6 Investment and Loyalty in the Ukrainian Diaspora

The current chapter specifically focuses on interview data from participants in Ukrainian diaspora communities. Diaspora communities are defined here as self-aware communities from a particular homeland, now clustered in multiple hostlands, with some sort of real or imagined ongoing connection to the homeland. Furthermore, 'membership in a diaspora now implies potential empowerment based on the ability to mobilize international support and influence in both the homeland and hostland' (Butler, 2001: 189). This dual mindfulness of influences of both the homeland and hostland is of crucial importance to the current study. As shown in Chapter 5, the balancing of these simultaneous Discourses is challenging for members of the diaspora, and it is this particular challenge upon which this chapter is focused. Furthermore, because it is also important to consider whether individuals joined the diaspora voluntarily or not, the interviews for this chapter are restricted to those who self-elected to move abroad.

Additionally, this chapter considers how integration into society is managed and policed by micro- and macro-societies and communities. How do people talk about and police who is part of 'us' of a socially constructed collective identity, versus who is part of the 'other' (Fligstein, 2008; Wodak & Boukala, 2015)? While this was part of the focus of Chapters 3 and 4, for diaspora communities this also includes a balanced consideration of the attitudes of the individuals, of the diaspora communities and of the host societies (Safran, 1991). Furthermore, these attitudes are influenced by and influence perceived identities of the immigrants, as well as perceived commonalities or differences with the host societies, with other diaspora communities, and with Ukrainians in the home country – all of which contribute to the creation of a complex network. This complexity then adds further difficulty when immigrants are asked by their various networks – with whom and where do your loyalties lie?

In answering these questions, immigrants in diaspora communities consider their investment in languages and communities (Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995). This investment is connected both to the current and future goals of the individual, by means of acquiring cultural capital. Choosing where and in what to invest is then an example of identity as a

site of struggle (Norton, 2013; Weedon, 1987). It is a struggle because it is multiple and in constant negotiation and renegotiation over time. It occurs within and between competing Discourses, and identities can overlap and even contradict each other depending on positionings taken up and assigned in discourse (Norton, 2013; Weedon, 1987). All of these considerations then lead to two primary questions. First, how do members of the Ukrainian diaspora negotiate integration into their new communities? Second, how does (or does not) the war in Ukraine further complicate this negotiation?

All of these developments affected both those in Ukraine and those in Ukrainian diaspora communities around the world, of which there are many. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the largest Ukrainian diaspora communities live in Russia, Canada and the United States. Since the communities focused on in this chapter include those in North America and New Zealand, the populations of these communities are presented again here. In the United States, over 900,000 residents claim Ukrainian descent, and over 275,000 residents were born in Ukraine (US Census, 2004). In Canada, Ukrainian-identifying residents number 1.25 million (cf. Seals, 2014). Furthermore, in New Zealand, over 1,800 residents claim Ukrainian descent, and over 1,100 residents were born in Ukraine (cf. Seals & Olsen-Reeder, 2017). Thus, while there are long-established large diaspora communities in North America, they are newer and smaller in New Zealand, though still relatively strong in number for New Zealand's small population size of slightly over 4 million people in total.

Diaspora and Transnational Research

As globalization and international incidents have become more frequent in recent years, so too has research involving borders and the crossing of them (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013; McCarty, 2014; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Piller & Takahashi, 2011; Watt & Llamas, 2014). As part of this, research focusing on transnationalism and on diaspora communities has also increased. While both focus on the concept of crossing international spaces, the two still maintain a slightly different focus. As explained by Faist (2010: 9):

> *diaspora* has been often used to denote religious or national groups living outside an (imagined) homeland, whereas *transnationalism* is often used both more narrowly – to refer to migrants' durable ties across countries – and, more widely, to capture not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organisations.

Furthermore, Faist (2010) is careful to specify that 'diaspora' has become more frequently used in public circles, therein taking on a more political connotation, while 'transnationalism' is still widely relegated to the

academic sphere. Yet, this does not make the latter without political connotations itself. Both concepts (diaspora and transnationalism) connect to ideas of imagined community and imagined nationality (Anderson, 1991 [1983]; De Cillia *et al*., 1999) as a starting point. Without a shared idea of what makes a nation and who belongs to it, there would be no research of people crossing borders (themselves sociopolitical constructs) between said nations.

Additionally, the notions of diaspora and transnationalism also carry slightly different semantic meanings in regard to perceived movement. While 'diaspora' frequently focuses on a crossing of borders that has led to some degree of settlement in the host country (Bruneau, 2010; Dufoix, 2008), 'transnationalism' focuses on the bidirectional (or more) movements of an individual or group between places, or at the very least on the bidirectionality of their continued relationships between places (Dahinden, 2010; King & Christou, 2010). Therefore, while one focuses primarily on the destination, the other focuses primarily on the continued relationship or movement.

Furthermore, each notion has useful aspects while also having more problematic aspects. For example, while 'transnational' focuses more on the current status of the people in question, as well as possibly their recent history, 'diaspora' carries a more longitudinal focus, also considering sociocultural history. As noted by King and Christou (2010), this distinction is important to consider, especially when we start looking to second-generation members of the diaspora, 'for whom the "destination" is also the "origin"' (King & Christou, 2010: 168). Additionally, while the notion of transnational focuses more on an individual experience, the notion of diaspora assumes somewhat of a collective identity, which can be problematic (Faist, 2010). However, this collective identity of sorts cannot be completely dismissed, as it is this supportive community which is what many people within the diaspora highlight as so important when relocating to a new place. Therefore, in the current book, diaspora does not assume a singular collective identity, but rather a community upon which people in a host society can draw if in need of support from others with a similar sociocultural background.

So why focus on concepts such as diaspora and transnationalism instead of simply focusing on globalization? The reason for the present chapter and entire book is that which is also argued by Faist (2010). Namely, there is an underlying semantic connotation in ideas of globalization that universalizes experiences, focusing more on experiences and/or ideologies that affect at a more (literally) global level. However, the focus of diaspora and transnational research relates more to the exception, therein remaining more focused on the individual experience, whether that individual be a person, a family, or a community. Therefore, that individual focus also reminds us that no person has the same experience as any other. Indeed, these experiences are intersectional (Crenshaw,

1993), with all social and demographic factors tied together as a web, with each pull of a thread affecting the others. Yet, everyone has different threads and therefore has different lived experiences. Furthermore, a focus on diaspora research is also a reminder of the marginalization that diaspora communities and individuals face, in the home, host and larger global societies.

A useful differentiation of types of diaspora communities was developed by Bruneau (2010). In his research, Bruneau delineates four types of diasporas. The first is one in which exact demographics are not as important as the 'entrepreneurial pole' (Bruneau, 2010: 39) – that is, the self-motivation to move abroad. The second type of diaspora is focused on the shared religion of the diaspora. Within this category, Bruneau also includes language, though this conflation of language and religion is highly problematic and should not be merged together. Furthermore, language is now recognized through translanguaging research to be a social construct, wherein any conceptions of a single 'language' are merely sociopolitical constructs in which people find value and therefore invest (Canagarajah, 2013a, 2013b; Cenoz & Gorter, 2013, 2015, 2017; García & Wei, 2014). The third type, which Bruneau calls 'more recent diasporas' (Bruneau, 2010: 40), is focused around the political origin of the diaspora.

The fourth type of diaspora outlined by Bruneau (2010) is that which is focused around a cultural and racial shared origin. However, this is another place where conflation is highly problematic. First, culture is not equivalent to race, and neither is equivalent to or subsumed by or within ethnicity. Second, the concept of 'culture' is treated monolithically in this categorization. However, culture is a multifaceted, socially constructed concept and should be treated as such (just like ethnicity). Furthermore, discussions of racial divides are highly problematic and have as such been problematized in depth in social science research. Rather, what I believe Bruneau means to be focusing on is the sociocultural constructs of 'culture' and 'ethnicity' to which many people subscribe. Therefore, while Bruneau's (2010) four types of diasporas provide a useful departure point, the current chapter and entire book maintain a more intersectional focus, as well as a social constructionist one, treating all of the above categories as socially constructed ideas of reality into which people and communities invest, therein imbuing them with meaning.

