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**BRIDGING TOURISM AND MIGRATION MOBILITIES:  
DIASPORA TOURISM AS A COPING STRATEGY**

A Dissertation in  
Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management

by  
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## ABSTRACT

The fields of tourism and migration have been uneasy companions despite the fact that both study the two largest patterns of human movement across geographical areas. A recent emergence of the mobilities paradigm created potential for bridging the two knowledge networks and providing opportunities for crossover and mutual enrichment. Engaging with the intersection of tourism and migration mobilities, this study has a dual purpose. Theoretically it explores diaspora tourism as a promising link between tourism and migration. Practically diaspora tourism is offered as a coping strategy that can be used by immigrants to alleviate stress associated with relocation to a culturally dissimilar society.

In this dissertation three aspects of diaspora tourism are explored as they pertain to the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States. The first aspect concerns identity formation and adjustment issues Ukrainian immigrants experience upon arrival to the United States, and how these issues affect their relationship with and desire to visit Ukraine. The second aspect concerns immigrant imaginaries (i.e., images and ideas we hold in our consciousness) and the potential of diaspora tourism promotion through culturally grounded narratives created from accounts of immigrants' lived experiences. The processes of creating a culturally grounded narrative and its evaluation are presented. Finally, the third aspect concerns the act of corporeal travel of immigrants, and the possible predictors of such travel. Several predictors (e.g., context of migration, media use, self-construal, destination image) are drawn from different bodies of literature and their effects on the likelihood of visiting the homeland are investigated.

Key findings of the dissertation are presented in three articles. In the first article, results show that the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants is unique in its nature as a labor diaspora, preference for assimilation, and transnational character. The second article demonstrates that a culturally grounded narrative can be created from recurring themes in immigrants' lived

experiences. This narrative, which adhered to the effective narrative guidelines, is perceived by immigrants as more credible, informative and as a better persuasive tool for diaspora tourism than a neutral factual text. Regression analyses in the third article showed that age is an important predictor of diaspora tourism, and while not significant, effects of other variables on the likelihood of diaspora tourism are in the expected directions.

A discussion of the results of this study are presented in the final chapter. The results were used to modify the project model and strengthen the theoretical links between tourism and migration domains, as well as provide insight into diaspora tourism as a coping strategy for immigrants.

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## Chapter 1

### Immigration Experiences of Ukrainian-Americans Conceptualized

Two contemporary forms of mobility—tourism and migration—influence flows of people across the borders of nation-states, mediate cross-border relations, and make the world a more connected place. Tourists and immigrants, the primary players in these forms of mobility, engage in cultural, intellectual, and economic exchange, weaving multilevel connections between their countries of origin and their destinations. Few researchers have attempted to understand how tourism and migration might be linked which is surprising given that immigrants are the utmost example of “traveling cultures,” and focusing on this new nexus has the potential to produce new insights for both tourism and immigration studies theories. Coles and Timothy (2004) identified diaspora tourism as a concept that holds promise for linking the two knowledge networks. Urry (2012) however presents a more radical claim suggesting that in an increasingly borderless world the study of mobilities needs to abandon pre-determined social constructs (i.e., nation-states) and focus on fluid “physical, imaginative, and virtual movements” (p. i). This study followed the former, less radical, route and aimed at linking tourism and migration by focusing on the potential for diaspora tourism in a particular diasporic community—Ukrainian immigrants. First, their experiences transitioning from Ukraine (country of origin) to the United States (receiving country) will be documented. Then, their response to traveling back to Ukraine (an example of “diaspora tourism”) will be studied.

Due to the large cultural distance from the receiving country, Ukrainians arrive to the United States (US) facing immediate immigration-related stress (Falicov, 2007) that leads to negative psychological outcomes and stifles their ability to successfully function. Because there is virtually no government-led adjustment assistance available to Ukrainian immigrants (Batalova & Lee, 2013), this study explored the potential of using diaspora tourism as an intervention for dealing with the negative

psychological consequences of their immigration to the US (Pierre, 2009). Diaspora tourism, at times referred to as “roots” or “heritage” tourism, is broadly understood as visits to and observation of historical sights and artifacts, and has been shown to benefit immigrants in numerous ways: it brings them ethnic and spiritual renewal, addresses issues of belonging, and maintains their sense of collective identity (Basu, 2005; Morgan, Pritchard, & Pride, 2002).

The overall purpose of this study was to link the fields of tourism to that of diasporic studies. More specifically, I investigated how the immigration experiences of one segment of a larger diaspora—the fourth wave of Ukrainians’ immigrants—affects their self-construal, image of Ukraine, and potential diaspora tourism behavior. This project was completed in the three article dissertation format, with the three articles following the three conceptual strands linking tourism and migration as forms of mobilities (Wood, 1998). The first conceptual link, and the driving force behind the first article, deals with how migration experiences shape the identities of immigrants and their desire to engage in diaspora tourism. The second conceptual strand concerns imaginaries and narratives of the migration experience. Thus, the second article focused on the process of creating a culturally grounded narrative of immigration experience and its effectiveness against a neutral factual text. The third conceptual strand is embedded in the act of corporeal travel when immigrants travel to their homeland; thus, the third article explored the context of migration variables as potential predictors of diaspora tourism. Data collection occurred in two phases: during the first phase in-depth interviews with fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants were conducted, while in the second phase results of the interviews were used to create an online survey distributed to a larger sample of fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants. The interviews obtained in the first phase informed the first and second articles, while answers to the online survey were used to address migration variables as potential predictors of diaspora tourism in the third article.

In the following sections I discuss the conceptual background of the study, variables of interest and the relationships between them, the research questions and hypotheses, and the two phases of data collection and analysis.

## **Migration**

“...Mankind’s entire history has been a history of migration” (Rystad, 1992, p. 1169). Migration began with hunter-gatherer societies, fueled processes of cultural and genetic exchange, and through the movement of people across borders, initiated nation-states. Countries like Australia and the United States, which were founded and developed by immigrants, are considered traditional immigration countries (Borjas, 1994). Both countries continue to rely heavily on immigrant inflow, as immigrant enterprises shape the global transformation of major cities in both nations (Panayiotopoulos, 2012); however, not all outcomes of immigration are positive. Immigrants experience culture shock as well as physical and psychological problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, addiction; Falicov, 2007). Receiving countries have to cope with illegal immigration and neighborhood integration (Rumbaut, 1996), outcomes that are particularly salient in the US where a four percent increase in immigrant numbers has occurred between 2009 and 2010 (Batalova & Lee, 2013).

According to a report released by the Migration Policy Institute, “[in 2012] the [US] government spent about \$18 billion on immigration enforcement programs run by Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the US-Visit program and Customs and Border Protection” (Caldwell, 2013, para. 2). Immigration enforcement programs affect local US courtroom decision-making and directly impact individuals’ ability to travel to and out of the United States. Yet, the programs stop at the border and fail to provide any assistance to immigrants within the United States.

### **Cultural distance, self-construal, and acculturation**

The assistance that immigrants would most benefit from is often related to their ability to “acculturate” into the receiving country. Acculturation refers broadly to changes that occur in an individual’s behavior, values, and beliefs, as a result of contact with a culturally dissimilar society (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Although acculturation is one of the most widely

used constructs in immigration and diaspora studies, it has been criticized for adopting a one-size-fits-all approach and for ignoring the idiosyncratic impacts of ethnicity, immigrant type, and, of particular interest to this study, cultural distance (i.e., the extent to which various cultures are similar or different; Shenkar, 2001).

One of the features of cultural distance not addressed in the acculturation literature is how distant immigrants' home culture and receiving country's culture are on individualism-collectivism continuum and how this distance affects the (a) success of their acculturation in the receiving country and (b) level of contact with kin back home, including return visits to their country of origin. The individualism-collectivism continuum, which can be viewed as a dimension of cultural distance, was popularized by Hofstede (1980), but the concept is much older than that: Parsons distinguished between self-orientation and collectivity-orientation as far back as 1951. The Hofstede version was refined by multiple scholars (e.g., Hamamura, 2012; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995) over time. Western cultures, including those that exist within the US, have traditionally been portrayed as individualistic (Brew, Hesketh, & Taylor, 2001; Pinillos & Reyes, 2011), promoting the values of independence, separateness, self-reliance, and self-promotion. Cultures within the East (e.g., Japan, Thailand) and South (e.g., Latin America, Southern Europe), as well as communist nations, have been characterized as collectivist, valuing interdependence, connectedness, and other-oriented achieving (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Given these differences, it is hypothesized that immigrants moving from collectivist countries (e.g., the former Soviet Union) to individualist countries (e.g., the US) will encounter a large cultural distance and will have corresponding challenges to their acculturation. In addition, there is likely to be a temporal effect: the longer immigrants stay in the receiving country, the more likely they will be to adopt its values (Sam & Berry, 2010). Investigation of these relationships are absent from the immigration and diasporic literature.

Individualism-collectivism is also reflected in the formation of an independent or an interdependent self-construal (Triandis, 2001). More than half a century ago Kuhn and McPartland (1954) defined the concept of self-construal as one's attitudes towards, and views of, the self. They suggested

that self-construal is an overarching psychological system that organizes and affects human behavior. Independent self-construal promotes the formation of thoughts and behaviors centered on the self and one's individual needs. In contrast, an interdependent self-construal promotes the formation of thoughts and behavior that take others into consideration. After reviewing decades of research on the topic, Markus and Kitayama (1991) concluded that construals of the self may be more powerful than Kuhn and McPartland originally realized since they are likely mediated by one's environment (i.e., an individualistic or collectivist society). There have not been any studies linking immigrants' self-construal to their opinion of, and desire to visit, the homeland. Rather, research on the importance of self-construal to the adjustment of immigrants has found self-construal to affect immigrants' psychological functioning and eating disorders (Barry & Garner, 2001); formation of ethnic identity and responses to mental health services (Barry, Elliott, & Evans, 2000); immigration related emotional distress (Norasakkunkit & Kalick, 2002). Other research found self-construal and self-esteem predict immigrant students' professional psychological help-seeking (Yeh, 2002).

Individualistic and collectivist cultures may impact the degree to which media affect self-construal. Mass communication scholarship on agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972); framing (Chong & Druckman, 2007); and cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969) addresses the extent to which media is able to modify behaviors. Results suggest that measuring media consumption as a reflection of the environment is necessary for understanding the formation of self-construal. Although few in number, studies consistently show the ability of various forms of media to affect self-construal. Smeesters and Mandel (2006) found that exposure to different media images of the human body can help develop positive or negative self-construal and body image. Escalas and Bettman (2005) documented that media promotion affects the connection between self-construal and brands, and leads to greater likelihood of purchasing the brand, with connections being stronger for those with interdependent self-construal. Todd, Lawson, and Northover's (1998) research, however, challenged the notion that a relationship between the individualism-collectivism dichotomy and television viewing patterns exists, leading to additional controversy on the topic. The seminal work of Bandura (2001) on social cognitive theory, although

largely updated, also points to the influence that environment exercises over the cognitive and affective processes in individuals. In aggregate, the research to date suggests that the overall media environment of a country will have an impact on the formation of residents' self-construal. Media consumption may be particularly impactful for individuals who immigrate from a predominantly collectivist media environment to a predominantly individualistic media environment (Allison & Emmers-Sommer, 2011). Since this is the case for Ukrainian immigrants who immigrated to the United States, I will explore the relationship between media environment and self-construal. To the extent that this study accounts for immigrants' coping strategies, which may include travel back to their homeland (i.e. diaspora tourism), the results contribute to the immigration and diasporic literature by establishing the possible effects of media on diasporic self-construal.

### **Diaspora Tourism and its Potential as a Coping Strategy**

Immigrant diasporas have coped with the adverse effects of migration by holding on to elements of their ethnic heritage while learning to function in the host society, a strategy Berry (2005) refers to as "integration." Strong connections to an individual's heritage, defined by Macdonald (2006, p. 11) as a "material testimony of identity," can maintain the wholesomeness of his or her identity and self-construal (including the dimension of ethnic identity). These connections can be maintained through engagement in heritage tourism, "an industry that involves the promotion of local historic places, artifacts, natural resources, and activities as culturally authentic tourist destinations" (Pierre, 2009, p. 64). Although tourists from any place in the world can express interest in a country's heritage sites, in this study the focus is on a subset of heritage tourism referred to as either "roots tourism" (Basu, 2005), "ethnic tourism" (Ostrowski, 1991), or "diaspora tourism" (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride, 2002). Diaspora tourism most fully reflects immigrants' travel home, which according to Basu (2005) is "experiencing events that

are understood to authentically represent their [diasporas'] past histories" (p. 64-65). This term will be used throughout the remainder of this manuscript.

Diaspora tourism is much more than pleasure travel, as it brings cultural and spiritual renewal to individuals (Pierre, 2009); connects diasporic individuals with political processes in their country of origin (Ostrowski, 1991); helps resolve the increasingly problematized sense of belonging in countries of birth and settlement (Basu, 2005); and supports the diaspora communities' desire to maintain a distinct collective identity, regardless of geographical dispersal (Morgan et al., 2002). The connection between diasporas and tourism has rarely been investigated, a notable exception being Coles and Timothy's 2004 publication *Tourism, Diasporas, and Space*. In the foreword of their book, the authors stressed the need to explore the relationship between diasporas and tourism, especially in the realm of consumption of tourism by diasporic communities. Return trips to one's home country provide multiple benefits to nationals living abroad. In particular, the formation and maintenance of an identity aids in buffering immigration-related stress (Pierre, 2009). These trips may also aid in coping with the adverse effects of relocation to a new environment. Although this notion has yet to be tested empirically (Franklin, 2003), van Oudenhoven and Ward (2013, p. 91) suggest research has shown that...

Cyber communication and more frequent contact with home nationals lead to greater perceptions of social support and, in turn, better psychological adaptation in the host country. Transnational contact may also bolster well-being in marginalized immigrants who could find some comfort by visiting their home country; however, this remains to be determined.

Promoting trips to immigrants' home country (i.e., country of origin) is a complex and multi-layered process. The individualism-collectivism dimension of cultural distance (or independent vs. interdependent self-construal) plays an important role in the promotion of trips to immigrants' home country. Triandis (2001) suggested that individuals with more interdependent self-construals are "more ethnocentric" (p. 914) and have more positive attitudes towards their own ethnicity and homeland. This implies that promoting homeland heritage trips to individuals with more interdependent self-construals may be easier as they are already positively predisposed towards their ethnic in-group. Alternatively,

Morgan et al. (2002) suggested that the most effective promotional approach with diasporas is to use emotionally laden narratives of homecoming, searching for roots, and emotional journeys into the past. Linking to diasporas' past, however, can be difficult and may call for a group-specific approach based on culturally grounded narratives.

In addition, destination image is an important consideration in decisions to undertake travel. Sirgy and Su (2000) defined destination image as a stereotypical perception of a country, while Boo and Busser (2005) referred to it as a set of cognitive and affective attitudes towards and overall impressions towards a place. Destination image has been shown to affect individuals' intention to visit and revisit certain destinations. Chen and Tsai (2007) showed that destination image has both a direct and an indirect (through perceived value and satisfaction), positive effect on intention to visit. Destination image also has a positive effect on long-term destination loyalty, again mediated through overall satisfaction (Chi & Qu, 2008), as well as revisit intentions and the intention to recommend (Bigne Alcaniz, Sanchez Garcia & Sanz Blas, 2009).

A crucial step in determining how destination image of a country affects individuals' intentions for visitation is an understanding of the factors (e.g., previous visitation, distance, purpose of visit, word-of-mouth, demographic variables, thrill, knowledge, and prestige) influencing destination image (Boo & Busser, 2005). While instrumental and informative, this line of research has focused heavily on secondary factors such as sources of information and existing images, rather than basic mental structures such as self-construal. Exploring the role of self-construal for organizing and processing information as well as formation of travel destination images and perceptions may be a fruitful path forward.

To date, the destination image framework has not been applied to the investigation of diaspora's homeland image. Thus, I will investigate whether Ukrainian immigrants' have a distinct image of their homeland, whether its quality depends on the nature of the immigrant's self-construal, and whether it can be altered through exposure to emotionally laden culture-centric promotional narratives.

## Narratives

Multiple authors have demonstrated the value of narratives in persuasive communication and marketing in the domain of health communication. The power of narratives to more effectively induce attitude change than didactic and expository texts lies in the fact that narrative “has been described as a fundamental mode of thinking” (Green, 2006, p. S163), such that humans tend to think and communicate with others in the form of stories. Kreuter et al. (2007) define narratives as “a representation of connected events and characters that has an identifiable structure, is bounded in space and time, and contains implicit or explicit messages about the topic being addressed” (p. 222). Instead of trying to overtly persuade a recipient to adopt an idea or behavior, narratives tell a relevant story that will more subtly induce such changes. For example, research shows that narratives reduce counter arguing and negative psychological responses to the story and increase the perceived relevance of the content to a reader (Green, 2006). Narratives also provide role models to follow and they facilitate information processing (Kreuter et al., 2007). Multiple studies show that narrative communication, more than any other format, induces strong emotional responses, a key promotional element emphasized by Morgan et al. (2002) in securing the success of diaspora tourism. Although narratives have proven effective in health-related promotion (see Green, 2006 and Kreuter et al., 2007 for application in cancer communication; Hecht et al., 2003 for application in substance use prevention; Bertens et al., 2008 and Pettey and Perloff, 2008 for application in sexual health education promotion), their application in marketing and promotion of travel and tourism is virtually absent. Thus, this study, which will determine if diaspora tourism endorsed through culturally grounded promotional narratives can be a successful coping strategy for immigrants, particularly for those individuals transitioning from collectivist to individualistic cultures, is a timely one.

Understanding culture is important because it is central to the creation of persuasive narratives (Hecht et al., 2003; Vaughn, 2008). According to Chick (2009), Goodenough’s (1957, p. 167) definition of culture is most appropriate for the study of leisure/tourism behavior: a phenomenon that “consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members.”

Using culturally grounded narratives in promotion “acknowledges and incorporates – at all levels – the importance of culture, assessment of cross-cultural relations, vigilance toward the dynamics that result from cultural differences, expansion of cultural knowledge, and adaptation of services to meet culturally unique needs” (Betancourt et al., 2003, p. 294). Lending support to these arguments, Kreuter and McClure (2004) found that concordance between the cultural characteristics of a particular group and the promotion methods targeted to its members “may enhance receptivity, acceptance, and salience of [...] information and programs” (p. 441). They proposed a two-step approach to cultural grounding of persuasive communication: identification of the group and learning about and understanding this particular group’s shared cultural norms and beliefs (i.e., cultural anchors). Hecht et al. (2003) employed the two-step approach to create a culturally grounded narrative that was successfully used to reduce Mexican American adolescents’ substance use.

An alternative and more effective approach is to reach out to the members of a group for input on what *is* their culture. Doing this involves having group members share their stories about and experiences with a given subject. Grounding promotional narratives in such emic data will make them more culturally representative and meaningful. This “narrative approach is one of the methods for capturing the richness of cultural elements that most effectively reaches minds and hearts for [...] behavior change” (Larkey & Hecht, 2010, p. 115) and, as such, is “*culture-centric*.” Culture-centric narratives (i.e., taken from within the culture) differ from culturally grounded narratives (i.e., drawn from existing marketing campaigns) in terms of the extent of emic cultural information employed. In this study a culture-centric narrative approach promoting diaspora tourism will involve interviewing fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants about their immigration experiences and interest in traveling back to Ukraine.

In addition to having considerable potential as a basis for developing effective promotion of diaspora tourism, culture-centric narratives can provide direct benefits to immigrants. According to Falicov (2007), immigration-related stress precipitates symptoms of depression, anxiety, and other psychological issues. Thus, counselors have dealt with these symptoms by having immigrants share their stories (i.e., narratives), which are central to their daily experiences. Telling and retelling stories about

one's life allows individuals to make sense of their experiences, sometimes see them in a different light, and lessen the burden of stress associated with them (Larkey & Hecht, 2010). The sharing of one's story has a therapeutic, almost cathartic, effect and results in improvement of psychological outcomes. As a primary form of communication, individual and social narratives (even in media) have the power to "...shape attitudes and beliefs about self (including what one feels one should do and is capable/empowered to do relative to health or any other context) and, in turn, increase the likelihood that behavior will be consistent with those beliefs about self" (Larkey & Hecht, 2010, p. 118).

In summary, obtaining culture-centric narratives from immigrants is beneficial for two reasons. The process of obtaining culture-centric narratives allows immigrants to share their stories, which can have a therapeutic effect and ameliorate the negative health impacts of immigration-related stress. Also, and more important to the focus of this study, it is hypothesized here that culture-centric narratives can provide the text necessary for the creation of impactful diaspora tourism promotional campaigns.

### **Ukrainian Immigrants: A Diaspora with a Compelling History**

Prior to developing culture-centric narratives, a distinct immigrant group must be identified (Luquis & Perez, 2008). In the US, one ethnic group that deserves particular attention is immigrants from Ukraine. Four waves of Ukrainian nationals (a) between 1899 and 1914, b) between the two world wars, c) after World War II, and d) after Ukraine gained independence in 1991) have been accepted in to the US (Satzewich, 2002). The first wave of immigration occurred between 1899 and 1914 due to the oppression of Ukrainian peasants within both Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires (Ukraine was divided between the aforementioned states at the time). According to Halich (1937), about 254,000 Ukrainian immigrants arrived in the United States at that time. He also estimated that in 1909 there were approximately 470,000 first- and second-generation Ukrainian Americans in the Unites States. But most of the Ukrainians who migrated to North America during the first wave did not arrive with

a clear sense of themselves as Ukrainians, so they have assimilated quite rapidly and the task of tracing their destinies does not present itself as easy.

Between the wars, due to restrictive actions of Bolsheviks (members of the Communist party), many Ukrainian nationalists had to move, creating the second wave of emigration. Ukrainian nationalists supported the idea of independent Ukraine and therefore were severely pursued by Bolsheviks. About 12,000 Ukrainians came to the United States during this wave, forming a fractured and politically diverse diaspora. This group consisted mostly of nationalists and therefore maintained strong ethnic group consciousness.

The arrival of the third wave of immigrants after World War II further exacerbated the already complicated picture of Ukrainian diaspora. The war had tremendous negative consequences for Ukraine, including the loss of one sixth of the population and destruction of over 28,000 cities and villages, which left about 10 million people homeless. Faced with extreme economic hardship coupled with postwar Soviet repression, many citizens decided to leave. Between 1947 and 1955, about 80,000 Ukrainians immigrated to the United States (Satzewich, 2002).

Of particular interest in this study are Ukrainians comprising the most recent or “fourth wave” of immigrants (i.e., from 1991 to present day). Independence has brought economic hardship for Ukraine (Satzewich, 2002). Even before the Soviet Union collapsed, the economic indexes were dwindling, but the industry decay accelerated during the 1990s. The prosperity was not achieved regardless of the western aid and opening of markets. By most measures of economic and social well-being, Ukraine’s post-independence performance has been extremely weak as unemployment has risen and legal wages have fallen. As such, it is little surprise that this tumultuous transition to capitalism has produced yet another wave of migration. Similar situation was observed in Poland, where “one of the most visible new signs of new democracy [...] is the unprecedented growth of transfrontier migrations” (Ostrowski, 1991, p. 127). Between 1992 and 1997, a total of 107,916, or an annual average of 18,000 people who had been born in Ukraine immigrated legally to the US. Thus these

Ukrainians faced the economic and social disasters resulting from independence from the USSR coupled with the shortcomings of the Soviet education system that placed no value on learning a foreign language. They grew up under the collectivist ideology of the USSR and arrived to the US to face largely individualistic values. The contrasting values and large cultural distance between the Ukraine and the US have contributed to their cultural friction and resulting psychological discomforts (Shenkar, 2001).

In addition, this fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants was the first to leave Ukraine for economic reasons. Their experiences drastically differ from the Ukrainian immigrants preceding them chronologically, who likely left Ukraine for other traumatic reasons (Lopukh, personal communication, July 27, 2013). Figures on how many Ukrainians yearly return home for visits are nonexistent (Wolowyna, personal communication, October 28, 2013); thus, the study results have important theoretical contributions and are able to provide important insight into designing effective Ukrainian immigrants' adjustment strategies.

As a result, the US is now home to one of the largest Ukrainian diasporas (i.e., ethnic communities abroad). As of 2009, there were 976,000 individuals of Ukrainian ancestry living in the US (US Census Bureau, 2011). Unofficial records suggest this number may be closer to 2.5 million individuals. Upon arrival to the US, Ukrainians tend to exhibit low levels of English proficiency, limited economic means, and significant cultural distance. These characteristics vary, however, when accounting for the context and timing of their exit from Ukraine as well as policies in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)<sup>1</sup>.

