

BOHDAN Y. CYMBALISTY

GROWING UP  
IN  
TWO CULTURES

Ukrainian National Association  
Jersey City, N.J. 1987

Printed in U.S.A.

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"Svoboda" — 30 Montgomery Street, Jersey City, N.J. 07302

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## PREFACE

*The four essays presented here are designed primarily for parents, teachers, counselors and leaders of the youth organizations in the Ukrainian community, as well as for everyone concerned with the upbringing of the younger Ukrainian generations, born and educated in the U.S.*

*The first essay treats the problem of identity of our youth, growing up under the influence of two different cultures, the Ukrainian as represented by home, Church, Saturday School, Ukrainian youth organizations, Ukrainian friends and relatives, and the American, transmitted by the school, neighborhood, media and in general, by the society at large.*

*The second essay deals specifically with the issue of double loyalty, often erroneously presented as a source of conflict.*

*The third essay describes the positive effects of the ethnic community on the upbringing of children.*

*The fourth and final essay discusses the impact of ethnic education on individuals and society.*

*The first two essays were published by the Ukrainian Research and Information Institute in 1974 and are currently out of print. The third and fourth essays were published by The Ukrainian Weekly in 1983 and 1985. I hereby thank the editors of The Ukrainian Weekly for granting permission to reprint them in this book.*

*Bohdan Y. Cymbalisty*



## THE PROBLEM OF IDENTITY

“... *Who are we?*  
*Whose sons are we? Of What fathers?*  
(T. Shevchenko: “*The Epistle*”)

The concept of identity became very popular in our times. “Identity, Youth and Crisis”, “Identity Crisis”, “The Quest of Identity”, “Identity Society” and other books and articles with similar titles are widely discussed. The psychologist William Glasser argues that in the Western world, we are all moving into “identity society”, where everyone is not so much searching for goals needed for survival and security, but is striving for an identity, which “can be reached only through personal fulfillment” or finding a fulfilling role in life.

“In the last few years common people, poor people, uneducated people, powerless people, as well as the more affluent, are beginning to ask themselves the basic existential questions: “Who am I?” and “What is my human potential?”. The most important thing to young people is to be oneself, “to be me, to enjoy myself, to stand for something, to have my own feeling of being someone, to have friends, to have values, to be accepted by others” (W. Glasser, 1976, p. 22)

For young Ukrainians in America the problem of identity has additional meaning due to the fact that they are growing up under the influence of two cultures and are faced with the task of determining what their commitment is.

In the general process of growing up and maturing, each young person must adopt roles and a plan for his life. According to E. Erikson<sup>2</sup> (1950) each human being passes through different stages of development during which he gains, (or should gain), a new dimension of psychosocial maturity. The infant should achieve a “sense of basic trust,” followed by a

sense of "personal autonomy" gained during the first three years of life. This sets the stage for the development of a "sense of initiative" at 4-5 years of age. Then, during the latency period (6-11 years of age) a new psychosocial dimension emerges, namely a "sense of industry," which is developed through an exploration of how things are made. The following stage (12 to 18 years) is characterized by an emergence of "ego identity." When all the preceding stages have been passed successfully, the individual is then able, in the stage of young adulthood, to develop the capacity for "intimacy." Subsequently, as he enters middle age, he gains "generativity," a concern beyond his immediate family and with future generations. The final stage, old age, is a time for reflection, giving way to a sense of "integrity."

Thus, the process of personal self-determination is a part of normal psychological development which has occurred at all times. Although the concept of "identity" was previously used much less often and did not become widespread in use until the present time, the nature of the process itself has always been the same. It is true that, under more stable conditions, the above process is imperceptible and flows smoothly; the youth discovers his "ego" and his role in the society without much difficulty and pain. In our time, however, when human beings are threatened by impersonal, bureaucratic technological systems on the one hand and, on the other, by the liberated forces of nature, liberated by man but over which man might lose his control, the process of finding oneself as an individual is not easy. In the words of E. Erikson "the patient (or person) of today suffers most under the problem of what he should believe in and who he should — or, indeed, might — be or become; while the patient of early psychoanalysis suffered most under inhibitions which prevented him from being what and who he thought he knew he was." (E. Erikson, 1950)

In the same vein, Rollo May, a well-known American psychologist-existentialist, feels that "in a period of transition, when old values are empty and traditional mores no longer viable, the individual experiences a particular difficulty in finding himself in his world. More people experience more poignantly the problem of Willie Loman in 'The Death of a Salesman.' He never knew who he was." "Persons of all sorts



these days, especially younger people, diagnose their trouble when they come to a counselor or therapist as an 'identity crisis' — and the fact that the phrase has become trite should not lead us to overlook the fact that it may also be importantly true."<sup>3</sup> (R. May, 1967)<sup>3</sup>. The questions of adolescence — 'Who am I?' 'Where am I going?' 'What is the meaning of life?' — receive no final answers. Nor can they be laid aside. The uncertainty persists."<sup>4</sup> (A. Wheelis, 1958)

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Despite the popularity of the concept of identity in the literature, one can seldom find a clearly stated definition. This is the basis of many American writers' criticisms. For this reason we will begin with an attempt to define the concept in a broad sense.

To determine one's identity means to answer the following questions: "Who am I?" "Where do I belong?" "What is my relationship to other people?" "What is my role in the world?" "What is a sense of my life?" The answers to these questions do not arise like "deus ex machina," but result from a synthesis and completion of the entire developmental psychological process, beginning with infancy. This forms the basis of the personality which the individual may either accept, reject, or try to change. "The identity concept, in short, concentrates on the fusion of these elements (identifications, capacities, opportunities, and ideals) into a viable self-definition."<sup>5</sup> (E. Douvan and others, 1956)

Achieving a sense of identity is a multifaceted complex process which goes through different stages and has different dimensions: conscious, unconscious, inner or external. The interested reader will find a more detailed psychological analysis of the above process in the studies of Erik Erikson, Helen Merrell Lynd, Allan Wheelis and others. Our discussion of this process will focus on those dimensions of the process which bring us closer to an understanding of the problems faced by our young generation in America. If the search for identity is understood as an act of defining our relationships between our "selves" and the external world, then identity has

to have many aspects because the reality of the world is multifaceted. In other words, besides psychological identity there are religious, philosophical, national, racial, professional as well as other identities.

Let us take one example. A college student decides to study medicine. His choice may be motivated by many different factors: it may be determined by a special interest and talent for medicine, or by the advise of his parents, the example of friends, the wish to help others, or finally by the prospect of good earnings. Nevertheless, his decision to major in this area and later to work professionally in this field determines his future role in society, his relationships to people and the style of his life. Once he chooses medicine as the subject of his university studies, he begins to identify with the medical profession. Thus, the choice of study and profession is a part of finding one's own identity, in this case, of professional identity.

A young person also usually seeks answers to religious and philosophical questions. He wants to determine his attitude toward God, religion, humanity and find a meaning for his life. It is well known that, during this search, many students loose their traditional faith, temporarily or permanently; some become more critical, others continuously doubt or become indifferent, but a few finally arrive at a personal, authentic and binding faith. The college years are the time of religious and philosophical questioning. If one leaves this period with a religious faith, this resolution of his conflict has personal relevance and validity. His faith will not be the traditional one, preserved by custom and inertia, but an authentic, mature faith gained through mental effort. In this way a young person may be said to have received a second, personal baptism.

French moralists and religious educators have frequently pointed out that every one should pass through such a second personal "baptism" in his adulthood, i.e., to decide by himself whether he "believes" or not, since the fact that he had been baptized in infancy, without his consent and knowledge, does not have the binding force of a baptism by one's own choice. The religious identity of a person is born during these spiritual struggles and searches. Only then can he identify himself as a "believing Christian," an "atheist," "agnostic," etc.

Everyone is a member of some social group. Human beings have an inborn need to be with others similar to them, to belong to certain groups and to participate in certain roles. "The evidence seems to show that it is almost impossible for an individual to develop a sure sense of himself unless he can find aspects of his social situation with which he can clearly identify. For most persons identification with family, neighborhood, or immediate community are apparently adequate. For others, identification with a larger community such as a nation is essential."<sup>6</sup> (H. M. Lynd, 1961) For E. Erikson too, "man's individual identity is linked to communal identity."<sup>7</sup> (E. Erikson 1968) Since the search for identity goes in both directions, inwardly and outwardly, it results in the achievement of a sense of identity which includes both identification with some group, with its culture and, at the same time, an awareness of one's own self.

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The above discussion brings us to the central problem faced by our young generation, namely — the problem of national identity. In his search for his identity, a young Ukrainian born in America should, in our opinion, adopt the following three facts as his frame of reference. First is the reality of his origin or descent; second is the presence of hundreds of thousands of people of the same origin in America, in other words, the existence of a Ukrainian ethnic group in North America. The third fact which has to be taken into consideration is that America is the country of his birth and thus represents his homeland. He will live, grow up and mature here, will learn a profession, choose a career, occupy a responsible role and have a corresponding influence on the life of this country. He will strive to develop and realize all his potentialities in this land. He is and will be a part of the larger American society.

In order to answer the questions "who am I?" where do I belong?" one must retain an awareness of "where do I come from." The answer for our youth in America is evident: they are descendants of Ukrainian parents and thus they are descendants of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian origin is a fact

which can neither be eliminated nor denied. As such, it is a part of everyone's "fate." One can, however, adopt different attitudes and reactions toward this fact.

M. L. Hansen formulated a hypothesis about the "returning of the grandsons against the background of fleeing sons." (M.L. Hansen, 1952)<sup>8</sup> This implies that second generation immigrants (the "sons") try to forget and reject their ethnic heritage while their children (the third generation) want to know and learn more about their background. In other words, what the son tries to forget, the grandson wants to remember.

More thorough observation and studies<sup>9,10,11</sup> (I. Child, 1943; W. Madsen, 1964; W.E. Lambert, a. R.C. Gardner, 1961) about the adjustment of the second generation of immigrants reveal that the attitude of this generation toward their ethnic heritage and toward the American culture is not as uniform as Hansen had assumed. Rather, it has three or four different variations.

According to a study by Irving Child one of the variations which may be adopted by the young generation is the "Rebel Reaction"; they rebel against the set of values of their ethnic heritage and try to become "American" as quickly as possible, accepting and living according to the ways of life typical of American culture. Since individuals of this group may become hostile toward their own ethnic group, which they view as inferior and not at all important, they may begin to hate it. The mere existence of their ethnic group reminds them of their origin, of which they are ashamed.

Such a resolution of the conflict could be called the neurotic one. The individual who is ashamed of his origin tries to hide it from others. Yet, he realizes that he can not hide it from himself and thus, begins to hate himself for it. Psychiatrists and psychologists have always indicated that one of the most important prerequisites for mental health, maturity, and the capacity for happiness is self-acceptance, or as it is known in professional terms, a healthy self-concept. Whoever is in disharmony with himself, who hates himself, suffers from neurosis.

Another possible resolution of the conflict between two sets of cultural forms is an escape into apathy and an avoidance of any decision ("Apathetic Reaction" in the study of I. Child). Individuals adopting this solution no longer think of

themselves in ethnic terms. They tend to minimize the importance of membership in an ethnic group; whether they identify with their own ethnic group or with the American culture makes no difference. Occasionally, individuals who have adopted this type of reaction say that they wish their children knew more than one language, particularly the ethnic language. They are merely paying lipservice, however, since they do not send the children to Saturday or Sunday special schools or make any effort to teach them the language themselves. They do not participate in the community life of their ethnic group and yet, they do not take part in the life of the larger American society either. They have limited their strivings to immediate personal life goals and satisfy their social needs with friends who possess similar privatistic philosophies and similar apathetic attitudes.

The apathetic reaction can be easily explained according to the principles of learning theory, in particular learning in a situation of conflict between two attractive alternatives. An example of the anecdotal Buridan ass may serve as an illustration of this principle. The ass, placed between two bundles of hay, could not decide which one he should eat first. As a result, he died of hunger. The situation of the second generation immigrants is more complex, however, since the conflict is doubled. Both the ethnic culture and the American culture are attractive. The former can satisfy personal needs for intimacy with one's family and friends while the latter yields satisfaction through participation in American life with the associated expectations of success, better pay and prestige. In addition, however, both also possess negative qualities: through identification with one culture the pleasures which would derive from identification with the other one are lost. Rejection of the ethnic group leads to alienation from parents and early childhood friends while identification with that group and rejection of American values may be interpreted as precluding success in American society. One possible resolution of this double conflict is becoming indifferent to the same and escaping into apathy and "privatistic" way of life.

A survey of the research literature failed to find any studies describing the type of person who tends to avoid conflicts by

escaping into apathy or about the consequences the apathetic reaction may have on the whole life of a person. It seems, however, that such a reaction goes together with a tendency toward opportunistic accommodation, since any commitment requires a sacrifice of time, effort and sometimes money, as well as the courage to take clear stand on different issues which can cause some inconveniences. There are some people who avoid commitments at any price. Furthermore, the escape into apathy could lead to civic passivity which can exist side by side with a strong devotion to his professional work and professional efficiency. The question is whether a person who lives "for his profession," for "winning bread" only can serve as an example of self-actualization and human fulfillment. A person who is unconcerned about the problems of his community, who does not feel any commitment to his country, or to any cause is an example of a human being reduced to one dimension, namely, to his function whether it is in the production chain or in the bureaucratic system.

The third form of adjustment is the "In-Group Reaction" (I. Child), i.e., the exclusive or predominant identification with the ethnic group. This reaction is similar to the Rebel Reaction because it gives preference to one culture: the In-Group Reaction gives preference to the culture of the ethnic group, the Rebel Reaction to the American culture. Individuals adopting this form of adjustment may call themselves by a hyphenated label (or a dual nationality label) but express a preference for the ethnic part of that label. They emphasize their origin and show pride in it. In addition, they associate only with others of their ethnic group and marry within that group. In extreme cases, they are indifferent to the problems of the large American society, feeling that these problems are alien to them. The majority choosing the In-Group Reaction, however, does try to gain influence and prestige for their group within American society and are loyal American citizens.

The fourth form of adjustment is of special interest. This reaction was described by two psychologists in a study of French-American youth in New England. (W.E. Lambert, R.C. Gardner 1961) They observed all three reactions described by I. Child to be present among this group. In addition, however, they noted the presence of a group of

particularly intelligent French-American young people who were unprejudiced toward foreign people and tried to enrich themselves from both cultures. They achieved a bicultural identity.

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The third and fourth forms of reaction with regard to one's own ethnic heritage are similar, in that they are based on an individual's self-respect and on the courage to be oneself. These are attitudes of people who are aware of their descent, which they do not try to hide but, on the contrary, respect as they respect their parents. Respect for the family heritage, an awareness of the past and obligations derived from it were the characteristics of the aristocracy. Although blood aristocracy degenerated, as necessarily happens in any close group which bars entrance to new members and enjoys many hereditary privileges, the attitude toward the family heritage, respect for themselves, an awareness of the past and a sense of obligation are very valuable and worthy of pursuit. This, in effect, is a form of natural or moral aristocracy which exists in emotionally healthy people who place high moral demands on themselves, and who are aware of their responsibility before both their ancestors and their own children.

America is a country where a hereditary aristocracy does not exist. Nevertheless, there are many groups here which very carefully preserve an awareness of their own special descent, of their family traditions, and a memory of their ancestors. For example, descendants of the voyagers on the Mayflower and of the English Pilgrims of the XVII Century live separately and do not easily accept the descendants of those who immigrated later. Many Americans of the White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant descendance (WASP), do not open their homes, or even their exclusive clubs, to Slavs, Jews, Italians, or others.

"Descendants of early English settlers in New England identify themselves with an old tradition which does not quite coincide with realities of American society today. They may even identify themselves with England as a contemporary nation; this would be highly unlikely in the absence of strong

ancestral traditions. Similarly, descendants of the French in Louisiana or of the Spanish in California, even though relatively well assimilated, maintain some of their own traditions. The maintenance of these non-American traditions is often believed to enrich an individual's life and is seen as not inconsistent with his standing as an American."<sup>12</sup> (I. Child, 1943)

The above examples serve only as illustrations that, even in this country, there exist groups which cultivate the consciousness of their own special origins, are proud of them and maintain certain traditions, often not intermingling with others despite the fact that they live in a democratic and egalitarian society.

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It appears that many Ukrainians are burdened with deep feelings of inferiority and thus, their attitudes toward their own origins tend to be either neurotic or apathetic-opportunistic. How often do we meet individuals of Ukrainian descent, who, when asked their nationality, answer with anything: "Austrian," "Hungarian," "Polish," "Slavic" — in order not to reply Ukrainian? The self-hate and downgrading of one's origin sometimes reveal themselves in a hidden form. They exist even in so-called nationally conscious persons who may often be heard declaring their pride for their origin, their love for Ukraine and all that is related to it. These same people, however, may not send their children to play with other Ukrainian children or may not want to teach them the Ukrainian language because deep down they are convinced that all this is inferior.