Such an intersectional focus is important to maintain, especially when interacting with families in diaspora communities. As such, Hua and Wei (2016) have stressed the importance of understanding the diverse experiences of families in the diaspora and how these experiences play a role in their everyday lives and even directly into their family dynamics, both inside and outside of the home. Furthermore, the way individuals within those families are positioned by those within the host society likewise affects their own self-positioning within said society, as well as their investment (or lack thereof) in the host society. As argued by Hua and Wei

(2016), all of these aspects can both directly and indirectly affect multilingualism and language maintenance efforts. Furthermore, as they argue, and as argued here, all language beliefs and practices, especially for those in diaspora communities, need to be considered within a holistic framework, which includes historical backgrounds and experiences, in order to truly understand them.

A Model for Immigrant Identity, Investment and Integration

One of the most significant findings to come out of the current project is the creation of a new model of negotiation, investment and integration (see Figure 6.1). This model considers immigration trajectories, as well as the recursive nature of identity negotiation and renegotiation, within and between home societies and host societies.

As immigrants continue to go through this cycle, they are made to consider and reconsider their identities, loyalties and belonging in relation to their home and host societies and communities. These struggles and negotiations depend not just on self-positioning, but also on others' positioning of the individual and community, which may or may not match up with self-positioning. Furthermore, individuals experience shifts in this recursive framework differently from each other, depending on intersectional factors such as their and others' home and host geographical regions, genders, ages, occupations, etc. For members of diaspora communities, this cycle can be further complexified, as the diaspora communities within host societies intensify the ongoing negotiation between

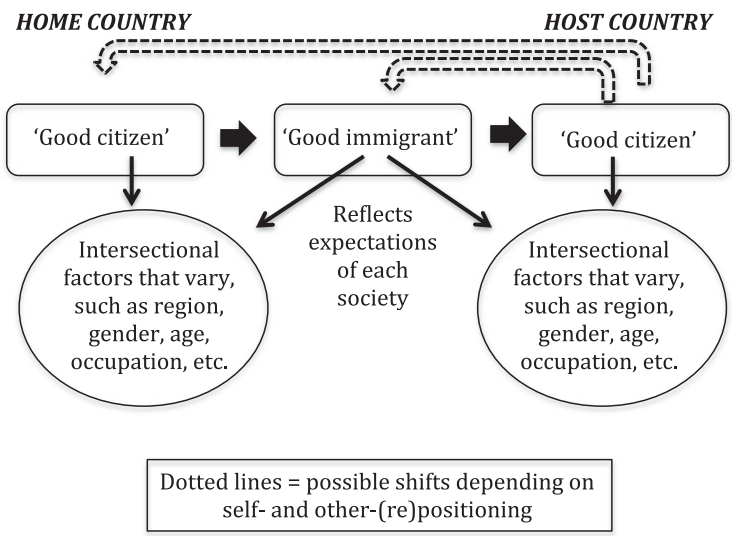

Figure 6.1 Immigrant identity, investment and integration model

home and host societies, since both make up the nature of diaspora communities themselves.

Renegotiating Identity in the Diaspora

To demonstrate how this model can work, illustrative examples are provided below of individuals' struggles with identity, integration and investment. The first comes from Anatoliy (mid-20s, from Central Ukraine, living in New Zealand).

Corinne: How would you say you identify yourself?

Anatoliy: …Well, I think…
Yeah, I'm- I'm actually s- struggling with this… question… uh…
because when I- when I came to Ukraine,
to my city,
it was about two years ago,
I really didn't like what I've seen.
Essentially, nothing changed.
And, I didn't like the way…
how people were thinking,
their attitude…
uh, how they… perceived things. Um…
So, in this sense I'm actually quite different…
Um… I'm not…
that Ukrainian as I was.
I'm not f- fully N- New Zealander… either.
So I'm… kind of in between, uh, probably.
Yeah, well,
Ukrainian New Zealander,
that's probably… uh… best

Anatoliy demonstrates the identity struggle that members of diaspora communities go through living in the host country, especially during a time of war. As he directly states, 'I'm actually s- struggling with this… question.' As he continues to explain, it is not the wording of the question with which he is struggling, but rather with how he feels about his identity. Anatoliy further elaborates by beginning a narrative that places him in time and space two years prior in Ukraine. Partial to his home city in Ukraine, he found upon returning for a visit right before the war began that he no longer felt comfortable there, a place he still identified with as

'my city', showing his alignment with it. It is important to note that during the time he describes, the war had not yet begun. As he says, 'essentially, nothing changed.' However, Anatoliy no longer felt as aligned with the Ukrainian people in his hometown. As he says, he no longer liked, 'how people were thinking, their attitude… uh, how they… perceived things.' Therefore, it was not any particular event that changed his perception. Rather, it was the fact that Anatoliy had re-negotiated his identity and sense of self since living in New Zealand and therefore did not feel that he fit in his hometown in the same way as he had before.

Anatoliy then goes one step further, saying, 'I'm not… that Ukrainian as I was.' In re-negotiating his sense of self, Anatoliy feels that he has lost some of his embodied Ukrainian-ness. Yet at the same time, he is still very much in a state of identity struggle because he states that he also does not feel completely like a New Zealander. Instead, he feels 'kind of in between', representing the complex struggles that take place when negotiating what it means to be a 'good immigrant', a concept which also reflects the ideals of being a 'good citizen' of both the home and host countries, without yet providing a sense of ownership of these identities.

Lana (early 30s, from the Black Sea region of Ukraine, now living in New Zealand) continues the discussion of what it is to be in between places. However, instead of feeling 'not quite either' like Anatoliy, Lana sees her situation as giving her multiple opportunities for who she wants to be in her future self, as discussed in the following excerpt:

Lana: So, I- I'm- I lived in Russia,
I lived in Ukraine,
now I'm living in New Zealand and I can really choose.
((laughs)) Who- whom I want to be in the future and where I want to live,
but it's definitely not Russia?
So it will be either New Zealand or,
I think maybe:,
at some stage if things get better,
and I can be really, useful in the Ukraine,
and there will be really nice place for me when- where I can,
like grew my kids and, er, just find really interesting job to do,
so if, I get my PhD,
and if there will be really need for the lecturers or for people who can do science in Ukraine,
and bring the, you know,
the Ukrainian science on the international level?

So I'm dreaming about something of that as well? ((laughs))
But I also really- really like New Zealand,
and I'm really-
I'm just enjoying being there,
so it's just really, great country?
So at the moment I'm staying in New Zealand,
but, you never know what will ha- what-
what will happen after you finish your PhD. ((laughs))

As evidenced by Lana's multiple mentions of her current PhD studies, she positions herself as 'still in transition', which likely contributes to her perception that she has multiple opportunities to redefine herself, rather than not being sure of who she is. Furthermore, Lana has lived in multiple countries and therefore has had the experience of renegotiating her sense of self more than once. As she says, 'I can really choose. ((laughs)) Who-whom I want to be in the future and where I want to live.' For Lana, her imagined future is available for the taking and molding so that it becomes what she wants it to be. She views her period of transition as an opportunity rather than a struggle.

However, in this opportunity, Lana still dialogically reflects Discourses held by many in her home country – that of allegiance and support for Ukraine during the war. Aligning with this, Lana says, 'but it's definitely not Russia?' using a high-rising terminal, which mitigates this direct statement. Drawing upon Discourses of loyalty to Ukraine, these same Discourses say that a Ukrainian would not then opt to move to Russia. Thus, this is expressed by Lana as 'definitely not Russia'. Instead, Lana says it will either be New Zealand or Ukraine. While Lana is currently living and working in New Zealand and therefore feels some attachment and responsibility towards the country as a resident, she still feels attachment and responsibility towards her home country as well. Therefore, the question of where to live is still in negotiation for her.

