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Adjustment process of Russian immigrants in California

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ADJUSTMENT PROCESS OF RUSSIAN
IMMIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Irina Gubanova

December, 1995

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ABSTRACT

ADJUSTMENT PROCESS OF RUSSIAN
IMMIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA

by Irina Gubanova

This thesis addresses the topic of the adjustment process of Russian immigrants in California and the differences in that process among five waves of the three most sizable groups of such immigrants in California: Orthodox, Christians, Jews.

It analyzes the characteristics of the adjustment process: English language skills, economic incorporation, housing, employment, adaptation to a new culture and values, and development of social involvement into American life among the five waves of Russian immigration.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE OF STUDY

Introduction

The way in which a country treats immigrants is an organic outgrowth of its national history and values. A system of immigrant resettlement has developed within the overall context of American national traditions, the purposes attached to immigration, and the ideologies that have developed around it. During the resettlement in the United States, immigrants from other countries are faced with the process of adjusting to a new culture and society.

The concept of adjustment assumes certain goal-directed forces or guiding mechanisms within the system. The guiding mechanism may be regarded largely as acquired during an individual's interaction with his social environment. The structures of secondary needs, evaluation attitudes and norms are developed during the process of socialization. The process and results of the coming together of peoples is generally discussed using the terms assimilation and acculturation. These terms have been defined by social scientists in various ways, sometimes sharing, overlapping, or interchanging in meaning. Kupferer & Rubel (1973) called acculturation as "the process which occurs when an individual learns a culture different from his own" (p. 104). To Milton Gordon (1964), acculturation is the first step in a broader assimilation process, when the newcomer adopts the cultural patterns (dress, food, religion, etc.) of the socially dominant group. Assimilation is a term most often used in discussions of intergroup relations. In

America, many assume assimilation to mean the gradual absorption of a minority group by a dominant group with the end result being the loss of the minority's separate identity and the emergence of an enlarged and homogenous society. However, as defined sociologically, assimilation does not mean the complete, homogenous merger of all social units involved in the action, nor an exclusively one way process in which the minority passively accepts the cultural and social influences of the socially dominant group. It is meant to be a process of give and take, of mutual, although unequal diffusion, between the groups (Barron, 1958). Other theorists (Glazer, 1963; Ex, 1966) have also devised scales and schemes to measure and predict the adjustment by which minorities are incorporated into American society, although none is as extensive as Milton Gordon.

Milton Gordon, defines assimilation as the process whereby minorities or incoming outside groups are incorporated into the host society, which in America means the middle class cultural patterns of, largely, white Anglo-Saxon origins. Gordon divides the assimilation process into seven basic subprocesses, which are:

1. cultural or behavioral assimilation--characterized by change of cultural patterns to those of the host society.
2. structural assimilation--characterized by large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on a primary group level (where contact is personal, informal, intimate, usually face to face, and involving the entire personality).
3. marital assimilation--characterized by large scale intermarriage.
4. identificational assimilation--characterized by development of the sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society.
5. attitude receptional assimilation--characterized by absence of prejudice.

6. behavior receptional assimilation--characterized by absence of discrimination.

7. civic assimilation--characterized by absence of value and power conflict.

According to Gordon (1964), the keystone of the arch of assimilation is structural assimilation. Once it has occurred, either simultaneously or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow. The cost of assimilation to that extent is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values. Gordon concludes that, in American society, there has been widespread ethnic acculturation, but beyond that, assimilation has advanced considerably less.

Although there is an enormous literature about the processes of ethnic acculturation and assimilation in American life, little has been written about the cultural and social adjustments of Russian groups. Scholarly studies on Russian adaptation to the American society are limited in number. Most of the publications (Glazer, Gitelman, & Gold) have focused on the Jewish Russian group. Other groups have been studied less often. The topic of Russian-immigrant adjustment is also of great personal interest, as the writer is an immigrant, and as such, has experienced the often painful process of adjustment to the American society.

Statement of Problem

This study focuses on adjustment of the three groups of Russian immigrants in California: Orthodox, Christian sectarians, and Jews. The impact of religion, social status,

and national origin of Russian immigrants on their adjustment to American life presents a complex and interrelated set of problems.

A general consensus exists in the literature reviewed (Barron, 1967; Bash, 1979) that the adjustment for a first-generation immigrants follows a certain pattern. That pattern consists of the immigrant adjusting to the extent necessary for economic progress and the launching of his children into the mainstream of American life, while retaining for himself the lifestyle and values he brought with him. The second-generation adopts American lifestyles, intermarries with other ethnic groups, and retains only vestiges of their parents' language and culture. The third generation disappears into the anonymity of American life. Most of the sources consulted concur that America's treatment of Russian immigrants has not differed significantly from her treatment of other Europeans. Russian immigrants, while following the traditional scheme of starting at the bottom, have been well accepted and have moved relatively rapidly up the socioeconomic scale. The process has undoubtedly been aided by their racial indistinguishability from the dominant group and their overwhelming concern with economic success.

Yet, in some ways, Russians have not been typical of other Euro-American immigrant groups in the United States, and their spatial patterns of settlement reflect this difference. Russian residential enclaves have been relatively slow to disperse through time, not only in urban areas but in isolated rural areas as well. Distinct Russian neighborhoods in many American cities continue to persist through several generations into the 1990s. Many are located on the edge of the city in well-bounded, isolated enclaves.

Several factors have contributed historically to this Russian tendency to cluster in distinct settlement nodes. Until the late 1980s, the Soviet Union was viewed as the supreme enemy of the American people. Russian immigrants, therefore, had to bear the burden of this negative perception. Many were viewed as hostile Communists, enemies of the American government, or even spies. In some measure, it was a reaction against this perception that encouraged many Russians to remain in more safe and secure ethnic enclaves. Their mode of adjustment also reflects the influence of their collective experience as a religiously diverse group of people. Russians carry the stigma of belonging to a strange and relatively unknown variant of mainstream Christianity. Russian Orthodox dogma and ritual often seem uncomfortably “pagan” to more fundamentalist Christians (Hardwick, 1993).

Purposes of Study

This thesis examines patterns of adjustment of Russian immigrants in California and attempts to answer a number of questions: How have Russian immigrants related to and fit into the social, cultural, and economic life of their new country? What have been their experiences and how have they had to adjust into a new society? However, the most important question of this study is: To what extent did Russian immigrants adjust to American life during each of the five waves of Russian immigration? The following specific issues have been treated: (1) the problems of resettlements; (2) the effect of religious and cultural background on immigrants’ adjustment; (3) the influence of immigration upon their ethnic identity and consciousness.

Significance of Study

For over two centuries, the Pacific region has served as an important migration destination for Russians. Russian Orthodox, Christian sectarians and Jews, the most numerous groups among Russian immigrants to enter the United States from Russia during 1880-1990s, feature a combination of similarities and differences that facilitate a comparative study. Basic similarities among these groups include their origins in the Russian language, culture and habits. Contrasts among the three groups include levels of ethnic consciousness (Russian Christians and Jews were well acquainted with minority group status, while Russian Orthodox persons were not), and the presence of co-ethnics in the United States (Jews are a long-established ethnic group, while the ethnic Russians are a new one).

This study compares and contrasts the experiences of the five waves of Russian immigration as they sought to adjust to America. Each wave comes with different baggage-experiences and reasons for leaving Russia (while the Russians of the early stage of immigration have experience in small business and other self-directed community endeavors, such as churches, the Soviet immigrants grew up in a society where economic and communal life were strictly regulated by the state), and therefore had different expectations.

Russians were the first Europeans to discover and investigate the Northwest coast of North America and the islands of the North Pacific. Following this initial era of Russian

frontier expansion, five waves of Russian migration and settlement swept into the United States:

First Wave: 1880-1917
 Second Wave: 1917-1945
 Third Wave: 1945-1987
 Fourth Wave: 1987-1992
 Fifth Wave: 1992-1994

This time frame has been frequently used in the literature on Russian immigration

(Feldman, 1978; Frankel, 1981; & Hardwick, 1993).

Since 1988, a sudden influx of new Russian immigrants into the region has begun to change the ethnic character of California immigration. Openness, restructuring, and other policies affecting emigration from the former Soviet Union have made it possible for thousands of new immigrants to resettle in the United States. In the chaos of political and economic restructuring, it is uncertain how long this open-door policy will continue. But whatever the future holds, changes in Russia are increasingly being reflected in the California cultural landscape, as new immigrants settle in many parts of the state. The results of this study will provide a better understanding of Russians in California and how they interact with the host society.

Method of Study

The present study explores Russian immigrant adjustment by reviewing the literature on immigrant adjustment in general, and Russian immigrant adjustment in particular. In addition to this review of secondary sources, other information, from interviews with immigrants and social workers, is used. That information was corroborated by the

writer's personal experience as an immigrant. Historical analysis was used as a basis for understanding the attitudinal dynamics related to adjustment.

Interviews were conducted on the premise that each respondent was special and significant, not merely a statistic to be added to a massive report. Because the small sample was selected to cover a wide range of immigrant experiences, some groups may have been represented disproportionately. Therefore, great attention was given to the length of each interview so that the unique perceptions, special individuality, and diverse personalities of each respondent could be fully appreciated. All respondents were assured total anonymity, especially that their real names would not be used.

CHAPTER II

Russian frontier in California 1812-1841

Russians were among the first Europeans to foresee the possibilities of California. They came across Siberia, felt their way down North America's Pacific coast, and by the middle of the eighteenth century started hunting sea otters for their skins in San Francisco Bay. The first step in this process was the formation of the Russian-American Company in 1799, with headquarters on Sitka Island, off the Alaska coast.

The Russian-American Company sent an expedition to visit the Spanish in San Francisco in 1806 "to secure much needed provisions for the Russian colonies in Alaska" (Essing, 1933). Rezanov, the leader of this California expedition, planned to have Russians control all the land from San Francisco Bay to the Columbia River.