The fact that Ukrainians suffer from feelings to inferiority and self-hate is understandable and not particularly surprising. This often occurs with socially disadvantaged and oppressed groups and the Ukrainian nation has, for centuries, been enslaved and oppressed politically, socially and economically. It is no wonder, then, that this has affected the Ukrainian mentality.



Removal of the dredges left by oppression on the Ukrainian mentality has currently been proposed as an educational goal for the entire community, including teachers, parents, writers, etc., in the Ukrainian SSR. E. Swerstyuk repeatedly points this out in his essays "The Cathedral in Scaffold." The following are but a few samples of his thoughts: "The lack of a sense of ourselves, the lack of dignity for ourselves, the lack of a basic national dignity are destroying us" (p. 48). "We should be mindful that history had branded our foreheads with the cautiousness, passivity, waiting and laziness of our ancestors and every generation from the cradle has had to pay for this with fate and honor" (p. 21). "The complex of caddishness is a social product. But why does it show so clearly among the nationally and morally emasculated and degraded Ukrainians? I can't explain this otherwise than by pointing to the fact that, stripped of national dignity and responsibility for their national cultural heritage, they do not have an opportunity to cultivate a sense of human dignity. They alienated themselves from their own heritage and did not assimilate any other; they are neither fish nor fowl; once they have disrespected their own, how can they respect others?"<sup>13</sup> (Y. Svertyuk 1970)

In his message to the Jews, delivered in 1956 in Baby Yar, the well-known, literary critic Ivan Dzyuba said: "There is much caddishness among us, and this begins in many with self-rejection, with a rejection of our own nationality, culture, history, language, although such rejection is not always voluntary and the individual can not be always held accountable for it." "The road toward an authentic, true brotherhood does not pass through self-denial but through self-awareness, neither rejecting nor conforming to others, but remaining ourselves while respecting others."<sup>14</sup> (I. Dzyuba, 1967)

These goals of being ourselves and not renouncing our identities are equally valid for Ukrainians in America.

Once the individual acknowledges his origin and accepts it, he admits his similarity with a group of people of the same origin. Who accepts himself, accepts his identification with the ethnic group.

Neurotics would deny their origin, usually striving to avoid any occasion for identification with their ethnic group. They

would over-emphasize the fact that they are "American." Nevertheless, they are not full-blooded Americans, they are not White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants, and thus they find themselves in a marginal situation. The American sociologist E. Stonequist described the "marginal man" as one who is "poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds."<sup>15</sup> (E. Stonequist, 1937) He further pointed out that such a man suffers from feelings of insecurity, fears, continuous frustrations and concomitant anger. There is no end to his neurotic suffering. As it is well-known, he who does not respect himself does not command respect from others. Who hates himself elicits only feelings of compassion or contempt for others.

Recent anthropological and psychological studies reveal that those descendants of the immigrants, of the second generation, who reject the values of their parents' culture place themselves into a conflict situation with persons who are the most important and closest to them. Consequently, they suffer from various neurotic symptoms, including high anxiety, fear, and guilt. "They tend to become alienated from their parents and usually suffer severe health problems such as dizziness, vomiting, fever and memory loss."<sup>16</sup> (W. Madsen 1964) "They frequently had digestive difficulties, headaches, insomnia and...they had to guard their health carefully."<sup>17</sup> (M. Ramirez III 1969)

In recent years both psychological and sociological research has focused on symptoms of alienation among certain segments of American youth as well as among members of the minorities. Alienation includes feelings of powerlessness, hopelessness, futility, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement. However, the above described symptoms do not appear among those minority members who have a strong ethnic identification and firm and constructive attachment to their group heritage and values. The study conducted with the sample of Japanese-American adolescents revealed that "ethnic identification with one's traditional heritage" counters alienation and "supports achievement outlook."<sup>18</sup> (Y. Okano B. Spilks, 1971)

For the sake of objectivity, we would also like to mention that some studies have indicated that those who identify themselves exclusively with their parents' culture reveal themselves as more suspicious and hostile to other ethnic groups. Such attitudes, however, appear to be less personally pathological and can be overcome more easily, especially with the growth of political maturity and civic culture. Thus, since such characteristic of suspiciousness and hostility can be relatively easily overcome and do not represent deep rooted pathology, not all individuals in this group exhibit them.

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The above discussion clearly indicates that for Ukrainian youth there are only two psychologically healthy and morally sound modes of adjustment to the cultural conflict: the third and fourth in the before-mentioned studies. Through insight and awareness of any present neurotic tendencies young Ukrainian can more readily overcome the self-hate and downgrading of themselves and their origin that would lead them to the first reaction. Through a conscious effort they can also guard against the tendency to escape into the second reaction's private pursuits and apathy, since such a reaction is immature and without moral value. The third and fourth reactions, however, are not only psychologically sound and mature but, in our opinion, are also very beneficial for both the ethnic group and for the large American society. The Ukrainian group in particular needs young persons who would identify themselves primarily with the Ukrainian culture and be active in our Ukrainian organizations, striving toward the development of independent, objective studies about Ukraine and its culture, supporting the educational endeavors, taking part in our community and social affairs, as well as in our political life. At the same time, it is necessary that some young Ukrainians, while remaining mindful of their rootage in the Ukrainian culture, plunge actively into the political, cultural, and social life of American society, enriching it with the values of their Ukrainian culture and, simultaneously, enhancing the prestige of the entire Ukrainian group. From their acquired positions

they would be better able to help the nation of their descent in its struggle for its own rights. In order to gain this prestige and influence they have to also feel rooted in the American culture and society and consider this country as their own homeland. Moreover, this rootage in Ukrainian culture would enable them to see the problems of America more objectively and understand them more deeply. The American sociologist Milton M. Gordon writes that "a realistic degree of positive regard for the cultural values of his ethnic background...will hardly retard the acculturation process," but "will give the child a healthier psychological base for his confrontation with American culture and for his sense of identification with and response to his parents."<sup>19</sup> (M. Gordon, 1964) (Acculturation is behavioral assimilation and is distinguished from structural and identificational assimilation.)

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The next question to arise is what does identification with the group mean, of what does the achievement of a sense of one's own identity through the discovery of communal ties consist? The search for one's identity does not take place in isolation from life. The physician identifies himself with his role not in fantasy but in his every day work. The identification with the group also does not occur in imagination but through involvement with the life of a group. Erik Erikson stated that if someone were to come to him and complain that he does not know who he is, Erikson would question his normality. The sense of identity is gained through daily living with its concrete decisions. The young person finds his religious, professional, political, and national identities by engaging in life and making choices. "Identity consciousness is, of course, overcome only by a sense of identity won in action. Only he who 'knows where he is going and who is going with him' demonstrates an unmistakable if not always definable unity and radiance of appearance and being."<sup>20</sup> In other words, man finds himself and finds a sense of his life through involvement and commitment.

It is interesting to note that the concept of "identity crisis" became popular after the Second World War among dis-

oriented and apathetic American youth. For approximately fifteen years following the war American youth remained politically disillusioned; they formed the "silent generation." Some young Americans in particular felt alienated from their American culture and were uncommitted. These young people also lacked a sense of identity. The author of a book "The Uncommitted" wrote, "Any sense of personal identity achieves much of its coherence from commitment: The object of commitment can vary — a life work, a central value, some personal talent, loyalty to a person or a group, a wife, or a family, a corporation or a revolution — all can give identity to an individual; but without some positive commitment, a sense of personal wholeness is difficult to achieve."<sup>21</sup> (K. Kenniston 1960) What happened on college campuses during the last few years was really an awakening of American youth and a searching out of its own identity through involvement in action, although that activity often lacked clear and positive goals.

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The young person has to reflect to what values he wants to commit himself. The existentialists were right in saying that a sense of value of one's own life is created by the man himself. "The essence of a man is his existence," i.e., a man is who he decides to be. The Protestant theologian P. Tillich wrote that "Man's particular nature is his power to create himself."<sup>22</sup>

The commitment determines the value of a life. In other words, life has value only when it is committed to something which transcends life itself, which is more important than life. The leader of the American Blacks, Martin Luther King, maintained that what is important is "not how long one lives, but how well," i.e., to what value his life is subordinated. Furthermore, the commitment is as worthy as its object is worthy. If some cause is able to mobilize the most creative forces of a human being and let shine the most noble human traits, if some idea helps a person to realize his human potential, making him a person aware of his destiny and responsibility according to the plan of the Creator (in religious terminology) or according to the order of nature, then such a

cause or idea is worthy of commitment. To serve such an idea brings happiness based on the awareness of fulfilled responsibilities toward oneself as a human being. "Nietzsche, Jaspers, and others of the more profound existentialists, in fact, have pointed out that physical life itself is not fully satisfying and meaningful until one can consciously choose another value which he holds more dear than life itself."<sup>23</sup>

It is commonly known that there are men who consider the gratification of their own selfish needs and the indulgence in all material and sensual pleasures as the goal of their lives. Such a man passes through life as if he never lived at all. He does not leave any trace of his existence, he did not do any good to anyone. In addition, there are those who think that the highest value in life is to satisfy not only their personal material needs but also their intellectual needs. This too, although much more refined, is a kind of hedonism and a parasitic philosophy since these men take advantage of things created by others through hard work and sacrifice but do not contribute themselves. There are also persons who set as the purpose of their lives the education and upbringing of their own children, to provide for their material comfort, education, and help them to become independent adults. Without any doubt, this is a higher value which transcends the life of an individual and gives it lasting significance. However, such limitation to one's own family reveals too much of an egotistic concern; caring for offspring is one of the instinctual needs existing even in the animal world. Furthermore, such an attitude is not productive: if everyone would think this way — and all have the right to do so — the progress of society, science, the arts through which the children should be educated would be impossible. Thus, this attitude is also parasitic; it uses the fruits of other people's efforts and does not offer anything in return. Finally, there are those values which make one's life truly worthwhile and truly human, among them, serving one's own country, the progress of science, and the arts, dedicating oneself to the ideas of liberty, justice and brotherhood among all people. Frequently people prefer to die rather than surrender such values as the search for truth or for freedom. There are many examples of this in the history of mankind. " 'Give me liberty or give me death' is not necessarily histrionic or evidence of a neurotic attitude,"

writes the previously mentioned Rollo May. "Indeed, there is reason for believing ... that it may represent the most mature form of distinctively human behavior."<sup>24</sup>

The conclusions from the above discussion are evident. Ukrainian youth will find their own identity through the continued awareness and acceptance of their ethnic origin and of the feeling of solidarity of fate with all Ukrainians and identification with the Ukrainian group in America. The sense of one's national identity will be reaffirmed through involvement in the life of the Ukrainian group.

Our youth will be helped to find themselves and to discover a deeper meaning of life by voicing and defending their own opinions, by making choices and commitments in our communal, civic or Church-related affairs rather than standing on the side and being indifferent. As an example of such involvement may serve the recent successful efforts of our youth to create the Harvard Center for Ukrainian studies. Involvement, however, should not stop with the creation of the center. There are many additional projects which our young generation might undertake and strive to transform into reality. For instance, we badly need to have a Ukrainian museum in New York in which the works of our best artists who have become famous could be permanently displayed. Another possible project could be the organization of fraternity houses for students in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other big cities: such fraternity or student houses could become centers for all student activities. Some time ago the idea was expressed that we should organize a special high school where the future leaders of our communities could be educated. Furthermore, there is a great need to have special, more-or-less exclusive clubs to meet the social needs of both young and old. Any of the above suggestions could be accepted by our enthusiastic young people and carried out toward realization with the material help of our entire community.

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<sup>16</sup> Madsen, William: *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Ramirez III Manuel: "Identification with Mexican-American values and psychological adjustment in Mexican-American adolescents," *The Intern J. of Soc. Psychiatry*, 1969, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 151-156.

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<sup>20</sup> Erikson, Erik H.: *Identity, Youth, and Crisis*, *op. cit.*, p. 300.



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<sup>22</sup> Tillich, Paul: "Existentialism and Psychotherapy," *Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry*, 1961, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 9.

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## UKRAINE OR AMERICA?

As it was explained in the previous article the Ukrainian youth in America in their search for national identity should, in our opinion, depart from three facts which constitute the reality basis for them, namely from the fact of their Ukrainian origin, open and fully accepted, from the acknowledgement of the existence of the Ukrainian ethnic group in America and from the fact that America is their homeland (Heimat) and that they are a part of the large American society. Furthermore, it was said that a man gains a sense of his identity through involvement and commitment. No one can pretend to find his religious, professional or national identity in isolation from life, in imagination and daydreaming, but only through his engagement in the real world and commitment to certain values.

We would also like to add that the commitment to values is essential for the intellectual and spiritual growth of personality. Our intellect is enriched by an active search for truth, our esthetic taste is refined through knowledge of works of art, and our altruistic attitude is developed through service to others. In the same way, our national identity will become clearer and firmer through cooperation with a group of one's own people for the mutual good for all.

The maintenance of one's own national identity in America need not be equated with the preservation of ethnic customs, folklore, or even language, although their preservation may be intrinsically valuable and would certainly facilitate the maintenance of the sense of a separate identity by the members of the entire group. If, however, we understand a sense of identity as the conscious, deliberate self-definition of a person, as the commitment to some value, then identity, though rooted in ethnicity, outgrows it and may exist independently. In other words, ethnic customs may be forgotten or rejected, the Ukrainian language may not be used or even known, but a sense of Ukrainian identity can be preserved, since it is a

question of the moral self-determination of an individual. Parenthetically, we may mention that in the past many foreigners became Ukrainians and descendants of denationalized Ukrainian nobility returned to be Ukrainian again, although neither one nor the other felt bound to the Ukraine by language, folklore, culture. It is sufficient to mention the Chlopomany of the 1860 or such individuals as V. Lypynsky, the metropolitan A. Sheptycky, as well as many others. They became Ukrainians through a deliberate moral choice to serve a cause which they saw as worthy of all sacrifice.

Sociological studies about the life of the Jewish group in America in the post-war period, particularly about a sense of identity among American Jews, reveal a "central paradox," namely that at a time when Jewish religious observance (which throughout history had been considered as the chief mark of Jewishness) has reached a remarkably low level, Jewish commitment stands at the highest level ever reached before.<sup>1)</sup> In other words, while the traditional ethnic content of Jewish consciousness (religious, kosher food, etc.) has almost disappeared, the sense of Jewish identity has become stronger. This Jewish commitment reveals itself in an effort to raise children as Jews, in the moral and material support for philanthropies and other Jewish actions, in the attempt to prevent intermarriage, in the cultivation of familial and social ties, as well as in their special interests and distinct emotional atmosphere which most of them find comfortable and meaningful. (The reaffirmation of Jewish identity in the post-war period may be due to the emergence of Israel as a nation and the resultant need to help preserve its independence against the Arabs. Such a commitment to help Israel unites all Jews in one common goal, and the establishment of a goal plays a very important role in group preservation.)

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Some readers may ask why we should limit the commitment of our youth only to the values and goals of the Ukrainian ethnic group. If the sense of our life depends on the value to which it is subordinated, then we may rightly ask whether working for the improvement of conditions of life in African tribes or involvement in the civil rights movement in the USA

would not meet the highest ethical standards. Naturally, they do. If some Ukrainian youth were to choose such a goal, no moral objection could be made against it. His life would have a deeper, truly human sense. Nevertheless, we think that such a decision would be rather rare. It appears to us as more natural and more purposeful to become involved in the life of one's own group. The following are several reasons for such a conclusion.

First of all, a man normally experiences emotional closeness, affection, and solidarity with people to whom he feels bound by "fate," i.e., by origin, unless such feelings have been inhibited by a neurotic reaction (which engenders self-hate, self-depreciation and avoidance of the group). In order to feel happy and in peace with oneself, one should satisfy his emotional needs for closeness, solidarity and belonging. The existence of such deep emotional forces is acknowledged even by Sigmund Freud, a man known for his rationalistic thinking. In his address to the Society of B'nai B'rith in Vienna in 1926 he said:

"What bound me to Jewry was (I am ashamed to admit) neither faith nor national pride, for I have always been an unbeliever and was brought up without any religion though not without a respect for what are called the 'ethical' standards of human civilization. Whenever I felt an inclination to national enthusiasm I strove to suppress it as being harmful and wrong, alarmed by the warning examples of the peoples among whom we, Jews, live. But plenty of other things remained over to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irresistible — many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction. And beyond this there was a perception that it was to my Jewish nature alone that I owed two characteristics that had become indispensable to me in the difficult course of my life. Because I was a Jew, I found myself free from many prejudices which restricted others in the use of their intellect; and as a Jew I was prepared to join the Opposition, and to do without agreement with the compact majority'."<sup>2</sup>

The above statement illustrated how the personal identity

and personal characteristics of a man are blended with a cultural or group identity.