### **Study Purpose**

The overall purpose of this study is to link the fields of tourism and diasporic studies through an investigation of how the context of fourth wave Ukrainians' immigration to the US affects their self-construal, image of Ukraine, and potential diaspora tourism behavior. This was accomplished by first

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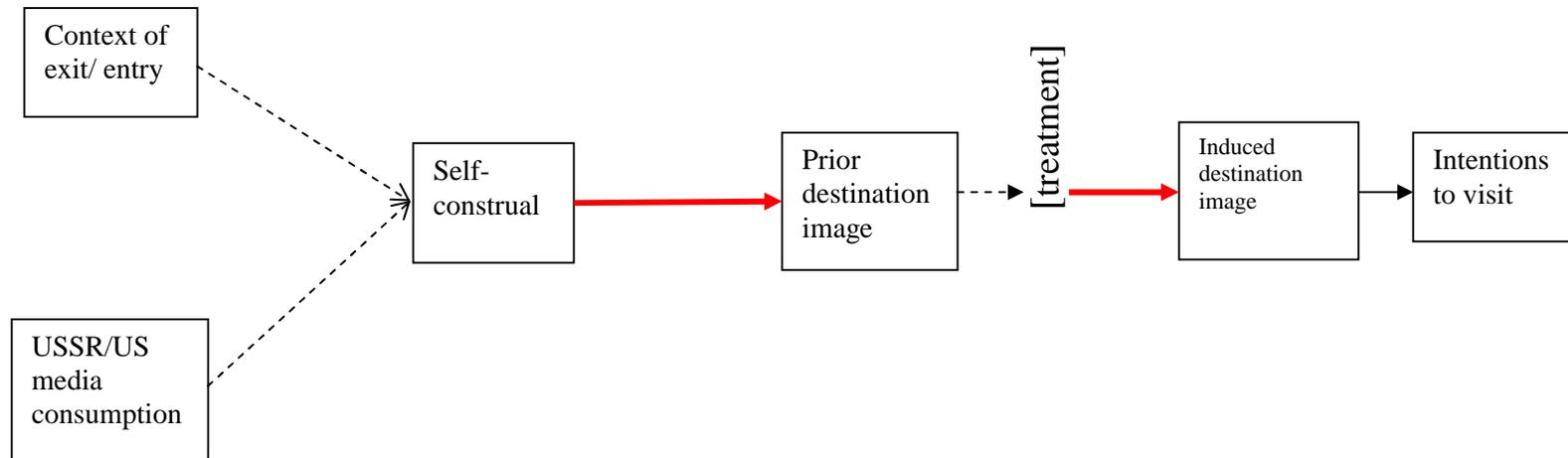
<sup>1</sup> Ukraine was a part of the USSR from its initiation in 1917 to its collapse in 1991.

interviewing representatives of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants about their immigration experience, including whether they encounter, and how they cope with negative psychological consequences induced by immigration. Culture-centric narratives were created from the results of the interviews and then tested through an online survey with a larger sample drawn from the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants.

Linking diaspora and tourism discourses for a fuller understanding of mobilities in modern society will directly address the research gap identified by Coles and Timothy (2004). Examination of diasporic travel, as well as immigrants' acculturation experiences that theoretically affect this travel, expands the study of tourism by including diasporas as "traveling cultures" (Coles & Timothy, 2004, p. xi)—groups that have largely been overlooked in the study of tourism. In addition, using culture-centric narratives to create an appealing promotional campaign has never been tested in the context of diasporic tourism, despite their proven effectiveness in other communication domains. This study also had a direct benefit to study participants, as the process of collecting narratives from them provided a therapeutic outlet and a discourse for making sense of immigration experiences, possibly lessening the burden of immigration related psychological concerns.

Figure 1 highlights relationships between the variables hypothesized to impact immigrants' ability to acculturate, image of their country of origin, and interest in diaspora tourism. In brief, immigrants' media consumption and their context of exit and entry (i.e., length of residence in the host country and thoughts of returning to the home country) were hypothesized to affect their self-construal (position on the individualism-collectivism continuum). Immigrants' self-construal in turn was hypothesized to affect immigrants' destination image of their country of origin. Because an objective of this project was to investigate whether exposure to and potential experience with diaspora tourism can be a therapeutic outlet for immigration related concerns, the model also indicates a treatment—the culture-centric promotional narratives—with the ultimate dependent variable being intention to visit the homeland.

Figure 1-1. Overall dissertation model



Note: Bold lines in red represent the unique contributions of the proposed study.

The study was conducted in two phases. The first phase involved conducting in-depth interviews with Ukrainian immigrants of the fourth wave, and focusing on general themes of contexts of exit and entry, issues of acculturation, identity, and self-construal, and images and opinions of their homeland. The research questions guiding the first phase of this study—obtaining data about the immigration experiences of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants—were as follows:

RQ1: How do Ukrainian immigrants describe their immigration experience to the US?

RQ2: If Ukrainian immigrants' immigration experience was partially or wholly negative, what coping strategies did they use?

RQ3: What is Ukrainian immigrants' opinion of Ukraine?

Interviews obtained in the first phase will inform analyses and results of Article 1 and Article 2, as they will provide both understanding of Ukrainian immigrants' experiences and themes for creating a culturally grounded narrative.

The second phase was grounded in the results of the first phase and included an on-line survey containing questions about media usage, self-construal, and destination image. The survey also contained an experimental treatment, where respondents were exposed to culture-centric promotional narratives, followed by post-treatment destination image and diaspora tourism (i.e., intention to visit) questions. The research questions guiding this second phase of the study were:

RQ4: Is there a significant relationship between Ukrainian immigrants' context of exit and entry and their patterns of media consumption in the US?

RQ5: Is there a significant relationship between Ukrainian immigrants' context of exit and entry and their position on the independence-interdependence self-construal continuum?

RQ6: Is there a significant relationship between Ukrainian immigrants' context of exit and entry and their destination image of Ukraine?

The directional hypotheses guiding the second phase of the study are as follows:

H1: Immigrants who consume more Ukrainian media than US media are significantly more likely to have interdependent self-construal and those who consume more US media than Ukrainian media are significantly more likely to have independent self-construal.

H2: Ukrainian immigrants' with interdependent self-construal will have significantly higher ratings of Ukraine's destination image than Ukrainian immigrants with an independent self-construal.

H3: Ukrainian immigrants who consume more Ukrainian media will have significantly higher ratings of Ukraine's destination image than those consuming more US media. This relationship will be mediated by the nature of individuals' self-construal.

H4: Ukrainian immigrants exposed to the congruent promotional narrative (independent with independent, interdependent with interdependent) will have significantly higher ratings of Ukraine's destination image than those exposed to the incongruent promotional narrative (independent with interdependent).

H5: Ukrainian immigrants' ratings of Ukraine's destination image will be significantly and positively related to their intention to visit Ukraine.

Data obtained from the survey will inform narrative assessment in Article 2 as well as exploration of relationships between variables in Article 3.

## **Project Method and Design**

A two-phased mixed methods approach was used because it allowed to “choose the combination or mixture of methods and procedures that works best for answering research questions” (Burke, Johnson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17).

### *First Phase*

The purpose of the first phase was to obtain culture-centric narratives about the immigration experiences of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants. This was accomplished by conducting in-depth individual interviews with Ukrainian immigrants of the fourth wave. The results of the interviews were used to create culturally grounded promotional narratives for diaspora tourism to Ukraine.

*Sample.* The sample was comprised of members of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in the US from 1991 to as recent as a year ago and live in New York City. Initially multiple Ukrainian organizations were contacted (e.g., Ukrainian churches, women’s leagues, business associations, and cultural clubs) in New York City to solicit help distributing recruitment materials (e.g., introductory note, flyer through e-mail or newsletters, see Appendix A) to their members. Due to low response, a representative from the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York City was contacted and agreed to serve as a gatekeeper to the Ukrainian community. Mach et al. (2005) recommends that investigators work closely with gatekeepers to gain access, develop trust, and identify potential study participants. Hence, the gatekeeper’s assistance was used to identify potential participants and sites where recruitment flyers could be distributed (Appendix B).

The recruitment and interview process, which occurred over the course of a two-day trip to New York City, continued until saturation was reached. Guest et al. (2006) conducted an experiment with data saturation and variability and concluded that 12 interviews are enough to

reach saturation on any given topic, but the exact number should be identified by the researcher. Based on the ongoing analysis of the interviews and availability of subjects, 13 interviews were secured from the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants.

*Data Collection.* During the recruitment process, a gatekeeper's help was secured in identifying and visiting several establishments where Ukrainian immigrants of the fourth wave worked (e.g., banks, credit unions, deli shops, church groups). He made introductions with potential participants and explained to them that this was part of a research study. This was followed by obtaining verbal consent. Some participants scheduled a meeting the same day during their lunch breaks or after work, and some filled out a pre-interview questionnaire and shared their phone numbers and availability so that they could receive a call at a convenient time.

The following procedures were used with the on-site and phone interviews:

- The researcher introduced (or reminded them about) herself and stated the purpose of the study. She also indicated that the participant would receive a gift at the end of the interview, that the interview was to be recorded on a digital recorder, and that she would like him/her to fill out a consent form or provide verbal consent (Appendix C). A copy of the consent form was sent to each participant after the interview. Participants were asked whether they wanted to speak English or Ukrainian, and the interview proceeded in the language chosen by the participant.
- Participants were asked to fill out a short pre-interview questionnaire (Appendix D). For phone interviews, the researcher read the questions and answer options aloud and recorded each participant's answer.
- Participants were asked one question at a time, supported by follow-up and probing questions, when necessary (Appendix E).
- At the end of the interview the researcher asked each participant if he/she would like to add any additional information.

- In closing, the researcher thanked participants and gave them a \$25 prepaid Visa gift card. Individuals who were interviewed over the phone were asked to share their mailing address so that the gift card could be mailed to them.

*Data Entry and Analysis.* After completing the interviews the recordings were saved as audio files. All respondents chose to speak in Ukrainian, so the interviews were translated into English and transcribed. The translation was verified by an expert fluent in both languages (Appendix I). Data analysis followed Marvasti's (2003) guidelines (i.e. data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing). Data reduction and display involved the researcher and her advisor individually reading the transcriptions, making notes, and highlighting important passages. They then met to compare findings and to draw conclusions, which were rooted in the displayed data. To make the analysis more manageable, only the data that related to the research questions and the conceptual framework of the project were maintained for further analysis.

#### *Second Phase*

The goal of the second phase of this study was to document immigrants' media use, position on the independence-interdependence self-construal continuum, image of Ukraine, and the effect of exposure to a culture-centric extended narrative for Ukraine as a potential travel destination.

*Sampling and Data Collection.* The study population was comprised of Ukrainian immigrants of the fourth wave living in the United States. An accurate sampling frame for this population does not exist; however, data presented by the Shevchenko Scientific Society (2013), which is based on the Statistical Yearbooks of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, shows that between 1992 and 2010, a total of 290,227 Ukrainian-born individuals immigrated to the United States.

For a population of 100,000 at the level of sampling error of 10%, Dillman (2007) suggests a sample of 61 respondents. Given the estimated size of this study population—approximately 300,000—a sample of 183 is required. However, the statistical analyses (e.g., factor analysis, structural equation modeling) that were used to address the research questions and hypotheses also were considered when establishing sample size. Thus, the goal was to obtain a sample of 250 fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants.

Due to the difficulties of obtaining a comprehensive list of members of the population, nonprobability convenience sampling was used.

*Variables and Measurement.* With respect to immigrants' exit and entry, Portes (2003) suggested that context of exit from the country of origin as well as reception in the receiving country play a crucial role in immigrants' desire to travel back to their homeland, but suggested no empirical measures for the investigation of this concept. Iarmolenko, Titzmann, and Silbereisen (under review) measured the context of exit and entry by asking immigrants about their length of residence in the host country and thoughts of returning to the home country. Study participants were asked what month and year they began to permanently live in the US and whether they are currently thinking about permanently leaving the US. The year and month immigrants began to permanently live in the U.S. was subtracted from the year and month of data collection to produce the length of residence variable. As to return plans, the answer options were "No, I have never thought about leaving the United States" and "Yes, I do think about leaving the United States and returning to Ukraine."

The measurement of media consumption was adapted from Lee and Tse's (1994) measurement of ethnic and host media consumption. Respondents were asked how many hours per day, on average, they: a) watch US television; b) watch post-USSR (Ukrainian and Russian) television; c) listen to US radio; d) listen to post-USSR (Ukrainian and Russian) radio; e) read US newspapers and magazines, including web-based ones; f) read post-USSR (Ukrainian and

Russian) newspapers and magazines, including those that are on the Internet. Composite indices reflecting US media use and post-USSR media use were calculated by summing the hours spent engaging with the respective media. Indices were calculated for daily use and weekly use.

A measure of self-construal developed by Kuhn and McPartland (1954) and applied by Trafimow et al. (1991) was used to measure the distinctions between independent and interdependent self-construal. This measure is called “The twenty statements test” and is comprised of 20 blank lines, each starting with the phrase “I am,” prompting respondents to identify themselves in 20 different ways. The responses were content analyzed and then divided into the “private self” (i.e., personal attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that do not relate to others such as “I am intelligent”) and the “collective self” (i.e., demographic categories or groups with which the subject is experiencing common fate, such as “I am Ukrainian”). The proportion of answers indicating private self to proportion of answers indicating collective self were used to determine respondent’s position on the independence-interdependence continuum.

Dolnicar and Grun (2013) reviewed 86 articles published in the last decade that included empirical measurement of destination image and then conducted an experimental comparison of each type of measurement: pick-any format, forced-choice full binary format, bipolar Likert-type 5-point format, bipolar Likert-type 7-point format, semantic differential 7-point format, and unipolar 7-point format. They compared each type of measurement on three performance criteria: test-retest reliability (stability), completion time, and concurrent validity. The authors found the forced-choice full binary format to be superior on all three criteria and strongly encouraged researchers to use it in future survey studies of destination image. They also emphasized that, “qualitative pre-studies to destination image surveys are critical to the valid measurement of image in surveys because they provide insight into the associations people have about the destination entity under study. It is unlikely that any standard set of image attributes would apply to any destination” (p. 4).

A list of attributes that reflect the destination image of Ukraine as viewed by Ukrainian immigrants was adapted from Echtner and Ritchie (1993) and tested elsewhere. Subsequently, these attributes were rated by survey respondents. The destination image dimensions were analyzed with reliability analyses based on dimensions of Ukraine's destination image identified in previous research.

Many researchers suggest that from the standpoint of validity and reliability, a singular measure of visit intention is sufficient (Cronin & Taylor, 1992; Howat et al., 1999; Kim et al., 2009; Parasuraman et al., 1999). Therefore, respondents were asked how likely they are to visit Ukraine in the next 12 months, with answer options ranging on a 7-point Likert scale from "very likely" to "very unlikely." However, in the immigration context it is important to take into account individuals financial situation and other constraints to visitation. So, a second question was added that focused on the desire to visit Ukraine in the next 12 months, with answer options ranging on a 7-point Likert scale from "I very much wish to visit" to "I do not wish to visit at all."

Culture-centric narratives promoting heritage trips to Ukraine were developed in part from the results of the first phase of data collection. Adhering to narrative effectiveness recommendations (Green & Brock, 2000; Hecht et al., 2003; Larkey & Hecht, 2010), a compelling narrative requires several elements: a) an engaging and relatable character; b) engaging temporal storyline; c) relevant cultural content such as cultural events and appropriate language; and d) behavioral exemplar. Thus, two narratives were developed, one geared towards individualistic values and one geared towards collectivist values. Both narratives depicted the story of a Ukrainian immigrant coming to the United States and facing acculturation challenges, psychological discomfort, and issues of culture shock. Issues mentioned by respondents in the first phase were used to increase story relevance. The narrative unfolded with the main character deciding to take a trip to Ukraine in hopes of ameliorating the immigration-associated stress, and

succeeding in doing so. A scientific text about geography of Ukraine was added as a control condition (Appendix H).

For the individualistic version, the story depicted how the trip affected the character's personal traits (e.g., self-confidence, identity, etc.). For the collectivist version, the story depicted how the trip enhanced the character's connection with her collective past, national pride, and ethnic oneness with the Ukrainian nation. These narratives are expected to interact with respondents' self-construal in such a way that a matching narrative will be more successful in enhancing their image of Ukraine and strengthening their intention to visit, and vice versa. After the respondents are exposed to the treatment, several message assessment measures were used. Narratives are highly specific and created individually for each study, treatment, or promotion; thus it is crucial to assess how credible, informative, and interesting each individual narrative message is (Sipes, 2009). The credibility of the message was assessed via the question: "The article I just read is credible". Respondents were also asked whether the message was interesting, informative, and compelling: "The article I just read is compelling," "The article I just read is interesting," and "The article I just read is informative."

A manipulation check for individualism-collectivism was used as well. Respondents were asked how much they agree that the focus of the story is on collective values, or the individual values. Again, this approach was adopted because the treatments were not adopted from another study but developed for this particular project. Although the manipulations in treatment narratives were approved by an expert, it is necessary to determine whether the manipulation affected respondents. Finally, Cohen (2001) suggested that assessment of respondents' identification with the story and its characters is necessary for gauging the persuasive power of narratives. The following three questions were asked to assess identification with the story: "I was able to understand the events in the article in a manner similar to how the individuals in the article understood them," "I think I have a good understanding of the individuals in the article," and

“While reading the article I could feel the emotions the individuals in it had.” Individuals responded to all of the questions using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree. A table linking the research questions and hypotheses for Phase 2 of this study with the specific questions being asked in the on-line survey is located in Appendix G.

*Research design.* Due to the nature of the online survey and impracticality of applying an extended time delay between pre-treatment and post-treatment destination image measurements, several conditions will be created. All participants were asked to answer questions about context of exit and entry, media use, and self-construal (Appendix F). After that, two conditions (C) and a control were used:

- a) C1: Measure pre-treatment destination image, expose to tailored treatment, measure post-treatment destination image, and measure visit intentions;
- b) C2: Do not measure pre-treatment destination image, expose to tailored treatment, measure post-treatment destination image, and measure visit intentions;
- c) Control: Do not measure pre-treatment destination image, do not expose to treatment, measure destination image, and measure visit intentions.

Using these two conditions together with the control enabled me to reliably test the effect of narrative treatment on destination image.

*Data Analysis.* Several data analysis strategies were used to address the research questions and hypotheses.

Qualitative content analysis of the interviews from phase one were used to identify cultural anchors and common story elements that allowed for the creation of culture-centric promotional narrative. The guidelines for effective narrative construction (Green & Brock, 2000; Knobloch et. al., 2004; Shen et al., 2014) were followed.

The relationships between contexts of exit and entry, media use, self-construal, destination image, and likelihood of visiting the homeland were examined with hierarchical

regression. The first step in the regression model contained age as a control variable, while the second step contained the variables of context, media use, and destination image.

### *Results*

In the following three chapters I present the results of my dissertation. I chose to organize the articles around the three conceptual strands linking tourism and migration as identified by Wood (1998): identity, imaginaries, and corporeal travel. The first article, which is based on responses to the in-depth interviews conducted in Phase 1 of data collection, concerns the immigration context and experience as factors in immigrants' identity formation and desire to visit their homeland. This article was submitted to the *Special Issue of Tourism, Culture, and Communication on Diasporas and Identity*. It was limited to 10,000 words per the submission requirements. In the second article, which uses data collected during both phases of data collection, recurring themes from the interviews were used to guide the creation of a generalized culturally grounded narrative. This narrative was then contrasted with a neutral text in an effort to determine which format was more effective in persuading Ukrainian immigrants to partake in diaspora tourism. This article was submitted to the *Special Issue of Journal of Contemporary Ethnography on Migrant Narratives and Ethnographic Tropes*. It was limited to 7,000 words per the submission requirements. In the third article I operationalized context of exit and entry, media use, self-construal, and destination image and explored their effect on immigrants' likelihood of visiting the homeland using responses obtained through the online survey (i.e., second phase of data collection). I plan to submit this article to a journal focused on tourism research.

In Chapter 5 I summarize my findings and discuss their contribution to the literature. I also share my thoughts on the journey I've taken in completing this dissertation as well as how I think this line of research should be developed in the future.

## Chapter 2

### **“What This Country Needs is More Ukrainians”: Identity, Adjustment, and Transnational Activity Patterns of Fourth Wave Ukrainians in the United States**

Discussions regarding migration and the intercultural adaptation of migrants began with Plato (Rudmin, 2003) and continue today with migration-related research focusing on routes, encounters, economics, and the politics of migration. A unique line of research on migration, acculturation, and the focus of this study, addresses immigrants' adaptation issues in new contexts.

Acculturation refers broadly to changes that occur in an individual's behavior, values, and beliefs as a result of contact with a culturally dissimilar society (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). John Berry and his colleagues' well-known model of acculturation allows for a combination of adjustments to host culture and maintenance of native culture (Berry, 1990, 1997; Berry & Sam, 2013). Their model, which suggests four different paths to adaptation (i.e., assimilation, integration, segregation, and marginalization), has been widely adopted by many leaders in acculturation psychology (e.g., Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Phinney, 2011; van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013). In general, they and others have concluded that the most preferred path to acculturation is integration and the least preferred path is marginalization (Rudmin, 2003).

The Berry et al. model has been criticized for adopting a one-size-fits-all approach and for ignoring the idiosyncratic impacts of ethnicity, immigrant type, and context on the formation of diasporic identities. Most concerning has been the lack of attention to context (Berry, 1997; Horenczyk, 1996, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). The context of both exit and entry play crucial roles in construction of each immigrant group's adaptation route

(Portes, 2003). This is particularly true today in our increasingly globalized world, which has further facilitated a different type of mobility—transnational immigration.

Transnational immigrants do not conform to the fourfold typology of acculturation. They use technology and transportation to “travel” back and forth across borders and to conduct regular activities in two societies (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Leyendecker, 2011). Regular travel to their ethnic homeland allows transnational immigrants “to have their feet in two societies” (Chaney, 1979, p. 209), but little is known about how it affects their identities, adaptation strategies, or perceptions of their host and home countries (Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003; Reynolds, 2011). According to van Oudenhoven and Ward (2013), these characteristics of transnational immigrants will likely be idiosyncratic; thus, investigation needs to occur separately for each ethnic diaspora, acculturation domain, and society of settlement.

One country for which the topics of immigration, acculturation, and immigrants’ ethnic identity have been at the forefront is the United States (US) – a traditional immigration nation (Borjas, 1994). Immigrants continue to be crucial to the US as they represent an important segment of the workforce for various industries (Kondrashov, 2007). Yet, few programs have been created to assist immigrants with their “acculturation” into the US. Instead, “[in 2012] the [US] government spent about \$18 billion on immigration enforcement programs” (Caldwell, 2013, para. 2), which did not help immigrants “acculturate” into the US or negotiate their identity and understanding of the self in their new context.

### **Ukrainian Immigrants: A Crucial and Overlooked Group**

In the US, a particularly important and understudied group of immigrants is the Ukrainian diasporic community. Ukrainians have a long history of immigration to the US and over time have provided notable economic and social contributions. Pivnenko and DeVoretz (2003) found

that Ukrainians financially outperformed all other immigrant and non-immigrant groups in the US. Over the years, Ukrainians also have served their state legislatures in New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Indiana, Illinois, and North Dakota (Kuropas, 1984). Recognizing their overall contributions, the New York Evening Post correspondent Henry Beckett wrote, “What this country [US] needs is more Ukrainians” (In Kuropas, 1984, p. 57).

Because acculturation is highly individualized, discussion of adjustment patterns and necessary assistance needs must occur on an individual immigrant group basis (van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013), and account for the time period during which they immigrated (i.e., immigrant wave). Authors find these factors to affect the individual and collective identity of immigrants within each wave (Lee & Cox, 2007; Lee & Sparks, 2007; Ostrowski, 1991; Thanopoulos & Walle, 1988). For example, Tie and Seaton (2013) found immigration wave-based differences in Sarawakian-Chinese’s identification with their Chinese heritage. Kuropas (1984) suggests this may be true as well for Ukrainian diaspora: “Every Ukrainian immigration [wave] left a ‘different’ Ukraine and arrived in a ‘different’ America, [as a result] each developed distinct responses to their European and American experiences” (p.16). To date, four waves of Ukrainian nationals have been accepted in to the US (see Satzewich, 2002). Studies have been conducted about the history, adaptation behaviors, and identity of the first three waves, but virtually no research exists about the fourth, most recent, wave of Ukrainian immigrants to the US, individuals who likely are representative of transnational immigrants who have ties to both their host and home countries. Transnationals represent a growing new class of human mobility that challenges the existing body of knowledge on immigrant acculturation and identity. The investigation of transnational immigrant experiences will necessitate expansion of the current theories of acculturation or the introduction of entirely new theories and concepts to account for the characteristics of today’s immigrants.

## Study Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate various factors associated with acculturation—the contexts of exit and entry, adjustment patterns, and identity of Ukrainians who immigrated to the US after 1991 (i.e., fourth wave). Four research questions guided this study: 1) How do fourth wave (4W) Ukrainian immigrants' describe their context of exit and entry? 2) How do 4W Ukrainian immigrants express their identity? 3) How do 4W Ukrainian immigrants articulate their acculturation in the US? 4) Do 4W Ukrainian immigrants' descriptions of their context and entry and adjustment to the US suggest that they are “transnational immigrants”?

