstood the question, 27 referred to the equipment used in the usual classroom and many referred to textbooks, pamphlets, and charts. Special rooms, furniture, bathrooms, etc. did not enter the minds of the people who were teaching English to adults in the 1920s.

Language teachers agreed that speaking, reading, and writing – in that order, were important in the teaching of English and that this process was also important for the non-English speaking immigrant. Becoming literate for immigrants before 1920 included learning a second language, English, to be used as a medium of communication, not for the purpose of learning the process of reading and writing. The relative stress for education was placed on speaking English. When educators were asked, “Do you emphasize speaking, reading, or writing English in teaching foreign pupils?” 42 emphasized speaking; 3 emphasized reading; 35 reported emphases on all three; 42 answered “yes.” (Thompson, 1920)

In 1920, a typical two hours for three nights a week school program for teaching English included the following:

| <b>Subject</b> | <b>Time in Minutes</b> |
|----------------|------------------------|
| Reading        | 40                     |
| Copying        | 15                     |
| Dictation      | 20                     |
| Phonics        | 10                     |
| Spelling       | 10                     |

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| Civics (reading text) | 20 |
| Conversation          | 15 |

(Thompson, 1920, p. 170) In this program, direct teaching for oral exercises in English was found only in the conversation period of fifteen minutes. Reading and writing took up the rest of the two hour period of instruction, which was a disproportionate amount of time. Another program offered at the same time stressed oral English rather than the less usable exercises for reading and writing. This program used the following schedule:

| <b>Subject</b>                       | <b>Time in Minutes</b> |                          |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Greetings                            | 10                     |                          |
| Oral development of topic or theme   | 30                     |                          |
| Copying of theme                     | 10                     |                          |
| Oral development of reading lesson   | 15                     |                          |
| Phonics                              | 5                      |                          |
| Reading                              | 25                     |                          |
| Two-minute oral drill                | 2                      |                          |
| Oral summary and closing salutations | 13                     | (Thompson, 1920, p. 170) |

The thrust for teaching immigrants to speak English in 1920 was met with topics for English conversation, for vocabulary development and for teaching English "locutions." Topics included:

1. Learning name, address, occupation; greetings and salutations, farewells, and inquiries; age, weight, illness, good health, pain, hunger, and thirst.

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2. Schoolroom activities, objects and descriptive phrases such as walking, standing, reading, writing, opening, closing, coming, and going.
3. Daily needs outside of school such as buying, selling, repairing, cooking, eating, looking for work, riding, walking, counting, weighing, measuring, visiting, enjoyments, leisure time, holidays, and recreations.
4. Vocational terms: occupations, technical expressions.
5. Home and family: renting, furnishing, cleaning, members of the family and their relationships.
6. The community: the pupil's relationship to the school, the church, the lodge, the trade or labor organization; the newspaper, the theater, the post office, and the local agencies for promoting well-being and security, such as police, sanitation, licenses, and local ordinances.
7. Local and national holidays; national ideals as exemplified in the lives of great Americans.
8. Formal civics: the relation of city, state, nation, and other nations.

(Thompson, 1920, p. 173)

Teachers of English thought there was a limited need for learning to write when teaching beginning language skills and teaching to the interests of the students was not as important as using interesting materials. Indirect and direct methods of teaching English were used in the early 1900s. Direct teaching meant that a teacher would lead the student to associate the word directly with the object, suppressing any connection with the word in the student's native language. Indirect teaching of English meant that a triple association of idea,

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native expression, and English expression was used. Thompson noted that it was difficult to find competent teachers who spoke English in addition to one or more other languages and dialects spoken by the immigrants. Out of 185 teachers who were asked if they used the foreign language of the students when teaching English, 169 said no foreign language was used. The other 16 teachers said the foreign language was used, but with qualifications, such as, "When necessary" or "In unusual cases one pupil interprets for another," or "Only as a last resort." (Thompson, 1920, p. 189)

Methods for teaching English could also be classified as "analytic", "synthetic", or "analytic-synthetic". The "analytic" method presented connected sentences that were analyzed until the elements of the language were found. This is similar to the present day whole language approach to teaching literacy. The "synthetic" model had a purpose to "build" language by accretion beginning with letters of the alphabet, syllables, words, or isolated sentences. This method is similar to the phonics instruction that is present in modern day classrooms for literacy instruction. A third method that used the elements to build other language forms was called "analytic-synthetic". Thompson (1920) noted that the synthetic method had "limitations" and the analytic method was "sound."

Another similar method for instruction was introduced by Gouin that used analytic and synthetic methods, but applied them in a different way. This teaching procedure of combined analytic and synthetic methods included, "a theme is a general end accomplished by a series of related acts." (Gouin, in Thompson, 1920, p. 199) Thompson noted there were dangers with this method



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if sound principles were not used. Teachers of English were encouraged to follow “principles, not prescriptions,” and the guiding principles were as follows:

1. That language is to be taught for the purpose of communication and must be taught by a method which emphasizes communication, or in other words, the method must be direct, not indirect.
2. That oral language is relatively more important than written or printed language and is the basis for work in reading, as both reading and speaking are the foundations for work in writing.
3. That the standard for judging the worth of a lesson in English is the use to which the instruction may be to the student today rather than in the future. Language forms, vocabularies, exercises, and reading material are relatively worthwhile, as they approximate the standard of usefulness.
4. That training toward ability to use a language implies exercise in the forms actually to be used.
5. That power to use a language grows by healthy exercise in communication and is not built up by assembling letters, by building vocabularies, or by conjugating verbs.
6. That the process of teaching requires a continuing adjustment of the teacher’s method to meet constantly changing conditions, and that it is most unwise to rely on any single procedure, most of all on those that are advertised as all-inclusive.
7. That however the content of instruction may be specialized in factory classes as opposed to schools, there is no special method of teaching

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English in factories any more than there is a special method of teaching it in churches, in settlements, in lodges, in the country, or in the city.

8. That it is just as important for teachers of factory classes to be trained for their task of teaching English as it is for school-teachers.
9. That the work of teaching English to immigrants requires a training specialized, intensive, and broad enough to call for the highest professional skill, and keep its maximum efficiency through supervision by specialists in the field. (Thompson, 1920, p. 211-213)

With this background knowledge about immigrant education the education for immigrants in the Detroit Ukrainian community stands out as a bright light of distinction for the Detroit Ukrainian schools have offered a complete curriculum at ICUCS, including college preparatory courses from the beginning. As noted in the previous chapter, the school has 100% graduation rate and has used English and Ukrainian language practices for many years. The church has educated adults and children through English language classes as well as the curriculum used in public schools across the nation since the mid 1900s. English and Ukrainian have been used in the church, school, and community as bilingual oral and written forms of communicating in the Detroit Ukrainian community. Language learning in the Ukrainian community has also always included Ukrainian and English, which are also taught as subjects in the high school curriculum. The following sections provide a description of the shifting roles of language and culture from 1917 to 2002.

## **Immaculate Conception Schools: Then and Now**

### **Then: 1917 to 1963**

Immaculate Conception Schools began with a grammar school in 1917. Evening classes were offered for religion and English until a parochial day school was established in 1936. From the onset of classes in 1936 a complete curriculum of subjects was offered at the grammar school. This was in sharp contrast to offering only English classes in other schools where immigrants were educated. The number of students in the school grew from 18 in 1936 to 608 in 1958. In 1959 the K-8 curriculum was expanded to become K-12 and the first graduating class of high school seniors entered the Ukrainian community in 1963.<sup>1</sup>

The program of courses at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School in 1963 offered required courses for graduation and in addition a business curriculum and a college preparatory curriculum were offered to all students.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the regular required courses such as mathematics, English, science, and history that were offered at the high school, there were a number of foreign language classes offered, such as Ukrainian, French, Latin, and German. Those interested in business could take courses in bookkeeping, typing, shorthand, and general business. General electives of art, music, and homemaking were also choices available to all students. Health, chorus, and physical education were required courses for all students. There was a full science curriculum offered with biology, chemistry, and physics. Extra curricular

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<sup>1</sup> See Figures 11 and 12 for the history of ICUCS.

<sup>2</sup> See Figure 18 for the ICUCHS curriculum in 1963.

activities were also available from the beginning of the high school and the groups listed in the 1963 yearbook included a Ukrainian band and Kotlarewsky Choir and Mandolin Orchestra, Trembita Chorus, Ukrainian chorus, Homecoming with a king and queen and homecoming court, cheerleaders, Bengals basketball team, Bengals baseball team, science club, a Mother's Club, Future Nurses Club, Knights of the Altar, a Ukrainian operetta, and the Kobzar Mandolin Orchestra.

### **Immaculate Conception Schools**

**Now: 2000 to 2002**

People living in the Detroit Ukrainian community have provided for the needs of the community through labor, goods, and services for many years. There has been a strong economic base in the community for many years. Businesses and services of all kinds are available to the public and to those living in the Ukrainian community. Each building project in the community was constructed through the work of community members. The Ukrainian community has been a stable community since the early 1900s. For many years the Ukrainian community has offered churches, schools, businesses, funeral homes, banks, credit unions, drug stores, insurance agencies, food stores and restaurants, physicians, dentists, furniture stores, fuel oil and gasoline stations, hair salons, building companies, home improvement stores, greenhouses, hardware stores, real estate agencies, plumbers, roofing companies, import and export gift stores, religious goods, photography and photo processing, firefighters

and equipment, automobiles, a Ukrainian retirement home, and a cemetery.

There were 41 places in the Ukrainian community in 1963 – 28 in Detroit and 3 in the suburbs. In 2002, there were 50 places in the Ukrainian community with 10 in Detroit and 40 in the suburbs. The population still supports the community businesses.<sup>3</sup>

During the building project for the Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Schools in 2002, people in the community donated money for the \$2,000,000 building project. The building contractor was from the Ukrainian community, the artisan who crafted the artwork to be used in the school came from the Ukrainian community, a school alumnus who is a bishop in the church was the guest speaker at the banquet to raise money for the school, and once again, the Ukrainian community offered support and labor to keep the dream of education alive for Ukrainian Catholics.

The Ukrainian community high school education for immigrants began in 1963 and continued to provide a complete curriculum for college preparatory classes. New immigrants are offered additional classes in English. Help with learning in English is provided by the teachers at the school. The English teacher stated that new immigrants learn to speak English and assimilate into the regular classes within six months from arriving in the United States.

The language practices in the community have shifted over the years as new immigrants from Poland, India, and the Middle East have also settled in the area. These language tensions were met over the years with consistent bilingual

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<sup>3</sup> See Figures 16 and 17 for places in the community in 1963 and 2002.

practices of English and Ukrainian at church and school for Ukrainian immigrants. In other immigrant communities across the United States the tension created by language differences has been addressed by using only English or only the language of origin. The high school principal stated that the public schools near ICUCS offer ESL and the students that come as new immigrants are lost because they only have six weeks to learn how to use English in school. The bilingual approach for offering both English and Ukrainian during school classes, at church, and at home has been successful in the Detroit Ukrainian community for a century.

### **Then and Now: Culture, Traditions and Rituals**

Ukrainian culture is rich with traditions, rituals, and symbolism. During my field observations at Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church and St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church I was struck with the magnificence of the rich spiritual symbolism and beautiful artwork in each Ukrainian church. The spiritual imagery used has been handed down from generation to generation and is similar to other churches in the Byzantine Church. Religious images and symbols serve as a way for faithful followers to offer expressions of the Christian faith. The term “spiritual” is used in this study to signify the personal faith of Ukrainians in their spiritual life. Religion is a term used to identify convictions and a belief system of a faith group. The spirit refers to the inner life of faith where belief resides in each person. Ukrainian spiritual life, then, refers to the inner faith life of Ukrainian Catholic believers.



One example of the deep spiritual symbolism found in the Ukrainian Catholic Church is making the “*sign of the cross*” with the hands. This is an important symbol for the Christian faith in many churches, from the beginning of the Christian Church and it is widely practiced today. In the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the *sign of the cross* is made by joining the thumb, index finger and middle finger together, and by placing the other two folded fingers against the palm. This is a standard form in the Christian churches of the Eastern rites. The same gesture of the *sign of the cross* in the Roman Catholic Church uses only the index and middle finger and places the other three fingers against the palm of the hand.

Churches of the Ukrainian rite are usually built in the shape of a cross (*cruciform*). The church building itself is normally divided into three main parts: the *vestibule* (porch, narthex), the *nave* (body of the church), and the *sanctuary* (altar). When a person enters the Ukrainian church building, she usually enters the porch or narthex. Immaculate Conception and St. Josaphat have the main entrance of the church leading to the *vestibule*. Church buildings in Ukraine were built for worshipers to stand during services with benches around the outer perimeter of the body of the church. In North American churches rows of pews are placed throughout the *nave* in the church for members to sit during worship services. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated in the sanctuary at the altar with candles and a cross placed somewhere near it and used during worship services. A chair is placed behind the altar in the *cathedra*, and the bishop is seated while the epistle (letter) is being read from the Bible. The four Gospels, or

four books of the Bible are revered and all four are bound together and kept in an open gold decorated book on the altar at all times. A small tabernacle, *Kivot*, on the altar contains the Holy Sacrament, or Eucharist. During the *proskomedia*, or offering, the priest stands at the left of the altar. At this table of offering the priest prepares the gifts of the bread and wine before the Divine Liturgy.

Religious icons are an integral part of the Eastern Christian traditions. *Icon*, a Greek word for image is not only an object of art, but the outward representation of an inner spiritual experience for the Christian believer. An icon is not a portrait and it is not intended to represent reality. The artist seeks to draw the beholder into a spirit of prayer and contemplation. Icons are flat, two-dimensional, and icons symbolically depict the subject. When the icon is completed it is solemnly blessed and then it becomes an object of special veneration to be placed on the *iconostasis* in the church or within the home.

*Iconostasis* means *image stand* and it is a screen or grating divider within the front of the sanctuary to divide the sanctuary from the body of the church. The iconostasis has three doors: the royal doors in the center, used by the priest during some ceremonies; the doors on the left and right are called the deacon's doors, and they are used for processions between church and sanctuary during the Divine Liturgy. Iconostasis became meaningful to the believers. The vestments worn by priests began to show pomp and colorful pageantry during celebrations. Ornamentation surrounding the altar offered a way to worship using silence or a visual image to foster meditation and reflection. The religious icons used throughout the churches expressed symbolic faith and the church

leaders nurtured the growing body of believers with all of the symbolism for the purpose of becoming mature followers of Christ (Katrij, 1983).

Russian immigrants and Ukrainian Catholic immigrants in particular, brought Russian customs with them when they came to America at the turn of the twentieth century. The centuries old Russian bathhouses as mentioned in previous chapters, or *bania*, where rituals and symbolic traditions for secular life often began with oral registers, were adapted for oral and written language use within religious life in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America. Russian salons were another place where oral registers and written genres were used in Russia since the eighteenth century. Russian salons became a meeting ground for literate Russians, where literature and political life were discussed in freedom for several centuries. Salon oral registers and written genres were adapted in America as Ukrainian Catholics formed committees and community groups for discussions and planning for the Ukrainian networks and community. The church in Russia and the format for worship services used in Russia were brought to America, with little change. Ukrainians spoke their native tongue in the church community from the beginning of their new life in America. This ease in assimilation is evidence to the success of the bilingual approach for language practices in the Ukrainian community.

Many of the customs, traditions, and routines found in Russia and Ukraine were brought from Russia with immigrants when they came to America. Many of these cultural patterns for living are continued to this day. The familiarity of a Ukrainian way of life for new immigrants provided support and facilitated the

process of immigration and the process of becoming literate for new immigrants coming to America. This meant that the Ukrainian language, many Ukrainian cultural customs, rituals, and traditions, and the patterns for Ukrainian Catholic Church worship services and church events were similar to those experienced in Ukraine. The Ukrainian immigrant community initiated, created, and developed a pattern for living in the community that followed the ways of life in Ukraine and Russia. This pattern became a model for new immigrants to follow and the model has been successful in America for decades.

### **The Role of the Church**

From the Kievan *Rus'* era in the tenth century, Russia has been greatly influenced by religion. *Rus'* received Christianity from the Byzantine Empire when Olga led the Kievan state as its regent. She converted to the Russian Orthodox Church in 955 A.D. and Russia claimed the Russian Orthodox Church as the church of Russia. Since that time the Russian Orthodox Church has been the primary religious force in Russia. This created a problem for Ukrainian Catholics. Russian Orthodox believers follow Orthodox Christianity and Ukrainian Catholics follow Roman Catholic Christianity. Russia has persecuted Ukrainian Catholics for centuries placing great pressure on the Ukrainian Catholic Church to become Russian Orthodox.

When Russian authorities ruled that it was illegal to speak Ukrainian during worship services in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Ukrainians looked for a way to flee Russia and worship as Ukrainian Catholic

believers. This choice to remain Ukrainian Catholics began in Russia and continued in America. The Detroit Ukrainian Catholic community began as a mission church in the early 1900s as mentioned in previous chapters. In 1911, Father Bartosh arrived to become the first pastor of the immigrants. Most of the new immigrants were poor and illiterate peasants, yet the church grew and a new building was erected in 1913 and Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church became a reality. (Basilian Fathers, 1963)

Realizing the need for immigrants to become literate Americans, the church leadership offered night classes for adult immigrants to learn English. Unlike the public school offerings these classes included Ukrainian Catholic doctrine and used Ukrainian Catholic Catechism texts. The classes were presented in Ukrainian and English, or in other words, there was a bilingual approach to teaching English. My Aunt Maria remembers going to classes in 1924, when she was five years old. She attended with adults and other immigrant children. Classes were held in a room above the convent and Maria went to class two or three times each week (Interview with Maria, 2002).

Immaculate Conception founded Immaculate Conception Grammar School in 1936 to provide a full time day school for immigrant children. Nuns from the order of St. Basil the Great were the teachers at the school. It is interesting to note that parochial schools were considered a problem for the public school system. As early as 1850, parochial schools began competing for pupils, money, and teachers. In addition, the Catholic community, both Roman and Ukrainian Catholics, challenged the public school system. As early as 1829,

American Catholic hierarchy decided to establish Catholic schools to protect the faith of children. An American Catholic bishop decreed:

“Since it is evident that very many of the young, the children of Catholic parents, especially the poor, have been exposed and are still exposed in many places of the Province, to great danger of the loss of faith or the corruption of morals on account of the lack of such teachers as could safely be entrusted with so great an office, we think it absolutely necessary that schools should be established in which the young can be taught the principles of faith and morals, while being instructed in letters.”