It is interesting to note, however, that Lana's mention of moving back to Ukraine is heavily mitigated, with 'maybe:' and 'at some stage' as well as 'if things get better'. Therefore, it is not the current Ukraine at war to which Lana would want to return, but rather an improved future Ukraine to which she could productively contribute. Lana further specifies that this would be in the form of work that would make use of her PhD 'if there will be really need for the lecturers or for people who can do science in Ukraine,' as she has invested much in her PhD studies and future identity as a professional scientist. This discussion of contributing to a need further dialogically echoes Discourses of supporting a country at war, which causes struggle for Lana, as it is to a better Ukraine where she would wish to return. However, even though Lana feels the pull of contributing to the

needs of Ukraine as a good citizen of her home country, she also feels the pull of her host country and of remaining in New Zealand. While Lana's investment in both home and host countries provides her with multiple opportunities for her future, this dual investment and associated responsibilities also pull her in two different directions.

While Lana and many in the diaspora experienced identity struggle associated with the negotiation of national loyalty and imagined futures, some participants had already made their decision. This is evidenced in an excerpt from Irina's interview (34 years old, from the Black Sea region of Ukraine, living in New Zealand).

Corinne: So, when you go back home, um,
do you visit-
which areas do you visit?
Irina: So [home is here, actually now.]
Corinne: [Oh sorry, sorry X ((laughter))]
Irina: [[2]Home is where my heart is,
and I have a] family here,
Corinne: [[2]((laughs)) Oh is it?
Yeah.]
Irina: I have a four year old daughter.
She'll be four in- in a week.
Uh, and so this is my home,
actually I believe that [city],
New Zealand is my home now.

For Irina, her perspective of 'home' and of 'home country' shifted since she had a family in the host country. As she says, 'So home is here, actually now,' referring to New Zealand. She further elaborates that it is her family, especially her daughter, who make her host country also now her home country. She even localizes this further to the particular city that she now lives in, placing emphasis on the city over the country. As she says, 'actually I believe that [city], New Zealand is my home now'. There are likely many reasons why Irina has placed more emphasis on her integration in the host country, but a major reason is clearly the investment in her family's imagined future in New Zealand. As a result of her own self-positioning as a citizen of New Zealand, Irina resisted my positioning of her as an immigrant to New Zealand and instead re-positioned herself once again as a New Zealand citizen, therein showing how individuals can resist and negotiate positionings within the model depending on their individual circumstances and intersectional identitites.

The Host Society's Perception

As shown briefly in the previous example, individuals who immigrate to a new country also must constantly negotiate how others in the host society position them. While they themselves may reflexively position in a particular way, this may have to be renegotiated if someone in the host society positions them differently. Such is the case for Dasha (30 years old, from Eastern Ukraine, living in the United States). As she explains in the excerpt below, one of the most challenging aspects of integration for her into United States society has been how members of the host society perceive and position her.

Corinne: Yeah and um having been in the US now for six years,
and um in the Boston area,
have you found it, ah, easier,
or more difficult to, um-
to live there and integrate…
…

Dasha: Both.
Um, it is of course-
it's a little bit of a challenge,
and it depends a lot on which part you go, ah,
so for say,
if you stay in Boston it's- it's quite-
it's quite easy just because a lot of people are here from different countries, um,
and even though if they are local,
they are usually- are quite worldly,
so they travel different places,
so an accent and being different from them is not-
is not an issue for them.
However if you go to a smaller town somewhere,
New Hampshire which is nearby, um,
or maybe even Connecticut,
ah some people ov-over there,
it's harder just because people-
ah people might not love their area,
and they're uncommon to hear different languages and accents.

Dasha, a resident of Boston for many years, explains in her interview that she felt like she was integrated into the United States now. Upon interviewing her further, she expresses her familiarity with the challenges that immigrants can face, depending on the characteristics and ideals of those in the host society, thus showing the significant role that other-positioning has in negotiating what it means to be a 'good citizen' in the host country. As Dasha says, Boston has many 'worldly' residents who travel frequently, so she feels integration was easier there. However, she also points out specifically that 'an accent' is part of what sets her apart from the host society and could potentially be a problem in the host society by not conforming to their hegemonic expectations, even though this is something she has been fortunate not to experience herself.

Dasha then strengthens this point of the salience of accents for people by comparing Boston to other areas in the United States, even specifically naming states that are known for having many smaller towns and not as many large cities. It is interesting to note that Dasha attributes people 'not lov[ing] their area' to also being those who have a problem with people who come from different countries. It is this hegemonic norm in the host society to which Dasha refers when discussing how these individuals would not be as welcoming to someone who speaks a different language or who has an accent that marks them as different from this hegemonic expectation.

Later in the interview, Dasha returns to these ideas of the host society's perception of those from within the diaspora, as shown in the following excerpt:

Corinne: Yeah and um do-

what's the perception in Boston towards the Russian and Ukrainian languages?

Dasha: Um, I would not-

I would not say that they- um,

I- I don't think that anyone knows that there is two different languages ((laughter)).

If you- if you talk about Ameri- America citizens- ah,

American- American nationalities, yeah yeah,

but ah yeah all-

they don't- they know that they're different countries,

but they don't really go to the language aspect at all,

if they're asking any questions.

Corinne: Yeah and, ah,

does that give you any particular feeling or-

or does it not matter?

Dasha: Um, it is a little bit hard question.
I would say ah maybe three years ago it didn't matter.
I used to-
when people used to ask,
'where you from' and
'are you from Russia',
and I would say yes,
because it didn't really matter to me,
but ah because of the recent- ah recent situation in Ukraine,
and Russia ((laughter)),
I would say it is not really pleasant for me to say that I am from Russia,
so now I try to say that I am from Ukraine,
and if they ask questions,
I would say there is two different countries and go into details about it.
Before I would just say,
if they say 'are you from Ukraine?',
I would say 'yes I'm from Ukraine'.
If they would ask 'are you from Russia?'
Yeah, I would say 'yes I'm from Russia',
because it didn't really matter much ((laughter)).

In this example, Dasha explains that she does not believe her host society even notes her specific language, suggesting that it is just sounding different from the hegemonic expectation that sets her apart. Furthermore, Dasha points out that there is also a seeming lack of interest from her host society in knowing about this aspect of her identity: 'but they don't really go to the language aspect at all, if they're asking any questions.' This perceived lack of interest from many in the host society is notable because Dasha, like Ruslana (see Chapter 5), discusses the increasing importance of a Ukrainian/Russian distinction for her. Since the war in Ukraine began, this has become more of a point of struggle than it was for her previously, as she no longer feels comfortable having her identity as Ukrainian conflated with a Russian identity, illustrated through her voicing of others at the end of the excerpt above.

Distance from the War

For some participants, their geographical distance from the war also became a cognitive distance (cf. Beliaeva & Seals, 2019), though many

still talked readily about a continued emotional closeness to the home country. However, participants in the diaspora frequently had difficulty accessing regularly available reliable information about what was happening in Ukraine (cf. Osnach, 2015). For many of the participants, this feeling of being on the outside also impacted upon their cognitive associations with the war in Ukraine.

As an example, Dasha continued talking later in the interview about the identity struggles she has experienced since the Ukrainian war began. For Dasha, the war made the Ukrainian aspects of her identity more salient once again, but she also faced an unexpected confound due to living now in the diaspora, as she explains in the example below.

Dasha: I used to follow [war developments] very closely,
ah looking at the daily updates on the news ah,
but ah recently I have stopped,
just because it's hard to- ah,
it's hard to find the- ah.
There are sources which you can truly trust being over here,
ah not- not-
because so much- so much information,
and all the information is so much different,
so it's- it's really hard to follow from being over here,
so um basically that was the reason why I stopped.
Just because you can see an event,
and you look at the different newspapers,
um English, British ah US, Russian, and Ukrainian,
and they have the event that happened,
but so many different points of view,
like what exactly happened and why,
so they- it's impossible to even find out exactly happened there
((laughter))
…
Um, I feel like it's really strange feeling,
just because I was- ah I was so ah- I was so nervous,
about what's going on,
and I was so worried about it.
I was watching the latest news,
and things trying to ah make some donations,

to help people with that, ah.
However when I went ah,
to Ukraine,
last year ah-
in last October,
I have noticed that ah people just mostly live their daily lives,
and not involved as much as,
I would say Ukrainian community over here in Boston is involved,
in the things going on it.
But it was really strange to me.
But I think maybe it's because,
they're so close,
and they have to go with the flow,
and ah still live their daily lives,
and they really had no choice about that,
but still that part,
was a little bit strange to me,
to see how- how it's over there,
compared to over here.