### *Historiography of Ukrainian Immigration to the United States*

Satzewich (2002) identified four waves of Ukrainian immigration, but only the last two will be discussed here. The third wave (3W) of Ukrainian immigration occurred after World War II. Approximately two million Ukrainians residing in Displaced Persons Camps came to the US carrying the imprint of devastating experiences in occupation and concentration camps, the Famine of 1932-1933, and Soviet occupation and brutality (Gerus & Rea, 1985). Multiple nationalist organizations whose anti-Soviet ideology and Ukrainian nationalism (Bazynskyj, 2009) were shared in the camps helped to shape a very specific Ukrainian identity. This Ukrainian identity included pronounced patriotism towards Ukraine and hatred towards everything Soviet and was carried into the US and Canada by individuals who were granted refuge under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 (Kuropas, 1984). The way in which they expressed their identity immediately created tensions with members of the second wave of immigrants (Kuropas, 1984). While the previous waves were more assimilated, members of the 3W insisted on retaining most of their Ukrainian culture and language, thus perpetuating negative sentiments towards the perpetrator – USSR, characterizing themselves as victims, and embedding strong political and religious content in the education of future generations. Upon arriving in

North America members of the 3W created cultural organizations, schools, and other community resources that fit their nationalistic and anti-Soviet sentiment.

On August 24, 1991, after the collapse of the USSR and the independence of Ukraine, Ukrainians (i.e., the fourth wave or 4W) began immigrating to the US and Canada (Kostyuk, 2007). Their joy at being able to reach beyond the “iron curtain” was fast replaced by disappointment as they “spoke differently, had different ideas about political and social institutions and did not particularly care to affiliate with existing community structures” (Bazynskyj, 2007, p. 60). Members of the 3W and 4W did not understand or trust each other, which increased 4W’s problems with adjustment. The distrust stemmed from mutual inability to understand the context in which the two waves lived and forged their identities. The context for the 3W was the nationalistic and anti-Soviet environment. The context for the 4W was growing up with Russian as an official and accepted language (Bilaniuk, 2005); having Russian people as neighbors (Pohl, 1997); and the Soviet Union being considered their homeland, not their enemy (Satzewich, Isajiw & Duvalko, 2006).

In summary, the 4W has had a very different context of exit and entry. As a result, “the very nationalistic nature of the established Ukrainian community may run against the grain of many Fourth Wave Ukrainians and their version of what it means to be Ukrainian” (Bazynsyj, 2009, p. 67). What it means to be Ukrainian (i.e. the identity) for the 4W in the United States and their modes of adjustment, however, are unknown.

## **Method**

The research questions guiding this study deal with the 4W’s descriptions of their contexts of exit and entry, their expressions of identity, how they articulate their adjustment to the US, and whether they can be described as transnational immigrants. To address these questions a

qualitative-interpretive methodology was adopted. The qualitative-interpretive approach is “...commonly used in ethnographic studies of culture, travel, and tourism” (Tie & Seaton, 2013, p. 232).

*Sample and data collection.* Research with immigrant populations presents multiple challenges (Umana-Taylor & Bamaca, 2004), including recruitment. Thus, I chose to obtain a convenience sample of members of the 4W of Ukrainian immigrants. I began by contacting several Ukrainian organizations with a request to distribute recruitment materials. This approach yielded limited results, but did identify a gatekeeper from a Ukrainian organization in New York City with whom I worked closely. Mach et al. (2005) recommend that investigators work closely with gatekeepers to gain access, develop trust, and identify potential study participants.

The recruitment process occurred over the course of a two-day trip to New York City. A total of 13 4W Ukrainian immigrants were recruited to participate in the study. Five were interviewed by me in New York City. The remaining eight were interviewed over the phone. All of the interviews included an introduction to (or reminder about) the researcher, a purpose statement, solicitation of consent, and information about an incentive for participation. The interviews lasted from 11 to 44 minutes and were conducted in Ukrainian, even though participants were given a choice of speaking in Ukrainian, English, or Russian.

*Data Entry and Analysis.* Interviews were recorded and stored as sound files, translated into English, and then transcribed. The translation was verified by an expert fluent in both languages who did not suggest any major changes to the translation. The data analysis involved breaking down the data and inductively searching for codes and categories that were then reassembled to form themes. This process included several steps as suggested by Holloway (1997). My advisor and I performed each of these steps separately and then met to compare their findings and draw conclusions, all of which were rooted in the displayed data. To make the

analysis more manageable, only the data that were relevant to the research questions and the conceptual framework of the study were maintained for further analysis.

## Results

The findings are organized by the four guiding research questions and an overall review of the displayed data. Remarks reflecting current relationships between 3W and 4W are also included. The summary of sample characteristics can be found in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1. Interviewee profile

<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Year born</b>	<b>Year moved</b>	<b>Moved from</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Travel to Ukraine</b>
Taras	M	1987	2011	Lviv	Archivist	Not yet
Kateryna	F	1964	1992	Ivano-Frankivsk	Admin. assistant	Every 2-3yrs
Petro	M	1956	1998	Ternopil	Admin. director	Every 2-3yrs
Mykola	M	1985	2010	Lviv	Butcher	Every 2-3yrs
Solomija	F	1962	2000	Kyiv	Bank clerk	Every 2-3yrs
Sofia	F	1964	1996	Lviv	Service repr.	Once every year
Olena	F	1954	1993	Lviv	Teacher	Every 2-3yrs
Andrij	M	1979	2006	Ivano-Frankivsk	Construction worker	Once every year
Stepan	M	1988	2010	Ternopil	Construction worker	Once every year
Ruslana	F	1986	2012	Lviv region	Accountant	Not yet
Lidiya	F	1990	2010	Nadvirna	Cashier	Not yet
Oleh	M	Refused to provide	Early 1990s	Lviv	IT specialist	Less than every 2-3yrs
Nadiya	F	1988	2010	Brody	Teacher	Not yet

### **Context of exit**

Portes (2003) argues that context of exit and entry will greatly affect the pattern of immigrant group's adjustment to the host country and determine the nature of their relationship with the home country (including travel). Most respondents commented that context of exit from Ukraine was primarily due to either the country's deteriorating economy, rampant corruption, and lack of opportunity.

There were two reasons [we left Ukraine]: one purely economic. We... are teachers... We didn't get our salaries on time. And it was very difficult to make ends meet. Apart from that, for me as a teacher and a person who loves to read and is interested, I was incredibly scared by those processes that commenced in Ukraine—the terrible corruption, mafia structures.

(Olena)

But it was crisis in Ukraine and I decided that I have an opportunity to give myself and my children a chance to live differently. (Petro)

...We had financial issues. Obviously at that time in Ukraine there were financial problems and people were losing jobs. We had an opportunity to come to the States. So that's it, just this one reason. (Kateryna)

Respondents generally felt good about their choice to immigrate to the US. Olena, for example, said she is happy with her immigration decision: "...I am happy with a different thing... that my children are not criminals, not corrupt, they don't walk on the edge of a knife blade, they do not have to give bribes to anyone like they would have in Ukraine." Lidiya, while still positive about her decision to immigrate to the US, referred to the changes that have occurred in Ukraine rather than the US when reflecting on her context of exit:

It [the situation in Ukraine] has changed, because these two last years that I am here, in Ukraine everything becomes worse. There is a crisis, and the prices, and there are no jobs, and I feel sad... For example, I studied in Drogobych, and we had a group of 30 people, and I studied at the foreign languages department. Of those 30 people, maybe 4 work in the profession. In general, maybe 8 people work at all, all the rest sit at home, and I don't understand what we studied for if we cannot find a job. People have diplomas and they don't have anywhere to work. It is laughable: to be hired to teach in school you need to pay \$5,000, and that is for part-time job.

Olena and Lidiya's comments suggest that the 4W's desire to escape the crisis and corruption in independent Ukraine left them with very different sentiments than previous generations of Ukrainian immigrants, creating a potential opportunity for misunderstandings and tensions (Bazynskyj, 2009).

### **Context of entry**

Upon arrival in the United States, members of the study sample experienced adjustment issues and acculturation-related stress. Lack of knowledge, resources, and language proficiency made it difficult during the initial stages of living in the US. For Mykola difficulties included issues with "college, social security and green card," while Taras recalled incredible stress because he "moved to 5 different apartments" in the first six months. Language also was a big source of stress as pointed out by Petro:

There are some inconveniences in terms of, not understanding, but being on the level in an English-speaking environment, because I cannot talk as freely about things I know, so that is an internal discomfort that will be present always. I think even those who come here with perfect English they still feel it...

The difficulties in adjustment and orientation were exacerbated by the immediate need to work long hours to provide for the family as well as to send money back home. The available jobs are usually within the service industry and way below the educational and professional level of the immigrant, resulting in sharp social demotion immediately after the move. With tears in her eyes, Olena, a college teacher in Ukraine, recalled that in the US she worked as a housekeeper for “change” - \$150 a week. Sofia and Kateryna described similar types of hardship:

It was hard because practically I just had to work, and I was going to school as well, I went to study the language, English. So it was hard that I had to both work and study. I didn't have free time at all. I went from 6:30am till 3pm to work, and then from 4pm till 10pm or so I was in school. (Sofia)

When you don't have [a] credit history you cannot have a house. You need [a] driver's license. [...] We didn't know how to issue checks, pay electricity bills, gas bills. You needed to go see someone who knows English. There was this woman... she would help us, she would say I'm fed up with you guys. I showed you once, twice, but you still don't get it. (Kateryna)

Such circumstances resulted in negative emotional reactions, including feelings of stress. Stepan admits that “to be honest, I wasn't happy,” and that he had lots of fear, while Taras tried to “reject everything [in the US].” Andrij felt lost...

...because it was too much of everything at once, both housing and a job, and a thousand questions. There were questions with my papers. I didn't like Manhattan a lot because the stench was terrible. I came in July, and it was hot, there was such stench out of the sewer I was walking and could not understand how people live here.

The stress and negative emotions did not, however, hinder 4W immigrants' ability to appreciate the new context of their lives and see the positive sides of immigration such as financial security and freedom:

Yes, here I am calmer, because I don't have to worry about tomorrow. I know that tomorrow I have a job; I know I have money, and it is very powerful for morals. (Andrij)

And what amazed me in America was freedom, this American freedom, opportunities for people and a different way of life that I liked and that impressed me, all of this. (Petro)

These quotes point to the fact that the context of entry for 4W Ukrainians indeed produced a lot of stress and negative emotions among members of this immigrant community. It is crucial to understand how severe this stress can be, as it has implications for identity and the adjustment strategies used by immigrants (Berry, 2005).

## **Identity**

According to Kuropas (1984, p. 3), the identity that has been associated with 3W Ukrainian immigrants and what it means to be Ukrainian is "... an appreciation for the persistent need of Ukrainian Americans to maintain their ethno-national identity... [and to create] a second homeland in America." The comments made by Sofia, Nadiya, and Taras were consistent with those presented by Kuropas. Taras poignantly said, "I have a lot of disagreement with Ukrainians, but this "Ukrainianness" – you'll never be able to squeeze it out of yourself."

One of the factors that helped immigrants maintain their ethnic identity was the ability to settle in ethnic enclaves in New York City's East Village and Brighton Beach:

Everything was different here. But it helped me a lot that I came to East Village. In East Village you don't even need English, there are so many Polish and Ukrainians, and there

is Ukrainian museum. So here whenever you go, even those people who do not speak Ukrainian start understanding Ukrainian. And that is why it was easier. (Sofia)

Yes, I live with them [Ukrainians] side by side. When it was morally hard for me, I went to church, and met some Ukrainians, and they give me the will to live. (Nadiya)

I do not think that I acquired any traits of American character [...] I work in a Ukrainian bank, and at home we speak Ukrainian as well, I don't even feel like anything really changed much. (Sofia)

However, a number of respondents were eager to shed their Ukrainian identity in an effort to integrate more smoothly into the US. This may be, as Bazynskyj (2009) suggests, because 4Ws who immigrate to the US primarily for economic reasons, feel that financial security in the US can be more quickly attained if they become as "American" as fast as possible.

... I had to re-think certain psychological moments and so to say "turn on" for myself how things are supposed to be. I understood that I cannot sit on two chairs. There are a lot of people who do, they go here and there. For me it was one thing [focusing on America]. (Petro)

We live in this country, which means we need to speak this language and breathe this air, and live, so to say, its character and this way that people live here. (Andrij)

Considering Berry's (2005) suggestion that integration adjustment strategy is most desired by immigrants, 4W Ukrainian immigrants are quite unique in their approach to acculturation. Their integration adjustment strategy is more likely to be assimilation than integration.

## Relationship with Ukraine

A completely new context of exit was identified by the 4W. Unlike nationalistic 3W immigrants, 4W immigrants expressed disappointment with the outcomes of independence:

I have a very difficult relationship with Ukraine. Because when I came here I didn't want to see myself in a Ukrainian environment, I didn't want to become a part of it because I had enough Ukrainians in Lviv. But to have to deal with them here? That's 100 times worse! I just have a lot of issues with all Ukrainian altogether. (Taras)

I can tell you, in one simple sentence. I don't want to go back home, only if circumstances changed and forced me. And about Ukraine, it's difficult for me. ... I don't see that people are happy there. (Kateryna)

You know, it did change, and of course it didn't change for the better. And it is all connected to the things that happen in Ukraine. Both political situation, and economic, and what I hear from people. I do not like the things that happen in Ukraine recently. And honestly it is painful for me. Earlier I always followed what was happening in Ukraine. But now, the last few years, I stopped. And I stopped consciously. When I start reading about things that happen there I start shaking – how could such things happen? We were the witnesses of how people got the independence, and what now happened to that independence? It is very painful. (Solomija)

Disappointment and anger have alienated the 4W from their homeland. According to Portes (2003), this negative context of exit may result in diminished contacts with the homeland and reluctance to engage in any transnational activity.

### **Transnational activity**

Many scholars agree with Portes et al. (1999, p. 219) that the concept of transnationalism should be delimited to “occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation.” These activities include phone and email communication; sending remittances (Obadare & Adebani, 2009); participating in political parties and civic organizations back home (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003); and perhaps most important, regular visits to the homeland. According to Portes (2003), the negative context of exit should greatly diminish the desire of 4Ws to engage in such transnational connections. However, respondents suggest the opposite:

Absolutely. Skype. Telephone. And of course we send packages. We have a bank here in the Ukrainian community. So we ask: who is going to Ivano-Frankivsk? Oh, someone is going there. Let's get a package together. (Kateryna)

But now if we go there we go to Ukraine. So we go to our parents, to family, sometimes if they have some problems and they need help. That is why for us just to go travel around Europe... our vacations aren't enough, we cannot go both here and there. That's why we go to family. (Solomija)

Yes, my parents, and sister, and friends, and colleagues, and I keep in touch with everyone. It is very important for me, it is my biggest support, those calls to Ukraine. There are very difficult moments here. I am here alone, and don't have anyone, and it is sometimes very difficult, and so the calls to Ukraine they give me the most support, the real one. (Ruslana)

The negative context of entry has not precluded the 4W from actively keeping in touch with the homeland and going back quite often (see Table 1). This connection seems to be heavily dependent, however, on the presence of immediate family in Ukraine: “In 2011 I had to go twice because my mother died in November. Since then... I’m not even planning to go anymore. But my husband goes because his mother is alive. So I tell him you need to go, because you still have who to go to” (Olena).

One respondent—Taras—articulated a cosmopolitan attitude that is characteristic in transnational migrants and has not been documented elsewhere in 3Ws. He sees immigration as a one-way ticket:

This isn’t a move from point A to point B, and this point B becomes point “me” right away, that you will be here for the rest of your life, and you won’t go anywhere else, and won’t see anything else. That is why this term [i.e., immigrant] doesn’t fit me. It is considered that once you move to America you won’t go anywhere else anymore. I absolutely do not associate myself with such option. I haven’t completely satisfied my hunger for New York and I want to live here for now, I don’t know, maybe two more years, maybe five, maybe seven. But it is quite possible that after those seven years it will be Buenos Aires, where I will move because I will find a job there. Or it will be Berlin, or Hong Kong, but it won’t be immigration every time. (Taras)

For this young man (and for many of his friends) migration is a continuous process. His description perfectly fits Guarnizo and Smith’s (1998) definition of transnational migrants as “deterritorialized, free-floating people represented by the now popular adage, ‘neither here nor there’” (p. 11).

### **Relationship Between the 3W and 4W**

While we did not present a research question about the relationship between the 3W and 4W, after breaking down and reviewing the data, tensions between the two waves of Ukrainian immigrants were apparent. Bazynskyj (2009) and Kondrashov (2007) suggested tensions between waves of immigrants stem from the differences in the way they identify and understand what it means to be Ukrainian. According to Sofia, their suppositions are true.

It is not a war, war isn't the right word, I just used it... It's just some kind of mistrust probably. Because those people who came earlier they came with a different purpose, and these people who come now they come with a different purpose. But those older people I think they had to sacrifice a lot more and they understood that they were coming here forever. Those who are coming now, there are those who are undecided, they do not know if they want to be here or they want to be there, and they probably they are a little more indifferent to those things happening here. And that is why there is this misunderstanding between the older and younger ones, but that is also very different in different areas.

The nature of the 3Ws immigration (political) and the 4Ws immigration (economic), coupled with the 4Ws option to visit Ukraine, which the 3W never had, has bred tension between immigrants who should be communicating and helping each other. Some respondents recognize the tension, but are more understanding of the 3W's contribution and are hopeful that as time goes on it can be minimized:

You know there is... a war between those waves. When we came, we could not understand that older generation, that they didn't trust us as much and all. But now we understand how much they had to work to preserve the Ukrainian organizations. We wouldn't have anything to come to if they didn't keep that. Unfortunately, maybe our

wave doesn't understand as much how important it is to maintain that. But I think the longer we are here the more understanding we will have. (Sofia)

It depends on where there are more "new Ukrainians" or "old Ukrainians." The older Ukrainians say we did this and we did that, and show us what you can. But there are already a lot of those younger ones show how much they value the Ukrainian and how much they are dedicated to the Ukrainian. And they come to more or less some sort of understanding. (Andrij)

Considering that Aroian (1992) names social support from co-ethnics as one of the major coping strategy for immigrants, the tensions between 3W and 4W have considerable negative implications for the 4W immigrants. Shunned and ostracized by the pervious waves, 4W immigrants are denied access to Ukrainian cultural resources and social support that would make their adjustment much easier. Therefore, for this group, finding alternative ways of coping is ever more crucial.

## **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to investigate various factors associated with acculturation—the contexts of exit and entry, adjustment patterns, and identity of Ukrainians who immigrated to the US after 1991 (i.e., fourth wave). While exploratory in nature and based on a regional, small (but acceptable; Chhabra, 2013) sample size, this study provides insights into the life context, adjustment, and identity of 4W Ukrainian immigrants in the US. The results support earlier critiques of classic acculturation models such as Berry's (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) by discovering differences in immigrant identity and adjustment based on the context of exit and entry and the context of the immigrant wave. The 4W of Ukrainian

immigrants represent a transnational diasporic community and appears to have different acculturation patterns and needs than their predecessors. As a result, many have developed a different immigrant identity: they strive to shed their “Ukrainianness” for the sake of smoother integration in the US and economic security, but simultaneously maintain contact with immediate family and friends in Ukraine. These results demonstrate that acculturation models specific to earlier waves of immigrants may not accurately describe acculturation patterns of newer diasporas worldwide (van Hear, 1998). More research would help our understanding, and our theorizing about recent immigrants’ experiences.

Unique exit/entry contexts of the 4W have created a distinct diasporic subgroup. Their characteristics are reminiscent of a “labor diaspora,” while the 3W is more akin to a “victim diaspora” (Cohen, 2008). Immigrants of the 4W left Ukraine due largely to economic hardships, a corrupt government, or the desire for a better life for their family. They lack the 3Ws idealistic, deeply nationalist-oriented view of Ukraine and do not share the 3Ws hatred for the Soviet Union. As noted by Bazynskyij (2009), they are much more likely to share critical comments about Ukraine than USSR, because they fled an independent Ukraine. The 4W’s unique contexts of exit and entry have had profound implications for their adjustment, identity, and travel patterns.

Today’s globalized world has allowed new diasporas such as the 4W to abandon the one-way-ticket mode of immigration and combine multiple relationships with their host and home countries (van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013). In this study many members of the 4W maintain strong connections with Ukraine. They rely on family members and friends in Ukraine to combat acculturation-related stress, including daily adjustment issues. They also settle in ethnic enclaves in big cities, providing support for Jasinskaja-Lahti et al.’s (2003) contention that segregation may be a viable approach to acculturation. However, while the 4W chooses to live in ethnic enclaves, they appreciate and express gratitude for the opportunities they have in the US compared to the life they would have had in Ukraine. These findings contribute to the diaspora

and tourism discourse by stressing the influence of immigration wave context on acculturation, identity, and transnational travel.

This labor diaspora (i.e., 4W Ukrainian immigrants) experienced a very different context of exit and entry compared to its predecessors, which affects its ability to access the community resources in place. Members of the 4W strive to maintain separate identities and frequently travel home to maintain their social connections. It is unclear, however, whether these trips contribute to the maintenance of cohesive ethnic identity and help mitigate acculturation-related stress. Future studies with this group should address these issues and investigate the image this group has of the homeland and whether these trips affect their identity and help battle the stresses associated with immigration.

Members of the 4W also present unique identities. While some strongly identify as Ukrainians, there are those who strive to shed as much “Ukrainian” as possible in an attempt to attain more financial security within the US. A similar pattern was found by Kaftanoglu (2010) who showed that most first generation Turkish diaspora in the US maintain a core Turkish identity while trying to attain financial success in the US. On the other hand, Tie and Seaton (2013) stressed that “identity is better understood as being multiple, rather than singular in character, and continuously subject to reassessment and renegotiation rather than being fixed” (p. 241). This notion of multiple identity applies to 4W Ukrainian immigrants who try to maintain what they call “Ukrainian-ness” and at the same time identify with the host culture as much as possible, something van Oudenhoven and Ward (2013) call a blended, or “fusion” identity. Their attempt to maintain two identities, however, can create feelings of “in-betweenness,” i.e. being detached from both the ancestral land and the current homeland (Hollinshead, 2004), which is not a healthy psychological or emotional state. Ascribing to multiple identities can put strain on the diasporic group and precipitate psychological disorders (Falicov, 2007). To avoid such negative outcomes, it is important for immigrants to maintain identity continuity (Iyer & Jetten, 2011),

which can be accomplished by traveling to one's homeland (Chhabra, 2013; Kaftanoglu, 2010; Klemm, 2002).

Chhabra (2013) suggests diaspora not only refers to ethnics abroad, but also includes "travel to the country of origin by ethnic minorities" (p. 259). This definition of diaspora fits the 4W Ukrainians in this study as they expressed strong connections and frequent communication with friends and family in Ukraine as well as regular travel to the country—characteristics typical of transnational activity (Portes, 2003). Some members of the 4W have even adopted a cosmopolitanism worldview, which has been one of many indicators of an attachment-free transnational state in other research (Guarnizo & Smith, 1998; Sobre-Denton, 2011). Kaftanoglu and Timothy (2013) suggest that travel home is one of the best methods for immigrants to "buttress their identities" (p. 273) and return to what is local and familiar (Hollinshead, 2004). However, Kaftanoglu and Timothy's work was focused specifically on third-generation diaspora and beyond. With members of the 4W, it is unclear whether travel to Ukraine has the same identity-maintaining effect. Follow up studies focusing on 4W's reflections on their recent travel experiences to Ukraine would further our understanding of the issue.

At the time of this study Ukraine was thrown into a sharp political crisis with a possibility of civil war, resulting in what potentially may be a fifth wave of Ukrainians requesting immigration to the US ("Ukraine's crisis," 2014). These immigrants, in addition to those who have already immigrated, will need assistance in acculturating to the US. Hence, the results of this study should be used to inform additional research focusing on the context, identity, and adjustment of new waves of Ukrainian immigrants. Because these new waves of immigrants may be transnational in nature, additional research should also focus on Ukrainian immigrants' homeland travel experiences and their identity-forming outcomes.

## Chapter 3

### **Turning Struggles into Possibilities: Creation of Culturally Grounded Narratives Based on Immigration Experiences of Ukrainian-Americans**

Migration is as old as humanity itself (Rystad, 1992) and its outcomes have interested intellectuals since the works of Plato (Rudmin, 2003). Positive outcomes consist of cultural and genetic exchange, heightening of inter-cultural understanding and tolerance, initiation of entire nation-states like the United States (US) and Australia (Borjas, 1994), as well as revitalization of host nation economies and infrastructures (Panayiotopoulos, 2012). Negative consequences of migration include problems with neighborhood and community integration (Rumbaut, 1996); suspicion of and discrimination towards immigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003); social demotion for immigrants (Baptiste, Hardy, & Lewis, 1997), and precipitation of symptoms of depression, anxiety, addiction, and other psychosomatic illnesses (Falicov, 2007).

Researchers have addressed the ways in which immigrants' psychological issues can be alleviated. Family and individual therapy (Baptiste et al., 1997; Falicov, 2007) aids adaptation and provides opportunities for coping with existential dilemmas. So too does social support from co-ethnics. Aroian (1992) found social support to be the main facilitator of psychological adaptation at different stages of resettlement for three generations of Polish immigrants.