Secondly, any contribution toward the betterment of the life of the Ukrainian nation will be of universal and very high moral value, surpassing even the value of work for any underprivileged group in America. This would be a contribution toward the victory of a most cherished value, freedom for millions of people who have not had it for centuries and who, at the present time, live in constant fear and under conditions hardly ever experienced by the Blacks in the USA or by South Americans or by African tribes. The condition in which American Blacks and African Blacks currently live can not be compared with the situation of people who would risk their life climbing the wall in Berlin in order to feel and be free, who are mercilessly punished for any critical opinion against the government, even if expressed as a joke, and whose most talented individuals are sent to asylums or to Siberia by obtuse, dull and inhuman members of the party apparatus, thus forever depriving the mankind of the fruits of their creative efforts.

If, in our time, there is a cause worthy of the idealistic sacrifice of the youth of the world, then it is the assistance and help in the struggle toward improvement of life and toward liberation of Eastern European nations from the worst sort of slavery ever known in history.

Thirdly, any contribution of our youth toward the freedom of Ukraine would be equivalent to the creation of a fundamental condition necessary for the growth of a very original and refined civilization for which Ukraine has the potential. Foreigners have often mentioned this and our poets and thinkers have foreseen its coming. In this article we cannot treat this particular theme extensively and thus will limit ourselves to only a few examples.

The German writer and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder wrote the following in his "Diary of My Travels of 1769": "Ukraine will become one day a new Greece; the beautiful climate of this country, the gay disposition of the people, their musical inclination and the fertile soil will all awaken; from so many small tribes as, in the past were Greeks, there will rise a great and cultured nation and its boundaries will extend to the Black Sea, and thence into a far-flung world."<sup>3</sup>

Y. Lypa felt that the hellenic element is an essential part of Ukrainian perception of and attitude toward the world. For him hellenism means a humanistic and aesthetic attitude. We may think (in this context) of the poetic conceptualization of Ukraine as "Hellas of the Steppe" so often found in the poetry of E. Malaniuk. M. Shlemkevych thought that our "lyrical musicality" represents the primary substance — the "primitive genius" — out of which great creative personalities may create "great civilization."<sup>4</sup> Bruno Goetz, a Swiss writer, gives the following description of Ukrainians in his afterword to translated selected works of M. Hohol (Gogol): "The Ukrainian is first of all an artist, possessed with the love for colorfulness of life with all its different forms... He is a man full of a marvelous joy for life and imagination, he is not an abstract thinker but a worshipper of life itself."<sup>5</sup> Similar opinions about the close and harmonious relationship of Ukrainians to nature have been expressed by many foreign as well as Ukrainian writers.

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In order to better understand the value of the above-mentioned potentialities which have lain dormant in the Ukrainian nation, let us look at what is happening in the Western world, particularly among American and other Western youth. In a recently published book Rollo May writes, "Since the Renaissance, Western man has been infatuated with the goal of gaining power over nature. He has transformed the broad concept of reason in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into technical reason in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and he has dedicated himself to the exploitation of nature. Ever since Descartes' dichotomy in the seventeenth century between subjective experience and the objective world, Western man has progressively sought to see nature as entirely separated from him, and has thought he could best study nature, and 'conquer' it, by making it entirely objective and impersonal ... Several straws in the wind show movements in our society toward recovering an indigenuous relation with nature ... The West's new interest in Eastern thought, in its

healthy aspects, points in the same direction. Oriental thought never suffering our radical split between subject and object."<sup>6</sup> Rollo May thinks that widespread feelings of loneliness, anxiety, high valuation of "competitive prestige measured in terms of work and financial success" as well as conformity, i.e., "validating of the self by means of becoming like everyone else" are the result of the alienation of men from nature.

During the past decade a part of American youth began to feel alienated from the dominant values of the American culture and began to develop its own "youth culture" or "counter-culture" as it is sometimes called.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest found that "at the center of this culture is a romantic celebration of human life ... of the senses, and of nature." Its aim is "to liberate human consciousness and to enhance the quality of experience," it seeks "to replace the materialism, the self-denial, and the striving for achievement that characterized the existing society with a new emphasis on the expressive, the creative, the imaginative." "It rejects what it seems to be operational ideals of American society: materialism, competition, rationalism, technology, consumerism and militarism."<sup>7</sup>

Kenneth Keniston, professor of psychology of Yale University who has written two books about American alienated youth sees behind all unrest and demonstrations, "the psychological, historical and cultural revolution of a young generation which is less concerned with the quantities of things than with their qualities."<sup>8</sup> He explains further: "Economic affluence does not guarantee a feeling of personal fulfillment; political freedom does not always yield an inner sense of liberation and cultural freedom; social justice and equality may leave one with a feeling that something else is missing in life." "The expansion of consciousness, the stress on the expressive, the aesthetic and the creative; the emphasis on imagination, direct perception and fantasy — all are part of the effort to enhance the quality of this experience." "Another goal of the new revolution involves a revolt against uniformity, equalization, standardization and homogenization — not against technology itself, but against the 'technologization of man.'" This attitude is also "expressed in the rejection of the melting-

pot and consensus-politics view of American live in favor of a post-homogenous America in which cultural diversity and conflict are underlined rather than denied.” The American youth who protests wants to establish “meaningful human relationships in which individuals confront each other without masks, pretenses and games,” but with full consideration and caring for each other. In the opinion of the above mentioned writer, American society has achieved a high standard of living which has been a dream in the past. It has political freedom and equality, “But for many of today’s students who have never experienced anything but affluence, political freedom and social equality, the old vision is dead or dying ... students (and many who are not students) are searching for a new vision, a new set of values, a new set of targets appropriate to the post-industrial era — a myth, an ideology or a set of goals that will concern itself with the quality of life and answer the question: ‘Beyond freedom and affluence, what?’ ”

More and more is written about the rebellious American youth. The publication range from pamphlets and hundreds of clandestine periodicals to the serious studies of college professors and investigators. While reading them one can not help but become convinced that what the American youth so keenly misses and is now actively searching for still exists in the Ukrainian culture in a form polished and refined by thousands of years of tradition and the effort of many generations. A Ukrainian does not need to walk around barefoot, to not wash or shave himself, he does not need to live in caves only to prove that he is close to nature and rejects middleclass values. The Ukrainian does not need to specially study the oriental technique of meditation in order to find a sense of life in himself rather than in the accumulation of wealth and power. In other words, his admirable harmony between man and nature, a genuinely humanistic and moral-esthetic attitude, the attempt to find a meaning in life through self-actualization as a human being, leading a fully human life with emphasis on feelings, fantasy and originality — all these represent the values of our civilization for which others are searching. The goals of the future Ukrainian generation should, in our opinion, be not only to preserve them, but to develop and supplement them



with the badly needed political maturity, political rationality and self-discipline.

As early as in 1947 Yuriy Sherekh (presently a professor at Columbia University) raised the following question in an essay: "Can not Ukraine propose to mankind and carry out a new, maybe more human direction for our time? Can it not show to mankind higher possibilities than the present ones? These are not unfounded messianic dreams. They are justified not by our wishes and aspirations alone. The unique way for the Ukraine to join the movement of mankind — is by creating and offering its own concept of our time. This is well-founded, Ukraine can do it on the basis of its own national traditions. Whether it will do it, will also depend upon us."<sup>9</sup>

The above ideas and quotations may appear as pure visionism, daydreams or messianism to our youth, educated in the positivistic and pragmatic American way of thinking. It is noteworthy, however, that lately among Americans themselves there is increasingly more criticism of this positivistic thinking, paralled by an interest in existential philosophy. More attention is directed toward the subjective, uniquely human experiences of man and toward his aspirations, neither of which can be measured quantitatively. Kenneth Keniston wrote that:

"What is lacking today in America is certainly not the knowhow, the imagination, or the intelligence to shape a future better than our present. Nor do we lack the values that might guide the transformation of our society to a more fully human and diverse one. rather, we lack the conviction that these values might be implemented by ordinary men and women acting in concert for their common good ... Proposals for specific reforms are bound to be inadequate by themselves. However desirable, any specific reform will remain an empty intellectual exercise in the absence of a new collective myth, ideology, or Utopian vision."<sup>10</sup>

Our youth should also have a vision of the destination of Ukraine, i.e., the enrichment of Mankind with a new and original form of civilization.

In the past few years many of our students have visited Ukraine. Not infrequently they went with critical and sceptical

preconceptions. They could not believe what their enthusiastic parents had told them of the beauty of the country and the fine characteristics of Ukrainian peasants. They felt all these tales were motivated by a nostalgia for the by-gone years of childhood. Upon their return many of them have become no less enthusiastic than their parents. They were not only enchanted by the beauty of the country, but also by the warmth, generosity and depth of the interpersonal relationships. Accustomed to more superficial relationships in America their experience in Ukraine was refreshing and unforgettable. It is true that not all students return from Ukraine enthused, not all say that were Ukraine free they would prefer to live there rather than in America, despite the comfort and high standard of living here. Some students were disappointed by the lack of computers, cars, luxury hotels or even the lack of proper hygienic conditions as exist in America. It is well known, however...that our perception of the world is selective. A man sees and perceives what appeals to his interests, his preconceptions, prejudices and complexes. A man who looks at everything Ukrainian with contempt, surely will find in Ukraine, as well as here in diaspora, enough material to justify his attitude.

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Some of our youth may object to involvement in the life of our community and even to identification with the Ukrainian group in America by pointing to the lack of unity, and the excess of primitive politicking. This is painfully true, but what is needed here is the ability of discern the transient and accidental from the essential and lasting. The deeply human and noble traits of a Ukrainian man (which personify the values of a culture), his philosophy of life, his perception of the world, all these shine in the sphere of interpersonal relationships, in the customs, folklore, arts, way of life, etc. They can be buried under the dredges left by long lasting enslavement and are evident through feelings of inferiority, self-hate, tribal fanaticism, intolerance, lack of self-discipline and other symptoms of our political immaturity. We should remain

mindful, however, that the above symptoms do not represent the essential characteristics of Ukrainians but are rather the result of the oppression and will disappear in two to three generations (once life in Ukraine changes). It is good to keep in mind that the creative promoters of the Ukrainian culture and nation were aware of this immaturity of the Ukrainian community; very often they personally suffered from the villainy and ignomy of their compatriots. Nevertheless, they did not reject their nationality, but continued to build the basis for the future development of Ukraine in which they had so much faith. By the way, does the increase of crime on the streets, the chaotic situation in the cities, or the many examples of corruption and dishonesty among officials, reaching from a policeman to a member of the Supreme Court — does all this shake our faith in the superiority and value of American democracy and in America as a nation? Are there not in American history enough examples of violence and cruelty with respect to other groups, of discrimination and lawlessness, particularly during the conquest of the West? Despite all this we not only want to be loyal, but also to contribute our part toward the development of this country. Our people have faith in America. Could we not approach the problems of Ukraine with the same faith?

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The above discussion raises the question as to whether the involvement of our youth in the activities within the Ukrainian community would conflict with their loyalty toward the American nation to which they belong.

We do not need to engage in a long discussion to demonstrate that double loyalty, love for different persons or objects are commonplace, though these loyalties may, at times, conflict with each other. In childhood we have to divide our love between two parents, then extend it to siblings and other members of the family. In adulthood a man is loyal to his country, to his Church, which may encompass only a part of the nation, to his political party and even to his club. All these loyalties and loves do not exclude each other. It is noteworthy that the Jews, whom we admire for their resistance to

assimilation, have published many studies dealing with their own identity. In these studies they will not even admit that a conflict can ever exist between their loyalty to Jewishness and to America. They accept as self-evident the thesis that such a conflict does not exist and they base the education of their children on this assumption. The world-reknown psychologist Kurt Lewin, whose ideas formed the foundation for Jewish education wrote: "Parents should not be afraid of so-called 'double allegiance.' Belonging to more than one overlapping group is natural and necessary for everyone. The real danger lies in standing 'nowhere', in being 'marginal man', and 'eternal adolescent'," <sup>11</sup> (i.e., no longer a child but not yet an adult). Not only Jews, but members of other ethnic groups, such as the Chinese, Greeks, Irish, strive to preserve their identities. When asked their nationality, these people will sometimes reply "American," at other times, "Jews, Chinese, Greeks, Irish," and still, on other occasions, "American Jews, Greek-American," etc. Which name is used, depends upon the situation. If children should ask who they are, Jews or American, Jewish parents answer with no doubt or hesitation that they are both. (We have noticed among many Ukrainians born in America a certain dislike or even protest against call themselves Ukrainians; they prefer to be call exclusively "Americans" with a low-voiced qualification "of Ukrainian descent.")

In our conceptualization, America is a native country for our youth, what the Germans call "Heimat." It is the country where they were born and grew up, with which all early memories are related, to which they are emotionally attached, and which they love very concretely. They love the place of birth and residence, school, work, certain customs and ways of life. All this is very close to their hearts because they grow around them and spent the most pleasant moments of their lives with them. At the same time, however, Ukraine can remain the spiritual fatherland; it is a nation to which they feel bound by descent, fate, solidarity, common cultural heritage, certain "obscure emotional forces" (as S. Freud wrote) and by a sense of commitment. Considered as such a spiritual fatherland, Ukraine can become one of the highest moral values to which the lives of our youth is subordinated.

It such an approach possible? In our opinion, it is not only possible but it is frequently exhibited by groups and individuals. It suffices to point to the Jews, dispersed throughout the entire world, loyal to the countries where they were born and lived and yet, at the same time, bound by a commitment to Jewishness. The following are but a few additional examples from history:

During the American Revolution some Europeans arrived here to help a new nation in its struggle for independence. The names of the Polish Generals K. Pulaski and T. Kosciuszko, who later became a leader of the anti-Russian rebellion in Poland, are well known. Both were ardent Polish patriots; nevertheless, they choose to fight for the independence of America. Marquis de La Fayette from France, Baron van Steuben from Prussia and many others did the same. Did these people stop loving their own countries? Needless to say, they remained patriots of their own nations, but they made a choice and decided to help Americans in their struggle for independence and democratic liberties, considering the ideal of liberty as possessing universal value and worthy of sacrifice.

When the Greeks fought against the Turks for their own independence, the English poet Byron joined them and died (in 1824). During the Civil War in Spain in 1936 many European and American writers, poets, artists, and thinkers volunteered to fight against General Franco, believing they were defending democracy and liberty. (It is another matter that they revealed themselves shortsighted and did not realize that they were helping Moscow more than the cause of liberty.) For us here it is important to illustrate the fact that one can be a loyal citizen of his own country and love it while, at the same time, placing one's life in the service of another nation which has been threatened. This was the conduct of those individuals who were not of the same origin as the people whom they served. Should their footsteps not be followed by those who descend from an enslaved nation to which they are bound by destiny, cultural heritage and national purpose?

In our opinion, there is no contradiction between patriotic feelings for America and serving the cause of Ukraine.

Another factor which should be considered is that the Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority discriminated, more in the past than

it presently does, against new immigrants, particularly those from Eastern Europe. The neurotic self-denial, including a change of name, the escape into apathy and indifference can be understood in the children of these early immigrants since they were not brought up with the strong sense of dignity, faithfulness to themselves and their origin which would have made them more resistive to the pressure and discrimination on the part of the majority. However, nowadays, the once discriminated ethnic groups (Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and others) gain access to schools and higher positions. Candidates for the Presidency or Vice-Presidency of the USA may be descendants of East-European immigrants. Non-American descent is considered positive and valuable among students at universities and the rebellious American youth wants the protection of individuality of each person and group and protests against the concept of a "melting pot." At such times the neurotic attitude or escape into privatism and apathy have none of the psychological and sociological justification which had existed for previous generations of immigrants. The present generation does not need to choose one or the other culture and subsequently, to place themselves in a conflict situation; they can accept both in the conviction that this enriches them and gives them an advantage over others.

Being under the influence of both cultures, they can have deeper insight and understanding of each of them from the inside, while at the same time, they are able to judge them objectively from the outside. In other words, a "marginal" position, if it is conscious and accepted, may help toward personal enrichment and need not cause the neurotic sufferings pointed out by E. Stonequist. Only he who is ashamed of his marginality, who rejects it and for whom it becomes a "personal problem" experiences insecurity, frustrations and neurotic fears.

In the above-quoted letter to the Society of B'nai B'rith, S. Freud said that his marginal situation as a Jew helped him to use his intellect more freely and to have the courage not to be in agreement with the majority. The Harvard sociologist D. Riesman feels that in a man who is rooted in two cultures and who accepts his marginality "the intellect is at its best, and his ethical insights are at their best."<sup>12</sup> For Arnold Toynbee, the

origins of civilization lie not in favorable geographical conditions, as the positivists thought, but in the creative response of a group to the challenge of nature or some other threatening situation. Destiny threw us to live in marginality and under the influence of two cultures, Ukrainian and American. This represents both a threat and a challenge. It is the threat of death as a group; it is the threat to become only a fertilizing substrate for other cultures. But, it is also a challenge which we and our future generations are called to accept and respond to not by self-denial or escape, but with dignity, actively and creatively selecting the positive and promising elements of both cultures and thus creating new, original forms of human civilization and life.