In the spring of 1812, a second Russian expedition chose a site for a new settlement near Port Rumyantsev (Bodega Bay) on a bare plateau high above the Pacific Ocean about eleven miles north of the Russian River. This location was traditional Pomo-Indian land, stretching from the Guala River to an area just south of the Russian River. With the arrival of the Russians, the Pomos agreed to deed some of their land after an exchange of gifts. These native Americans no doubt thought the Russians would provide a safety barrier between them and the ever-encroaching Spanish (Schwartz, 1978).

The construction of a fort and compound began immediately at the new settlement with the cutting of coast redwood trees. The Russians built a stockade, commander's house, windmill, forge, chapel, tannery, cattle sheds, and cemetery for their new

settlement. It was officially called Ross, from the root word for Russia, although the site was also known as Slavyano-Ross by local Russian and Slavic visitors. The Spanish and English, recognizing the defensive strength of the settlement, called it Fort Ross.

After the Russian stockade was completed, the Pomos immediately settled in the area surrounding it. Within a short time a tricultural community was established consisting of Russian Administrators, Aleut hunters, and Pomo-Indians who were employed as laborers. This relationship lasted for nearly three decades until the depletion of the local otter population, the failure of the agricultural venture, and the clash of international political interests, all of which led the Russians to withdraw from California. Meanwhile, many Indians learned to speak Russian, acquired some elements of Russian culture, and occasionally intermarried with Russians.

Everyone in the vicinity of Fort Ross was in the service of the Russian-American Company. The Russians, some of whom had received naval school training in St. Petersburg, worked as officials, leaders of hunting expeditions, and craftsmen. The Aleuts were expert hunters and fishermen; the Pomos were farm workers and artisans. American life for the Russians at Ross was peaceful and pastoral. The beauty of the surroundings was undeniable and imparted a sense of well-being that was recorded by many residents (Schwartz, 1978).

Trade relations between the Spanish missionaries and the Russians began early. The Spanish supplied the Russians with their first cattle and horses. Officially such trade was soon forbidden, but it never wholly ceased. When trade declined after 1821 following the

opening of all Californian ports to foreign trade, the change was rather due to competition between Russian and Anglo-American merchandise than to national hostility. Trade relations were also hampered by the Mexican imposition of new anchorage fees on all foreign vessels entering Californian ports. In a sense, Bodega Bay, controlled by the commandant at Fort Ross, remained the only free port in California. Boston ships, it is interesting to note, seeking to avoid payment of the new duties came to Bodega Bay to acquire food supplies and to trade with the Russians (Hardwick, 1993).

The unique three-way culture that evolved at Fort Ross of Russians, Indians, and Aleuts was apparently one of genuine cooperation. Many non-Russian speakers acquired a basic understanding of the Russian language, and certain Russian words found their way into the Indian vocabulary. At five Indian sites later uncovered within a half mile of the stockade, artifacts have been found that show a use of Russian glass and porcelain in the crafting of ornaments and other objects. It is also known that Indian wives and children accompanied their Russian husbands and fathers north to Alaska and to Russia after the sale of Fort Ross in 1841 which ended Russia's frontier settlement in California.

In summary, the earliest Russian settlement at California's Fort Ross was primarily involved in agriculture, hunting sea otter, trading with Californians, and expeditions which explored as far as what is today Sonoma County. The adjustment to the American way of life for Russians was relatively easy in terms of acculturation was not necessary since they were the more culturally advanced than the native Americans. Russians strongly influenced the native Americans through daily interactions, religious activities,

and intermarriages. Fort Ross became a stronghold of frontier experiences for early Russian immigrants.

First Wave: 1880-1917

Russian Orthodox

With the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867, the Treaty of Cession stated that Russian residents of Alaska had a choice of residency. They could either return to Russia and retain their Russian nationality or remain in Alaska and enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States. Most who remained in the United States planned to stay only long enough to save money for a better life in their homeland. A number of those who chose to stay in Alaska later traveled to San Francisco to begin new lives as Americans. These “Alaskan” immigrants found other Russians who had come to the area after the sale of Fort Ross in the 1840s and the Gold Rush in the 1850s. Russian immigration into California was also encouraged by the turbulent situation in Russia caused by the loss of the Russo-Japanese War, and by the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad at the turn of the century. This transcontinental link made migration from European to Asian Russia possible. The cities of Vladivostok and Harbin subsequently became major embarkation points for Russians on their way to the west coast of North America. The vast majority hoped to begin more prosperous lives in the United States.

Economic opportunities in California’s largest city encouraged Russian residents and businesses to locate near downtown San Francisco. City directories document evolving

Russian location patterns in San Francisco during these early years. Although Russian businesses and residences tended to cluster in a distinct pattern between 1860 and 1890, an analysis of surnames in city directories reveals that a variety of other ethnic groups also lived and worked among the Russians in the city's increasingly heterogeneous neighborhoods (Hardwick, 1993). A sense of community is a very personal feeling. In fact, most Americans include community as a component of their sense of identity. This certainly was the case with the early Russian immigrants arriving in this country. Living in a new land far from Russia, these immigrants looked for ways to reconnect and maintain their ties with their past.

The development of an ethnonational identity is essentially a process of education and socialization. Different historical experiences, combined with divergent interpretations of those experiences by various socializing institutions, result in different perceptions of significant events, produce different responses to these events, and have different effects on the identity of the group. The role of nationally oriented institutions is to serve as a kind of consistent "filter," first for creation and later for the maintenance of certain ethnic sentiments and symbols within a context of group uniformity. For Russians it was the Russian Orthodox church that played this role.

Finding no Orthodox churches upon their arrival in California, Orthodox believers in San Francisco organized a Greek-Russian-Slavic Orthodox Church and Charitable Society in 1867 to promote and preserve the Orthodox faith. From 1868 to 1872, the multiethnic Orthodox church in San Francisco was called the Prayer House of the

Orthodox Oriental Church and was located on Greenwich Street. After seven moves between 1868 and 1909, the small prayer house grew into today's All Holy Trinity Cathedral, rebuilt on the corner of Green Street and Van Ness Avenue after the 1906 earthquake. Adding strength to the Orthodox presence in the city, the Russian Orthodox church headquarters was transferred from Sitka to San Francisco in the 1870s. The trend appeared to be that of a Russian Orthodox community developing around its religious institutions. Indeed, it was common for a developing community to request and pay the passage for a priest and in certain cases, his family, once it became established. With the rise of the church, a strong feeling of identity would develop in the community (Day, 1934).

The single immigrant worked hard, spent very little, and saved the rest. At first, he would send almost all of his savings home, and often he would literally starve in order to do so. Few immigrants saved less than \$20.00 a month and many were able to put aside as much as \$50.00. In time, however, the immigrant's attitude changed, the remittances were much reduced, and he began thinking about investing his money rather than sending it home. In this way, he indicated that he had begun to consider staying instead of returning eventually to Russia (Devis, 1922).

Starting a business was not complicated: a few hundred dollars would be enough to open a little store, which might have looked dark and unattractive to American eyes, yet seemed well-stocked with an assortment of simple goods desired by the immigrants, the first and frequently only clientele. The majority of Russian immigrants were laborers in

the stockyards and mills. Surrounded by other Russian Orthodox families and friends, they spent the rest of their lives living in this Russian enclave. Throughout the adjustment process, first-generation Russian Orthodox immigrants clung to their religious beliefs as the only sure thing in a strange and often confusing new place.

The failure of the Russian Orthodox to participate in the life and institutions of the larger community resulted in indifference on the part of the city government with the result that the section of the city occupied by the colony was very poorly serviced, and many signs of communal deterioration were in evidence. Health problems, housing conditions, policing problems became more and more acute in the district. After some time the Russians came to recognize the problems of their district. When the situation became extremely aggravating they petitioned the school authorities, the police commission, the anti-saloon organizations. But their petitions had little effect since they came from a group of non-voters.

Under these circumstances, young people discovered that it was possible to cross the line from Russian Orthodox to American life with comparative ease. A number of young people alienated themselves from their native culture and became "American." A few intermarried. And as their economic independence grew their parents gave them greater and greater freedom and reluctantly confessed admiration for their success in American life (Devis, 1922).

Russian Jews

Between 1881 and 1910, more than one million Jews departed the Russian empire. Because Jews were only contingently a part of Czarist Russia (enduring various legal restrictions on where they could live and work, and often speaking only Yiddish), once they left, they hardly looked back. They concentrated on the life they intended to build in their new country. Thus began the significant Russian-Jewish communities in the United States. It was mainly a movement of poor people. Most of them were helped by one or more of the many Jewish migration and resettlement services, which developed professional staffs, supported and financed by the American Jewish community. The great majority of the newly arrived immigrants headed for the East Coast, either to join friends or relatives, or because those places were already known as industrial centers in need of labor. From there, they spread further west, following the trails of the railroad companies (Levinger, 1949).

The character of Jewish migration differed from that of other Russians in that Jews migrated as families and at times whole villages migrated to the United States. A significant number of early ethnic Russian immigrants preferred to return home after earning enough in the United States to free them of past debts and mortgages incurred in Russia. The main difference between these groups and the Jewish immigrants is that the latter came as families predominantly and tended to view their migration as a permanent one. Because of these migration patterns, Jewish community membership tended to be

more stable than that of Russian Orthodox. This stability produced a stronger commitment to advancement and to American society (Levinger, 1949).

Early settlement patterns for this group of immigrants showed major concentrations in New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. Russian Jews were aided by the American Jewish community in finding employment, housing, and in learning the basic skills necessary for survival in this new land. Upon arrival, they often went to work in the stockyards, in the needle trades, and in the printing industry. However, within a relatively short time and by utilizing the availability of education, many of the migrants' children moved into skilled trades, opened small businesses, or became white-collar workers (Dinnerstein & Reimers, 1975).

With the combination of early help from the American Jewish community, stability and a similar orientation to work and mobility as that of the larger society, Russian Jews began to move into more prestigious occupations and better neighborhoods. Progress was also being made by the Russian Orthodox, although their integration into the host society was not as rapid.

In Johnston's (1981) study of the Russian Jews' "achievement syndrome," it appeared that the Jewish sample was distinct in terms of early childhood training for independence and that families assumed a generally supportive role in a child's educational and vocational aspirations. Moreover, they were ambitious for their children in the instrumental sphere of vocational goals. The Jew in Russia was separated from other members of the peasantry and clung to his religious traditions for support. The early

training of children was not only in religious matters, but for survival in society at large. The Jews felt they must be independent from the surrounding community if they were to survive and in turn their children must come to rely on their own judgments and tradition if they were to be able to recognize opportunity when it appeared (Levinger, 1949).