According to the classic acculturation model introduced by Berry (2005), immigrants are most successful coping with the adverse effects of immigration when they hold onto their ethnic heritage while learning to function in the host society, a strategy referred to as "integration." Maintaining a connection to their heritage, which Macdonald (2006, p. 11) described as "material testimony of identity," can help immigrants cope with immigration-related stress by allowing them to maintain the identity that was ruptured in the process of resettlement. Without continuity

in identity (Iyer & Jetten, 2011) immigrants may experience depression, anxiety, addiction, and other psychosomatic illnesses (Falicov, 2007).

### **Diaspora Tourism as a Coping Strategy**

One way to maintain a connection to one's ethnic heritage and support identity continuity is engagement in heritage tourism, "an industry that involves the promotion of local historic places, artifacts, natural resources, and activities as culturally authentic tourist destinations" (Pierre, 2009, p. 64). In the case of immigrants visiting their homeland, heritage tourism has been termed "roots tourism" (Basu, 2005), "ethnic tourism" (Ostrowski, 1991), or "diaspora tourism" (Morgan, Pritchard, & Pride, 2002). Diaspora tourism most fully reflects immigrants' travel home, which according to Basu (2005) is "experiencing events that are understood to authentically represent their [diasporas'] past histories" (p. 64-65). Diaspora tourism is much more than pleasure travel, as it brings cultural and spiritual renewal to individuals (Pierre, 2009); connects diasporic individuals with political processes in their country of origin (Ostrowski, 1991); helps resolve the increasingly problematized sense of belonging in countries of birth and settlement (Basu, 2005); and supports the diaspora communities' desire to maintain a distinct collective identity, regardless of geographical dispersal (Morgan et al., 2002). Travel home may also aid in coping with the adverse effects of relocation to a new environment. Although this notion has yet to be tested empirically (Franklin, 2003), van Oudenhoven and Ward (2013, p. 91, emphasis added) suggest research has shown that...

cyber communication and more frequent contact with home nationals lead to greater perceptions of social support and, in turn, better psychological adaptation in the host country. Transnational contact may also bolster well-being in marginalized immigrants

who could find some comfort by *visiting their home country*; however, this remains to be determined.

### **Using Culturally Grounded Narratives to Promote Diaspora Tourism**

Promoting trips to immigrants' home country (i.e., country of origin) is a complex and multi layered process. Morgan et al. (2002) suggest that the most effective promotional approach with immigrants is to use emotionally laden narratives of homecoming, searching for roots, and emotional journeys into the homeland. Due to the emotionally laden connections immigrants have with their homeland, promoting diaspora tourism through formulaic advertisements is marginally effective. The same cannot be said of advertising that incorporates narratives (Oatley & Gholamain, 1997). Communication scholars have found narratives to affect beliefs (Green & Brock, 2000); provide behavioral examples (Slater, 2002); and shape individuals' cultural identities (Jacobs, 2002). They also have proven to be effective in health-based persuasive communication (Green, 2006; Hecht et al., 2003; Kreuter & McClure (2004). The power of the narrative to be more effective than didactic and expository texts in inducing attitude change lies in the fact that it "has been described as a fundamental mode of thinking" (Green, 2006, p. S163), such that humans tend to think and communicate with others in the form of stories. Kreuter et al. (2007) defined narratives as "a representation of connected events and characters that has an identifiable structure, is bounded in space and time, and contains implicit or explicit messages about the topic being addressed" (p. 222). Dal Cin, Zanna, and Fong (2004) showed the persuasive power of narratives empirically, but recognized that many challenges remain, including understanding what the attributes of a "quality" narrative are that make it persuasive. According to Kreuter and colleagues (2007), the following elements are indispensable to the persuasive effectiveness of narratives: sequence and coherence of plot development; emotionally

intense and eloquent characters; suspense and canonical violation (departure from the expected evolution of events); realism; and cultural appropriateness.

Cultural appropriateness is especially pertinent in situations where narratives are used with ethnic and immigrant groups: stories that feel inauthentic to the culture of the group will not produce the intended persuasive effect. Larkey and Hecht (2010) suggested a process for creating culturally grounded narratives that are instrumental for “capturing the richness of cultural elements that most effectively reaches minds and hearts for [...] behavior change” (p. 115). This process involves identifying members of a cultural group and asking them to provide their life stories and experiences on a particular subject. These stories are then used to create a culturally grounded narrative. This process of “message development enlists the experience of group members through the stories describing their social realities. Narrative interviews, in particular, are used to invoke a storytelling style rather than didactic discourse by a collaborative orientation” (Larkey & Hecht, 2010, p. 117). While Hecht et al. (2003) have successfully applied this process to create a culturally grounded narrative that reduced Mexican American adolescents’ substance use, it is unclear how culturally grounded narratives are developed and whether they are more effective than didactic or expository text.

### **Study Purpose**

The overall purpose of this study was to assess immigrants’ response to a culturally grounded narrative of immigrant struggle and coping. This was accomplished by first demonstrating how a culturally grounded narrative is created from emic cultural data and guidelines for effective narrative construction (Kreuter et al., 2007) and second addressing two research questions: “Do participants perceive a culturally grounded narrative to be more credible, compelling, interesting, informative and persuasive than neutral/factual information text?” and

“Does the culturally grounded narrative encourage immigrants to engage in diaspora tourism?”

The immigrant group invited to participate in this study was Ukrainian Americans.

The economic and political contributions of Ukrainians who immigrated to the US prior to the 90s are well documented (Kuropas, 1984; Pivnenko & DeVoretz, 2003). So, too, are their struggles, particularly those faced by members of the fourth wave (4W) who immigrated after the collapse of the USSR in 1991. These individuals have come to the US with limited economic means, poor English proficiency, and large cultural differences, all of which have contributed to a variety of psychological issues and traumatic experiences (Bazynskyj, 2009). Thus, given the purpose of this study, 4W Ukrainian immigrants were selected as the study population.

## **Method**

### **Samples and data collection methods**

Two convenience samples were drawn from the population of 4W Ukrainian immigrants in the US. The first sample was obtained by reaching out to a number of Ukrainian organizations in New York City and then securing and collaborating with a gatekeeper from one of the organizations. The gatekeeper helped identify and gain access to 4W Ukrainian immigrants who were invited to participate in the first step in the data collection process—the semi-structured interview.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 immigrants about their experiences in the US, immigration-related stress and trauma, connections with home, and desire to travel to Ukraine. Five interviews were conducted during a two-day trip to New York City and eight were completed through follow-up phone interviews. The 13 interviews, which lasted between 11 and 44 minutes and were conducted in Ukrainian (despite having the choice of Ukrainian, English, or

Russian), began with a (re-) introduction, which was followed by a reminder about the purpose of the research, a solicitation of consent, and information about the incentive. Then, the following questions were asked:

- 1) Please tell me what about the circumstances and reasons that led you to your decision to move to the United States.
- 2) What feelings did you experience during and after the move?
- 3) What were your first impressions and struggles upon your arrival [and] how did you cope with them?
- 4) What is your current relationship with Ukraine and Ukrainian cultures and traditions?

The second sample was obtained by distributing an e-mail or letter with a link to an on-line survey to Ukrainian organizations, individuals identified through the first round of data collection, Ukrainian churches, and personal acquaintances. This sample was invited to participate in the second step in the data collection process—an on-line survey. Since after the initial contact organizations distributed the survey link as they saw fit, it is impossible to estimate the total number of people who were asked to fill out the survey and consequently calculate the response rate.

The on-line survey, comprised of seven sections, was created after a review of the literature and analysis of the results of the semi-structured interviews. Discussion regarding the two sections relevant to this study follows. In the first section of the survey respondents were exposed to neutral text describing the geography of Ukraine or the culturally grounded narrative. In the second section they were asked how credible, compelling, interesting, and informative either the text or culturally-grounded narrative was. Respondents also were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement, “Going to Ukraine is helpful for Ukrainian immigrants’ adaptation in the US.” The response options for all of the measures in the second section ranged

from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree” on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

### **Data entry and analysis**

Interviews were recorded, stored as sound files, translated into English, and transcribed. An expert fluent in both languages verified the translation and did not suggest any major changes. Data analysis involved breaking down the data and searching for codes and categories that were then reassembled to form themes. This process included several steps as suggested by Holloway (1997). Two researchers performed each of these steps separately and then met to compare their findings and draw conclusions, all of which were rooted in the displayed data. To make the analysis more manageable, only the data that best fit the research questions and the conceptual framework of the study were maintained for further analysis.

The quotes identified as reflecting key components of Ukrainians’ immigration experiences were used to create a culturally grounded narrative. Effective narrative guidelines (Kreuter et al., 2007) were followed to combine data provided by respondents into a generalized story describing a 4W Ukrainian family’s experience arriving in and adjusting to the US. The resulting narrative was incorporated in to the on-line survey. Descriptive and independent t-tests were used to address the two research questions.

## **Results**

The results are presented in two sections. The first section focuses on the process associated with creating the culturally grounded narrative. The second section addresses the findings associated with the research questions.

### **Creating the culturally grounded narrative**

Building a cultural narrative requires taking emic data provided by respondents and following it closely (sometimes verbatim) to create a persuasive narrative (Larkey & Hecht, 2010). To show how this was accomplished in this study, seven overarching themes and supporting quotes drawn from the emic data are presented first and then followed by the corresponding parts of the narrative. See Appendix J for the full narrative.

For many people in Ukraine immigrating to the US is a dream. Actually leaving Ukraine, however, can be stressful. For example, Ruslana was very excited that she had won a green card which would allow her to immigrate to the US. However, when the time came to leave she was scared to do so:

...When I found out about winning, I wanted to go very much, I was doing everything, translating the papers and all, just to go. But then when everything was ready, and my visa was opened, the only thing left was just to go to the airport. Then I didn't want to go anymore. I didn't want to, I was crying, I guess I just didn't want to leave... it was hard to leave my relatives.

For many, being scared and experiencing stress extended into the first years of living in the US:

There was a lot of nostalgia for home, first of all. I wanted to go back home right away. To stay here for a little bit, look around, and go home right away. What impressions I had... Uncertainty, first of all. Because you don't know the language, you don't know where you are and how the system works in America, that was what worried me the most.  
(Kateryna)

These mixed feelings prior to and during the first few years of being a Ukrainian immigrant in the US were reflected in the first few paragraphs of the culturally-grounded

narrative:

*Although every year many families wait for their turn to immigrate to the USA, for one Ukrainian family the life of being immigrants in the US did not turn out to be what they had expected. Two years after the Kovalenko family immigrated, they still felt the stress of being foreigners. ‘My entire family is suffering,’ said Petro Kovalenko, the father of the family. ‘I can see my wife and children unhappy and it is breaking my heart. I am the head of this family, I feel responsible for ensuring my loved ones are doing well. I feel like I am failing.’*

For most fourth wave Ukrainians, including this study’s respondents, post-independence economic and political hardships in the homeland “pushed” them to migrate (Bazynskyj, 2009). Solomija’s husband was the first to migrate because “*What he could earn [in Ukraine]– it was unknown. He is not a businessman. He is just a good specialist. [In the United States] he could much easier earn money for decent living for his family than he could [in Ukraine].*” Lidiya came to the US because she didn’t want to be a burden to her family:

The reason was that I could not provide for myself in Ukraine, and I didn’t want to ask anyone for money to live on. Our family is not poor, you understand yourself, middle level, but that middle level you can say is lower than middle level, how people live. And I felt sorry for my parents because I also have a younger sister who they need to put through school, so those circumstances. Not because I really wanted to go to America, just at that time I saw such a solution for this situation.

Thus, to make the narrative culturally appropriate to these experiences, the protagonist family in the culturally grounded narrative also left Ukraine for economic reasons: “*The Kovalenko family moved from Ivano-Frankivsk to the US after Ukrainian independence in 1991. The new economic reality of Ukraine threatened the survival of contractor Petro and his wife Nadiya, a nurse.*”

Although a number of fourth wave Ukrainians immigrate to the US after winning a green card, for the majority family reunion is the major reason for immigration (Wolowyna & Lopukh, 2014). Solomija immigrated to the US after her “husband [had] already been here for some time,” and Sofia immigrated to join her brother who “[had] already lived here in New York for five years, and I came to him.” The culturally grounded narrative reflected respondents’ experiences with the following sentence: “*Petro asked relatives in the US for reunion papers which would allow his family to immigrate.*”

New immigrants find that co-nationals provide the most support and assistance during their initial stages of adaptation. This trend was reflected by Kateryna who, when reflecting on her sources of support, said, “Only Ukrainians. For me at least, I don’t know how it works for other people, but for it was so. Only our people.” She proceeded to note that she got help from friends: “Well that was acquaintances. Friends. We went around meeting Ukrainians, Ukrainian diaspora, and people would help. If anyone knew anything, they would advise and tell us who to speak to, and which doors to knock on.” Alternatively, Ruslana made contact with Ukrainian immigrants while they were visiting Ukraine to arrange for their help upon her arrival in the US:

I didn’t know [anybody in the US], but I met with people, when I already knew that I won a green card, I knew that from my village. I am from a village. I knew that people lived in New York. And at that time when I won the green card, when I found out they were in Ukraine, I just went to them and met them, and in that way I had someone to go to. I wasn’t going at random.

This reliance on and knowing how to get help from other Ukrainian immigrants was incorporated into the culturally grounded narrative by stating that the father of the Kovalenko family “*heard that there was a sizable Ukrainian community in Manhattan and they could count on help.*”

As a labor diaspora, 4W Ukrainians move to the US in search of a better life. Petro

admitted, “Despite the fact that at first I had to do different work, this country gives people a chance. And because of that it is loved. Well, some people love it some don’t, but most do.” This excitement about new opportunities was reflected in the narrative as follows: “*With two children, Andriy and Natalia, they came to the US in search of a better life and opportunities their homeland could no longer provide. ‘We were extremely excited and hopeful,’ said Nadiya.*”

New immigrants’ excitement seems to fade rather quickly, however, as they have difficulty adjusting, despite help from friends and other Ukrainians. The two main issues, according to Taras, are housing and a job:

Basically there were two parallel problems to be solved: that one of the apartment and that one of the job. If you figure out these two things then your life can really begin. And before that there is no life. So it was 17-18 months had to pass before I could feel that now things are better, and I can even put some money away.

The job issue was mentioned by Lidiya who admitted, “my first two months were very terrible because I could not find a job.” The difficulties of finding a job seem to mainly stem from language issues, as suggested by Sofia:

And so I started going around looking for a job, but you know how it is when you do not know anyone. And I basically didn’t know any language, I knew that I was coming here, but for some reason I wasn’t serious enough about that. And I needed to work somewhere, so I started going everywhere and asking people, and was offering some caretaking and all, but it didn’t fit me, or didn’t fit them.

Stepan admitted to encountering the same challenges, as the combination of inexperience and lack of language skills made it hard to find a job:

I think in communication, in adjustment, because I had some issues with the language. With language and also looking for a job. I didn’t have any experience in Ukraine, I just finished college there and came here right away, so I didn’t have any work experience. In

communication, because my language was bad. And maybe a little bit in finding a job.

One of the most painful consequences of poor language skills and being unable to confirm their college degree, is the inability to pursue the same occupation. Immigrants are forced to settle for odd jobs and experience the discomforts of social demotion. According to Olena:

My husband unfortunately he had issues with the language. He didn't know the language so he worked with Polish and Ukrainians, with Russians. He was a teacher by profession but, for example, if he feely spoke English he could again go teach physics and math in our school, but he studied German language. So he was already almost 50, how can you go study when you needed to catch up with all that, because we borrowed money for all those legalizations and lawyers? Where did I have such income? In one word, as I say it was difficult. That's why I couldn't go to college to get those credits. You know, I came to America when I was 39, and the long way to legalization, and at that time I could not go to college and take more credits and study so that I could legalize my education... well I mean it is legal but to confirm my diploma of English teacher and get a teaching license, and all of that. I needed to pass all that, I needed to invest money in that, and at that time, since I didn't have a legal status, I would have had to pay out of my own pocket, because for new immigrants it is paid for later, but in 1998 I just legalized myself, so I was 44 at that time.

Since Olena could not confirm her diploma, she could no longer work as a college professor as she did in Ukraine. With tears in her eyes she recalled going from being a college professor in Ukraine to being a housekeeper in the US:

I can tell you that I got settled right away as a housekeeper, with living [in the family house]. That was, how to say, the first day when I came to work, it was a terrible feeling. And that woman [her employer], she looked at me and said, 'I cannot believe that such an educated person,' I think my face just didn't look as a simple peasant... She said, 'I

cannot believe, I am not even comfortable to hire you.’ So she herself felt bad, you understand, she was in shock. And I had such a feeling too, you know...

Most notable is the story of Petro, who worked as a college professor and at some point was even in a city level administrative position. Upon arrival to the US he worked construction, carpentry, and other odd jobs:

In Ukraine I spent time getting my education, then three years of writing my dissertation, then work at the department. I had a certain social status. I got into the higher establishment of Ukrainian intelligentsia or Soviet intelligentsia. ...Even during the first years of independence... I was vice-chairman of Ternopil city in economic affairs. It is a... high position. So over there I was, in certain sense, in a very high position. And I had to close all that to myself, and come here. Where in fact the language skills are only basic, some elementary words. I lost a lot of things for myself there. ...I had to work here as a custodian, as a wall painter, different assistance, as a contractor, on demolitions, different jobs. I also worked as a carpenter and was making furniture here. I understood that I would have to do God knows what, and I don't know how things will come out...

These struggles seemed to be universal for 4W Ukrainians and therefore were reflected in the narrative as words from the female protagonist:

*We knew some Ukrainians here in New York who agreed to help us find jobs and housing. But without the knowledge of American building codes Petro cannot work as a contractor, and my level of English is not high enough to confirm my medical degree. Working in our professions is impossible. Although we are getting tremendous help from other Ukrainians here, it's hard. We both have to settle for odd jobs.*

As much as adults are experiencing immigration related stress, the transition is also very difficult on their children. Olena remembers her son's difficulties with accessing education because of his language skills: “It happened so that for my child he needed to pass TOEFL right

away and was a few points short. And to pass TOEFL you need to register first two months ahead. But my son didn't get the TOEFL score at first, he was literally a few points short, he had to go try to pass that TOEFL again." Oleh recalls that when he moved to the US with his parents at the age of nine, he had issues adjusting: "Strange, hard to understand, everything here is different, nothing like it was in Ukraine, absolutely different country. Of course getting used to the language and the customs, that was similarly hard." And, Sofia expresses her opinion on how the different speeds of adjustment eventually result in conflicts between parents and children:

Yes, they go to school and especially those who go to public schools and have friends there, they go into the street to play and communicate, and they speak only English. And so then their parents have a problem, because they need to speak Ukrainian at home. But at an older age the Ukrainian way stays with you.

As the issues of children's adjustment seem very salient for immigrants, it was necessary to include a paragraph on children in the culturally grounded narrative:

*The transition was tough not only for the adults. Andriy was struggling in catching up to the school program in English, and would often be bullied because of his poor language skills and cultural difference. 'The principal calls me to school all the time,' says Nadiya. 'Andriy cannot stand being made fun of and gets into fights with other kids.' While little Natalia behaved well in the kindergarten, she also came home crying because other children could not understand her and would not play with her.*

The accumulation of issues with jobs, the language, and children precipitates stress and sadness. Ruslana commented that she can see it in her fellow Ukrainian immigrants: "*We are Ukrainians, we know each other here. But I don't know, somehow you can see it in the eyes, some kind of pain or something, some sadness.*" These emotions affect the quality of life for 4W Ukrainian immigrants who want to find a way to remember where they came from: "I don't even know. The most important thing is for everyone to hold together, not forget about their country,

where they came from, so that they knew they are Ukrainian and knew their history, that they love Ukraine, and not forget it.” (Lidiya)

These difficulties and a need to keep in touch with the homeland and its values as a way of coping with immigration related stress were portrayed as follows in the narrative:

*‘I had to do something for my family,’ Petro admitted. ‘If only I could find a way to help them cope with this stress we have accumulated, I feel like we could continue working hard and eventually make a good life for ourselves here.’ Petro said that a few other families recommended that he take his family for a trip back to Ukraine, that reconnecting with the homeland and relatives back home will help his wife and children. However, he wasn’t sure if that is what they needed.*

Many respondents suggest that going back to Ukraine is helpful in coping with their immigration-related stress. Olena admitted that her “older son he visits quite often, and together with the fact that he is his own boss, he has an opportunity to stay there longer.” An important determinant of success for such trips seems to be the opportunity to reconnect with family who still live there, as family ties are traditionally important for Ukrainians. Sofia admitted that she “felt sorry because my mother was staying there, and my mother really didn’t want me to go [to the US].” Petro confirmed that family ties in Ukraine are still crucial in his life:

Secondly, in me remained the family ties, I know in my family the cousins, and third cousins, and closer and more removed, and almost fifth removed, and third cousins are very close to me, and fourth cousins I know them too, and even further down the line I know people too. Because, for us, family ties, especially [in Ukraine], they are very strong.

Trips home and maintenance of Ukrainian traditions are the source of stability and continuity in Sofia’s life:

[My life] almost did not change. I go to a Ukrainian church, my husband also is of

Ukrainian origin. Although he was born here, but he knows all the traditions, and we celebrate all Ukrainian holidays. Practically nothing changed. We keep in touch with Ukraine. Just recently we all went to Ukraine because I have my mother there. So nothing changed.

The act of going to Ukraine and reconnecting with family as a means of achieving a sense of continuity and stress relief was incorporated into the cultural narrative:

*Several months later, another Ukrainian family was traveling back to Ukraine for a two-week-long visit and invited the Kovalenkos with them, promising to even lend them some money for airfare. Everyone was excited about the opportunity and, in a week, the Kovalenko family was on the plane to Ukraine. In just a little over ten days in Ivano-Frankivsk Petro could not recognize his family. Nadiya reconnected with her girlfriends from the hospital and even helped them out a few times. Petro could see how his wife's face lit up every time she got a chance to do what she loved most: help people. Petro's parents were spending lots of time with Andriy and Natalia, telling them bedtime stories and showing them how to tend to the garden. Grandpa was showing Andriy some of his woodcarving skills and little Natalia was getting her first lessons on Ukrainian embroidery from her grandma. Petro felt very happy himself.*

Although the act of going home brings about tremendous relief, immigrants still appreciate and tend to take full advantage of the economic opportunities in the US. They also desire to continue to visit Ukraine:

I came home every year and I kept thinking... I could not get used to this land, it was very strange to me, not native, not mine. And I could not get used to it. But I came home the first time, I was still pulled to go back to Ukraine. When I came home the second time I started taking a neutral position. And then third and fourth, it was automatic. I already understood where the money comes from, where the life is better, and so on. (Andrij)

But again, I have this vision... if a person goes to college, it means she will stay here forever. And when I am asked if I plan to stay here forever or I plan to come back, I cannot reply. It is a very difficult question. I would like to build my future here, but I cannot be torn away from Ukraine. The best option that I would like would be living here but having an opportunity to go to Ukraine often, maybe once a year or once every two years. To have an opportunity to visit Ukraine all the time. (Ruslana)

These sentiments were represented in the culturally grounded narrative by the main protagonist, the father of the Kovalenko family:

*'I could see how this trip gave my family exactly what it needed,' Petro rejoiced. 'We reconnected with family, my children were reminded who they are and where they come from. We all came back much happier and ready to tackle any challenge. I now know why my friends were suggesting this trip. I have decided that, whatever the cost, we will try to go back to Ukraine every few years now.'*

### **Adhering the text to the effective narrative requirements**

According to Kreuter et al. (2007), three elements (i.e., sequence, coherence, plot development) must be included in the structure of a narrative to make it engaging, effective, and persuasive. The culturally grounded narrative in this study described the life of the Kovalenko family over a period of time. It presented a coherent sequence of events: struggle in Ukraine, immigration to the US, struggle in the US, and travel back to Ukraine. The inclusion of multiple sequenced events over the period of time provided plot development, in contrast to a static text describing one short moment in time.

Further, enhancing its effectiveness, character development, emotional intensity,

suspense, canonical violation, realism and cultural appropriateness were considered. To develop the characters and highlight the intensity of their emotions, both the adults and the children were portrayed and their feelings described. Direct quotes were provided to show their raw emotion and suffering, making them more relatable. The struggles and increasing stress of the Kovalenko family created suspense in the story, involving the reader who expects to see how the dilemma will be resolved. The canonical violation is addressed when Petro Kovalenko, after initially being encouraged by friends to go to Ukraine, rejects the idea. The expected plot development would be for him to act upon the advice, however he acts in a counterintuitive manner. Only later, when another family travels home, does Kovalenko go as well. In terms of the realism and cultural appropriateness of the narrative, both were achieved by extracting themes from the interviews and culturally grounding the narrative as suggested by Larkey and Hecht (2010). Cultural elements and anchors from the interviews were reflected in the narrative, making it realistic and relevant to members of the 4W Ukrainian immigrants in the United States.

