

**An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory. (Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in Diaspora Situation)**

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*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory. (Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in Diaspora Situation)*

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It is difficult to achieve sustainable progress  
in science and research without a thorough  
knowledge and use of past experience  
*(Andrzej Kwilecki)<sup>1</sup>*

**Abstract**

This presentation is related to three aspects of the sociological theory of Florian Znaniecki and William Thomas: the concept of ethnic relations and immigrants attitudes in diaspora situation as well as the concept of recreate and building of an ethnic community. The main problem tackled in the paper can be narrowed down to the question: whether and how is the system of social relationships between different ethnic groups transferred into a migration situation? Relations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants will be use as an example. What guides this paper is trading these realtions in the sphere of everyday life in one of New York's Lower Manhattan neighborhoods – East Village, where Polish and Ukrainian ethnic community in New York City formed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The text portrays the community eastablished by the immigrants, and especially its past and the character of Polish-Ukrainian

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<sup>1</sup> Andrzej Kwilecki, Wstęp [in:] Andrzej Kwilecki (ed.), Florian Znaniecki i jego rola w socjologii, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 1975 (3-7), p. 3.

neighborhood, which, as it turns out, resembles Polish-Ukrainian in the European borderland. In the analysis particular attention will be focus on microsocial determinants of mutual relationships as well as on the various elements of interethnic relations, including: spheres of cooperation, conflict areas, daily interactions, ethnic distance, mutual perceptions, etc. The text will give a short outline of the process of shaping and functioning of the ethnic community, its character, as well as the processes of changes of the ethnic community.

Keywords: ethnic relations, migration, reconstructed neighbourhood, displaced borderland, Florian Znaniecki theory of social relation.

### **1. Introduction: issues of migration and ethnic relations in the works of Florian Znaniecki, i.e. sources of inspiration**

The issues of relations between different ethnic (cultural) groups in migratory conditions – not relations between a minority group and the host society (dominant group), but relations between minorities and minorities – taken up in this text clearly correspond to the theoretical and methodological approach inspired by the works of Florian Znaniecki. Although both the migration and ethnic relations themes in F. Znaniecki's sociological legacy do not occupy much space, his theoretical ideas have such a cognitive value that turn out to be worth continuing and developing on the basis of contemporary sociology of migration and ethnicity. Let us take a closer look at these two themes in his works.

Presentation of the achievements of F. Znaniecki as far as the migration issues are concerned, is quite modest. It includes only a few, very short articles published in Poland, in the periodical 'Wychodźca Polski', which he edited between 1910 and 1914<sup>2</sup> and the assumptions contained in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* – especially in its introduction entitled *Methodological Note*<sup>3</sup>. Looking carefully at these few studies, one can notice that migration processes (but also phenomena) interested him as a phenomenon *sensu stricto*<sup>4</sup>, dependent on the overall cultural and social phenomena taking place in the sending and

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<sup>2</sup> The list of all these works by F. Znaniecki was collected by a group of Polish researchers and published in a book: G. Firlit-Fesnak, J. Godlewska-Szyrkowa, C. Żołędowski (Ed.), *Migracje i migranci w pismach Ludwika Krzywickiego, Floriana Znanieckiego, Józefa Chalasińskiego: Wybór tekstów*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra, 2013

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, pp. 123-194.

<sup>4</sup> Anna Karnat, *Migracje wczoraj i dziś. O współczesnym znaczeniu klasyków i aktualności ich teoretycznych rozwiązań*. Review: *Migracje i migranci w pismach Ludwika Krzywickiego, Floriana Znanieckiego, Józefa Chalasińskiego. Wybór tekstów*, (ed.) G. Firlit-Fesnak, J. Godlewska-Szyrkowa, C. Żołędowski, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra, 2013 [in:] Anna Fiń, Agnieszka Małek (ed.), *Współczesne procesy migracji zamorskich*, *Studia Sociologica*, 2018 no 1, (198-210), p. 204.

Anna Fiń

*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory.  
(Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in  
Diaspora Situation)*

the receiving society, having a processual and dynamic character. The main topics of his migration studies, with so few studies, seem impressive. They can be reduced to the following issues: a) the scale and causes of migration, b) types of migration – here transcontinental migrations (overseas, mainly to the United States, Canada and Brazil) and seasonal migrations (to Germany), c) migration strategies (economic and non-economic conditions of migration, imitation of migration patterns, adaptation processes, regional (spatial) determinants of migration flows (migratory streams), d) immigration and emigration policies (legislative solutions and their role in making migration decisions) and e) bonds with the country of origin (homeland). The interpretative ideas and scientific intuitions presented by Znaniecki seem to be ahead of their time. He analyzes the indicated phenomena in the current of concepts (although he does not use these concepts himself), which are nowadays known as the theory of migration chains, migration networks and social capital, as well as migration cultures.<sup>5</sup>

Znaniecki's reflections on migration issues also contain methodological guidelines, which are considered his most valuable contribution to the sociology of migration. I will not describe here the importance of the biographical method, the analysis of 'personal' documents or the humanistic coefficient in migration research.<sup>6</sup> Firstly, this is not possible in such a short paper; secondly, there are already quite a few studies devoted to this thread of Znaniecki's legacy. However, I would like to point out that in the case of migration research he goes beyond the framework of qualitative research methods and according to Emil Durkheim's school – which is pointed out in Polish literature on the