Christian sectarians

In 1905, six or seven thousand Russian Molokans settled in Los Angeles. The Molokans were Russian peasants of unusually sturdy physique and of strikingly dignified intelligent appearance. They were religious sectarians. With a host of other sects, they dissented from the Russian Orthodox church nearly three hundred years ago. The Russian church and state took an extremely hostile attitude to the entire schismatic movement. The Molokans, along with other sects, endured countless persecutions. They compensated for their inferior social position through strong communal unity, by religious zeal, and by many of those personal and social virtues that are the essential element of a well-regulated social order. For the sake of their religious ideas they migrated half way around the globe. They hailed America as their land of destiny. The Molokans saw in it religious security, freedom from an arbitrary government, and an opportunity to live a life in harmony with their understanding of divine law.

One of the most important things about the Molokan urban experience was their settlement pattern. Los Angeles in 1905 was a small but growing agricultural center and the Russians were able to locate housing in what is now East Los Angeles, living communally in single family residences, often three or four families to a house (Moore,

1973). They invaded a congested area of the city within walking distance of the downtown district, displacing for the most part immigrant Japanese. In a few years, the thrifty and hardworking Molokans were buying their individual family homes in the same neighborhood, and becoming a stable and very visible part of the city's ethnic population. Over the years, several Molokan-owned small business served the brotherhood. One cooperative grocery only lasted a short time due to its policy of extending apparently unlimited credit to Russian customers.

Living in East Los Angeles, later known as the "Flats," these Christian sectarians continued as much as possible the lifestyle and form of religious expression they had brought from Russia. The Molokans established a kind of theocratic democracy in which they recognized no ministers, or bishops; all were equal by divine dispensation. Basing their teachings almost literally on the Scriptures, every aspect of life was an object of religious attention; hence their chief institutions were religious. Indeed their only formal social organizations were the family and the church. Communal efficiency in the minds of the Molokans did not depend on the number of organizations but on control through custom.

Custom had long imperiously regulated the social life of the Molokans. From the method of cutting their hair and the kind of food they ate to the manner of marrying their children and burying their dead the Molokans persistently followed the footsteps of their forefathers. The lives of the older Molokans were so strongly systematized that the individual's principles and conduct were rarely needed to be consciously or forcibly

regulated for them. Personal habits were prescribed and sanctioned by their religious code. Control through the folkways and mores attended to all details of their simple daily life.

The older Molokans were not stirred by the desire for personal achievement or by the hope of the attainment of individual success. They did not strive for social position or for economic advancement, which in the other immigrant groups typically became almost an obsession. Their social hierarchy was based on age, personal merit, and religious activity. They did not develop social classes, or castes.

The Molokans associated such terms as “organization,” or “community” with formal government, the rule of which they traditionally rejected for their own group. They defined the various social situations that had arisen in the colony by discussion, by popular opinion and group sentiment. The social opinion of the group was expressed through gossip, by personal criticism of the younger by the older, and by appeal to tradition.

History and analyses of the urban years of the Molokans are partially provided by sociologist Young (1929), and by the Molokan elder and historian Berokoff (1969). Basically, it was a process of first obtaining unskilled laboring jobs in order to accumulate capital, followed by a collective family venture that allowed the Molokans to be independent and self-sufficient, free of non-Molokan schedules and demands. Thus, between 1905 and 1940, a Molokan who was 20 years old at the time of immigration might have gone from hired hand in a lumber yard to lumber delivery to carpenter to

independent contractor. As soon as his sons were old enough to leave school they joined their father, their uncles, and whomever else was involved in the business. This way of earning a living left the Molokan free to observe his own religious holidays or memorials and leave his work at any time to attend a church function (Young, 1929). As the Molokan population grew, new churches were built outside the old neighborhood and each church took on the style of worship and attitudes reflecting those of the village from which its members emigrated. These changes, as well as Los Angeles city planning projects and shifting black and Chicano populations, caused the Molokans to scatter from the “Flats” and take up residence in various parts of greater Los Angeles.

The same pattern was observed in San Francisco on Potrero Hill, where the Molokans established themselves as thrifty, pious, and a generally debtless folk. There is no record of welfare or community aid and little evidence of police arrests (Berokoff, 1969). They came to San Francisco between August and October of 1906. What they saw from the deck of their ship was enough to make them wonder what they had blundered into. The city was in ruins from the famous earthquake of 18 April 1906. Elderly informants in San Francisco’s Molokan community on Potrero Hill have described how their families and belongings were hauled by wagons from the wharf to what was then open countryside and left there to shift for themselves.

The men quickly found work in reconstruction projects and later in factories, shipyards, and lumber yards. Women went to jobs in factories, laundries, and in private homes; children were left with grandparents. During the first years the usual pattern

emerged: Molokan families crowded together in a single home until money was saved for a separate house in the same neighborhood. Religious services were held in one of the largest homes until a permanent church was built in 1927.

They remained socially distinct and apart from the rest of the city and their non-Molokan neighbors and especially from San Francisco's rather large Russian Orthodox émigré population some five miles north of the Molokan neighborhood (Berokoff, 1969).

But the Molokans on Potrero Hill did not remain alone for long. Perhaps through marriages with another Russian sectarian group, Baptists, who settled in the neighborhood and set up their respective churches. Interaction among these groups was rather more fluid than it was in Los Angeles and there occurred some shifting of the membership from one to another as assimilation and internal friction became manifest.

Not all Russian immigrants preferred urban areas. Several months after arriving in San Francisco, a group of about a hundred Baptist colonists living on Potrero Hill near the Baptist church began searching for a tract of rural land for permanent settlement along the northern California coast. By June 1912, the group had rented land formerly used for lumbering at Del Mar (Sea Ranch). Within a few months, the colonists had planted about a thousand acres of vegetable crops. With the ranch's fertile, well-drained soil and the isolation needed to maintain their Russian religion and culture, the Baptist congregation at Del Mar seemed to have found the perfect place for permanent settlement. After building a small church they invited community residents to attend its dedication (Hardwick, 1993).

Susan Clark's thesis (1990) on the settlement of Del Mar Ranch summarizes the following major achievements of the group's first six months. The colonists developed a positive relationship with their non-Russian neighbors; they built their own school and brought in a teacher who spoke both Russian and English; their economic situation seemed to be stabilizing. The first farm had begun to provide enough fruits and vegetables to support all Russian families in the community.

Shortly after this, however, serious financial problems arose. In late 1912, pleased with their progress, Russian leaders of the colony decided to ask the Del Mar Development Company about purchasing the land. By the time the deed was signed, possibly due to language difficulties or cultural miscommunication, the Russians had agreed to pay six times what the land was worth. Constant hard work on the farm during most of 1913 was not enough to make the monthly payments on the expensive property. In the early fall of 1913, giving up with great regret and disappointment, the Russians sailed back to their Baptist and Molokan (the largest of the affected early-twentieth-century sectarian groups) neighborhood on Potrero Hill.

Other attempts at farming were more or less successful, depending upon size, natural resources, and the flexibility with which Russian sectarians adapted to legal and commercial aspects of life in the United States. One of the most successful ventures began in 1915 near the town of Kerman in California's San Joaquin Valley. Here the Molokans abandoned the traditional settlement pattern for an American model of individual homes on separate family holdings. They were able to purchase this fertile land

for \$130.00 per acre and easily traded their small homes in Los Angeles as down payments (Berokoff, 1969).

None of the Christian settlements discussed so far can be called “communal,” but in all cases there was a high degree of cooperation among those who settled together. In most cases and in the farm experiment especially, farm machinery was owned communally and shared, but communal living and ownership of all property was resorted to only in the initial period of settlement when families moved in with one another. The rural Molokan colony, as documented by sociologist William Moore (1973), was a typical Russian village or “mir,” a village collective working under chosen elder leaders who were, in turn, directly responsible to or at least delegated to deal with some regional government representative. It was primarily an example of the Molokan way of life, when a single, charismatic leader formed a group of like-minded people and sought with them spiritual and social refuge.

At about this time, the West Sacramento Land Company began to take advantage of Russian immigrants by sending promotional letters written in Russian to the Russian neighborhood in San Francisco. This promotional effort was an attempt to encourage Russians to buy newly drained land in West Sacramento. Once several Russian families became well established in the neighborhood along the Sacramento River, chain migration brought other Russians into the area from San Francisco. In a few years, the Russian colony had already become quite impressive. A school was opened for their

children, and many stores, recreational facilities, and official institutions were functioning (Hardwick, 1993).

The spiritual Christians soon found themselves in the thick of “American materialism.” They brought with them to America a set of social attitudes, values, and psycho-social traits that were the result of long-cherished sentiment, of habitual ways of action that could not be discarded readily even under the most urgent circumstances of life. The whole process of adjustment of an immigrant group to American life involved not only an intellectual understanding of the new ways of acting and thinking but it most frequently involved an uprooting of old habits, deep-seated emotions, and lasting sentiments. A stabilized group of older men and women were incapable of such a psychological transformation, and necessarily remained alien. Their children, due to the same psychological limitations could not establish habits of acting, thinking, and feeling that would coincide with those of their elders. Each generation has a peculiar set of social experiences that determines its conduct habits. Conflict of cultures is a result of such polarity of social experience. In his theory of culture conflict, Thorsten Sellin (1938) explained that the penal code is, to a large extent, an expression of the moral ideals and customs of a civilization. However, the moral and social values expressed at one time by the penal code may clash with new values resulting from historical development, or they may not have been assimilated or understood by a number of citizens. Culture conflict can, therefore, arise between laws that conform to socially accepted values and particular groups who possess their own codes of conduct. This was the case of Russian Christians

with their old sectarian norms and values which they brought from Russia. The historian Berokoff (1969) stressed the fact that a traditional wedding or funeral procession through the streets of Los Angeles was deemed a hazard to traffic flow by city officials and Molokans were charged with a traffic violation.

