

## ЭТНИЧЕСКАЯ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ УКРАИНЦЕВ В ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПАМЯТИ В ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОГО ГОРОДА

**Аннотация.** В статье рассматривается формирование внутренней политики СССР по этническому вопросу, анализируется феномен «нового человека» («человек советский») и меры, которые предпринимались советским правительством для его воспитания. Важным пунктом в статье является разор понятия «социалистический город» и определение причин того, почему Магнитогорск стал в 1930-е гг. площадкой для реализации государственного курса. В силу сложившихся исторических обстоятельств и реализации планов правительства, в город Магнитогорск приезжало население, различное по национальному признаку, социальному происхождению, побуждаемое к приезду в город разными причинами. Автором статьи дается анализ того, как в таких условиях люди сохраняли этническую идентичность, в частности исследовались конкретные способы сохранения украинской идентичности. Автором статьи проанализирована имеющаяся историография по теме, а также различные группы источников (местная периодическая печать 1930-1940-х годов и документы личного происхождения). Основным источником стали сведения, полученные в ходе интервью, взятых у родственников мигрантов-украинцев. Мы рассматривали четыре категории: добровольно прибывший на строительство предприятия по коммунистической путевке, крестьяне, бежавшие от голода 1930-х гг., и спасавшиеся от политики раскулачивания, жители Украины, эвакуированные в начале Великой Отечественной войны. Полученные данные позволили автору сделать выводы о способах сохранения украинскими мигрантами в Магнитогорске связи с родиной. Центральным аспектом статьи – вычленение и описание способов сохранения этнической идентичности, выразившиеся посредством языка, кухни, культуры, традиций. Представленное исследование важно для развития украинистики, а также для изучения истории города Магнитогорск в первые годы его существования.

**Ключевые слова.** Магнитогорск, этническая идентичность, Украина, УССР, устная история.

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## THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF UKRAINIANS IN HISTORICAL MEMORY IN THE SPACE OF A SOCIALIST CITY

**Abstract.** The study considered ways to preserve the Ukrainian identity. The analysis was carried out through the study of periodicals of the 1930s-1940s and personal documents. However, to a greater extent, the answer to the problem posed was given by the analysis of the collected interviews and descendants of Ukrainians. According to their stories, it was possible to find out whether the connection with the motherland was preserved in Magnitogorsk. The most important conclusion is the ways of preservation: language, cuisine, culture, traditions. The study is important for Ukrainian studies, as well as for studying the history of the city in the early years of its existence.

**Keywords:** Magnitogorsk, ethnic identity, Ukraine, USSR, oral history.

### *Introduction*

The city of Magnitogorsk has repeatedly become an object of research by historians. The themes of the founding of the city during the period of industrialization, the participation of foreigners in its construction in the 1930s, the role of Magnitogorsk industry during the war years attract the attention of most researchers. This is due to the fact that these processes were of a national nature, and the construction of the socialist city of Magnitogorsk from scratch was of great political importance. The specificity of the city also explains the fact that many scientific works are devoted to the history of the city's metallurgical enterprise. Local experts conduct research into the everyday life of Magnitogorsk in the 1930s, as well as the processes that took place in the city during the war.

However, many issues of social history remain unsolved. One of them is the history of various ethnic groups, who voluntarily or involuntarily arrived at the construction site in the early 1930s. As for the problem of preserving the national identity of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk under the conditions of the Stalinist regime and Soviet nationality policy, it is completely unexplored. Moreover, this problem was never considered or posed by researchers in this way, since the differences between Ukrainians and Russians were not given much importance, just as the differences between Muslim peoples in Magnitogorsk (Tatars and Bashkirs) were also never given special attention.

*Historiography*

Historiography concerned the research subject can be divided into two groups. The first group is represented by research by Russian historians. These are studies on the social history of the city (N. Makarova, M. Potemkina, V. Kucher) and studies focused on the adaptation problems of peoples who ended up in Magnitogorsk in the 1930–1940s (S. Akhmetzyanov, M. Potemkina). The second group is foreign historiography. The main research in this group is the work of Stephen Kotkin, which, among other things, contains little information about the life of non-Russian ethnic groups in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s. Foreign researchers are also interested in issues of urban planning under socialism.