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<sup>7</sup> Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, 1970, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Keniston, Kenneth: "You Have to Grow Up in Scarsdale to Know How Bad Things Really Are." *New York Times Magazine*, April 27, 1969.

<sup>9</sup> Sherekh, Youriy: "Dumky Protv Techiyi," (Thoughts against the Current), *The Essays*, 1948, p. 76.

Шерех Юрій: „Думки проти течії”. Публіцистика. 1948.

<sup>10</sup> Keniston, Kenneth: *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society*, New York: Dell Publ. Co., 1960, p. 444.

<sup>11</sup> Lewin, Kurt: *Resolving Social Conflicts*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.

<sup>12</sup> Riesman, David: "Some observations concerning marginality." In *Individualism Reconsidered*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954, p. 163.

1974



## **THE UKRAINIAN "GHETTO": A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE**

A ghetto, during the Middle Ages in Europe, was the quarter of a city in which Jews were required by law to live. Later, ghetto came to refer to that quarter of a city in which members of any racial or cultural minority lived because of legal, social, or economic factors. Finally, the concept of the ghetto was broadened to denote any group which lives an isolated and segregated life. One might call it the psychological ghetto.

In the Ukrainian press and in discussions, one hears quite often that we should "get out of the Ukrainian ghetto" and venture out into the broader society. Since Ukrainians do not live within a single section of the city, the "Ukrainian ghetto" is used to signify the cultural and social isolation of the Ukrainian ethnic group, which is judged as being backward, parochial and as having a primitive level of cultural activity.

I, however, would like to argue here against such a negative concept of the ghetto and to point out the advantages of life in a ghetto.

As far as a ghetto in physical sense is concerned, it is evident that the group living within one area has' better chance to preserve its sense of separate identity, to reinforce the sense of belonging to one group spawned by early life memories, good-neighbor relationships and personal friendships. The traditions cherished by the group can be preserved longer, the number of mixed marriages can be reduced.

In the United States, the Chinese people have deliberately chosen to create their own ghettos, which have become tourist attractions. Nobody looks at them with disdain.

Another important point is that the group living in one area becomes a political factor which counts during elections. This enhances the group's feeling of importance and self-awareness; the press reports about its existence, its country of origin and its concerns and aspirations — all of which is so important for Ukrainians. Finally, this assures that their demands will be listened to and that their leaders will get a chance to get important positions. The advantages are obvious.

Although ghetto refers to the city, an analogy exists for the country at large. For example, in Canada, Ukrainians settled in masses in the western provinces. Among their descendants are members of provincial governments and legislatures and majors of cities.

In the United States, Ukrainians are dispersed and do not have similar political clout. However, even in such a small township as Lumberland, N.Y. (Glen Spey), the Ukrainian constitute one-third of the voters and the local press has already emphasized the importance of this block. The residents of this township are able to secure the election of three to four Ukrainians to the township board.

U.S. Ukrainians reside neither in masses nor in distinct quarters of the city. In the beginning, there was such a tendency, however, due to upward mobility, many moved out of "Little Ukraine" to the suburbia. Thus, the idea of "getting out of the Ukrainian ghetto" was seen as the abandonment of a life of isolation and enclosure.

However, in this writer's opinion, even this psychological ghetto offers distinct advantages, if the group does not want to disappear and melt away into the large American society without a trace — especially since such isolation does not prevent anyone from participating in the life of society at large.

In order to understand the process of assimilation vs. ethnic self-preservation, it is important to keep in mind what sociologists tell us about social relationships in groups.

There are primary groups in which the contacts among people are personal, informal, intimate and usually face-to-face, and which involve the entire personality. Such primary groups are: families, a child's play group, friendships, social cliques, etc.

The relationships in the secondary groups are impersonal, formal, segmented. "Within the ethnic group," writes Milton M. Gordon in "Assimilation in American Life" (1964), "there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic groups to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life-cycle."

The Jews have almost 2,000 years' experience of life in dispersion (in the diaspora). It would be every instructive to study their ways of preserving religious and ethnic identity through the centuries. Here are the results of some studies as quoted by Gordon.

Herbert Gans, in his study titled "The Origin and Growth of a Jewish Community in the Suburbs," describes the "garden-type" suburban pattern wherein Jewish women during the daytime participated in the social life of their particular neighborhood with other women, regardless of ethnicity, but in the evenings and on weekends the social relationship of couples — the Jewish husband and wife — turned primarily to the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

Albert I. Gordon, in his study "Jews in Suburbia" (Boston 1959) confirmed this pattern, quoting a suburban woman and the subject of Jewish-Gentile relationships as follows:

"Our husbands do business with them (Christians). We see them in the town's shopping area. It is always a very pleasant... 'Hello, how are you' kind of superficial conversation. We may even meet at a meeting some afternoon or evening, perhaps at the PTA school affair, but it is seldom more than that. It is kind of a 9 to 5 arrangement. The ghetto gates, real or imagined, close after 5 p.m. ... Five o'clock shadows sets in at sundown. Jews and Christians do not meet socially even in suburbia. If we do, you bet that it is to help promote some cause or organization where they think we Jews may be helpful. But after 5 o'clock there is no social contact, no parties, no home-visits, no golf clubs, no nothing."<sup>3</sup>

This is not, declared Gordon, an isolated opinion expressed by an unhappy and unaccepted Jewish person. On the contrary, it is the most representative comment made by Jews and is generally confirmed by Jews in suburban communities all through America.

In the symposium "The American Jews" edited by Oscar Janowsky the editor writes:

"Ever since World War I, American Jews, as a whole, have been moving to suburbia, congregating together there to create voluntary physical and psychological heavens, or 'ghettos,' but in the best sense of term...they cluster around Jewish institutions. ... To promote their survival as Jews, they are

fashioning a rather compact form of Jewish settlement, a full complement of Jewish institutions, religious, educational, charitable and social, all held together by the Jewish community council. This development of an ethno-religious enclave has characterized the direction of Jewish life in America since the 1930s."<sup>4</sup>

Harold Weisberg in his article, "Ideologies of American Jews" (in the same symposium) writes:

"Jewish life in the United States is expressed through a culture of organization. To manifest Jewish culture is to carry out individually or collectively program and organization. ... Of course, there is perfectly good sense in which this claim is false; there are many less public and less formal individual manifestations of Jewish culture. Nevertheless, the activity which overwhelmingly dominates American Jewish life is organizational and the ways in which most Jews are 'Jewish' are institutional ways of the synagogue, the center, the welfare fund, the service agency."<sup>4</sup>

This example, as well as the conclusions of the above-mentioned studies, indicate how important for the preservation of the ethnic (or religious) group is the existence of close, primary, non-official, personal relationships between the members of the group, which create a certain degree of social and psychological isolation of the group from the rest of society. The purpose of these non-formal groupings is to satisfy most of the needs of the members of the group.

This policy is in agreement with the theory of assimilation in America proposed by Milton M. Gordon. According to him, assimilations is a gradual process. He distinguishes seven steps of assimilation, of which the first three are the most important. The first stage of assimilation is "acculturation," which is unavoidable and proceeds very rapidly. It is a "process through which two or more people or groups accept and perform one another's patterns of behavior" (J. H. Fichter: "Sociology," 1957). Acculturation is likely to be the first to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene, and it may take place even when none of the other stages of assimilation occurs. According to Gordon the condition of acculturation may continue indefinitely.

The second stage, which Gordon calls, "structural assimilation," is the most crucial one. It occurs when the minority group members enter on a grand scale into cliques, clubs and institutions on the primary group level. This leads to intermarriages, Gordon writes, "if children of different ethnic backgrounds belong to the same play group, later the same adolescent cliques, and at college the same fraternities and sororities; if the parents belong to the same country club and invite each other to their homes for dinner, it is completely unrealistic not to expect these children, now grown, to love and to marry each other, blithely oblivious to previous ethnic extraction."

"The communal leaders of religious and nationality groups desire to maintain their ethnic identity are aware of the crucial importance of the structural assimilation and for this reason organize all kinds of youth groups, adult clubs and communal institutions, which tend to confine their members in their primary relationships safely within the ethnic fold," Gordon notes.

The further stage of assimilation is "identificational assimilation" and it follows naturally after structural assimilation has occurred.

The conclusions which can be derived for the Ukrainian group in the United States are as follows. If Ukrainians want to preserve their own identity as a group and not disappear anonymously, they should create a net of structural and organizational relationships among themselves, i.e., create certain ghettos, where the various needs of its members can be met, according to the interest of every one. The ties have to be of a primary (family, playmates, friends, social cliques) as well as of a secondary type, (religious, educational, charitable, social and cultural).

Within an ethnic group there is considerable social stratification and differentiation. People of similar educational and social backgrounds then to cling together. Thus, the ethnic group should provide a large enough framework for various grouping. For instance, the intellectuals who do not find a proper milieu within one group would tend to cross ethnic lines and seek wider contacts and the company of the intellectuals of other origins.

"Frustrated and not fully accepted by the broader social world he wishes to enter, ambivalent in his attitude toward the more restricted social world to which he has ancestral rights, and beset by conflicting cultural standards, he develops...personality traits of insecurity, moodiness, hypersensitivity, excessive self-consciousness and nervous strain," writes Milton Gordon. These are the traits of the "marginal man." It is important to note that a different and isolated life within an ethnic group does not preclude participation in all-American political, economic and professional activities. The members of even a very isolated group should actively be involved in local and national politics, in public education; they should belong to all-American professional organizations or unions, occupy important positions in business or politics, go to theaters, movies, sport events. All this is the domain of public life. What one does in his private sphere, whom he visits, to what cause one donates his money, is nobody else's business.

By the way, such participation in the public life of society at large is beneficial to the group itself because it prevents the stagnation of cultural life. In order to flourish, cultural life needs fresh air, new ideas and stimulation from the outside. Furthermore, the experience gained in all-American activities, be it political, administrative, economic or organizational, can be fruitfully transferred to organizations within the ethnic group. Participation in American life is important also for Ukrainians because it gives group members more opportunity to contribute to the Ukrainian cause.

U.S. Ukrainians have a considerable number of organizations, but not as many as American Jews. Some of them exist only on paper, but some are vital and dynamic. One of the positive contributions of the new immigrants was the successful transplantation of some organizations from Ukraine to American soil.

These organizations also prepare youths to continue their activities. I have in mind such organizations as the Plast, SUM-A and ODUM youth organizations. (The Ukrainian National Women's League of America also was able to secure the continuation of the organization through young members.) Ukrainians have their own schools, professional associations, choirs, bandurists' ensembles, youth summer camps, resorts —

all this contributes to maintenance of the elements of the Ukrainian ghetto. Thanks to its existence, the second generation of the Ukrainian immigrants is structurally not assimilated.

The studies of Ukrainian sociologist Prof. V. Isaiv, as well as my own observations, indicate the most young Ukrainians, when asked who are their intimate friends, indicate only Ukrainians. All of them went through the acculturation process; they behave like their American peers, exhibit the same interests and form of etiquette, taste and behavior; they value money, material comfort; they are pragmatic. However, they still maintain their primary group relations with Ukrainians and they identify themselves mostly as Ukrainian Americans, or some as American Ukrainians.

However, there are many quite unfavorable exceptions. Everyone can probably cite examples of young adults completely alienated from the Ukrainian group. How did this happen? In most cases, the parents failed to involve them at an early age with Ukrainian peers, be it through Saturday school, youth organizations or summer camps. Later, when their children were already college students or graduates, the parents would take them or send them to Soyuzivka or to dances. However, the young people felt like strangers there. It is not easy to enter into the cliques of friends established earlier through mutual experiences in schools or camps. Of course, sometimes the family resides far from Ukrainian communities, and an almost heroic effort would be required for parents to teach their children the Ukrainian language, transport them to Ukrainian schools or send them to summer camps.

All efforts should be directed at preventing structural assimilation by preserving the Ukrainian organizational ghetto and upgrading the level of its differentiation so that every Ukrainian can find a satisfactory and comfortable place for himself and an involvement in group life which brings additional meaning to his life.

Ukrainian communities should be more integrated on the local level. This necessitates the existence of the Ukrainian community centers, headed by community councils which initiate stimulate and coordinate all activities of the various groups and organizations. active in a given area.

Morganville is a small village in New Jersey (near Red Bank). Its Jewish Family Center, located in one wing (probably rented) of a small shopping mall, provides programs for the senior citizens, for example, activities such as knitting, films, parties, health screening and trips to dinner, theaters, New York, Atlantic City, parks and areas of interest. The group enjoys playing billiards, cards and games. In addition, there is a program for young singles, and a separate one for the 25 to 45 age group with such activities as dances, house parties, barbecues, trips and discussions.

There is a variety of programs for children of different ages and for mothers with infants. The center organizes courses in Yiddish and Hebrew, lectures, musical programs, as well as casino gambling, hypnotism, karate and various other forms of recreation. In other words, the center tries to satisfy all the needs of its members, even those who "need" to learn karate or casino gambling, which have nothing to do with the preservation of Jewishness. By organizing such programs, the center tries to prevent their members from satisfying their particular needs outside the group, since this may lead to structural assimilation.

Young Ukrainians, particularly those living in the East, also have such a center with comprehensive programs. At Soyuzivka they can relax enjoy sports, dance and socialize. However, Soyuzivka satisfies these needs primarily during two summer months. The problem, then, is where should young Ukrainians meet during the remaining 10 months?

The only community of which I know that has solved this problem is Philadelphia. The Educational and Cultural Center at Cedar Road — a school building with a large auditorium, 24 classrooms and six acres of land — offers space for a kindergarten, school, and library, and a site for indoor and outdoor recreation and sports. Various organizations hold their business meetings and organize cultural programs at the center.

The Philadelphia example should be emulated in other communities. Some might be able to purchase special buildings, particularly now when the enrollment of kids is diminishing and school buildings may be for sale. Others should upgrade the existing national homes so that they cease



to be mere bars and instead offer a variety of programs attractive to everyone.

Another area which needs special attention is the social life of Ukrainians. The old pattern of social life in the form of the private parties has become less and less practiced; many women are now employed and, as a result, have no time to prepare such parties which by tradition have to be rich and generous. Besides being overly expensive, their impact on community life is nil, due to the fact that the circle of friends is limited and that they meet very seldom. The social life that is probably typical for Ukrainians is to meet friends and acquaintances on the street and in front of the church. This, of course, is not sufficient, and there is a definite need for an organized social life. The leaders of our organizations recognize this need, and try to meet it in some way through small receptions held after conferences, lectures and musical programs.

To meet their social needs, Americans organize social clubs. Besides the well-known Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis and Elks, there are hundreds of country clubs in America. Jews have their own clubs. Some of them are service-oriented, financially supporting institutions, contributing to the cities, recruiting volunteers. Perhaps one day Ukrainian Americans will also organize such clubs.

Our professional organizations (of engineers, physicians, teachers, librarians, lawyers, etc.) have objectives different than their all-American counterparts. The latter foster professional training and defend the interests of their professions (lobbying in Washington and trying to promote certain legislation, etc.). Ukrainian professional organizations do not need to repeat these activities, but should have different objectives, namely to serve the Ukrainian community and foster closer personal ties among their members. They do this by organizing banquets and balls, and excursions, and then donating the profits to some worthy Ukrainian project. In my opinion, this type of activity should be expanded and organized so that the members of one profession could meet regularly (even once a month) for wine-and-cheese parties or coffee and cake, solely for the purpose of socializing and engaging in free discussion.

The senior members of local Plast branches should, in addition to holding regular organizational meetings, meet regularly just for social needs.

Some branches of UNWLA already do this, and they have succeeded in establishing a true community of minds, mutual respect and cooperation despite religious, political or other differences among individual members.

The following benefits can be expected from an organized social life which may be planned around the local community center (if such exists in the community): 1. mutual help in job hunting and career advancement; 2. regular meetings and discussions of the problems and needs of the Ukrainian community in order to elicit sound public opinion and initiate various projects; 3. better integration of the Ukrainian community through better understanding of each other and through development of the mutual trust which is so essential for stability in a democratic society.

The centuries-long absence of the opportunity for self-government, life under despotic rules, suffering from repression and persecution, have greatly affected the behavior of many Ukrainians. There is, too, mutual bickering, hostility, intensive group squabbles, distrust and intolerance among Ukrainians. It is a well-known fact, that social clubs where everyone feels free to express his opinion, be listened to and be respected have a tremendous affect on the development of political culture. And this is something our community sorely needs.

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<sup>1</sup> Gordon, Milton M. *Assimilation in American Life*. New York, Oxford Universities Press, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Gans, Herbert J. *The Origins and Growth of a Jewish Community in the Suburbs*. In Marshall Sklare (ed.) *The Jews. Social Patterns of an American Group*. Glencoe, Ill. Free Press, 1958, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon Albert I. *Jews in Suburbia*. Boston, Beacon Press 1959. p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Janowsky Oscar I. *The American Jews*. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America. 1964. p. 13.