The younger generation of Russian Christians, especially of the urban Molokans, displaying the general “cultural temperament” of their elders, was greatly modified, however, by numerous daily contacts with American city life, school, recreation, and industry, which exerted their influences at an early age. Life under these conditions gradually changed in content and philosophy, and they integrated into the new environment in such a way as to avoid being a disturbing element. The Christian youth soon became the typical cultural hybrid characteristic of many immigrant groups; that was, they were not fully incorporated into either of the cultures that they represented (Young, 1929).

Second Wave: 1917-1945

Russian Orthodox

The advent of World War I, the collapse of the Russian czarist regime, and the Bolshevik takeover of Russia were events that had a profound effect upon the national consciousness and political aspirations of Russians in America. This was the wave of the Russian Orthodox. The second wave’s departure spanned the period from 1917 to 1945, with most people leaving in the earlier years when civil disorder made crossing the borders fairly easy. However, this wave of Russian immigration into the United States

was drastically curtailed. There are two main reasons for this. First, the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in late 1923, made emigration from Russia more difficult. Second, the immigration policy of the United States took a sharp and decisive turn in the period from 1917 to 1924 when the U.S. government limited not only the number of immigrants, but the quality of those admitted. In order to curtail the entrance of southern and eastern Europeans to the United States, the Immigration Act of 1921 was passed. The act specified that the number of aliens of any nationality admissible to the United States in any given year be limited to 3% of the number of foreign born of such a nationality who were residents of the United States in 1910 (Westman, 1977). The act had little effect on immigration from northern and western Europe, but a strong negative effect on immigration from southern and eastern Europe.

Russians came to the United States during and after the Revolution by three main routes. The great majority of filtered across Siberia to Harbin and into the Sinkiang province of China. Most eventually migrated by way of Shanghai or Hong Kong, before settling in San Francisco, Vancouver, Seattle, or Los Angeles in the 1920s. Many of these new Russians were wealthy and educated. The second group left Odessa, Feodosya, and other ports on the Black Sea only to take refuge temporarily in Constantinople. Many of them, especially White Army officers who had fought in the Civil War under Baron Wrangell, waited there for several years hoping for political change at home that would allow them to return to Russia. The third group, arriving via the European route, were military officers who had served in the czar's army in the Russian division in France

during World War I. The government had given this division to the Allies during the war, and they remained in France after the war was over. Hundreds of these officers came to the United States and began new lives as civilians. A large number ended up in West Coast cities.

A high percentage of the second-wave immigrants were Russian Orthodox. These political refugees settled in well-established Russian neighborhoods in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Vancouver. Los Angeles experienced a particularly large influx of new Russians immediately following the Revolution. Most settled initially in Hollywood just west of an earlier Russian Molokan enclave. Others settled in other parts of the area, including Santa Monica, Venice, and Long Beach (Day, 1934). Russian cultural centers, language schools, art clubs, and restaurants held the community together and helped maintain Russian culture. Small businesses got started. An especially strong upsurge in the activities and other festivities were organized, and the community seemed to enjoy its life. San Francisco remained the center of the largest Russian Orthodox community in America. By 1923, the number of Russians in San Francisco had increased to between eight and ten thousand. Yet the Russians, for all their numbers, remained one of the least obvious, least influential, and least visible ethnic groups. Little was known about the lives of the Russian immigrants in those years outside of the Russian community, except that they were devoted to their church, mostly still loyal to the Czar, and were exceptionally close knit and family oriented (Tripp, 1980).

A large percentage of Russians who emigrated during this wave came from the aristocratic classes or were professionals, military officers, Orthodox clergy, well-off merchants and businessmen suddenly lacking cachet and all those who were at odds with the new Bolshevik order (Day, 1934). While their military training or aristocratic background had served them well in their homeland, they often found it difficult to achieve social status in the United States. Their eyes were fixed upon the past, they looked to the old country as a permanent abode and considered their stay in America temporary. They were waiting for the Soviet regime to crumble of its own ineptitude, so they could return home on their own terms. They were generally Russian nationalists, and were immensely politicized. Most of these newcomers had to accept employment at the lowest level when they first arrived, thus making adjustment to their new lives difficult. Employment was both necessary and fearful as an agent of acculturation. To survive, to sustain one's family, Russian immigrants had to adapt to American ways.

These Russian immigrants were not very beneficial to the larger American community for the simple reason that they did not consider themselves Americans but rather Russians who lived abroad. These Russians had an overwhelming and often unrealistic insistence on self-sufficiency, disdaining any government program that might smack of socialism. Yet, there were signs that they developed in a way similar to that of the first Russian pioneers, who also did not come to the United States to stay long, but eventually decided to make it home. There were half a dozen Russian restaurants along Clement and Geary in San Francisco's Richmond district, perhaps an equal number of book shops and the

Russian Center on Sutter Street. One-third lived in middle-class neighborhoods, where the majority of working men had blue collar jobs. But their main concern was the future of their children. Russian Orthodox worked hard and saved money for their childrens' education. Frugality was certainly a principal trait of the Russian Orthodox. A prominent Russian probate lawyer clearly remembers that she was often amazed by the size of estates left behind by immigrants who had worked for 30-40 years as janitors. Often, the estate included a home, fully paid for, and as much as \$ 200,000 in cash and investments (Tarasar, 1975).

The evidence indicates that the Russian Orthodox succeeded in getting the best education that they could afford for their children. It can be said that education was the most intensive and focused agent of acculturation. The education of children was an extension of family life. In Russia, most formal education was done in the home or private aristocratic schools, but migration to America changed all that. An Americanization campaign was waged on several different fronts. Certainly the most visible efforts originated outside the Russian-American community. State law in the early 1920s mandated that all instruction in private schools should be conducted in English and frequently required that private school teachers meet state standards in teacher training (Tripp, 1980).

The culture, language, and religion of Russia had no place in American schools and this worried immigrant parents. The majority accepted these with little complaint. The Russian Orthodox church established schools with educational programs to teach Russian

language, culture, and religion. The schools would stage some plays or occasionally would organize an evening of culture and recreation. There were also school and church choirs, which would perform not only at the local church but also in American clubs and organizations. The schools even offered a basic English course, especially helpful for new immigrants. In a sense the parish school was a half-way house, easing the transition of some immigrant children from the old world to the new. The pace of Americanization in these church schools was not as vigorous as that in the public school, but the direction was the same. As the child grew older and advanced through the different academic stages, family resources exerted more of an influence on achievement (Tripp, 1980).

Most literature dealing with the effect of social position on achievement shows that the effect of a family's position is first felt on the quality of education available to the child rather than his early performance. Indeed, Johnston's (1981) study of second generation Russian Americans showed their unusually high levels of achievement within American society. The study indicates that the total population of Russian-Americans in the United States was disproportionately an upper and upper middle class population. This remained true even when the sample was broken down by religious identification. Only one case out of eighty-five Russian Jews was of lower socioeconomic status and only four cases for the Russian Orthodox.

Throughout the adjustment process, first generation Orthodox immigrants clung to their religious beliefs as the only sure thing in a strange and often confusing place. Day's analysis of early Russian Orthodox immigrants in Hollywood captured many insights into

the important role of the church as a cultural institution. According to one of Day's (1934) informants, "I go to the Russian church for worship because I can come into closer communion with God in our own church than in American churches. I love also our music and our Russian traditions" (p. 54).

As is typical of other second generation immigrants, many of the children of these early-twentieth-century Russians left the Orthodox church and tried hard to leave their Russian heritage behind as well. As the attitude of fear and hatred toward the Soviet Union intensified in the United States during the Stalin years, many people denied their Russian heritage altogether (Hardwick, 1993).

The vast majority of second-generation Russian Orthodox also lost much of their Russian language. Despite efforts by their parents to teach them Russian and culture at home and in private Russian schools, many resisted these attempts to preserve the culture after they reached adolescence, seeing little use for it in an English-speaking country. In a pattern shared by other immigrants, many second generation Russian-Americans maintained a loose connection with the Russian Orthodox church and spoke Russian with their parents and older relatives, but functioned as fully American in the outside world. As with their parents' generation, they were a part of two worlds, but unlike their parents they are more comfortable in the American society.

Church membership and language retention as indicators of Russians' adjustment to their new life were accompanied by changes in their spatial patterns. While many first generation Russian Orthodox immigrants remained in original settlement nodes in Los

Angeles and San Francisco most of their children moved away from the older neighborhoods. According to my interviews with second generation suburban and small-town Russians, their flight from these older ethnic enclaves followed much the same pattern as other upwardly mobile residents of American urban areas. Life in the nonethnic suburbs was viewed as safer, and more attractive.

Russian settlement in the United States slowed in the 1930s and early 1940s as restrictions increased in the Soviet Union. Stalin's oppressive policies effectively curtailed out-migration for several decades. In the United States, the restrictive immigration laws, passed in 1924, became effective in 1929. The National Origins Act established the annual immigration quota at 150,000, with the number per country dependent on percentages of populations already living in the United States. Since figures used in these percentage calculations were based on the 1920 census, and large numbers of Russians had settled in this country after 1922, the total number of people permitted entry from the Soviet Union was minimized. Between 1930 and 1944 the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service recorded only 14,016 Russian immigrants from the Soviet Union (Eubank, 1973). Mass migration of Russians would not occur until changes in the immigration laws enacted after World War II made their entry possible.

In summary of the second chapter, though the first two waves of early Russian immigration suffered from the oppression of the Romanov empire, their memories as a group of the oppressor were not identical. Russian Orthodox were primarily searching for economical advantages, while Russian Jews and Russian Christians in the second wave

were concerned with a safer and more religiously diverse place. The first wave's image of the communist regime was stark but lacking detail. Citizens of the Czarist empire, they were forced abroad before there was much chance to see the new society of the Soviet Union at work. They considered the Soviet Union as simply the Enemy, a monstrous Other that had stolen their familial estates. The memories of the second wave's were of bloody civil war and the social chaos of the twenties.

The histories of the different immigrant generations as well as different immigrants' culture background, promoted different adjustment perspectives. In this study we were able to detect some difference of adjustment processes among the three subgroups.

