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ABSTRACT. The following paper focuses on the Ukrainian immigrant community living in the Upstate region of South Carolina and the vast differences in immigrant experiences of former and more recent Ukrainian Immigrants. Ukrainians have been migrating to the US since the late 1800s, but unfortunately, there are few studies available on this ethnic group. To give readers a background on the topic, this paper first documents the history of Ukrainian immigration to the US by describing and comparing the four waves of Ukrainian migration to the United States. The following section introduces a questionnaire, created to collect data on the Ukrainian immigrants living in Upstate, South Carolina. This questionnaire was created based on recent studies, and several Ukrainian immigrants from within the community were individually interviewed. Topics of geographics, religion, language, and community involvement are covered in the questionnaire. The questionnaire results are used to explore the characteristics of 4th wave Ukrainians in the US. The results support the hypothesis that 4th wave Ukrainians differ significantly from the previous waves of Ukrainian immigrants, in characteristics including push and pull factors, religion, culture, and language.

Introduction

Migration has been around since the earliest traces of history, and people migrate for many reasons, such as economics, war, persecution, and desires for freedom (Wolowyna, 2018). The US has always been a popular destination for immigrants. In the early years of the nation and throughout the mid-19th century, most immigrants moving to the US were from western Europe (Martin, 2014). The late 1800s had an increase of migration from southern and eastern European, and among the immigrants from eastern Europe were Ukrainians (Martin, 2014). The first immigrants from Ukraine arrived in the US in the 1870s, and since then there has been a growing population of Ukrainians in the United States (Klokiw, 2020).

There is a limited number of studies conducted on immigrants of Ukrainian descent, which Oleh Wolowyna explains is due to the "turbulent modern history of Ukraine" (Wolowyna, 2018). During the 19th and 20th centuries, Ukraine was divided and ruled by different surrounding empires and nations, and it was not until 1991 that they gained independence (Wolowyna, 2018). Therefore, while the concept of Ukrainian identity has been around since early Ukrainian history, many Ukrainians may not have been aware of their ethnic identity because of the ever-changing borders and rulers. For this reason, the nationality of early Ukrainians was often documented as Rusyn, Ruthenian, Galician, etc. while ethnicity was not considered (Kulchytsky, 1987). This issue has caused incomplete statistics, making it difficult to estimate the number of Ukrainian immigrants. Another factor complicating Ukrainian studies is that the four waves of Ukrainian immigration are very different from one another; each has their own unique identity, mindset, and reasons for migration (Wolowyna, 2018). To conduct a complete study on Ukrainian immigration to the US, it is important to thoroughly examine each wave of immigrants separately.

The Four Waves of Immigration

The US is home to the 4th largest population of Ukrainians living outside of Ukraine after Russia, Canada, and Poland; there are currently over one million Ukrainians living in this country (Wolowyna, 2022). Ukrainian immigration to the US has consisted of four waves of mass migrations, starting over 100 years ago.

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration to the US began during the late 1800s, and this period lasted throughout the early 1900s (Klokiw, 2020). George Kulchytsky (1987) writes that most of these Ukrainians were illiterate peasants from regions of Lemko, Carpatho-Ruthenia, and Galicia. During this period, Ukraine's territory was divided between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, so when moving to the US, these Ukrainians were labeled as Russian, Austrian, Ruthenian, Rusyn, Galician, etc. (Kulchytsky, 1987). Most often, there was no mention of ethnicity, and because of this lack of a clear common identity, most Ukrainian immigrants assimilated into American culture quickly, making it difficult to keep track of the first wave of Ukrainians. Klokiw (2020) explains that the push factors of the first wave were largely economic. At the time, Ukraine was politically dependent on Russia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary. Under their rule, Ukrainians were oppressed, made into serfs, subjected to mandatory military service, and religiously persecuted (Klokiw, 2020). There was no potential for economic, political, or cultural development, and with the rumors of better opportunities in the US, including land, high wages, and freedom, many Ukrainians decided to move to the US (Klokiw, 2020). Most Ukrainians of the first wave settled in bigger cities of the northeastern US (Kuropas, 1993). While most estimate 350,000 Ukrainian immigrants from this wave, new data supports a number as high as 528,000 (Wolowyna, 2021). These Ukrainians never planned on staying in the US forever, and they hoped to make money and eventually return to Ukraine; but as most migrants moving for temporary work, they settled in their new homes and never returned to Ukraine (Kulchytsky, 1987).