As Dasha explains in this excerpt, while she feels that her identity as Ukrainian is particularly salient now during the war, she was surprised that her identity and struggle no longer match up with those living in Ukraine. First, Dasha mentions that in the beginning when the war started, she regularly followed updates. However, the distance in time and space made this more difficult to continue doing: 'because so much- so much information, and all the information is so much different, so it's- it's really hard to follow from being over here.' In this passage, Dasha discursively constructs the divide she cognitively experiences by placing herself 'over here', which is quite a different semantic construction from merely 'here'.

Additionally, being further away from the war makes it more difficult for her to follow the war developments, thus distancing her from the experiences of people in Ukraine – something that was further emphasized when she visited Ukraine and realized that her expectations of Ukrainian residents' current everyday life experiences and war involvement did not match their realities. When having to locate news sources that are not readily available in the host country, many of the participants struggled with sifting through the large amount of it and determining what was accurate or not. As Dasha explains, no matter what country's news sources she turned to or even what language they were presented in, it was

(and is) difficult to determine fact from embellishment or even fiction (cf. Masenko & Horobets, 2015; Osnach, 2015).

Dasha then recounts a narrative of an experience she had wherein she volunteered to go to Ukraine to help with the war efforts. She explains that before going to Ukraine, she was anxious due to the media representations of current life in Ukraine. As she depicts, the media coverage of Ukraine was such that she was making donations to war relief efforts because the situation looked so grim for the country. However, her expectations did not match her experience once she arrived in Ukraine. This realization that people's daily lived experiences in her home country did not match with Dasha's perception of what was happening from the host country was unexpected for her. In fact, she was surprised to discover that Ukrainians in Ukraine were less involved in a daily occupation with the war than the 'Ukrainian community over here in Boston is involved.' As a result, she experienced cognitive dissonance and a feeling that it is 'a little bit strange to me, to see how- how it's over there, compared to over here.' According to research done by Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2013), this is because 'time complicates [indexing and positioning] for immigrants, however, because their place of origin changes in the immigrants' absence' (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013: 18). A major event such as a war in the home country can further amplify the cognitive dissonance experienced by those in the diaspora, as the complexification of their pre-existing chronotope becomes more apparent.

Similar to Dasha, Anatoliy (mid-20s, from Central Ukraine, living in New Zealand) also commented on the unexpected differences between life in the home country and life in the diaspora. In the following example, Anatoliy, like Dasha, comments on the difficulties of balancing home country and host country responsibilities and expectations with their realities.

Corinne: Um, so, how much does the- the current… war in Ukraine affect your… daily life?

Anatoliy: Um… when I'm at work…
Er, it doesn't really affect,
because I don't think about it, er…
but when I open Facebook,
and I open it every day…
er, it does affect all the time,
because that's pretty much all I read…
This is how I get, er, news.
Erm… this is where I… see people's, er, experience…
((phone rings))

Er, it's almost time,
but I'll- I'll- I'll- I'll finish, er… that…
Erm, so…
When I start thinking about it,
that does affect me,
because I also have to think, er,
what if it gets worse,
what shall I do.
Shall I bring my parents?
Actually,
I can bring my parents,
but what about my grandparents… right?
Er, it will be very difficult for them to have… er, long flight.
Or- and even if I bring my parents,
what- sh- what will they do in New Zealand?
They don't speak English.
There's very limited, er, community of Russian speaking people,
and they probably don't want to speak to Russian speaking people,
in fact,
I've seen Russian people,
standing in front of the Parliament saying,
stop, er… Nazi… er, in Donbass.
That's- that's an- another horror… stories which… they are… sharing…
Putin is sharing…
that in Ukraine people, er, are Nazis…
yeah, and this is the kind of government that came to power…
er, that, er…
And this is the people who actually know me,
and I know the-
not very closely… er, but close enough…
that… Ukrainian community came… to… honor… er… the leader of Russian community…
I mean, she died, and they just came to pay respect…
So, they actually saw us coming to them,

> and… we were actually… getting along… reasonably well…
> And after all these things, er, started happening…
> they come up with those banners saying,
> stop, er… racism… er… and killing in Ukraine,
> meaning that that's Ukrainian army who is doing all those atrocious things.
> Yeah.
> So, er, I would assume that people living here,
> they have access to information,
> they- they would think differently…
> but they're still keep on denying…
> Because, you know,
> it's uncomfortable to think that your country is actually the, er,
> root cause… of so many deaths,
> and there's no end yet to that… (sighs)

Anatoliy begins the excerpt by reflecting upon the role that social network websites such as Facebook play in the Ukrainian war's influence in his daily life. While he says that the news on social network websites does not bother him while he is at work (implying he does not access social network websites at work), this news does however have a major impact upon him outside of work. As evidenced by this passage, Anatoliy relies heavily on social network websites for his news. As a result, most of the information that he would see would be that shared by people from similar viewpoints – what communication scientists refer to as 'echo chambers' (Bakshy *et al*., 2015; Colleoni *et al*., 2014).

Therefore, it is not entirely surprising that Anatoliy would be shocked by events from differing viewpoints, such as that which he describes later in the excerpt: 'they have access to information, they- they would think differently… but they're still keep on denying.' Of course, the echo chambers echo on all sides and thus influence the opinions and viewpoints for people of all political persuasions, which is why it is also possible to get people believing extremist propaganda, such as in the situation alluded to by Anatoliy when pro-Russian extremists protested against the Ukrainian people in front of New Zealand's parliament building. Furthermore, these echo chambers contribute to the real-life divide between people and factioning between groups, such as what Anatoliy describes for the situation of the Russian and Ukrainian diaspora communities in New Zealand.

In addition to trying to balance news and opinions on social media from the home and host countries, Anatoliy explains how members of the diaspora must also weigh up the news they hear against real-life practical

concerns. For example, even though Anatoliy lives and works in New Zealand and is investing in life in his host country, the war in Ukraine has required that he also invest in possible futures for his Ukrainian-based family if the war made it so that they had to leave Ukraine. As Anatoliy narrates a think-aloud of sorts, we get a glimpse into the struggle that he faces if his home country and host country worlds were to more directly collide: 'because I also have to think, er, what if it gets worse, what shall I do. Shall I bring my parents? Actually, I can bring my parents, but what about my grandparents… right? Or-and even if I bring my parents, what-sh- what will they do in New Zealand?' Helping his parents leave Ukraine would not just involve concerns of departure, but also concerns of arrival, as he would be involved in helping his parents establish a new future. Therefore, the war has complicated things such that Anatoliy no longer worries just about his own integration and investment in the host country, but also must worry about imagined futures for his family, including both departure from the home country and arrival and settlement in the host country.

An important aspect of the model above that should be highlighted is its intersectional nature, such that it acknowledges the individual experiences and concerns for each person negotiating what it means to be an immigrant and/or citizen is any given country. As such, Ksusha (36 years old, from Central Ukraine, living in the United States), who is also living in the diaspora, has had a different experience during the war than Anatoliy. However, her different experience is no less disruptive for her identity negotiation, as she explains in the excerpt below.

Corinne: Yeah, um, and do you-
have you- has it felt any different, um
seeing all this,
from the US instead of Ukraine?
Do you think it's made any difference for you?
Like watching it?

Ksusha: Um, I'm um probably easier,
because you know I'm not going through:
any of that stuff,
like I'm not economically affected.
My parents- my parents do but,
I myself, I don't,
except maybe oil prices go down so,

Corinne: Yeah,

Ksusha: Um, actually, uh I-

it m- might be easier for me,
than people who are there.

Corinne: Yeah.

Ksusha: But on the other hand,
you really wanted to take part in it, you know,
you want to help,
you want to be there,
but then you realize you're actually more help here,
because you can make, money and send it there instead of, you know,
being on the XX end and not helping but,
during Maidan I really wanted to be there and,
all I really want to, you know, help uh,
go to the hospital and help soldiers and wounded,
people there you know just… be like,
a pair of hands that can, you know,
buy food,
bring something.

Corinne: [Yeah.]

Ksusha: [Things like that.]