The Russian Orthodox immigrants of the early wave came as single men and aimed to either make enough money to return to Russia comfortably or to bring their families to the United States. They lived in a social environment largely cut off from most contacts with American life and culture. They were laborers in the stockyards and mills. They were different from Russian Jews who were aided in their settlement by the American Jewish community. The Russian Orthodox and Russian Christians often encountered a totally strange world without a vital, already established community that sociologists now argue is so necessary for the easy acculturation of incoming migrants (Gordon, 1964). Consequently, adjustment to American life by the Russian Orthodox and Christians was difficult both culturally and structurally.

With the establishment of Russian Orthodox communities with their churches, protective societies, and even banks, the vital basis for acculturation was established. It

would be these communities which served as the buffer system between the migrant and American society. What Devis (1922) describes as the first wave of Russian Orthodox did not follow the rapid acculturation experienced by Russian Jews because they did not utilize as fully the educational opportunities available. This had two consequences: first, education tended to constrict occupational mobility and second, it tends to break down cultural and racial barriers between different peoples and facilitate their adjustment to the surrounding community. Most of the second generation of the first wave of Russian Christians left school for work at about the sixth grade, therefore contributing to their continued social and economic isolation and class stability.

The Russian Jewish assimilation to American society appeared to be more complete than that of the Orthodox and Christians. In terms of the “achievement syndrome,” it appeared that Jewish emphasis on early independence training was productive of a desire to get ahead and achieve although the goal itself and its attainment was largely left up to the child. For the Orthodox and Christian sectarians assimilation has not been as advanced as for the Jews. According to Johnston’s (1981) analysis of social mobility, only now second and third generations of Russian Orthodox and Christians are beginning to accept and actively espouse characteristics associated with cultural assimilation, i. e., activistic, future-oriented, individualistic values and a stress on occupational mobility. While structural assimilation has occurred in the occupational and educational spheres of life, it has been primarily at middle class levels. Johnston’s (1981) data from interviews of second generation middle class Russian Orthodox suggests that assimilation (cultural

and structural) is proceeding at a rapid rate and that advancement in American life is assuming a new priority for the Orthodox. The first generation thus made many adjustments to the demands of their children and unwittingly began sharing in the more conventional American life. The process of adjustment to American life necessarily results in varying degrees of accommodation and assimilation. But every stage involves a new mode of conduct, a new philosophy of life. It was this individualized behavior which disintegrated traditional isolationism of Russian Christian organizations. The first generation of Russian Christians was effectively organized in Russia to carry on the religious struggle. Its very efficacy in maintaining itself against its Russian enemies made it incapable of dealing with the forces which disintegrated their social organization in America.

CHAPTER III

Third Wave: 1945-1987

Russian Orthodox

The Post-World War II wave of Russian immigration is sometimes called the Vlasov' wave, because many of its members followed General Vlasov in his attempt to form a Russian division to fight alongside Hitler's troops against the Red Army and communism. But the third wave also encompassed Russian POWs and civilians who had been dragooned into the German labor force--all those, in fact who for one reason or another found themselves outside Soviet jurisdiction during the confusion at the war's end, and then were unwilling or afraid to return to their homeland. The third wave's harrowing wartime experiences seem to have capped a personality type whose development began in the trying years of early Bolshevism. Its members were more pragmatic and more proletarianized than the second wave.

U.S. Senator William F. Knowland of Oakland, California, was asked in 1946 by refugee organizations to intervene on their behalf in order to allow Russians entry into this country. Knowland sponsored a bill in Congress that expanded the United States refugee quota to include Russians. This was accomplished amid massive anti-Communist hysteria in this country during the early McCarthy years and the general Cold War mentality that did not distinguish between Russians and Communists. Because of these changes in American immigration restrictions, Russians came to this country in large numbers in 1950 and 1951, though for them entry was much more difficult than it had

been for earlier migrations. Each Russian family needed a documented and signed affidavit from an American citizen assuring that they would be met on arrival, lodged, and assisted with employment for at least one year. Members of church congregations were particularly sought as sponsors as was the Tolstoy Foundation in New York and other charitable organizations (Tripp, 1980).

Post-World War II Russian migration brought new vitality to Orthodox parishes in California. Two nuns from China built a small chapel in Calistoga in 1949, and two years later, an Orthodox retreat was founded near San Rafael at scenic Point Reyes National Seashore, as a monument to all who had died in the World War II. Numerous other new parishes were established in California, with new churches built in Walnut Creek, Menlo Park, Palo Alto, San Anselmo, San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles, Oxnard, Pasadena, and San Diego (Tarasar, 1975).

In San Francisco, the low cost of the housing in the Richmond area appealed particularly to the new Russian immigrants, who as a group seem to be determined to own their own homes. It is believed that most Russian residents owned homes, despite their generally low incomes. Probably as a reaction to having weathered at least two great domestic upheavals within a single generation, the average Russian had acquired an inordinate need, for domestic and financial security.

Employment was the critical factor in moving the refugee into the mainstream of society. Besides restoring the refugees' sense of "self-regard," employment provided contacts with colleagues, the boss, and the company. It also offered opportunities to learn

and practice the language, discover and conform to group norms, and develop social involvement and acceptance. In addition, in the case of the early Russian refugees' experiences, it proved that employment provided the income needed to participate in social and cultural activities. The process of occupational adjustment necessarily came first because, one must earn a living and most refugees entered the labor market almost immediately. If the chance was given, most Russian refugees chose their old line of work, or, if the opportunity was not there, they took whatever work was available. Social and cultural adjustment took longer, but eventually this wave of Russian Orthodox bought almost completely the idea of acculturation, to the point of anglicizing their names, refusing at times to associate with new immigrants, and fully entering into the mainstream of American life through mixed marriages, American education, and a geographical dispersion--ultimately reaching anonymity (Gold, 1992).

After a respite in the 1960s, Russian immigration began again in the early 1970s. Since 1971 over 23,000 Soviet immigrants have come to the United States, the great majority Christian and Jewish refugees.

Christian sectarians

This wave of Christian sectarians tended to settle in the old Molokan and Baptists neighborhoods, which brought about a spiritual and cultural rejuvenation. The recently arrived families occupied leadership positions. Their fluency in Russian, their relative youth and vigor, and their image as being "more Russian" than second and third generations Christians reinforced their influence in the communities. Because the

newcomers were baffled by the complexities of U.S. economic life, they relied on their community to obtain information before making major decisions, such as looking for work, purchasing something expensive, or enrolling in trade school. While American Christian organizations offered resettlement services to these Russian refugees, many preferred to use informal community connections to avoid cultural and linguistic problems. Faced with economic difficulties, Russian Christians turned to their ethnic communities for support, information, and diversion. Despite its high level of religious diversity, there are several different sectarian groups among Russian Christians (Molokan, Baptist, & Pentecostals), insight into each group reveals a certain facility for organization that was absent from both Russian Orthodox, and Russian Jews.

The Molokans, being more numerous in the United States, were needed to establish a more flexible community system. The urban Molokans experienced an identity crisis. For a long time the group failed to realize that by their unwitting choice they had come to be the very antipathy of their former life. Rural life in Russia had been personal and intimate, characterized by economic self-sufficiency and primary group organization and control. In America they faced a social-economic organization characterized by impersonal, anonymous, secondary relationships with an endless variety of strange activities, customs, and beliefs. The Molokan elders, however, due to an ardent desire to maintain their traditional life and scheme of social control, had developed no mechanism for dealing effectively with acculturation. In an urban environment systematization of life and traditional behavior were cumbersome and highly ineffective. While the family was

the basic unit of social interaction and support, generational differences in adjustment strained these families. Still that was all the older generation understood and hence they were forced to a policy of passive resistance and aloofness in the face of the invasion of the strange culture. Strongly dominated by a religious faith, they did not develop mechanisms of coercion and persuasion of the young. Instead, they appealed to the young to maintain their "glorious past." The young people did not respond to the appeal to tradition and religious principles, because their idealism was too abstract for these city-bred children (Thomson, 1951).

Culture is acquired through contact and participation, and vicarious experience does not readily and fully transmit attitudes and values or social reality. The young boys and girls among Russian Christians often expressed great curiosity as to their history, but the group traditions rapidly became mere folklore to them. The tales of martyrdom and persecution seemed even too gruesome to repeat.

Living in social isolation, the older generation had never developed a system of criticism or reflection beyond established custom. One of the many differences between younger and older members of Molokan communities in California was their emphasis on the importance of the individual and the importance of the group. Molokans originally thought of themselves as a brotherhood rather than a community. Decisions were reached by the elected leaders of the group through consensus, and communication was face to face. First-generation Molokans had no interest in individual decision making or respect for individual rights within the group. This was acutely different from values inherently

important to life in America, where individual freedom was valued almost beyond all else. The younger generation reflected seriously upon their behavior in the light of the reactions of their American neighbors to whose attitudes they were sensitive.

You see, my parents read the Bible to me and tell me I must do as it's written. God gave you a mind, why don't you use it? Why don't you figure out the Bible for yourself? My mother says: "Keep still, child, you are ignorant, you do as your forefathers did before you." Sure, it's all right, if you're going back to them old times. But I am not going to-- in this country. (Berokoff, 1969, p. 69)

These factors assured the family of the older generation were no longer influential on the young people. Second-generation Molokans developed traits of personal initiative and ingenuity; they acquired new skills and aptitudes and felt the need of making their own way in the world. Their elders were no longer the only people who exerted influence upon them. They were responsive to a variety of institutions and formed new and well-defined ideas of their duties and responsibilities.

In conclusion, despite all their efforts to maintain the same customs and culture they had in Russia, Christian sectarians slowly moved toward adjustment.

Russian Jews

The wave of Jewish emigration began in earnest in 1971, when for reasons still not entirely clear, the Soviet regime began permitting large numbers its Jewish citizens to leave. Most Soviet Jews permitted to leave had exit permits stamped "Israel" and they traveled to a transit country, usually Austria, before emigrating to Israel. The Soviet bureaucratic nets had been whimsically slack as often as cruelly tight, and many with no valid claim slipped through. Also, some of the most prominent members of this

emigration followed an altogether different path to the West, defecting while abroad, or being exchanged for Soviet spies held in Western prisons. Approximately 100,000 Soviet citizens settled in America (Gitelman, 1981).