The second wave of Ukrainian immigration to the US occurred during the interwar period, between the years of 1919 and 1939 (Klokiw, 2020). This wave differed from the first because Ukrainians were fleeing their land because of political and social persecution at the hands of Lenin and Stalin. Around the same time the Bolsheviks overthrew the Tsar of the Russia, Ukrainians were inspired to also seek independence from this very empire. While they were able to declare independence in 1918 and establish the Ukrainian People's Republic, this achievement was quite short-lived and after 4 years, Russia regained control of Ukraine, adding it to what was then the Soviet Union (Klokiw, 2020). Ukrainians involved in the fight for independence were persecuted and faced execution or deportation, so many chose to move to neighboring countries, while some were able to escape to the US. However, with the US's growing restrictions on immigration and the freedom limitations of the Soviets, only about 10,000-15,000 Ukrainians were able to move to the US (Klokiw, 2020). This wave of Ukrainians were aware of their Ukrainian heritage, most were literate, and many hoped that they could one day move back to an independent Ukraine (Kuropas, 1993). In the US, they formed close-knit communities, many of which were centered around churches, and kept their cultural traditions alive and taught their children the language.

The 3rd wave of Ukrainian migration occurred between 1945-1947 and was sparked by the Displaced Persons Act of 1984, aimed to help refugees of WWII (Klokiw, 2020). As many as 3 million Ukrainians were moved to Western Europe and forced to work in German labor camps during the war, and they were left with no home to return to – with Stalin having Ukraine under the control of the Soviet Union (Klokiw, 2020). When the US allowed these refugees entry into America, an estimated 80,000 Ukrainians took this opportunity to start a new life in the US, right before the borders closed to Soviet nations, restricting any more eastern European immigrants (Lopukh, 2014). Most of these Ukrainians were from western Ukraine, and unlike previous

Ukrainian immigrants, many had professional skills and were lawyers, engineers, and physicians (Kuropas, 1993). They followed settlement patterns of previous immigrants, and established their own Ukrainian stores, churches, and organizations. They also taught their children traditions and the language, keeping Ukrainian culture alive in the US.

Not many Ukrainians were able to migrate to the US during the 20th century because of restrictions from both the US and the Soviet Union. It was not until the passage of the Jackson-Vanik amendment in Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, allowing religious minorities passage to the US, that the most recent wave of Ukrainian migration was triggered (Wolowyna, 2018). This 4th wave is considered to have started in 1989, and is ongoing, even today. This wave differs from the previous in many ways; these are the first Ukrainians who moved out an officially independent Ukraine. They had no plans to return to Ukraine. After living through the final stages of the Soviet Union, they were happy to leave and felt the US held better opportunities and stability. While Ukraine was finally free, the first years were full of economic hardships, food shortages, and political instability (Klokiw, 2020). A key difference between this group compared to previous waves is their cultural identity, which was now laced with Soviet influences (Rovanchuk & Volodko, 2017). For example, most 4th wave Ukrainians speak Russian or a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian (Wolowyna, 2018). Many of these immigrants were able to enter the US with refugee status, as many were persecuted for their Christian beliefs during the Soviet era (Soskovets et. Al, 2016). This group continued the pattern of building communities around churches; however, they did not stay in areas traditionally settled in by previous Ukrainians (Wolowyna, 2018).

South Carolina is an example of a state with few Ukrainians before the influx of 4th wave Ukrainians. In 1980, there were about 1700 Ukrainians living in SC, and this number increased to 6700 in 2010. But in 2018, there were suddenly 11792 Ukrainians settled in SC (Wolowyna & Lopukh, 2022). In 1990, there were a documented 330 Ukrainians living specifically in the Upstate area, and this number rose to 2368 in 2010 (Wolowyna & Lopukh, 2022). While the numbers are low, these prove to be significant changes, as the number of Ukrainian speakers in SC rose by 620.7% between the years of 2000 and 2010, which is the greatest rate of change across the entire United States (Wolowyna, 2019).