### **Narrative assessment**

The culturally grounded narrative and a neutral/factual text describing the geography of Ukraine were incorporated into an online survey administered (as part of a larger study) to 4W Ukrainian immigrants. A total of 56 respondents were randomly exposed to one of two treatments: 1) the culturally grounded narrative about the Kovalenko family (27 respondents or 48%); or 2) a neutral/factual text describing the geography of Ukraine (29 respondents or 52%). After being exposed to one of the two treatments, respondents were asked to rate the text they read using the narrative assessment measures: how credible, informative, compelling, and interesting they found the text, and how much they agreed that it promoted travel to Ukraine. In order to answer the two research questions, independent t-test analyses were used to compare

mean ratings between the narrative and neutral/factual texts. The means and significance levels are presented in Table 3-1.

The culturally grounded narrative received higher mean ratings than the neutral/factual text on all assessment measures. However, only credibility and informativeness reached statistical significance. It is notable that the mean scores on the statement, “After reading the article I believe going to Ukraine is good for immigrants,” are higher for individuals who were exposed to the culturally grounded narrative.

Table 3-1. Narrative vs. factual text assessment

<b>Narrative assessment measure</b>		<b>Means</b>	<b>Significance (p)</b>	<b>Cohen's d</b>
The article I just read was credible	Factual text	2.28	.001	-0.939
	Narrative	3.87		
The article I just read was compelling	Factual text	3.42	.554	-0.170
	Narrative	3.75		
The article I just read was interesting	Factual text	3.12	.449	-0.218
	Narrative	3.50		
The article I just read was informative	Factual text	2.20	.012	-0.750
	Narrative	3.38		
After reading the article I believe going to Ukraine is good for immigrants	Factual text	3.56	.372	-0.256
	Narrative	4.08		

### **Discussion and implications**

A culturally grounded narrative was created based on emic cultural data collected from a sample of 4W Ukrainian immigrants. When presented to a second sample of 4W Ukrainian immigrants, the response (based on overall mean score) to the culturally grounded narrative was more positive than it was to the neutral/factual information about Ukraine. Respondents who read the culturally grounded narrative also were more likely (based on overall mean score) than those who read the neutral/factual information about Ukraine to agree that going to Ukraine is good for

immigrants.

Seven overarching themes emerged from the interviews with 4W Ukrainian immigrants and were incorporated into the narrative. The first theme—immigration due to economic and political hardship in the homeland—is typical of a labor diaspora and concordant with Bazynskyj's (2009) findings with 4W Ukrainian diaspora in Canada. The second theme—immigration for family reasons—supported similar findings presented by Wolowyna and Lopukh (2014) based on their analysis of US Census data and immigration statistics (cited in Ruggles et al., 2010). The third theme—support from co-nationals—has been recognized as an adjustment coping strategy amongst immigrants (Aroian, 1992). In this study respondents spoke about seeking support from family members, friends, or other Ukrainians who come from the same area in their homeland.

Immigrants also described adjustment issues and associated stress (fourth theme), similar to those Falicov (2007) heard from her immigrant patients during therapy sessions, i.e. difficulties in finding housing and jobs, communication challenges due to poor language skills, social demotion, and uncertainty about the future. These challenges create feelings of sadness, despair, and stress (fifth theme). As Ruslana so eloquently said, "*We are Ukrainians, we know each other here. But I don't know, somehow you can see it in the eyes, some kind of pain or something, some sadness.*" This comment clearly reflects the pain, suffering, and stress experienced by 4W Ukrainian immigrants.

Another important (and sixth) theme uncovered through data analysis was family dynamics, where children's negative experiences add to parents' stress. This finding supports existing immigration research that has shown immigrant children to experience both educational challenges (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2013) and health issues (Mendoza & Festa, 2013). Finally, the seventh theme reflected how immigrants keeping in touch with family back home and/or traveling to Ukraine helps them overcome the stress and frustration associated with adjusting to

the US. If one accepts that these connections help maintain the continuity of one's ethnic identity and serve as a reminder of where one comes from, then the findings present strong support for Iyer and Jetten's (2011) suggestion that maintenance of identity continuity should be the focus of strategies designed to help immigrants' post-relocation adjustment. Even more importantly, this finding is of consequence to the tourism industry as it demonstrates the potential of diaspora tourism to perform effectively in a market that might be hard to reach with conventional advertising methods.

To address whether a culturally grounded narrative can be used to promote diaspora tourism, one was created from the interview data (Kreuter et al., 2007; Larkey & Hecht, 2010). The narrative (Appendix A), which incorporated the seven themes identified through the analysis of the interview, depicted a fictional family, the Kovalenkos, on their journey from Ukraine to the US, their adaptation struggles in the new homeland, and their visit to Ukraine as a means of coping with their adjustment stress. The narrative was structured to present a sequence of events, have relatable and emotionally intense characters (both adults and children), contain a canonical violation, and have a high level of realism and cultural appropriateness due to being drawn from lived experiences of immigrants. The final result was a culturally grounded narrative drawn from immigrants' stories of struggle and coping and turned into a narrative of hope—one offering diaspora tourism as a method of coping with immigration-related stress.

Despite the great promise narratives hold, the emotionally laden, culturally appropriate narrative in this study did not overwhelmingly prove to be a powerful approach for reaching out to 4W Ukrainian immigrants. Statistically significant differences were found only with two (i.e., credible and informative) of the four narrative assessment measures. Narratives have been shown to be perceived as more credible since they present concrete living examples of others: it might be easy to discount or doubt statistical data or an advertising appeal, but one might find it difficult to discredit a life story or lived experience of another person (Slater, 2002). While narratives might

not be more informative than factual text per se, scholars have found that they seem to be better remembered and therefore *seem* more informative.

Storytelling is representation of social information and social experience – the kind of information that human beings process from infancy without the need for education and training... [On top of that] there is substantial evidence that social information is stored in memory in narrative forms such as scripts, and that such information has distinct advantages with respect to memory and recall. (Kreuter et al., 2007, p.225)

In sum, the results provide partial support for Larkey and Hecht's (2010) proposition that culturally grounded narratives possess persuasive power. There was no significant difference in response to the statement, "After reading the article I believe going to Ukraine is good for immigrants." However, it is worth noting that the mean score was higher for individuals who were exposed to the culturally grounded narrative than the individuals who were exposed to the neutral/factual text. This finding is of consequence to the feasibility of promoting diaspora tourism to immigrants through culturally grounded narratives, as they are positively inclined towards this form of communication.

### **Limitations and future research**

While sequence, coherence, and plot development were included in the structure of the culturally-grounded narrative to make it engaging, effective, and persuasive (Kreuter et al., 2007), respondents did not find it overwhelmingly compelling or interesting. This finding may be due to the fact that the narrative was created from the stories of 4W Ukrainian immigrants who live in New York City while respondents to the on-line survey were from all over the US. Dal Cin et al. (2004) suggest that identification with characters is one of the more powerful mechanisms of narrative persuasion. Thus, it is conceivable that individuals' response to the narrative was more

neutral as it did not depict all of the intricacies of their own immigration experience. In the future researchers should garner more interviews from 4W Ukrainian immigrants in an effort to validate the themes included in this study narrative.

The small number of respondents ( $n=56$ ) to the on-line survey may have affected the results. Small sample sizes are problematic as with fewer subjects it is more difficult to reach significance levels. Vaske (2008) notes that relatively small sample sizes have inadequate power to reject the null hypothesis and show significant differences between groups, and such studies need to be replicated with larger sample sizes. Future research should consider refraining from online surveys in favor of face-to-face collection techniques as those tend to work better with immigrant groups (Umaña-Taylor & Bámaca, 2004).

Further, as this analysis was part of a larger study that involved multiple questions, subject fatigue may have been a limitation. Not all of those who responded to the survey read the narrative and answered the narrative assessment questions. Hence, future studies should include the treatment (i.e., control vs. culturally grounded narrative), the narrative assessment measures, and descriptive variables. Doing so might increase the response rate and provide more insight to the use of culturally grounded narratives as a persuasive tool for diaspora tourism.

We were specifically interested in studying whether a narrative drawn from immigrant stories would perform better than a neutral/factual text. In the future researchers should focus on creating different versions of narratives using different cultural anchors (e.g., individualism and collectivism; Hofstede, 1980) and compare their performance in other ethnic groups. Larkey and Hecht (2010) noted that culturally grounded narratives might affect both individual and cultural identifications to the point where “culture might become invisible if narratives produce effects even across cultural groups” (p. 129). Therefore cross-group comparison is a necessary next step in investigating the mechanisms through which culturally grounded narratives affect ethnic groups.

In addition, while we only focused on assessing whether a culturally grounded narrative was more effective than a neutral/factual text, researchers should consider examining the effects of exposure to persuasive narratives on a number of dependent variables such as immigrants' self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), destination image of the homeland (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993), and intentions to visit the homeland. To date, the applicable persuasive power of narratives has only been investigated in the context of health persuasion and promotion, such as in cancer communication (Green, 2006; Larson, Woloshin, Schwartz, & Welch, 2005) or substance abuse prevention (Slater & Rouner, 1996). To explore the potential of narratives in promoting diaspora tourism, relevant variables need to be identified and effects of exposure to narratives on these variables need to be measured. Self-construal is an overarching psychological system that organizes and affects all human behavior, including travel behavior (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). If narratives can affect self-construal then they theoretically will exert influence on travel behavior as well as a number of other relevant variables (e.g., attitudes, emotions, visit intentions). Destination image is a universally recognized construct that is used to gauge individuals' attitudes towards a destination. It has, however, not been applied to diaspora groups. Thus, inquiry into effects of narratives on these variables will be invaluable for promotion of diaspora tourism.

Numerous scholars have outlined the benefits of diaspora tourism for immigrants (Basu, 2005; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Ostrowski, 1991; Pierre, 2009). The challenge, however, lies in identifying the best mode of promoting diaspora tourism (Morgan et al., 2003). The results of this study provide preliminary, partial support for the notion that there may be value in using culturally grounded narratives to encourage diaspora tourism and ultimately, a less stressful adjustment to immigrants adopted home.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Potential Predictors of Diaspora Tourism for Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States**

In 2013 the United Nations World Travel Organization reported that there were 1,035 million international tourists traveling the globe. During the same year some 214 million individuals migrated to a new country (International Organization for Migration, 2013). In both contexts, researchers attempted to uncover tourists' or migrants' movement, their ideas and behaviors, and the resulting social implications (i.e., "mobilities"). Few investigated the intersections between tourism and migration through a lens of mobilities (Coles & Timothy, 2004; Duncan, Cohen, & Thulemark, 2013). It is the aim of this study to add to the literature linking tourism and migration by empirically investigating migrants' ideas and behaviors associated with immigration as well as travel home (i.e., diaspora tourism).

#### **The Tourism and Migration Research Divide**

Tourism researchers have historically been concerned with studies that respond to the needs of developers, managers and marketers (Morgan, Pritchard, & Ateljevic, 2011). Only recently has the field matured enough to embrace alternative knowledge networks, such as sustainability and mobilities (Tribe, 2010). Migration research has followed a similar trajectory, revolving around applied issues such as immigration policy (Fussell, 2014); immigrants' use of welfare (Sumino, 2014); and crime and violence in immigrant-dominated communities and neighborhoods (Martinez Jr., 2013). However, immigration scholars have recently adopted a socio-psychological approach when attending to issues of immigrant adjustment in their new country – a subfield known as acculturation research (Berry, 2005).

Based on the assumption that immigrant's home and host cultures will have some degree of cultural distance (i.e., the extent to which various cultures are similar or different; Shenkar, 2001), acculturation scholars have posited that a certain amount of stress will be experienced during and after resettlement. Indeed, they have found acculturation stress to be a widespread phenomenon, negatively affecting immigrants' adaptation success (Gil & Vega, 1996); religious coping (Benson et al., 2012); and educational and professional attainment (Cervantes & Cordova, 2011). Acculturation stress has been shown to precipitate alcohol and substance abuse (Lee et al., 2013); intimate partner violence (Caetano et al., 2007); depression (Mui & Kang, 2006); and suicidal tendencies (Lester, 1999). Among children and adolescents, acculturation stress results in negative friend associations (Buchanan & Smokowski, 2011) and increased bullying (Messinger et al., 2012).

Researchers have studied how immigrants' cope with their acculturation stress. Kim and Yang (2011), for example, found that immigrants benefit from psycho-social counseling, particularly if they are able to share their stories during therapy sessions (Falicov, 2007). Social support from co-ethnics also has proven to facilitate adult immigrants' psychological adaptation (Aroian, 1992) and reduce adolescent immigrants' depression (Sirin et al., 2013). A third coping strategy is connecting to and identifying with one's heritage (Wei et al., 2012). This strategy is particularly pertinent to this study as it provides a direct link between migration and tourism (i.e., diaspora tourism). Macdonald (2006, p.11) defined heritage as "material testimony of identity." Disruption of one's wholesome and continuous identity creates post-relocation acculturative stress for immigrants (Iyer & Jetten, 2011). Alternatively, maintaining connection to one's heritage has overwhelming potential for alleviating the manifestations of acculturative stress.

Connecting with one's heritage through visits to the homeland has been termed "roots tourism" (Basu, 2005); "ethnic tourism" (Ostrowski, 1991); and "diaspora tourism" (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride, 2002). Diaspora tourism most fully reflects immigrants' travel home which,

according to Basu (2005), is “experiencing events that are understood to authentically represent their [diasporas’] past histories” (p. 64-65).

### **Bridging the Gap Through Diaspora Tourism**

Interest in diaspora tourism has been gaining momentum. In 2013 a special issue on tourism and the heritage of diasporas was published in *Tourism Analysis*. A sampling of the topics addressed included diasporic identity and homecoming to the native land (Tie & Seaton, 2013); considerations for niche marketing to diaspora members (Chhabra, 2013); and exploration of connections between diaspora tourism and battlefield or wine tourism (Laing & Frost, 2013; Lockstone-Binney, Hall, & Atay, 2013). Prior to the special issue, other researchers indicated that diaspora tourism can provide immigrants with a sense of spiritual renewal (Pierre, 2009); connect them with civic processes in their home country (Ostrowski, 1991); and help maintain a collective ethnic identity (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride, 2002). While these researchers recognized the interconnection between diasporas and tourism, they primarily theorized about factors that influence diaspora tourism behavior or collected idiosyncratic opinions from a small group of immigrants to demonstrate the meaning and affecting factors of diaspora tourism. Hence, “there is immediate need for more, in-depth and *empirical* studies of transnational human mobility” (Kearney, 1995, p. 456, emphasis added).

### **Factors affecting diaspora tourism**

A number of factors theoretically affect diaspora tourism, but those of particular interest in this study are self-construal, media, context of exit and entry, and destination image. In terms of self-construal, various factors affect its development, including length of time in the host

country and cultural dissimilarity. The length of time immigrants spend in the host country has been a primary focus within the acculturation literature because changes are expected to occur over time in individuals' behavior, values, and beliefs as a result of contact with a culturally dissimilar society (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). One of the dimensions of cultural dissimilarity is reflected in the individualism-collectivism continuum popularized by Hofstede (1980). It has also been recognized by Triandis (2001) who argued that a society's cultural orientation is reflected on the individual level as a formation of an independent (individualistic) or an interdependent (collectivist) self-construal. This factor is of consequence for diaspora tourism since individuals with more interdependent (collectivist) self-construals are "more ethnocentric" (Triandis, 2001, p. 914) and have more positive attitudes towards their own ethnicity and homeland. Self-construal, however, can be affected by the host society. Trafimow et al. (1991) found that Chinese immigrants in the US exhibited predominantly individualistic cognitions. This finding may have been because "Chinese subjects have had considerable experience in the individualistic society of North America" (p. 651). Self-construal therefore appears to be a dynamic and changeable psychological construct that can be impacted by relocation to a new society. One of the most influential factors influencing self-construal in today's society is media (Zhou & Cai, 2002).

Media use is a variable of interest in diaspora tourism research since it is often used to modify behaviors (including travel behaviors) as one of the most influential environmental factors. Images, personas, and behavioral examples portrayed in the media will reflect the society's cultural orientation and affect viewers' images of self and their behavioral intentions. Mass communication scholarship on agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), framing (Chong & Druckman, 2007), and cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969) addresses the extent to which media is able to modify behaviors. Although few in number, studies consistently show the ability of various forms of media to affect both self-construal and behavior. Smeesters and Mandel (2006)

found that exposure to different media images of the human body can help develop positive or negative self-construal and body image. Escalas and Bettman (2005) documented that media promotion affects the connection between self-construal and brands, and leads to greater likelihood of purchasing the brand, with connections being stronger for those with interdependent self-construal. Todd, Lawson, and Northover's (1998) research, however, challenged the notion that a relationship between the individualism-collectivism dichotomy and television viewing patterns exists, leading to additional controversy on the topic. The seminal work of Bandura (2001) on social cognitive theory, although largely updated, also points to the influence that environment exercises over individuals' cognitive and affective processes. In aggregate, the research to date suggests that the overall media environment of a country will have an impact on the formation of citizens' residents' self-construal. Media consumption may be particularly impactful for individuals who immigrate from a predominantly collectivist media environment to a predominantly individualistic media environment (Allison & Emmers-Sommer, 2011).

Portes (2003) suggested that context of exit from the country of origin as well as reception in the receiving country play a crucial role in immigrants' desire to travel back to their homeland. Some of the variables that reflect context of exit and entry are length of stay, presence of close family in the country of origin, and desire or intention to return to the country of origin for good. Massey and Akresh (2006) found, for example, that attachment to the host country will "increase as the amount of migratory experience rises" (p. 956). More prolonged stay in the host country will result in more attachment to it, which logically will have a reverse effect on immigrant's propensity to want to return or undertake trips home. The opposite effect is expected when immigrants have close family and other relatives in the country of origin, as "trips to visit the home country allow for a replenishment of the depleted relationship capital with family and friends back home" (McCann et al., 2010, p. 361). Agreeing, Massey and Akresh (2006) contend that connections abroad are expected to raise the likelihood of remitting money as well as exiting

the host country and traveling home. They also found a relationship between plans to stay or return for good and the likelihood to travel home. Those respondents in their study who said they “intended to naturalize were significantly less likely to leave the country for an extended period” (p. 967). Plans to stay in the host country for good decrease the propensity to travel to the ethnic homeland. However, existing empirical research with these variables is limited and therefore they will be investigated in this study.

Tourism scholars have demonstrated that one of the most important factors in individuals’ decision to travel is the destination image of a particular place. Sirgy and Su (2000) defined destination image as a stereotypical perception of a country, while Boo and Busser (2005) referred to it as a set of cognitive and affective attitudes towards and overall impressions of a place. Destination image has been shown to affect individuals’ intention to visit and revisit certain destinations (Bigne Alcaniz, Sanchez Garcia & Sanz Blas, 2009; Chen & Tsai, 2007; Chi & Qu, 2008). The construct of destination image, however, has not been applied to diaspora tourism or the image immigrants have of their homeland.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of self-construal, media use, context of exit and entry, and image of homeland as a travel destination on diaspora’s intention to visit their country of origin (i.e., travel intention). The specific research question addressed in the context of diaspora tourism for Ukrainian immigrants was: What is the relationship between media use, self-construal, context of exit and entry, image of Ukraine, and likelihood of visiting Ukraine?

## Method

### Study population

Ukrainians were chosen as the study population for a number of reasons. First, they are a unique and largely overlooked immigrant group, which has consistently made significant contributions to US society (Kuropas, 1984). Second, this group grew up under the collectivist ideology of the USSR and faced largely individualistic values when they arrived in the US, a contrast that contributed to cultural friction and resulting psychological discomforts (Shenkar, 2001). Third, the number of Ukrainians immigrating to the US has been holding steady at over 10,000 individuals per year (over 20,000 in 1995, 2002, and 2006); thus, this population should be a valuable market for diaspora tourism (Wolowyna & Lopukh, 2014).

### Sampling and data collection

The data presented here is drawn from a larger study that was conducted in two phases. During the first phase a gatekeeper from a Ukrainian organization in New York City was identified and asked to assist with recruiting Ukrainian immigrants who would be willing to participate in face-to-face interviews. This effort resulted in interviews with 13 respondents (about 33 pages of transcription) who were asked to reflect on their experience coming from Ukraine to the US, adversities they faced, coping strategies, and their current relationship with Ukraine. The themes extracted from the results of these interviews were used to construct a section of the survey that was used in the second phase of this study.

During the second phase 29 Ukrainian organizations, including but not limited to the *Shevchenko Scientific Society of New York*, *Ukrainian National Women's League of America*, *Ukrainian-American Bar Association*, *Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America*, *New Ukrainian*

*Wave*, and *Ukrainian American Veterans*, were asked to distribute the survey to their members. A link to the survey was also posted on Ukrainian sites through *Facebook*® and *Vkontakte* (Ukrainian equivalent of Facebook). Several Orthodox churches frequented by Ukrainian immigrants also included information about the study in their newsletters (Appendix K). Due to the nature of these recruitment efforts it is impossible to estimate the number of Ukrainian immigrants who actually received the survey request.

### **The survey**

The survey, which was created after a review of the literature and the results of the first phase of this study, was comprised of eight sections, five of which were used to address the research questions in this study.

*Demographics.* Respondents were asked about their birth year, gender, education, and household income for 2013. They also indicated what year they moved to the United States.

*Context of exit and entry.* As numerous researchers have indicated, context of exit and entry is linked to acculturation stress (e.g., Cervantes & Cordova, 2011; Gil & Vega, 1996) and may be linked to diaspora tourism (Iyer & Jetten, 2011; Wei et al., 2012). Thus, respondents were asked to indicate whether they have immediate family in Ukraine (yes/no), the year they moved to the US, and whether they are currently considering leaving the US and returning to Ukraine (yes/no).

*Media use.* Because media has been shown to affect viewers' images of self and their behavioral intentions (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; Smeesters & Mandel, 2006), respondents were asked how many hours per week, on average, they: a) watch US television; b) watch Ukrainian television; c) listen to US radio; d) listen to Ukrainian radio; e) read US newspapers and magazines, including web-based ones; and f) read Ukrainian newspapers and magazines,

including those that are on the Internet. Composite indices reflecting US media use and Ukrainian media use were calculated by summing the hours spent engaging with the respective media.

Indices were calculated for weekly use (Lee & Tse, 1994).

*Self-construal.* The “Twenty Statements Test” (TST; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) was used to measure the distinctions between independent and interdependent self-construal. The test is comprised of 20 blank lines, each starting with the phrase “I am,” prompting respondents to identify themselves in 20 different ways. The responses were content analyzed and then divided into the “private self” (i.e., personal attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that do not relate to others such as “I am intelligent”) and the “collective self” (i.e., demographic categories or groups with which the subject is experiencing common fate, such as “I am Ukrainian”). Originally Kuhn and McPartland suggested analyzing the responses via the Guttman Scale method (Stouffer et al., 1950), where each person’s response should be deduced from the response rank alone. However, other authors have acknowledged that individuals tend to exhaust all collective categories before moving on to private (individualistic) ones; thus, Trafimow et al. (1991), in their application of the TST, focused on “the proportion of each type of response... [and then] calculated [a score] by taking the number of idiocentric or group responses each subject made and dividing by the total number of responses made by that subject” (p. 651). This procedure was followed in the current study.

*Destination image.* A list of attributes that reflect the destination image of Ukraine as viewed by Ukrainian immigrants was adapted from Echtner and Ritchie (1993) and tested by the first author in an earlier research study. The attributes ranged from relatively universal (e.g., “Ukraine has a comfortable climate that favors traveling” and “Ukraine is generally clean”) to quite specific (e.g., “You can visit abandoned sites (e.g., Chernobyl) in Ukraine” and “People in Ukraine are friendly and hospitable”). Respondents’ agreement with these attributes was rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree”.

## **Data analysis**

The demographic data as well as the responses to questions regarding context of exit and entry were analyzed using descriptive statistics. Per Lee and Tse's (1994) suggestion, composite indices of US and Ukrainian media use were created by summing up respective hours of television, radio, and newspaper exposure. Measure of self-construal was determined through content analysis of open ended questions and calculating the proportion of collectivist responses to overall number of responses. The dimensions of destination image were identified by the author in an earlier research study and assessed using reliability analysis. Finally, to address the research question, hierarchical regression analysis was employed.

## **Results**

This section begins with a descriptive profile of respondents and other variables of interest (i.e., media use, self-construal, context of exit and entry). This is followed by the results of statistical analyses related to the research questions.

The 122 subjects were predominantly female, in their late 40s, well-educated, and married. The largest percentages reported household incomes either below \$30,000 or \$100,000 and above; Table 1). On average, they have lived in the US approximately 40 years. When asked about their relationship with Ukraine, six out of ten indicated that they have relatives living in Ukraine, but do not want to return to the country. They do, however, express interest in and the likelihood of visiting Ukraine (Table 4-2).

With respect to their media usage, on average, Ukrainian immigrants consume more hours of US media than Ukrainian media, with the exception of hours spent reading newspapers (Table 1).

## Self-construal

Self-construal was measured with the Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) and analyzed following the procedure outlined by Trafimow et al. (1991). Responses to the self-construal Twenty Statements Test were content analyzed as follows: each response was marked as either individualist or collectivist. This decision was based on examples provided by Kuhn and McPartland (1954) and Trafimow et al. (1991) as well as my judgment. Examples of items coded as individualist and collectivist are provided in Table 4-1. The proportion of collectivist responses was then calculated by dividing the number of collectivist responses by the number of total responses and saved as a variable (the proportion of individualist responses was not calculated since it is inverted to the proportion of collectivist responses and therefore provides redundant information). The proportion of collectivist responses ranged between zero (no collectivist statements) to one (all collectivist statements). The proportions were relatively evenly distributed ( $N = 73$ ,  $M = .53$ ,  $SD = .29$ ).