The first “school war” (Ravitch, 1974) between the public schools and the Catholic schools began with the Catholic clergy pursuing public funding for parochial schools in the 1840s. Catholics won the battle to disengage from the private society that had monopolized public education funds, however, they lost the war for funding and the church decided with determination to build and develop a separate educational system of their own. In 1840, Bishop Hughes addressed the issue with the following statement,

“We are Americans and American citizens. If some of us are foreigners, it is only by the accident of birth. As citizens, our ambition is to be Americans; and if we cannot be so by birth, we are so by choice and preference. . . . We hold, therefore, the same ideas of our rights that you hold of yours. We wish not to diminish yours, but only to secure and enjoy our own. Neither have we the

slightest suspicion that you would wish us to be deprived of any privilege which you claim for yourselves." (Bourne, 1870, pp. 331-338)

This war between public and private schools continued into the 1900s. Ravitch (1974) notes that there were four school wars from 1800 - 1970. The first school war focused on public schools vs. Catholic Schools. The second school war began with a reform movement, or the rise of the expert. The third war was a crusade for efficiency and the fourth school war concerned racism and reactions of power struggles. (Ravitch, 1974)

Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church entered the schooling process for immigrants after the first war between Public Schools and Catholic Schools. The church made a deliberate decision to offer religious education for immigrants, teaching English to new arrivals, as well as those who were settled in the Detroit area. Immaculate Conception Church founded Immaculate Conception Grammar School in 1936 and by 1959 the school grew to include a new school, Immaculate Conception High School. By 1963, there were 45 nuns who were dedicated to the church and the schools. Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church became a place for Ukrainian immigrants to become literate.

### **The Role of the School**

Immaculate Conception began evening classes for teaching English to immigrants in the 1920s. Adults and children attended the Ukrainian evening

school, which was supervised by Immaculate Conception Church. There is a picture in the church yearbook from the 1920s with 15 female students and 13 male students ranging from five years to teenage years of age. The priest and the teacher were included in the picture, which was taken at the church. During this time, there was a movement in Michigan to amend the constitution to abolish parochial schools. While the petition failed, the topic of private education was kept in the conversation about the problems with parochial schools for some time (Thompson, 1920). A new parochial grade school was built next to the church in 1936. The school offered a complete curriculum for education and this provided a choice for Ukrainian immigrants, other than the public schools in the area.

Immaculate Conception Grammar School grew and evolved into Immaculate Conception Grade School. Realizing the need for high school students to also receive a parochial education, the church founded Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School in 1959. A new Ukrainian High School was dedicated in 1959 and the first group of students began in the fall of 1959. The first high school graduating class of 1963 had 39 students, 20 females and 19 males.

The curriculum in 1963 for the high school offered required courses (Mathematics, Biology, U.S. History, East European History, Ukrainian History, American Government, English, Religion, Ukrainian, Health and Physical Education, and Chorus), college preparatory courses (Latin, German, French, World History, Geography, Mathematics, General Science, Chemistry, Physics,



and Typing) business courses (Latin, General Business, Bookkeeping, World History, Shorthand, and Typing), and elective courses (Art, Music, Homemaking) <sup>4</sup>

This complete curriculum for the grade school and high school was an outstanding model for other schools, whether public or parochial schools. The general mindset regarding immigrant education had been that immigrants fostered two “obsessions,” as noted by Thompson (1920):

“These delusions are, first, that native Americans constitute a superior race when compared with the foreign born, and, second, that our institutions and aspirations are peculiar and distinctive to our own people and country. . . . A progressive stage of civilization is characterized, among other qualities, by the capacity of its citizens to recognize both the shortcomings of their own group and the virtue of other nationalities.” (Thompson, 1920, p. 365-366)

Immaculate Conception Schools became a choice for educating Ukrainian immigrants that has been successful for more than 80 years. The school began in the face of opposition from several sources. One source of opposition was the public school system. A second factor of opposition was the general public's contention that Eastern European immigrants were not capable to obtain a college education. Following that train of thought led many immigrants into a general or business education rather than pursuing a college preparatory curriculum in high school. Immaculate Conception offered college preparatory courses from the beginning of the high school curriculum in 1959. The

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<sup>4</sup> See Figures 18 and 19 for high school curriculum in 1963 and 2002.

curriculum continued to evolve and in 2002 the high school curriculum included a core curriculum, curriculum electives, and advanced placement classes. The core curriculum offers English, religion, and a foreign language for four years; mathematics and science are offered for two to four years; three years of computer literacy; two years of physical education; one year of typing; and one semester of health and civics are all included in the core curriculum. Curriculum electives include: music, humanities, current events, foreign languages, accounting, and graphic arts. Advanced placement classes in mathematics and English are also offered to high school students.

### **The Role of the Community**

The Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community began in the area surrounding Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church. With the passage of time more and more people began to move to the area and people came to church in carriages. In 1915, Ukrainians “watched with alarm as their children grew up without a Christian or national background. Father Bartosh, then decided to build a national home which could serve as a school and a Ukrainian center” (The Basilian Fathers, 1963). A company that built homes on credit was hired and the cost was \$30,000. The blessing of the hall took place in 1917. Parishioners pooled their resources to help pay the debt. This building became the Ukrainian Cultural Center and the building also housed the first Ukrainian Grammar School. The new Ukrainian Cultural Center became the site for parish organizations, parish dances, parish meetings, and all types of cultural programs were held at

the center. These programs helped to quickly pay for the building and in October 1917, the community bought a home for the sisters of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, for \$4000.

Today, the Ukrainian Cultural Center is still a place for the Ukrainian community to meet for group events. There is a new building for the cultural center now in the suburbs, across the street from St. Josaphat Church. Cultural events are still held at the center. Church dinners, banquets for the school, receptions, weddings, and other group events are offered to the Ukrainian community through the cultural center. The Ukrainian Cultural Center has been a part of the Ukrainian community for 90 years.

People living in the Detroit Ukrainian community have provided for the needs of the community through labor, goods, and services for many years. Each building project was constructed through the work of community members. The Ukrainian community has been a stable community since the early 1900s. For many years the Ukrainian community has offered churches, schools, businesses, funeral homes, banks, credit unions, drug stores, insurance agencies, food stores and restaurants, physicians, dentists, furniture stores, fuel oil and gasoline stations, hair salons, building companies, home improvement stores, greenhouses, hardware stores, real estate agencies, plumbers, roofing companies, import and export gift stores, religious goods, photography and photo processing, firefighters and equipment, automobiles, a Ukrainian retirement home, and a cemetery. There were 41 places in the Ukrainian community in 1963 – 28 in Detroit and 3 in the suburbs. In 2002, there were 50 places in the

Ukrainian community with 10 in Detroit and 40 in the suburbs. The population still supports the community businesses.

During the building project for the Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Schools in 2002, people in the community donated money for the \$2,000,000 building project. The building contractor was from the Ukrainian community, the artisan who crafted the artwork to be used in the school came from the Ukrainian community, a school alumni, who is a bishop in the church, was the speaker at the banquet to raise money for the school, and once again, the Ukrainian community offered support and labor to keep the dream of education alive for Ukrainian Catholics. In the next chapter the role of culture for community members is considered as remembering, remaking, and re-imagining a cultural identity.

## CHAPTER 5

### *Rushnyky* in Detroit:

#### **Remembering, Remaking, and Re-Imagining Cultural Identity**

##### ***Rushnyky***

A small four room, two story, white wooden building rests unassumingly close to the ground. It is across the street from a large stone and marble church with domes and spires reaching to the heavens. Sharp contrasting architecture and size would seem to make the buildings distinct and different yet they are intimately connected with cultural and spiritual bonds in the community. Each building holds vast cultural and spiritual significance for the people who grace the doors with their presence. The large picture windows on the front of the wooden building span the front wall. Reflections in the window show the massive church building across the street and mirror the blue sky in the heavens above. There is a welcoming sense, a feeling of invitation to passers by to open the door of the small white edifice, drop in, and look around on the other side of the picture windows. Wood on the building tells the story of an old establishment with splinters gone and white paint crackled in places on the wooden slats. While the building is in dissimilarity to the church it seems to blend in with the homes and other buildings in the neighborhood. The outside of the structure reveals a story about the community and its endurance throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The distinctions between the church and the wooden building are striking. While the church represents the Ukrainian spiritual identity that the Ukrainian immigrant community has in this place, the wooden building represents the Ukrainian cultural identity held by the community for more than a century. Members of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church go to worship services at the church and often go from the church to the white building to further their cultural and spiritual experience. Community members also visit the wooden building, reflect on the Ukrainian culture, and then go to worship services across the street. Both buildings are a part of the Ukrainian immigrant community. The exterior of the church is constructed with elaborate marble and metal that has gold leaf decorations. Paintings on the inside of the church also have gold leaf decorations, yet the white building across the street is made of common wooden slats found in most dwellings of its time.

This small building is now the home of the Ukrainian museum for this community with objects d'art from a century ago and relics and treasures collected today. Cultural and spiritual art can be found in the museum. Each treasured relic of the Ukrainian heritage has been kept since the first immigrants came to the area in the late 1880s. Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church and the museum, both in Detroit Michigan, open their front doors to the same street. Passersby are welcome in both buildings and the front doors open outward as if the arms of the community are flung open to greet everyone that enters. This small white antique of a building

across from the church is the home of The Ukrainian-American Archives and Museum, Inc. It is not by accident that the white wooden building resides across the street from the church: the church and museum are connected and the culture and spirituality for both are intertwined throughout the Ukrainian culture and the spiritual life of this certain Ukrainian community.

Old hymnals, school textbooks, community photographs of Ukrainian dances, Ukrainian choir and orchestra concerts and other cultural events, church committee meeting notes, building plans, and student yearbooks all adorn the shelves and walls in the archives room of the museum. A small book is open on the table near the entrance of the museum and this guest book is filled with names of Ukrainians and friends who came to see first hand the items of daily life that are so much a part of the cultural and spiritual life of Ukrainians living in this community. The many pages of handwriting reveal the names of visitors whose presence offered respect and admiration for the cultural and spiritual way of Ukrainian-American life.

Membership for the Ukrainian Museum consists of dues or a donation that ranges from \$10.00 for students to \$1,000 for Founders. Pamphlets with information about the museum and this exhibit are available upon entering the museum and each one is decorated with colorful Ukrainian motifs of red, white, and black on white paper. Also included in the tri-fold brochure is an invitation for membership to the museum and highlights of the current museum presentation. Exhibits include rituals and traditions from Ukrainian culture and the recorded history of the spiritual life of the church and

community. During the summer of 2002, Danyil, a Ukrainian anthropologist and a museum curator, served as the director/ curator for the Ukrainian-American Archives and Museum. On display was a collection of ritual cloths, (*rushnyky*), which were on loan from the "D. D.Ukrainian Ethnographic Research Collection".

The first day that I met Danyil I was headed to the Saturday 4:00 PM worship service at Immaculate Conception Church, but at 3:45 PM there was a wedding in process at the church so I went to the museum to wait for the wedding party to enjoy their guests before I went into church. As I walked across the street from the church to the museum, I was struck by the bright reflection of the church in the front window of the museum. The church did not overshadow the museum, but the reflection served as a constant connection between the culture and the spiritual life of the community. The small white building that I saw had a wooden door and it was wide open with several other people entering the museum as I walked in. There was a feeling of coming home or perhaps it just reminded me of going inside a much loved and nurtured place. Oksana and a friend from Ukraine who are students at MSU came to the museum with Marta and another woman. A man from the Ukrainian community was also in the museum with Danyil when we arrived and Danyil and the other patrons already in the museum warmly greeted me. Danyil shook my hand and kissed it. They were joking that there were actual visitors from outside the community – as if it were a rarity. Each person in the museum greeted everyone present and there was a



lightheartedness that felt warm and inviting, even for me, someone new to this community.

My first impression of the exhibit was that I was in the presence of authentic Ukrainian culture. There was a sense of great pride and scholarly professionalism in the orderly way the displayed items were presented in the museum. The main room had three walls and a large picture window. There were café style curtains on the inside of the window and the museum hours were posted on a plaque on the outside of the building. Once inside I noticed the three inside walls were each adorned with several *rushnyky*. Each ritual cloth was carefully folded over a dowel and hung on the wall with each end of the dowel connected to a decorative cord, forming a triangle when hung on the nail in the wall. This display included *rushnyky* from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and from Central Ukraine. Most of them were brightly embroidered with red thread displaying the “Tree of Life” motif and although faded over time, they kept the beauty of the embroidered design and showed the uniqueness of each individual *rushnyk*.

All of the 10 visitors gathered around Danyil as he explained the current exhibit in the museum and we chatted with each other about the different ritual cloths. Danyil shared that a typical person in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries would have had about 40 *rushnyky* throughout a lifetime. Babies were placed in a *rushnyk* at birth and the ritual cloth wrapped around their bodies as a blanket when they were born. When a woman got married, she brought the 40 ritual cloths to the marriage as part of her trousseau. On the

day of her wedding, a bride wore a *rushnyk* wrapped around her waist and another *rushnyk* was also placed underneath the bride and groom to stand on during the wedding ceremony. These cloths have been used in the kitchen as decorations, curtains, tablecloths, and placed on the walls as decorations. Danyil also shared that *rushnyky* were also used to lower caskets into the ground. Many of the uses for *rushnyky* are still found in Ukrainian communities today in Ukraine and in America.

These 19 cloths on display were all unique examples of original embroidery from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century and came from Central Ukraine, which is present-day Poltava, Kyiv, and Chernihiv. The “Tree of Life” motif became popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries as symbols to the Renaissance and Baroque styles of artwork at that time. Tree of Life motifs were examples of the belief system of ancient times and thought to represent interrelationships such as “underworld/earth/heavens” and “past/present/future.” Some people attribute this motif to the pre-Christian Ukrainian goddess “Berehynia,” and the form became stylized and distorted over time into the floral depiction in this exhibit.

Of the other guests in the museum, Oksana was a student at Michigan State University and she was in the United States with a visa for the 2002-2003 school year. She was born in Ukraine and came to the museum with someone who belongs to the Ukrainian community. Hanna shared about life in Ukraine and how the *rushnyky* are still used for different life events. She also shared with visitors at the museum about some traditions in Ukraine,

such as the use of a pumpkin when dating. Oksana said that when a young woman is dating someone, when she wants to end the relationship, she gives the person a pumpkin as a sign of the end of the courtship. She spoke with good English skills and all of the visitors laughed at the humorous cultural stories that Oksana shared about life in Ukraine.

I met Marta the same day I met Oksana. Marta now lives within 100 miles from Immaculate Conception Church, but as a child she went to Immaculate Conception Schools through the eighth grade, when she transferred to the public school in Detroit. She is now middle aged and practices law in Michigan. Marta is active in the Ukrainian community and she supports the Ukrainian Museum. All of the guests in the museum joined in the conversation with Danyil and Oksana. There was a sense of belonging, even as a first time visitor to the museum. Danyil invited everyone to come back to the museum and bring some of the embroidery pieces that we had that came from Ukrainian women in the past. When returning to the museum with several embroidery pieces, Danyil explained that the pieces were typical of women who lived in the United States between 1940s and 1960s. Although they were not Ukrainian designs per se, they did represent the time, when family members lived in a Ukrainian immigrant community in the United States.

*Rushnyky* represent daily life in Ukraine in the past and in the present, reminding immigrants of a treasured way of life. The ritual cloths represent Ukrainian spiritual life as well. Each cloth found its way into homes and

churches alike for centuries. They are one example of the cultural and spiritual identity of daily life for Ukrainian immigrants in the Detroit community. For centuries, *rushynky*, or embroidered decorative towels have been a part of the culture and spiritual life in Ukraine and in the lives of Ukrainians around the world. *Rushnyky* have had an indispensable part in traditional folk and Christian holidays; they are used in the rituals of ceremonies and in the spirituality of the church. The most important events in people's lives never took place without *rushynky* and the embroidered *rushnyk* was always a symbol of hospitality. Bread and salt were offered to respected guests on *rushnyk* and new-born babies were put on a towel and *rushnyky* also were used to hold the coffin as it was placed in the ground to accompany people on their last journey to eternal life. When a new house was built they lifted the beam on *rushnyky* and then gave the *rushnyk* to the builder as a present. A wedding could not take place without *rushnyky*. The *rushnyk* that a bride and bridegroom stood on was a symbol of faithfulness. They tied the bride and bridegroom's hands with the *rushnyk* and wished them a happy family life.

Wedding customs included *rushnyky* that were used during the matchmaking, betrothal, the marriage ceremony itself, and the wedding festivities that followed the wedding. Matchmaking occurred after courtship and was merely a formalization of the intention to marry. It involved ceremonial inquiries at the home of the woman's parents, inspections of the prospective groom's family and home, acceptance of the bread by the girl's parents, the bride's formal consent, the tying of ceremonial towels, or

*rushnyky*, over the shoulders of each matchmaker, and the exchange of gifts between parents and matchmakers. The betrothal took place at the bride's house and was accompanied by ritual songs, speeches, binding with *rushnyky*, and the exchange of gifts. When a young woman prepared a dowry for herself, she embroidered many decorative *rushnyky*, blouses and shirts to show her diligence because a bride's diligence was measured by the quantity, beauty and the complexity of the patterns of the *rushnyky*. A mother gave a *rushnyk* to her son before he set out on a long journey to ensure happiness in his new life. The *rushnyk* was treasured as a memory of Ukraine, of the home and of childhood.

Embroidery is a popular form of folk art among Ukrainians that has existed since prehistoric times according to archeological discoveries in Ukraine. Cloth embroidery was first inspired by faith in the power of protective symbols and later by aesthetic motives. Using a weaving shuttle or a needle to create the various symbolic designs provided Ukrainians a faster approach to decorate woven cloths. There are three places in Ukrainian life where embroidered folk art is widely used: Churches, on altar linens and vestments for the priests; for folk rites and customs including *rushnyky* to decorate spiritual icons and the ritual towels are used as part of wedding rituals; clothing, on shirts and blouses, sleeveless jackets, and skirts, aprons, scarves, and head coverings of married women. Each part of Ukraine has characteristic embroidery that has unique stitches, techniques, favorite designs and motifs, and their own predominant set of colors used for

embroidery. Today, a typical festival of arts and crafts has hand embroidered blouses, shirts, ties, purses, pillows, *rushnyky*, tablecloths, pincushions, and bookmarks all with different colors, designs and stitches used for the embroidery. (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Canadian Catholic Conference, 1975; Horniatkevych and Nenadkevych, 1994; Kmit, et al, 1979; Sichynsky, 1994; Pawliczko, 1994)

*Rushnyky* are important artifacts in Ukrainian culture. Their use and identification over generations illustrate both how Ukrainian culture is woven into daily life and how it is re-formed over time and generations in this Ukrainian American community. This chapter takes a long look at culture: remembering culture as it was in Ukraine, remaking culture in the Detroit Ukrainian community, and re-imagining culture as an aspect of identity.

In this chapter I define culture in terms of the practices, values, and artifacts shaping a sense of self. I do not equate culture with “location” nor do I equate it with “ethnicity.” Instead, by analyzing data from one Ukrainian American community I look at cultural identity as it bridges two worlds of experience and enables modern people to “triangulate,” in Eva Hoffman’s words (1989), a sense of self as they are in motion and as they remember, re-make and re-imagine what it is to be Ukrainian American.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Hoffman, 1989; and Florio-Ruane with deTar, 2001.