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<sup>5</sup> For example, in the publication entitled *Statystyka wychodźstwa* by writing: "there are certain foci for emigration (...), for example, the county of Sandomierz has strong emigration, while in the county of Radom it is very weak. (...) These foci are particularly striking when it comes to emigration to a certain designated country," he stays ahead of those researchers who only began to write about the culture of migration and migratory flows in the second half of the 20th century, as well as the following observations: "Dissemination of information to the public about working abroad, in conditions of departure, etc., (...) The second factor is imitation (...) Undeniably, imitation plays a paramount role here..." contains reflections that can be found today in the descriptions of the formation of migration chains. See Florian Znaniecki, *Statystyka wychodźstwa* [in:] G. Firlit-Fesnak, J. Godlewska-Szyrkowa, C. Żołędowski (ed.), *Migracje i migranci w pismach Ludwika Krzywickiego, Floriana Znanieckiego, Józefa Chalasińskiego*. Wybór tekstów, Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra, Warszawa, 2013, pp. 99 and 100.

<sup>6</sup> The importance of the humanistic factor in migration research is also highlighted in a recent paper *Social Relations and Social Roles. The Unfinished Systematic Sociology*, where he writes: "Emigration seems to be as incomprehensible as immigration if we do not know what it means in the active experience of migrants and the inhabitants of the area from which they emigrate", see Florian Znaniecki, *Relacje społeczne i role społeczne. Niedokończona socjologia systematyczna*, PWN, Warszawa 2011, p.79.

subject by Grażyna Firlit-Fesnak<sup>7</sup> – uses statistical analysis of existing data, which allows him to formulate conclusions on the size of migration and its economic and socio-cultural determinants. Such an approach – strongly inscribed in the Znaniecki's concept of sociology as an inductive, objective and generalizing science<sup>8</sup> – places his proposals of empirical solutions in the research optics of today's mixed-method approach. This feature of Znaniecki's scientific work is probably less known, and it may also be an important reference point for researchers involved in migration studies.

Although a wide spectrum of phenomena and migration processes includes the issues of ethnic relations and ethnicity, in the works of F. Znaniecki these issues are separate topics of reflection. The contestations of the author of *Polish Peasant* concerning the issues of relations between different cultural groups were included in three of his works. Firstly, in the work published in Polish *Studia nad antagonizmem do obcych* (1931) and the study *Sily społeczne w walce o Pomorze* (1931), where he analyzed complicated Polish-German relations. Secondly, in the book published yet on American soil in 1952 *Modern Nationalities. A Sociological Study*<sup>9</sup>. The themes or elements of the concept of ethnic relations appearing in these studies are: showing complex relations between the so-called familiarity and strangeness, between 'us' and 'them' – with often different axionormative systems; consideration of the issue of social conflict between ethnic groups and/or their members, the course of which is linked to specific social and historical conditions; attention to the contextual, process, dynamics and historical nature of such social phenomena. The fact that Znaniecki himself never proposed a definition of ethnic relations and did not directly use this conceptual category is of fundamental importance. Therefore, the key to understanding ethnic relations in the light of Znaniecki's works is to relate them to a more general sociological concept, i.e. the concept of social relations. He presented these in an interactive way (as real systems of connected activities), pointing to their process nature, changeability (dynamics), multiplicity of types<sup>10</sup> and dependence on the spatial proximity of partners and the culture as a whole. Although he referred to the category of social conflict, he was more interested in cooperation relations and analysis of those factors that people have in

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<sup>7</sup> See Grażyna Firlit-Fesnak, *Migracje i emigranci w biografii naukowej Floriana Znanieckiego* [in:] G. Firlit-Fesnak, J. Godlewska-Szyrkowa, C. Żołędowski (ed.), *Migracje i migranci...*, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>8</sup> Florian Znaniecki, *Relacje społeczne...* op. cit., 4-6.

<sup>9</sup> See Florian Znaniecki, *Studia nad antagonizmem do obcych*, „Przegląd Socjologiczny” 1931 no 2-4, pp. 1-54; Florian Znaniecki, *Sily społeczne w walce o Pomorze*, „Polskie Pomorze”, 1931 no. I-II, pp. 8-108; Florian Znaniecki, *Współczesne narody*, Warszawa, PWN, 1990 (*Modern Nationalities. A Sociological Study*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1952).

<sup>10</sup> F. Znaniecki himself analyzes the following types of social relations: parental, fraternal, marital, erotic and social, see: Florian Znaniecki, *Relacje społeczne...* op. cit., 143-252.