Modern Russian publications mainly lie in the field of social history. The research by N. Makarova is devoted to the concept of the formation of a Soviet person - a “new” person in a “new” city [5]. Besides, the demographic composition of the population from the moment of its foundation to the beginning of the evacuation is analysed. In the article “A city without churches: religiosity in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s,” [4] the author examines not only anti-religious policy, but also the participation of the population in the city's party activities. On the basis of archival data, the gender, age, ethnic composition of the party was analysed, the level of education of party leaders in the city party organization was revealed [6].

The research by M. Potemkina is devoted to the evacuation of the population and enterprises to the southern Urals during the Second World War. The monograph “Conflict zones of evacuation in the USSR and ways to overcome them (1941-1945)” examines the issue of the stay of the evacuated population in Magnitogorsk. The paper considers the causes and objects of conflicts between the evacuees and the authorities, as well as with the indigenous inhabitants of the rear regions of the country. It was concluded that the main causes of conflicts were prohibitive measures for evacuation and re-evacuation, housing problems, income differences, social and national differences, stereotypes of mutual perception [7].

V. Kucher devoted his work to the first directors of the enterprise in the city of Magnitogorsk, many of whom were managers sent from Ukraine. When the construction of the metallurgical plant began, experienced managers were needed at the construction site. The Ukrainian Donbass was an old industrial area with experienced heavy industry specialists. For this reason, specialists from Donbass enterprises were in great demand and were sent by the state to build new industrial centres in the 1930s. The author points out that not only special settlers or volunteers from Ukraine came to the construction site, but also engineers forming a director corp. However, Kucher's research does not go beyond the issue of organizing production, there is no information about everyday life [3, p. 58]. These works contain information important for our research. We know about the population and what proportion was the Ukrainian population. There is information about conflicts among the local population. However, the history of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk, as such, has never been the subject of special research.

The monograph “Special Settlers – the First Builders of Magnitogorsk” by S. Akhmetzyanov provides comprehensive information about the life of the Tatars in the socialist city of Magnitogorsk. The research is based on archival documents as well as oral history materials. The author analyses the number of special settlers, their way of life, living and working conditions, the importance of subsidiary plots in the economy. It is alleged that all the special settlers had their own gardens, many kept domestic animals (chickens, goats) [1, p. 62]. This was due to the fact that they were mainly peasants, p. from the countryside and knew how to do this. The monograph says that “in the barracks of the Northern settlement there was an inpatient hospital. The only paramedic is Luka Trofimych Prisyazhnyuk, who freely arrived from the Vinnitsa region of Ukraine. He lived with his family in barracks No. 13 of the Starosevernyi” [1, p. 100]. Despite the fact that this study is not devoted to Ukrainians, it is a good example of the study of the history of an ethnic group during the years of industrialization.

In foreign historiography, the fundamental work on the history of Magnitogorsk and the enterprise is the book by the American researcher Stephen Kotkin “Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization”. In this major study, the scientist examines the numerous processes that took place in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s, including turning to social history.

S. Kotkin also mentioned Ukrainian immigrants. It is noted that the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to send communists and skilled workers from Dneprostroy to Magnitogorsk. According to the recollections of a worker from Mariupol, he and his wife were very surprised, because the city and production were completely unsettled and the move to Magnitogorsk looked like an exile under the Tsarist regime” [8, p. 75]. The American historian analysed how the population of the city was formed, by what methods the builders were recruited for the enterprise. One of the ways to recruit builders to Magnitogorsk was recruitment [8, p. 78]. Recruiters went to villages and talked about the brilliant prospects of an industrial enterprise under construction. The newspapers urged people to voluntarily go to socialist construction sites.