## Concepts of Culture

Payne, in *A dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory*, says about culture, "To define 'culture' is to define the human; to be excluded from the definition can have an ultimate cost" (Payne, 1997, p. 129). Geertz (1973) defines culture by way of "webs of significance" that are spun by human beings. In 1973 Geertz provided a definition of the concept of culture that he proclaims as, "The concept of culture I espouse . . . is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science of law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical."

A culture is in essence a system to ensure the continuity and maintenance of well being for a group of people (Haviland, 1996, 1997). In this sense, the Detroit Ukrainian American community has an established 90 year pattern for success and offers a life of reasonable fulfillment to those who choose to be a part of the cultural community. (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Bratkowsky, 2002; Haviland, 1996, 1997; LeCompte, et al, 1999; Maybury-Lewis, 1993; Payne, 1997; Storey, 1998; Interviews in the community, 2001-2002)

Research can be viewed from the perspective of those being studied, which is an *emic* perspective and research can be viewed through the lens of the researcher, which is an *etic* perspective. As a participant observer I have

sought the perspectives of those living in the Detroit Ukrainian American community. Primary source data, artifacts, and information were used whenever possible. My perspective was also included in the study since I was a participant in the group, I was observing the group, and interviewing participants. Therefore, my approach to culture in this study is a combination of *emic* and *etic* perspectives. (Haviland, 1996, 1997; Schensul, et al, 1999)

Information, artifacts, as well as historical data have been analyzed without a certain perspective in mind. It is my intention to simply present the material and let the data speak for itself whenever possible. Data sources were the driving force behind paradigms, approaches, and perspectives chosen for this study. Cultural relativism was also considered for this study with judgment about the Detroit Ukrainian American group suspended and the facts and information about the community presenting a relevant perception of the group.

### **Ukrainian Culture and Spirituality**

There are kindred connections between culture and spirituality in the Ukrainian community. While both topics have importance in their own right the two are intrinsically linked for the Ukrainian American community in this study. In the Detroit Ukrainian community culture is expressed in the use of artifacts in daily life. *Rushnyk* is both a cultural artifact and a portable symbol of identity, marking significant life events for the Ukrainian community. The



cloths in use bear witness to the many characteristics of cultural identity. They symbolize wrappings that we take with us and apply to life events as each new setting arises. Over the centuries *rushnyky* show the transforming and reinventing of Ukrainian identity with their specific cultural designs. They provide stability and yet remain versatile over time; they are available to change by contact with new circumstances. *Rushnyky* are material, yet spiritually symbolic; arbitrary, yet modestly functional. The cloths we use in daily life show the varied features of culture and cultural identity. (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Canadian Catholic Conference, 1975; Magosci, 1996)

For the purposes of this study, the question of culture is considered through the history of Ukraine and Ukrainians, the present way of life for Ukraine and Ukrainians, and how the Ukrainian culture may be continued into the future. Even in our so-called postcolonial, postmodern, postfeminist times, the word “culture” has many connotations. Although each culture has unique and diverse features, there are three interdependent parts of any culture that are common:

1. All cultures have a material economy and technology
2. All cultures have a system of organization
3. All cultures have a system of beliefs and values

(Podolefsky and Brown, 1997, p. 75)

LeCompte and Schensul (1999, Vol. 1, p. 21) explain the term “culture” through the anthropology lens of an ethnographer as, “Culture consists of the beliefs, behaviors, norms, attitudes, social arrangements, and forms of

expression that form a describable pattern in the lives of members of a community or institution.” In this study culture is considered broadly using definitions from many sources to better understand the Ukrainian culture that is addressed in this project.

Spirituality and culture are connected for the Ukrainian community. The concept of spirituality is something other than sensuality or intellect. It concerns the higher moral or religious aspects, or in other words, the higher or better part of the mind. This can be seen in the church, school, family, museum, and in the community. In the church, the ornamentation and icons used are a blend of religious art and Ukrainian art. Culture and spirituality merge to form holy relics that have been used for centuries. In the school many of the items found in the church are used throughout the school buildings. The new school building also houses a museum filled with Ukrainian spiritual and cultural artifacts that have had meaning to the school and community for many years.

Culture and spirituality are embedded in the Ukrainian church. The spiritual symbolisms found in the artwork inside the church building are full of Ukrainian culture. The museum which is culturally Ukrainian is full of spiritual artifacts. The two are intertwined for the Detroit Ukrainian community. All aspects of Ukrainian life are full of culture and spirituality. Daily life is centered on cultural and spiritually significant activities. Culture can be viewed in several ways. Culture explains the perceived environment that individuals and groups live within at any given time. Spirituality explains the

important aspects of life and how individuals and groups value certain arenas of life. The behaviors that people choose and the perception of the culture influence how people act and live. Each individual needs to learn about a world of objects other than self. This becomes the physical environment which is organized culturally and mediated symbolically through the uses of language. Haviland (1996) likens this awareness of others to perceiving the world through cultural glasses. Those qualities that are culturally significant to a group of people are singled out in the environment and they receive the attention and the labels. In the same way attributes that are not significant to a culture are ignored or considered in general categories.

There are cultural activities that have been practiced and have become a part of the way of life for the Ukrainian community. Regularly there are cultural concerts given in the community by various groups. One such concert was held at a middle school auditorium in the suburbs. It was called the "Golden Jubilee Concert" and was provided by a credit union in the Ukrainian community that has been in business for 50 years. All of those in the concert were dressed in traditional Ukrainian clothes. There was a women's trio, a husband and wife singing duo, a woman's group of 18 dancers, a male singing and instrumental group of 18 instruments and 24 singers, and a dancing group of 12 women and 9 men. This type of cultural concert has been a part of the Ukrainian community since 1925. The earliest date found for cultural performances in the Detroit Ukrainian community was The Iwan Kotlarewsky Dramatic Society, in 1925. A picture of this group,

complete with traditional cultural dress was included in the 1963 Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church Golden Jubilee Souvenir Year Book.

There is a picture of the “Kotlarewsky” Choir, posed in traditional Ukrainian costume, for a 1929 celebration in the 1963 Golden Jubilee Year Book. The group had 34 men, 50 women, the priest and Mr. Kotlarewsky. The church choir with Mr. Melnychuk and Father Chehansky as the leaders in the 1950s, was comprised of 26 women and 15 men, all dressed in traditional Ukrainian costumes. As a child I remember having Ukrainian dancers come to my school. They were also middle school students and they danced traditional folk dances with everyone dressed in traditional Ukrainian costumes. From the above examples it is clear that the Ukrainian community has had a long-standing pattern of including traditional dress, dance, and music in their way behaviors in the community and outside the area. These behaviors include cultural traditions and they are a part of the spirituality of the community. Church services and events sponsored by the church include Ukrainian dancers, singers, and musicians.

In the Ukrainian community there are definite beliefs that are a part of the culture and the spiritual life for Ukrainians living in Detroit and in the suburban Ukrainian community. These beliefs can be observed in the churches, during school sessions, and in the Ukrainian community.

Haviland (1996, p. 364) regards religion, “as the beliefs and patterns of behavior by which people try to control the area of the universe that is otherwise beyond their control.” There is a hierarchy of supernatural beings



noted by Haviland, such as, God, the angels, and the saints of Christianity. While the practice of religion spans generations, continents, societies, and class structure, Haviland notes that much of the value of religion can be found in the activities of the people as they are practicing religion. Religious ceremonies are thought to provide a sense of personal security, a sense of personal transcendence, and a feeling of closeness to fellow participants and to God. (Haviland, 1996)

Kottak (1997) sees religion as an instrument in social change and as a way to maintain order in society. He defines religion as, "a cultural universal, consists of belief and behavior concerned with supernatural beings, powers, and forces" (Kottak, 1997, p. 349). Science has attempted to provide explanations and Tylor thought that religion would eventually fade away as science provided better elucidation. However, a far different view of the supernatural exists in the Ukrainian community. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has many beliefs in supernatural concepts. For example, the Byzantine Ukrainian Rite of the Eastern Catholic Church believes in the Providence of God, the Spiritual life of the triune God, the Good News of Christ's death on the cross for the payment of sin, and the importance of rites as a way to express the teachings of their Lord Jesus Christ. All of the rites have been practiced in much the same way since 988 AD, during the reign of Vlodymyr, Prince of Kiev.

It is this rich tradition of religious practices that embraces the spirit of the Ukrainian people. This *spirit* of the Ukrainian people can be seen in all

areas of daily life; in the church, in the school, in the community, and in the language. The term *spirituality* is used in this study, rather than *religion*, to capture the essence of the belief system that is expressed through a relationship with Jesus Christ. *Spirit* has been defined as the thinking, motivating, feeling part of humans, often as distinguished from the body, mind and intelligence. A person with *spirit* can be someone who has a true intention, a loyal follower of something. It is this true and loyal following of Jesus Christ that is combined with the cultural practices of the Ukrainian people that give them a unique Ukrainian spirituality. (Basilian Fathers, 1963; Canadian Catholic Conference, 1975; Haviland, 1996; Kottak, 1997; Webster, 1997)

### **Ukrainian Symbolism and Culture**

Culture is derived from symbols. Leslie White, in *The Evolution of Culture* (1959), observed that all human behavior begins with the use of symbols. Later all anthropologists shared this view and embraced the notion that culture is based on symbols. While art, religion, and money involve the use of symbols, the most important symbolic aspect of culture is language. Language substitutes words for objects and through language humans are able to transmit culture from one generation to the next. Goodenough (1990) stated that language makes it possible to learn from our cumulative and shared life experiences. Without a language to communicate, one cannot inform others of events or other information that is important.

The term adaptation suggests a natural process, a process that occurs unaffectedly and has not been chosen by the will. People achieve a beneficial adjustment to one's environment naturally and the results of the process are the characteristics that allow one to fit into a particular environment (Haviland, 1996, 1997). When considering the Detroit Ukrainian American community the established immigrant community facilitates cultural adaptation. This has a positive affect on the new immigrants coming to the community and it also benefits the community by having additional skills and people added to the established immigrant group.

“There is a tendency for all aspects of a culture to function as an integrated whole” (Haviland, 1997, p. 353). Looking at one aspect such as language and then comparing the language with other parts, such as economics, etc., provides information that is somewhat different from the information learned when looking only at one aspect at a time.

Anthropologists have found that there is a tendency for any culture to operate as a whole with all of the parts working together. This tendency of cultural integration allows the Detroit Ukrainian American community to consistently offer school programs, church events, and community gatherings that would not be possible if the community did not work as an integrated whole. For example, the ICUCS have been in the community since 1927. ICUCC and St. Josaphat have been involved in the schools programs, building projects, and there is a long standing working relationship between the churches and the schools. In addition, the community has been involved with the churches and



the schools, as noted in the advertisements in the church bulletins and in the school yearbooks. There is cultural integration within the community that allows the community to work together as a whole.

Haviland, (1996, 1997) states that much of the art in the world is created for functional rather than aesthetic purposes. Art is connected to other human aspects that can be seen around the world. For example, Navajo sand paintings are used to cure sickness, Mardi Gras costumes express culture and social identity through the costumes, and graffiti on the walls in Namibia express political statements. Art is indeed intertwined with everything else that people do and to analyze the specific art works of people provides a glimpse into the values, worldview, and cultural identity for a people group.

The Detroit Ukrainian American community treasures the folk art of the community. Not only does the museum house works of art from community members, but also the cultural art created from Ukraine centuries ago is highlighted as in the Detroit Ukrainian-American Archives and Museum across from ICUCC. The new school complex houses a museum to celebrate the cultural identity for the community and the works of art will be permanently on display at the new museum.

Artifacts are objects that are made by human work (Webster, 1997). The Ukrainian community has a wealth of artifacts that are used in daily life, for worship, for cultural celebrations, and as art to be admired and enjoyed. During the course of this study I was able to collect many artifacts that reflect

the Ukrainian culture and spiritual life. Early in the analytical process the items were grouped into domains, or groups of terms. The various terms used for artifacts were included in the separate domains (Spradley, 1979). These artifacts can be placed into several groups, such as: spiritual life, daily life, and school life.<sup>2</sup>

Artifacts were accumulated during data collection. Each artifact was then placed in a group according to whether an item was found, collected as part of the study, or given as a gift and collected. Each artifact was then put in one of the following categories: Textbook, Yearbook, Catechism Text, Booklets, Photos, Fabrics, Icons, Food, Clothing, Music, Language Tapes, Church Bulletins, and Advertisements. Artifacts were further placed in order of importance to the community. Items that were used for a number of years and/or are still being used in the community for an ongoing basis were placed in the “high” category. This category would include items that are taken and used in the Ukrainian Archives and Museum. Those items that were used a number of times in the Ukrainian community, but there are no plans for continuous use in the future were placed in the “average” category. A third category was for a “low” level of importance or for any artifacts that were used once or occasionally by the community. There were no data items collected in this category. Most of the artifacts collected represent cultural and spiritual items that are used on a consistent basis by the Ukrainian community.

Artifacts were then organized according to the type of significance each item had in the Ukrainian community. Based on my field work and a

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<sup>2</sup> See Figures 8 and 9 for more information about artifacts collected in this study.

review of common themes in their use content of the artifacts and the contexts of their use, I sorted them into the following categories: Community, Cultural, Educational, Historical, Museum, and Spiritual. A final category displayed how each of the artifacts were/are used in the Ukrainian community. The possible uses included: Church, Family, Museum, and School. This category highlighted the segment of the community where each artifact for this study and similar artifacts could be found in the Ukrainian community.

Using constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss, 1965, 1967) of how the artifacts were used and the level of significance of the artifacts within the Ukrainian community, I was able to sort the artifacts into three groups: Spiritual Life, Daily Life, and School Life. This beginning arrangement allowed me to locate domains of influence for the Ukrainian community (Spradley, 1979) and provided a way to analyze the items identified. Once the domains of influence and groupings of artifacts were organized, the next step in the analytical process was to gain understanding of the thought processes that community members used to collect and keep certain artifacts. This type of thought process was associated with theories of the mind and how the mind interprets and explains knowledge.

The Ukrainian community has kept spiritual and cultural artifacts in the museum that represent the cultural and spiritual way of life for Ukrainians for centuries. When considering the artifacts that have been kept and how they were used in spiritual life, in daily life, and in school life, it is evident that the

museum houses common items that were used in the past, are used presently in the church and school and will probably be used in the future. These common items led me to interpret the collection of artifacts as a way for the Ukrainian community to honor, remember, and celebrate the Ukrainian spiritual and cultural life, both in Ukraine and in America.

In this study, I have combined interpretation and explanation of the data in and the literature in narrative to provide a more circumspect view of the Ukrainian American immigrant group and their experience as it unfolds in the data. This study also comprised an historical, socio-cultural approach. While it is not the goal of this study to be replicated, other studies that have included sensory acuity, especially as it pertains to use of the mind have been replicated across cultures. Findings in these studies have shown that cultural differences exist in the organization of activity in everyday life. Where the structures of activity within social groups are similar there are minimal differences between cultures. Where the structures of activity within social groups are vastly different, there are differences between cultures.

For example, in other social groups that are similar to the Ukrainian American group that is represented in this study, the cultural differences will not be significant. In the location surrounding the Ukrainian American community near Detroit there are several other cultural groups living in the same area. Polish Americans are also living in the same area and both cultures have lived side-by-side for more than one century. They use the same schools, churches, and other community based structures in the area.

(Bruner, 1996; Cole, 1996) The local shops include Ukrainian and Polish clothing, craft supplies, foods, and other distinctly cultural items for both cultural groups. Many of the participants in this study can speak several languages, such as Ukrainian and Polish, Ukrainian and English, etc.

### **Ukrainian American Cultural and Spiritual Identity**

Spiritual identity can be explained as the process of becoming aware of one's own spirituality. The Ukrainian community has combined Ukrainian and American culture with spirituality. A cultural, spiritual identity has been one of the characteristics of the community. From its earliest stages, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church was built with culture and spirituality in mind. When the history of the Immaculate Conception parish was told, the Basilian Fathers explained the self-sacrificing work of the first pioneers as a challenge to first build a wooden church in 1913 and then to rebuild a "mosaic shrine" in 1942. The first small wooden church that was proudly erected included an onion dome cupola with a large cross reaching to the heavens. The windows and doorways of the wooden church were decorated with Byzantine architectural designs (Basilian Fathers, 1963).

When visiting Immaculate Conception Church I was struck by the blend of culture and spirituality. My field notes on the first visit were full of description about the beauty and cultural artwork that was everywhere I looked. The inside of the Immaculate Conception Church has beautiful artwork throughout the structure. There are mosaic paintings with people

dressed in Ukrainian costumes and the buildings are depicted with Ukrainian and Byzantine architecture. A Ukrainian artist, M. Dmytrenko, completed all of the artwork in the church in the 1940s. St. Josaphat, built in 1980s, has the same cultural and spiritual blend throughout the church. The outside of the church, though made of brick and a few Byzantine architectural designs is ornate, with gold leaf covering much of the inside walls of the sanctuary. There are newer or perhaps more modern forms of Ukrainian artwork in the sanctuary at St. Josaphat, but all of the ornamentation is clearly Ukrainian artwork painted on the walls and decorating the altar area of the sanctuary.

One of the participants in this study provided several books to help explain the traditions and rituals of Immaculate Conception and St. Josaphat churches. *The Byzantine Ukrainian Rite* (Canadian Catholic Conference, 1975), *A Byzantine Rite Liturgical Year* (Katrij, 1983), and *The Ukrainian Church in America: Its Beginnings* (Krawczeniuk, 1984) provided a look into the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the cultural and spiritual connection. *The Byzantine Ukrainian Rite* (Canadian Catholic Conference, 1975) described the beauty and traditions of the Byzantine Ukrainian rite. The book was written for teachers, parents and students, for members of the Latin rite and the Byzantine Ukrainian rite as a way of promoting mutual understanding. This text also served as a supplement to the religious education program for the Byzantine Ukrainian Church with the hope to enable others to learn something about the spiritual treasures of Catholics of the Byzantine rite.

A picture of the Hoshiw Icon of the Blessed Mother adorns the cover of *The Byzantine Ukrainian Rite* (Canadian Catholic Conference, 1975). This icon was first revered in the Basilian Monastery church in Hoshiw, Western Ukraine (Halychyna) since 1737. The book included the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church that have been used in all of the rites throughout the world: Baptism, Chrismation (Myropomazanja, Confirmation), Eucharist (Holy Communion), Penance, Sacrament of the Sick, Holy Orders (Ordination, Married Clergy), and Marriage. One noted difference between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Church was the position for marriage in the two churches. While Roman Catholic priests take a vow of celibacy, Ukrainian Catholic priests are allowed to marry and have a family.