Anna Fiń

*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory.  
(Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in  
Diaspora Situation)*

common. Janusz Mucha<sup>11</sup>, a Polish researcher of migration and ethnicity, noticed the significance of Znaniecki's reflection, which is inspiring for the development of the concept of ethnic relations. Based to a large extent on the assumptions of Znaniecki and drawing on research on American ethnicity, J. Mucha suggests that ethnic relations should be treated as a specific type of social relations and treated in a relational way<sup>12</sup>. He writes: 'In ethnic research it is worth analysing not only the various phenomena occurring within individual ethnic groups, but for many reasons it is worth exploring what happens between them – between individual people who are members of different ethnic groups and between these groups, treated hypothetically as a social whole'<sup>13</sup>. This approach seems particularly promising to me in the analysis of the relationship between the two groups and their members in a migrant situation. In this article I will follow this theoretical path and at the same time pay attention to the importance of Znaniecki's proposals concerning the spatial dimension of intergroup relations, their historical and social determinants and their processual character.

## **2. Ethnic relations in the diaspora: the theoretical approach applied**

The main axis of the construction of this paper is to refer to the concepts embracing ethnic relations very broadly, as a type of social relations, namely the entirety of relations and interactions between members of ethnic groups as well as between the ethnic groups themselves<sup>14</sup>. According to this approach, ethnic relations can occur in various spheres and on various levels of social life; they differ in their character, degree of intensity, intimacy and degree of institutionalization. Ethnic relations thus understood include a vast richness of forms of mutual references and interactions. These may include: mutual help, conflict and competition, relations between employee and employer, customer and seller, collaboration between institutions, superficial and loose acquaintances as well as deep relations of friendship and marriage, formal and

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<sup>11</sup> See Janusz Mucha, *Stosunki etniczne we współczesnej socjologii*, PWN, Warszawa 2006.

<sup>12</sup> J. Mucha postulates the so-called interactive sociology of ethnic relations and he was mostly inspired by the works of Florian Znaniecki, macro-sociology of Peter M. Blau and the theory of minority relations of Hubert M. Blalock.

<sup>13</sup> Janusz Mucha, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>14</sup> Apart from the aforementioned J. Mucha, an analogous approach to ethnic relations can be found on the Polish ground in the works of Ewa Nowicka, and in the works of Edward C. McDonagh within the framework of American sociology, see: Ewa Nowicka, *Przyczynek do teorii etnicznych mniejszości* [in:] Hieronim Kubiak, Andrzej K. Paluch, *Założenia teorii asymilacji*, Ossolineum, Warszawa 1980, pp. 108-116; Edward C. McDonagh, *Ethnic Relations in the United States*, Appleton Century Crafts, New York 1953, p. 11.

informal relations, social, neighbourly, business relations, etc. In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of such relations, one should pay attention to microstructural conditions, i.e. individual behaviours and attitudes, as well as to the macrostructural level, i.e. the level of culture, institutions and social inequalities. In other words, description of ethnic relations perceived in such a way, apart from analysis of psycho-sociologist effect (i.e. the dimension of relationships and distances) should also include structural conditions (i.e. all phenomena facilitating or limiting the possibilities of making and keeping certain relations). Using such theoretical background, the following aspects and phenomena should be taken into account in the analysis of relations between immigrant groups:

- a) spatial relations, including the distribution of groups in relation to each other and the spatial concentration and functioning of immigrant groups within ethnic/immigrant neighbourhoods (enclaves) and the socio-economic characteristics of these areas,<sup>15</sup> this also concerns accepting a premise, close to the concept of F. Znaniecki<sup>16</sup>, that the spatial proximity creates special opportunities for different social contacts and thus increases the probability of establishing specific intergroup relations
- (b) the degree of conflictuality of relations and the sphere of cooperation – this involves taking into account the different situations and levels in which conflict and/or cooperation may arise
- (c) mental relationships: attitudes, distances, stereotypes, ‘potential relationships’
- (d) processes of amalgamation– referring to mixed marriages which, due to their intimate nature, test social distances more than any other type of relationship, are an indicator of changes in the nature and perception of ethnic boundaries<sup>17</sup>.
- (e) historical background, i.e. taking into account the origin, history and the procedural nature of ethnic relations
- (f) the degree of formalisation of the relationship and the types of social bonds in which it takes place

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<sup>15</sup> The characteristics of concentrations of specific ethnic groups provide important information about the living conditions, the immigrant environment and the social status of a given community, which, as follows from many analyses, is important for the establishment of intergroup relations.

<sup>16</sup> In the book *Social Relations and Social Roles. The Unfinished Systematic Sociology* F. Znaniecki wrote: ‘Social interaction always takes place in the space in which people live, between which there is interaction (...) social interaction is to some extent conditioned by spatial closeness’, see: Florian Znaniecki, *Relacje społeczne i role społeczne*, op. cit, p. 28.

<sup>17</sup> See more: Richard Alba, Reid M. Golden, *Patterns of ethnic marriage in the United States*, *Social Forces*, 1981 no 1, pp.202-203; Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options. Choosing Identities in America*, University of California Press, Berkley LA., 1990 p. 102.



Anna Fiń

*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory.  
(Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in  
Diaspora Situation)*

(g) the place of groups in the host society, which may be of importance for the sociometric preferences of members of ethnic groups and the nature of the intergroup relationship.