Methodology and Results

This paper's research question asks about the differences between former and recent Ukrainian immigrants, particularly those recent immigrants residing in South Carolina. The principal instrument for data collection was a questionnaire distributed electronically to 120 Ukrainians in the Upstate, SC area in Fall 2021. A total of 50 responses were collected, all belonging to the 4th wave community. The questionnaire contains a total of 23 questions organized into 4 sections. The first section's purpose is to obtain an understanding of the surveyed population's demographics. Of 50 respondents, 14% are under the age of 18, 62% between ages of eighteen and twenty-five, 10% between 25-35, and 14% over the age of 35 (Table 1). A total of 33 female and 17 male participants responded to the survey (Table 1).

The second section focuses on push and pull factors and geographical settlement patterns. Q3 asks participants why their families chose to move to the US, and while answers vary, the most common reason is economical, followed by religion (Table 2). Q4 asks them to specify the year their family moved to the US, to which answers span the years of 1985-2017, confirming that the surveyed population belongs to the 4th wave of Ukrainian immigrants (Table 2). The results of Q5 show which state each participant's family first settled in, the most popular of which is Washington with 22%, while only 14% first settled in SC (Table 2). There were 36 responses for Q6, asking when participants moved to SC; the results show Ukrainians have been steadily moving to SC since 1999 (Table 2). The last question in this section, Q7, asks respondents why

their family chose to move to SC, to which the most common responses were family and economics, while other reasons include politics, religion, and climate (Table 2).

The third section of the survey focuses on family, faith, and community involvement. Q8 asks participants what their mother's occupation; a total of only 18 responses were collected (Table 3). Q9 then asks about the father's occupation, to which there were 37 responses (Table 3). These responses indicate most 1st generation Ukrainian immigrants of the 4th wave are part of the working class, and few seem to have acquired professional skills. Common occupations include factory work and medical jobs for women, while men are often found to work in the trucking industry, mechanics, or construction (Table 3). Q10 asks whether participants usually eat cultural food at home, which would include Ukrainian and general Eastern-European food. A total of 60% replied saying they mostly eat cultural food at home while 30% eat about an even amount of both cultural and noncultural food at home (Table 3). Further, we look at family size by asking participants to indicate how many siblings they have. The responses to this question showed that the surveyed population has an average of 4.3 siblings in the family (Table 3). Q12 asks married participants whether their spouse is Ukrainian, to which there were 24 responses. For these 24 responses, 58% are married to Ukrainians (Table 3). The results of Q13 had a total of 45 responses, which show 98% of these participants are religious, and all 98% are of the Christian faith (Table 3). The following question asks religious participants whether they attend Ukrainian, Slavic, or American churches. For the 49 participants that answered, 69% attend Slavic churches, 4% attend Ukrainian churches, and 6% attend American churches (Table 3). Q15 asks participants if they spend time within the Ukrainian community, and 82% said they do spend much of their time with the community (Table 3).

The final section covers topics of personal identity, language, and connections to Ukraine, to show us whether Ukrainian immigrants and their families have started to assimilate into American culture. Q16 asks how they identify themselves in terms of nationality. A total of 23 participants identify as Ukrainian, while 22 identify as Ukrainian-American (Table 4). The following question asks participants which languages they speak; 76% speak 3 languages: Ukrainian, Russian, and English. Table 3 shows how fluent they are in Ukrainian and Russian. While 80% are fluent in Russian, only 62% are fluent in Ukrainian (Table 4). Q19 asks the surveyed population whether preserving Ukrainian culture and traditions is important to them, to which 88% replied yes (Table 4). The next two questions ask participants how they would feel about moving back to or visiting Ukraine. While only 2% would ever consider moving back, 80% would consider visiting Ukraine (Table 4). Q22 asks participants if they currently have family and friends living in Ukraine; a total of 98% of participants currently have family or friends in Ukraine (Table 4). Finally, Q23 asks whether participants help to support their family living in Ukraine, with 96% saying that they do help to support their family in Ukraine (Table 4).

Discussion

After a thorough review of previous studies, Ukrainian history, and details of the 4 waves of migration to the US, and the results of the survey created for this study, several conclusions can be formed regarding the 4th wave Ukrainian immigrants living in the Upstate area of South Carolina. The following discussion focuses on the differences between this group of 4th wave immigrants in comparison to previous waves of Ukrainians moving to the US.