Ksusha begins by saying that it has been easier living in the United States during the war than living in Ukraine, and she contrasts this with her parents' experience. Ksusha's reference to oil prices going down implies that life in the United States in fact got even easier than it was before because lower oil prices means less expensive gasoline in her host country for cars. This contrasts quite differently with her parents' experience in an economically affected region, the home country.

However, while the practicalities of life may be easier, Ksusha stresses that this does not mean that the war is emotionally easier for her to handle than it is for people in Ukraine. Rather, living in the diaspora brings with it a different set of emotional challenges when thinking about the war in her home country. Ksusha expresses feeling the geographical distance as a difficulty because it prevents her from easily taking part in the war efforts. Even if the geographical distance itself were not an issue, it would also mean pausing her host country trajectory to return to her home country, an option that is not easily accessible for most people in the diaspora. Furthermore, by using 'you' when expressing these emotions, Ksusha also universalizes these feelings, therein including all of those in the diaspora who are having similar experiences to herself. Therefore, she faces the

struggles of negotiating loyalties and investments not by herself, but alongside an imagined community of like-positioned individuals.

However, the struggle is strongly evidenced by Ksusha returning once more to her desire to support her home country during the events of Maidan, which she further personalizes through the use this time of 'I' instead of 'you'. Interestingly, while these feelings are expressed individually, the work that she imagines doing is not about the individual, but rather about the collective community, as evidenced by phrases such as 'be like a pair of hands'. Therefore, the overall needs of her home country and those she imagines there lead her to have a dialogue with herself involving identity, investment and the positioning of loyalties.

Language Ideologies and Integration

Another area that was highly salient for participants in the diaspora was that of language ideologies. As discussed in previous chapters, many of the Ukrainians interviewed in this book already contend regularly with ideologies around language choice and use in relation to identity in their home country (Besters-Dilger, 2009; Csernicskó, 2017; Maiboroda *et al*., 2008; Masenko, 2004). However, members of the diaspora must likewise contend with language ideologies within the host society. The participants in this book who live in diaspora communities all live within English-dominant societies, including Canada, the United States and New Zealand. Therefore, when discussing language ideologies of these host societies, the focus is primarily on the dominance of English and the ways in which non-native English speakers are positioned by members of the host countries. This other-positioning from the host societies is one of the most frequently mentioned ways by which the members of the diaspora felt themselves re-positioned again into the role of immigrant instead of resident or citizen. Such is the experience for Ilona (35 years old, from Western Ukraine, now living in the United States) as outlined in her interview excerpt.

Corinne: How have you found it, um, integrating into the US, um,
in both Seattle and then in, uh,
Southern California as well,
was there a difference?
And was anything easier or harder in one place or the other?

Ilona: Well um, California is definitely more,
accepting of different backgrounds,
than Seattle is, um,
for me:
a big factor was also the age,

when I came to US I was a teenager.
I didn't speak any English so it was very difficult for me to integrate,
to begin with, um,
and I don't think it had anything,
to do with me speaking Ukrainian or Russian,
it was just because I didn't speak English.
…
I- I learned how to read first and then how to write but,
for a long time I didn't speak,
just because I was,
either embarrassed of the accent or I- I was,
I was very close mouthed,
I- I was reluctant to actually speak,
open my mouth and talk.

Ilona's experiences echo those of Dasha when first living in the United States and struggling with what it means to be a 'good immigrant' and later a 'good citizen' in this society. While Ilona attributes much of her experience to age, what she describes actually has more to do with language ideologies. As she explains, 'and I don't think it had anything, to do with me speaking Ukrainian or Russian, it was just because I didn't speak English.' She too found that speaking specifically English was the crucial host-society expectation to meet, regardless of her home country language. Furthermore, speaking English with her native accent was such a marker for her of not meeting the host-society's expectations that she chose instead to not speak at all for a very long time. Therefore, host country ideologies around what a 'good citizen' of the host country sounds like, as opposed to a 'good immigrant', kept Ilona from speaking in an attempt to keep herself from being othered and marked as an 'outsider'.

Kyrylo (early 20s, from Eastern Ukraine, now living in the United States) likewise experienced the strength of language ideologies in the host country and how these language ideologies actually contradicted the language ideologies of his home country, as he explains in his narrative.

Kyrylo: And then,
after I visited Chicago and there was this Ukrainian community,
I understood like,
((laughter)) if you want to live in,

Corinne: [((laughs))]
Kyrylo: [Chicago you] ((laughs)),
you should speak Ukrainian,
and don't speak uh Russian language to Ukrainians,
because it's like biggest,
concerns here,
and uh one of the biggest concerns,
and uh then I applied to Kyiv Mohyla Academy which is,
totally Ukrainian,
and uh there was even legends in Kyiv Mohyla Academy that,
if someone speak a Russian language uh during,
not during uh, uh seminars,
not during, like, class,
not in classroom even,
somewhere on uh,
state like some- some- somewhere in academy,
if you speak Russian language,
they can fire you I mean like.
Corinne: [Wow.]
Kyrylo: [((laughs))]
but it was the legend,
uh I don't know,
did it happened or not,
but it's like,
okay all freshmans,
when they're coming to Kyiv Mohyla Academy,
first, like half year or even a year,
they speak Ukrainian ((laughing))

Kyrylo, who is originally from Ukraine, had been visiting Chicago in the United States at the beginning of his narrative and therefore takes this as the point of departure for the contrast he sets up in his narrative. However, it is important to keep in mind the background information that Kyrylo lived in several places in Ukraine and is originally from the East, though he and his family speak both Russian and Ukrainian and are themselves taking part in the effort to change one's mother tongue (see Chapter 5). When Kyrylo visits Chicago at the beginning of his story, he

encountered a strong pro-Ukrainian, and simultaneous anti-Russian (Csernicskó, 2017), language ideology within the Chicago Ukrainian diaspora. While this ideology is not one shared by all Ukrainian diaspora communities, it is the ideology that was foremost presented to Kyrylo upon his visit to Chicago.

Kyrylo then connects his experience with language ideologies in the Chicago Ukrainian diaspora with his experience at Kyiv Mohyla Academy, which he describes as 'totally Ukrainian', therein positioning the university as aligned with purist ideologies of what it means to be Ukrainian (Braha, 2011; Csernicskó, 2017; Masenko, 2004). Part and parcel with this positioning was the assumption that the university also subscribes to the 'real Ukrainians speak Ukrainian' ideology, which ended up becoming an urban myth of sorts in this context. However, this legend was still believable enough for students beginning to study at the university that 'all freshmans, when they're coming to Kyiv Mohyla Academy, first, like half year or even a year, they speak Ukrainian.' Even though it is a myth that freshmen would be required to speak only in Ukrainian at the university, it diaologically echoes enough pre-existing ideologies in society that the freshmen believe it to be true.

Given the trajectory of Kyrylo's narrative, it is highly possible that he was also one of these freshmen, as he had already experienced the realization of such language ideologies in the Chicago Ukrainian diaspora community. Therefore, once again the diaspora dialogically echoed ideologies found within the home country, but they were once again manifested in a different way such that the 'truth' existing within the diaspora was no longer the same as the 'truth' existing within the home country. Due to experiences with both home and host country ideologies of language use, Kyrylo had to negotiate and renegotiate his own positioning while reflecting upon experiences with both.

Following Kyrylo's description of more extreme language ideologies in the host country than in the home country, Ilona's interview also described such an experience with her own diaspora communities in another part of the United States. Ilona, like Kyrylo, also takes part in the change your mother tongue efforts. However, while Kyrylo is still heavily invested in the home country, Ilona is heavily invested in the host country. Thus, while both align with Ukraine, Ilona positions herself more as a member of the host country now. This then impacts upon her investment in host country diaspora experiences as well, as described in her interview excerpt.

Corinne: Um and when you're with your friends, um,
what do you speak then.

Ilona: Um, well:
uh I have distinct groups of friends.

I have my Russian speaking friends,
I have Ukrainian speaking friends and,
obviously I have just uh American, English only speaking friends so,
with Ukrainians most of them speak Russian,
but um, lately,
we've been making a point of, um,
if, people understand Ukrainian I,
only speak Ukrainian.
…
Um it- it's, it's weird, um, over here.
We used to have a like this group,
it was all Russian speaking, uh, picnics,
uh, once a month.
It was a lot of people.
And when,
things started happening over there we:
stopped going to these things, um ((recorder beep)),
you know a lot of Ukrainians stopped going to these things,
and then we kind of branched off and, um,
myself and a friend of mine,
we now organize Ukrainian speaking picnics.