After this short discussion of the theoretical background of the problem, I would like to move on to a short discussion of the results of the research on relations between immigrant groups - in particular those of European origin - in the situation of diaspora<sup>18</sup>. What seems particularly interesting to me is to give answers to questions: about the nature of this type of relations and its fundamental spheres; the extent to which relations between specific groups are transferred or recreated in the diaspora situation, and not only in the spatial aspect, but above all in the socio-cultural aspect. As an example, the relations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants in the United States, namely in New York's East Village district (neighbourhood), have been chosen. The selection of this research field is<sup>19</sup> not random: the area of New York since the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century until now has been the location of the largest concentrations of Polish and Ukrainian immigrants, while within the East Village formed the first Polish-Ukrainian ethnic neighbourhood, which despite many processes of social and cultural change has preserved its specific (ethnic) character to this day and remains the main place of concentration of both ethnic groups in Manhattan<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> The research was conducted as part of the "Poles and Ukrainian in American Pluralistic Society" research project, which was carried out in 2006-2009 and was financed by The Kościuszko Foundation Research Grant and John Kusiw Fund of Shevchenko Scientific Society. Both qualitative and quantitative methods have been used, and these included: a) desk research (based on the US Census Data and other immigrant statistics) b) content analysis of ethnic press, archive materials, documents and other emigrant publications; c) individual in-depth interviews with ethnic leaders and ordinary members of ethnic communities (50 interviews) and 5 interviews with mixed married couples as well as d) participant observation.

<sup>19</sup> The research field is treated here in accordance with proposal of F. Znaniecki as a spatial area within which research on social relations is conducted, see Florian Znaniecki, *Relacje społeczne i role społeczne*, op. cit., p. 28-29.

<sup>20</sup> I am writing more about the district itself and the functioning of the Polish community in the Ukrainian immigrant community in the following articles: A. Fiń, *Poles on the New York's East Village: past, present, persistence of ethnic neighborhood (Polacy na nowojorskiej East Village: przeszłość, terażniejszość, trwanie etnicznej dzielnicy)* [in:] Rafał Reczyński, Katarzyna A. Morawska, *Diaspora polska w Ameryce*, Muzeum Emigracji w Gdyni, Gdynia, pp. 219-248; A. Fiń, *In the space of "displaced borderland". Reflections on the relations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants in the United States; Migration Studies-Polish Diaspora Review/Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*, 2014 no 1, pp. 143-160 and A. Fiń, *A Reconstructed Neighbourhood". Polish and Ukrainian Immigrants in New York's East Village (Odtworzone sąsiedztwo. Polscy i ukraińscy imigranci w nowojorskiej East Village)*, *Migration Studies-Polish Diaspora Review/ Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny* 2013 no 1, pp. 105-129.

### 3. Types of interethnic relations in the diaspora: the case study of New York's East Village

East Village, located in the eastern part of Lower Manhattan. Until the 1960s it was a typical working class district, whose population consisted mainly of groups of migrant origin. As late as in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish, Italian, German and a large Jewish population lived here<sup>21</sup>. Around 1875, Poles and Ukrainians, mainly from Galicia, began to arrive. Quite quickly, immigrants created their own organised communities which, over time and with the influx of successive waves of immigrants, shaped their character and, at the same time, influenced the character of the whole district. At present immigrants make up a quarter of the East Village population (23.4%), with more than half of them arriving before 2000 (and even 1990). The majority of immigrants are Europeans (especially from Central and Eastern Europe) (32.7%) and Asians (41.9%). The largest proportion of Europeans arriving before 2000 was from Eastern Europe, mainly Poles and Ukrainians<sup>22</sup>. The latest estimates from the US Census Bureau in 2017 suggest that the number of people with Polish ancestry is 2737 (about 6% of the district's population) and the number of people with Ukrainian ancestry is 929 (about 2% of the district's total population).<sup>23</sup> The Polish and Ukrainian community was in fact formed in the area of two East Village districts (so called census tracts): 38 and 32, which in turn means it spreads from 4th Street to 14th Street and from Third Avenue to Avenue A. Over the years, both groups have managed to create an *institutional completeness* in the East Village area that includes parishes, institutions and ethnic organizations, shops, restaurants and other service places. I will not write here about the ethnic landscape of this area and the ethnic infrastructure of both groups<sup>24</sup>. I would just like to mention that, in fact, since the beginning of the New York settlement, the worlds of these two immigration groups have been coming into contact and permeating each other. The daily lives of the representatives of both immigrant groups took place in the streets, in the nearby Tompkins Square Park, clubs and restaurants, and the period of the most intense life of the two immigrant groups in the East Village was until the end of the 1970s. Currently, as a result of socio-economic changes in this area

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<sup>21</sup> F. M. Binder, D. M. Reimers, *All the nations under Haven. An ethnic and racial history of New York City*, New York, p. 116-120.

<sup>22</sup> 2013-2017 American Community Survey, Social Profile: East Village, NYC Planning, Population Fact Finder, <https://popfactfinder.planning.nyc.gov/profile/180/social>

<sup>23</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, DP02, [https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_17\\_5YR\\_DP02&prodType=table](https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_17_5YR_DP02&prodType=table)

<sup>24</sup> This topic was taken up by me in the papers presented in footnote 20.