The first difference between 4th wave and previous Ukrainians is that 4th wave Ukrainians were the only ones experiencing an independent Ukraine. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, ex-soviet countries had to recover politically and economically, which proved to be challenging. Ukrainians experienced food shortages, unemployment, and an unstable government for the first years of independence. Because of these uncertainties, many chose to take the opportunity to

apply for immigration. The questionnaire's results indicate the surveyed immigrants left for the US for several reasons, of which economics was the largest reason for migration, followed by religion (Table 2) The communist party persecuted religious groups during the Soviet era, and although this ended with the fall of communism, many did not want to risk its return and were able to migrate as religious refugees (Saskovets et. Al, 2016). Most surveyed Ukrainians were able to move to the US between 1995 and 2005 (Table 2). While previous immigrants settled in cities with established Ukrainian communities, many 4th wave Ukrainians did not follow these trends, changing the distribution of Ukrainians in the US (Wolowyna, 2018). Many also settled in Russian-speaking communities, full of ex-soviet immigrants sharing a recent history, instead of settling in exclusively Ukrainian communities (Wolowyna, 2018).

Many Ukrainians living in SC did not initially settle in the state (Table 2). Most of the surveyed population moved to SC for economic reasons, while others moved because of the large number of Slavic churches in the Upstate area, which aligns with the fact that many of these Ukrainians are religious (Table 3). The 4th wave is arguably the most religiously centered wave and the only one moving out of Ukraine for religious freedom. In terms of religion, the survey indicates 88% of 4th wave Ukrainians belong to the Protestant Christian faith (Table 3). These results are especially interesting given the fact that most Ukrainians are predominantly Orthodox, with a reported 1.8% Ukrainians (in Ukraine) being protestant (US Dept. of State, 2019). Traditionally, Ukrainian immigrant communities are established around churches, and the 4th wave follows this trend with one significant difference. Instead of settling around Ukrainian churches, they now settle around Slavic churches, composed of Russian-speaking immigrants from ex-soviet countries. The results of the study show that 68% Ukrainians choose to attend these Slavic churches, but 6% attend American churches (Table 3). But even these Ukrainians are often still involved with the Ukrainian community, or the broader Slavic community (Table 3). These communities are strengthened with the development of infrastructure, such as grocery stores, churches, and language schools (Rovanchuk & Volodko, 2017).

Ukrainian immigrants of the 4th wave often work in jobs not requiring professional skills. Many of these jobs require physical labor, such as construction and mechanics, which are common jobs for Ukrainian men in the US (Table 3). The results indicate that many Ukrainian women are not employed, as only 36% indicated that their mothers are employed (Table 3). Of those that do have jobs, many work in factories or warehouses, in hospitals, or as nannies or caregivers (Table 3). It is also concluded that the Ukrainians of SC often have large families, as the average amount of siblings is 4.3 (Table 3). This is yet another interesting detail of 4th wave immigrants, as families living in Ukraine have an average of 2 children per family (PRB, 2022). One more observation concerning family dynamics is that most 4th wave Ukrainians in SC are married to Ukrainians, instead of other Slavs or Americans (Table 3).

A significant difference between recent and previous Ukrainian immigrants is more 4th wave Ukrainians speak Russian than Ukrainian, creating a situation where members of an ethnic group are more likely to speak a foreign language (Wolowyna, 2018). The reason behind this is tied to Ukraine being a part of the Soviet Union for so long, and Russia's attempts to ban the Ukrainian language (Wolowyna, 2018). After the fall of the USSR, many continued to use Russian although efforts were made to bring back Ukrainian, especially after the Revolution of Dignity and the Russian invasion of 2014 (Wolowyna, 2018). The survey results show most surveyed Ukrainians speak 3 languages: Ukrainian, Russian, and English (Table 4). Given the Soviet influence and settlement in Russian-speaking communities, these Ukrainians are more likely to have a better understanding of Russian than Ukrainian (Table 4). But after the events of 2014 and the recent start of the War between Ukraine and Russia, many Ukrainians started paying attention to their language use, and went back to using Ukrainian instead of Russian, showing a strong connection to Ukraine and the Ukrainian cultural identity, even with those living outside of Ukraine (Rovenchak & Volodko, 2017).