The agency that resettled Soviet Jews, the HIAS (the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), was long established and well funded, and worked in conjunction with other Jewish community centers, to offer a variety of services. These ranged from initial settlement to job training and placement, social activities, religious socialization, and mental health programs. Due to the efforts of these agencies, Soviet Jewish immigrants were generally resettled in middle-class neighborhoods rather than the inner-city enclaves that were the usual location of recent immigrants. Furthermore, because Soviet Jews were resettled by American Jewish agencies, they were distributed among cities that already had sizable Jewish populations. These included New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco (Eckles, 1982).

New York City absorbed many immigrants of the third wave, so many that in some of its neighborhoods, like Brooklyn's Brighton Beach, Russian rather than English became the best language for dealing with shopkeepers. In San Francisco, the Russian Jewish community shared the same area of the Sunset and Richmond districts where Russian Orthodox had settled. In Los Angeles, a much larger concentration resided in West Hollywood. Their adaptation to the United States was often rapid (Simon & Simon, 1982). As a group, they shared commonalities of education, language, and ethnicity.

However, they were also marked by diversity in several areas, including class, occupational background, region of origin, religious and ideological outlook.

Coming from a political, economic, and cultural-social system very different from American's, Soviet immigrants presented some unique challenges-as well as opportunities-to those in the host society concerned with their absorption and integration. Obviously, they never had worked for a private employer, never had paid school tuition or medical fees, and had enjoyed cheap public transportation, subsidized cultural events and job security. These new Soviet immigrants faced a shockingly different situation from that which they had always known as normal (Gitelman, 1981).

Some Soviet immigrants viewed others with suspicion or even distaste and refused to have much to do with each other. The Moscow intellectual felt that he had nothing in common with the Georgian worker or even the Lithuanian hairdresser, except the accident of having lived under Soviet rule, and that such association was demeaning.

The geo-cultural differences among Soviet immigrants was relevant to immigrant resettlement because those from one region differed not only in values and religious consciousness from immigrants from another area, but also in their vocational training and experience. The physicians in a large Leningrad hospital had been exposed to more sophisticated techniques and equipment than those who worked in small town polyclinics. Computer technicians in Moscow were likely to be more advanced than those from Kishinev. Moreover, different cultures produced different employment and housing patterns. European women worked outside the home to a far greater extent than Central

Asian or Georgian women. European Jews had very small families and lived in apartments, while Asian and Georgian Jews had larger families and often lived with other units of the extended family in one-story homes around a courtyard. Thus, geo-cultural variations influenced the values and expectations of immigrants and were therefore relevant to resettlement. As a result, many had little interest in or attachment to the mass of Soviet Jews in the United States. Further, because they frequently lost prestigious social ranks in coming to the United States, many felt ashamed when confronting their countrymen. In one of my interviews, with a recent immigrant, an insurance salesman described his ambivalence toward other Soviet Jews:

Here in America, there are too many levels and they mix up. You know in Russia, I was highly educated. I had highly educated friends. I never used to be in the company of hairdresser.... It wasn't because I didn't like them. They just wasn't to my level. Now we are all together. The life mixes all kind of people, so you can't stay from them. (Victor, personal communication, May 3, 1995)

But, as a group, Russian Jews were well equipped for the task of adjusting to life in the United States. They were skilled and educated, and they were familiar with urban life. Further, they enjoyed refugee status and were therefore eligible for a variety of resettlement services, training programs, even cash assistance, and permanent resident status in the United States.

On the whole, migrating populations are characterized by their youth. In contrast, there were elderly individuals in many Russian Jewish families. Immigrants' families experienced problems because the elderly had difficulty learning English, finding

employment, and making their way in the United States. Families who had successfully adjusted to American life expressed concern over the isolation of their elderly relatives:

My mother is upset that she can't communicate with the kids and they are upset that she is forcing them to talk Russian because she couldn't do anything else. I have to translate at the dinner table when everyone talks in English and she says "my own grandchildren, and I can't even talk to them. Maybe I made a mistake when I came here...." (Rose, personal communication, April 18, 1995)

Another important factor in the development of conflict between the dependent aged and their families had to do with relevance of parental advice. Parents and children alike recognized that their parents' experience of growing up in the Soviet Union provided few insights into the problems of children who were living in California (Fruchtbaum & Skager, 1989). Precisely because their parents' attempts to find work and adjust to life in the United States had been unsuccessful, their advice was rejected by their children. Many Jewish family services were specifically intended to establish links between Russian Jewish individuals and established American Jewish institutions and communities. In the former Soviet Union, the definition of Jewishness was based on race or nationality rather than religion; thus, Jews were an ethnic group faced with acculturation to the Russian culture and Soviet society. Initially hopeful about developing close ties with American Jews, many immigrants discovered that the cultural, linguistic, and moral gulf between themselves and the host community was difficult to cross.

A survey of San Francisco's immigrant community revealed that the average number of visits made by Russian Jews to the homes of persons born in the United States was only 5.7 per year. This figure was lower than obtained in New York, Chicago, or Boston,

where Russian Jews visited American homes twice as often: 11.6 times a year (Simon, 1983). One Soviet Jew who had lived in the Bay Area for 10 years commented on the difficulty of developing friendship with Americans:

From the beginning, everybody wants to be assimilated, to get out of this ghetto and nobody wants to accept it that they are in a ghetto in the Richmond District, Sunset District. But after that, people get out and a lot of them probably didn't fill up their expectation and they had a problem socializing with American [Jews] and this is not their language. And after a while, they get back together and about 25% of the community still wanted to get out and 75% completely satisfied with what they have. (Ilya, personal communication, April 18, 1995)

Although officially there was a strong emphasis on the inculcation of religion within Russian Jewish activities, social workers realized that immigrants' most immediate interest involved achieving economic stability and ensuring secure careers for their children, not studying Hebrew or going to temple. To their disappointment, the American Jewish community reported to have found in the Soviet Jewish refugees "a Jewish identity that was religiously nonobservant, uninformed, and which seemed culturally Russian" (Flaherty, 1986). Studies in the United States have consistently demonstrated that Soviet Jews vary widely with respect to whether they identify themselves as culturally Russian, Jewish, or American (Simon & Simon, 1982). In sociological literature involved with the acculturation issue, there is a view that acculturation is a multidimensional phenomenon including not only cultural identification or preference but also behavioral participation in a culture. It is possible for an individual to engage in a behavioral lifestyle characteristic of one culture while preferring to identify with another (Clark, Kaufman, & Pierce, 1976).

In recent years, the sociological literature (Gold, 1992; Waters, 1990) has encouraged scholars to look for highly organized ethnic communities. In the case of the Russian Jewish enclave it shows that while as a Russian ethnic group they shared commonalities of culture, ideology, and even frequent interaction, these collective features did not directly yield stable Russian ethnic organizations.

In response to my question about the lack of organization within their community, Russian Jews offered a paradoxical answer. They were both sick of imposed cooperative activities and, at the same time, unfamiliar with freely organized voluntary associations. Immigrants described their resistance to formal organizations as a reaction against the compulsory collectivism that was an ubiquitous aspect of Soviet life. An X-ray therapist explained the resistance of Russian Jews to cooperative activities:

Russian Jews for generations were under the pressure of communism and they are tired of the different organizations. Because organization is an obligation. To be in this organization, you should be in it and do something. And they [Russian Jews] don't want to, because from generation to generation they were under pressure. Here, Russian Jewish, they want to be free from actual everything. Free from all organizations, because there is no freedom in Russia this way. (Lera, personal communication, April 12, 1995)

It seems ironic that such an individualistic approach to life exists in a twice-migrant Jewish ethnic group generally noted for their high levels of solidarity and organization.

In summary, despite their high levels of skill and relatively rapid economic integration, families of Russian Jews faced problems in adjusting to American society. In turn, these problems often yielded differential adjustment to American life between family members and within the group as a whole. While some immigrants used their skills, education, and

resources to “make it” in American society, others (the aged, those who were less skilled or had untransferable skills, and those who were less flexible) found adjustment much more difficult. Soviet Jews, as a group, were characterized by physical closeness and frequent informal interaction. At the same time, however, its members expressed ambivalence about their connections with one another due to their diverse origins and anxiety over lost status. Finally, their experience with Soviet organizational life made many regard collectivism as both coercive and alien.

Fourth Wave: 1987-1992

In 1987, as a part of his efforts at glasnost and perestroika, President Gorbachev met with President Ronald Reagan to discuss emigration and human rights issues. Following their meeting, Gorbachev made the startling announcement that residents of the USSR were free to leave. This announcement triggered the first large-scale emigration from the Soviet Union since the early years of the socialist revolution. With encouragement from the American government, Soviet emigration policy changed at home. As part of the general process of political reform, the Supreme Soviet gave preliminary approval to a new law in 1989 that made emigration legal for all Soviet citizens. After its passage, people wishing to leave the country found their processing greatly simplified and bureaucratic red tape lessened considerably (Heitman, 1991).

Accompanying these changes in Soviet emigration law there were important changes in American immigration policy. The Refugee Act of 1980 was passed to clarify policy for accepting refugees from all over the world. With the uncertainty of numerous changes

in immigration policy, the decision to completely restructure the American immigration process was made at about the same time Gorbachev was permitting the emigration of tens of thousands of Soviet citizens in the late 1980s. President Bush signed a comprehensive revision of former policy, the Immigration Act of 1990, into law on 9 November 1990. This law significantly revised the existing seven-level preference system and established new categories for employment-based, family-sponsored, and diversity-based immigration. It also established an annual total of 700,000 entries for 1992 through 1994. After 1994, total legal entries were reduced to 675,000. The great majority of Russians admitted to the United States under this revised law were a part of the family preference and employment-based system. Every refugee applicant had to have a sponsor living in this country before his or her paperwork could be approved by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Sponsors could be individuals, religion groups, or refugee assistance organizations (Bean, 1989).