Anna Fiń

*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory.  
(Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in  
Diaspora Situation)*

(including the gentrification processes that started in the 1980s), many Polish and Ukrainian places disappear from the East Village ethnic map. They function only in the collective memory, as well as in the 'gathered' memory, which is a manifestation of the spatial dimension of social memory, the sum of sometimes different visions of the past functioning in a given group<sup>25</sup>. In spite of these processes, the district continues to have its own traditions and customs. Religious customs, associated with the significant Christian holidays, are of particular importance here: Christmas, Easter (which the Ukrainian diaspora celebrates according to the Julian calendar) and Corpus Christi, when a procession is held in the streets of the East Village. 7th Street still hosts the Festival of Ukrainian Culture in May. There is still a specific linguistic situation here. In public life, everyday life, three languages dominate in principle: English, Polish and Ukrainian, and, similarly to the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, the Polish language is most often the communication tool between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants. It is also not uncommon for Polish-Ukrainian relations to use two languages simultaneously: Polish by Polish immigrants and Ukrainian by Ukrainian immigrants. This means that a specific similarity of the Polish and Ukrainian languages facilitates the intensification of intra-group contacts.

The interpretation of the collected empirical data leads to the conclusion that the relations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants have been of multilevel nature and existed at different planes. The analysis of ethnic relations in various spheres of everyday life deserves special attention. According to the accepted theoretical assumptions, grasping of 'what is happening' between the members of the researched groups within the framework of random situations of everyday life seems necessary to show the overall picture of the analyzed ethnic relations. Let us therefore take a brief look at the most important, from the point of view of the problem, spheres and types of intergroup relations in the diaspora:

#### I. The sphere of spatial relations

As has already been pointed out, determining the distribution of certain immigrant groups in relation to each other is crucial for answering the questions about 'relocation', the formation and course of relations between the two groups and their members. The process of spatial clustering of different ethnic communities has far-reaching implications for the formation of relations between them. They result from the quite obvious fact that the spatial proximity creates special conditions (chances) for the occurrence of specific social relations. In many cases, regular spatial interaction affects the shaping of social ties. Social, neighbourly and friendship relations will more often develop

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<sup>25</sup> S. Kaprański, *Metropolitarne przestrzenie pamięci* [in:] B. Jałowiecki, E.A. Sekuła (ed.), *Metropolie mniejszości. Mniejszość w metropoliach*, Warszawa 2011, p. 48.

between the members of these communities, which live in close proximity to each other. Life in proximity, or next to each other, makes the lack of interaction impossible.

My research has shown that spatial proximity is characteristic of Polish and Ukrainian immigrants and such a paradigm of spatial layout has emerged over a hundred years ago<sup>26</sup>. This pattern of spatial behaviour of members of these two ethnic groups is caused by at least several factors. Firstly, the similarity of migratory fates (similarity of immigration histories) and a clear link between the history of Polish and Ukrainian emigration, which was generated by the chain nature of migration and mutual imitation of migratory behaviours<sup>27</sup>. Secondly, by the similarity of ethnic features and the status of groups in the structure of the host society<sup>28</sup>. In the area of New York, apart from the East Village that interests me here, there are also other places of common conceptualization of Poles and Ukrainians. Most of them are located in Brooklyn (map 1 is a visual representation of this situation). These concentrations consist mainly of representatives of the last wave of emigration (the so-called IV wave of emigration, whose beginning dates back to 1990) and are located in the areas of Sheepshead Bay and Brighton Beach, in the nearby Midwood and Bensonhurst. It is also worth noting that the spatial sphere of ethnic relations is expressed in two basic aspects: behavioural and semiotic, which is related to meanings, emotions, attitudes towards a specific space. It is generally emphasized that 'Both Poles and Ukrainians consider East Village as their district in Manhattan, Ukrainians as their own'<sup>29</sup> and the entire district is described by members of these two ethnic groups in terms of '*large Slavic ghetto*' and/or '*old neighbourhood*'.

## II. The sphere of everyday ethnic relations

The observations made during the research and the empirical material gathered allow us to distinguish three basic categories of relations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants on a daily basis: instrumental relations, relations expressing the affiliate needs of partners and conflict situations taking place on a daily basis. In practice, these situations overlap and intermingle.

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<sup>26</sup> I wrote more on this topic in: A. Fiń, *In the space of "displaced borderland"*, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148

<sup>27</sup> An example of this tendency is the story of one Ukrainian immigrant, who decided to emigrate to the US under the influence of his Polish friends. The following statement suggests this tendency: *History is like that again, when I arrived for the first time in 1991, I worked with young Poles (...) and when I talked to them, I knew that it is not easy in Poland with economics (sic). Ukraine, when it got its independence, it had much bigger problems than Poland, because Poland had had its borders, its language. In Ukraine there is a problem with the borders, a problem with the language, a problem with economics (...) and this is why I decided to emigrate. Poles helped me with that...*

<sup>28</sup> Generally speaking, both Poles and Ukrainians occupy a similar (middle) position in the stratification system of the American society; both groups also have a similar organizational structure.

<sup>29</sup> J. Hausbrandt, *East Village – miejsce dla wszystkich*, *Nowy Dziennik*, 23 maj 1991, p. 8.