The process of assimilation starts soon after immigrants move to their new home. How fast it occurs depends on the immigrants' choices. Some hold tight to their identity and pass on language and traditions to their children and spend time within the community, while others focus on adapting to the new home. Since 4th wave Ukrainians are recent immigrants, they would easily be able to pass on cultural traditions to their children, however this is not always the case. Compared to previous waves, it is possible that many recent Ukrainian immigrants do not partake in Ukrainian cultural traditions. Previous waves organized choirs, dance groups, and cultural events, but this is not often the case with 4th wave immigrants of SC (Rovenchak & Volodko, 2017). This is likely tied to the Soviet influences of modern Ukrainian culture, along with the fact that many 4th wave Ukrainians focus on religious traditions rather over folk traditions. The Ukrainian community has recently started to revive cultural traditions, for example, by wearing cultural dress, singing folk songs, speaking Ukrainian, and teaching children's old traditions (Rovenchak & Volodko, 2017). A total of 88% of the survey participants state they believe it is important to preserve Ukrainian traditions (Table 4).

While most Ukrainians do have a strong sense of pride in their heritage, very few are willing to move back to Ukraine, as is seen in the survey results (Table 4). Most would be happy to visit the country, but when it comes to moving back, these are quite rare. Previous waves of Ukrainian immigrants hoped to move back to Ukraine, but Ukrainians of the recent wave never intended to go back (Rovenchak & Volodko, 2017). Despite this, 98% of the surveyed group stated they do have family ties to Ukraine (Table 4). Having family in Ukraine keeps immigrants connected, and it keeps them aware of the news and circumstances. They may visit these relatives or send forms of financial support as is common for many immigrants. These ties help keep immigrants connected to their motherland and to their cultural identity.

Conclusion

Research on Ukrainian immigrants has been limited due to inconsistent documentation and the varying characteristics of the different waves of Ukrainian migrants. With the recent influx of 4th wave immigrants, it is even more difficult to generalize Ukrainians in the US given their differences when compared to previous immigrants. To understand Ukrainians living in the US, it is important to look at Ukraine's history and consider the political and economic state of the nation and the regional origins of the immigrants. It is also important to look at their religious affiliations, family dynamics, and social status. While each wave of Ukrainian immigrants is unique, the 4th wave is particularly different from previous waves. These differences start with the fact that the 4th wave were the only group who moved out of an independent Ukraine, while the previous waves moved out of a Ukraine controlled by neighboring empires. Geographic settlement patterns also differ between 4th wave immigrants and the previous waves, as many recent immigrants chose to settle with other immigrants from ex-soviet countries. The culture is greatly influenced by their soviet history, although many do attempt to go back to the traditional Ukrainian customs and language. The 4th wave immigrants are also religiously centered and often belong to the Protestant Christian faith rather than the Orthodox faith. This group has no plans of returning to Ukraine, despite the nation's recent independence. They also still have strong ties to Ukraine, as many still have family and friends living there. This connection to Ukraine has grown even stronger due to the recent events of the invasion and war in Ukraine.

Since so little research has been conducted on Ukrainian immigrants in the US, there are many possible opportunities for further research. Similar studies involving more participants would provide a more accurate representation of the Ukrainian community. Other possible topics could cover comparisons of first and 2nd generation immigrants of the 4th wave. Studies on the

comparison of Ukrainian immigrants compared to other Slavic immigrants would also lead to interesting results.

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Table 1: Demographics

Option	Count	Percentage
Q1. What is your age? (n=50)		
Under 18	7	14%
18-25	31	62%
26-35	5	10%
36-55	7	14%
Q2. What is your gender? (n=50)		
Female	33	66%
Male	17	34%