The researcher gives an example of how Magnitogorsk was reported in the political training classes at

the Artillery School Frunze in Odessa. The commissioner talked about a large modern city and asked who wants to go to the construction site. 10 people raised their hands, but they were all from the Urals. After voluntarily failing to recruit the required number of builders, they organized recruitment or (organized recruitment). Moreover, the constant need for workers has led to the fact that they began to recruit people from collective farms. In 1931, the People's Commissariat of Labour of the RSFSR recruited 12,500 people from the Central Black Earth regions, of which 7,205 were sent to Magnitogorsk; in 1932 – 22,520 people, 2,250 of them Magnitogorsk” [8, p. 77].

The author gives a table with information about the origin of the population who arrived in Magnitogorsk population in Magnitogorsk. Information is given on the reasons for arriving in Magnitogorsk, on the planned figures, the actual enrolment figures and the number of volunteers in Magnitogorsk. So, from the Western regions, according to the plan, they were supposed to recruit 16,000 workers, but in fact they recruited 7273 people, 582 people came voluntarily. The exact number of Ukrainians has not been specified.

However, S. Kotkin notes that there were 16,000 Ukrainians, Tatars and Bashkirs in total [8, p. 84]. Despite the fact that during 1931, 50 people arrived daily in Magnitogorsk, sometimes from 120 or more, many of them left the construction site due to lack of residence and generally poor living conditions [8, p. 468]. Thus, S. Kotkin indirectly touched upon the issue of the history of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine. The examples that the author cited in the monograph well illustrate the attitude of the Ukrainian population to working and living conditions in Magnitogorsk in the first years of its existence.

Thus, the available historiography does not allow us to answer questions related to the history of Ukrainian migrants in Magnitogorsk. In the published works, the issue of conflicts among the population is almost not raised, with the exception of emergency situations, for example, during the second world war.

### *Primary sources*

The source base of the study is represented by five groups of sources: archival materials, press newspapers, memoirs, interviews and visual sources. The content of the sources allows us to study the number of inhabitants and the ethnic composition of Magnitogorsk, to identify migration waves of the arrival of special settlers in the city, identify categories of the population, explore the forms of leisure and the causes of ethnic, social, labour conflicts among the population.

Archived data contain information about the population, education, employment. Useful information can be found in the local periodicals. There were two main city newspapers, which were opened in the 1930s. They covered not only city events, but also all-Union and world events. Particular attention was paid to the news of metallurgical production and the construction of the plant. Attention was paid to the cultural life of the city, announcements of upcoming cultural and leisure events appeared periodically.

Some of the information we need is available thanks to the recollections of eyewitnesses. However, when working with them, the difficulty arises, which lies in the fact that they were written much later than the events themselves and were censored. The authors did not mention many events at all. This tendency may be due to the fact that the real situation spoiled the image of the authorities, enterprises, cities. The head of the Trest “Magnitostroy”, V. Dymshits, wrote a book of memoirs called “Magnitka in a soldier’s great-coat”. Most of the memoirs are directly devoted to his work. V. Dymshits was sent to Magnitogorsk in 1939, when the volume of construction and installation work performed fell. Prior to this appointment, he was the head of the construction of the Krivoy Rog metallurgical plant [2, p. 105]. He writes very little about the microclimate in the society. “Many nationalities came to the city, including Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Belarussians, Moldovans, Jews” [2, pp. 159–160].

A more extensive work on the history of Magnitogorsk in the 1930s is the book-memoirs of the American worker J. Scott. The author recalls the period when he came to the construction of the enterprise. He pays a lot of attention to communication with people and everyday difficulties. The Ukrainians are mentioned sporadically in the book. He tells of one incident in a barrack after a hard day's work, when the residents organized leisure activities. “The working day is over, dinner was already on the stove, so it's time to sing. The Tatar worker sang two of his national songs. The young Ukrainian danced” [9].

J. Scott also reports on several workers who were originally from Ukraine, but for various reasons ended up in the city. Among them were management staff, prisoners and workers. He notes that they tried to adapt to the new rules “Chief engineer Tishchenko, convicted of sabotage in the Ramzin case in 1929, was first sentenced to death, then the sentence was changed to a milder one, and now he was serving a ten-year sentence in Magnitogorsk. Before the revolution, he worked as a responsible engineer for a Belgian company in the Ukraine. Then he had his own house, he played tennis with the British Consul, sent his son to Paris to study music. Now he was an old, completely gray-haired man” [9].