## **ETHNIC EDUCATION: IS IT RELEVANT IN AMERICAN SOCIETY?**

### **How does an ethnic group survive?**

When immigrants from various countries of the world arrive on the shores of America, they bring their own traditions, customs, beliefs, values, behavior patterns, that is, their own way of life or culture.

They possess also a sense of group identity. These immigrant groups try to establish their own communities in the new land. If possible, they settle in one area and organize their communal life, mostly around the churches that they build.

They organize their own "fraternal" and "mutual aid" associations, credit unions, and build national homes or centers. (In the past, burial societies, too, were very important.) These ethnic communities play an important role in the adjustment process of immigrants to their new environment.

They mitigate the shock of transition from one culture to another, namely, an alien culture of a society which is indifferent, contemptuous and sometimes hostile to them. Ethnic organizations alleviate the shock by providing assistance and certain benefits.

Furthermore, they satisfy the basic human need to belong and to relate to someone who is alike, who has the same past and shares the same traditions. The uprooted people experience an increased need to feel accepted and supported in their new environment. The organized ethnic group gives them the opportunity to be involved in group life as well as to develop primary relations (friendships, endogamous marriages). They also provide social control of their members' behavior, for example, by denying benefits to persons accused of intemperance, immoral conduct and criminal acts or by ostracizing them.

The ethnic organizations plan and implement social and cultural activities which keep alive familiar traditions and customs. Thus, they foster the retention of ethnic cultural heritage. Sharing the same culture and belonging to the same ethnic group constitute the basis for the personal identity of

immigrants since the important element in personal identity is identification with a group, be it ethnic, racial or religious.

In summary, ethnic groups, with their network of organizations, ease the adjustment problems of the immigrants, as well as prevent their personal disorganization, by satisfying their need for security, for belonging and for identity. They truly represent "the creative adjustment of the ethnic group" (Galey)<sup>1</sup> to the new environment.

Usually the first generation of immigrants — both as a group and as individuals — still maintains very strong identification with the country of its origin and its people. They correspond with relatives and friends and very often help them financially. Often they support various institutions and projects in the old country. Sometimes they send their own children to schools there or may themselves return "home."

The first immigrant generation of some groups tries to transmit the identification to their offspring. However, the second generation develops much less intensive identification with the country of their family origin; they identify more with their own ethnic group in America. They prefer to be called Italian-American, Ukrainian-American, Polish-American.

The network of ethnic organizations and institutions contributes to the preservation of various ethnic subsocieties in America. They foster a relative solidarity, intra-group feelings and a sense of separate identity in the members of ethnic groups which affects their choice of friends, of spouses, of social clubs, of residences, and in some instances their political (voting) behavior.

The most recent sociological studies have found that, despite the pressure to assimilate completely, despite the discrimination and occasional contempt for those who try to preserve their ethnic identity, immigrant groups did not disappear completely. True, members of the second immigrant generation follow American standards in regard to taste, style, recreation form, behavior pattern; they prefer to speak English rather than an ethnic language; they accept the values and the strivings of a core society, thus highly valuing money, material success, independence, pragmatic approach, political democracy. The second generation passes through a process of acculturation that seems to be inevitable.

Underneath the surface of acculturation, however, the ethnic groups strive to maintain their primary group relations, i.e., face to face, informal, personal, intimate, involving the entire personality, relations with their ethnic fellows. Studies of Polish-American, Italian-American or other communities of "hyphenated" Americans revealed the same unassimilated structural pluralism. American styles, language, recreation forms and external forms of behavior predominate, but close interpersonal relations and social groups form within the confines of their own group.

These relations develop first with members of the family (often an extended one, including all relatives), then continue in childhood play groups, in high school cliques, in church affiliation, social clubs, selection of a spouse, and in old age homes. Such a social structural separation of ethnic groups is facilitated by the attitude of the core society, i.e., old Yankee families of colonial time, and the middle-class white Protestant, mainly Anglo-Saxon-dominant group. This group is not anxious to accept the newcomers into their own social structure, does not open up to them its primary life, i.e., families, fraternities, social clubs, personal friendships.

Sociologists have also noted that the survival of ethnic groups does not depend on whether the group resides in one area. The ethnic group survives even when its members are quite dispersed. "Residential separation is not a necessary prerequisite for the maintenance of the ethnic sub-societal structure, i.e., a group can maintain ethnic social cohesion and identity, while lacking an ecological basis" (Parenti)<sup>2</sup>. Yancey and others<sup>3</sup> also point out that ethnic identification, as transmitted through the family and friends, can be maintained regardless of whether they are in the same neighborhood.

"Ethnicity is not dead, but much alive today...and is the result of a process which continues to unfold...It is basically a manifestation of the way population is organized in terms of interaction pattern, institutions, personal values, attitudes, life styles and personal consciousness of kind." (Yancey)

Etzioni<sup>4</sup> analyzed the role of ethnicity in a variety of contexts, from geographically based communities to residentially dispersed groups, maintained by communication and activity only in limited situations, such as church attendance, marching

in some parades, voting for a candidate of the same ethnic origin, supporting the cause associated with the country of origin, etc.

Glaser and Moynihan<sup>5</sup> found that ethnic groups in American society are not "a survival from the age of mass immigration, but a new social form." They noted: "Ethnic groups, then, even after distinctive language, customs and culture are lost, as they largely were in the second generation, and even more in the third generation, are continuously recreated by new experiences in America." Both authors point out that there are many people in America who start to identify themselves with a particular ethnic group although biologically they do not descend from the same ethnic stock.

The results of research by Oleh Wolowyna somewhat corroborate the above statement. On the basis of the 1980 U.S. Census Bureau report, some 9,300 persons of non-Ukrainian ancestry speak Ukrainian. (The Ukrainian Weekly, May 27, 1984). One can assume they consider themselves members of the Ukrainian sub-society in the United States.

Analyzing assimilation in America, Gordon<sup>6</sup> found it to be a gradual process. He distinguished seven variables as stages or aspects of the assimilation process:

- cultural or behavioral, called acculturation;
- structural (when the members of the ethnic group enter on a large scale into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society, on the primary group level);
- marital assimilation (large-scale intermarriage);
- identificational assimilation (when the ethnic group develops a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society, and loses its separate ethnic identity;
- attitude receptional assimilation (when they encounter no prejudiced attitudes);
- behavior receptional assimilation (where there is no discrimination);
- civic assimilation (where power conflicts based on ethnic differences are absent in the civic area).

Cultural assimilation or acculturation of the minority group, according to Gordon, may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later, and

this condition of "acculturation only" may continue indefinitely.

It appears from this analysis that structural assimilation is "the keystone to the arch of assimilation." When the ethnic or any other minority group (racial or religious) starts to enter on a large scale into the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the core society at the primary group level, this will inevitably lead to a substantial amount of intermarriage. Thus, marital assimilation is an inevitable by-product of structural assimilation. If it happens on a large scale, the minority group loses its sense of a separate ethnic identity and develops a sense of peoplehood based on the core society. An identificational assimilation then takes place and the other stages of assimilation follow.

What, then, helps the ethnic group to preserve its distinctive identity even in the dispersion (diaspora)? As previously mentioned, the key role is played by the network of ethnic organizations and informal social relationships. They permit members of an ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group.

Community leaders of religious and ethnic groups are aware of this process. For this reason, they put a great deal of effort into binding the members of the ethnic group through a network of organizations, and through local community cultural centers that provide opportunities to satisfy all kinds of human interests and, particularly, the opportunity to become involved with each other and with the life of the group. In this way, structural assimilation is partially prevented or at least delayed. This is how ethnic groups continued to exist despite public policy in the past aimed at rapid "Americanization." i.e., complete assimilation, and a rather negative attitude of the core society toward any attempt at the preservation of the ethnic heritage.

The following comment of a lifelong "Yankee" resident of a small town as quoted by Rose<sup>7</sup>, illustrates this attitude:

"I am sure foreign people make a mistake in keeping customs in their own land alive and featured in this country. If this country meets their expectations, they should forget the folklore of Europe, St. Patrick's Day Parades, German Days, and get behind American things. If they can't do this, they

should be returned to the land they love. This country is supposed to be the world's melting pot. If they won't melt, they should not belong."

### **From melting pot to cultural pluralism**

The attitude and policy, however, began to change in the 1960s. The successful civil-rights movement of American Blacks encouraged other minority groups: Indians, Puerto Ricans and various white ethnic groups to assert openly their own identities. This was due not so much to the wish to follow in the footsteps of others, but more to a new zeitgeist.

Glasser wrote in 1972<sup>8</sup>. "Led by the young, the half-billion people of the Western world have begun a rapid, turmoil-filled evolution towards a new role-dominated society that I call the identity society. ... Common people, poor people, uneducated people, powerless people, as well as the more affluent are beginning to ask themselves the basic existential questions: 'Whom am I?' 'What is my human potential?' "

The author illustrates this evolution, citing as examples the women's liberation movement, hippies and all kinds of "encounter" groups, "human potential" movements, sensitivity training centers, etc. Describing the prevailing feelings of loneliness in millions of people, the author proposes as an antidote involvement with one another in families, in schools and in community involvement centers. Strangely, he omits, the existence of religious and ethnic groups. They provide lots of opportunities for involvement on the primary relations level and on the level of community life, and they constitute the foundation for the personal and group identity of millions of immigrants and their descendants.

Out of the search for an answer to the questions "Who am I?," "Where do I come from?," rose the new awareness of roots and distinctive heritage by many members of various ethnic groups. This awakening of ethnic consciousness appeared in various forms. The experience of the immigrants from various countries became a theme for literary works. To name a few: "Journey to Ararat" by Michael J. Arlen (Armenian), "Blood by Blood" by Richard Gambino (Italian), "World of Our Fathers" by Irving Howe (Jew) and, the most famous, "Roots"



by Alex Haley (Black), popularized through a TV adaptation. Genealogical studies of the history of one's own family became the widespread hobby of millions of Americans.

The title of a book by Michael Novak, "The Rise of Unmeltable Ethnics," reflects the spirit of that time. "Cultural pluralism" and "pluralistic society" became more and more accepted as an ideology for American life. In the education field, new programs for "multicultural," "multiethnic" education, for bilingual instruction were proposed. A number of schools became bilingual: in the United States — English and Spanish; in Canada — English and French, or English and Ukrainian (in Edmonton).

Despite recent criticisms of bilingual programs and some retreat from the official support of them, the doctrine of cultural pluralism continues to be accepted. Public officials, the press, educators and religious leaders repeatedly state that the cultural heritage of an ethnic group is an asset to American society, that "diversity makes the nation strong," that every group has the right voluntarily to retain its separate identity.

One can understand why and how various ethnic groups survived in the past decades despite the pressure to "melt in one pot." As explained earlier, their survival was the result of the immigrants' efforts to adjust to a new environment and of their need to preserve their own identity, to find security in belonging to a like group.

One can also understand the immigrant parents' wish and efforts to transmit their cultural heritage to their offspring. Their efforts can be seen as the manifestation of their need for cultural self-preservation or group survival. They may have hope that the transmitted cultural heritage would prevent the estrangement of their children and help to preserve the same home atmosphere, the same family traditions, binding all family members in a close, cohesive unit, making all feel comfortable and unique.

Furthermore, the parents who came to this country for political reasons (because of foreign occupation of their lands and political persecution) felt a moral obligation to help their countrymen in their struggle for freedom. They felt obligated to raise their children in the same patriotic spirit and to see to it

that they would continue the parents' "mission." For example, the Ukrainian press continuously publishes articles and letters exhorting parents not to forget their obligation toward their old country and their obligation to transmit the same commitment to their children.

These are the needs of Ukrainian immigrant parents which motivate them not to spare any effort to foster ethnic education: to teach their children the ethnic language; to organize special schools, youth associations, summer camps; to spend literally all their weekends in transporting them (from schools, to youth meetings, to choirs, to dance groups, visiting them in faraway camps, etc.).

The parents have the right to determine what kind of education their children should receive; they decide whether to give them religious education, send them to music or ballet classes, support sports activities, push them toward college or to certain careers. Thus, the parents also have the right to bring up their children in an ethnic tradition, in loyalty to their cultural heritage, and in a spirit of commitment to the cause of the old country. Thus, the parents believe that they are doing something good and positive for their children.

Is their belief justified?

Is ethnic education of any value and importance to the young people educated in American schools, under the daily impact of American culture, who prepare themselves to be loyal, productive members of the American nation? How does this dual cultural influence, ethnic and American, affect the young people's psychological development, i.e., their cognitive development, their sense of identity and self-concept, their social adjustment, their future?

These are very important questions, particularly now, when we are witnessing an awakening of interest in the preservation of ethnic cultural heritage. Not only parents, but also children, have certain rights and needs which should be met.

There are different views on this subject. Despite the fact that the preservation of ethnic heritage became a recognized goal of official public policy, there are people who think that the preservation of ethnic heritage and the upbringing of children in loyalty to ethnic groups would engender an inner conflict in

them; burden them with feelings of insecurity, uncertainty and inferiority; make them marginal to the society at large; or would have a detrimental effect on their school performance. One hears also the opinion that the revival of ethnicity would weaken the American nation, creating disunity.

This paper tries to answer these questions, arguing that ethnic education, i.e., a deliberate effort to transmit the ethnic cultural heritage to youths, brings a personal cultural enrichment to the individuals as well as fosters their mental health and social adjustment. Finally, multiethnic education enriches the cultural life of the society at large.

### **American values and education**

What kind of education do youths receive in American public and private schools? Schools in America, as everywhere, reflect the culture of which they are a part. They transmit the dominant values of the society to the younger generation.

Youths learn not only in school but through the mass communications media (books, radio, TV) and through their experiences — particularly listening to the conversations of adults — what is most valued in a society.

There is general agreement that the American culture highly values achievement, often in the form of material gains, orientation on concrete and attainable goals, technical efficiency, practicality or pragmatism.

Sociologist Robin Williams wrote in his book "American Society."<sup>9</sup> All societies have standards of character and proficiency, and accord rewards to those best meeting whatever standards are most highly appraised, whether of military prowess, ritual knowledge, asceticism, piety, or what not. The comparatively striking feature of American culture is its tendency to identify standards of personal excellence with competitive occupational achievement..."

"Because of the preoccupation with business, the most conspicuous achievements have been those centered in business enterprise. We can say, with Laski and many others that the 'values of the businessman' dominate and permeate national life ... there is nothing practical, in the American meaning, in a dominant concern with purely aesthetic or intellectual interests, nor in veneration of the past; asceticism, philosophical

withdrawal, pessimistic quietism have never very long or very greatly stamped the American ethos." (pp. 391-403).

This value orientation of the American culture led to a neglect of the "impractical" humanities and to an overemphasis on vocational, often very narrowly defined, school programs. Publicly supported secular education "has not greatly tolerated learning for learning's sake, or 'education for gentlemen'; historical erudition, Greek, Latin and classic humanistic learning have fared poorly in comparison with vocational and scientific training from physics and chemistry to typing, cooking or beekeeping. Modern American education is permeated with a very strong utilitarian and pragmatic emphasis." (Williams, p. 291).

### **Criticism of "vocationalism"**

The critics of American education — and there are many — have often pointed to the one-sidedness they find in "the tendency of the schools to place emphasis upon a youngster adopting rather mechanically constructed roles for himself, as opposed to his developing a personal Weltanschauung, a world view or total ideology, for the conduct of his life." (Broudy, Smith, Burnett, 1964, p. 17).<sup>10</sup>

The authors admit that the concern for preparing youths to meet narrow and specific role expectations probably cannot be avoided in the modern era, but it need not be the dominant emphasis in curriculum planning.

"As long as the ideals of citizenship and self-cultivation are valid for American public education, any curriculum which limits the student's role conceptions merely to the character of job or educational openings at a given time is a fraud with respect to those ideals" (p. 18), they note.

Further on they observe: "Needless to say, the prevailing style of community life, which more often than not fails to appreciate excellence in music, art, literature and drama, does not bode well for even sincere attempts to give proper weight to studies designated for improving the qualitative dimension of a person's character and career." (p. 19). It was not always so, however.

During the colonial period and after the Revolution, the elite of the new land followed the European countries in their cultural interests, education, tastes and manner. The cult of antiquity and the imitation of the classicist style were the dominant trends.

When North Carolina commissioned a statue of George Washington from A. Canova, explicit instructions were given that the style should be "Roman." Washington was dressed like a Roman general, sitting in a curule chair, his sword under his feet and reading from stone tablets of the law. (The statue was destroyed by fire in 1831). There were other similar examples of imitation of classical art.