In her interview excerpt, Ilona speaks of having segregated groups of friends, with whom she speaks the dominant language associated with each group. Of particular note is that she says that 'obviously' she has English-only speaking American friends, again showing the hegemonic society norm and expectation of being a monolingual English speaker to be a 'good citizen' of the United States. Furthermore, she also says that now she makes 'a point' of only speaking Ukrainian when people understand it, thus aligning with the Discourse of a 'good citizen' of Ukraine and the ideology that 'real Ukrainians speak Ukrainian'. However, she adds the caveat of only following this rule if the interlocutor understands Ukrainian, thus showing alignment with the practices of friendly non-accommodation (Chapter 5), as well as discursive and ideological negotiation between home and host societies. Ilona also talks of Ukrainians in the United States as 'we', showing her collective identity with them. Part of this identity also involves desisting from participating in Russian-speaking picnics, and establishing separate Ukrainian-speaking picnics within the

diaspora, showing further complication of her identity negotiation of what it means to be a member of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States.

Negotiation Between and Within Diaspora Communities

Some of the participants in the interviews went into further detail about the types of negotiations that they had within and between their local diaspora communities. For these participants in particular, it was important for them that differences *within* the diaspora communities were highlighted just as much as the more often discussed differences *between* diaspora communities. Their narratives of negotiating the differences within diaspora communities again highlight the intersectional nature of the immigrant experience. The first example of this comes from Lana (early 30s, from the Black Sea region of Ukraine, now living in New Zealand), as detailed below.

Corinne: And, have you found,
in [city], i-
are the Ukrainian and Russian communities divided?
Like, um, in other parts of the world,
or are they more together, or?

Lana: Er, uh yeah, so I'm-
I think that after what's happened in Ukraine b-
and between Russia and Ukraine,
now they're really split?
A:nd, I think before it was mixture?
So people think,
we- people were to-
those people were tog- together, and,
because I spoke to the- to those Ukrainians who in the- in our community now?
And, it was er like, er, community where people were all together,
like Russians and Ukrainians?
And after, what happened,
and Ukrainians said that,
wha- Russia is, like doing some military aggressive,
actions towards Ukraine,
and those people,

'No, Russia is defending,'
and blah blah blah,
and that split-
actually there are, two communities?
I'm not sure about like,
in Ukraine we have, er, in-
between Ukrainians we have a community,
we have, erm, like, we have workshops,
we get together,
like, er, once- once per two week?
So and we:- we are communicating,
together,
so and, it feels like you have a community of people?
But, uh I'm not sure that Russian have something,
becau- er, I have never heard something like that,
I think, er, I heard that there is a church?
Er… but I have never, been there and I, couldn't really say.

Corinne: [Yeah.]

Lana: [What's-] What's- wh- what- what- what they are doing there and…
is it really community for them,
because I'm, I- I don't really know.

Corinne: Mm-hmm.
And, when you're at the Ukrainian community events, um,
did you ever feel like it was a problem to speak Russian,
or was it fine?

Lana: No, we speak Russian,
er like a lot of people who especially f- from Kyiv, er,
and like from Central part, er,
and from-m-m er Eastern part,
they mostly speak Russian.
And, it's be- we speak both languages.
And sometimes there are some kids,
they, get used to speak more English ((laughs)).
They speak English between each other?

But it's- it's okay,
it's normal.
And, er ((clears throat)),
and we speak both and Russian and Ukrainians.
But u:h I'm- I'm- I'm trying to speak more Ukrainian.

When Lana begins answering my question about Ukrainian and Russian diaspora communities, she starts by dialogically echoing what she may have seen as an inferred request in my question. That is, by me asking if the communities were split, she may have been attempting to answer in the affirmative. In doing so, she also draws upon larger societal Discourses of a division between Russia and Ukraine since the war. Lana's use of high rising terminals at the end of 'split' and 'mixture' also indicate that she may be attempting to do positive relational work in the interaction, therein requesting my positive uptake in turn (cf. Warren, 2016; Warren & Fletcher, 2016).

However, in addition to this, Lana is importantly drawing upon intertextual understandings of what is happening in Ukraine. By referring just to 'what's happened in Ukraine', an interlocutor would have to be savvy about the Ukrainian war in order to understand the intertextual link she is making and that this event would lead to an assumed split between Ukrainian and Russian communities.

To further illustrate her statement that the Ukrainian and Russian diaspora communities are now split more than they were before, Lana recounts information told to her by another member of her local Ukrainian diaspora community. In Lana's recounting of the events as told to her, there was once one larger community in New Zealand in which both Russians and Ukrainians took part. This also in fact echoes the stories told to me upon my immigration to New Zealand about the previous membership of the communities.

Lana then says, however, that trouble began after the start of the Ukrainian war. In Lana's story, the Ukrainians first positioned the events as Russian aggression, which made Russians within the community upset. Russians in turn responded that Russia is defending its people. These arguments then led to the communities splitting into two. Notably, both of these recounted sides draw upon some of the most frequent narratives promoted by Ukrainian and Russian media, respectively (see Chapter 3), therein showing the power of the media in influencing people's everyday lives and relationships (Cottle, 2006; MacDuffee Metzger *et al.*, 2016; Masenko & Orel, 2014; Miller & Wert, 2015; Osnach, 2015). Interestingly, after Lana has recounted these reported discourses, she adds to them by saying 'and blah blah blah', therein trivializing these arguments. In Lana's narrative, the split between communities due to these Discourses is more of a shame than something to be happy about.

Lana further discursively illustrates the continuing divide between Ukrainian and Russian diaspora communities in New Zealand by explaining, 'So and we:- we are communicating, together, so and, it feels like you have a community of people? But, uh I'm not sure that Russian have something.' By 'we', Lana means those within the Ukrainian diaspora community, of which she is a member. She describes the community of practice that exists between Ukrainians in New Zealand, therein intertextually drawing upon ideologies of Ukrainians as friendly, community centered people. She further contrasts this against the Russian community, of whose practices she has no knowledge. She says it is 'really community for them', with 'them' meaning the Russian diaspora, therein making clear that in her experience the Russian and Ukrainian diaspora communities do not take part in each other's events since the start of the Ukrainian war.

When I then continued by asking Lana about the language practices within the New Zealand Ukrainian diaspora community, she was quick to confirm that both Russian and Ukrainian languages are welcome, which is also the experience I have had with the New Zealand Ukrainian communities. Lana begins by saying that Russian is spoken in the community, but then interestingly explains this by drawing upon intertextually shared understandings of Ukrainian regional history, as well as Discourses of Ukrainian language ideologies and preferences (cf. Del' Gaudio, 2011; Masenko, 2009). As way of explanation for speaking Russian in the Ukrainian community, Lana explains that there are members from the regions commonly thought to have Russian language dominance and preference. Notably, it is the use of the Russian language that seems to require an explanation, not use of the Ukrainian language because the Ukrainian language is currently unmarked as the language of higher status in Ukraine (Csernicskó, 2017).

As a member of the New Zealand diaspora, Lana also includes English into the language mix when describing language practices in the Ukrainian diaspora. As Lana explains, English is, however, mostly used by the children. In this section of speech, Lana further dialogically reflects echoes of home and host country ideologies regarding language use by children growing up within a diaspora. After pointing out that the children speak English together, she is careful to excuse this practice as normal. This statement dialogically responds to those who would disagree with Ukrainian children speaking English at community events, as many do, especially those from the home country. However, this statement simultaneously reflects experiential discourses found within this diaspora community as well as other diaspora communities in New Zealand that such behavior from children is the norm and bound to happen (cf. Seals & Olsen-Reeder, 2019). Thus, this singular statement reflects Lana's negotiation of both home and host country Discourses and expectations at the same time.

Lana ends by once again reaffirming that both Russian and Ukrainian languages are spoken within the New Zealand Ukrainian diaspora

community, therein reflecting the diversity found within. However, she herself is careful to mention that she is 'trying to speak more Ukrainian', again reflecting the prevalence of the 'good Ukrainians speak Ukrainian' Discourse within all Ukrainian communities, home and abroad (Csernicskó, 2017).