“Shevchenko is one of the biggest activists among the technical staff. His subordinates called him an engineer, but in fact he only graduated from the Institute of Red Directors, joined the party in 1923. He was a party worker and director of a large construction site in Donbass. He wrote in Russian with errors. Arriving in Magnitogorsk in 1931, he became deputy director of construction and headed the work of one of the sites. Shevchenko understood many years ago that it is more important to make it seem as if he is doing his job [9]. He was told that he was a careerist, and that he went over the head. Even during the civil war, he conducted counter-revolutionary activities, but later he tried with all his might to hide it. “And then a worker from some small Ukrainian town came to Magnitogorsk and began to tell stories about what Shevchenko did in 1920. Shevchenko gave this man money and gave him a good job, but nevertheless the whole story came out. Once Shevchenko was summoned to the regional party committee and there, they began to ask him various questions. The concealment of its counter-revolutionary activities from the party organs was a very serious crime in the Soviet Union, but, taking into account its good work, the district party committee hushed up this story” [9].

In 1937, political cleansing began in all structures in the city. “Shevchenko was arrested, a case of the “Shevchenko gang” was opened, in which about twenty people were involved, all of them were sentenced to long terms. For example, Nikolai Ivanovich Udkin, one of Shevchenko's colleagues, was the eldest son of a wealthy Ukrainian family. He was a staunch supporter of the view that Ukraine was conquered and suppressed, and now it is exploited by a group of Bolsheviks, consisting mainly of Russians and Jews, who are leading - not only Ukraine, but the entire Soviet Union as a whole to destruction. Moreover, he believed that the capitalist system functions much better than the socialist one. He expressed this opinion to his closest friends. He was also sentenced to 10 years in prison.” [9]. The published memoirs do not provide information about social and national conflicts, about the problems of adaptation of Ukrainian migrants in Magnitogorsk. The authors only indirectly mentioned the Ukrainians in their stories.

Unlike the flashbacks, the interview material largely answers our questions. Comparison and systematization of interviews makes it possible to identify some tendencies, patterns of life of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk. In some cases, respondents talk about what they previously preferred to be silent about. Interviews also allow «to draw» the cultural boundaries of an ethnic group - the frontiers that people built in order to preserve their identity, and strategies for adapting to life in a new socio-cultural environment.

***Ukrainianness: cultural boundaries, phenomenology of the ethnicity, adaptation in the cultural environment of a socialist city***

Descendants of Ukrainian settlers who arrived in the Urals in the 1930s live in modern Magnitogorsk. When looking for respondents, we wanted to find unique stories that would be different from each other. It would be interesting to compare the stories of a voluntarily arrived communists and peasants who fled from dispossession and hunger, or Ukrainians evacuated during the war. The main issues that interest us are the nature of migration processes in the 1930–1940ss and the cultural identity of the descendants of Ukrainian immigrants.

The respondents in this work were close relatives, most often grandchildren, of Ukrainian migrants. They could not answer many questions for various reasons. First, there was a so-called “silence” in the family. In other words, the respondents answered that they did not talk in their families about their previous life in Ukraine or they did not like to talk about their life in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s. It can be assumed that this tendency is due to the fact that in Soviet times there were fears to say something, because of which later it was possible to have problems with the authorities. In addition, many noted that their ancestors loved their homeland, Ukraine, and would like to return there and lead their usual way of life, but this was impossible. In this regard, the memories of Ukraine were psychologically difficult for them. Secondly, another tendency can be traced, when the descendants themselves were not interested in the past of their family. During a conversation with them, you can repeatedly hear that they regret not asking about many moments when relatives were alive. However, even what we managed to learn allows us to draw some conclusions about certain trends in the life of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk during the years of industrialization and war.

Five interviews were conducted for the research. One of the first questions was the question of the place of birth. We found out that our respondents were from the city of the town of Nikolaev (Nikolaev region)<sup>1</sup>; from the village of Ternovka (Ivano-Frankivsk region)<sup>2</sup>; the town of Lohvitsa town (Poltava region)<sup>3</sup>; the village of Mikhailovka (Kirovograd region)<sup>4</sup>. Thus, we see that we moved from Central, South,

<sup>1</sup> Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

<sup>2</sup> Tatiana Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021. Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

<sup>3</sup> Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

Western Ukraine. As you know, it was in these regions that dekulakization and famine of the 1930s were most affected.