Table 4-1. Individualist and collectivist self-construal statements.

Individualist	Collectivist
Helpful, patient, content, happy, incomplete, brave, strong, beautiful, smart, an individual, troublesome, motivated, busy, loyal, honest, positive, active, organized, peace maker, leader, sober, blessed, exceptional, persistent, kind hearted, lover of mankind, unmarried, generous, angry, upset, independent, dreamer.	Programmer, friend, athlete, Ukrainian, runner, tutor, wife, sister, Greek Catholic, student, relative, community member, neighbor, community resources director, woman, American, educator, man, traveler, employee, owner, tax payer, consumer, churchgoer, volunteer, Jewish, male, son.

Table 4-2. Respondent Profile on Variables of Interest (N=122, unless otherwise stated)

Variable	Frequency	Percentage	M	SD
Sex				
Male	44	36.0		
Female	78	63.0		
Age			48.8	18.9
Length of stay			12.3	24.5
Education level				
Some college	17	14.0		
College Graduate	105	86.0		
Marital Status				
Single	26	21.0		
Married	68	56.0		
Other	28	23.0		
Income (n=93)				
\$10,000-19,999	16	17.2		
\$20,000-29,999	13	14.0		
\$30,000-39,999	6	6.5		
\$40,000-49,999	6	6.5		
\$50,000-59,999	7	7.5		
\$60,000-69,999	1	1.0		
\$70,000-79,000	6	6.5		
\$80,000-89,999	4	4.3		
\$90,000-99,999	5	5.4		
\$100,000 or more	29	31.1		
Relatives in Ukraine				
Yes	74	61.0		
No	48	39.0		
Likely to visit Ukraine			3.1 <sup>1</sup>	1.4
Has desire to visit Ukraine			3.7 <sup>1</sup>	1.3
Considering return				
Yes	45	37.0		
No	77	63.0		
US media use			16.9	18.6
TV			7.9	12.1
Radio			4.1	6.9
Newspapers			4.9	5.5
Ukrainian media use			8.5	10.3
TV			2.5	5.6
Radio			.74	2.81
Newspapers			5.2	6.4

<sup>1</sup>The mean is based on average response to a scale that ranged from 1, "Very unlikely", to 5 "Very likely."

### **Destination image**

The measure of destination image was adopted from Echtner and Ritchie (1993) and validated by the first author in an earlier research study with a general tourist sample. In this earlier study, the destination image items were factor analyzed, and resulted in six different factors (Table 4-3). The same 29 items were used in the present study. The sample size was too small to accommodate factor analysis; thus, the a-priori dimensions were analyzed with reliability analysis. As seen in Table 2, the first three factors had reliability scores greater than or equal to .70, the cut-off considered to be acceptable by Vaske (2008). The reliability of these factors was improved by dropping “restful and relaxing” from Factor 1, “opportunity for knowledge” from Factor 2, and “religious sites” from Factor 3. With these items dropped and the face validity of each factor improved, composite indices were calculated. The three composite scores for each factor were used in further analysis.

### **Regression**

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to answer the research question. Prior to conducting the analysis, however, two variables (i.e., presence of family in Ukraine and intention to return) were dummy coded to 0, 1 and a correlation matrix was referenced. The correlation matrix (Table 4-4) indicated that all variables other than self-construal were significantly related with at least one other variable. In approximately 37% of the cases, the correlation between variables was significant and negative, which was expected. In two cases, image 2 x image 3 ( $r=.873$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and length of stay x age ( $r=.834$ ,  $p<.01$ ), the Pearson  $r$  exceeded .70. According to Vaske (2008), collinearity is a concern when “the Pearson  $r$  between two independent variables is greater than .90 or there are several correlations greater than .70

among the predictor variables” (p. 435). Since in our set of independent variables there are only two correlation coefficients above .70, and one of those is with a control variable and the other is between the two dimensions of the same construct, we do not consider multicollinearity an issue.

To examine the relationship between media use, self-construal, destination image (i.e., image 1, image 2, image 3) , context of exit and entry (i.e., length of stay, presence of family in Ukraine, intention to return) and likelihood of visiting Ukraine, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted using a stepwise enter method. According to Cheung et al. (2011), acculturative changes depend substantially on the age of immigrants; thus, age was included in the first step of the model as a control variable. As shown in Table 4-5, age had a significant and negative effect and accounted for 15.6% of the variance in likelihood of visiting Ukraine. The variables included in Step 2 did not significantly contribute to the explanatory power of the model. None of the coefficients emerged as significant, yet most were in the expected direction. Two dimensions of image (*comfort/security* and *landscape*) as well as presence of family in Ukraine emerged as negative predictors, while the opposite would be expected theoretically. The final model explained 36.7% of the variance in likelihood of visiting Ukraine, an increase of 21.1% with the inclusion of the nine variables in Step 2. However, this increase was not significant.

Table 4-3. Destination image of Ukraine as viewed by Ukrainian immigrants

<b>Factor name and items</b>	<b>Mean<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>S.D.</b>	<b>Alpha</b>	<b>AIID*</b>
<i>Factor 1: comfort/ security</i>	3.57	1.12	.795	
Safe place	4.10	1.72		.769
Famous people	2.29	1.54		.778
Clean country	4.00	1.75		.754
Family-oriented destination	3.43	1.95		.734
Good reputation	4.17	1.81		.740
Art events/ exhibitions	2.17	1.43		.782
High quality service	4.26	1.58		.790
Restful and relaxing	4.12	2.08		.817
<i>Factor 2: cultural distance</i>	2.48	1.16	.862	
Tasty traditional food	1.83	1.40		.793
Local culture	1.98	1.35		.813
Traditional crafts	2.02	1.42		.790
Opportunity for knowledge	3.62	1.79		.917
Opportunity for adventure	2.95	1.32		.844
<i>Factor 3: landscape</i>	2.00	1.31	.931	
Beautiful architecture	1.93	1.39		.907
Religious sites	1.90	1.69		.940
Beautiful cities	2.49	1.49		.922
Historic sites/ museums	1.88	1.33		.897
Natural beauty	1.86	1.46		.910
<i>Factor 4: attractions</i>	2.69	1.02	.603	
Battle sites/ memorials	2.55	1.42		.273
Abandoned sites	3.10	1.68		.594
UNESCO World Heritage List sites	1.93	1.31		.649
Important sport events	3.19	1.58		.541
<i>Factor 5: atmosphere</i>	3.13	1.19	.590	
Exotic atmosphere	3.52	1.60		.343
Friendly/ hospitable people	2.67	1.71		.469
Ease of accessibility	3.21	1.51		.620
<i>Factor 6: accessibility</i>	3.89	1.12	.394	
Reasonable prices	3.79	1.69		.407
Comfortable climate	3.14	1.59		.424
Good infrastructure/ transportation	4.76	1.71		.005

<sup>1</sup>Mean is calculated on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 "Strongly Disagree" to 7 "Strongly Agree"

\*Alpha if item deleted

Table 4-4. Correlations between age, media use, self-construal, image, context of exit and entry, and likelihood of visiting Ukraine

	Age	USM	UM	SC	I 1	I 2	I 3	LOS	POF	ITR	LV
Age	1.00										
USM	.278*	1.00									
UM	-.017	.133	1.00								
SC	.093	.175	.138	1.00							
I 1	-.110	.146	-.056	-.076	1.00						
I 2	.234	.079	.025	-.090	.528**	1.00					
I 3	.062	.139	.052	-.027	.558**	.873**	1.00				
LOS	.834**	.316**	-.136	.049	-.081	.200	.005	1.00			
POF	-.441**	-.150	.185	-.126	.222	-.039	.110	-.590**	1.00		
ITR	-.262**	-.228*	.361**	.056	.024	.355*	.432**	-.373**	.311**	1.00	
LV	-.253*	-.300*	.098	.049	-.238	-.195	-.186	-.215	.089	.298*	1.00

Note: USM = US media use; UM = Ukrainian media use; SC = self-construal; I 1= Image 1; I 2 = Image 2; I 3 = Image 3; LOS = Length of stay; POF = Presence of family in Ukraine; ITR = Intention to Return; and LV = Likelihood of visiting.

Table 4-5. Hierarchical regression model on likelihood of visiting Ukraine

Independent variable	<i>B</i>	S.E.	t-value
Step 1			
Age	-.395*	.011	-2.352
$R^2 = .156^*$			
Step 2			
US media	-.228	.011	-1.114
Ukrainian media	.002	.029	.008
Self-construal	.244	.985	1.147
Image 1	-.338	.291	-1.296
Image 2	.135	.493	.262
Image 3	-.088	.425	-.186
Length of stay	-.018	.030	-.030
Presence of family in Ukraine	-.021	.642	-.085
Intention to return	.026	1.077	.086

$R^2 = .367$  ;  $R^2$  Change = .211

Note: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

## Discussion

The current study answered Kearney's (1995) call for empirically bridging the domains of tourism and migration mobilities. We investigated this connection through the notion of diaspora tourism, which is "experiencing events that are understood to authentically represent their [diasporas'] past histories" (Basu, 2005, p. 64-65). We explored a number of predictors of likelihood of diaspora tourism (i.e., immigrants' visits to the homeland), including immigrants' self-construal, media use, context of exit and entry, and destination image of the homeland.

The nature of self-construal (Triandis, 2001) has been shown to be the overarching schema directing all human behavior, including travel preferences and intentions. In this study, respondents' self-construal varied from no collectivism to complete collectivism, suggesting a highly idiosyncratic nature of Ukrainian immigrants' acculturation in the US. Considering that the study respondents come from multiple areas in the US, these findings are consistent with those of Birman, Trickett, and Buchanan (2005) who found immigrants from the former USSR acculturate differently in the US depending on what community or region of the US they settle in. These results offer a potential for comparative studies of Ukrainian immigrants' acculturation across different regions of the US.

Theories of agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), framing (Chong & Druckman, 2007), and cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1969) address the extent to which behavioral exemplars in the media environment shape attitudes towards and actual investment in behaviors. When asked about their media use in this study, respondents reported consuming more hours of US media than Ukrainian media, with the exception of hours spent reading newspapers.

Portes (2003) suggested that the context of exit and entry (including length of stay, relatives back home, and intention to return for good) will affect immigrants' adjustment and their likelihood of traveling home. Six out of ten respondents in this study have relatives in

Ukraine and generally have a desire to visit the country. When asked whether they intend to return to Ukraine for good, however, only 37% indicated “yes.” These results make sense as many respondents have established a life in the US and may have lost connections with family in Ukraine and, as a result, have less interest in visiting or returning to Ukraine.

In this study we used Echtner and Ritchie’s (1993) measure of destination image, which had previously been tested in a study of Ukraine’s travel image with a general population of tourists. Despite its ubiquitous presence in the tourism literature, the destination image concept has not been applied to assess immigrants’ image of their own homeland as a potential travel destination. We operationalized image and explored its effect on the likelihood of travel home for Ukrainian immigrants in the US – an important but largely understudied diasporic community. Reliability statistics suggested that three dimensions of image exist for Ukrainian immigrants: “Comfort and Security,” “Cultural Distance,” and “Landscape.” However, within these dimensions some items did not fit as well as for the general tourist population. These distinctions are important to discuss as they reflect the uniqueness of the image diaspora holds of their country as compared to the one held by the general tourist population. Here, “rest and relaxation” had to be dropped from the “Comfort and Security” dimension, “opportunity for knowledge” had to be dropped from the “Cultural Distance”, and “religious sites” had to be dropped from the “Landscape.” Compared to the general population of tourists, these findings suggest that if the main purpose for visiting the ethnic homeland is comfort and security or the “replenishment of the depleted relationship capital with family and friends back home” (McCann et al., 2010, p. 361), rest and relaxation may be difficult to attain as visitors are often forced to fit in multiple social appearances with friends and family in a short period of time. Further, someone who grew up in a certain area and then moved elsewhere in the home country will maintain a relatively higher level of knowledge about it compared to a general tourist, and therefore the pull factor of knowledge might not be as salient (Correia et al., 2007). Although religion is traditionally

important for Ukrainians, it is also problematic. Krindatch (2003) suggested Ukraine as a particularly interesting case of a former USSR country where the controversial role of religion is impeding building a cohesive nation-state. It is possible that this controversy affected the importance of “religious sites” as an item motivating Ukrainian diaspora to travel to their ethnic homeland.

On the other hand, the dimensions titled, “Attractions,” “Atmosphere,” or “Accessibility” did not show high scale reliability. This is understandable as immigrants going home to visit friends and relatives (VFR) usually underutilize local attractions (Backer, 2007), as well as place less emphasis on the exoticism of the atmosphere (after all, they come from the same culture) and accessibility. Having only one homeland, immigrants do not have much choice when they try to go visit their home, therefore accessibility is not really a consideration (McCann et al., 2010).

Age, which was entered as a control variable in the first step of the regression analysis, was the only significant predictor of likelihood of visiting Ukraine. Age on its own explained nearly 16% of the variance in the likelihood of visiting Ukraine. This finding warrants further consideration of the age variable in studies of diaspora tourism. To date, the findings on age effects in immigrant studies have been contradictory. Strohmeier et al. (2011) found no effect of age on immigrant victimization in several immigrant generations in Finland, while Kennedy et al. (2014) suggested that age did not contribute to explaining health outcomes in immigrant populations. On the other hand, Stolle and Harell (2013) found age cohort effects on generalized trust in an immigrant society. Hence, there is a need to further explore the effects of age on visitation behavior.

While none of the predictors emerged as significant (potentially due to sample size; Vaske, 2008), the results of the correlation analyses are noteworthy. For example, there were significant and positive correlations between host country media use and a) age, b) relatives in Ukraine, and c) length of stay. Significant and negative correlations also were uncovered between

host country media use and likelihood of visiting or intention to return to Ukraine. These findings are consistent with the acculturation literature (e.g. Berry, 2005) which suggests that the more time immigrants spend in the host country, the more they will be immersed in its environment, including the use of media. Indeed, in this study those who stayed in the US longer consumed more US media. Also, the literature suggests that more exposure to host country media will promote individualistic values and shape immigrants' self-construal to be less collectivist, and therefore less "ethnocentric" (Triandis, 2001, p. 914). Less ethnocentrism results in poorer opinions of one's co-ethnics and host country and less desire to return or even visit. Again, this hypothesized relationship is reflected in our findings as those consuming more US media have less desire to return to or visit Ukraine.

With respect to individuals' response to Echtner and Ritchie's (1993) measure of destination image, only "Landscape" had a positive and significant correlation with intention to return to Ukraine. Attachment to landscape is a traditional characteristic of Ukrainian and Russian people and mentions of landscape are likely to evoke memories and nostalgia, and possibly a desire to go back: short term or for good (Ely, 2002). These findings suggest that at least for Ukrainian diaspora in the US, the "Landscape" dimension of destination image performed better than any other dimensions, and deserves a more detailed investigation of individual items that comprise it. Traditionally the tourism literature explores relationships between overall destination image and relevant variables, such as satisfaction, destination loyalty, and intentions to visit (e.g., Chen & Tsai, 2007; Chi & Qu, 2008; Wang & Hsu, 2010). We suggest that, at least in the case of diaspora tourism, destination image dimensions are looked at separately, and their relationships to variables of interest are investigated individually. This finding also has practical implications for diaspora tourism promotion: product managers and marketers could likely benefit from building promotional campaigns around immigrants' attachment to the unique landscape of Ukraine.

Triandis (2001) argued that self-construal is of consequence for diaspora tourism because individuals with a collectivist orientation have more positive attitudes towards their own ethnicity and homeland. This proposition was not supported in this study. Perhaps our finding was due to the nature of the sample and/or how the variable was operationalized. Regardless, self-construal's potential role in diaspora tourism should be addressed in future research for a number of reasons. First, because cultural identity is a source of security for immigrants, they will strive to maintain a stable and consistent self-concept (self-construal), perhaps through travel to the home country to reconnect with their identity (Hung et al., 2013; Mannetti et al., 2004). Second, self-construal is believed to be highly flexible and susceptible to influences from external factors. It is possible that exceptional external circumstances occurring during the conduct of this study influenced the self-construal of study participants and affected the way this variable unfolded in our study. Beginning in November 2013 a series of events unfolded in Ukraine that headlined world news: massive demonstrations, riot police attacks on peaceful protesters, and Russia's invasion of and takeover of the Crimean Peninsula in Ukraine ("Ukraine's Crisis," 2014). The media coverage of the events in Ukraine mobilized the Ukrainian diaspora (Petryk, personal communication, March 2014) and likely brought their collectivist self-construal to the forefront, thereby potentially affecting the study results.

### **Limitations and future research**

As Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca (2004) found, it is extremely difficult to recruit immigrant and other ethnic populations due to issues with legal status, trust, and language barriers. The first author valiantly recruited Ukrainian immigrants through organizations, churches, individuals, and online discussion boards. In the end 122 individuals responded. Of those individuals, only 42 completed all sections of the survey. Hence, the limited sample size may be partially responsible

for the lack of significance in the second step of the hierarchical regression analysis. In addition, after a careful examination of the literature in cross-cultural psychology, communications, migration studies, and tourism, a number of variables were identified that theoretically affect diaspora tourism behavior. However, given their limited explanatory power in this study, further research is necessary of the same variables in a different diaspora tourism context and/or inclusion of new variables identified after more intensive ethnographic investigation of the study population.

In this study we used an online survey in an effort to achieve wider geographical distribution of the sample. Given trust issues identified in research with immigrants (Umaña-Taylor & Bámaca, 2004) it might be wise in future studies to conduct personal in-depth interviews, focus groups, or interviewer-led surveys. While these approaches sacrifice representativeness, they will likely produce richer data. From a practical standpoint, in-depth face to face interviews might be most suitable not only because they result in large amounts of detailed data, they also may be “cathartic” (Lean, 2013). Given the therapeutic effects of participating in interviews (Birch & Miller, 2000; Haynes, 2006), interviewing immigrants about traveling to their home country can both increase our knowledge of diaspora tourism as well as provide immediate health benefits to participants.

Lean (2013) suggested that all travel, including migration and diaspora tourism, is perpetual, and “given the growing acknowledgement of the perpetual nature of travel, [...] there is a need for a concomitant shift in the methods used for investigating this phenomenon. Methods that can observe lived experience over an extended period need to be employed” (p. 99)

Since diaspora tourism involves recurrent travel to the homeland, longitudinal methods would be useful for exploring the roots, routes, and meanings of this form of travel. Following a few Ukrainian families over a period of time in a form of multi-sited ethnography (Sideri, 2013)

may prove a fruitful avenue of obtaining in-depth data on diaspora tourism behavior patterns and motivations.

One final consideration that is worth mentioning in terms of future research stems from the aforementioned crisis in Ukraine. With reports of a possible government overturn and the establishment of a military regime, experts suggest a new wave of Ukrainian immigrants will rush to Western European countries and the US and, in the worst case scenario, even create massive refugee flows (Duvell, 2014). In the US, this movement will constitute a new, fifth, wave of Ukrainian migration. Unlike the fourth wave who are a labor diaspora migrating for economic reasons (Bazynskyj, 2009), this new wave would be reminiscent of the third wave of Ukrainian migration which is a 'victim diaspora' (Cohen, 2008). Victim diasporas experience more emotional and psychological duress upon relocation, as adjustment issues are blended with painful memories from home. For the members of this diaspora, it is imperative that they find ways to maintain their culture and ethnicity. Migration and tourism, as manifestations of mobilities and perpetual movement, imbue individuals with a sense of freedom that challenges the distinction between people and place (Lean, 2013). Therefore, further studies on diaspora tourism have tremendous potential for helping present and future waves of immigrants worldwide and for adding to the mobilities literature by empirically investigating migrants' ideas and behaviors associated with immigration as well as diaspora tourism.

## Chapter 5

### **The Mobilities of Migration and Tourism: A Conclusion**

The contemporary world is developing quickly and chaotically; trends or predictions are difficult to vocalize and single out. However, if one thing can be said for certain it is that the world is becoming more mobile, due to developments in transportation, communication technologies, social connectivity, and general increased interconnectedness of the world nations and supra-national structures (McGrew & Lewis, 2013). As these trends are only going to expand further, the scholarly community has been called upon to study the processes, patterns, and varieties of modern mobilities. Some scholars have responded by introducing the mobilities “paradigm” or “turn” (Cohen et al., 2013).

Although many modes and types of mobilities exist, “corporeal travel... informs all other mobilities, whether they be physical, virtual, communicative and/or imaginative” (Lean, 2013, p. 99). Two forms of corporeal mobilities, tourism and migration, are the most prominent in terms of sheer volume as well as global impact. In 2013 the United Nations World Travel Organization reported that there were 1,035 million international tourists traveling the globe. During the same year some 214 million individuals migrated to a new country (International Organization for Migration, 2013). With such a great number of people on the move, gaining insights into modern mobilities is a pressing task.

With the recent mobilities turn, tourism and migration scholars have newfound common vocabulary (Berry, 2005; Morgan, Pritchard, & Ateljevic, 2011). And although a great deal of insight has been gained within both fields, the potential understanding that could be generated from linking the two has been out of reach until recent years. Williams and Hall (2000) pointed out this divide:

The largely discrete literatures on tourism and migration have, at best, served to mark out the core areas of their research concerns. The failure to conceptualize adequately and define their fields of enquiry has... [led to] very few attempts to disentangle the changing relationships between tourism and migration... [which represent] an increasingly important component of the new forms of mobility. (p. 7)

Editors of *Lifestyle Mobilities*, Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark suggested that leisure researchers are most suitably positioned to build such a link, as intersections between travel, leisure, and migration provide a new lens with which to challenge the current divided approach (Cohen et al., 2013).

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore some of the intersections of tourism and migration as forms of mobilities, as well as embed them in a larger context of environmental factors (i.e., context of exit and entry, media use). By taking into consideration the historiography of the study population, their host and home country environments, environmental effects through media and acculturation, and individual characteristics, this study attempted to explore the nature of modern migration among a sub-segment of Ukrainian immigrants and how it relates to their potential tourism patterns.

This research project evolved over its life course, from a simple idea of exploring immigration experiences and travel patterns of a given immigrant group, to responding to a scholarly call that migration and tourism be addressed simultaneously in order to gain better understanding of both (O'Reilly, 2003). Williams and Hall (2000), for example, pointed out that the difference between tourism and migration has been weakly conceptualized, and there has been neglect of "the grey zone of the complex forms of mobility which lie on a continuum between permanent migration and tourism" (p. 20). In fact, the interrelationships between tourism and migration are considered to be numerous and all have informed my study. Benson and O'Reilly (2009), for example, have argued that tourism may "tip" into migration, as relocation is preceded

by one or more tourism-related visits when the future migrant discovers the potential opportunities for a better way of life. The focus here was however in the reverse process, when migration to a new country “tips” into tourism, as migrants make trips to their home country for the “replenishment of the depleted relationship capital with family and friends back home” (McCann et al., 2010, p. 361). This phenomenon, known as “roots tourism” (Basu, 2005), “ethnic tourism” (Ostrowski, 1991), and “diaspora tourism” (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride, 2002) may be the most promising conceptual link between tourism and migration mobilities.

A mixed methods approach was employed in data collection and analysis for the three articles reflecting the results of this dissertation. The mix of qualitative inquiry and quantitative procedures allowed to “choose the combination or mixture of methods and procedures that work[ed] best for answering research questions” (Burke-Johnson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17). A mixed methods approach was also best suited for capturing both the meanings and patterns of migration and travel related activities, because the complexity of both mobilities required a “concomitant shift in the methods used to investigate these phenomena” (Lean, 2013, p. 99).

Data for the project was collected in two phases, with an initial round of interviews occurring in June 2013, followed by a larger online survey distributed in January and February 2014. Contacting the study population (i.e., Ukrainian diaspora) in both phases proved to be difficult, supporting Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca’s (2004) contention that immigrant populations are especially difficult to study. In the first phase a gatekeeper in New York City was enlisted for help. He contacted and provided introductions to Ukrainian immigrants. Despite incentives and the gatekeeper’s help, including his assurance to the sample that the researcher was not a government official trying to get them into trouble, only 13 individuals agreed to participate in an interview. The second phase of data collection proved no less challenging. Extensive recruitment efforts through organizations, churches, individuals and online discussion boards resulted in 122

responses, of which only 42 surveys were fully completed. It was a lesson learned the hard way, but one that has proven to be valuable.

Researchers who study mobile populations such as immigrants must recognize that they will be hard to capture through cross-sectional designs and one-time interventions: “methods that can observe lived experiences over an extended period need to be employed” (Lean, 2013, p.99). Further, research with mobile populations needs to be provided with more forgiving timelines as well as access to resources for recruiting, compensating, and potentially even following members of the study population across countries. After conducting this project methods such as multi-sited ethnography (Sideri, 2013) or longitudinal research (Lean, 2013) seem better suited for researching diaspora tourism as an intersection of tourism and migration mobilities. It is valuable to explore the contexts of migrants’ host and home countries to understand how they relate to both, because “mobility has changed the relationship between self and place including definitions of that most intimate of spaces, home, in all its manifestations: as a physical place and a metaphor for cultural belonging to a place of origin” (Butcher, 2010, p. 23). Such complexity is difficult to investigate with static methods.