"In general...the Americans combed 2,000 years of history for example and precept. Writers appealed to virtually every classical author likely to be relevant, to principles of political philosophy they found in Greek and Roman historians and orators, to the Roman concept of natural law, to virtuous Roman republicans...and to the Roman concept of liberty." (Jones, 1952, p. 255).<sup>11</sup>

By the 18th century, English American was feeling the influence of the philosophy of the Enlightenment developed in Europe with its belief in reason as capable of creating a harmonious, well-ordered world and a better life. Historians report a considerable increase in reading, with reliance mostly on books from Britain. The imports included theological works, books of sermons, classical history, biographies, poetry, books on law and science. Some gentlemen accumulated large libraries.

The speeches, letters, pamphlets and state papers of "this epoch are an impressive memorial to a group well read in Greek, Roman and English history, attentive to a church history from the Old Testament to Protestantism and conditioned in political philosophy by the writings of such men as Locke and Montesquieu." (Caughey and May, 1964).<sup>12</sup>

An analysis of 50 leaders on both sides of the Revolution shows that only 17 had no higher education and that most of them were products of colonial colleges with their liberal education curricula. A liberal education was considered highly beneficial to society. Students were trained in the debates, in the art of building an argument, in the pursuit of logic, in using

proper quotations, of using examples from past history, particularly from the Roman Empire or Greece. "John Adams wrote to the public as if he had a toga. In him is the tradition of Roman gravity." (Jones, 1964, p. 259).

Nearly half the signatories of the Declaration of Independence were lawyers. As R.A. Ferguson points out in a recently published book, the lawyers of that time represented a unique blend of classical learning, literary skill and practical expertise. The American literary aspirations from the Revolution until around 1840 were dominated by "a now-forgotten configuration of law and letters" (Ferguson, 1984).<sup>13</sup>

The recently published letters of Thomas Jefferson reveal well his literary side. In one letter he provided for a friend a list of books that should be in a "gentleman's library" and be read, among them books on law, politics, ancient and modern history, religion and works by Voltaire, Rousseau, Moliere, Shakespeare, Dryden and others. He believed that books on fiction could teach better ethical behavior than volumes of theology or ethics. Jefferson suggested that a well-read person should learn to appreciate "the entertainment of fiction." (Peterson, 1984)<sup>14</sup>

The material achievements of industrial capitalism in the late century as well as the mass immigration of poor people in search of a better material life, of American riches, were probably the main causes of a shift in the value system of American society. Business and industry acquired influence and prestige; American society adopted business-industrial values and practices.

The success of industrial and financial leaders such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, Edward H. Harriman, Henry Ford and others were generally admired. Millions of Americans in their young formative years learned not only that success was the result of honesty and hard work, but also the success was material success.

The acceptance of business philosophy was so general that it has to be considered one of the basic characteristics of American society in this period. Calvin Coolidge was not overstating the case when he said in 1925: "the business of America is business." (Callahan 1972).<sup>15</sup>

It was inevitable that these business values influenced the American educational system. More and more emphasis began to be placed upon a practical and immediately useful education. This utilitarian philosophy pervaded the entire school system from elementary school through the universities.

"The ruling passion was not to know and to understand, but to go ahead, to overturn something, to apply in ways that brings material advantage some bits of information or some acquired skill. Both schools and colleges have, in large part, taken off the true business of education, which is to prepare youth to live, and have fixed them on something which is very subordinate, namely how to prepare youth to make a living." (Foerster, 1937, p. 68).<sup>16</sup>

For Ford, "history was a "bunk." With technological advances the magic of the humanities had been substituted by high-tech magic, or "how-to" magic. Learning for life was confused with learning for livelihood alone.

Callahan reports in his above-mentioned book that in 1960 one parent complained that "filthy books" such as George Orwell's "1984" and Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" were required reading in school. The school administrator said he never read or heard about the books. After reading them he decided to bar them from the Miami high school curriculum. The U.S. commissioner of education questioned about the affair said: "I've never heard of these books, and I don't think it would be prudent of me to discuss them." (Callahan, 1972, p. 254).

This example illustrates the anti-humanistic orientation of the school curricula.

As mentioned earlier, this development has been criticized all along at different times. Most recently, however, individual critical voices were reinforced by support from officials of government agencies and college presidents. In 1983-84, three independently prepared reports about the state of secondary and college education in the United States were published with a series of recommendations for change. These changes have to be implemented in various schools.

In April 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education issued an "Open Letter to the American People"

titled "A Nation at Risk."<sup>17</sup> The letter called attention to the commission's conclusion that "the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by the rising tide of mediocrity" in American elementary and high school schools that "threatens our very future as a nation and a people."

According to the report, in the long run, "America will lose in the competition with determined, well-educated and strongly motivated nations (such as Japan) not only in the fields of technology and commerce, but also in the field of ideas. Concern was expressed about "the intellectual, moral and spiritual strength of our people."

This conclusion is documented in the report through a comparison of the achievement levels of students of various nations. For example, on 19 academic tests American students were never first or second, and, in comparison with other industrialized nations, were last seven times.

The reasons for this failure lie not only in the fact that Americans students spend less time on school work, or that they spend it ineffectively, but also in the onesidedness of school programs.

"In many schools the time spent learning how to cook and drive counts as much toward a high school diploma as the time spent studying mathematics, English, chemistry, U.S. history or biology," said the commission.

It added: "Twenty-five percent of the credits earned by 'general track' high school students are in physical and health education, work experience outside the school, remedial English and mathematics, and personal service and development courses, such as training for adulthood and marriage." In 13 states students have the freedom to choose the units required for his school graduation, thus, many of them "opt for less demanding personal service courses, such as bachelor living."

The members of the commission were concerned that an overemphasis on technical and occupational skills leaves little time for studying the arts and humanities that so enrich daily life, help maintain civility and develop a sense of community. In their opinion "knowledge of the humanities...must be harnessed to science and technology if the latter are to remain creative and humane, just as the humanities need to be



informed by science and technology if they are to remain relevant to the human condition."

The commission formulated a series of recommendations about minimum requirements for a high school diploma: besides the basic five (English, math, science, social studies and a half-year of computer science), a foreign language which "preferably should start in elementary grades in order to achieve proficiency."

"It is desirable that students achieve such proficiency because study of a foreign language introduces students to non-English-speaking cultures, heightens awareness and comprehension of one's native tongue and serves the nation's need in commerce, diplomacy, defense and education," said the commission.

"The high school curriculum should also provide students with programs requiring rigorous effort in subjects that advance a student's personal, educational and occupational goals, such as the fine and performing arts, and vocational education." These areas complement the new basics, and they should demand the same level of performance as the basics.

"A high level of shared education in these basics, together with work in the fine and performing arts, and foreign languages, constitutes the mind and spirit of our culture," the commission concluded.

In October 1984, the National Institute of Education, the research arm of the Department of Education, issued a study about the quality of instruction in 3,000 American colleges and universities. The study was prepared by a team of seven prominent education researchers headed by Kenneth P. Mortimer of Pennsylvania State University.

After citing "warning signals," such as the decline of achievement scores, the high number of dropouts from college before earning the bachelor's degree, and the decline of enrollments (one out of eight highly able high school seniors does not choose to attend college), the study group sharply criticized the recent emphasis on vocational education.

"Liberal education seems to have fallen out of favor" with the belief that highly specialized education will lead to a specific goal. The study states that "the best preparation is not narrow

training for a specific job, but rather an education that will enable students to adapt to a changing world."

The result of this vocationally oriented, highly specialized education at the college level is that a great number of graduates of American colleges and universities are not highly educated people, but very skilled technicians lacking both knowledge and interest in anything beyond their job.

In December 1984, another major report about the quality of undergraduate education in American colleges and universities was issued by a 31-member panel convened by National Endowment for Humanities. The report titled "To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education"<sup>17</sup> also points out that "most of our college graduates remain short-changed in the humanities — history, literature, philosophy and ideals and practice of the past that have shaped the society they enter."

American colleges and universities are failing to give students "an adequate education in the culture and civilization of which they are members because they caved into vocational and other pressures from the students."

The result is, according to the report, that students can obtain bachelors' degrees from 75 percent of all American colleges and universities without having studied European history. Millions of college graduates are "lacking even the most rudimentary knowledge about the foundations of their nation and their civilization." The students are deprived of any sense of a "common culture rooted in civilization's lasting vision, its highest shared ideals and aspirations, and its heritage."

The report recommends that the humanities — history of civilization, reading master works of American and European literature, history of philosophy, foreign languages — should be restored as the centerpiece of a full four-year curriculum. The humanities are not an educational luxury.

All these reports criticizing the present vocational-practical orientation of education in American schools call for a return to a legacy of the humanistic core of education which once existed in America.

## **Ethnic education as part of humanities**

This critical review of American education on the elementary, secondary and college levels, particularly its emphasis on practical, narrowly defined vocational instructions with the neglect of the humanities and arts, lets us better appreciate the value of ethnic education.

To many, ethnic education does not seem to have any practical value. It falls in the scope of the humanities, since it consists mostly of learning history, ethnic language, literature, art. Thus, ethnic education appears to be a very important humanistic supplement to the education received in the American public schools and, as such, contributes to the idea of what constitutes "an educated person."

According to a report issued by the National Endowment for Humanities, "students graduating from college should have encountered a core of common studies embracing such elements as a careful reading of several masterpieces of English, American and European literature, proficiency in a foreign language, familiarity with at least one non-Western culture or civilization."

A report on "Integrity in the College Curriculum," recently published by the Association of American Colleges, after three years' study and critical analysis of the present college curriculum, proposes "a minimum required curriculum" designed to cover the "intellectual, aesthetic and philosophical experiences" necessary to an educated person. The report lists nine "experiences," among them: historical consciousness, values, art, international and multicultural experience. etc.

Ethnic education provides the best opportunity for youths to study some of the elements of this core of "common studies" or "experiences," via teaching of an ethnic language at home, or in Saturday/Sunday schools and through participation in the life of an ethnic group.

## **Ethnic history**

Margaret Mead, a renowned cultural anthropologist, repeatedly stated how important it is that children be raised

with a sense of their own personal history. When each individual in a society knows who he is and where he fits on the long and rich continuum of his family history, he becomes protective of that family and the tradition it so highly values.

The honor, traditions of the family and awareness of past achievements creates a sense of responsibility for the future. The youth, secure of his own identity and of his place in a chain of generations, is, according to Dr. Mead, less prone to violence against the greater social family. In short, he belongs and he wants to keep belonging.

The history of the family is tied to the history of the nation of which the family is a member, or to the history of the ethnic group. The knowledge of one's roots creates historical consciousness, i.e., awareness of one's relationship across generations and time to the larger group. This helps develop an inner sense of continuity.

This inner sense of historical continuity is engendered not only by systematic teaching and learning of political history but also through customs and traditions transmitted from generation to generation.

Ukrainian folk songs, ancient carols, pysanky with rich pre-historic symbolism, etc., bind the present generations to their ancestors and permit them to live the special experience of the historical continuity of their culture. Antiques, be they furniture, vases, rugs, utensils, are highly prized, not because of their present usefulness, but because of their antiquity. The awareness of their age evokes special associations and emotions, and makes us handle them with special care. The same is valid for ethnic traditions and ethnic folk cultures. A person having the opportunity for such aesthetic and historical experiences has a richer and more interesting life.

"A major function of history teaching is to give students a sense of their identity in the dimension of time." This is particularly important for "modern man, deracinated and transient, who lives in the present and for the future ... Students of history into whose consciousness the past has become incorporated have in this way achieved a more complex identity." (Pratt, 1974)<sup>18</sup>

**Radical Americanization**, in the sense of extinguishing any memory of historical roots, would lead to a rootlessness which afflicts modern man.

Youths learning the history of their country of origin acquire a better knowledge of the history of Europe, Asia, Africa from where their ancestors came. If, for example, a Ukrainian student learns well U.S. history in school, and the history of Ukraine, which is closely tied to the history of Eastern Europe, in an ethnic school, he will have not only wider knowledge but also a better understanding of the past and present realities in the world.

### **Ethnic language**

Ethnic education also includes the teaching of an ethnic language, which is done mostly in the early years in the family and is continued in special Saturday schools or bilingual schools. There is a considerable body of research about the effects of bilingualism on the cognitive and social-emotional development of children.

Bilingual education is quite widespread in the world. Most nations of Europe are multi-ethnic and, as a result, multilingual: the Catalans and Basques in Spain; the Bretons and Provençals in France; the Welsh and Scots in the United Kingdom; the Flemings and Walloons in Belgium; the Bavarians in Germany; the Romanish, German and French in Switzerland; the Slovenes, Croatians, Serbs, Albanians and Macedonians in Yugoslavia; and many nationalities in the Soviet Union. The Canadian province of Quebec has two official languages: French and English.

Via emigration to another country the use of an ethnic language is lost, unless a large group settles in one area. If the immigrants are dispersed, the ethnic language ceases to be used in daily life. This constitutes a main concern of parents, educators and community leaders. They are alarmed by the failure of the second and third generations to learn the ethnic language. They demand, for example in Canada, publicly supported bilingual schools. The ethnic groups try to teach the ethnic language to the second and third generations, mostly on

a supplementary basis, i.e., in the evening or on Saturdays and Sundays.

Research conducted mainly in Canada shows that language retention — even in rudimentary form, i.e., as the ability to read and understand — promotes ethnic group cohesion. About 40 years ago Edward Sapir<sup>19</sup> proposed a theory that ethnic language retention creates a powerful social force binding the group members together into a cohesive ethnic community. Thus, language is not only a vehicle for the expression of the thoughts, perceptions, sentiments and values of the group but also represents “a fundamental expression of collective social identity.”

The history of Ukraine illustrates well the importance of language in the process of nation-building. The elevation of folk language (the dialect of the Póltava region) to the level of a literary, “national” language that unified all classes of Ukrainian society constituted the beginning of the cultural and, later, political rebirth of the Ukrainian nation. Aware of the role of language in this process, the Russian government tried to suppress it, by forbidding the publication of books in Ukrainian, viewing the Ukrainian language as a dialect of the Russian.

The Soviet government, although officially recognizing the Ukrainian language, tries to reduce its use in publications and in administrative agencies, and to discourage its daily use by intimidation and veiled threats to those who promote its official use. The defense of the Ukrainian language continues to be one of the forms of struggle of Ukrainians for their national survival.

The common language also binds people of the same origin dispersed through different countries. The Ukrainian American visiting his relatives in Ukraine, or meeting other Ukrainians living in Ukraine, in France, Germany or any other non-English-speaking country would hardly be able to communicate with them without knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Even if these people knew enough English to establish some conversation, the feeling of closeness, of solidarity, of a kind of innate brotherhood would be missing in such encounters. The Ukrainian Basilian monks in Brazil exhort the third and fourth generations of Ukrainian immi-

grants to learn the Ukrainian language by pointing out to them the need to communicate with Ukrainians in the United States or Canada who often sponsor their studies and would like to correspond with them.

Sapir's theory on the role of language in ethnic group cohesion was tested by Jeffrey G. Reitz<sup>20</sup> of the University of Toronto using data from a cross-sectional survey of Italians, Germans, Ukrainians and Poles in five Canadian metropolitan areas.

"The findings of the study provide striking confirmation for Sapir's theory that language knowledge in itself can be a powerful force for ethnic group solidarity. Whatever the intentions of parents, children raised in an environment conducive to language retention are far more likely to remain within the ethnic fold than those who are not."

Furthermore, "having no knowledge of ethnic language, the effect of parental attitudes in encouraging ethnic solidarity is virtually nil. However, when the parents are in favor of maintaining ethnic ties, of participation in ethnic community life and give them opportunity to learn ethnic language, the effect of the parental attitude is strong."

Also interesting was the finding that, even if parental attitude is negative in regard to maintaining ethnic ties, but children learn the language to some degree, language retention has an effect on their future participation in ethnic group life.

This research proves that language retention is the cornerstone of the ethnic community. Failure to learn the ethnic language leads to failure to participate in the ethnic community.

It is most likely that the ethnic language ceased to be used spontaneously in daily intercourse in the second or third immigrants' generations, unless the ethnic group resides in one quite isolated area. Not one ethnic group living in dispersion in America was able to preserve its ethnic language as the means of daily communication.

However, many of them preserve certain knowledge of the language, which permits them to understand it and to communicate when the need arises. This apparently is enough to bind the members of the ethnic group into one community

and distinguishes them from other groups. Such knowledge serves as a symbol of ethnic solidarity.

### **Bilingualism and intellectual development**

Since bilingualism is such a universal phenomenon it has attracted the attention of many educators, linguists, psychologists, school administrators and government officials. The question most asked was whether childhood bilingualism affects the intellectual functioning of the children. J. Vernon Jensen gives a comprehensive survey of the literature — 220 references — on the subject.<sup>21</sup>

Most of the research conducted in the 1920s and 1930s concluded that bilingualism has a detrimental effect on intelligence as measured in tests. However, this research had many methodological flaws. Such factors as the social class background of the children, educational opportunities, degree of bilingualism, amount of exposure to both languages, attitude of parents and teachers, and the prestige of the language were not taken into consideration.