When talking about the reasons for arriving in Magnitogorsk, respondents said that their ancestors were peasants without education, and all of them, with the exception of one case, fled from Ukraine in order to survive.

Only in one case did a person believe in the idea of communism and, following a communist ticket (“*putevka*”), purposefully headed to build an industrial enterprise: “My grandfather was a communist and called himself a Bolshevik. Arriving at the construction site in Sotsgorod, he fell in love with this place. He worked at the enterprise on a machine tool. He trained many workers. His wife upon arrival in Magnitogorsk worked as a stenographer, then stayed at home and ran the household”, said A. Begelman<sup>5</sup>.

The Pashkovsky family came to Magnitogorsk in 1929, when the process of dekulakization began in Ukraine. Grandfather Pavel Timofeevich Pashkovsky worked in the OGPU (The Joint State Political Directorate), was directly involved in dekulakization of other peasants. “After one incident, my grandfather came home and said: “I can’t do this anymore, I’m running away, otherwise they will shoot me as an enemy of the people”. He ran away that night. His wife, Pashkovskaya Paraska (Praskovya in her passport) Danilovna quickly sold their house and domestic animals and followed to the Urals for him. They lived not far from Magnitogorsk, in the village of Mochagi. There my grandfather got a job at the railway. Grandmother was engaged in the household. They did not want to move to the city, it was inconvenient there. “They really wanted to return to their homeland. By the summer of 1941 they had already made up their minds, but the war broke out and it was not possible to return to Ukraine”<sup>6</sup>.

“The family of Vasily Petrovich Shutya left for the Urals from Ukraine due to hunger, but the exact year of arrival is not known, it was around 1940. At first, they lived in a mud hut, then in a barrack, and after 1945 they were given an apartment. They worked on the railway and in the depot”<sup>7</sup>.

Another respondent is a descendent of the evacuees during the war. They were educated people. After arriving in the city in 1942, they worked either in their specialty or at the plant<sup>8</sup>.

The living conditions of the people who arrived in the city were quite similar. All of them first lived in a tent or mud hut, then for a while in a barrack, and only then they were given a separate home or an appartement (or most often a room in a communal appartement). However, there was a difference in the housing they were given. For example, the Begelman family was allocated land for the construction of a house with a subsidiary farm. “My grandfather knew a lot about gardening from Ukraine”<sup>9</sup>. Here are the other respondents’ answers: “At first, they lived in a barrack, then they gave them a house. There were many people in the village, they helped each other in construction.”<sup>10</sup>. “In Ukraine, people were not rich, but there was a small plot. Upon arrival in Magnitogorsk, they lived in a mud hut and a barrack. Only after 1945 they moved in an apartment in a new building. The garden was given a plot for gardening in the 1950s”<sup>11</sup>.

As for the maintenance of subsidiary farming, we cannot say that gardening was a distinctive feature only of Ukrainians, it is not so. Many had small plots of land that they received through their work. However, according to the stories of the descendants of Ukrainians, their relatives knew how to grow a garden and run a household, and this distinguished them from many in Magnitogorsk. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that all these people were peasants in Ukraine, where fertile soils and a mild climate, and they knew how to work on the land. All respondents confirmed that in their families it was not just routine work. They did it competently, and the neighbours even envied their skills. “My grandfather studied gardening from books, He called himself a “*Michurinist*” (derived from the surname of Michurin – a famous Russian practitioner of selection to produce new types of crop plants). My grandfather was one of the first to grow apple trees in the city. Many neighbours came to see, because they did not believe that such apple trees could be grown in the Urals. Later he grew currants, raspberries, vegetables. When he was still living in Ukraine, he saw how the inhabitants cultivated a garden and were engaged in farming”<sup>12</sup>.