Anna Fiń

*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory.  
(Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in  
Diaspora Situation)*

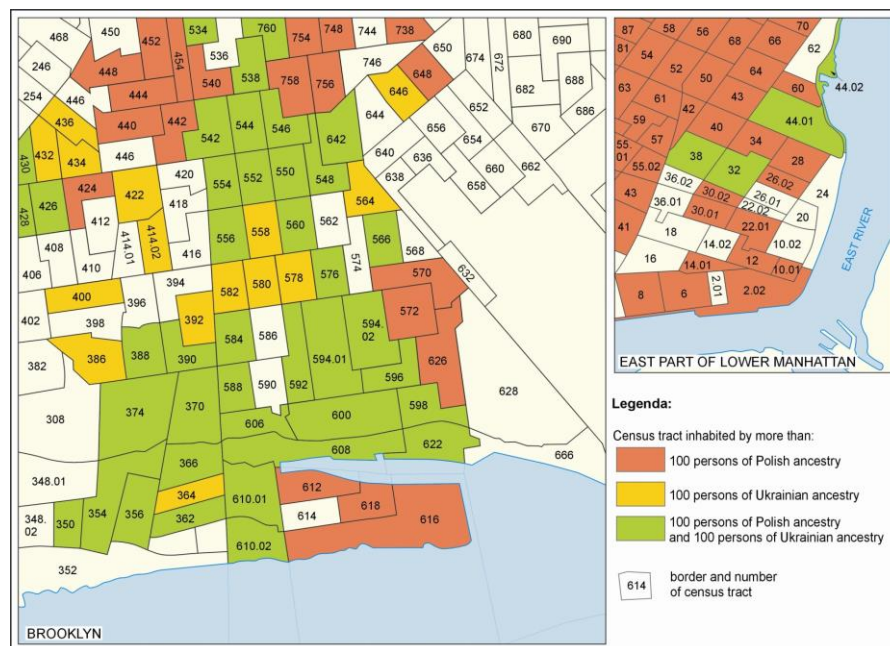
a) *Instrumental ethnic relations* – they are of a purposeful nature, they are more formal, official, sometimes rather superficial and the contact is based on particular interests and needs. Three basic types of relationships can be distinguished: professional relationships, relationships based on common activity and the need for achievements (one could say: material) and superficial relationships.

Professional relations are one of the most common types of relations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants. There are usually collaborative relations (representatives of both groups are employed together in construction and renovation companies, restaurants, shops, hospitals, etc.) and relations between the employee and the employer (in many cases Polish immigrants work for Ukrainians, or vice versa): Ukrainians are employed in Polish companies: *'There are Poles in the Ukrainian bank, they work there a lot, they work in restaurants; the Ukrainians also work in Polish restaurants'*. Professional intergroup relations are usually of a cooperative and collaborative nature. It has also happened – although it has not been frequent – that with time informal social relations or deeper friendship relations have been formed on a professional level. Research has shown that professional contacts do not usually deal with the complicated Polish-Ukrainian relations in Europe and their history. This type of 'avoidance attitude' shows that discussions about the Polish-Ukrainian past are treated as a potentially conflict-triggering factor in mutual relations. At the same time, the research has shown that the socio-cultural similarity of groups is a factor favouring the initiation of professional relationships and the social contacts they create.

Similar regularities were observed in the case of purely subjective relationships, in which representatives of both groups play the following roles: shop assistant, customer, insurance agent, lawyer, waiter, doctor, etc... The range of these relations is very wide: using service points, shops, restaurants and tourist agencies run by representatives of the second ethnic group, using ethnic financial institutions and self-help organizations of the second ethnic group, joint participation in ethnic festivals, lectures, discussion panels, poetry evenings, conferences, and even belonging to an organisation of the other ethnic group (e.g. examples of participation of Polish immigrants in the Ukrainian credit union or sending Polish children to a Ukrainian school). As ethnic organisations are usually of a closed nature, the mechanism observed may indicate the crossing of certain ethnic borders, and the similarity of language facilitates the intensification of contacts. This trend is reflected in the following statements: *'They sent their children to us as we understand Polish, just as most of my teachers, so it might have been easier for them here. (...) It would be very difficult for them in an American school while here they get associated very slowly'*. At the level of subjective relations, institutional relations, shaped by ethnic organizations,

should also be distinguished. The research has shown that the intensity and nature of these contacts are determined by the nature of the mutual relations and the situation of groups in Europe and can be either collaborative (political, scientific and cultural) or conflictual (conflicting political interests, contradictions in the sphere of values important for groups, e.g. tensions around the interpretation of common history)<sup>30</sup>.

FIGURE 1. The distribution of census tracts in Sheepshead Bay in Brooklyn and in the east part of Lower Manhattan.



Another sphere of intergroup relations visible in everyday life there are transient and anonymous relationships. They result from the presence of members of the community in the same place and have the least personalised character. They are usually based on such forms of social interaction as ritualistic ‘good morning’, mutual greetings, the word ‘official courtesies’: ‘*They were my husband’s clients, I always greeted them: “hello” and so on, but we never had a social life, rather it all came down to that “hello”*’. They are rather a proof of the perception

<sup>30</sup> More about this sphere of mutual relations and the deterministic role of relations in Europe on the occurrence of analogous relations in the diaspora can be read in: A. Fiń, *Between neighbors – between immigrants. Poles and Ukrainians in the United States during the time of Cold War: a few reflections*, Ad American 2017 vol. 18, pp. 35-51.