Christian sectarians

Soon after arrival, many Russian Christians made the decision to leave the sponsor's city or town and move on to a place they had selected for permanent settlement. Their choices occasionally stemmed from the perceived climatic and economic amenities of a particular area, but in the case of religious refugees, more often from information conveyed by tightly structured religious networks. The settlement pattern of recent Russian Christians has been almost entirely dependent on religious affiliations. Sacramento became the preferred resettlement site for the majority of Russian Christians

during the glasnost era. This time it was Baptists and Pentecostals. Since the first new immigrants arrived in early 1988, over eight thousand more have settled in widely scattered neighborhoods in this Central Valley city.

Of primary importance to their recent settlement in the Sacramento urban area have been local churches and national relief agencies. Both Russian and American churches and their parishioners in Sacramento have acted as sponsors for Russian refugees and their families. Regional offices of two active Christian groups, World Relief, and Lutheran Social Services, have organized church sponsors and provided follow-up support for Russian refugees, but also assisted them in the challenging resettlement process (Hardwick, 1993). The Russian Baptist church in West Sacramento has been particularly active in organizing sponsors and services for recent refugee. Another activity of the church is the publication of the Russian-language Christian newspaper, *Our Days*. In production since 1966, *Our Days* is printed and mailed from a small office behind the church. Support for the publication is provided by the Pacific Coast Slavic Baptist Association, an organization of Russian Baptist churches. Even more important than the newspaper have been the weekly broadcasts of short-wave radio messages. Russian Pentecostal radio programs from Sacramento reached deep inside the former Soviet Union. Religious connections established prior to their arrival in California have forged strong ties among the immigrants living in Sacramento.

Another factor encouraging mass Russian Christian settlement is the area's economic conditions. Rent and living expenses in the Sacramento urban area are considerably lower

than in San Francisco or Los Angeles, making it a more economically viable place for families living on welfare checks and low immigrant wages. By law, refugees were previously allowed to leave their Soviet homeland with only \$90 and two suitcases, so almost all arrived financially destitute. Sacramento has numerous affordable apartments and small houses for rent, along with a moderate level of minimum-wage jobs. Enrollment in educational institutions is inexpensive as well. Many Russian immigrants have been drawn to the area by these economic advantages.

Despite the obvious limitations of residential clustering for adjustment to American life, education is a strong force in the assimilation process. Pentecostals and Baptists frequently have large families, so they have a great deal of contact with public schools. Children learn English quickly at school and bring it home to their parents. This process along with exposure to television and radio, force parents to hear English much of the day.

Sociological and anthropological studies of successful ethnic enterprises have consistently shown a symbiotic relationship between an ethnic community and its businesses (Jiobu, 1988; Gold, 1992). Rather than simply being interested in their own short-term profits, ethnic business owners help each other and members of their community, providing social welfare benefits, advice, credit, jobs, leadership, goods, and support for the community's institutions. At the same time, members of ethnic communities supply their business owners with investment funds, patronage, low-cost

labor, loyalty, and prestige (Gerber, 1985). This is especially true for the Russian Christian communities.

Russian real estate agents, accountants, investment counselors, tax preparers, doctors, lawyers, and dentists utilize ethnic consumer markets. Doctors are especially dependent upon ethnic customers because, as immigrants, they found it almost impossible to obtain certification in a medical specialty required for employment in most hospitals. Private practice, then, becomes the only option for employment. Taking advantage of Baptist refugees' eligibility for Medicare and Medi-Cal, the practices of refugee doctors are directed toward Baptists communities. Public and private agencies, charitable groups, and foundations provide Russian Christian refugees with programs to help them start small businesses. Such programs offered low-cost or no-cost technical assistance in many aspects of business operation. These resources provide refugees with advantages unavailable to other entrepreneurs. In general, small business help Russian Christians limit their contact with an alien culture they do not choose to confront, and allow them to care for family members in a manner consistent with ethnic traditions.

Despite the numerous activities of Christian churches and home worship groups, the Russian religious landscape in Sacramento remains quietly unobtrusive. As with earlier waves of Russian settlement in California, glasnost-era Russian Christians prefer to remain unnoticed and unobserved. Fears of persecution, even in this land of religious freedom, continue to haunt them. This ethnic invisibility is also evident in other parts of

the state, especially in the midst of multicultural and multilingual Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Susan Hardwick's research indicated that for Russian Christians who arrived during this period of settlement there were two primary factors that encourage cultural retention-location patterns and religious affiliations. Those who have stayed in cohesive Russian neighborhoods or rural settlements and who have maintained their close ties with Baptist church have retained more of their Russian identity than those who have dispersed to other residential areas or have drifted away from Russian religious networks (Hardwick, 1993).

Russian Jews

Other urban areas in the state also attracted large numbers of immigrants during the glasnost era. Russian Jews, in particular, settled in the Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Jose areas in large numbers. The influx has swelled statistics on total Soviet refugee arrivals, especially since 1988. It is important to note that their total numbers are much larger than Soviet Christian arrivals in the state. In 1990, for example, at least 10,742 Soviet refugees settled in Los Angeles (up from only 2,896 in 1988). Only a small percentage of these southern California immigrants were non-Jewish (Gold, 1992).

There can be no doubt that the experience of leaving one's homeland and adjusting to a new place can be extremely stressful. The language problem is one of the many difficulties in the adjustment process. Since the vast majority of Russians never imagined gaining permission to leave their homeland, most never studied the English language in

any depth. Some may have taken English courses in high school, but, since foreigners were not allowed in most Soviet cities at the time, their teachers were usually limited in experience with spoken English. The vast majority arrive with virtually no English skills, making their transition from the old country extremely stressful and confusing. This communication problem, along with economic and cultural differences, makes the adjustment process even more challenging.

Sub-cultural differences can pose problems. In a free enterprise system, the seemingly simple act of securing food for one's family is almost impossible in the early days of resettlement. Locating and bartering (in English) for an apartment or house to rent is another stressful experience. To most Russian immigrants, everyone in America seems to be in such a hurry. The pace of day-to-day life is exhausting. The almost constant smiles and varied expressions on people's faces on the street, in offices, in passing cars often do not seem real. It seems Americans are always expressing their feelings in public, even when no one is really listening to them. To the newcomer, life in the United States often feels superficial. New "friends" come and go quickly, many never to return again. Friendships in the Soviet Union were the lifeblood of individual survival. Friends stayed together no matter what happened, sharing problems at a deep level that made existence in a difficult place more bearable. In America, new friendships seem fleeting and almost cold in comparison. A former concert pianist, now an x-ray technician, recounts her immersion in Russian culture:

Spiritually, you grow in Russian culture. You see we are Jews but we related a lot to all of the Russian music, Russian culture, Russian theater, literature. You listen to the music and the choir, you could emotionally

relate to that because that was your childhood experience, not with the church but with that part of the culture. (Lera, personal communication, May, 18, 1995)

Despite these problems, most Russian Jews fit into the American capitalist economy quite well. A survey conducted by the University of Illinois found that about 75 percent of the men and 55 percent of the women have held at least one steady job since their arrival (and there is even some evidence that the women, at least, tend to stay at their jobs longer than their American counterparts). Such figures compare very favorably with those of other immigrant groups, past and present (Gold, 1992).

One factor contributing to their good performance was the fourth wave's high level of training. The Soviet Union had an efficient educational system and complex economy. The other essential factor in their success in America's workplace was help from Jewish vocational programs, which Russian Jews rapidly utilized. In addition, not expecting any deep psychological returns from their job, Russian Jews moved with ease through the American economy, on the alert for the best chance, taking on tasks others might consider too risky or too degrading.

Russian well-educated elite

The transition to American society has been especially difficult for those immigrants who were better educated and more successful in Russian society. They were proud of their ability to "make do" and enjoy a high standard of living in Russia despite economic difficulties. As Erving Goffman (1961) pointed out in his classic study of total institutions, the sense of accomplishment a person derives by obtaining scarce privileges

or goods through unconventional means is often more valuable to the recipient than the physical possession of the good or privilege itself.

For this group of better educated immigrants, the adjustment to American life means, being able to maintain the same social position they enjoyed in Russia with a decent standard of living, which is something that many now find very difficult to achieve. Their pattern of settlement has been different from those who are less educated. They have not clustered in old Russian ethnic communities, and they have not participated in ethnic communal activities. On the one hand, they are aware and proud of their cultural heritage, characterized by their pride in being Russians, on the other hand, they can see the realization of their professional and economic goals without the assistance and interference of their countrymen in America. This condition has made it possible for well-educated Russian immigrants to live as individuals with no real need for a collectivity or locality of their own. It is frequently assumed that when a number of immigrants together face an alien and hostile environment, a strong cohesive group, a community life will develop. Such assumptions are usually based upon the initial experience of settlers confronting discriminatory treatment by a dominant group. The very status of their minority situation demands the establishment of community life. But when we find a group of professionals who represent a new type of mobile immigrant, it can be expected that different patterns of in-group relations will emerge.

In summary of this way, the stressful experiences in a new social environment have created distinct psychological and social characteristics in many Russian immigrants.

Some social workers defined the following list of common characteristics of recent immigrants:

1. unrealistic expectations
2. sense of entitlement
3. loss of sense of security
4. loss of status
5. overdependency
6. perseverance
7. manipulative behavior
8. difficulty in establishing trusting relationships
9. strong reliance on family and friends

The case workers of both the Christian and Jewish resettlement agencies have witnessed dramatic emotional changes in their clients which occur between their first and second meetings with them. From being happy and even euphoric, immigrants become increasingly anxious, confused, and tense. These changes occur when immigrants begin to deal with the tasks of daily living: looking for an apartment, enrolling children in school, learning the basics of job hunting, etc. These tasks are new and frightening to them and trigger emotional reactions. A Jewish Family Service social worker described a class offering both information and therapy:

We have just completed a “coping with stress” workshop. We called it something like “Finding your own job and coping with the anxiety in the interim.” They [Russian Jews] are not used to talking about their feelings. I just read the evaluations...very concrete job search issues were most important to them. And the feeling piece was not their interest. But

our counselors felt that a lot of stuff was happening in that there were other people in that boat and it was okay to talk about it. It was okay to be anxious. (D. Goldberg, personal communication, April 12, 1995)

These feelings of confusion were accompanied by their abrupt loss of status due to a complete loss of employment, which, in turn, resulted in a loss of social, personal, and economic success. It is not surprising that many have preferred welfare checks every month because it was so difficult to accept working at the lowest level of employment in minimum wage jobs. This confusion about employment and social status was also caused by the new immigrants' overdependency. American values of independence, individual motivation to succeed, and self-reliance were simply not a part of the Soviet experience. In their homeland, people were forced to be subservient to the interests of the group rather than the individual. Having come from a system that told everyone what to do, where to live, and what to believe has left immigrants facing life in the "land of opportunity and self reliance" confused and angry.