The population for this study was the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States, specifically the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants. This diasporic community was chosen for several reasons. Ukrainians have a long history of continued immigration to the US (Wolowyna & Lopukh, 2014) and over time have provided notable economic and social contributions (Pivnenko & DeVoretz, 2003); are politically active (Kuropas, 1984); and, are unique in the fact that its members grew up in the collectivist environment of the USSR, but moved to the highly individualistic United States – a sharp contrast of environment that exacerbates the acculturation stress experienced by most migrants. Because Hollinshead (1998) noted that all diasporas acquire a growing sense of their location in-between cultures, and this position of being “halfway populations” is often translated into feelings of unease or as Falicov (2007) found, depression,

anxiety, and numerous other psychosomatic illnesses. Thus, the second overarching purpose of my dissertation, along with bridging tourism and migration, was to explore whether diaspora tourism can be used as a practical coping strategy that will help Ukrainian immigrants cope with the stress (and other psychosomatic illnesses) of adjusting to a new country.

Wood (1998) suggested that there are three principal conceptual strands that bind tourism with migration and diasporic groups: first, interaction with tourism and migration becomes an integral part of the construction of migrant's identity; second, through tourism visualization and narrative diasporas express the myths, nostalgia, and imagined and actual histories of home; and third, tourism as corporeal travel is a form of ethnic relations and maintenance of diaspora's connections with their homeland. It is these three strands that guided the conceptualization of the three articles within this project: the first article focused on Ukrainian diaspora's identity and connection with home; the second article tapped into visualizations and imaginaries by constructing a culturally-grounded narrative that blended actual histories of immigrants into a cultural narrative reflecting the national imagined myth of Ukrainian migration; and the third article explored the predictors of intention to perform corporeal travel to the homeland.

In the first article, the results of in-depth interviews were used to uncover the identity, context, adjustment patterns, and homeland related activity—all acculturation related factors—of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants. While quite a few studies and historiographies exist about earlier waves of Ukrainian immigrants, those who arrived after the collapse of the USSR have not received as much scholarly attention. And since this group immigrated in a very different context, it was important to begin this research by starting to amass knowledge about their acculturation patterns.

Results showed that, unlike the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants, which was considered a victim diaspora, these Ukrainian immigrants exhibited characteristics of a labor diaspora. They talked about the economic crisis in post-USSR Ukraine (i.e., context of exit) and

the better life opportunities in the US (i.e., context of entry) as reasons for their relocation. According to acculturation theory, immigrants prefer integration (i.e., shedding their “Ukrainianness” for the sake of smoother integration in to the US and economic security, but simultaneously maintaining contact with their immediate family and friends in Ukraine). But, the results in this study demonstrate that this model may no longer be sufficient for new diasporas worldwide (van Hear, 1998) and more research needs to be conducted to understand, and theorize about, their acculturation experiences. Some suggestions for additional variables (e.g., citizenship) are given in the following paragraphs.

Another important finding is that many members of the fourth wave have maintained strong connections with Ukraine: they call and email their relatives, settle in ethnic enclaves, and travel to Ukraine as often as possible. These activities are characteristic of transnational communities. Faist (2000, p. 197) says that “diasporas tend to constitute a specific type of transnational community ... [and] can only be called transnational communities, if the members develop some significant social and symbolic ties to the receiving country.” The fourth wave of the Ukrainian diaspora has characteristics that fit this definition. While they have maintained strong connections to Ukraine, they are also creating connections to the US for prosperity and quality of life. The conceptual framework of transnationalism has never been applied to the Ukrainian diaspora before, nor have its implications been discussed for this group’s identity and acculturation. Although the results of this study pointed to the potential of the transnational character of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigrants, much remains to be investigated.

Transnationalism is a complex process that involves “the flow of people, ideas, goods, and capital across national territories in a way that undermines nationality and nationalism as discrete categories of identification, economic organization and political constitution” (Brazier & Mannur, 2003, p. 8). While the flow of people has been somewhat uncovered in this study, other components remain to be explored. For example, the power of transnational diasporic activity to

undermine economic and political organization will be particularly pertinent in the case of such a young nation as Ukraine, which is currently undergoing a tumultuous process of national re-identification.

The second article placed in focus what Wood would call the “imaginaries” of migration and tourism experiences through the construction of a culturally-grounded narrative. Migration is difficult for immigrants and can lead to psychosomatic illness (Aroian, 1992; Baptiste et al., 1997; Falicov, 2007). In response, researchers and practitioners have called for the identification and creation of coping strategies, which in the context of tourism may include diaspora tourism. Culturally grounded narratives, with their ability to appeal to emotions and “capture the richness of cultural elements that most effectively reaches minds and hearts for [...] behavior change” (Larkey & Hecht, 2010, p. 115), are a promising method of diaspora tourism promotion. However, appealing to the emotions of a diasporic community through a culturally grounded narrative can be challenging, as they may be resistant to advertising and they likely have a strong emotional connection to the destination.

A model for culturally grounded narrative development was designed by Larkey and Hecht (2010) who suggested collecting interviews with the members of the culture (formative stage) and then creating a generalized cultural narrative that would reflect a culturally appropriate scenario – one coined from the recurrent themes found in respondents’ stories. A culturally grounded narrative was created based on the recurring themes of migration uncovered through interviews with fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants: immigration due to economic and political hardship in the homeland; immigration for family reasons; support from co-nationals; adjustment issues and associated stress; feelings of sadness, despair, and stress; family dynamics; and how immigrants’ keep in touch with family back home and/or traveling to Ukraine helps them overcome the stress and frustration associated with adjusting to the US. Effective narrative guidelines (i.e., sequence, coherence, plot development) were used to create the generalized

cultural narrative. Then, the narrative was structured as a fictional story about a Ukrainian family migrating to the US. In addition, the narrative's effectiveness over a neutral factual text had to be determined. Thus, in the later survey respondents were exposed to either the culturally grounded narrative or a neutral factual text describing the geography of Ukraine. Subsequently they were asked to rate how credible, compelling, interesting, and informative the text they read was. They were also asked how much, after reading the text, they believed going to Ukraine was good for immigrants. The results of independent t-tests showed that respondents found the culturally grounded narrative significantly more credible and informative. Although not at a significant level, culturally grounded narratives received higher ratings on all other items as well. This finding points out the potential that culturally grounded narratives have for the promotion of diaspora tourism and delivery of information to immigrant populations and other ethnic groups.

To explore the power of culturally grounded narratives further, a study should be designed that has this exploration as its sole focus. Van Oudenhoven and Ward (2013) suggest that the characteristics of each diasporic community will likely be idiosyncratic; thus, investigation needs to occur separately for each ethnic diaspora, acculturation domain, and society of settlement. Ideally, researchers should collect in-depth interviews and create tailored culturally grounded narratives that speak to the particular culture of the diaspora being studied. The goal would be to create different conditions of the narrative to see which one elicits better response from the group, and ultimately, after several replications, determine the best features of narratives, or the most effective ways of creating them that would reach into the hearts and minds of immigrants who may choose to use diaspora tourism as a coping strategy.

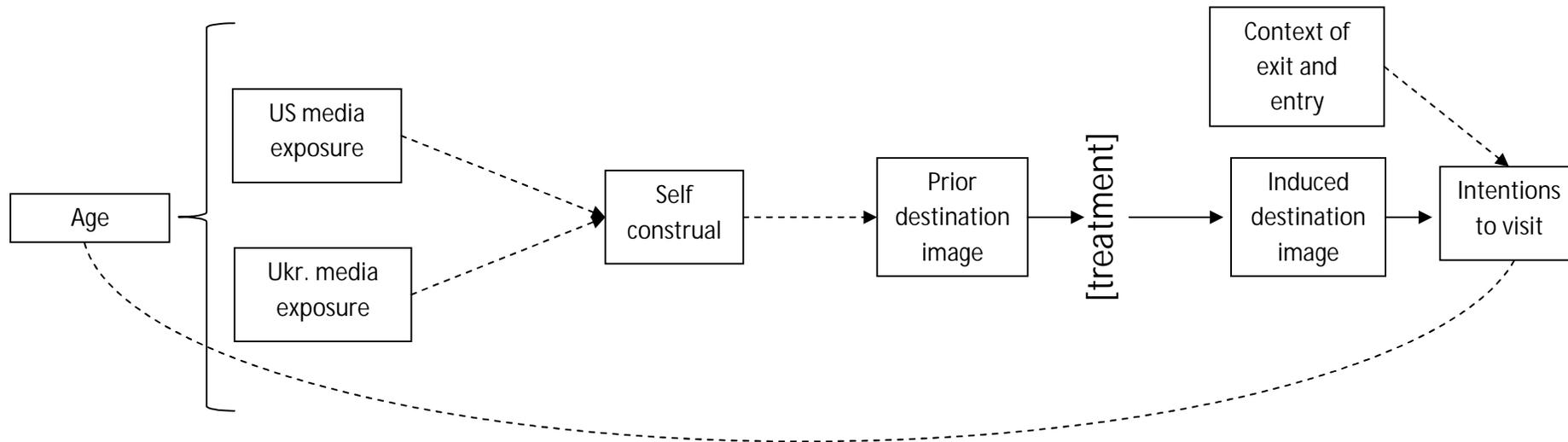
The third article focused on the actual corporeal travel component of diaspora tourism, and explored predictors of Ukrainian immigrants' intentions to travel back home. Relevant concepts were drawn after reviewing literatures on tourism, migration studies, transnationalism, communications, and psychology. These concepts included context of exit and entry variables

(i.e., length of stay, relatives in Ukraine, intent to return to Ukraine), host and home media consumption, self-construal, and destination image, and were operationalized and embedded, together with standard demographic questions, into an online survey distributed to Ukrainian immigrants.

The predictive power of the independent variables on the likelihood of visiting Ukraine was explored through hierarchical regression. Since scholars suggested acculturation processes depend on age, it was entered in the first step as a control variable. The variables of context of exit and entry, media use, self-construal, and destination image were entered as predictors in the second step. Age explained about 15% of the variance in the likelihood of visiting at a significant level. The variables entered in the second step did not contribute a significant change in variance explained. This finding may be an artifact of a small sample size (Vaske, 2008). While there were no significant relationships between the variables entered in the second step and likelihood of visiting, it is notable that most of the relationships were in the expected direction (e.g., more exposure to US media results in a greater likelihood of visiting, longer length of stay results in a reduced likelihood of visiting, etc.). Hence, given the small sample size and the fact that the hypothesized relationships were primarily in the expected direction, this model deserves further investigation.

Figure 5-1 represents a revised model of the factors that contribute to diaspora tourism. Age was added as a control variable and its potential direct effect on likelihood to visit was acknowledged. In addition, further review of literature during the completion of this project suggested that the variables of context of exit and entry (i.e., length of stay, family in Ukraine, intention to return) may affect likelihood to visit directly. Thus, this change is also reflected in the revised model.

Figure 5-1. Revised dissertation model



Two of the independent variables, self-construal and destination image, deserve additional discussion. In this study content analysis was used to investigate the free-listing results of the self-construal Twenty Statements test. The proportion of collectivist responses ranged from none to all (with a mean being slightly over .5). This result poses interesting questions about the nature of self-construal change as a result of acculturation for immigrants coming from collectivist (e.g., Ukraine) to individualist (e.g., US) societies. Given the present literature, it is difficult to speculate what factors affect the nature of self-construal for individuals immigrating to the US from collectivist societies. Thus, a study where only self-construal and demographic variables are examined with a large sample of respondents (similar to Trafimow et al. (1991) but with an immigrant population) may be conducted. Such study would aid in a better understanding of self-construal and its effects on consumption, including tourism consumption (Shrum & Zhang, 2013). In addition, citizenship effects on self-construal should be investigated. Hague (2001) suggests that a core duality of ethnicity and citizenship is embedded in each diasporic community. And while ethnicity is still dominant, it is the coupling of ethnic self-identification with citizenship affiliation that creates a much stronger identity. It, however, also creates deeper psychological dilemmas as committing to foreign citizenship forces immigrants to confront their roots and furthers their feelings of destabilization.

In terms of destination image, the limitations of the study sample did not allow for confirmatory factor analysis; however, predetermined dimensions were assessed with reliability analysis. Three dimensions, "Comfort and Security," "Cultural Distance," and "Landscape" showed acceptable reliability for the diaspora sample. Of those dimensions, "Landscape" was significantly related to immigrants' desire to return or visit Ukraine. This is an interesting finding as it shows that the nature of destination image of a country is different for diaspora than for

general tourist population. And while many studies assess relationships of the overall image to relevant constructs, in the case of a diaspora the connection may be more nuanced and therefore separate dimensions need more attention. In addition, the dimension of landscape and its constituting items need to be explored further, as previous research pointed out the importance of homeland landscape to Russian and Ukrainian people (Ely, 2002).

A separate mention is necessary about the context in which this study was conducted. During the inception of the study idea, as well as during Phase 1 of data collection, the environmental context for Ukrainian immigrants was what could be considered typical. However, shortly before Phase 2 of data collection commenced, Ukraine underwent a major uprising, overturn of power, multi-months demonstrations and violent clashes of civilians with riot police (Ukraine's Crisis, 2014). These events generated unprecedented upheaval both in Ukraine and among Ukraine's diasporic communities abroad. The first outcome of this situation was increased difficulty with data collection: some organizations I contacted with recruitment requests openly told me they were too busy providing humanitarian help to protesters and did not have time to deal with a survey. The second outcome is that the situation may have affected the responses of those who did complete the survey. Trouble in the homeland might have increased patriotism and nostalgia, and subsequently desire to go to Ukraine. Although the coverage of events was worldwide, it is possible that many Ukrainian immigrants turned to homeland media for updates, thus skewing the regular patterns of media consumption. Finally, self-construal is believed to be flexible (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and at different times individualist or collectivist cognitions may become more accessible. It may be possible that increased attention to Ukraine, mentions of the homeland, and the patriotic struggle of protesters could have increased the collectivist cognitions in immigrants, thus providing outlier data on the nature of study participants' self-construal.

Overall, this research project presented many valuable lessons. It provided additional inquiry into the link between migration and tourism, two subject areas that “have been uneasy companions until recently” (Coles & Timothy, 2004, p. 2). The three articles that comprise this dissertation address the three conceptual strands linking migration and tourism identified by Wood (1998), each providing contributions on its own. Diaspora tourism research holds theoretical potential, expanding our knowledge of the intersections of the two major forms of mobilities. It also presents practical benefits such as the therapeutic effects of discussing one’s immigration experience and providing rich material for practitioners willing to undertake diaspora tourism promotion. This latter benefit is of timely importance as Coles and Timothy (2004, p. 21) noted that “state tourism organizations have [already] started to engage with ‘their’ diasporas overseas in order to tap into markets which they perceive to be culturally close.”

### **Personal Reflection**

As a Ukrainian immigrant and an avid traveler I have experienced how being on the move and sampling other cultures via both resettlement and travel have profoundly affected my sense of self. My individual experience is by no means a generalized reflection of the worldwide trend but, for what it’s worth, it has spurred my interest in this line of research, informed my approach and choice of study population, and shaped my interpretation of the findings.

As I continue conducting academic research, it is my full intention to continue inquiry in the field of migration and tourism mobilities. And although I understand from the experience with this project that my chosen field of study will present challenges (e.g., unusually difficult recruitment and access to subjects; working to reconcile concepts from a number of loosely related disciplines), I have two reasons for persevering. First, Hollinshead (1998) questioned the ability of tourism scholars to understand and therefore assess the intricacy of migrant experiences and diasporic relationships with the homeland. My experience as a migrant and traveler will help me overcome this limitation as I am able to “appreciate more sympathetically the full dimensions of the fluidity, dynamism and interstitiality that define diasporic groups” (p. 122). Second, I strongly believe in the power of diaspora tourism as a coping strategy for immigrants who are struggling with acculturation related stress. When I was conducting interviews in New York, many of the Ukrainians who spoke to me had tears in their eyes when they talked about family in Ukraine and their native villages. I could see the power of the connection to home and because of it I want to continue research on diaspora tourism, a direction that is supported by this concluding quote:

Tourism is a vital, but largely disregarded, framework through which overseas citizens can exercise their rights to participate and by which they may be encouraged to do so by institutions at home. Thus, tourism represents a vital medium by which post-national and post-sovereign social relations may be resolved because it acts practically as a strong socio-cultural glue which bonds the home state with ‘its’ migrants. (Coles & Timothy, 2004, p. 11)

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## **Appendix A. Recruitment flyer sent to Ukrainian Organizations**

### **A Unique Chance to Tell Your Story!**

My name is Svitlana, I have come to the US five years ago from Ukraine to pursue my graduate education. Being an immigrant I became very interested in experiences of people who also moved to a foreign country. So I engaged a research group at the Pennsylvania State University in conducting a study aimed at collecting stories and experiences of Ukrainian nationals who moved to the United States.

We would appreciate the opportunity to hear from you and hear your story. The study will be conducted in the form of focus groups, where up to eight people discuss their stories in a casual, conversational manner. There will be two focus groups conducted in Chicago and, if you decide to partake, you will be asked to attend just one of them.

Your participation in the study would be completely voluntary; you would not have to answer questions you are not comfortable with and can stop participating at any time. You must be 18 years old to participate.

To compensate for your time and effort, a small incentive will be provided which will be yours to keep regardless of the whether you finish the discussion. Refreshments will be served as well.

Again, we would appreciate hearing from you. Many newcomer Ukrainians are struggling with adjusting and finding their way in the new country. Hearing your stories and the ways in which you managed to overcome some of the difficulties and achieve success is crucial in creating services and programs that will help Ukrainian, and possibly other, immigrants to achieve a better living.

If you have additional questions or consider participating, please contact:

Svitlana Iarmolenko  
801 Ford Bldg., University Park, PA 16801  
Email: [syi5028@psu.edu](mailto:syi5028@psu.edu)  
Phone: (252) 375-1971  
Fax: 814-867-1751

## Appendix B. Recruitment Flyer and Form Distributed on Site

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am Svitlana Iarmolenko, a graduate student from Ukraine studying at Penn State University (PSU). To complete the requirements of my degree I must complete a research project. I invite you to participate in my research that focuses on Ukrainian immigrants in the United States. The purpose of my research is to understand the experiences of Ukrainians who moved to the United States. I am particularly interested in how Ukrainians adjust and make life for themselves in the United States. **Thus, in order to be eligible to participate, you need to have been born in Ukraine and moved to the United States.**

I am inviting adults *and* youth to participate in this project. As a token of my appreciation, I will provide you with a \$\_\_\_ gift card for the time (half an hour to an hour) you contribute to this very important effort. The information you provide will help me to complete my research and hopefully develop new programs to help Ukrainians as well as other immigrant groups succeed in the United States.

To begin this process, I need your contact information, such as your name, telephone numbers, address, and language spoken at home. This way I can call you by phone and explain the study in greater detail, as well as answer any questions you may have. **Please complete the attached form and return it to Svitlana Iarmolenko by \_\_\_\_\_.** **Be sure to check “Yes” on this form if you want me to reach you for a follow-up interview.** Of course, participation is voluntary and if you are not interested in helping me with my research, you may indicate this on the form. Please know that all information you share with me will be kept entirely confidential and no one except me and my advisor will have access to it.

Thank you very much for considering this request. I hope you are willing to help me learn about how to promote success among Ukrainian immigrants in the United States.

Thank you,

---

Svitlana Iarmolenko

Principal Investigator

[attach business card]

PLEASE COMPLETE THIS FORM AND RETURN BY MAIL TO SVITLANA IARMOLENKO BY

---

**The Ukrainian Immigrant Experiences Study**  
 Pennsylvania State University

Your name (Please Print) \_\_\_\_\_ Year born \_\_\_\_\_

Year moved to the United States \_\_\_\_\_

Place of residence in Ukraine \_\_\_\_\_

1) What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

2) What language do you use most on a daily basis? \_\_\_\_\_

3) Do you belong to Ukrainian clubs or community organizations? If yes, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE CHECK "YES" or "NO" BELOW

**YES, I am interested in participating. I will provide Svitlana Iarmolenko from The PSU Ukrainian Immigrant Experiences Study with contact information.**

**IF YOU CHECKED THE "YES" BOX, PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING:**

Home Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_ Other Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

Best days and times to call 1) \_\_\_\_\_ 2) \_\_\_\_\_

Days/times

Days/times

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

(City)

(Zip)

**NO, I do not want to participate in this study. I do not wish to provide information to**

Svitlana

Iarmolenko from the PSU Ukrainian Immigrant Experiences Study.

\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C. Study Consent Form

### Implied Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research

The Pennsylvania State University

#### Immigration Experiences of Ukrainian-Americans

Principal Investigator: Svitlana Iarmolenko 701G Ford University Park, PA 16801 (252) 375-1971	Advisor: Deborah Kerstetter, PhD 801 Ford University Park, PA 16801 (814) 865-1851
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**Purpose of the Study:** The aim of this study will be to identify some of the common experiences Ukrainians have while moving to the United States, and how they overcome some of the difficulties of adjusting to a new place.

**Procedures to be followed:** Principal Investigator will meet with you in an agreed upon place, conduct introductions, explain the process of informed consent, and ask several questions pertaining to the topic of the study. The conversation will be focused on your experiences in the United States. After the discussion is over you will be thanked and provided with the incentive.

**Potential discomforts and risks:** As we will be talking about your life stories and moving to a new country, some of the recollections might be uncomfortable or too personal. Please know that you do not have to share anything that might be a painful memory and you can refuse to answer questions at any time.

**Potential benefits:** The stories you share might potentially help you gain a different perspective on the past events and possibly have somewhat of a therapeutic effect. In addition, this information can be used to create materials and programs that will help newcomer Ukrainians cope with difficulties of adjusting in the U.S.

**Duration:** Each interview session should not take more than 30-60 minutes of your time, depending on the flow of our conversation.

**Statement of confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. No personally identifiable information will be shared by the principal investigator with others as a result of your participation, unless by your specific request. The information you share will be kept in a secure location, and only Principal Investigator and Advisor will have access to it.

**Right to ask questions:** Please contact Svitlana Iarmolenko at (252) 375-1971 with any questions about this research study. You may also contact her advisor Deborah Kerstetter at the number above if you have any concerns or would like clarifications.

Voluntary participation: Your decision to participate in this research is voluntary. You can stop participation at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you don't feel comfortable with. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study.

Please provide your initials on the separate form provided indicating that you have received this implied consent form.

Please keep a copy of this form for your records or future reference.

---

Principal Investigator Signature

**Appendix D. Pre-Interview Questionnaire**

The Ukrainian Immigrant Experiences Study

Pre-interview Questionnaire

Pennsylvania State University

Your name (Please Print) \_\_\_\_\_ Year born \_\_\_\_\_

Year moved to the United States \_\_\_\_\_

Place of residence in Ukraine \_\_\_\_\_

1) What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

2) What language do you use most on a daily basis? \_\_\_\_\_

3) Do you belong to Ukrainian clubs or community organizations? If yes, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_

4) How often do you travel back to Ukraine?

- Never
- More seldom
- Once every 2-3 years
- Once a year
- Several times a year

5) What is your familial status?

- Single never married
- Married
- Divorced/Separated
- Widowed

6) Do you have children?

- Yes
- No

7) If yes, how many?  
\_\_\_\_\_

8) How strongly do you identify with being Ukrainian?

- Very Strong
- Strong
- Neutral
- Not very strong
- Not at all

9) How strongly do you identify with being American?

- Very Strong
- Strong
- Neutral
- Not very strong
- Not at all

10) What Ukrainian holidays do you observe?  
\_\_\_\_\_

11) What American holidays do you observe?  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix E. Semi-structured interview conversational guide

### Introductions

Good afternoon, I appreciate you agreeing to meet with me and talk about your experiences in the States. It shouldn't take more than an hour of your time. I wanted to take a minute to remind you what I am doing for this study and why. I am trying to look at the experiences of Ukrainians moving to the United States. I am really interested why they decide to move and what happens as they adjust in this new country.

### Obtaining consent

I would like to also remind you that your participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and you are free to stop at any time if you do not wish to continue. Also if you do not feel comfortable with any of the questions you can refuse to answer them. I will be recording this interview but if you would like to keep any of your statements off the record you can let me know and the recorder can be turned off.

### Warm up question

Please tell me how long have you lived in the United States?

### Conversational guide (*see above*)

Main question 1. Please tell me what were the circumstances and reasons that made you decide to move to the United States?

Follow-up question 1.1. How did the move occur? Were there difficulties, unexpected situations? How did you deal with them?

Follow-up question 1.2. What feelings did you experience during the move?

Main question 2. What were your first impressions after you arrival? Please tell me a little bit about your first couple years: things that stood out and are memorable.

Follow-up question 2.1. What are some of the things you had to do to adjust to the new place?

Follow-up question 2.2. Which of those things worked and which did not? With the things that did not work, are you doing something different now?

Main question 3. Please tell me a little bit about your life now. How is it different from when you just arrived?