Mykola (39 years old, from Eastern Ukraine, living in Canada), a member of Canada's Ukrainian diaspora community, also speaks of the diversity found within diaspora communities. Additionally, Mykola speaks of the choices that members of the diaspora must make when faced with a lack of the linguistic and cultural resources that they had in the home country, as shown in the following excerpt:

Corinne: Um, and, so- so in Canada,
um, ye- are there many, opportunities, um, to-
for- for your kids,
or for anyone who's interested,
to interact more with like um, the Ukrainian community,
or, Russian language speakers,
or Ukrainian language speakers,
or to learn the languages,
is there much opportunity,
for that?

Mykola: There- there are plenty of- of er, Russian schools,
er, Russian weekend schools,
and Russian uh, like community centers,
er the same as Ukrainian actually.
A:nd, I would say Russian and Ukrainians here are way more tolerant to each other,
rather than, they are now,
back in their countries?
And even now,
of course there is a, certain percentage of people, who,
like uh, you know what I mean,
not really tolerant.
But most of people, er, live n- normal lives here,
and they,
okay, they didn't really care.
Since you speak the same language,

most likely you share the same values and shame- same culture,
same background so…
I would say,
may- maybe you may ask someone, like,
after thirty minutes of your, you know, meet-
when you meet someone or,
an hour later you can just, maybe ask,
'Are you from Russia or Ukraine?'
'I'm from Ukraine',
'I'm from Russia',
'Oh, okay, that's fine.'
And that's it,
just keep going. ((laughs))

In response to my question about opportunities to interact with Ukrainian or Russian speakers or to learn these languages, Mykola begins answering by saying that there are Russian and Ukrainian community language schools in his area. However, Mykola then continues explaining that even though the community schools are separated, the Canadian Ukrainian and Russian diaspora communities themselves get along, drawing upon knowledge of the Ukrainian war, as well as the Discourses of fighting between Ukrainians and Russians. Mykola compares the situation in the Canadian diaspora to that of the home country, showing awareness of discourses about what is happening relationally in Ukraine, but also using this as a point of contrast to explain how the Canadian diaspora is different.

Mykola then continues by explaining that 'of course there is a, certain percentage of people, who, like uh, you know what I mean, not really tolerant.' In this statement, he minimizes the influence of this dissenting group by saying 'a certain percentage of people', therein avoiding any substantial or definitive accounting. He also does relational work with me in this statement through 'you know what I mean', which both speaks to a shared understanding of the situation and invites me to support his perspective. He continues by further othering the dissenters, positioning them as the exception to the rule in the Canadian diaspora. In addition to saying that most people don't care, he also says that this majority lives 'normal lives', therein implying that those who disagree with a shared Ukrainian–Russian community are living the non-normal exception to life in Canada.

In the next statement, Mykola then highlights points of similarity between Ukrainians and Russians to further diminish the dissenting view

and support the view of Russians and Ukrainians in the Canadian diaspora as a shared group: 'Since you speak the same language, most likely you share the same values and shame- same culture, same background so…' In this statement, Mykola highlights the sameness of Ukrainians and Russians when considered against the backdrop of Canadian society. He then further emphasizes this by voicing imagined Ukrainian and Russian diaspora community members who accept each other and 'just keep going'. In fact, the Discourse of a shared background upon which Mykola draws is the Discourse that was very prominent within Ukrainian diaspora communities in all three locations of this book (United States, New Zealand and Canada) before the war began. However, while many of the Ukrainian diaspora members in the United States and New Zealand have expressed the strong influence of home country Discourses on creating a divide between these countries' Ukrainian and Russian diaspora communities, many within the Canadian diaspora expressed the opposite – that the Canadian diasporas found commonality in their difference.

Another example of this comes from Lilia (27 years old, from Western Ukraine, living in Canada). When she moved from Ukraine to Canada, she planned on using the Ukrainian language due to the large presence of Ukrainians in Canada (see Chapter 1). However, upon arriving, she realized that her expectations did not meet reality, as explained in her excerpt below.

Lilia: Okay, so…

I- I'm just going to show my linguistic, er, observations here.

So, when- when I came to Canada,

and, er I thought it would be-

it would be easy to use Ukrainian language,

because I was-

I was coming to the area where there is a really big Ukrainian community,

and there are still people that can speak Ukrainian.

But I was really surprised that my Ukrainian really differs from- from their Ukrainian.

Because Ukrainian language here was… at a such an in- influence of English A,

and B,

Ukrainian language that first immigrants brought to Canada…

was an old-fashioned nineteenth-century Ukrainian language.

It- it developed in a totally different fashion.

So, ((laughs)) sometimes when people speak here Ukrainian,

I cannot understand them.

Corinne: [Oh, that's interesting.]

Lilia: [I have to- I have to switch to English.
Yep.]

Lilia begins by positioning herself as a linguist (a research field in which she did in fact study), therein aligning with me and drawing upon institutional symbolic capital to support her observations (Bourdieu, 1986; Meadows, 2009). Lilia then continues to explain that before arriving in Canada, she expected that she would be able to easily use the Ukrainian language. This expectation reflects dialogically upon the perception that exists in Ukraine about the Canadian Ukrainian diaspora community – that the Ukrainian language is alive and well. The statement of there 'still [being] people that can speak Ukrainian' further intertextually draws upon the knowledge that once moving to the diaspora, families usually lose the heritage language within three generations (Fishman, 1966; Veltman, 2000). Therefore, to find a diaspora community where the language is flourishing is rare indeed.

In fact, the Ukrainian language *is* spoken by a great many people in the Canadian Ukrainian diaspora, but not in the way Lilia expected. As Lilia explains, the variety she found is 'an old-fashioned nineteenth-century Ukrainian language. It- it developed in a totally different fashion.' Here Lilia is referring to the large emigration from Ukraine that happened during the beginning of the Soviet era. Many people at that time moved abroad to places such as Canada and the United States. There, the varieties of Ukrainian that they spoke took on their own developmental trajectory, different from that occurring in the home country. For example, when the current variety of standardized Ukrainian was created in 1912 (see Chapter 1) and subsequently promoted, this standardized variety was not also used in the diaspora communities, as the beginning of the 20th century is when many of the North American Ukrainian diaspora communities formed (Iarmolenko & Kerstetter, 2016; Seals, 2014). This, as well as the influence of other local languages, resulted in the divergence of North American diaspora and home country varieties of the Ukrainian language (cf. Seals, 2014).

Because of this (at times quite marked) difference between varieties of the Ukrainian language, speakers of the current standardized variety of Ukrainian often have difficulty speaking with those who use the pre-Soviet era varieties of Ukrainian, as expressed by Lilia: 'I cannot understand them. I have to- I have to switch to English.' Thus, while Lilia initially expected to be able to use Ukrainian in Canada, upon arrival, she realized that in many cases this was not a realistic option for her due to major dialect differences. Additionally, her use of a currently more standardized form of the Ukrainian language positions her as an 'outsider' to the Canadian Ukrainian diaspora, a positioning that would be drawn

upon in any interactions with her by those using more non-standard forms. This experience in the Canadian Ukrainian diaspora therefore repositioned Lilia as belonging more to the home country than to the host country. The only exception to this is if she instead uses English, which in turn warrants its own considerations, as it would position her in alignment with the majority Canadian society instead of primarily with the Canadian Ukrainian diaspora. As a result, either linguistic choice has implications for Lilia's sociolinguistic identity.

Looking from the Outside In

A further perspective presented from those within the Ukrainian diaspora communities is that of feeling that they are looking from the outside in. That is, they expressed feeling as if living in the diaspora also positioned them outside of Ukraine, thus making their knowledge and opinions of events in Ukraine synonymous with those of an 'outsider'. As a result, they expressed feeling a loss of insider status and associated embodied capital, instead having to validate their views when speaking with friends and family still in Ukraine. However, this 'outside in' position also seemed to benefit them, as these participants explained that they felt as if they gained an additional perspective that they did not have previously. Such is the case as described by Lev (late 30s, from Eastern Ukraine, living in New Zealand).