*A Byzantine Rite Liturgical Year* (Katrij, 1983) was written after the Second Vatican Council. St. John Chrysostom stated, "Many people celebrate the feasts and know their names, but do not know why they were instituted" (Katrij, 1983, p. 5). This book was written to provide a key to the sacred treasure of the tradition, customs and liturgical rites of one of the Eastern-Slavonic Churches. It was first published in the Ukrainian language and then translated into English by Fr. Demetrius E. Wysochansky, OSBM. The themes in the book are examined through several lenses: history, liturgy, symbolism, asceticism, and includes some Ukrainian folklore. Since its publication clergy, religious and laity, who cherish the Byzantine Ukrainian Rite have used the book.





*The Ukrainian Church In America: Its Beginnings* (Krawczeniuk, 1984)

was written on the occasion of the Centennial of The Ukrainian Church in America, 1884-1984. Vera Andrushkiw and Myrosia Stefaniuk translated Krawczeniuk's Ukrainian text before publication. This gem of a book shared the story of the beginnings of the Ukrainian Church in America. It was written in narrative form and gave voice to the immigrants who came to America between 1880 and 1890s. The first immigrants that settled in Pennsylvania began a Ukrainian village and there is an established Ukrainian community there to this day. One of the first items of business for Ukrainian immigrant communities was to begin building a Ukrainian Church. When Ukrainians worshiped in German, Polish, or Slovak churches, Krawczeniuk stated that they felt like strangers. In addition, the Ukrainian immigrants were sometimes met with the hostility of Polish priests. This made the immigrants realize that their Ukrainian way of life would not exist for long if they did not build their own Ukrainian Catholic Church.

One example of the tension felt by the Ukrainian immigrants was noted by Father Wolansky, (1857-1926), who was the first Ukrainian Catholic priest in America. He came to America in 1884 and settled in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, where he was greeted with "tears and great jubilation" (Krawczeniuk, 1984, p. 5). There was much talk in America that Fr. Wolansky's arrival would not have much affect on the church at large and many newspaper articles made light of his role as priest, or implied that he was not officially sent to the area. One newspaper article stated, "he is not

under the jurisdiction of the local church hierarchy in America or elsewhere, but is ever subject to the Pope because of the Metropolitan of L'viv whose brother, Archbishop Jeseoph Sembratovich, represented the church in Rome." Fr. Wolansky responded that the Metropolitan gave him no orders, "simply because he did not think any Roman Catholic authority would think of exercising jurisdiction over a priest of another rite. Since no mention was made of my being subject to the local Roman Catholic Church authority, the Greek Catholic Archbishop suggested that I notify the local Roman Catholic bishop in person or in writing about my mission and ask his help and counsel for my work" (Shenandoah Herald, June 4, 1887, p. 4). The tension between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been felt since the beginnings of the Byzantine Ukrainian Rite. Today, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church and St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church have withstood the test of time. Now, instead of priests leading the churches, Basilian Fathers and Monks are the spiritual leaders of the two churches. The church hierarchy is now firmly in place in the United States.

In 1961 a Ukrainian Diocese was established in Chicago and in 1984, the Ukrainian Catholic Church celebrated its centennial. However, the path for Ukrainian Catholics was often thorny and there were a number of difficult instances, many of which people feared could not withstand the pressure of others from different rites. Yet, the priests, monks, bishops and church members view the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America today as, "a great tree developed from the single tiny seed sowed 100 years earlier by Fr. Ivan

Wolansky in Shenandoah. It had hundreds of branches – churches of which we are beneficiaries today” (Krawczeniuk, 1984, p. 40).

The spiritual and cultural identity for the Ukrainian community is a choice that has been made by each person. There are many Catholic Churches in the community – the Ukrainian immigrants chose to build the Ukrainian Catholic Churches as their own places of worship. There are a number of public schools and Catholic Schools in the community – the Ukrainian immigrants chose to build their own Ukrainian Catholic Schools. There are cultural events in the community that reflect Polish culture and other cultures – the Ukrainian immigrants chose to develop a Ukrainian Choir, a Ukrainian Orchestra, and Ukrainian Dance groups to carry on the Ukrainian culture in this community. The churches, schools, and cultural events have been sustained and maintained to be true to the initial cultural emphasis for a century. Ukrainian immigrants living in the Detroit and suburban communities have kept their Ukrainian American spiritual and cultural identity alive for generations.

Ukrainian American spiritual and cultural identity is connected to the literate identity that is formed through education and the shifting roles of language and culture in the Ukrainian American community. Each identity of the self in the community connects to form a model or pattern of living practices that have been successful in the community for many years. In the next chapter, the model for success is considered to answer the research question: how does the experience of a new immigrant group unfold when

there are already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members? The following chapter also includes my conclusions and the implications of this dissertation for education and literacy research, theory, and practice.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **What went right? Revisiting the Patterns for Success**

What began as a dream of education for my grandmother a century ago became a reality for my family with this study. The desire my family had for gaining knowledge also became my quest and this dissertation study was one outcome of my family's dream of pursuing education. It was an honor and privilege to do this study in the community where my grandmother lived when she came to America as a new immigrant a century ago. This chapter revisits the research for this study to highlight what went right in the community that provided immigrants an ongoing opportunity to pursue education and find success in life.

In our fast changing world where communities are ever changing, churches are sometimes losing members, and some schools are fighting to keep students so the doors of the schools can remain open, this Ukrainian immigrant community stands out as a shining example of keeping what is important in life alive in the community. Over a period of ninety years the community has managed and maintained successful patterns of living for new and assimilated immigrants while sustaining two churches with a growing membership and nurturing a school system that has had a 100% graduation rate.

These elements of success form patterns that are recognizable to Americans and Ukrainians alike. I argue that the successful Ukrainian community patterns can also become a model to not only keep the Ukrainian

community alive, but to be used also as a model to follow that can help other communities with issues of culture, language, and education. The Ukrainian community began by establishing patterns for success, like a blueprint, to use for development and growth in the Ukrainian community. These plans have been implemented by church, school, and community leaders to continually provide a course of action for new immigrants to follow in America from generation to generation. Following is a review of the dissertation study that highlights the community model that has been successful for nearly a century.

### **Dissertation Review**

This study of immigrants negotiating language and identity in a Ukrainian American community examined the literacy and social life in sociolinguistic and historical perspectives, comparing pre-emigration life in Ukraine with life in the United States. Research sites in this community included several Ukrainian Catholic Churches and a Ukrainian Catholic Elementary and High School. Worship services at the churches and classes at the schools in English and Ukrainian, provided bilingual language practices for church members and their families. The public also participated in church events in English and/or Ukrainian. My role as a participant observer in the community provided an intimate look at the community. Observation on site, interviews with participants in the community, surveys given to community members, and collecting primary and secondary source materials became the data focus.

Data collected for the study provided a way for me to know what people said, what they did, and what they left behind. Analysis of data turned the items collected into “cooked data” or “results” (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999) that led to a story about the Detroit Ukrainian Catholic community. The results of the patterns in the data need a context, an interpretation, to convey the meaning behind the data. This chapter focuses on my interpretation of the research study in the Detroit Ukrainian American community. The interpretive account was formed and corroborated during interviews with community participants, with survey data provided by participants, through observation field notes, historical information gathered, and artifacts collected during the study. By observation, face-to-face interviews, participant surveys, cultural and historical artifacts, oral histories, and historical primary and secondary source materials, the community story came into focus.

Analyzing, describing and interpreting data from historical records, and ethnographic study within this community presented an in-depth look at the immigration process within one community where literacy, spirituality, and social networks support English language learning and assimilation of American cultural identity. Community support also provided maintenance of strong and educationally supportive ties to the Ukrainian language, culture, religion, and education. The question guiding this research was, How does the experience of a new immigrant group unfold when there are already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members?

## **Socio-cultural Theoretical Framework**

The conceptual framework for this study followed socio-cultural theory and this theoretical structure provided a research approach to examine the ways and practices of daily life for the Ukrainian American community in this study. This Detroit Ukrainian community, Ukrainian culture, and social and political history helped to mediate Ukrainian traditions, rituals, and customs for immigrants coming to America. Socio-cultural theory was used for the research design and this approach became the conceptual framework for the study. The community where the research took place included a Ukrainian American immigrant community in Detroit and a Ukrainian American immigrant community in a nearby suburb. This study focused on Ukrainian culture as it is lived out in the daily lives of Ukrainian immigrants. Ukrainian culture considered for this study included ethnic traditions, rituals, and customs. Social-political history that informed this study included different perspectives that were considered over a period of time. These perspectives of neighboring countries to Ukraine, such as Poland, Austria, Russia, Germany, France, and other Eastern European countries provided a context in which to place the historical information that informed the research for this study. Looking at the Ukrainian American community, Ukrainian culture, and Ukrainian social-political history gave a circumspect view for the research in this dissertation study.

The following three basic assumptions of the socio-cultural theory related to my study:



- Knowledge is constructed through an individual's interaction with the social cultural environment
- Reading and writing are higher mental functions and they are social and cultural in nature
- More knowledgeable members of a cultural community can help new members in the learning process

(Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985)

Following this research design and conceptual framework was much like fitting puzzle pieces together. This approach meant that the study focused on literacy and language learning (i.e. English and Ukrainian), community networks established in this one community, and Ukrainian culture.

Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Schools provided the setting for locating how knowledge is constructed through an individual's interaction within the Ukrainian social cultural environment for this study. Literacy and language learning, both English and Ukrainian, took place in the schools. Reading and writing of English and Ukrainian were practiced in the Ukrainian Catholic Churches, where higher mental functions and language practices were social and cultural in nature during worship services. More knowledgeable members of the Ukrainian community helped new immigrants in the learning process of language and literacy. The study revealed a number of research findings.

## **Research Findings**

Findings for the study included information about literacy learning in the Ukrainian American community where culture and social-political history are part of the traditions, rituals, and customs lived out on a daily basis. I argue that the immigrants who have come in previous times and who are still living in the existing immigrant community within the United States have helped to shape and form the immigration process for new immigrants – or the process of emigration from the homeland to immigration in the United States. This immigration process as it was thoughtfully planned and lived out in the community along with the process of forming a literate identity for new immigrants became a focus for the research. During the immigration process it was noted that within the Ukrainian community the existing community members mentored or scaffolded new immigrants coming to the established Ukrainian community. During the immigration process a literate identity was formed for new immigrants coming to the community where Ukrainian culture was a part of daily life. New immigrants embraced the existing characteristics of the cultural ways of life for Ukrainian Americans. The process of identity formation for new immigrants included coming to America as Ukrainians and over time being mentored by community members to form a Ukrainian American literate identity.

Data in the study was grouped into patterns. This chapter highlights the results of the patterns found in the data, my conclusions of the study, and the implications of this dissertation for education and literacy research, theory,

and practice. The interpretive account was formed and corroborated during interviews with community participants, with survey data about language practices provided by participants, through observation field notes during worship services, school classes, and community events. Other types of data used were historical information that was collected and gathered about the Detroit Ukrainian community and life in Russia and Ukraine. Artifacts collected during the study added to the information about the culture, language, and daily life in the Ukrainian immigrant community. By observation, face-to-face interviews, participant surveys, cultural and historical artifacts, oral histories, and historical primary and secondary source materials, a view of the community and its place in the world began to come into focus.

One of my conclusions about the research was that the community had a foot in two worlds: Ukraine and the United States. As the community members came from Ukraine and settled in the Detroit Ukrainian American community, they negotiated a Ukrainian American literate identity. The church, school, and community provided a setting with bilingual communication in English and Ukrainian. Ukrainian culture was kept alive and situated within American culture. First, second, and third generation Ukrainian immigrants lived together in the community with bilingual language practices and bicultural living experiences.

## **Creating a Ukrainian American Community**

The roots of the community began in the early 1900s when the Ukrainian Catholic Church sent a priest from Ukraine to Detroit to begin a mission church for Ukrainian immigrants. Father Bartosh's efforts attracted many immigrants to the area and a group of core leadership from the Ukrainian Catholic Church emerged to build a church. Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church was the center of the Ukrainian community beginning in 1911. As Ukrainian immigrants came to America and were drawn to the Detroit community the Ukrainian Catholic Church and community grew in numbers and in mission. The growth of this community followed the pattern of growth in other immigrant communities. Scholars noted three reasons for the growth in numbers within immigrant communities. First, when immigrants settled in a community they usually chose a community of the same culture and one that spoke the same mother tongue. In other words, immigrants chose to live in communities that offered a similar culture and language. Second, Foner (1999) noted that government visas were given to relatives, so family members coming to America settled in the same areas. This means that immigrant communities were built from family ties and other relatives that came from the same place in the homeland. Third, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) stated that since immigrants often left the homeland for economic hardships, they came to America seeking communities that were thriving and offered economic opportunities. For immigrants this meant settling in areas where job openings and an

opportunity for economic stability and prosperity were present. These three reasons for settling in a community are evident in the Ukrainian American community for this study.

The community formed and developed by Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church offered immigrants a place where Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian language were practiced in familiar ways. New immigrants were able to keep a foot in Ukraine as they were learning to put the other foot in America. Visas were given to relatives living in Ukraine and family members of the Ukrainian immigrants at Immaculate Conception came to America and joined the Immaculate Conception community. Immigrants from Ukraine sought economic opportunity and the Detroit area provided many job possibilities. With a growing automobile industry in Detroit the new immigrants found employment and economic opportunities that did not exist in Ukraine. In these three respects the Detroit Ukrainian American immigrant community had the same reasons for development as other immigrant communities across the United States. The leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church used the blueprint found in the Detroit community as a model to follow for community growth in other cities and places in America. The Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community became a successful model for community growth.

The model created by the Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy in the early 1900s for building the Ukrainian community in the Detroit area provided a solid structure that has lasted nearly a century. Plans were developed in



Ukraine by leaders in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The plans were carried out in many cities across North America and were set into motion to establish programs and networks of Ukrainians that could provide for the needs of daily life in a community setting. Immaculate Conception Church leaders took the responsibility for building the Ukrainian community in the Detroit area. This strategy for community growth had three phases:

- Establish a Ukrainian Catholic Church in the community
- Establish a Ukrainian Catholic School in the community
- Establish a Ukrainian community surrounding the church and school

The design created for American immigrant communities was to first establish a church. Once the church was established, a school was founded. When the school was established, the community was developed. This pattern of building a church, school, and community provided a successful model that began in Detroit in 1911 when Fr. Bartosh founded Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church. A school began with evening classes for immigrants in 1917 and the community groups were in place by 1925. This meant that the plan was carried out in 14 years. In a similar fashion the pattern for successfully developing a church, school, and community was used over and over again across the nation and over the decades for Ukrainian immigrant community development.

Once the church, school, and community were in place new Ukrainian immigrants coming to America could fit into and join in with the existing Ukrainian community to experience a similar type of life that was known in

Ukraine. Another pattern that was established for the Ukrainian American community was to establish habits of daily life that were decidedly Ukrainian and found in Ukraine. By keeping familiar Ukrainian ways of living alive in the Ukrainian American community, new immigrants were able to assimilate into the new American community with less tension and in less time than they would have if they came to a fully American setting. In the Ukrainian community new immigrants were able to communicate in Ukrainian as they learned to communicate in English. New Ukrainian immigrants found the language was the same, the culture was the same and the church structure was the same. Usually, family members were waiting for the new immigrants as they arrived in the Ukrainian community so the process of immigration and the time spent for adapting to a new situation was facilitated by the established Ukrainian networks and community life. I argue that the patterns set in place from the onset of the immigrant community provided a solid model that facilitated the process of becoming literate Americans for a century. The three factors that helped to create and develop the Immaculate Conception community as well as maintain a successful model and a stable community throughout these many years include: A similar culture and language; Family and relatives; and Economic success and education.

### **Community: Similar Culture and Language**

The city of Detroit was one site chosen by the Ukrainian Catholic Church to develop a community of Ukrainian immigrants. Ukrainian Catholic



Church leaders created a model of bilingual communication within the community beginning in the early 1900s. This language usage pattern was applied in the church, at school, and in the community and the language pattern provided familiar language practices for new Ukrainian immigrants coming to the Detroit community. My grandmother was able to live in the community for many years without speaking English, which illustrates the fluent use of the Ukrainian language in the community. The bilingual model of English and Ukrainian is found in the community today as the pattern is lived out in daily life.

New Ukrainian immigrants have a foot in two language worlds – Ukrainian and English – as they negotiate a literate identity in America. Ukrainian immigrants communicate with others in the Ukrainian community in their native tongue when they arrive in America. There is immediate understanding when communicating in the community and new immigrants can have a sense of being included in the community even though they are in a new setting. New immigrants learn to speak English while they are settling in the Ukrainian American community. This bilingual pattern of language usage has provided a successful model of communication within the community for nearly a century. Immigrants have been able to find their place in a new country with less difficulty than they would have if they could not communicate with others in the community. The bilingual model of Ukrainian and English language usage has facilitated the process of immigration and literate identity formation for new immigrants and new immigrants have the

ability to speak the same language with others in the new community when they first arrive in the community.

### **Community: Family and Relatives**

Immigration laws have provided a way for family members in Ukraine to join their relatives in America. My grandmother came to America as a new immigrant and settled in the Detroit Ukrainian community in the early 1900s. Since her arrival several generations of my family have been members of the same Ukrainian American community. Other families with similar stories in the community have also been a part of this Ukrainian network for generations. The high school principal came to America as a child in the 1950s and settled in the Ukrainian community. Today, the second generation remains in the community and the principal's children attend ICUCS.

Foner (2000), states that immigration is less difficult today than it was in the early 1900s. Immigrants came to America during the first wave on time-consuming ocean voyages and were then met with long and tiring journeys over land to get to a destination. The port of entry was Ellis Island where the process for entering the United States was harrowing and even though only 1 percent of the new arrivals were denied entry, there was anxiety and tension as immigrants feared being sent back to the homeland. Jet age immigrants now come on a fast plane and the price is relatively inexpensive. The new immigrants may still worry about entry with immigration authorities, but the vast majority of new arrivals make it through

the process of entry in a matter of hours with a valid passport and legitimate visas.

Obtaining an immigrant visa and “green card” are the main difficulties for immigrants. This immigration process usually begins in the U.S. with a resident relative or family member or employer filing an application with the U.S. authorities. Approximately 70% of immigrant visas go to family members (Foner, 2000). There are backlogs with applicants and it may take years to be legally admitted as a permanent resident alien after the application for entry is approved. More than 3.6 million people were waiting for immigrant visas to the United States in 1997 and 98% of those on the waiting list were waiting for family preference visas. For Ukrainian immigrants, a lottery system is used for legal entry to the U.S. Many family members at ICUCC and ICUCS have come to America with family preference visas and some family members in Ukraine are still waiting with hopes of the lottery system working in their favor to obtain entry and join the rest of the family in the Detroit Ukrainian community.