Table 2: Push/Pull Factors and Geographics

Response	Count	Percentage
Q3. Why did Your family move to the US? Choose all that apply.		
Religion	26	-
Family	25	-
Economics	36	-
Education	11	-
War/Politics	8	-
Q4. In which year did your family move to the US? (n=50)		
1985-1989	1	2%
1990-1999	21	42%
2000-2009	25	50%
2010-2017	3	6%
Q5. Which state did your family first settle in? (n=50)		
California	4	8%
Florida	1	2%
Massachusetts	10	20%
Michigan	2	4%
New York	5	10%
Ohio	1	2%
Oregon	8	16%
Pennsylvania	1	2%
South Carolina	7	14%
Washington	11	22%
Q6. In which year did your family move to SC? (n=36)		
1991-1999	3	6%
2000-2009	17	34%
2010-2019	11	22%
2020-2022	5	10%
Q7. Why did your family move to SC? Choose all that apply.		
Family	22	-
Economics	24	-
Politics	6	-
Religion	6	-
Weather	4	-
School	1	-
Other	3	-

Table 3: Family, Faith, and Community Involvement

Response	Count	Percentage
Q8. What is your mother's occupation? (n=18)		
Warehouse/Factory	5	28%
Hairdresser	1	6%
Cleaning	1	6%
Nanny/Caregiver	4	22%
Medical Field	3	17%
Ukrainian Store Clerk	1	6%
Dispatch/Owner	1	6%
Dental Hygienist	1	6%
Bridal Shop Owner	1	6%
Q9. What is your father's occupation? (n=37)		
Truck Driver/Trucking Business	15	41%
Construction	6	16%
Mechanic	5	14%
Factory/Warehouse	4	11%
Dispatch	1	3%
Banker	1	3%
Business Owner	5	14%
Q10. Do you eat cultural food at home? (n=50)		
Both cultural and noncultural	15	30%
Mostly noncultural food	5	10%
Mostly cultural food	30	60%
Q11. How many siblings do you have? (n=50)		
One	3	6%
Two	10	20%
Three	7	14%
Four	13	26%
Five	3	6%
Six	8	16%
Seven	1	2%
Nine	4	8%
Thirteen	1	2%
Q12. If married, is your spouse Ukrainian? (n=24)		
Yes	14	58%
No - but they are Slavic	4	17%
No	6	25%
Q13. What religious group are you a part of? (n=45)		
Christian Pentecostal	35	78%
Christian Baptist	2	4%
Christian	7	16%
Agnostic	1	2%
Q14. If you attend church, do you attend Ukrainian, Slavic, or American Churches? (n=49)		
Slavic	34	69%
Ukrainian	2	4%
American	3	6%
No Preference	10	20%
Q15. Do you spend a lot of time within the Ukrainian/Slavic community? (n=50)		
No	5	10%
Not sure	4	8%
Yes	41	82%

Table 4: Identity, Language, Cultural Ties

Responses	Count	Percentage
Q16. How do you identify yourself? (n=50)		
Ukrainian	23	46%
Ukrainian-American	22	44%
Ukrainian-Russian	5	10%
Q17. Which languages do you speak? (n=50)		
Ukrainian, Russian, English	38	76%
Russian, English	6	12%
Ukrainian, English	1	2%
Ukrainian, Russian	1	2%
Russian	2	4%
Q18.1. How well can you speak Ukrainian? (n=50)		
Fluent. Can also read and write.	18	36%
Fluent. Struggle with reading or writing.	13	26%
Not well but can get by.	9	18%
Well but not fluent	8	16%
Cannot speak Ukrainian	2	4%
Q18.2. How well can you speak Russian? (n=50)		
Fluent. Can also read and write.	31	62%
Fluent. Struggle with reading or writing.	9	18%
Not well but can get by.	4	8%
Well but not fluent.	6	12%
Cannot Speak Russian	0	0%
Q19. Do you think it is important to try to preserve Ukrainian culture and language?		
Yes	44	88%
Maybe	6	12%
No	0	0%
Q20. Would you consider moving back to Ukraine? (n=50)		
Yes	1	2%
Maybe	6	12%
Not Sure	6	12%
Probably Not	15	30%
Absolutely Not	22	44%
Q21. Would you consider visiting Ukraine? (n=50)		
Yes	40	80%
Maybe	7	14%
Not Sure	3	6%
Probably Not	0	0%
Absolutely Not	0	0%
Q22. Do you have family/friends living in Ukraine? (n=50)		
No	1	2%
Yes	49	98%
Q23. Do you help support family/friends living in Ukraine? (n=50)		
No	2	4%
Yes	48	96%