Lev: Well, situation definitely changed… recently.
Before that…
er… it was absolutely normal…
to say 'I'm Russian speaking Ukrainian patriot.'
And it- it was fine.
Y- you yeah, you just s- speaking… Russian.
But you feel Ukrainian,
and it was absolutely fine.
Now it's s- from- looking from New Zealand,
it's not really… fine, it's… oh…
We- it's weird now.
But I, um ((clears throat))…
er… Skype to my friends there in in Zaporizhia, and they still speak Russian,
In- nothing really changed… to them,
even now.

As Lev's discourse shows, becoming a member of the diaspora can add further struggle to identity by challenging one's beliefs of what is 'normal' in the home country as a 'good citizen'. As he looks now from the outside-in, what he once considered 'absolutely normal' behavior, he no longer considers an acceptable way for a 'good citizen' of Ukraine to behave: 'Now it's s- from- looking from New Zealand, it's not really… fine.' The 'it' that he refers to is living in Ukraine, identifying as a patriot, but speaking Russian (Csernicskó, 2017). However, Lev further explains that his own shifted opinion on this issue does not align with friends of his still in Ukraine. In referring to Zaporizhia, Lev draws intertextually upon the knowledge that this is a Russian-language-dominant area of Ukraine. However, by also referring to 'even now', he intertextually references the Ukrainian war and infers that because of the war, a Ukrainian patriot should speak Ukrainian, therein dialogically echoing the ideology that 'good Ukrainians speak Ukrainian'.

Also speaking from within the diaspora, Vira (mid-30s, from Central Ukraine, living in New Zealand) explains how living abroad has likewise given her a different perspective of life in Ukraine. As she explains in her excerpt, while she has gained a different perspective from the diaspora, this same position of 'outside in' has resulted in some rejection of her perspective from the inside.

Vira: And I, uh, like- I'm losing my friends every time.
My friends from Ukraine.
Not, uh, not through- they are o- ok.
They are alright, he's alive, so all is good, but-
'Oh you- you can't understand us.'
It's- I kno:w- I- I know I can- I could heard this from them.
But actually I got-
They say to me, 'You can't say that.'
I say, 'Oh: I- I can because I- I can see situations from s- from other side.
I can see situation from, uh, like big- big, uh, from big direction.'

Corinne: Yeah, from like a distance.

Vira: Yeah, from- from big distance.
And I- and I- when I- we decided to arrive in New Zealand I think-
Oh, I think, 'Why- Why we live so bad.. in Ukraine?
Why people live so bad?'
I need to understand.
…

It's good because I can saw how people can live,
how people can live peaceful…

Vira's experience of looking from the outside in also challenged her idea of what is means to be a 'good citizen' of Ukraine. For her, now that she has achieved a new perspective, it is important to understand 'Why– Why we live so bad… in Ukraine? Why people live so bad?' As she explains, rather than her new perspective being a threat, she could actually help in Ukraine 'because I can saw how people can live, how people can live peaceful.' Her experience was also further intensified, as she reports friends from her home country now rejecting her identity as a 'good Ukrainian' because of her changing perspective and ideologies. Instead, she reports that they tell her, 'you can't say that,' bringing further identity struggle. Therefore, while Vira has gained an outside in perspective due to living in the diaspora, her changing perspectives during the war also challenge dominant ideologies in the home country, resulting in rejection by some, and a new kind of identity struggle for Vira as she negotiates identities both within and between home and host countries.

Redefining Investments in the Diaspora

Finally, it is important to note that living in the diaspora is not all about the struggle between home and host countries all the time. Life in the diaspora also includes a constant revisiting of self, including identification, positioning and investment. For those who have settled into life in the host country, what they once envisioned as being primary areas of investment may shift and change so that new areas of investment take center stage. As an example of this, Denys (mid-30s, from Central Ukraine, living in New Zealand) discusses in the excerpt below his investments after living for two years in the host country.

Corinne: So how invested are you and Vira in the hromada[1]?
Denys: Mm you mean-
Corinne: Like how important is it to you?
Or is it just kinda something that you do?
Denys: Well at the moment it- it is important for my- my family,
because ah first of all we want to keep the language for our children,
and that means that they have to communicate not only with us,
but with someone else,
ah so that's like one of the primary goals,
ah s- um from the other hand,

ah we've met nice people,
so why not meet together.

Corinne: Yeah, yeah.

Denys: So it's not about ah nationality,
it's just about ah people we- we met here.

Corinne: Yeah, community.

Denys: Yeah, community is really good in my view.

It is first most important to draw attention to the fact that in discussing investment, Denys begins by saying 'at the moment', therein highlighting the moment-to-moment ever-changing nature of identity. Denys explains that currently, his membership in the Ukrainian diaspora community is important for several reasons, the first of which is language maintenance. Denys has realistic expectations when it comes to heritage language maintenance, and that includes knowing that a need for communication in the heritage language must be created (cf. Seals & Olsen-Reeder, 2019). The Ukrainian diaspora community provides a natural environment for this, as the children are often spoken to in Ukrainian and Russian and expected to speak back in these languages.[2]

Furthermore, Denys emphasizes that the second reason why they have invested in the diaspora community is for the people themselves. Crucially, he differentiates this from national identity saying that it is about the people instead: 'So it's not about ah nationality, it's just about ah people we- we met here.' When I prompted if he meant the community, Denys confirmed, saying, 'Yeah, community is really good in my view,' referring to the local diaspora community. The distinction that Denys draws between national group identity and local community identity is important to note because often the focus within diaspora communities is on a shared nationality, which is a sociopolitical construct and reflects what Bruneau (2010) calls 'more recent diasporas', of which New Zealand's Ukrainian community is one. However, Denys's mention of the individual people within the community shows that his investment since arriving in New Zealand and joining the Ukrainian community is in the people themselves. While language maintenance may have been the original reason and may indeed continue to be an important area of investment, local interpersonal connections have also taken on a major investment role.

Further Remarks

The above excerpts provide discursive examples of how individuals in diaspora communities recursively negotiate and renegotiate their identities in relation to home and host societies. Upon arriving in the diaspora

communities in the host societies, they must negotiate the expectations of what it means to be a 'good immigrant' and eventually a 'good citizen' in order to successfully integrate into the host society. However, regardless of their own efforts, others' positioning of them can force them to return to this negotiation again and again.

Therefore, integration into the host country is fraught with difficulties that need to be negotiated and re-negotiated. It is especially challenging for members of the diaspora who wish to retain identification with both home and host countries. Pavlo Poliansky, Ukraine's Deputy Minister of Education and Science, also supported this view from a political and educational perspective (as cited in Mykoliuk, 2009, n.p.):

> This may be viewed from the viewpoint of globalism… If Ukrainians (and not only Ukrainians) live in America, Europe, or Canada for many years, preserving their language, traditions, and religion, while remaining at the same time good citizens of their states, we are speaking about integration. But if Ukrainians are afraid of positioning themselves as Ukrainians, communicating among themselves in their native language, and do not dare demand Ukrainian-language schools for their children, these are, I think, the results of assimilation.

Furthermore, these examples show the complicating effect a major political event (such as the Ukrainian War) has on this complex, dynamic system of identity negotiation. Such an upheaval in the home country puts diaspora communities in flux, asking them to revisit what it means to be a 'good citizen' of their original home country, and whether they still align with those ideals. This then has repercussions for even daily interactions in their host society lives and their alignment with home and/or host society ideals.

Finally, the intersectional factors involved in this identity negotiation and renegotiation further come into play in determining how participants view these major political events. Members of the diaspora communities find when returning to the home country that their expectations of current life and experiences in the home country no longer match the realities of those who still live there due to the separation of real and imagined life trajectories (cf. Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2013). Often, the Discourses that are passed through diaspora communities are echoes of the home country Discourses (cf. Colleoni *et al.*, 2014), but then each also takes on a voice of its own. This further complicates the identity negotiation and struggle of diaspora members, as they must again revisit what it means to now be on the outside looking in.

Notes

(1) Ukrainian word for 'community'.
(2) In fact, the local Ukrainian diaspora community of which Denys and I have both been a part often has prize-giving word games where the correct answers must be given in Ukrainian in order to count, therein encouraging children's use of the language.