### **Community: Economic Success and Education**

Ukrainian immigrants have come to America since the turn of the twentieth century with dreams of economic success and obtaining an education. Immaculate Conception Church provided a way for the educational dreams to come true by offering a complete curriculum for immigrants that would enable each student to not only graduate from high

school, but graduate and be prepared to obtain a college or university education. The community members also set in place a network of businesses and services provided by Ukrainians in the community. These businesses and services were brought to the attention of community members through the church bulletins, local newspapers, and other information created and distributed by Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church. The pattern for advertising networks within the community was established when Immaculate Conception became a mission church and assumed the leadership in the community. Throughout the 1900s the church kept the vision alive and actively carried out the plan for growth in the community.

The stability of the church, school, and community leadership along with the maintenance of programs offered at the churches and schools can be observed over the decades. Flexibility and social adaptation within the Ukrainian community continued as the center of the community shifted from Detroit to the suburbs. Immaculate Conception Church had the foresight to begin another mission church in the suburbs in the 1950s. The plan also included purchasing land to use for church picnics, retreats and for future real estate needs in the community. Today, the new mission church is the center of the suburban Ukrainian community. The grammar school and high school buildings that were next to Immaculate Conception Church in the 1960s were relocated to the suburbs as the people in the ICUCC congregation moved to the suburbs. A new church building for St. Josaphat was built in the 1980s to

meet the needs of Ukrainians who moved to the suburbs. The elementary school and high school moved to the suburbs shortly after St. Josaphat was built to also meet the needs of parishioners with school aged children. As the charter members of Immaculate Conception Church grew older, a Ukrainian retirement center was also built in the suburbs. Activities are provided at the retirement center by the church and Ukrainian groups in the community. On one of my visits to the retirement center a Ukrainian musical group provided entertainment for the retirement home. The performers were dressed in Ukrainian costumes and performers and community members alike sang Ukrainian songs with the people living at the Ukrainian Village.

The needs of the Ukrainian community are considered with each new decision made by the community, school and church leaders. Through the many years of living together, the community has itself become a shining star in the world. Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church has been growing since 1911 and continues to grow when many other churches and denominations have had to close their doors due to a lack of support by the parishioners. The original ICUCC has grown over the years and has an average of 250 people in attendance at each worship service. St. Josaphat has also grown since the 1960s and now the church has between 250 to 500 people in attendance at each worship service. Immaculate Conception Schools have a success record for more than 40 years and they can boast of 100% graduation rate and 99% of the graduates go on to major universities to become doctors, lawyers, accountants, dentists, teachers, and other

professionals. The school was noted as one of the top high schools in the nation in 1999 and the high school was a finalist on Jeopardy in 1999.

People living in the Ukrainian community are productive members of American society and the businesses and services that have been in the community for a number of years are evidence of a strong economic based community. Those Ukrainians living in the community could have their needs met within the community, which added to the strength of the networks over the years.<sup>1</sup>

The high school principal was a student at Immaculate Conception and was in the first high school graduating class in 1963. During an interview in 2001, the principal stated that Ukrainian immigrants today are different from immigrants ten years ago. "Students come to America now with four or five years of English. Recent immigrants know more English. They are far ahead in math and physics. When they come to Immaculate Conception, they take more English classes and fewer science and math classes." All of the principal's children attend the high school and the entire family is proud of the Ukrainian community. There is only one other Ukrainian school like Immaculate Conception and it is in New York. The Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community has been successful for many years and the churches, schools, and community offer their model for success to other Ukrainian immigrant communities.

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<sup>1</sup> See Figures 16 and 17 with places in the community in 1963 and 2002.

## **Seven Major Outcomes**

Among the many things I have learned in this study, my dissertation research noted seven major outcomes:

- The church is the center of the community;
- Leadership in the community is provided by the church;
- The church established and maintains the core values for the community;
- Community networks were developed and continue to meet the daily life needs for community members;
- New immigrants are mentored by established community members as they develop a Ukrainian American literate identity;
- The Ukrainian Church hierarchy set a model plan into motion in the early 1900s that is still in place today;
- The church founded schools to offer a complete college preparatory curriculum for immigrants so anyone in the community has the opportunity to obtain an education and go on to succeed in life.

Early in my study I noted that the Detroit Ukrainian American immigrant community church was the center of the community: geographically, educationally, spiritually, economically, and culturally. All of the activities in the community were initiated and advertised through the church. Church groups were also the social networks that reached out into the community. The example of Fr. Bartosh in 1911, as mentioned earlier, set the pattern for ICUCC to be the loci of growth and the source of leadership with a strong

outreach system into the community. Leadership for the community came from the leadership of the church membership. As the center of the community, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church provided the core values, cultural norms, spiritual guidance, and building space for community needs. Community networks established a way for the daily needs of immigrants throughout a lifetime to be met within the community. The community offered an ongoing process of mentoring for new immigrants to the community to facilitate the immigration process. New and assimilated Ukrainian immigrants formed a Ukrainian American literate identity through the networks that facilitated the identity formation process. The churches facilitate the mentoring process, the schools have faculty to support new immigrants, and the community provides bilingual information for new immigrants to have immediate access to places in the community.

The focus of the study was about Ukrainian immigrants becoming literate Americans while negotiating a Ukrainian American literate identity. I found that immigrants in the Detroit Ukrainian community have surpassed previous accounts of immigrant education that only provided English language instruction.<sup>2</sup> This local community has proven to be successful in education and each school has offered a complete college preparatory curriculum from the onset in the 1920s. The first Ukrainian immigrants in the early 1900s came, not only to learn English, but they became literate Americans at a time when other schools reported a problem with absenteeism

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<sup>2</sup> See Figure 15 for participant identity formation as literate Americans





for immigrants. Public schools offered only courses in learning English for immigrants so they could find employment and carry on basic living skills.

This study is presented as qualitative research in narrative text rather than quantitative research that reduces the story to numerical terms. Using ethnographic methods for the study provided an opportunity to capture the process, tensions, and details of the story for each of the participants as they experienced the immigration process. Research analysts state that words are fatter than numbers; they have multiple meanings that can be ambiguous. However, the findings in this study are given meaning when they are situated in the context of the Detroit Ukrainian American immigrant community. Analysis within this context led to grounded theories about the community.

History matters in research, especially the history of Ukrainian immigrants in this study as they have a foot in Ukraine and a foot in the United States. Research of Russian social-political and historical points of view reveals a theory about the struggle Ukrainians have had for centuries to be independent, to worship freely as Ukrainian Catholics, and to seek economic and educational opportunities. Viewing Russian history through the lenses of Eastern European countries provided background knowledge about the immigration process, however this information is not provided in this study. Additional information about the historical background can be found in Magosci, 1996; Heyman, 1993; and Gilbert, 1993. Ukrainians have a different viewpoint of their history which has not been well represented in written accounts of Russian history. Throughout history Ukraine and



Ukrainian Catholic people have struggled for the right to speak their own language, freely worship as Ukrainian Catholics, and have the freedom and access to pursue educational and economic opportunities. Many of the participants in my study said they came to this community to pursue their goals in life. The Detroit Ukrainian American community has from the onset been a setting where new immigrants as well as second and third generation immigrants can find the freedom to pursue their dreams in life.

### **Research Results**

The results of my research in the Ukrainian community reveal several theories. One theory is that pioneers in the Ukrainian community took it upon them to create and develop patterns for living and learning in the U.S. These patterns for social interactions in daily life became a solid framework within the community and they included worship services at church, learning at school, along with cultural and community events. Rituals, customs, and traditions in the community were decidedly Ukrainian so new immigrants found less tension when assimilating into the existing community. This model, originated and provided by the Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy in Ukraine in the early 1900s, has been successful and the patterns for living have been adapted to fit the changes in society over the years. Many of the first wave Ukrainian immigrants coming to America settled in the Detroit community and remained in the community throughout their life. My grandmother, Elena, Mikhail and the principal at the high school are examples



of immigrants who came to the community and remained throughout life. Now, in addition, second and third generation Ukrainian immigrant families are a part of the Detroit Ukrainian community.

Results of the research in the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community also reveal a theory that the church was and is the center of the Detroit Ukrainian American immigrant community. In addition to the geographical placement of the church in the community, the educational, spiritual, and cultural needs of the community are met through the church organizations. As the center of the community, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church provided community networks that presented a way for the daily needs of immigrants to be met throughout a lifetime. The church community offered an ongoing process of mentoring for new immigrants to the community to facilitate the immigration process. New and assimilated Ukrainian immigrants formed a Ukrainian American literate identity through the networks and people in the Ukrainian community.

Research results also note that in this community Ukrainian immigrants can become literate Americans which reveal a theory that immigrants in the Detroit Ukrainian community have surpassed previous accounts of immigrant education, which was only to learn English. This Ukrainian community has proven to be successful in educating immigrants by setting a pattern of offering a complete college preparatory curriculum. The first Ukrainian immigrants in the early 1900s came to the school, not only to learn English, but to become literate Americans at a time when other schools reported

problems with education for immigrants. Public schools only offered courses for English learning to speak and communicate basic human needs in life. Nativist views that non-English speaking immigrants were not as capable of learning as native Americans was proven wrong in this Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community. American natives complained that “non-English speaking foreigners” were draining the nation. However, the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community has been an economically contributing part of society since the early 1900s.

Another outcome of the study relates to Ukrainian culture and spirituality. An overview of the notions and significance of culture in the academic world revealed there are many ways to consider culture, many distinct and different lenses through which culture can be viewed. For the Detroit Ukrainian American community culture and spirituality are vitally important and the community chose a pattern to combine them in community life. One of the reasons that immigrants left their homeland was to keep the Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian Catholic spirituality alive. Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian Catholic spirituality are intertwined and together they provide a foundation of core values for daily life in the Detroit community. The Detroit Ukrainian community has lived side by side with other ethnic cultures and religions for a century and yet they have remained distinctly Ukrainian Catholics. Though there are 25 ethnolinguistic regions in Ukraine, the Detroit Ukrainian American community has found one Ukrainian language and one Ukrainian culture to unify the community.

Émigrés from Ukraine, since the late 1800s, coming to Detroit to settle and build a new life, have formed identities as Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Americans. These identities were created and shaped by social, historical, and cultural factors that developed over time and have helped to shape a distinct Ukrainian American Catholic literate identity and way of life that have become a pattern for success. This model for success began over the last century. Beginning with the Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy in Ukraine, and then coming to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America, this model for success filtered down through the local church leadership and into the networks and committees formed within the Detroit Ukrainian American community.

Factors in the model for success include several patterns. One pattern began by establishing and developing a community through the efforts of pioneer immigrants who first settled in the Detroit area. A second pattern that developed over time was forming networks within the community to connect different people groups for the purposes of sustaining daily life. Examples include: business and service networks; church networks; school networks for parents, students, and alumni; cultural networks through the Ukrainian museum and gift stores; and community networks to provide unity, continuity, labor and financial support for building projects, and to insure a future for current community members. A third pattern found in the model of success included an educational system that has provided educational opportunities for the community since the beginning of the community. Educating



immigrants was considered a priority to the community leaders from the beginning of the 1900s. All of the opportunities that were offered to native American citizens were also offered to Ukrainian immigrants through the ICUCC educational system. The patterns mentioned previously that were developed in the community provide a model for success that shines brightly in the world today as an example of what went right in the immigrant community throughout the last century.

### **Implications for Future Research**

The results of this study point to implications for further research in the field of education for immigrants, for bilingual education of immigrants, and for research on networks and communities of immigrants as ethnic groups. Immigrants in general, throughout the United States, are educated in inclusive and/or exclusive settings within the elementary and secondary American schools. Public and private schools educate immigrants in a variety of ways. Some of the current methods for instruction have come under criticism. Strong and heated debates about immigrant education include the topic of finances for the education of immigrants and there is political rhetoric about the education process, largely due to the demands placed on the public education system where large populations of immigrants exist. This research informs this debate and provides evidence to support bilingual education of immigrants in private educational settings. As such, it enlightens the current reform discourse including the size of schools, the relation of schools to local

communities as well as to national standards, and the ways that private schools (religious and charter) might infuse the curriculum with social or spiritual values enhancing students' motivation to learn.

There is also debate about the use of ESL or bilingual instruction for immigrants as they learn the English language in schools within the United States. This study looks at a particular, local approach to language and literacy education that is infused with both the value of and the practice of Standard English, as well as maintenance of the home language, or Ukrainian. This blend of the two languages is carried out during learning especially by means of intergenerational networks in Ukrainian American homes and in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In this study the Ukrainian American elementary and high schools can be viewed as a strategic research site because its model has apparently succeeded by a developed system of education for immigrants that have proven successful for over 40 years. The Ukrainian Catholic High School has a 100% graduation rate and most of the graduates go on to major universities, completing degrees as lawyers, doctors, accountants, and other professional careers.

There are also Implications for helping classroom teachers to better understand the culture of their students. Just as teachers working with the Literacy Circle several years ago found great meaning for helping students learn about culture, this study continues the conversation. Work that began in the Literacy Circle with classroom teachers can be expanded to include

looking at one's own culture and the cultures represented in other communities, like the Detroit Ukrainian American community.

Finally, this study affords a way to think about the experiences of second and third generation immigrants and new or first generation immigrants. Eastern European immigrants entering the US in the early twentieth century were often isolated and regarded as less able than earlier immigrants who came from Northern Europe and the British Isles. The language, politics, and religious practices of Ukrainian immigrants made them seem like other Eastern and Southern European immigrants. These groups were regarded as outsiders, less able to succeed in school, and less able to perform the work of an educated citizenry.

Like many of their peers Ukrainian immigrants contradicted these beliefs by assimilating into "mainstream" US language, politics, and the socioeconomic life of Americans. However, unlike the history of other countries whose émigrés flooded the US until immigration was greatly limited in the 1920s Ukrainian immigrants not only assimilated, but several generations later in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century have become "new immigrants." Social and political changes shaped by the fall of communism and the break-up of the USSR into discrete and independent nations allowed Ukrainians to now have the option and in many cases the desire to leave their homeland for Ukrainian American communities, especially in large US cities like the Detroit area.

Like many other immigrant groups, Ukrainians coming to the United States today, come for many of the reasons that their forbears came. However, they are joined this time not by Poles, Jews, Italians, and Greeks, but by people from Latin America and the Pacific Rim. They are not greeted at Ellis Island among other speakers of strange sounding languages and practitioners of strange looking script. Instead, they arrive at airports in many US cities and are often met by second and third generation Ukrainian Americans who have become full participants in American life – its language and institutions. Not everyone can live in a cultural community like the Detroit Ukrainian community, but everyone can gain a better understanding of culture and how it is lived out in daily life. Teachers may not have access to a cultural community in their area, but learning about one's own culture and finding out the model patterns for living that include culture can enrich the educational system as we live and learn in a cultural world.

### **Conclusions**

This study of immigrants negotiating language and identity highlighted a model for community growth found in the Ukrainian American immigrant community. The design began with leaders in the Ukrainian Catholic Church and consisted of a plan to create a successful Ukrainian immigrant community. Three phases of the growth plan included establishing a church, establishing a school, and establishing community networks. All three phases together provided for the basic needs of Ukrainian community members.

In addition to the three phases for community growth that helped to create and develop the Immaculate Conception community, there were three factors that helped to maintain a successful and a stable community throughout the last century. One factor was to organize the community so the language and culture was familiar to new immigrants as well as second and third generation immigrants. A second factor was to develop the community as a setting to provide a place for family members to come from Ukraine and live in the community. This meant that when the first community at ICUCC was full, a new community in the suburbs was developed. In this pattern for growth, new immigrants were assured of a place to settle with family members in the Detroit Ukrainian community. A third factor helping to maintain a successful and stable community was the social and economic networks that were developed in the community and the education provided by the Ukrainian Catholic Schools. Businesses and services were promoted in the church and school settings and in turn the businesses and services promoted the schools in the community.

The Detroit Ukrainian American community has maintained stable spiritual, educational, and economic networks since 1911. These successful patterns for community creation and development along with patterns for community maintenance over a long period of time form a model for success that can be followed by other immigrant communities with issues of language and culture. What is clear is that for the past century Ukrainian immigrants have come to America and settled in a community that combined the culture

and language of the homeland with modern American life. This community has continued to have a solid footing in two worlds: Ukraine and America. The Detroit Ukrainian American community has become a place where new immigrants can negotiate a literate identity. Whether learning the English language or American values, new immigrants remain Ukrainian Catholics in this community.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **Pilot Study**

This research began with a year long pilot study from June 2001 to June 2002 to prepare for my dissertation work. Lynn Paine was the principal investigator and the study included historical research as suggested by faculty in the history department at Michigan State University. Steve Averill suggested doing an oral history of the community by using a series of general and open ended questions and interviewing more than one person at a time. He recommended sociology as a discipline and Eastern European history to use as a lens for viewing data. In addition, he stated that when doing oral histories finding two people who share the same story or same perspective about an event is acceptable, much like a journalist finds two sources with the same story before publishing a piece. I followed Averill's advice for research methods and found confirmation for all data sources for the pilot and dissertation study. Interviews with participants were carried out with several people where possible, and oral histories became the vignettes that are used in the dissertation. All of the data in the pilot study became part of the data set used in the dissertation study.

Another meeting with Leslie Moch, a history professor at Michigan State who focuses on immigration history provided a reference list to use for studying immigration. She suggested studying the history of immigration in general and then studying the history of the immigration process for the group in the study to then compare how the history of the Detroit Ukrainian immigrants fits into the picture of the history of immigration. Moch said to begin with books about

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immigration, move to articles, the New York Times, journals, and then look through a humanities index for social science and history.

Data for the immigration study included census data (national, county, and city), case studies and interviews, oral histories of immigrants and of the community in the study. Books that Moch recommended included the following authors: Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut, Nancy Foner, Elliot Barkan, Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimers, Roger Daniels, and Debra DeLaet. These books became literature for the history of immigration study and were a part of the methods for the pilot study carried out from 2001-2002. Literature about the history of immigration also became part of the data set for the dissertation research. This data provided background information and became part of the foundation for the dissertation study.

A third meeting with Keeley Stan-Halstead from the history department at Michigan State provided an Eastern European history lens for the study. She stated that there was no Ukraine at the turn of the century and before WWI. Everything in written history was in the Russian language; there was no Ukrainian language or Ukrainian identity from the Russian perspective. Poland and Russia may have also had a Russian identity since there were battles between the countries that included Russian domination of Poland. Poles forced Ukrainians to speak Polish or Russian and to be Roman Catholic. There was tension between Ukrainians, Poles, and Russians in between wars. It was not until after WWII that the boundaries included Ukraine. Up until WWII, there was no country of Ukraine, per se.