Despite these difficulties, the vast majority of Russian immigrants have exhibited remarkable perseverance. After the early months of adjustment to life in the United States, many have begun to evaluate their choices and their possibilities for future success. Accustomed to surviving from day-to-day in the Soviet Union, these hard-working survivors usually find a way to survive again.

Fifth Wave: 1992-1994

The most recent Russian immigrants, especially those who came to the United States during the last three years, differ from immigrants of the earlier waves. They come from

a country with a new political and economic system which faces a tremendously high rate of inflation and crime. The restructuring of Russian society and the large scale change in government politics toward financial and economic priorities, has put the cultural, scientific, and technical intellectuals in a very difficult situation. The absence of government financial support and a new economic reality forced them to seek better conditions for themselves and for their families. These Russians usually came on contract terms to their American employers and then decide to stay in the country permanently.

The great number of these immigrants do not belong to any religious group and are not involved in resettlement programs or refugee services. Many Russian scientists have found work in the computer companies of Silicon Valley and the universities of California. They speak English quite well and therefore become more rapidly acquainted with the new system and gain confidence in their new environment. They have also tried very hard to maintain the same social status they had in Russia. This group of immigrants, shunning the older ethnic Russian neighborhoods, has located in middle class suburban areas. This residential dispersal will no doubt encourage more rapid adjustment to life within the majority culture. Because of their previous high status in Russia, they are often more ambitious and adventurous and are willing to make new decisions as conditions change. However, they also experience many problems which earlier immigrants did not have.

Despite new freedoms to emigrate from their homeland, Russians settling in California since 1992 find themselves in a different situation from earlier groups. Because their

country of origin is no longer viewed as a place of religious and political persecution, Russians are no longer considered refugees by the United States government. This denial of refugee status means: 1. Russians no longer have permission to enter the United States in large numbers; 2. Their airfare is no longer paid for through loans from the American government; 3. They no longer have sponsors to arrange for housing and employment.

Recent Russian immigrants have come face-to-face with sociocultural and economic conditions very different from the conditions that greeted earlier waves of immigrants. New arrivals are faced with high unemployment rates, crowded low income neighborhoods, ethnic conflict, and negative attitudes from the majority culture toward immigrants in general. Many Russian scientists and engineers are having a terrible time finding jobs. As the immigrants themselves see it, the language barrier is the least of their problems. They feel handicapped by lack of American education, job experience, and contacts, by their age, and, most of all, by the fact that they are overqualified. There are no official figures on how many of these new Russian immigrants are technically trained, but observers believe there are now about 2,000 Ph.D. level scientists and engineers in the country, most of them unemployed. About half are in the New York area. Others are showing up around the country, particularly in California, where there are high concentrations of universities or R&D (Research and Development) based industries (Holden, 1994).

All highly educated immigrants agree that age is a severe obstacle. Leonid, a scientist from St. Petersburg, who is 36, said he visited several California universities “where

people told me 'You are too old.' They don't believe you can keep up with younger people. I am even dyeing my hair to hide my age."

Richard Ellis, director of manpower studies at the American Association of Engineering, pointed out that there could be something of a mismatch between supply and demand in engineering, because "serious Russian engineering is heavily defense-oriented." Non-citizens can not get security clearance for defense work, and, he speculated, defense cutbacks could be tightening the market in related jobs (Holden, 1994).

These challenges are partially offset by the new and extremely positive feelings of Americans toward the new Russia. In addition, Russians have not faced problems of racial discrimination and negative stereotyping because of their skin color or ethnic background, as have so many other immigrant groups in the United States, which may explain the speed with which they have been accepted by the mainstream culture.

In summary, the adjustment problems for these new Americans are different than earlier settlers, as an unusually large number are professionals and academics. The licensing of professionals, like physicians, has posed serious problems because they have to pass rigorous examinations in English and because many have been out of graduate schools for some years. Some of the difficulties Soviet immigrants encountered stemmed from the basic differences between two systems of government and how things got done. Citizens of the Soviet Union tended to disregard the viewpoints of their government over the years, choosing to believe exactly the opposite of what they were told by officials.

Thus, negative warnings about “evil, corrupt, and poor America” only intensified people’s belief in this country as a wealthy, beautiful, indeed almost perfect, place. What a shock when new immigrants often found crowded, crime-ridden neighborhoods, traffic congestion, expensive medical and dental care, among a plethora of other problems. Freedom of choice about where to live, what school to attend, what to read and what to buy are things Americans take for granted. These same choices, in the beginning, overwhelmed the immigrant who had no experience with these freedoms. Looking for a job in a competitive market meant interviews and resumes. Resumes meant “putting things down on paper” which could be used against someone. In some instances, the immigrant decided to get around the problem by offering little or no information about his skills and himself, as a result, he could not comprehend why he was not called for an interview.

Some immigrants, when living in the Soviet Union, afforded the “extras” in their lives by “moonlighting” which under Soviet law could be interpreted as “speculation” and carried penalties. Therefore, on coming to the United States, there was resistance to learning about banks, savings, and checking accounts. Cash transactions were considered preferable in the Soviet Union as they could not be traced by officials asking questions.

The other “unknowns” to the Soviet immigrants were: a stress on independence and individualism, a free and competitive job market, the role of religious institutions, the role of the voluntary agency, health care cost for those who could and could not afford

them, the deferring role of government in American daily lives, job advancement and opportunities, and the freedom of movement from one place to another (Hoiden, 1994).

The typical Soviet immigrant was an individual who felt that his talents had been insufficiently appreciated in his former homeland. Yet, on the American job market his talents have relatively little value. However, the data of Gitelman's study (1981) of Soviet immigrants' mobility, indicate that there was an appreciable increase in the average annual gross income for this group during the first two years. This increase in earning power indicated that the immigrants had, on the whole, proved to be adaptable to the American working environment. However, it was apparent that it was the better educated Russians who had the most trouble finding suitable and satisfactory employment. They were more dissatisfied with work than the less educated, and their dissatisfaction arose primarily from the fact that they were not working in their own fields. Connected with this, some saw their wages as too low. But, unlike medical doctors, engineers and technicians had more often managed to find suitable employment. In the long run, the possibilities for upward advancement of Soviet immigrants were limited by age, language skills, ability to cope with the American workplace environment and relevant education. A great deal depended on the drive and ambition of the immigrants themselves. Ironically, living in America brought these former Soviet citizens many benefits they had never imagined when they applied for visas. Many immigrants perceived their standard of living to have risen in the transition from the Soviet Union to the United States, despite the fact that in many ways they were "starting from the bottom." Though many were

aware that their standard of living may have rises they knew it was lower than that of most other Americans (Gitelman, 1981).

CONCLUSIONS

The Russian immigrant is a person in motion between two cultures. The behavioral lessons he learned in childhood must be learned again as an adult. The stresses and strains of finding a new life in midstream are very great, and for some immigrants they are overwhelming. We have a picture that can be viewed as a success of the acculturation process of five waves of Russian immigration, the most recent of which is still taking place.

We find that Russian immigrants were and are rapidly and efficiently given a new start by American society. Within a short time, almost all waves of immigrants have been employed, and have acquired the basic material attributes of a comfortable middle-class life, while continuing to wrestle with tight family budgets, just like most Americans. Yet, despite the formidable problems of adjustment and the remaining social barriers between themselves and other Americans, the immigrants do not seem to have any grave misgivings about their choice of a new homeland.

All Russian immigrants to America have faced similar identity problems. They were a group in exile, alienated from Russia by political schisms and deeply felt emotions of hostility and hatred toward the government that had "driven them out." In a sense, despite the date of their arrival, all Russians in the United States find themselves in the often painful, often confusing position of not belonging to any particular nation or culture. They no longer feel a part of their Russian heritage, but neither do they feel completely

American. Cut off from their homeland, confused by their dual identities, the Russian immigrants' story is much like the story of thousands of other immigrants in America.

Russian migration, settlement, and adaptation incorporates some of the same processes and problems of all migrations of all people in all places. The long migration, large size, clustered settlement pattern, and tight religious networks of certain groups of Russian immigrants thus suggests continued isolation from mainstream culture and relatively slow adjustment process.

Consequently, this study indicates that the various models of immigrant adjustment, each in its way, contribute to an understanding of the Russian immigrants' experience. The contrasts made available by the use of a comparative approach offered a valuable resource.

This technique led me to several conclusions. Despite the difference between Orthodox, Christian sectarians, and Jews, these groups revealed many similar patterns of adjustment. All three populations featured sizable settlements that were socially distinct from the host society and heavily dependent on their ethnic communities for goods, services, and social life, and sometimes, employment. Regionalism, difference in education, generation, and social status were the largely responsible for the speed of adjustment.

Although these forms of internal diversity were present among all five waves of Russian immigration, the members of the fifth wave were ultimately more uniform. Its members shared urban origins, a high educational level, similar middle-class standing,

non-religious affiliations, and dispersion pattern of settlement. It was furthermore discovered that these immigrants as a group did not constitute a national community, that is, they were physically as well as socially isolated with no group cohesiveness.

Much future work remains to document the adjustment process and regional dispersal of so many diverse Russian immigrant groups. Analyses of ethnic bonds among second- and third-generation Russians are also needed, especially as these bonds become visible or invisible in household residential choice. A well-known tendency of second-generation immigrants is a rejection of their parents' values and culture, while third-generation ethnics are often more willing to explore and celebrate their grandparents' heritage. Another line of research growing out of this study, therefore, might examine the adjustment of second- and third-generation Russians.

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