The Pashkovsky family, having arrived in the Urals, also began to restore their household. However,

4 Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021

5 Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

6 Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

7 Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

8 Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

9 Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

10 Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

11 Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

12 Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

due to high taxes, they did not seek to keep a lot of animals. “They kept chickens, sheep, bulls, pigs, and later took up beekeeping. They planted a vegetable garden with a plough, harnessed it like there, in Ukraine, but instead of horses they harnessed a bull». Apart from potatoes, buraki (beetroot from Ukrainian) and tsibuli (onion from Ukrainian) were grown; this is how the family called beets and onions”<sup>13</sup>.

The daughter of the Zaslavets family recalls that «during the evacuation period, the workers of the enterprise were allocated a small plot of land, it was necessary in order to feed themselves in difficult years. “The family's garden they got only in the 1980s. and everything was grown there. “They especially wanted to grow a “shvanka” (cherry from Ukrainian), which I remembered for its taste from my childhood in Ukraine. We see the “perception of Ukraine as a garden” with a lot of trees: apple trees, apricots, cherries”<sup>14</sup>. “There was a garden, my grandfather was very fond of apple trees. His relatives often sent him seedlings for the garden from Ukraine. He knew how to work in the garden. He often helped neighbours on garden issues”<sup>15</sup>.

Residents of Ukraine who arrived in Magnitogorsk, as a rule, came empty-handed, taking only essential things. For this reason, they did not bring national clothes and household items with them. The decoration of the house was no different from others. In addition, there was nothing to buy in the shops in the city. The Zaslavets family “still keeps grandmother's and great-grandmother's national costumes from Ukraine”. In addition, the house has Ukrainian curtains and dishes. There is a dress specially sewn from fragments of great-grandmother's clothes. It is kept as a memory of family roots. It is customary in our family to keep things and the memory of the historical homeland. Some things were specially brought from Ukraine, but at a later time, around the 1980s”<sup>16</sup>, – recalls O. Zaslavets.

V. Shut shared her recollections: “In my grandparents' house there was a chest from and an etagere cabinet from Ukraine. There was a portrait of Stalin in one corner, and the portraits of Gogol and Shevchenko in another corner. “The authorities in our family were treated as it was supposed to at that time”<sup>17</sup>.

The interior of the dwelling we could not restore. Moreover, if a Ukrainian flavour was created in the family in Magnitogorsk, it was at a later time. In the 1930–1940ss it was extremely difficult.

In this study, we ask ourselves the question of how to identify people who came from Ukraine. From the interviews, it becomes clear that this is mainly the cuisine, less often the language and folk traditions.

“Grandma cooked a lot. Holidays were celebrated by close relatives and closest friends. Dishes were prepared in different ways, mainly she loved to bake cakes. But she took all the recipes from books. For the winter, they preserved cucumbers, carrots, beets in barrels. This taste was indescribable. They did not forget about the Ukrainian origins, but due to new conditions they transformed food practices and changed the recipe to suit the situation. When we had holidays, we sang songs. These were folk songs, but mostly Russian,” says Begelman. But in this family, they only celebrated communist holidays and birthdays. In Magnitogorsk, they did not have Ukrainian folk holidays. “Our mother made her own New Year's costumes, which were with elements of the national Ukrainian costume. This was due to a number of reasons, including the connection with relatives who remained in Ukraine”<sup>18</sup>.

In the Shut family “many Ukrainian relatives visited them in Magnitogorsk. They always sang Ukrainian songs, spoke Ukrainian. When relatives came, that grandfather put on a shirt with embroidered national elements, which was sewn by his wife. In ordinary life, grandmother and grandfather did not speak Ukrainian. Their children did not speak Ukrainian at all, but they understood this language. The parents were called ‘papka’ and ‘mamka’, like in Ukraine”. Very often they sent parcels from Ukraine from relatives, there were apples and other food. The grandfather had special cutlery that was sent from Ukraine. He only used them, they were ‘dvuzubka’ (two-tooth) and ‘trekhzubka’ (three-tooth). The family often cooked national dishes.