Follow-up question 3.1. What are some of the things that are better than before?

Follow-up question 3.2. What are some of the things that maybe got worse?

Main question 4. Please tell me about your relationship with Ukraine and Ukrainian culture.

Follow-up question 4.1. Do you keep in touch with family and friends in Ukraine? How regularly? Do you go back?

Follow-up question 4.2. Do you practice Ukrainian traditions? How important is it to you to keep traditions going?

Follow-up question 4.3. How important is Ukraine, its traditions and connection with it, in your life at this point? Compared to when you lived there?

Main question 5: In what ways are you Ukrainian?

Main question 6: In what ways are you American?

Probing questions: Probing questions can be aimed at steering the focus group member back to the topic (Could you go back to the events that you just described for a moment?), confirming the information (So your situation is better [now or when you just arrived]?), clarification probes (Can you explain what you mean by “culture shock”?), etc.

## Conclusion

I believe we have touched upon most memories and experiences you had when moving here. Again, I truly appreciate your time and meeting with me for this conversation. Your experience has greatly contributed to my understanding and provided me with great examples.

## Appendix F. Second phase study survey

### Survey outline

My name is Svitlana Iarmolenko, and I am a graduate student at Penn State conducting research related to the experiences of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States. My survey of Ukrainian nationals living in the US is being conducted for research purposes and will provide information on how people from Ukraine are adjusting after relocating to the US.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and you may choose not to answer any question with which you are uncomfortable.

The survey will take 15-20 minutes to complete. Please note that all of your responses will be kept completely confidential and all resulting data will only be reported in the aggregate.

By clicking on the link below you are indicating your willingness to participate in the survey.

To access the survey please click [here]. If the survey does not open automatically, please copy and paste the following link to your internet browser's address bar:

[paste link here]

Thank you in advance for your participation! Your input is extremely valuable to me. If you have any specific questions about this survey, please contact me, Svitlana Iarmolenko, at [si5028@psu.edu](mailto:si5028@psu.edu).

#### 1. Following are a few questions about yourself

1.1. In what year were you born?

*Will use a drop down menu with the years listed*

1.2. Are you...

*Will use a drop down menu with options listed (Male/Female)*

1.3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

*Will use a down menu with the following options listed: High School; Technical College/School; Some College; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree; PhD. Degree; Post-doctoral degree*

1.4. What is your marital status?

*Will use a drop down menu with the following options listed: Single; Married/Partner; Divorced; Widowed*

1.5. Do you have Immediate family in Ukraine (e.g. parents, siblings, children)

*Will use a drop down menu with the following options: Yes/No,*

1.6. What was your household income in 2013?

*Will use a drop down menu with the following options: \$10,000-19,999; 20,000-29,999; 30,000-39,999; 40,000-49,999; 50,000-59,999; 60,000-69,999; 70,000-79,999; 80,000-89,999; 90,000-99,999; 100,000 or more.*

1.7. In what year did you move to the United States?

*Will use a drop down menu with the years listed*

1.8. Are you currently considering leaving the United States and returning to Ukraine?

*No, I have never thought about leaving the United States  
Yes, I do think about leaving the United States and returning to Ukraine*

## **2. Following are a few questions about your habits**

2.1. How many hours per week, on average, do you:

*Will use a fill in the blank next to each of the following items: Watch American TV; Watch Ukrainian TV; Listen to American radio; Listen to Ukrainian radio; Read American newspapers (including online); Read Ukrainian newspapers (including online)*

**3. There are twenty numbered blanks on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question "Who am I?" in the blanks. Just give twenty different answers to this question. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. Do not worry about logic or importance. Go along fairly fast.**

*Will use 20 short answer blank fields*

I am\_\_\_\_\_ (20 times)

**4. Now you will read a short article. Please read it as carefully as you can.**

[treatment narrative presented]

**5. Please answer the following questions about this article:**

*List the following questions rated on 7-point Likert-type scale*

- 5.1. The article I just read is credible
- 5.2. The article I just read is compelling
- 5.3. The article I just read is interesting
- 5.4. The article I just read is informative
- 5.5. After reading this article I believe that going to Ukraine is helpful for Ukrainian immigrants' adaptation in the US.
- 5.6. I was able to understand the events in the article in a manner similar to how the individuals in the article understood them.
- 5.7. I think I have a good understanding of the individuals in the article.
- 5.8. While reading the article I could feel the emotions the individuals in it had.
- 5.9. The article I just read focused on the values of benefiting other people, including family.
- 5.10. The article I just read focused on the values of benefiting the self and being independent.

**6. For the following items, please indicate whether you feel they are characteristic of Ukraine:**

*List of the following items with options Yes; No*

- 6.1. There is a lot of opportunity to observe natural beauty in Ukraine
- 6.2. Ukraine has a comfortable climate that favors traveling
- 6.3. Prices in Ukraine are reasonable
- 6.4. Local infrastructure and transportation networks are well-developed in Ukraine
- 6.5. One can see beautiful architecture in Ukraine (e.g., buildings, castles)
- 6.6. There are plenty of historic sites, museums, and archaeological sites in Ukraine
- 6.7. Ukrainian cities are interesting and offer varied activities
- 6.8. There are important religious sites and shrines in Ukraine
- 6.9. You can visit numerous battle sites and memorials in Ukraine
- 6.10. You can visit abandoned sites (e.g. Chernobyl) in Ukraine
- 6.11. Important sport events are held in Ukraine
- 6.12. There are UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Ukraine

- 6.13. You can enjoy modern art events and exhibitions in Ukraine
  - 6.14. Many famous people were born in Ukraine
  - 6.15. Ukraine is generally clean
  - 6.16. You don't have to worry about personal safety in Ukraine
  - 6.17. Ukraine is easily accessible
  - 6.18. People in Ukraine are friendly and hospitable
  - 6.19. You can observe local culture (e.g., customs and traditions) in Ukraine
  - 6.20. You can sample tasty traditional cuisine in Ukraine
  - 6.21. You can observe people making traditional crafts and you can buy souvenirs in Ukraine
  - 6.22. The general atmosphere of Ukraine is restful and relaxing
  - 6.23. Ukraine has an exotic atmosphere
  - 6.24. Ukraine offers opportunities for adventure
  - 6.25. Ukraine offers opportunities to increase knowledge
  - 6.26. Ukraine is a family-oriented travel destination
  - 6.27. Businesses in Ukraine offer a high quality of service
  - 6.28. Ukraine has a good reputation as a travel destination
7. How likely are you to visit Ukraine in the next 12 months?
- Will use a drop down menu consisting of: Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Not Sure; Likely; Very Likely*
8. How strongly do you wish you were able to visit Ukraine in the next 12 months?
- Will use a drop down menu consisting of: Very Strongly; Strongly; Neutral; Not Very Strongly; Not Strongly At All*

### Appendix G. Question matrix

Question/question set	Rationale
1.1. In what year were you born? 1.2. Are you male/female? 1.3. What is the highest level of education you have completed? 1.4. What is your marital status? 1.5. Do you have Immediate family in Ukraine (e.g. parents, siblings, children) 1.6. What was your household income in 2013?	Standard demographic questions
1.7. In what year did you move to the United States?	Screening question for 4 <sup>th</sup> wave; context of exit/entry question
1.8. Are you currently considering leaving the United States and returning to Ukraine?	Context of exit/entry question (used in Iarmolenko, Titzmann & Silbereisen, in progress)
2. How many hours per week, on average, do you: Watch American TV; Watch Ukrainian TV; Listen to American radio; Listen to Ukrainian radio; Read American newspapers (including online); Read Ukrainian newspapers (including online)	Media consumption questions (Lee & Tse, 1994)
3. There are twenty numbered blanks on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question “Who am I?” in the blanks. Just give twenty different answers to this question.	Twenty statements test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954)
4. Now you will read a short article. Please read it as carefully as you can.	Culture-centric narrative treatment (Larkey & Hecht, 2010)
5.1 The article I just read is credible 5.2 The article I just read is compelling 5.3 The article I just read is interesting 5.4 The article I just read is informative	Message assessment measures (Sipes, 2009)
5.5 After reading this article I believe that going to Ukraine is helpful for Ukrainian immigrants’ adaptation in the US	Outcome assessment measure
5.6 I was able to understand the events in	Identification measures (Cohen, 2001)

<p>the article in a manner similar to how the individuals in the article understood them.</p> <p>5.7 I think I have a good understanding of the individuals in the article.</p> <p>5.8 While reading the article I could feel the emotions the individuals in it had.</p>	
<p>5.9 The article I just read focused on the values of benefiting other people, including family.</p> <p>5.10 The article I just read focused on the values of benefiting the self and being independent.</p>	Individualism/collectivism manipulation check
<p>6. For the following items, please indicate whether you feel they are characteristic of Ukraine: (28 items follow)</p>	Destination image (adapted from Echtner & Ritchie, 1993; 2003).
<p>7 How likely are you to visit Ukraine in the next 12 months?</p>	Measure of visit intentions (Kim et al., 2009)
<p>8 How strongly do you wish you were able to visit Ukraine in the next 12 months?</p>	Measure of desire to visit

## Appendix H. Treatment stimuli

Stimulus A [Diaspora tourism narrative/ Collectivist condition, 671 words]

### **A trip home helps Ukrainian immigrant family cope with immigration stress**

Although every year many families wait for their turn to immigrate to the USA, for one Ukrainian family the life of being immigrants in the US did not turn out to be what they had expected. Two years after the Kovalenko family immigrated, they still felt the stress of being foreigners.

“My entire family is suffering”, said Petro Kovalenko, the father of the family. “I can see my wife and children unhappy and it is breaking my heart. I am the head of this family, I feel responsible for ensuring my loved ones are doing well. I feel like I am failing”.

The Kovalenko family moved from Ivano-Frankivsk to the US after Ukrainian independence in 1991. The new economic reality of Ukraine threatened the survival of contractor Petro and his wife Nadiya, a nurse. Petro asked relatives in the US for reunion papers which would allow his family to immigrate. He heard that there was a sizable Ukrainian community in Manhattan and they could count on help. With two children, Andriy and Natalia, they came to the US in search of better life and opportunities their homeland could no longer provide.

“We were extremely excited and hopeful”, said Nadiya. “We knew some Ukrainians here in New York who agreed to help us find jobs and housing. But without the knowledge of American building codes Petro cannot work as a contractor, and my level of English is not high enough to confirm my medical degree. Working in our professions is impossible. Although we are getting tremendous help from other Ukrainians here, it’s hard. We both have to settle for odd jobs”.

The transition was tough not only for the adults. Andriy was struggling in catching up to the school program in English, and would be often bullied because of his poor language skills and cultural difference. “The principal calls me to school all the time”, says Nadiya. “Andriy cannot stand being made fun of and gets into fights with other kids”. While little Natalia behaved well in the kindergarten, she also came home crying because other children could not understand her and would not play with her.

“I had to do something for my family”, Petro admitted. “If only I could find a way to help them cope with this stress we have accumulated, I feel like we could continue working hard and eventually make a good life for ourselves here”. Petro said that a few other families recommended that he takes his family for a trip back to Ukraine, that reconnecting with the homeland and relatives back home will help his wife and children. However, he wasn’t sure if that is what they needed.

Several months later, another Ukrainian family was traveling back to Ukraine for a two-week-long visit and invited the Kovalenkos with them, promising to even lend them some money for airfare. Everyone was excited about the opportunity and, in a week, the Kovalenko family was on the plane to Ukraine. In just a little over ten days in Ivano-Frankivsk Petro could not recognize

his family. Nadiya reconnected with her girlfriends from the hospital and even helped them out a few times. Petro could see how his wife's face lit up every time she got a chance to do what she loved most: help people. Petro's parents were spending lots of time with Andriy and Natalia, telling them bedtime stories and showing them how to tend to the garden. Grandpa was showing Andriy some of his woodcarving skills and little Natalia was getting her first lessons of Ukrainian embroidery from her grandma. Petro felt very happy himself.

"I could see how this trip gave my family exactly what it needed", Petro rejoiced. "We reconnected with family, my children were reminded who they are and where they come from. We all came back much happier and ready to tackle any challenge. I now know why my friends were suggesting this trip. I have decided that, whatever the cost, we will try to go back to Ukraine every few years now".

Stimulus B [Diaspora tourism narrative/ Individualist condition, 681 words]

### **A trip home helps Ukrainian immigrant cope**

Although every year many individuals wait for their turn to immigrate to the USA, for one Ukrainian man the life of being an immigrant in the US did not turn out to be what he had expected. Two years after Petro Kovalenko immigrated, he still felt the stress of being a foreigner.

"After graduating college I started looking for a job and could not find one." Petro recalls. "After Ukraine became independent industry was in decay, there were no jobs. I didn't want to live off of my parents, I wanted to be my own grown up man, work and earn money, and be independent. I deserved to have an opportunity to show my talent, work hard, and earn a decent living".

Petro graduated from the engineering department of Ivano-Frankivsk University, and received a diploma with honors. A very talented engineer, he was struggling to find employment in post-USSR Ukraine. Desperate but not ready to give up, Petro decided he will do whatever it takes to become successful, and applied for the green card lottery. In about a month, he received a call informing him that he had an opportunity to go to the United States.

"Of course I said yes", Petro said. "I was excited about an opportunity to live my own life, apply my skills and earn money". He got in touch with some Ukrainians in New York who agreed to help him settle, took care of the paperwork, and shortly was on the plane to John F. Kennedy Airport. "I could see the world of possibility in front of me", Petro recalled. "America is a big country, with strong economy, and in need of many engineers. I could see myself getting a job with a prominent construction company and succeeding in life".

However, the life in New York turned out more challenging than Petro expected. He didn't possess enough command of English to prove his engineering certification. On top of that, he needed to learn the English terminology pertaining to construction – which would take him a long time. He was unfamiliar with the resume and application process, and so was unable to apply to those prominent companies. Through some members of the Ukrainian community Petro was able

to find a job at a construction site – it wasn't his dream job, yet a steady income and an opportunity to do what he loved.

In a few years, the hard work, skill, and dedication allowed Petro to advance to a position of a multiple site contractor, and he started earning some good money. He was invited to supervise a few sites outside Manhattan. "Despite all this I still felt like a failure", Petro confessed. "I worked hard and did well – but I still felt like I didn't live up to my dreams. I was very depressed at times. Irritable. Stressed. I blamed myself for not doing my best and achieving what I wanted. Some of my friends were telling me to go to Ukraine and see how people live there, compare and realize how lucky I am, but I wasn't really paying attention to them".

A few months later, Petro was invited to a friend's wedding back in Ukraine. The trip completely changed his outlook on his own life. "When I went back I saw all my old university friends. Very few of them had jobs, most still lived with their parents. Those who could find jobs in retail were considered lucky. I was shocked", Petro acknowledged. "I caught envious glances on me. People were jealous that I had a steady job, earned money, and that my skill and talent were recognized in America. I worked hard and bore fruit of my hard work. I am not going to lie – it made me feel very good".

After the trip Petro went back to New York feeling a lot better. He realized that he indeed made a better life for himself than he ever could in Ukraine. Petro decided that from now on, he would return regularly so that we would not lose perspective on how fortunate he really is.

Stimulus C: control condition [610 words]

### **Geography of Ukraine**

The geography of Ukraine varies greatly from one region of the country to another. Majority of the country's territory lies within the East European Plain. Ukraine is the second-largest country by area in Europe after the Russian Federation. Its various regions have diverse geographic features ranging from the highlands to the lowlands as well as climatic range and a wide variety in hydrography.

Ukraine has a strategic position in East Central Europe, lying on the northern shores Black Sea and Sea of Azov it borders number of European countries Poland, Slovakia and Hungary in the west, Belarus in the north, Moldova and Romania in the south-west and Russia in the east. Most of its territory lies within the Great European Plain, while parts of western regions reach into the Pannonian Plain. The southern shores of Crimea are located within a unique subtropical biome which is separated from most of Ukraine by a range of Crimean Mountains. In general Ukraine is split between two biomes mixed forest towards the middle of continent and grassland towards Black Sea littoral. The western regions located in the alpine-like country that is dominated by the Carpathian Mountains.

The northern part of the Carpathian Mountains reaches into Ukraine in the western part of the country. The highest peak is Hoverla, which is 2061 m or 6762 ft tall. Most of Ukraine's area is taken up by the steppe-like region just north of the Black Sea. Ukraine is divided almost in half by the Dnipro River, which traverses Ukraine north to south. It empties into the Black Sea, just west of the Crimea and near the mouths of the Bug and the Dnister rivers. The border with Russia is the country's longest border, and it runs through the Sea of Azov.

The total geographic area of Ukraine is 603,550 square kilometers (233,030 sq mi). The land border of Ukraine totals 4,558 kilometers (2,832 mi). The border lengths with each country are: Belarus 891 kilometers (554 mi), Hungary 103 kilometers (64 mi), Moldova 939 kilometers (583 mi), Poland 428 kilometers (266 mi), Romania 169 kilometers (105 mi) on the south and 362 kilometers (225 mi) on the west, Russia 1,576 kilometers (979 mi), and Slovakia 90 kilometers (56 mi). Ukraine is also bordered by 3,783 kilometers (2,351 mi) of coastline.

Most of Ukraine consists of fertile plains (or steppes) and plateaus. In terms of land use, 58% of Ukraine is considered arable land; 2% is used for permanent crops, 13% for permanent pastures, 18% is forests and woodland, and 9% is other.

Mountains are limited to the west, the southern tip of Ukraine on the Crimean Peninsula, and near the Sea of Azov. The western region has the Carpathian Mountains, the Crimean Peninsula has the Crimean Mountains, and some eroded mountains from the Donets Ridge are in the east near the Sea of Azov.

Most of Ukraine consists of regular plains with the average height above sea level being 175 meters (574 ft). It is surrounded by mountains to its west and extreme south. Wide spaces of the country's plains are located in the south-western part of the East European Plain. The plains have numerous highlands and lowlands caused by the uneven crystallized base of the East European craton. The highlands are characterized by Precambrian basement rocks from the Ukrainian Shield. The territory of Ukraine is bordered by the waters of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. 90% of the rivers are part of those two seas' drainage basins. A few rivers are part of the Baltic Sea basin. There are seven major rivers in Ukraine: Desna, Dnipro, Dnister, Danube, Prypiat, Siverian Donets, and Southern Buh.

## Appendix I. Translation verification



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## **Appendix J. Culturally Grounded Narrative**

### **A trip home helps Ukrainian immigrant family cope with immigration stress**

Although every year many families wait for their turn to immigrate to the USA, for one Ukrainian family the life of being immigrants in the US did not turn out to be what they had expected. Two years after the Kovalenko family immigrated, they still felt the stress of being foreigners.

“My entire family is suffering”, said Petro Kovalenko, the father of the family. “I can see my wife and children unhappy and it is breaking my heart. I am the head of this family, I feel responsible for ensuring my loved ones are doing well. I feel like I am failing”.

The Kovalenko family moved from Ivano-Frankivsk to the US after Ukrainian independence in 1991. The new economic reality of Ukraine threatened the survival of contractor Petro and his wife Nadiya, a nurse. Petro asked relatives in the US for reunion papers which would allow his family to immigrate. He heard that there was a sizable Ukrainian community in Manhattan and they could count on help. With two children, Andriy and Natalia, they came to the US in search of a better life and opportunities their homeland could no longer provide.

“We were extremely excited and hopeful”, said Nadiya. “We knew some Ukrainians here in New York who agreed to help us find jobs and housing. But without the knowledge of American building codes Petro cannot work as a contractor, and my level of English is not high enough to confirm my medical degree. Working in our professions is impossible. Although we are getting tremendous help from other Ukrainians here, it’s hard. We both have to settle for odd jobs”.

The transition was tough not only for the adults. Andriy was struggling in catching up to the school program in English, and would be often bullied because of his poor language skills and cultural difference. “The principal calls me to school all the time”, says Nadiya. “Andriy cannot

stand being made fun of and gets into fights with other kids”. While little Natalia behaved well in the kindergarten, she also came home crying because other children could not understand her and would not play with her.

“I had to do something for my family”, Petro admitted. “If only I could find a way to help them cope with this stress we have accumulated, I feel like we could continue working hard and eventually make a good life for ourselves here”. Petro said that a few other families recommended that he takes his family for a trip back to Ukraine, that reconnecting with the homeland and relatives back home will help his wife and children. However, he wasn’t sure if that is what they needed.

Several months later, another Ukrainian family was traveling back to Ukraine for a two-week-long visit and invited the Kovalenkos with them, promising to even lend them some money for airfare. Everyone was excited about the opportunity and, in a week, the Kovalenko family was on the plane to Ukraine. In just a little over ten days in Ivano-Frankivsk Petro could not recognize his family. Nadiya reconnected with her girlfriends from the hospital and even helped them out a few times. Petro could see how his wife’s face lit up every time she got a chance to do what she loved most: help people. Petro’s parents were spending lots of time with Andriy and Natalia, telling them bedtime stories and showing them how to tend to the garden. Grandpa was showing Andriy some of his woodcarving skills and little Natalia was getting her first lessons of Ukrainian embroidery from her grandma. Petro felt very happy himself.

“I could see how this trip gave my family exactly what it needed”, Petro rejoiced. “We reconnected with family, my children were reminded who they are and where they come from. We all came back much happier and ready to tackle any challenge. I now know why my friends were suggesting this trip. I have decided that, whatever the cost, we will try to go back to Ukraine every few years now”.

## Appendix K. Example of survey recruitment through a local Orthodox church

### Orthodox Thought for Today

That God may forgive us, let us forgive men. We are all on this earth as temporary guests. Prolonged fasting and prayer is in vain without forgiveness and true mercy. God is the true Physician; sins are leprosy. Whomever God cleanses, God also glorifies. Every merciful act of men, God rewards with mercy. He who returns sin with sin perishes without mercy. Pus is not cleansed by pus from infected wounds, neither is the darkness of the dungeon dispelled by darkness, but pure balm heals the festering wound, and light disperses the darkness of the dungeon. To the seriously wounded, mercy is like a balm; as if seeing a torch dispersing the darkness, everyone rejoices in mercy. The madman says, "I have no need of mercy!" But when he is overcome by misery, he cries out for mercy! Men bathe in the mercy of God, and that mercy of God wakens us to life! That God may forgive us, let us forgive men, we are all on this earth as temporary guests.

*St. Nikolai Velimirovich*

This Sunday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014, is Mission Sunday for all Canonical Orthodox Churches in North and Central America. Please join the staff, board, and missionaries of the Orthodox Christian Mission Center (OCMC) in praying for the tireless efforts of those who leave their homes to share the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the truth and hope of the Orthodox faith with the over one billion people who have yet to receive it. Part of our commitment to mission is to support Dn. David Isaac. We met him as a result of our OCMC Mission Trip top Alaska. Today's Blini Luncheon is dedicated to helping him purchase priest's vestments. After today, you can continue to support him with our seminarian fund.

### GERTRUDE HAWK CANDY

*Our Sunday school is once again selling Gertrude Hawk candy to supplement the expense of various student activities. Please support our children by purchasing some candy for yourself and/or your family and friends. Orders can be placed until March 16, and order forms and brochures are available in the Parish Hall. Please see Laura Rush if you have any questions.*

### Of special interest to our Ukrainian parishioners...

Dear Parishioner,  
My name is Svitlana Iarmolenko and I am a PhD student at Penn State writing my dissertation on the immigration experiences of Ukrainians in the United States. I have created a survey that I would like Ukrainians in the US to fill out. If you have a free minute and would like to help me with my study, please follow the link below. I would greatly appreciate it. Those who fill out the survey will be entered into a drawing for a prize. Again, thank you.  
Svitlana

[https://pennstate.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV\\_bPhAOUQp6i9Sh13](https://pennstate.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_bPhAOUQp6i9Sh13)

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## **VITA**

### **Svitlana Iarmolenko**

Svitlana Iarmolenko was born on February 23, 1987 in Kyiv, Ukraine. In 2008 Ms. Iarmolenko graduated from Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, receiving B.S. with Honors in Commercial Tourism from the University's Geography Department. During her studies she worked as a city guide of Kyiv taking groups of middle school children on historic tours of the capital. She also worked as a travel planner for Kyiv Chapter of European Geography Student Association, where she planned student exchange itineraries and congress agendas. Shortly after Ms. Iarmolenko was accepted into the Recreation and Leisure Studies program at East Carolina University and moved from Ukraine to the United States to pursue her graduate education. She received her M.S. in Recreation Administration in August 2010.

Upon graduating from East Carolina University, Ms. Iarmolenko was accepted into the Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management program at The Pennsylvania State University as a Doctoral Student. While working on her degree, Ms. Iarmolenko taught courses on leisure and human behavior, commercial recreation and tourism, gave guest lectures on event planning and recreation management in Europe. She also assisted with a study abroad trip to Australia, as well as received a research grant from Penn State's Interinstitutional Consortium for Indigenous Knowledge to carry out her dissertation data collection. Ms. Iarmolenko served as the President of Travel and Tourism Graduate student association, and served as the department representative to the College of Health and Human Development' Graduate Student Council for two years.

Upon graduation, Ms. Iarmolenko will begin work as an Assistant Professor of Recreation and Tourism at the School of Human Ecology of Georgia Southern University.