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Stan-Halstead suggested studying why the Detroit Ukrainian immigrants fled from Ukraine and what attracted them to America and to the Detroit community. The “push-pull” theory of immigration could be a place to begin the inquiry. She mentioned the role of the church and to study the “Uniate Church” which began in 1526. Also, the Ukrainian National Movement in the Galician Villages in the nineteenth century, the upheaval in 1905 that prompted immigrants to flee to America and Canada, where they were offered money during a time of economic blight. The Russian revolt started a constant upheaval beginning in 1917 which began a continual process of fleeing from Russia and coming to America. There was a famine in Ukraine in the 1930s, but America may not have let many immigrants in during this period.

The role of language was also discussed during this meeting. Stan-Halstead stated that people living in Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Austria, Germany, France, and other places in Europe would probably be fluent in at least two languages. Each country shared goods and services for daily life and those living near borders to another country communicated in the language used in the other country. So, Ukrainians would most likely also speak Russian, Polish, and/or another Eastern European language.

The role of the church was also a topic during the meeting. Stan-Halstead said that the priest was usually the only literate person in a village in Russia or in an American immigrant community during the 1800s and early 1900s. Of the accounts written about Ukrainian history the movements and tensions with other countries is noted as well as the role of the church and the

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leadership position of priests. All of the suggestions offered in this meeting were carried out and became part of the methods and data for the dissertation study.

Research questions during the pilot study began to form. Four questions became the focus as the pilot study continued:

1. How do Ukrainian immigrants develop an identity as literate Americans?
2. What is the role of spirituality for Ukrainian immigrants?
3. What is the role of networks for Ukrainian immigrants?
4. What role has mentoring within gender groups played in the immigration process?

Ethnographic methods used in the dissertation study began with the pilot study in the community. This provided a scientific approach to finding and exploring social and cultural patterns and the meaning of culture in the Ukrainian immigrant community. The pilot study shaped the research for the dissertation project by guiding and developing theories about the community. Information about the community through field notes, interviews, and artifacts provided topics for literature used in the study. When I began the pilot study I was an observer doing research in the community, but as the project continued I became a participant observer and moved from an outsider's position to viewing the community through an insider's viewpoint. The experiences of the local Ukrainian immigrant community, the interviews and surveys taken during the study, and the cultural and spiritual artifacts collected throughout the pilot study provided a circumspect view of the community that emerged over time.

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During 2001-2002, the pilot study began with reading the suggested references provided by the history department. The literature was then categorized and the topics that were brought up in the meetings with Averill, Moch, and Stan-Halstead became topics of further research during the pilot study. The findings for this pilot study led to the topics in the dissertation study, which are:

- Coming to America and the history of Immigration;
- Emigration from Ukraine to the Detroit Ukrainian immigration;
- Learning from the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community;
- Social-Political history of Russia: the land and the people;
- Cultural and spiritual identity for Ukrainian immigrants;
- Becoming literate for Ukrainian immigrants;
- Findings and implications for future research and the field of education.

As the pilot study progressed I was able to become familiar with the Detroit Ukrainian immigrant community as I went to worship services and community events. During this time, several people became informants and later became participants in the dissertation research. Locating people and places in the community during the pilot study provided a way to narrow the focus of the study. Focusing on certain segments of the community that were central to the culture and daily life for the Ukrainian community provided clarity to the scope of the study. The pilot study and the dissertation study followed educational ethnography as a research paradigm. Information about the community that was gathered during the pilot study became data sources for the dissertation study.



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During the pilot study, the research question became, How does the experience of a new immigrant group unfold when there are already ties to the homeland, its language and religion, awaiting its members?

### **Interactions and Interviews with Participants**

An agreement was made before this study began to use pseudonyms for participants in the research to protect the identity of persons living in the community. The leaders in the community of study itself asked that direct quotes not be used in the reporting of the research to keep anonymity for subjects in the study. This immigrant community has labored over the years to create and maintain a community where new immigrants and second and third generation immigrants can feel a sense of freedom and safety while living in the community. There was also a concern that information disclosed in this study could jeopardize visa approval for family members still in Ukraine. These concerns were honored and direct quotes have not been used unless specific information was granted by the participant. Instead, narratives of the content of the interviews are provided as vignettes of the conversations that took place in the community. In addition, the principal at the high school was present during most of the interviews to translate my English into Ukrainian for the participants. I also worked closely with the principal to monitor information that was used in this study.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **UCRIHS Forms in English and Ukrainian**

Bette J. Shellhorn  
Michigan State University  
College of Education

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

You are invited to participate in a research study that is interested in learning about the culture and language experiences during the worship services and school classes, both in English and in Ukrainian. This study may include observing people during the worship services and school classes, talking informally with individuals and groups about the different experiences people have while in worship services and school classes. You may also be asked questions in an informal interview that will take less than one hour, and sometimes audio-taping of the activities will be used.

In order to carry out the study, your permission is required to observe you during worship services and school classes and to talk with you about your experiences. If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the Consent Form on the following page. Please feel free to ask any questions that you may have about the study. Thank you for your consideration of this study.

Sincerely,

Bette J. Shellhorn  
Ph. D. Candidate  
Michigan State University

#### Statement of Informed Consent to Participate

You are being asked to participate in the study and you have heard that Bette Shellhorn will conduct research to learn about the culture and language experiences during the worship services and school classes in English and Ukrainian. You have heard that Ms. Shellhorn considers this study to be a learning opportunity and a way to better understand how culture and language is learned.

By agreeing to participate, Ms. Shellhorn will observe you during school classes and/or worship services, request interviews with you, take written notes, take photographs, and use audio-taping. Ms. Shellhorn will always use a pseudonym for your name both in the data she collects and when writing or speaking about the research. During the study precautions will be taken with handling the tapes and the field notes in order to protect your privacy. All research materials will be kept in a secure place and other people will not be permitted to view or use them without direct supervision. When reports are given about the study, it will be for research or teaching purposes, and will include only limited examples of your interview.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. At any time during the study, you can refuse to provide information or discontinue your participation without giving a reason and with no negative consequences to you.

You agree to participate in the study in the manner described above.

Signature of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Name in print: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

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### UCRIHS Forms in English and Ukrainian

Bette\* J.\* Shellhorn\*  
Michigan\* Державний Університет\*  
Коледж\* Освіти\*

Дата\*: \_\_\_\_\_

Любий\* \_\_\_\_\_:

Ви\* запрошені щоб взяти участь у\* дослідницькому\* вивченні\* що\* зацікавитесь довідуються\* про\* культуру та мову зазнає\* під час\* обожнюєте служби\* та шкільні класи\*, і англійською і українською. Це\* вивчення\* може включити\* зауважують\* людей\* під час\* обожнюють служби\* та шкільні класи\*, що розмовляють\* неформально\* з\* особами та групами\* про\* різних\* людей\* досвіду мають в той час, як\* у\* обожнюють служби\* та шкільні класи\*. Ви\* можете також\* бути\* попрошені\* питання\* у\* неформальному\* інтерв'ю що\* сфотографують менше, ніж одну годину, та інколи\* аудіо-taping діяльності будуть використовуватися\*.

Аби\* виконати вивчення\*, ваш\* дозвіл вимагається\* щоб зауважити\* вас\* під час\* обожнюєте служби\* та шкільні класи\* та щоб розмовляти\* з вами\* про\* ваші\* досвід. Якщо\* ви\* willing взяти участь у цьому дослідженні, будь ласка підпишіть Форму\* Згоди\* на\* наступній\* сторінці\*. Будь ласка помацайте\* вільний\* попросити\* будь-які\* питання\* що\* ви\* можете мати про\* вивчення\*. Подякуйте\* вам\* для\* вашого\* розгляду\* цього\* вивчення\*.

Відверто\*.

Bette\* J.\* Shellhorn\*  
Ph\*. D. Кандидат  
Michigan\* Державний

#### Твердження\* Поінформованої\* Згоди\* Взяти участь\*

Ви\* проситеся\* щоб взяти участь у\* вивченні\* та ви\* почули\* що Bette\* Shellhorn\* проведе дослідження довідатися\* про\* культуру та мову зазнає\* під час\* обожнюєте служби\* та шкільні класи\* англійською та українські. Ви\* почули\* що Ms\*. Shellhorn\* розглядає\* це\* вивчення\* бути\* що вивчає\* нагода\* та шлях\* краще зрозуміють як культуру та мову вивчений.

\* agreeing взяти участь. Ms\*. Shellhorn\* зауважите\* вас\* під час\* шкільних класів\* та або\* обожнюєте служби\*, просите\* інтерв'ю з вами\*, бере\* написані примітки\*, бере\* фотографії\*, та використання\* аудіо-taping. Ms\*. Shellhorn\* завжди використає\* псевдонім для\* вашої\* назви\* обидва у\* даних\* вона збирає\* та пишучи або\* що розмовляє\* про\* дослідження. Під час\* застережень\* вивчення\* будуть братися\* з\* поводженням стрічки\* та сфера\* примітки\* аби\* захистити вашу\* таємність\*. Всі\* дослідницькі\* матеріали\* будуть держатися\* у\* надійному\* місці\* та інших\* людях\* не будуть дозволені щоб розглянути або\* використання\* їм\* без безпосереднього\* нагляду\*. Коли доповідь\* дані\* про\* вивчення\*, це\* буде для\* дослідження або\* викладання мета\*, та включають\* тільки\* обмежені приклади\* вашого\* інтерв'ю.

Ваша\* участь у\* цьому\* проєкті\* добровільна\*. В будь-який час під час\* вивчення\*, ви\* можете\* відмовитися забезпечити\* інформацію або\* discontinue вашу\* участь без що дає\* причини\* та з\* ніякими негативними\* наслідками до вас\*.

Ви\* погоджуєтесь\* взяти участь у\* вивченні\* у\* способі\* описаному\* наверху\*.

Підпис\* учасника: \_\_\_\_\_

Назвіть\* у\* відтиску\*: \_\_\_\_\_

Дата\*: \_\_\_\_\_

Підпис\* дослідника: \_\_\_\_\_

Дата\*: \_\_\_\_\_



## **APPENDIX B**

### **UCRIHS Forms in English and Ukrainian**

#### **REGARDING CONSENT FOR A RESEARCH STUDY – ORAL CONSENT**

Text for an oral consent –

My name is Bette Shellhorn and I am a doctoral student at Michigan State University studying how language is learned in a different culture. The study is interested in learning about the language experiences, both in English and in Ukrainian and the study is also interested in the cultural experiences of those who participate. This study will include observing people, talking informally with people and groups about the different experiences people have had in the United States. You will be asked questions in an informal interview that will be less than one hour long, and sometimes the interviews and activities will be audio-taped.

You are being asked to work on this project, which is for research at Michigan State University and all information will be kept confidential. To do this study, your oral consent is needed, giving permission to take notes and audiotape the activities. You are under no obligation to participate in the study, and your participation is on a voluntary basis only. Should you grant consent, you reserve the right to discontinue your participation in the study at any time.

If you have any questions about the study, as well as the progress and intent of the research, please contact:

Bette J. Shellhorn  
301 Erickson Hall  
Michigan State University  
East Lansing, MI 48824

#### **ORAL CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

You have heard the above statement, and give your consent to participate in the research described. You give your consent for Bette Shellhorn to observe you, take notes, audiotape the activities, and all information will be kept confidential. You are free to withdraw this permission at any time.

Date\_\_\_\_\_ Name in print\_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX B

### UCRIHS Forms in English and Ukrainian

#### ВІДНОСНО\* ЗГОДИ ДЛЯ\* ДОСЛІДНИЦЬКОГО\* ВИВЧЕННЯ\* – УСНА ЗГОДА

Текстовий я використаю\* для\* усної згоди –

Моя назва\* Bette\* Shellhorn\* та я doctoral студент\* при\* Michigan\* Державний Університет\* що вивчає\* як мова вивчена у\* різних\* культурі. Вивчення\* цікавиться довідуються\* про\* досвід мови, і англійською і українською та вивчення\* також\* зацікавлене у\* культурному досвіді цих хто беруть участь. Це\* вивчення\* включить\* зауважують\* людей\*, що розмовляють\* неформально\* з\* людьми\* та групами\* про\* різних\* людей\* досвіду мали у\* Сполучених Штатах. Ви\* будете проситися\* питання\* у\* неформальному\* інтерв'ю що\* будуть менше, ніж одна година довго, та інколи\* інтерв'ю та діяльність буде аудіо-taped.

Ви\* проситесь\* щоб працювати\* на\* цьому\* проекті\*, котрий для\* дослідження при\* Michigan\* Державного Університету\* та всієї\* інформації буде держатися\* конфіденційний\*. Щоб зробити\* це\* вивчення\*, ваша\* усна згода потребується, що дає дозвіл беруть\* примітки\* та audiotape діяльність. Ви\* не зобов'язані щоб взяти участь у\* вивченні\*, та ваша\* участь на добровільній\* основі тільки\*. Якщо ви\* гарантуєте\* згоду, вас\* резерв\* право\* discontinue ваша\* участь у\* вивченні\* в будь-який час.

Якщо\* ви\* маєте будь-які\* питання\* про\* вивчення\*, так же, як і прогрес\* та намір дослідження, будь ласка\* контакту:

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Схід Lansing\*, MI 48824

#### УСНА ЗГОДА ДЛЯ\* УЧАСТІ

Ви\* почули\* вищезгадане твердження\*, та дасте вашу\* згоду взяти участь у\* дослідженні описаному\*. Ви\* дасте вашу\* згоду для\* Bette\* Shellhorn\* щоб зауважити\* вас\*, береже\* примітки\*, audiotape діяльність, та всю\* інформацію будете держатися\* конфіденційна\*. Ви\* вільні\* відлучити\* цей\* дозвіл в будь-який час.

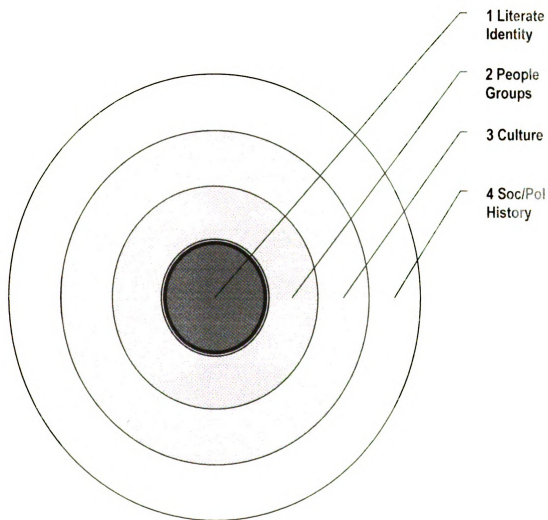
Date \_\_\_\_\_ \* Назва\* у\* print \_\_\_\_\_

**Figure 1**  
**Data Sources and Participants**

| <b>Data Sources</b>                          |
|----------------------------------------------|
|                                              |
| Field notes                                  |
| Primary sources                              |
| Interviews                                   |
| Surveys                                      |
| Artifacts                                    |
| Historical and cultural information          |
| Public records and miscellaneous information |

| <b>Participants</b>                                  |
|------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                      |
| Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church      |
| St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church               |
| Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School |
| Ukrainian American Community, Detroit Michigan       |
| Ukrainian American Community, Suburbs                |

**FIGURE 2**  
**Socio-Cultural Theory**  
**Conceptual Framework**



**FIGURE 3**  
**Matrix for Data Collection**

| <b>Data</b>                                                                                                                                    | <b>Setting</b>                                                                            | <b>Activities</b>                                                                                                    | <b>Participants</b>                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Field notes</b><br>- Participant Observation                                                                                                | <b>Churches</b><br>- ICUCC<br>- St. Josaphat<br><br><b>ICUCHS</b><br><br><b>Community</b> | <b>Worship Services</b>                                                                                              | Priests<br>Congregational Members<br><br>Principal Teachers<br>Students<br><br>Community Members |
| <b>Interviews</b><br>- Lengthy<br>- Brief<br>- Oral                                                                                            | <b>Both Churches</b><br><br><b>ICUCHS</b><br><br><b>Community</b>                         | <b>Worship Services</b><br><br><b>School Classes</b><br><br><b>Community Events</b>                                  | Priests<br>Congregational Members<br><br>Principal Teachers<br>Students<br><br>Community Members |
| <b>Survey</b>                                                                                                                                  | <b>ICUCHS –</b><br>Immaculate Conception High School                                      | <b>School Classes</b>                                                                                                | Principal Teachers<br>Students<br>Parents                                                        |
| <b>Artifacts</b><br>- Church Bulletins<br>- Photos<br>- <i>Rushnyky</i><br>- <i>Pysanky</i><br>- <i>Matryoshka</i><br>- Texts<br>- Audio Tapes | <b>Ukrainian American Community in Detroit and Suburb</b>                                 | <b>Worship Services</b><br><br><b>School Classes</b><br><br><b>Museum</b><br><br><b>Community Events</b>             | Community Members in Detroit and Suburb                                                          |
| <b>Historical/Cultural Information</b><br>- Primary Source<br>- Secondary Source                                                               | - Europe<br>- Russia<br>- Ukraine<br>- <b>Detroit/Suburb Communities</b>                  | <b>Immigration Process</b><br><b>Soc/Political Events</b><br><b>Identity Formation</b>                               | MSU History<br>Faculty<br>Priests<br>Principal<br>Community Members                              |
| <b>Public Records/Miscellaneous Information</b>                                                                                                | - Europe<br>- Russia<br>- Ukraine<br>- <b>Detroit/Suburb Communities</b>                  | <b>Community Events</b><br><b>Church Events</b><br><b>School Events</b><br><b>Museum</b><br><b>Historical Events</b> | Community Members in Detroit/Suburb                                                              |



**FIGURE 4**  
**Types of Data and Kinds of Analyses**

| <b>Types of Data</b>                                                                                     | <b>Kinds of Analyses</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Field notes</b><br>- Participant Observation                                                          | Collect data<br>Organize items into groups<br>Connect groups to find patterns<br>Analyze and interpret patterns                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Interviews</b><br>- Lengthy<br>- Brief<br>- Oral                                                      | Collect data<br>Organize into chronological groups<br>Compare interviews<br>Connect patterns to form structures<br>Analyze and interpret structures                                                                                       |
| <b>Survey</b>                                                                                            | Collect data<br>Organize by participant<br>Organize by question numbers<br>Compare questions across participants<br>Connect patterns to form structures<br>Organize structures into charts<br>Analyze and interpret structures and charts |
| <b>Artifacts</b><br>- Church Bulletins<br>- Photos<br>- Rushnyky<br>- Pysanky<br>- Matryoshka<br>- Texts | Collect data<br>Organize into groups (Culture, Church, School, Community)<br>Compare data to form patterns<br>Connect patterns to form structures<br>Analyze and interpret structures with other data sources                             |
| <b>Historical/cultural Information</b><br>- Primary Sources<br>- Secondary Sources                       | Collect data<br>Organize into groups and find patterns<br>Connect patterns for form structures<br>Analyze and interpret structures                                                                                                        |
| <b>Public Records and Miscellaneous Information</b>                                                      | Collect data<br>Organize into groups to find patterns<br>Connect patterns to form structures<br>Analyze and interpret structures                                                                                                          |