Anna Fiń

*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory.  
(Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in  
Diaspora Situation)*

of the co-presence of the representatives of the groups in the close space, to the mutual awareness, to the possession of even a minimal knowledge of each other.

b) *Relationships expressing affiliate needs of partners* – refer to the non-institutional and informal sphere of mutual contacts; they are more intimate, involve partners more fully and permanently, and their general sense is based on the contact of people with each other. In the case of such relations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants, one can distinguish: a) neighbourly relations, b) social relations (companionship and friendship) and c) private-family relations.

Neighbourly relations are defined by mutual interdependence resulting from direct spatial proximity, proximity of living. Polish-Ukrainian relations at the neighbourhood level can be very complex. Some respondents point out that they know their neighbours only by sight and do not enter into more intimate contacts with them; others confessed to casual meetings and discussions: *'At present I have contact with Poles, they live nearby, sometimes we talk about how it is in Poland and Ukraine'*; still others pointed to the phenomenon of mutual neighbourly assistance, participation in special ceremonies (funerals) or the use of services of the parish located nearby, being owned by the other ethnic group. There are also mutual visits of neighbours, but they are not a widespread phenomenon. There are also two examples where a person of Ukrainian origin represented the interests of both communities in the district council. These are the expressions that are worth mentioning: *'Yes, I have contact, Poles live close to me, so we have contact; sometimes I went to funerals where I met Poles, so in such situations'*; *'As for the neighbours, there is no problem at all, and we have been living there for forty some years...'*

Another distinguished type of relationship between Polish members and the Ukrainian diaspora are social contacts. In inter-ethnic relations, social relations, as well as neighbourly relations, they are considered as an important indicator of the delineation of the boundaries of familiarity and alienation; the existence of social distance or the lack of it. In the case of Polish and Ukrainian immigrants, the possession of polyethnic circles of friends and/or colleagues was indicated by both post-war and recent immigrants. The basis for such contacts is also varied: joint events, celebrations, spending free time, visiting houses, joint renting of flats, mutual assistance. The following utterances by the respondents are an illustration of this type of interaction: *'In the past, for example, when I went to the park with the baby, Polish and Ukrainian girls used to go through the park and, for example, there were many such girls that they were friends. My best friend is also Polish. Again, as I say, I see a lot of friendship'*; *'I also have close acquaintances among Poles, mainly those of my age, one of them is younger. Sometimes we meet at home and have a*

*nice time. A few years ago there were more Poles here, my mother even had a friend who invited her all the time to St. Stanislaus church and she used to go there...'*

At the level of everyday life we can also distinguish between private and family relations. It turns out that many immigrants have numerous family ties with representatives of the other ethnic group. Some of these links related to family members living in Europe, with whom immigrants maintain contact, while others appeared in the diaspora: *'My husband's brother is also married to a Polish woman, our relations are good, we have no problems, they invite us to their holidays, because they celebrate Polish holidays, we invite them to our holidays and I do not see any problems here'*. What is more, the phenomenon of mixed marriages between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants<sup>31</sup> is also noteworthy, since the attitudes of the members of two immigration groups towards the amalgamation process are quite different.

c) *Conflict situations in everyday life* – in everyday life, there are conflict situations between Polish and Ukrainian immigrants, although their frequency seems to be low. On the one hand, the existing tensions are of a purely situational nature, on the other hand, there are also national and ethnic conflicts. The latter are most often generated by the memory of history and were sometimes associated with the manifestation of mutual aversion. For example, there was a case of a break in friendly relations or a resignation from living together because of the past of Polish-Ukrainian relations in Europe and the negative attitudes shaped there. Some respondents also mentioned situations when *'conversations about Polish-Ukrainian history'* ruined the moment during social meetings. Others pointed out that in order to avoid conflict situations, they usually do not discuss historical topics with a representative of the other group. There were also recorded cases of lack of acceptance of mixed marriages due to the historical past. The common past of groups can therefore be seen as the main factor in maintaining intergroup distances. The issue of intergroup conflicts in the diaspora is only mentioned here. This is a very broad problem, going far beyond the scope of this article and requiring a separate analysis.

### III. The sphere of intergroup attitudes and distances

According to the adopted assumptions, the analysis of intergroup relations should also take into account the subjective factor, i.e. the sphere of mutual

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<sup>31</sup> Some knowledge about the occurrence of marriages between Poles and Ukrainians in the diaspora is also provided by the *Marriage Register* in the described East Village district. From the registers kept by the Greek Catholic parish of St. George, 20 such marriage ceremonies took place in the decade 1950–1960, 4 in the 1990s and 3 in the 2000–2002 period<sup>31</sup>. Data from the books of the parish of St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Martyr, are a proof that 13 Polish-Ukrainian such marriage ceremonies took place in 1970–2007; two of them were of mixed religions: Catholic-Orthodox, see *Marriage Arrangement Book* from St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church, New York; *Marriage Register* from January 1st 1961, St. Stanislaus B.M, New York City.



attitudes and psychological attitudes of people towards each other. Researchers dealing with the issues of Polish-Ukrainian ethnic relations in the European borderland point to the existence of mutual stereotypes of Poles and Ukrainians and suggest that mutual perception is largely conditioned by historical events. Generally, the research carried out showed that in the diaspora the old attitudes, stereotypes and attitudes are maintained. The mutual perceptions of immigrant groups are presented in Table 1. For example, just as in the Polish-Ukrainian border area, Ukrainians perceive Poles in a more positive way in American conditions, while the attitudes of Poles are slightly more negative. In this context, we can therefore attempt to formulate the observation that emigration does not lead to such changes in consciousness that would result in the change of old attitudes. They remain in the consciousness, and new experiences only increase the range of perceived similarities or closeness.