Most recent research using a variety of intelligence tests, both verbal and non-verbal, found that bilinguals score lower on standard verbal tests, but there is no difference between monolinguals and bilinguals on non-verbal tests (McLaughlin, 1978,<sup>22</sup> Peal Lambert 1962)<sup>23</sup>

Another area of research which produced contradictory results is that of the impact of bilingualism on the educational progress of children. Is it good for a child to have been exposed to two languages or is such an experience detrimental to educational achievement? There is considerable disagreement in the literature. A number of studies show that a child's interest and aptitude in language learning are negatively affected by bilingualism. There is also research indicating that, on the contrary, bilingualism offers an educational advantage to the children. "The bilingual child has a sense of prestige and accomplishment that the monolingual child lacks. Knowledge of an additional language stimulates educational efforts in general." (McLaughlin, 1978).

Some authors point out that at a certain stage of learning the second language a bilingual may suffer from a "language



handicap." It is interesting to note that despite, or maybe because of this handicap the bilinguals have done consistently better in school work than monolinguals, though their IQs did not differ significantly. Particularly on the college level, the bilinguals are superior academically to monolingual counterparts. Perhaps they are higher achievers because they are driven by the need to compensate the felt language handicap.

This area of research faces the same difficulty, namely, the lack of adequate control groups. Most early studies failed to take into account some important factors such as social and educational background, acculturation difficulties, the attitudes of children, etc. These are significant methodological flaws.

In recent years many researchers have begun to examine the effects of bilingualism on an individual's cognitive functioning. Some of them assumed that learning two languages from childhood has a favorable effect on the thinking process. It "frees and mind from the tyranny of words." Learning that the same things are referred to by different words, the child develops an attitude of detachment from the words and pays attention to the essential, to content. It is more difficult for a monolingual child to dissociate thought from word.

To test this aspect of the influence of bilingualism Peal and Lambert conducted their own research-comparison between two groups, monolingual and bilingual children matched by socio-economic class, sex and age. They were selected from the same school system in Montreal. Several measures of the degree of bilingualism and attitudes toward English Canadians and French Canadians both on the part of children and parents were taken into account. They did not limit themselves to the question of how unfavorable are the effects of bilingualism on intelligence, but wanted to research the basic nature of these effects.

It was assumed that the structure of intelligence, which develops gradually through a series of learning experiences, may be different in the two groups since the development process of monolinguals and bilinguals is different in respect to language. Thus, differences in learning experience may produce different effects on the development of specific abilities as a part of intelligence.

For this reason, the investigators used a wide variety of measures of different types of intelligence. For example, they distinguished two categories on a verbal test: one required spatial-perceptual coordination and another, symbolic reorganization (as in a picture arrangement test of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale, which calls for making a story out of a series of pictures). What were the results?

The investigators concluded that the bilinguals have a general intellectual advantage. The bilinguals appear to have a more diversified set of mental abilities, for example, are more facile at concept formation and abstract thinking, and have greater mental flexibility. The bilinguals did not perform better on spatial-perceptual type of test. However, they did better on non-verbal tests in involving concept formation or symbolic flexibility. The ability to think in terms of abstract concepts and relations, and independence from the actual word, is apparently required in the symbolic reorganization test.

People who learn to use two languages have two symbols for every object. "From the early age, bilinguals may be forced to conceptualize environmental events in terms of their general properties without relying on the linguistic symbols."

On the contrary, monolinguals may never have been forced to form concepts or abstract ideas of things; they may be more likely to think mainly in terms of the concrete.

A second hypothesis suggested by authors is that bilinguals may have developed more "flexibility in thinking," at being trained to switch from one language to another.

In the study reported here the bilinguals as a group were significantly better in school grades than the monolinguals. Bilingualism apparently gives them an advantage in those skills which depend on verbal fluency.

John F. Jacobs and Marriela L. Pierce (1966)<sup>24</sup> summarized the results of their study with 51 children, of which 20 were monolingual American, 16 were Greek American, 17 were Spanish American and 18 were Czech American. The bilinguals scored considerably higher on the non-verbal "Uses" test of creativity and slightly lower on the verbal "Word-meaning" test. The combined score showed the bilinguals scoring considerably higher on creativity measures.

Sandra Ben-Zeev<sup>25</sup> in her study with Hebrew English bilingual children in New York and Israel showed that bilinguals have “greater skill at auditory reorganization” of verbal material, much more “flexible manipulation of the linguistic code,” better performance on tests of “concrete operational thinking and are better able to analyze language as an abstract system.” Other studies indicate that bilinguals are advanced in their ability to separate word meaning from word sound, which reflects insight and sophistication and is an important step in cognitive development.

As Lambert<sup>26</sup> summaries: “Since the time the carefully conducted studies in Singapore, Switzerland, South Africa, Israel and New York, western Canada, using different methods, all indicate that bilingual children show definite advantages on measures of ‘cognitive flexibility,’ ‘creativity’ or ‘divergent thought.’”

Some researchers consider divergent thinking an index of creativity, others see it as a distinctive cognitive style indicating rich imagination and the ability to go rapidly over a number of possible solutions.

### **Some non-academic outcomes of bilingualism**

Christina Pratt Paulston (Rotberg, 1981)<sup>27</sup> concluded in her survey of several American studies that “all of the researchers reported that bilingually taught children showed self-concepts as positive as — and more often, more positive — than monolingually instructed students.”

American Indian students of a bilingual-bicultural school in Chicago had considerably lower dropout rates than Indian students in public schools. Also, Joshua Fishman found positive results in school attendance, attitudes and self-concept for students in bilingual programs in several studies conducted in the United States and Canada.

However, there are studies which do not find differences in attitudes, self-concept or motivation. According to Rotberg one cannot make definite conclusions. Most of the research, be it on cognitive or on non-academic effects of bilingual education, have the same flaw: sometimes it is a bias of research

design, at other times that are inadvertant omissions of various important variables.

In general, the area of study on the effect of bilingual-bicultural education is very complex and difficult to investigate. A large number of variables has to be taken into consideration; in addition to the aforementioned, status of the language of a minority group, the attitudes of the core society are important.

There is another social advantage associated with bilingualism as it is explained by W. E. Lambert in his theoretical discussion of the "Social Psychology of Bilingualism" (1965<sup>28</sup>). In his research he found that "rigid and stereotyped thinking about in-groups and out-groups, or about own groups in contrast to foreigners, starts during the pre-school years."

The more contrasts are stressed and differences are highlighted, the more deep-seated the stereotyping process. "The child brought up bilingually and biculturally would be less likely to have good versus bad contrasts impressed on him when he starts wondering about himself, his own groups and others. ... The bilingual child...may well start life with an enormous advantage of having a more open, receptive mind about himself and other people."

In our opinion, however, these conclusions may be valid only for children who consider both languages and cultures as their own and respect them equally, as is the situation in the United States or Canada where the children may be raised in equal respect for their ethnic language and English.

Bilingualism, however, does not necessarily mean biculturalism. The children of the Baltic nations (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia), Ukraine and the Moslem nations in the USSR have to learn Russian besides their mother tongue. Russian is a language imposed by the enemy and occupant of their lands. It can hardly be expected that these children would consider the Russian culture as their own and see themselves as bicultural. The Flemish in Belgium also do not consider the French language and culture as their own despite the fact that they learn it early in life because their country is bilingual.

If such a situation exists, we doubt whether bilingualism has such positive effects as described by Lambert. His conclusions,

however, may be valid for the children of the ethnic groups in the United States and Canada.

Each culture has different set of values, i.e., preferences and conceptions of the desirable mode of behavior. They provide standards that guide human behavior. Growing under the influence of two cultures, the child is exposed to two different sets of values which may be contradictory. Theoretically, it may look as if the child is burdened with an inner conflict. In reality, the human being — child and adult — has a marvelous capacity to solve these and other contradictions of which life is full. For example, the contradictions between adolescent strivings for independence and the need to depend (on his peers), or the human need to be liked and to dominate may exist in the same person.

Thus, the striving for achievement and success of the young Ukrainian American may be tempered by his aesthetic interests, or by concern for interpersonal relationships (with family and friends), by emotional spontaneity and the tendency to live fully in the present — which is characteristic of the value system of Ukrainian society. He may combine the best of both worlds.

### **Language and culture**

Language is an essential part of the culture of groups. "The essential aroma of each culture or subculture may be caught as a fragrance or language" (Kluckhohn, 1949).<sup>29</sup> Some writers tried — even in a highly speculative way — to describe the characteristics of some nations on the basis of the phonetics, morphology and semantics of their languages (de Madariaga, 1952, 1969).<sup>30</sup>

Every language is also a special way of looking at the world and interpreting experiences. "Concealed on the structure of each language is a whole set of unconscious assumptions about the world and life in it" (Kluckhohn, 1964).<sup>31</sup> Whoever wants to learn more about French, German or other civilizations begins by learning their language.

Although translations are useful for a superficial acquaintance with a culture of any nation, they do not transmit a host of associations and assumptions, often unconscious; feeling

evoked by words; structure and style of the original language. These assumptions reflect a particular "Weltanschauung," a perception of the world, attitude toward life and events typical of the members of a given culture. The French say "traduire c'est trahir," meaning translation is betrayal.

To illustrate how difficult it is to translate certain words from one language to another and at the same time take into account all the assumptions and feelings associated with them, let's take such concepts as "adjustment" and "flexibility." For an American, a person with a "flexible mind" who is "well-adjusted" is a very mature person. For the Ukrainian a "well-adjusted person" who is flexible in his thinking evokes different kinds of assumptions, namely a person without integrity or principles, with a "flexible" spine, who does not protest against abuses of power, etc., but tries to adjust to the reality ("prystosovanets").

Thus, the same words reflect different kinds of personal and group experience. The ideas, reminiscences and feelings associated with some words of each language reflect to some degree a personal and collective past which would be difficult to render through translations. Therefore, the knowledge of a language is one of the reliable ways to understand the culture of a nation.

In the past, the European nobility and people of means hired foreign educators to teach them foreign languages or sent their children to reside for some time abroad. They were given the opportunity not only to increase their knowledge and understanding of other societies, and widen their intellectual horizons, but also to achieve a more balanced and sophisticated opinion about their own country. Learning a foreign language and culture was considered an enrichment of a person.

While in the past such bilingual and bicultural education was reserved for the elite and was quite costly, presently such education is available free to all, including the descendants of the poor, sometimes illiterate immigrants to the United States, Canada or other countries who care to preserve their cultural heritage. This heritage constitutes a basis for the development of richer personalities.

"Individuals who only know, participate in, and see the world from their unique cultural and ethnic perspectives are denied important parts of the human experience and are culturally and ethnically encapsulated" (Banks, 1981).<sup>32</sup> Such individuals are also unable to fully know and to see in full view their own culture and appreciate its uniqueness because of blinders and limited experience.

Research shows that religious and literary interests are nurtured through bilingualism. These children have more interest in geography and history than monolingual children and are more motivated to learn the subjects. They may become interested in travel and art because of their bilingualism, since they are more attuned to understand cultural differences and become more curious about them.

Thus, ethnic education with its emphasis on learning an ethnic language represents an important part of the humanities, which have been neglected in most American schools. This is not merely a speculative assumption by this author, but can be confirmed by the experiences of persons who have integrated both cultures. The *Ukrainian Weekly* (May 27 and June 3, 1984) published interviews with persons of non-Ukrainian descent who have become part of the Ukrainian community in the United States. One of them, Marie Telepneff, an artistic, very talented woman, said in the interview: "Ukrainian culture and the Orthodox Church provide order and fullness which I could easily relate to. I was moved by the warmth of the community. I share a deep bond with the Ukrainians."

Another example is that of a young man who described himself as "a typical American kid" from Seattle who had absolutely no conception of what Ukrainians were. After spending one summer at a retreat in a Ukrainian monastery he chose to become a Ukrainian Catholic priest. He learned the Ukrainian language, which he now teaches to Ukrainian children. The Rev. Leo Goldade said in an interview: "My Roman Catholic priest friends find our rite fascinating; they can't believe that I speak another language, and that I actually serve the parish in teaching the language. This added dimension enriched my life tremendously."

An 18-year-old student, after having finished high school participated in an "Experiment in International Living" and was sent to live with one family in Mexico for a few months. She wrote to her father (in Ukrainian): "Dad, I am feeling so rich because I am Ukrainian. Only now I became aware that I am Ukrainian, different from other Americans. The Ukrainians have such a fine culture, I make comparisons, I am talking with older people about it. Dad, I feel so elated, my heart is full of love for our people. Thank you and thank Mom for having brought me up so well. Thank you for piano lessons [which, by the way, she took at the Ukrainian Music Institute] and for everything, for everything. Only now I see what a big difference there is between the Ukrainians and other Americans. These American girls are rich and at the same time poor. Plast [a Ukrainian youth organization] should live and live long because it gave...me so much."

It may sound like an exalted opinion, nevertheless, the young girl's reaction appears sincere. If the upbringing of a child in an ethnic culture can produce such a love for her cultural heritage, produce such a peak experience — as the psychologists call it — i.e., a feeling of complete satisfaction, of richness and fulfillment, then it proves its worth. How often does a person have such moments in his life? The more experiences a person finds interesting and satisfying, the happier and more fulfilled his life will be.

Summarizing this paragraph one can say: if the parents, teachers, ethnic community and youth organization leaders succeed in helping children internalize two cultures, the ethnic one and that of the society-at-large, making them feel comfortable with both of them, they are creating the most favorable conditions for the development of a rich personality, with a more complex, historical identity, with more diversified talents and with wider horizons and interests; a person tolerant, with an open, flexible mind capable of more objective judgement. Such a person is closer to the "vision of what constitutes an educated person" as the NEH report suggests.

### **Advantages of foreign language study**

The United States, as the world's leading nation, has to deal more and more extensively with all nations of the world in the



political, diplomatic, economic and cultural spheres. We are moving toward greater and greater interdependence among the nations in various fields. Thus, the demand for people with knowledge of foreign languages and cultures will always be there and probably will be growing.

The child in America who learns as ethnic language, in addition to English, will have less difficulty in learning additional languages that may be required for a job. It is well-known that children learn languages easily, particularly in the early years of life. They acquire a skill for languages. The parents who give their child the opportunity to learn an ethnic language at home, in Saturday/Sunday schools or in summer camps, will equip them with an additional skill which may prove advantageous. Very often we encounter adults who regret not having learned their ethnic language or blame their parents for not insisting enough or for not giving them the opportunity to learn. Furthermore, giving this opportunity to learn other languages and cultures is a service to America. This country will be at a serious disadvantage if the American educational system does not overcome its parochialism and self-centeredness. All proposals for reform and improvement of American education include the recommendation to address this gap.

Responding to this growing demand in government and business for people who know foreign languages, the enrollment in foreign language programs has considerably increased in recent years (1980-83): 40.2 percent in Japanese, 26.7 percent in Russian, 15.9 percent in Chinese, 11.2 in Italian, 8.8 percent in French, etc. (see *The New York Times*, October 29, 1984). It is interesting to note that this increase in studying foreign languages goes beyond the immediate practical advantage of career advancement. There is also an increased interest in studying Latin and Greek. According to one school administrator, "Today there is more elementary school Latin being taught in the United States than at any time in this century." (*The New York Times*, October 29, 1984).

It was reported by *The Times* (December 9, 1984) that at a recently held panel six college presidents stated that the "liberal arts curriculum can be a formula for success in America, despite the trend in higher education toward job-oriented courses." The presidents labelled as a "myth" the idea that

liberal arts students have problems finding jobs. "More than 90 percent of their percent graduates had found work."

A study by the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. as well as survey conducted by the Association of American Colleges found that a liberal arts education enriches students not only intellectually but also monetarily and prepares them better for a variety of careers. The AT&T report showed that, since 1956, 46 percent of the humanities and social science majors were considered to have potential for middle management, compared to only 31 percent of the business majors and 26 percent of engineers. Apparently, liberal arts programs educate students in communications skills, particularly writing skills and reasoning, and give them a certain flexibility of mind — all very important at any job, including business. (The New York Times, January 1, 1985).

A bit of practical advice to parents interested in teaching children their ethnic language: simultaneous learning of two languages from infancy is an asset and has a positive effect on intellectual development when the following conditions are present: a consistent method of source and presentation of the two languages are observed, i.e. "one person-one language"; psychological barriers of negative conditions such as inferiority-superiority of her languages, national or religious animosity sometimes associated with language, are absent; language is learned through spontaneous involvement or play methods and not by formal methods (Arsenian, 1945<sup>33</sup>)

### **Ethnicity and mental health**

That the preservation of ethnic heritage and identity has a positive effect on the mental health of individuals is a rather recent discovery. Previously, the accepted view was that of Stonequist. In his study of marginality he described the individual in such a situation as "poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds: reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds." (Stonequist)<sup>34</sup>

The prevailing view was that public policy should promote the assimilation of immigrants as soon as possible. Pressure was felt to forget ethnic origin, even change names. This was

the ideology of the "melting pot" and of the rapid Americanization of immigrants. The persistence of ethnicity was undesirable.