FIGURE 5  
English and Ukrainian Language Level of Fluency for Parents in Community

|        | MES                        | MEW                        | MER                        | MUS                       | MUW                       | MUR                       | FES                 | FEW                | FER                 | FUS                       | FUW                       | FUR                       |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1      | G                          | G                          | FL                         | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | G                   | G                  | FL                  | M                         | M                         | FL                        |
| 2      | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | G                         | G                         | G                         | FL                  | FL                 | F                   | M                         | M                         | M                         |
| 3      | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | G                         | G                         | G                         | FL                  | FL                 | F                   | G                         | G                         | G                         |
| 4      | M                          | M                          | M                          | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | G                   | G                  | G                   | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        |
| 5      | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | FL                  | FL                 | FL                  | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        |
| 6      | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | FL                  | FL                 | FL                  | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        |
| 7      | G                          | G                          | G                          | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | G                   | G                  | G                   | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        |
| 8      | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | G                         | G                         | G                         | F                   | F                  | F                   | M                         | F                         | M                         |
| 9      | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | M                         | M                         | M                         | FL                  | FL                 | FL                  | M                         | M                         | M                         |
| 10     | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | G                         | G                         | FL                        | FL                  | FL                 | FL                  | M                         | M                         | M                         |
| 11     | NA                         | NA                         | NA                         | NA                        | NA                        | NA                        | G                   | G                  | G                   | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        |
| 12     | FL                         | G                          | FL                         | NA                        | NA                        | NA                        | FL                  | FL                 | FL                  | NA                        | NA                        | NA                        |
| 13     | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | FL                  | F                  | FL                  | M                         | M                         | M                         |
| 14     | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | FL                  | FL                 | FL                  | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        |
| 15     | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        | FL                  | FL                 | FL                  | FL                        | FL                        | FL                        |
| 16     | FL                         | FL                         | FL                         | M                         | M                         | M                         | FL                  | G                  | FL                  | M                         | M                         | M                         |
| Totals | 12 FL<br>2 G<br>0 F<br>1 M | 11 FL<br>3 G<br>0 F<br>1 M | 13 FL<br>1 G<br>0 F<br>1 M | 8 FL<br>4 G<br>0 F<br>2 M | 8 FL<br>4 G<br>0 F<br>2 M | 9 FL<br>3 G<br>0 F<br>2 M | 11 FL<br>4 G<br>1 F | 9 FL<br>5 G<br>2 F | 10 FL<br>3 G<br>3 F | 8 FL<br>1 G<br>0 F<br>6 M | 8 FL<br>1 G<br>1 F<br>5 M | 8 FL<br>1 G<br>0 F<br>6 M |
|        | 1 NA                       | 1 NA                       | 1 NA                       | 2 NA                      | 2 NA                      | 2 NA                      |                     |                    |                     |                           | 1 NA                      | 1 NA                      |
|        | MES                        | MEW                        | MER                        | MUS                       | MUW                       | MUR                       | FES                 | FEW                | FER                 | FUS                       | FUW                       | FUR                       |

|     |                           |     |                             |
|-----|---------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| MES | MOTHER/ ENGLISH/ SPEAKING | MUS | MOTHER/ UKRAINIAN/ SPEAKING |
| MEW | MOTHER/ ENGLISH/ WRITING  | MUW | MOTHER/ UKRAINIAN/ WRITING  |
| MER | MOTHER/ ENGLISH/ READING  | MUR | MOTHER/ UKRAINIAN/ READING  |
| FES | FATHER/ ENGLISH/ SPEAKING | FUS | FATHER/ UKRAINIAN/ SPEAKING |
| FEW | FATHER/ ENGLISH/ WRITING  | FUW | FATHER/ UKRAINIAN/ WRITING  |
| FER | FATHER/ ENGLISH/ READING  | FUR | FATHER/ UKRAINIAN/ READING  |



**FIGURE 6**  
**Worship Services English and Ukrainian**

| <b>Time of Service</b> | <b>ICUCC English</b> | <b>ICUCC Ukrainian</b> | <b>St. Josaphat English</b> | <b>St. Josaphat Ukrainian</b> |
|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>SATURDAY</b>        |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 7:00 AM                |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 8:00 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 4:00 PM                | English              |                        | English                     |                               |
| <b>SUNDAY</b>          |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 8:30 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 10:00 AM               |                      | Ukrainian              |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 12:00 PM               | English              |                        | English                     |                               |
| <b>WEEKDAYS</b>        |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 7:00 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 7:45 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             |                               |
| 8:00 AM                |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| <b>HOLY DAYS</b>       |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 7:45 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             |                               |
| 8:00 AM                |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 10:00 AM               |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 7:00 PM                | English              | Ukrainian              | English                     |                               |
| <b>SUMMER</b>          |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| <b>SATURDAY</b>        |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 8:00 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 4:00 PM                | English              |                        | English                     |                               |
| <b>SUNDAY</b>          |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 9:00 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 11:00 AM               | English              |                        | English                     |                               |
| <b>WEEKDAYS</b>        |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 7:00 AM                |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 7:45 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             |                               |
| 8:00 AM                |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 9:00 AM                |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| <b>HOLY DAYS</b>       |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| 7:45 AM                |                      | Ukrainian              |                             |                               |
| 8:00 AM                |                      |                        |                             | Ukrainian                     |
| 7:00 PM                | English              |                        | English                     |                               |
| <b>TOTALS</b>          | <b>ENGLISH</b>       | <b>UKRAINIAN</b>       | <b>ENGLISH</b>              | <b>UKRAINIAN</b>              |
|                        | <b>6</b>             | <b>12</b>              | <b>6</b>                    | <b>14</b>                     |
| <b>TOTAL ENG.</b>      | <b>12 services</b>   |                        |                             |                               |
|                        |                      |                        |                             |                               |
| <b>TOTAL UKR.</b>      | <b>26 services</b>   |                        |                             |                               |

## FIGURE 7

### Survey Questions

1. What is your nationality? Where were you born? How long have you lived here?
2. What is the nationality of your parents? Where were they born? Why did they move here?
3. How many people are in your family? How old are they?
4. Who lives at home? What do you do for a living?
5. What is your level of education?
6. What is the level of education of your parents?
7. How fluent are you in Ukrainian? English? (Fluent, Good, Fair, Minimal)
8. How fluent is your father in Ukrainian? English?
9. How fluent is your mother in Ukrainian? English?
10. What do you like about school/church? What don't you like?
11. What language do you speak at school/church?
12. How are your language experiences at school/church different from your language experiences at home?
13. Are there any activities that you do not participate in because of the language differences?
14. Do you speak Ukrainian at home? Do you speak English at home? Which language is your primary language?
15. Does school/church help you with your cultural or language practices in any way?
16. When do you usually read, write, and/or speak Ukrainian?
17. How is your home life different from or the same as your school/church life?
18. What kinds of books do you usually read?
19. How are you different from your parents?
20. What do you think that the school/church community expects from you?
21. In your opinion, how are those who speak Ukrainian the same or different from those who do not speak Ukrainian?
22. In your opinion, are there any differences in the language practices of males and females?
23. Are the language experiences at school/church for males and females the same or different?
24. How is the community that surrounds the church the same or different from school or church?
25. What kinds of social and school related activities do you participate in? What language do you usually speak and when?
26. How long did it take you to learn to speak English/Ukrainian?
27. How long did it take you to learn to write English/Ukrainian?
28. What does "culture" mean to you?
29. What was it like at school in Ukraine?
30. How is school and church the same in the US as it was in Ukraine?
31. What classes did you have in Ukraine?
32. What did you learn about the Ukrainian culture in Ukraine?
33. What did you learn about the Ukrainian culture in the US?
34. Do you consider yourself to be Ukrainian? American?
35. How is your life different /same from/as your parent's at your age?
36. What was life like in Ukraine?
37. Do you have family members in Ukraine?
38. Do they want to join you in the US?
39. What do you know about your grandparent's lives growing up?
40. Where did they grow up?
41. What do you want to do when you graduate from ICUHS?
42. Do you want to go to college? Which college?
43. What career would you like to pursue?

**FIGURE 8**  
**Artifacts**

| <b>Type of Artifact</b>                         | <b>Source</b>                     | <b>Importance</b>       | <b>Significance</b>                                               |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Textbook</b>                                 | Participant Gift                  | High                    | Cultural<br>Educational                                           |
| <b>Yearbook</b>                                 | Participant Gift<br>Collected     | High                    | Cultural<br>Historical<br>Spiritual                               |
| <b>Catechism Text</b>                           | Participant Gift<br>Collected     | High                    | Cultural<br>Educational<br>Historical<br>Spiritual                |
| <b>Booklets</b>                                 | Found                             | Average                 | Cultural<br>Historical<br>Spiritual                               |
| <b>Photos</b>                                   | Participant Gift                  | High                    | Cultural<br>Historical                                            |
| <b>Fabric (Rushnyky) &amp; Crafts (Pysanky)</b> | Participant Gift<br>Collected     | High                    | Cultural<br>Historical<br>Museum                                  |
| <b>Icons</b>                                    | Found                             | High                    | Cultural<br>Historical<br>Spiritual                               |
| <b>Foods</b>                                    | Found                             | Average<br>(Perishable) | Cultural<br>Historical                                            |
| <b>Clothing</b>                                 | Found                             | Average<br>To<br>High   | Community<br>Cultural<br>Educational<br>Historical<br>Spiritual   |
| <b>Music</b>                                    | Found                             | Average<br>To<br>High   | Community<br>Cultural<br>Educational<br>Historical<br>Spiritual   |
| <b>Language Tapes</b>                           | Found                             | Average                 | Community<br>Cultural<br>Educational                              |
| <b>Church Bulletins</b>                         | Found                             | High                    | Community<br>Cultural<br>Educational<br>Historical<br>Spiritual   |
| <b>Advertisements</b>                           | Found                             | High                    | Community<br>Cultural<br>Educational<br>Historical<br>Spiritual   |
| <b>Possible Artifact Groupings</b>              | <b>Found Part. Gift Collected</b> | <b>High Average Low</b> | <b>Community Cultural Educational Historical Museum Spiritual</b> |

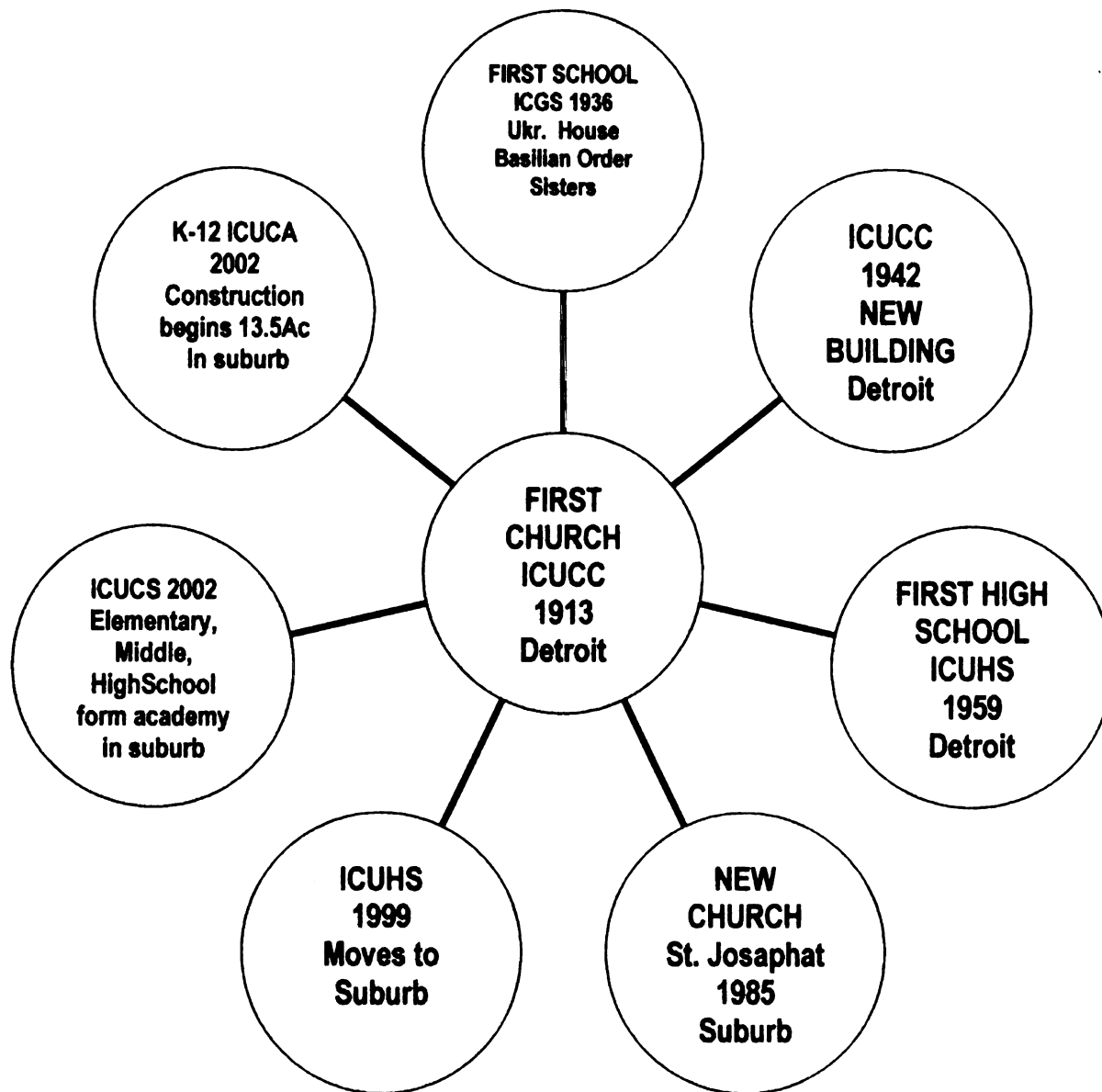
**FIGURE 9**  
**Cover Terms for Artifacts**

| <b>How Artifacts are<br/>Used<br/>in the Community</b> | <b>Used for<br/>Spiritual Life</b>                                                                                                                              | <b>Used in<br/>Daily Life</b>                                                                           | <b>Used during<br/>Schooling</b>                                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Types of Artifacts</b>                              | Books, Booklets,<br>Icons,<br>Church Bulletins,<br>Advertisements,<br>Catechism Text.,<br>Clothing, Fabric,<br>Music,<br>Art,<br>Photos,<br>Foods,<br>Yearbooks | Photos,<br>Fabrics,<br>Clothing,<br>Advertisements,<br>Textbooks,<br>Foods,<br>Art,<br>Crafts,<br>Icons | Textbooks,<br>Clothing, Music,<br>Foods,<br>Icons,<br>Crafts, Language<br>Tapes,<br>Advertisements |

**FIGURE 10**  
**Participants**

| <b>Name</b>     | <b>Community</b> | <b>Church</b> | <b>Student</b> | <b>Alumni</b> | <b>Faculty</b> |
|-----------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Mikhail         | X                | X             |                | X             | X              |
| Maria           | X                | X             |                | X             |                |
| Danyil          | X                | X             |                |               |                |
| Marta           | X                | X             |                | X             |                |
| Chrystyna       | X                | X             |                | X             |                |
| Mr. Klym        | X                | X             |                |               | X              |
| Elena           | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Svitlana        | X                | X             |                |               | X              |
| Mykola          | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Peter           | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Volodia         | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Natalia         | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Tatiana         | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Anastasia       | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Oksana          | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Renee           | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Steve           | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Tryna           | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Rose            | X                | X             | X              | X             |                |
| Adriana         | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Andrew          | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Martha          | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| Nichlas         | X                | X             | X              |               |                |
| <b>Total 23</b> | <b>23</b>        | <b>23</b>     | <b>16</b>      | <b>5</b>      | <b>3</b>       |

**FIGURE 11**  
**Development of Ukrainian Catholic Churches and Schools**  
**Detroit and Suburb 1913-2002**



**FIGURE 12**  
**History of Grade School 1917-1964**

| <b>Location</b>                   | <b>Date</b> | <b>Number of Students</b> | <b>Type of School</b>               | <b>Teachers</b>                |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Ukr. House on Grayling St.</b> | 1917        |                           | Evening/Religion & History          | Church cantors                 |
| <b>Ukr. House on Grayling St.</b> | 1928        |                           | Evening/Religion & History          | Sisters of St. Basil the Great |
| <b>In Ukrainian House</b>         | 1936        | 18                        | Parochial day school/ 2 K-8 classes | Sisters                        |
| <b>In Ukrainian House</b>         | 1938        | 50                        | K-8                                 | Sisters                        |
| <b>In Ukrainian House</b>         | 1939        | 108                       | K-8                                 | Sisters                        |
| <b>In Ukrainian House</b>         | 1940        | 114                       | K-8                                 | Sisters                        |
| <b>New School Near ICUCC</b>      | 1951        |                           | K-8                                 | Sisters                        |
| <b>School Building</b>            | 1952        | 20                        | 8 <sup>th</sup> gr graduates        | 5 sisters                      |
| <b>School Building</b>            | 1952-53     | 355 Sept.<br>385 June     | K-8                                 | Sisters                        |
| <b>School Building</b>            | 1958        | 608                       | K-8                                 | 5 sisters; 7 lay teachers      |
| <b>School Building</b>            | 1964        | 483                       | K-8                                 | 4 sisters/10 lay teachers      |