TABLE 1. *Mutual stereotypes and perceptions.*

<b>The ways in which Polish immigrants perceive Ukrainians</b>	<b>The ways in which Ukrainian immigrants perceive Poles</b>
Stubborn, believers, distrustful towards Poles, not very tactful, false, hypocritical, concealing historical facts, fierce, well-organized, supportive, able to help each other, hard-working, have a difficult economic and political situation, sing beautifully, patriots, neighbours, Greek Catholics, traditional, less assimilated than Poles, Slavs, oversensitive to the issue of Lviv, can be cruel, massacres in Volhynia; nationalistic	Neighbours, honourable, alcohol abuse (drunkards, alcoholics) culturally refined, have beautiful poetry, cinema, language, like to have fun, religious, hard-working, reliable, representatives of the West, dynamic, European culture, assimilated, family-oriented, negative attitude towards Ukrainians

Source: Based on own research

In the new conditions, the ‘former stranger’ simply becomes more ‘familiar’, close, known and safe. The most frequently noticed similarities included cultural proximity, language affinity, similarity of the migration process, traditions and customs, lifestyle, disposition and even cuisine. In individual cases, representatives of the other ethnic group were referred to as ‘ours’: *‘They are more similar than different, the example is a language, I understand almost everything in Polish, I grew up listening to Polish radio’*. Moreover, it has also been observed that the diaspora is in some way rationalising its own views, especially those on common history. It is usually done based on: individual experiences of ethnic relations; conscious and reflective change of attitudes; justification of

actions of both parties by rules of the game prevailing during the war; reference to mutual antagonisms only to the older generation; highlighting the role of propaganda and deliberate political actions aimed at conflicting both groups; memory of the former borderland and conflict-free intergroup relations present among the displaced persons (DP) generation.

#### **4. Instead of the ending: from the concept of ethnic relations to the term of ‘displaced borderland’/ ‘reconstructed neighbourhood’**

When F. Znaniecki was developing an inspiring concept of social relations and their typology, migration and ethnic studies were basically at the beginning of his development. The development of sociology, ethnic and migratory research has allowed the introduction of new research and theoretical threads, and has made the state of scientific reflection on these topics very rich today. This does not mean, of course, that everything important has been described. The research gaps between immigrant groups in the USA, especially those of European descent, are still evident in the literature. The analysis carried out here leads to reflection and asking a question about possible ways of describing and explaining such intergroup relations. Using the achievements of the discipline and discussing its positions, I would like to propose a concept that is perhaps the right key to understanding the specificity of this type of ethnic relations. It is a concept of ‘reconstructed neighbourhood’/‘displaced borderland’. On the one hand, this category stems from the humanistic approach of F. Znaniecki, on the other hand, it seeks support in research on American ethnicity (starting from the Chicago School of Sociology) and in research on European borderlands. It is based on the assumption that Polish-Ukrainian relations in the USA (relations between specific immigration groups) were and still are determined not only by the situation of both communities in the diaspora, but also by the heritage of the European neighbourhood in the borderland. It also follows from this assumption that, as it is the case in Europe, they are multi-level and multifaceted, typical of borderland situations, the permeation of cultures and multi-level social relations. When describing mutual relations, this concept enables taking into account three basic levels of the analysis: (a) macro-structural (e.g. historical background, political factors, place of the groups in the stratification system of the adopting society, spatial relations); (b) mezzo-structural (impact of institutions) and (c) micro-structural (psychical relations, attitudes, stereotypes and distances). Taking this idea into account, one can show the processual character of these phenomena, performing a detailed analysis of what links and divides people, and show how a kind of ‘migration community’ and a common European cultural heritage influence the

Anna Fiń

*An Ethnic Relations between Immigrant-based Groups in the Light of Florian Znaniecki's Theory.  
(Ethnic Relations as a Type of Social Relations: Case Study on Polish-Ukrainian Relations in  
Diaspora Situation)*

development of a similar pattern of spatial distribution of certain groups, the creation of ethnic/immigrant local communities alongside each other and, consequently, the process of 're-establishing' the 'old neighbourhood' in the new country'. This process of 'reconstruction' of the neighbourhood is visible both in the spatial and social aspect. It is expressed most fully in intergroup attitudes, assumptions and, above all, in the networks of interaction and interdependence of members of ethnic groups. The influence of the host society, which generates new situations and new forms of behaviour that I believe can also be successfully described using this conceptual category, is also extremely important.

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