In the 1950s and 60s came a discovery that the ethnic group did not "melt" away, that the "melting pot" was fiction and that, under the surface of external behavioral assimilation (acculturation), ethnic groups continued to exist and were making a deliberate effort to preserve their cultural heritage and a sense of distinct identity.

At that time, new insight developed into the relationships between minority group status and psychological adjustment. It was found that ethnicity, if fully accepted by the individual and does not encounter discrimination or contempt from the core society, has a positive effect on mental health.

Vita Sommers treated psychotherapeutically a few dozen patients suffering from identity crisis due to their bicultural background.<sup>35</sup> The common factor among the 30 men studied was that "they were born into a poor economic and socio-cultural class, they all suffered from severe childhood frustration, they all had a turbulent adolescence, they all straddled two cultures, and they all had parents whom they considered physically, emotionally and culturally inferior."

According to the author, these specific psychocultural experiences — particularly of being a low-class member of a low-status minority group: Mexican, Black, Japanese and Jewish — "had become basic formative aspects of their ego and had been deeply integrated into their personal and social identity."

"As they grew up, these people tried to deny their resemblance of their 'inferior' family images by adopting behavioral characteristics and values which frequently were in apparent opposition to those of their parental culture."

Their entire life became a defensive operation and preoccupation with status and prestige. They were proud to be American soldiers. Often they changed their names, refused to speak their parental language or rejected their religion. They suffered from variety of neurotic and psychosomatic disorders such as depression, asthma, ulcers, insomnia, marital discord, alcoholism, suicide, inability of sustained effort.

Sommers emphasizes, however, that cultural or ethnic conflict is not the sole cause or the basic determinant of identity disorders, but is only one of the aspects. The therapeutic goal was to free them from the crippling conflict, from self-hate, from blindness to reality, and to lead them to the acceptance of their origin, to gaining a sense of belonging with their own family and their ancestral parental heritage, as well as of belonging to the country and the culture of the country of their birth, i.e., the United States.

The studies of Ramirez<sup>36</sup> and Madsen<sup>37</sup> confirmed the findings of Sommers. Their conclusion was that bicultural identity becomes a cause of neurotic problems only when the individual tries to deny his origin and tries to forget it because he is ashamed or embarrassed. Such a rejection of his own heritage leads to a conflict with the most significant persons, with persons and members of the immediate family. This leads to depression, dissatisfaction, a feeling of guilt and self-hate.

These empirical findings corroborate what the prominent psychologist Kurt Lewin wrote approximately 40 years ago. Lewin<sup>38</sup> used the Jewish groups as a basis of his writings, which became the official doctrine of Jewish education in America. Lewin agreed that minority group members often suffer from insecurity, fear, inferiority and maladjustment. The reasons is that they, in large measure, accept the negative stereotype which the majority culture holds toward their group. Since belonging to the minority group causes some disadvantages for moving ahead or improving their status, some individuals attempt to move away from the group and move outward, into the majority culture. They are blocked, rejected by outgroup, they build up frustration and aggression which they turn against own group (since the majority group is too powerful).

In the opinion of Lewin, within any minority group there are opposite forces, some of them attract him and tie him to the group, some of them push him toward the outgroup, or society at large. Whether the individual remains in the group or leaves it depends on the balance on these forces. When the forces toward the outgroup predominant, the individual experiences self-hatred and hatred of his own group, because in his eyes the group prevents him from attaining his goals. This may lead to the "marginal position" of the individual. Lewin called such

individuals "eternal adolescents," who become confused and tense, unsure of their footing and their belonging. Typically, modern man belongs to a multiplicity of groups and plays many roles without difficulty. It is only when one is marginal in the sense of having no feeling of belonging to any group that the situation becomes intolerable.

"Every individual belongs to many overlapping groups: to his family, his friends, his professional or business group, and so on. He can be loyal to them without being thrown into a constant state of uncertainty. Not the belonging to many groups is the cause of difficulty, but an uncertainty of belongingness."

In order to prevent such psychological problems in minority members Lewin advised parents to instill in a child a firm sense of identification with the minority ingroup," and clear and positive feelings of belongingness." Then he will be secure and at peace with himself, and a well-adjusted individual in the groups of the outside culture.

Thus, a marginal man supposedly beset with anxieties and insecurities represents only a special case of the maladjustment of a minority member who denies and rejects his origin, i.e., his family, ethnic language, symbols, beliefs and values. Ethnicity plays a role in the socialization of ethnic group members. Ethnic past history, ethnic awareness and characteristics are part of the identity of individuals. When such individuals are denying their ethnic culture, they are rejecting an important part of their self. Not accepting oneself, or even hating oneself or part of oneself, is the main source of emotional and social adjustment problems.

It should be noted that the reason for such marginality lies partly also in the attitude of the core society toward the minority. "The higher the degree of acculturation, without acceptance by the dominant group, the greater the probability of inner maladjustment and marginal feelings. ... The reason for a marginal relation lies in the core society and its 'look me over but don't touch me invitation to the minority group child.'" (Fishman)<sup>39</sup>

Thus, when the core society becomes more accepting of ethnic diversity, as it is at the present time, the less opportunity exists for self-hate and marginality. The concept of marginality

is hardly discussed at the present time. This does not mean that we do not encounter now people with the symptoms of marginality. For example, persons brought up at the time when pressure toward rapid Americanization and contempt for ethnics were prevalent, often voice their objection to the use of an ethnic language and to the attempt to preserve it. Thus, the admonitions: "Speak English, you are in America," reveals the typical ambivalence of marginal persons: on the one hand, they feel they belong to the ethnic community, on the other hand, they resent this and would wish that everyone would become Americanized as soon as possible.

In 1976, a special conference was held in the White House with the main theme of mental health and ethnicity. Approximately 100 persons, psychiatrists, psychologists and educators, participated. In a series of lectures and discussions it was repeatedly stated that one of the most important conditions of good mental health is a stable sense of one's own identity and a healthy self-concept. The participants agreed that the awakened interest in ethnicity, in origin, assertion of one's own cultural heritage, is not a reflection of political and economic interests, but is a manifestation of the human need to find one's own identity at a time when "life becomes more and more fragmented, when the relationships among people become more superficial, changeable and transient, when more and more individuals feel alienated and lost"; hence, the search for one's own roots, for stable ground. (Giordano<sup>40</sup>, Levine<sup>41</sup>)

### **Ethnic community resources**

Another point that was stressed at the White House conference was the need of every individual for community support, particularly when he faces some crisis. There will never be enough psychiatrists, psychologists or social workers to help all people with their emotional problems.

Present emphasis is on the development of new forms of treatment using natural community resources: the family, ethnic group, neighborhood, religious organization and social group. Sometimes the assistance of the community priest, a sympathetic neighbor or a friend can help more in emotional stress situations than a professional who is a stranger to the

culture in which the individual lives. The members of the ethnic group, bound by various personal ties, represent community resources which are available and should be utilized.

Dr. Judith G. Rubkin and Dr. Elmer L. Struening,<sup>42</sup> two Columbia University epidemiologists who track the course of mental illness, found, on the basis of various studies, that when people do not live in social isolation this may hold down psychiatric stress and disorders by providing "social support generated by the ready accessibility of ethnically similar people."

Margaret E. Galey<sup>43</sup> quotes D. Mechanic who wrote that supportive relations from those of similar sociocultural background are more meaningful in terms of recovery than are those provided by a highly trained, professionally qualified person of a different sociocultural background.

Also, in Canada, R. Murphy<sup>44</sup> studied the rate of hospitalization and degree of pluralism and found that the greater the proportion of ethnic group in a given area, the less immigrants are at risk compared to the local norms. This would imply that ethnic ghettos are not such a bad thing after all, at least from the mental-health standpoint. The inherent social support mechanisms help immigrants in dealing with anxieties, preventing complete breakdown.

The ethnic group represents a substructure within the society at large that fulfills many functions the larger society can hardly put to service. It is a mistake to suppress ethnic communal ties, loyalties and values, as the assimilationists tried to do, because they are necessary for the mental health of individuals and for the stability of the social structure.

My experience in working for over 25 years with juvenile delinquents (youths from all counties of New Jersey) shows that we seldom have a delinquent youth of Jewish, Chinese or Ukrainian origin. The statistics about delinquency and crime show the same: Jews, Chinese and Japanese have the smallest number of delinquents and criminals.

Sociologists like Edwin Sutherland<sup>45</sup>, Donald Taft<sup>46</sup> explain this fact by pointing to the stability of families, the impact of ethnic traditions and the existence of a well-organized ethnic community which gives moral and psychological support in times of crisis. Taft specifically emphasized the importance of

the social control of an ethnic group, of strong primary ties, and of the awareness and pride of cultural traditions for the emotional and social adjustment of juveniles.

One would expect that immigrants uprooted from their countries should feel very isolated, frightened, lonely and alienated. However, this seldom happens. The ties that they establish here with their own countrymen help them to confront a new environment and not to feel lost. This happens even to the second and third generations of the immigrants. They are bound by a network of ethnic organizations.

The Ukrainian young people bound by the shared experience of Plast or other youth organizations, mainly in summer camps over a period of many years, have established an extensive net of personal friendships which extends over the entire country. Wherever a person goes, he will find somebody in town whom he knows, to whom he can relate. They constitute a kind of brotherhood which extends over various states of the United States, Canada and other countries where Ukrainian youth organizations exist.

The loneliness of older people is a special problem, particularly people of the first generation of immigrants who do not speak English, who did not establish any close ties outside their own group. For this reason, old age homes have been established with predominantly ethnic populations. Ukrainians have quite a few homes for the aged: in Edmonton, Toronto, Philadelphia and Detroit. The people residing there still feel a part of their community. Various community groups visit them periodically, send them newspapers and organize entertainment.

### **Fear of disunity**

In the previous chapters we discussed the effects of the preservation of ethnic identification on individuals. Now the question arises: what effect will the preservation of ethnic heritage and identity have on our country? Will it cause disunity and fragmentation of the American nation? Will it revive old animosities between various ethnic groups?

Ethnicity, as anything else (region, social class, party affiliation, residence), can be divisive, but it need not be so.



This depends on the attitude toward ethnicity which is inculcated in schools, propagated by the mass communications media and exemplified by official policy. The existence of various ethnic groups with different cultures offers a unique opportunity to practice in daily life the virtues of tolerance, openmindedness and respect for others. To the children brought up under a dual cultural influence, ethnic and American, it is natural and obvious that other people may have different holidays and customs, and speak different languages. They develop tolerance, civility and, often, an interest in learning more about other cultures. They develop cognitive flexibility and openmindedness, thus enriching themselves. Immigrants from neighboring countries which often were at war against each other, who learned early in life to hate their neighbor-enemies, once they arrived in the United States, quickly learn to co-exist peacefully, work at the same places and reside in the same neighborhood. At the beginning they simply tolerate each other; later they learn to cooperate and respect each other. The German, French, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians do not fight against each other on the streets of American cities. The political aim of ethnic revival is not ethnocentrism, not group struggle, but a differentiated national unity based on mutual respect.

Another question often raised is whether ethnic loyalty conflicts with loyalty to the United States. In a televised interview with Barry Goldwater during the Republican convention in 1984, the senator said he hopes that a time will come when there will be no more Polish Americans or Italian Americans, but that they will be simply Americans. Apparently, Mr. Goldwater did not take into account the reality of the survival of ethnic groups despite all past pressures to "meltaway." He can hardly expect that the Jews, the Chinese, the Blacks, the Hispanics will disappear in the foreseeable future. There is also a question about whether it would be beneficial to our society if the immigrants and their descendants forget their roots, traditions and culture, and became rootless members of the crowd. The expectation that immigrants from different parts of the world could identify with the early English settlers with their Christian-Protestant and Anglo-Saxon traditions is unrealistic.

It is often assumed that European nations are ethnically homogeneous. If we look back into history, we find that many of them were divided even in the 19th century into different political entities, kingdoms, and princedoms, which had their own cultures, languages and histories. Sometimes, they fought against each other.

For example, the Bavarians, the Prussians and the Rheinlanders have distinct cultural identities with different dialects. It was only a little more than 100 years ago that they were united in one German state. They were able to create one German nation while maintaining and cultivating their regional cultures, their own traditions and even literatures.

Ethnic identities in America do not conflict with political allegiance to the United States. They do not cause any separatist movements. Experience shows that the descendants of the immigrants, the so-called hyphenated Americans, while preserving their cultural heritages and identities are at the same time intensely patriotic Americans. They often spontaneously express their pride in being Americans.

Most of the immigrants to the United States came because of religious or political persecution, or because of poverty in their own lands. The stories they tell their children and grandchildren, the history that these children learn in the ethnic schools is the history of suffering, hunger, humiliation and continuous threats. America gave these immigrants freedom from persecution and offered them the opportunity to live free from hunger and poverty. How could they not be grateful and patriotic toward America? How could they not feel fortunate to live here and be proud of this country? One can speculate that it is precisely the knowledge of their own history which makes the members of the ethnic group so loyal and patriotic toward America. The adoption of a new, American identity does not need to be preceded by a shedding of the old culture.

On the contrary, allegiance to the primary ethnic culture "may become a source of strength for the new identity, leading the individual to new levels of awareness and dedication" (Kolm, 1980<sup>47</sup>). The author compares the situation of the immigrants to a change of marital status, "where persons entering into marriage do not have to denounce their

relationships to their families of origin but use them to strengthen their new family unit. In fact, the capacities of the partners for the new family are deeply rooted in the heritage they have received from their respective parental families."

### **Toward multicultural education**

Ethnic group cultures enrich the American culture. The Jewish group having a long tradition of book learning, a passion for education and intellectual pursuits sustained the cultural life and supplied scholars for colleges and universities at the time when intellectuals did not enjoy social prestige or economic advantages in American society. Many art collections, such as the Guggenheim in New York and Hirschhorn in Washington, were created and supported by persons following their own cultural traditions.

As the annual Westinghouse Science Talent Search reveals, in the early years the winners of the competition tended to be sons and daughters of Jewish refugees, now they are sons and daughters of immigrants from Asia" (New York Times March 4, 1986).

It is interesting to note that the Chinese and Japanese students who win top prizes most of the times preserve their ethnic heritage and often speak their ethnic language at home. They bring into the American culture not only their talents but also culturally determined values such as intellectual ambition and curiosity, hard work and selfdiscipline.

The contribution of persons born in Asia or of Asian parentage to the arts in America, particularly to the architecture and music is also noteworthy.

In other words, ethnic groups are a reservoir of talents, skills and values that, when integrated in American life, enrich all of us. The dominant American culture benefits from co-existence and interaction with the cultures of ethnic groups.

Each of them contributes, in larger or smaller proportion to the continuously changing American culture and society — very often only through the work of individuals. They can be talented, creative personalities or common people with healthy self-concepts, self-acceptance, open-mindedness and rich

cultural heritages. The Jewish ideologue of cultural pluralism, M. Steinberg wrote: "Quite obviously America will be benefitted if its Jews, who constitute one segment of its citizenry, respect themselves, if they are psychological adjusted rather than disaffected, if they are richer rather than poorer in insight" (in Karp, 1976).<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, rapid diffusion of technological knowledge, and improvements in communication and transportation possibilities in our contemporary world bring uniformity of behavior and lifestyle. Thus, the cultivation of cultural differentiation within a larger framework of society becomes a value in and of itself. Ethnic diversity satisfies the basic human needs of many individuals, serves as a source of creative stimulation and provides opportunities for developing more harmonious human relations, based not only on tolerance for differences but also on mutual respect.

These are precisely the goals of cultural pluralism, of "multicultural" "intercultural" or "multiethnic" education. In answer to the question "Can a person live happily, without stress and strain, in two cultures?," Steinberg proposed the classic argument of cultural pluralism: "We ought to preserve both the common government, language and culture which all groups share, and also the secondary diversities... Out of such husbandry of the spirit may well emerge a cultural life richer than any the human past has heretofore known."

The idea of "multicultural," "intercultural," "multiethnic" education is becoming more and more accepted by American society. Many education institutions, from kindergarten through college, for the last 20 years' have tried to implement it by adding an ethnic dimension to school programs. The Standards published by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education requires teacher-education institutions to implement components, courses and programs of multicultural education (Banks, 1982). No detrimental effects on national unity have been noticed.

According to the proposals of the Educational Policies Commission, the goals of intercultural education should be the promotion of national unity, while "encouraging the retention of diverse values, folk ways and institutions which are in accord

with democratic practice, satisfy the personal and social needs of various groups, and enrich American Life."

The result will be a culturally diversified but integrated society that not only recognizes existing cultural-ethnic differentiation along with other differentiations by class, religion and region, but also recognizes the need for unity, solidarity and loyalty toward the society-at-large.

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