**FIGURE 13**  
**Names and Dates of Spiritual Leaders**

| <b>PRIEST / SISTER NAMES</b>                                                                                | <b>FROM</b> | <b>TO</b>                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Fr. Ewen Bartosh – Built first church                                                                       | 1913        | 1918                                                     |
| Rev. Fr. Hordyansky                                                                                         | 1918        | 1919                                                     |
| Fr. Bilynsky                                                                                                | NA          | NA                                                       |
| Fr. Romaniuk                                                                                                | NA          | NA                                                       |
| Fr. Poniatyshyn                                                                                             | NA          | NA                                                       |
| Fr. Lysiak                                                                                                  | NA          | NA                                                       |
| Fr. Obushkevych                                                                                             | NA          | NA                                                       |
| Fr. Dobrotvora                                                                                              | 1921        | 1926                                                     |
| Fr. Zacerkovny                                                                                              | 1925        | 1926                                                     |
| Rev. Kurylo                                                                                                 | 1926        | 1927                                                     |
| Rev. Pobutsky                                                                                               | 1927        | 1931                                                     |
| Philadelphia Order of St. Basil 3 Srs teach night school                                                    | 1928        | NA                                                       |
| Rev. Strutynsky                                                                                             | 1931        | 1936                                                     |
| Fr. Chehansky (Apostleship of Prayer)<br>From 200 to 1000 families<br>Immaculate Conception Grammar School  | 1936        | 1946                                                     |
| Fr. Bilynsky                                                                                                | 1946        | 1948                                                     |
| Fr. Schmondiuk (Bishop 1956)                                                                                | 1948        | 1956                                                     |
| Rev. Knapp (Day of Prayer – 2)<br>First Ukrainian Catholic Parish<br>Coeducational High School in the U. S. | 1956        | 1962<br>Becomes<br>monsignor<br>and papal<br>chamberlain |
| Asst. Rev. Fr. Vozniak                                                                                      | NA          | NA                                                       |
| Asst. Rev. Fr. Lubachevsky                                                                                  | NA          | NA                                                       |
| " Rev. Fr. Kabarovsky                                                                                       | NA          | NA                                                       |
| " Rev. Fr. Fedyk                                                                                            | NA          | 1954                                                     |
| " Rev. Fr. Treshnevsky                                                                                      | NA          | NA                                                       |
| " Rev. Fr. Greskow                                                                                          | NA          | NA                                                       |
| " Rev. Fr. Kruchovsky                                                                                       | NA          | NA                                                       |
| " Rev. Fr. Paska                                                                                            | NA          | 1951                                                     |
| " Rev. Fr. Bobyak                                                                                           | NA          | 1952                                                     |
| " Rev. Fr. Blovaczky                                                                                        | NA          | 1950                                                     |
| Apostolic See and Bishop Gabro put IC Parish under guidance of OSBM - Basilian Fathers                      | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Rev. Fr. Lotocky                                                                                            | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Asst. Fr. Gavlich                                                                                           | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| " " Paschak                                                                                                 | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| " " Nytchka                                                                                                 | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| " " Vysochansky                                                                                             | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Br. Stelmach, OSBM                                                                                          | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Sr. Sosler, OSBM                                                                                            | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Sr. Mosiwchuk, OSBM                                                                                         | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Sr. Mikula, OSBM                                                                                            | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Sr. Kuprin, OSBM                                                                                            | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Sr. Lawrence, IC principal                                                                                  | 1962        | NA                                                       |
| Sr. Leonita                                                                                                 | 1962        | NA                                                       |



**FIGURE 14**  
**Survey Self-Report Data on English and Ukrainian**  
**Language Proficiency of Parents in the Community**

| Mothers                       | Fathers                       |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
|                               |                               |
| 75% Fluent English Speaking   | 69% Fluent English Speaking   |
| 81% Fluent English Reading    | 63% Fluent English Reading    |
| 70% Fluent English Writing    | 56% Fluent English Writing    |
|                               |                               |
| 50% Fluent Ukrainian Speaking | 50% Fluent Ukrainian Speaking |
| 56% Fluent Ukrainian Reading  | 50% Fluent Ukrainian Reading  |
| 50% Fluent Ukrainian Writing  | 50% Fluent Ukrainian Writing  |
|                               |                               |

**FIGURE 15**  
**Identity – formation as literate Americans**

| Participant   | Birthplace of Parents                  | Nationality of Parents          | Highest Level of Education             | Homeland of Grandparents       |
|---------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1.            | UKRAINE                                | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE UGRAD                          | UKRAINE                        |
| 2.            | USA                                    | UKRAINIAN                       | HIGH SCHOOL                            | UKRAINE                        |
| 3.            | USA                                    | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE GRADUATE                       | EUROPE                         |
| 4.            | UKRAINE                                | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE GRADUATE                       | UKRAINE                        |
| 5.            | USA                                    | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE GRADUATE                       | UKRAINE                        |
| 6.            | USA                                    | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE GRADUATE                       | W UKRAINE                      |
| 7.            | UKRAINE                                | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE                                | UKRAINE                        |
| 8.            | UKRAINE                                | UKRAINIAN                       | -                                      | UKRAINE                        |
| 9.            | USA                                    | OTHER                           | HIGH SCHOOL                            | EUROPE                         |
| 10.           | USA                                    | UKRAINIAN                       | HIGH SCHOOL                            | UKRAINE                        |
| 11.           | UKRAINE                                | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE UGRAD                          | UKRAINE                        |
| 12.           | USA                                    | OTHER                           | HIGH SCHOOL                            | EUROPE                         |
| 13.           | USA                                    | UKRAINIAN                       | COLLEGE GRADUATE                       | UKRAINE                        |
| 14.           | OTHER                                  | UKRAINIAN                       | SOME COLLEGE                           | UKRAINE                        |
| 15.           | USA                                    | UKRAINIAN                       | HIGH SCHOOL                            | UKRAINE                        |
| 16.           | UKRAINE                                | OTHER                           | COLLEGE GRADUATE                       | UKRAINE                        |
| <b>TOTALS</b> | <b>UKRAINE 6<br/>USA 9<br/>OTHER 1</b> | <b>UKRAINIAN 13<br/>OTHER 3</b> | <b>H S 5<br/>UG 4<br/>G 6<br/>NA 1</b> | <b>UKRAINE 13<br/>EUROPE 3</b> |

**FIGURE 16**  
**Places in the Ukrainian Community 1963 and 2002**

| <b>Places</b>                                                                                                                       | <b>1963</b>                                                        | <b>2002</b>                                                                                         | <b>Places</b>                                                                                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Churches:</b><br>ICUCC                                                                                                           | <b>Detroit</b>                                                     | <b>Detroit Suburb</b>                                                                               | ICUCC<br>St. Josaphat                                                                                 |
| <b>Schools:</b><br>ICUCES<br><br>ICUCHS                                                                                             | <b>Detroit</b><br><br><b>Detroit</b>                               | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                                     | ICUCES<br>ICUA<br>ICUCHS                                                                              |
| <b>Event Hall:</b>                                                                                                                  |                                                                    | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                       | Ukr. Cultural Center                                                                                  |
| <b>Business:</b><br>Cymbal Steel Products<br>Gaulin Iron Works<br>Allen Lumber Co.                                                  | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                 |                                                                                                     |                                                                                                       |
| <b>Funeral Homes:</b><br>Buhay Funeral Chapel<br>Lefchick Funeral Home                                                              | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                                   | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b> | Buhay Funeral Chapel<br>Obarzanek<br>Rudy<br>Wysocki<br>Waski<br>DS Temrowski & Sons                  |
| <b>Banks:</b><br>Bank of Commerce<br>Liberty State Bank<br>Peoples State Bank                                                       | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                 |                                                                                                     |                                                                                                       |
| <b>Credit Union:</b><br>Self-Reliance Credit Un                                                                                     | <b>Detroit</b>                                                     | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                                                      | Ukr. Selfreliance<br>MFCU<br>Ukr. Future Cr. Union                                                    |
| <b>Drug Stores:</b><br>P.C. Jezewski, Drugs<br>Preston's Medicine                                                                   | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                                   | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                                                      | Ryan Pharmacy<br>Detroit Drugs                                                                        |
| <b>Insurance:</b><br>Roy Duzey Insurance                                                                                            | <b>Detroit</b>                                                     | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                       | State Farm                                                                                            |
| <b>Food and Restaurants:</b><br>Steciuk's Meats<br>A. J. Marshall Co.<br>Atlas Quality Beverages                                    | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                 | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                                                     | Maine Street<br>Coach Light                                                                           |
| <b>Physicians:</b>                                                                                                                  |                                                                    | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                   | Leo Murskyj, MD<br>Oleh Lawrin, DPM<br>Marko Gudziak, MD<br>Orest Sowirka, DO<br>Barbara Kucynski, MD |
| <b>Dentists:</b>                                                                                                                    |                                                                    | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                                                      | Family Dental Care<br>Dencap Dental Plans                                                             |
| <b>Furniture:</b><br>Margolis Furniture Co., Inc<br>Mich Chair Rental & Sales                                                       | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                                   |                                                                                                     |                                                                                                       |
| <b>Fuel Oil/Gas Service Stations:</b><br>John's Friendly Service<br>Sunoco Service<br>Phillips Petroleum<br>Ryco Mobilheat Fuel Oil | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b> |                                                                                                     |                                                                                                       |

**FIGURE 17**  
**Places in the Ukrainian Community 1963 and 2002**

|                                                                                                                                      |                                                                      |                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Hair Salon:</b><br>Marie's Beauty Salon                                                                                           | <b>Detroit</b>                                                       | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                        | Coach-Lite Hair Stylists                                                                                                               |
| <b>Building:</b><br>Ukrainian Hetman Bld Corp                                                                                        | <b>Detroit</b>                                                       |                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Home Improvement:</b><br>Allen Lumber Co.<br>Fortuna Cabinet Shop                                                                 | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                                     | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                        | All Pro Home Improvement                                                                                                               |
| <b>Greenhouse:</b><br>Florian Greenhouse                                                                                             | <b>Detroit</b>                                                       |                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Hardware:</b><br>Gamalski Hardware                                                                                                | <b>Detroit</b>                                                       |                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Real Estate:</b>                                                                                                                  |                                                                      | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b> | Remax in the Hills<br>Century 21 Town & Country<br>Century 21 Villa<br>I Buy Houses – ICUCC<br>member Andrew Konopada<br>Advantage One |
| <b>Plumbing:</b>                                                                                                                     |                                                                      | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                                                       | Downey Plumbing<br>All About Plumbing                                                                                                  |
| <b>Roofing:</b>                                                                                                                      |                                                                      | <b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                     | Roofing<br>Ray Reiss Roofing Co.<br>David Edward Roofing<br>J & J Roofing                                                              |
| <b>Heating and Cooling:</b>                                                                                                          |                                                                      | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                        | Absolute Comfort I                                                                                                                     |
| <b>Imports/Exports and Gifts:</b><br>Viviano Importers, Inc.<br>Export to USSR<br>Travelers Trunk Co.<br>Cosmos Parcel Express Corp. | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b> | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                                                                      | Ukrainian Gift Shop<br>Knipro                                                                                                          |
| <b>Religious Goods, Radio, Press::</b><br>Krieg Bros. Religious Goods<br>The Ukr Cath Radio Hour<br>Redeemer's Voice Press           | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b><br><b>Suburb</b>                    | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                        | The Michigan Catholic                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Photography/Photo Processing:</b><br>Swifoto                                                                                      | <b>Detroit</b>                                                       | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Other</b>                                                                       | Swifoto<br>Wings of Love Wed. Phot.                                                                                                    |
| <b>Firefighters and Equipment:</b><br>Det. Fire Fighters Assoc.<br>Lakeside Fire Equipment                                           | <b>Detroit</b><br><b>Detroit</b>                                     |                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Detroit Ukrainian Cath. Park:</b>                                                                                                 |                                                                      | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                        | Kyiv Estate                                                                                                                            |
| <b>Autos:</b>                                                                                                                        |                                                                      | <b>Detroit</b>                                                                                       | Al Deeby Dodge, Inc.                                                                                                                   |
| <b>Cemetery:</b><br>Mt. Olivet Cemetery                                                                                              | <b>Detroit</b>                                                       | <b>Detroit</b>                                                                                       | Mt. Olivet Cemetery                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Ukrainian Retirement Home:</b>                                                                                                    |                                                                      | <b>Suburb</b>                                                                                        | Ukrainian Village                                                                                                                      |
| <b>Places</b> <b>41</b>                                                                                                              |                                                                      |                                                                                                      | <b>Places</b> <b>50</b>                                                                                                                |
| <b>Detroit</b> <b>38</b>                                                                                                             |                                                                      |                                                                                                      | <b>Detroit</b> <b>10</b>                                                                                                               |
| <b>Suburb</b> <b>3</b>                                                                                                               |                                                                      |                                                                                                      | <b>Suburb</b> <b>40</b>                                                                                                                |
| <b>1963</b>                                                                                                                          |                                                                      |                                                                                                      | <b>2002</b>                                                                                                                            |

**FIGURE 18**  
**Ukrainian High School Program of Courses 1963**

|                                       |                                      |                                     |                                         |                                             |                                             |                                  |                          |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>Required Curriculum Four Years</b> | <b>Required Curriculum Two Years</b> | <b>Required Curriculum One Year</b> | <b>Required Curriculum One Semester</b> | <b>Electives College Preparatory Course</b> | <b>Electives College Preparatory Course</b> | <b>Electives Business Course</b> | <b>General Electives</b> |
|                                       |                                      |                                     |                                         | <b>Lang/History</b>                         | <b>Math/Science</b>                         |                                  |                          |
| <b>English</b>                        | <b>Mathematics</b>                   | <b>Biology</b>                      | <b>American Government</b>              | <b>Latin 1-4</b>                            | <b>Math 3-4</b>                             | <b>Latin 1</b>                   | <b>Art</b>               |
| <b>Religion</b>                       |                                      | <b>U.S. History</b>                 |                                         | <b>German 1-2</b>                           | <b>General Science</b>                      | <b>General Business</b>          | <b>Music</b>             |
| <b>Ukrainian</b>                      |                                      | <b>East Euro. History</b>           |                                         | <b>French 1-2</b>                           | <b>Chemistry</b>                            | <b>Bookkeeping</b>               | <b>Home-making</b>       |
| <b>Health/Phy. Ed.</b>                |                                      | <b>Ukrainian History</b>            |                                         | <b>World History</b>                        | <b>Physics</b>                              | <b>World History</b>             |                          |
| <b>Chorus</b>                         |                                      |                                     |                                         | <b>Geography</b>                            |                                             | <b>Shorthand 1-2</b>             |                          |
|                                       |                                      |                                     |                                         |                                             | <b>Typing 1</b>                             | <b>Typing 1-2</b>                |                          |

**FIGURE 19**  
**Ukrainian High School Curriculum 2002**

|                                   |                                       |                                    |                                  |                                 |                                     |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Core Curriculum Four Years</b> | <b>Core Curriculum Two-Four Years</b> | <b>Core Curriculum Three Years</b> | <b>Core Curriculum Two Years</b> | <b>Core Curriculum One Year</b> | <b>Core Curriculum One Semester</b> | <b>Curriculum Electives</b> | <b>Advanced Placement Classes</b> |
|                                   |                                       |                                    |                                  |                                 |                                     |                             |                                   |
| <b>English</b>                    | <b>Mathematics</b>                    | <b>Computer Literacy</b>           | <b>Physical Education</b>        | <b>Typing</b>                   | <b>Health</b>                       | <b>Music</b>                | <b>Mathematics</b>                |
| <b>Religion</b>                   | <b>Science</b>                        |                                    |                                  | <b>US History</b>               | <b>Civics</b>                       | <b>Humanities</b>           | <b>English</b>                    |
| <b>Foreign Language</b>           |                                       |                                    |                                  | <b>East. Euro. History</b>      |                                     | <b>Current Events</b>       |                                   |
|                                   |                                       |                                    |                                  | <b>Ukrainian History</b>        |                                     | <b>Foreign Languages</b>    |                                   |
|                                   |                                       |                                    |                                  | <b>Geography</b>                |                                     | <b>Accounting</b>           |                                   |
|                                   |                                       |                                    |                                  |                                 |                                     | <b>Graphic Arts</b>         |                                   |

**FIGURE 20****Donations for ICUCS Building Project 2002  
\$2,000,000 Needed**

| <b>Name of Fund</b> | <b>Date</b>   | <b>Amount</b>            | <b>Number of Donors</b>      |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| General Donations   | Ongoing       | Loose change and dollars | Container at school entrance |
|                     |               |                          |                              |
| Benefit Banquet     | Oct. 13, 2002 | \$1000 Founders          | NA                           |
|                     | Oct. 13, 2002 | \$100 Benefactors        | NA                           |
|                     | Oct. 13, 2002 | \$60 Sponsors            | NA                           |
|                     |               |                          |                              |
| The Donor Tree      | Ongoing       | \$10,000 Gold Leaf       | NA                           |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$5,000 Silver Leaf      | NA                           |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$1,000 Bronze Leaf      | NA                           |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$100,000 Diamond        | NA                           |
|                     |               |                          |                              |
| Preserve a Memory   | Ongoing       | \$250 8"x8" brick        | NA                           |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$125 4"x8" brick        | NA                           |
|                     |               |                          |                              |
| Adopt a Classroom   | Ongoing       | \$150,000                | 1                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$100,000                | 2                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$40,000                 | 2                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$30,000                 | 3                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$25,000                 | 5                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$15,000                 | 4                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$10,935                 | 1                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$10,000                 | 2                            |
|                     | Ongoing       | \$5,000                  | 1                            |

**FIGURE 21**  
**Ukrainian High School Accomplishments 2002**

| <b>School Activities</b> | <b>School Athletics</b>                  | <b>Graduation Rates and School Facts</b>                        | <b>School Graduate's Accomplishments</b>                         |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Oratorical Contests      | Varsity Basketball                       | 99% graduates go to a university                                | More than 1250 graduates in the past 40 years                    |
| Ukrainian Heritage Club  | Junior Varsity Basketball                | 50% receive four year scholarships                              | More than 200 doctors, dentists, and health care professionals   |
| National Honor Society   | Women's Basketball                       | 85% receive philanthropic scholarships                          | More than 200 attorneys                                          |
| Chorus                   | Baseball                                 | Teacher/Student ratio is 1:5                                    | More than 200 engineers                                          |
| Yearbook                 | Softball                                 | Affordable Tuition                                              | More than 100 business and administrative professionals          |
| Newspaper                | Jr. Varsity Women's Volleyball           | Three families previously home schooled                         | More than 75 educators                                           |
| Computer Club            | Soccer                                   | Enrollment 90-100                                               | Two college professors                                           |
| Debate Club              | Men's Soccer CHSL Champions 1994         | 1936 ICUC Grade School founded                                  | Three principals – one elem., one middle school, one high school |
| Foreign Exc. Club        | Volleyball District Champions 1995, 1996 | 1959 ICUCHS founded                                             | Two U.S. diplomats                                               |
| Lectors                  | Women's Basketball CHSL Champs 1995-6    | 1963 first HS graduating class                                  | Seven journalists and authors                                    |
| SADD                     | Women's Basketball District Champs 1996  | Principal of HS graduated 1963                                  | Six in the entertainment industry                                |
| Ski Club                 |                                          | Immaculate Conception Schools faculty - 8 alumni                | Five criminologists                                              |
| Phi Beta Kappa           |                                          | IMUCS Westbrook Campus has 13.5 acres                           | Two builders                                                     |
| Student Council          |                                          | 1999 High School moves to Westbrook campus                      | Two priests, one bishop, one Sister of the Basilian Order        |
| Audio Tech Club          |                                          | Outstanding Am. H. S. in US News and World Report January, 1999 | One archaeologist                                                |
| Departmental Assistants  |                                          | 2002 ICUCS building project begins                              | One boxer                                                        |
|                          |                                          |                                                                 | One forest ranger                                                |
|                          |                                          |                                                                 | One fireman                                                      |
|                          |                                          |                                                                 | One international rock star                                      |
|                          |                                          |                                                                 | One television broadcast journalist                              |



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