The usual menu of the family included “compotes (sent from Ukraine), ‘kholodets’ (pork jelly), traditional Ukrainian soup borsch, Ukrainian ‘varenyky’ (dumplings with raw potatoes and lard) or sweet ‘varenyky’ with cherries or cottage cheese”. “There was lard on the table instead of bread,” the granddaughter recalls. “My grandmother loved to cook ‘kapustnyak’ which consisted of meat broth (pork), cabbage and millet. They made a lot of vegetable and fruit preservations: salted cabbage, pickled apples, jam. It was very similar to what it was in Ukraine, because they used the same technologies in cooking. Often, they sent jerky goose meat from Ukraine; they hardly ate chicken. They made ‘gorilka’ (Ukrainian vodka), but never used it themselves”<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021

<sup>14</sup> Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

<sup>15</sup> Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

<sup>16</sup> Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

<sup>17</sup> Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

<sup>18</sup> Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

<sup>19</sup> Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.



In the Pashkovsky family, the names of the children differed from those that were recorded in the passport: 'Petr – Petro', 'Maria – Mariyka', that is, at home, they called each other in Ukrainian. Children, unlike their parents, hardly spoke Ukrainian, but they understood it. "My first alphabet was in Ukrainian, my father brought it. It was the early 1980s. But no one emphasized that my alphabet was in Ukrainian, I thought I was learning the Russian letters," the granddaughter recalls. "There was 'лодка' for letter 'ч' as it is 'челнок' in Ukrainian, 'лук' for letter 'ц' as it is 'цыбуля' in Ukrainian."<sup>20</sup>

They remember that my grandmother loved 'спевать' (singing) in Ukrainian. They knew Russian in the family even during their life in Ukraine, but this was a forced measure. This knowledge came in handy in the Urals, where they spoke Russian. "My grandmother spoke Russian with a strong Ukrainian accent, but my grandfather did not." The reason is that the grandmother did not work in the family, she kept the household and was engaged in household chores, and the grandfather worked in a team on the railway. Despite the parents' love for the Ukrainian language in the family, their children no longer spoke it. Moreover, "one of the sons indicated in the column 'nationality' in the passport that he was Russian. The family laughed that he was the only Russian in the family", a relative shared her memory. "The motivation for this act was that he believed it was easier to be Russian. This makes it easier to move up the career ladder."<sup>21</sup>

There is a lot of information about Ukrainian cuisine in families. Ukrainian dishes were always prepared in the house. "Borsch, cooked in Ukrainian, with cracklings and lard. The lard was cooked in all possible ways: they rubbed a crust of bread with lard instead of garlic, they salted lard in a barrel with spices, they made 'pelmeny' with meat and lard, they cooked vegetables using lard instead of oil. They loved sausages and made it themselves; that was sausages with chopped meat and blood as in Ukrainian." Were also made 'gorilka' (with wheat or potato). "Pickles from cabbage, cucumbers, and later tomatoes were made in barrels. They cooked 'piluski' that is marinated red cabbage (with beetroot) as in Ukraine."<sup>22</sup>

"Religious holidays were not celebrated here, as it was dangerous. The family talked a little about Ukraine, but the grandmother often went there, she visited relatives every year and loved to celebrate traditional holidays there. She loved that communication and that way of life. The family loved traditional holidays. "We went to sing carols around the village. It was customary to 'praise Christmas', that is to come to the house, sang and receive gifts for it - cookies, sweets. In Ukraine, celebrations were on a large scale, but in the village of Mochagi they could not do it, the traditional holidays were not allowed."<sup>23</sup> It is for this reason that Paraska Danilovna often went to Ukraine. The other important tradition that was preserved in the family to this day is to address to mum in a respectful way 'вы', but not 'ты'. This was explained by the fact that a woman is considered together with children.

"Parents' attitudes to the Ukrainian traditions were different, but the family kept some of them, especially Ukrainian cuisine. They always made Ukrainian recipes, E. Zaslavets recalls, "the cooking of my mother-in-law was very special." She cooked stewed potatoes with chicken, steamed dumplings with cottage cheese or cherries, floating in the fat, jellied meat, borscht, jelly, etc. Pickles were also made like in Ukraine. "I remember a lot of cherry and apricot jam. They cooked pork stew"<sup>24</sup>. In addition, they used chicken and dairy products in any form.

Everyone in the family knew Ukrainian. In the summer, the granddaughter was sent to Ukraine to her grandmother, who taught the children the language. Parents did not often speak Ukrainian at home, but they communicated with relatives in Ukrainian. The family took great care of the traditional Ukrainian celebrations. When someone was in Ukraine, he took part in traditional folk festivals. In Magnitogorsk, such holidays were a reason to get together with your family. In addition to Soviet holidays, the Intercession Day and Ivan Kupala were celebrated. At home in Lohvitsa, the holidays were celebrated magnificently. In Magnitogorsk, they also celebrated, but without paraphernalia, and also gathered and remembered how it was in Ukraine<sup>25</sup>.

Thus, the preservation of culture took place mainly through the culture of food, less often through the language and even less often through celebrations. In addition, life in the city and the countryside was very different. In the village, traditions are kept longer. This is due to the fact that in rural areas there is less population flow, life is more measured. The city is densely populated, the urban population has a very motley national and social composition, the population mixes and over time the traditions of their ancestors are

<sup>20</sup> Tatiana Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>24</sup> Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

forgotten. Traditions were maintained if there was a strong connection with relatives living in Ukraine.

Another aspect of the study is the attitude of Ukrainians to the city's population. All of the interviewed said that there was no enmity, especially national hostility. Only rare everyday conflicts took place. Communication with other people in the city was mostly neutral. "There were friends of different nationalities, the most important thing is that they were all workers and communists; all were equal. Relatives from Ukraine came, but not often." Conflict situations more often occurred in 1941-1945 during the evacuation period. "The evacuees, it was a woman with children, were put into the grandfather's house. The conflicts were on domestic grounds because the grandmother loved the cleanliness, and the evacuees sometimes did not maintain their rooms in a proper state. To any conflict, the evacuees answered, "our husbands are at the front, and yours is here in the rear," to this rebuke my grandmother could not answer anything."<sup>26</sup>

"There were no bad relations in the village. Nobody looked for differences between Russians and Ukrainians." The process of Russification took place later, when the children moved from the countryside to the city to study, and the way of life there changed. In the village, they did not have to adapt to others, only their grandfather went to work. Therefore, there was simply no need to abandon the familiar language and way of life. The village predisposes to the preservation of traditions. It was impossible in the city." Strangers were treated with apprehension, distrust, but benevolently. Close communication was not with everyone, only close friends from the village. "They were Ukrainians, there were no such close ties with the Russians." They talked like neighbours, provided assistance, as is usually the case in villages. There were unpleasant incidents, conflicts, but this was connected with everyday issues "because of the earth or a well. They stole hay from each other." There was no hostility, everyone hid, if something unpleasant happened, they protected each other<sup>27</sup>. In Magnitogorsk, the Ukrainians did not have ethnic conflicts. Ukrainian culture was not cultivated in the family. There was no emphasis on nationality. "During the evacuation, city residents helped their mother, did not look at the origin."<sup>28</sup>

"No emphasis was placed on Ukrainian origin." Not much was said about Ukraine. They treated everyone well, there were no conflicts, people were always greeted hospitably, and it does not matter who it was. Guests were always invited to the table" [13].

### Conclusion

The main question in this study is how to find the main features that distinguish Ukrainians from the rest of the city's population. We think that we will be able to find concrete examples, ways of preserving identity, which were manifested through the preservation of language, traditions, and strong ties with relatives in Ukraine. We are looking for special cases that would be able to demonstrate this. The interviews show that there is a strong sense of belonging to an ethnicity and that it is a matter of culture (language, food, rituals). In families there are memories about the migration process and the "roots". The interviews show that there is a strong sense of belonging to an ethnicity and that it is a matter of culture (language, food, rituals). In families there are memories about the migration process and the "roots". Despite the specifics of the city, which, according to experts, was motley both nationally and socially, Ukrainian immigrants felt a connection with their homeland. This attachment was expressed in the above cases in different ways (especially through the kitchen, language).

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<sup>26</sup> Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

<sup>27</sup> Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

<sup>28</sup> Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.



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