

**‘Who do you think you are?’ A multimodal (inter)action analysis
of identity production among Sakhalin Koreans in New Zealand,
Russia, and South Korea**

Yulia Khan

A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

School of Communication Studies
Faculty of Design & Creative Technologies
2024

Table of contents

ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP	VI
LIST OF TABLES	VII
LIST OF FIGURES	VIII
DEDICATION	XIII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	XIV
ETHICS APPROVAL	XV
ABSTRACT	XVI
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 MOTIVATION AND SITUATING SELF IN THIS STUDY	3
1.2 SIGNIFICANCE AND SOCIAL RATIONALE OF THIS STUDY	8
1.3 WHY STUDY SAKHALIN KOREAN IDENTITY ACROSS SEVERAL CONTEXTS?	9
1.4 WHY OBJECTS AND ARTEFACTS?	12
1.5 WHY MULTIMODAL (INTER)ACTION ANALYSIS (MIA)?	13
1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	15
1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS	16
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	20
2.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	20
2.2 BACKGROUND	21
2.2.1 Sakhalin and Sakhalin Korean diaspora	21
2.2.2 Migration and settlement in New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea.....	24
2.3 APPROACHES TO STUDY IDENTITY PRODUCTION	30
2.4 LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND IDENTITY.....	35
2.5 OBJECTS – IDENTITY – ACTION	38
2.6 FOOD PRACTICES AND IDENTITY.....	41
2.7 KOREAN IDENTITY PRODUCTION AMONG OTHER ETHNIC KOREANS	45
2.8 SAKHALIN KOREAN IDENTITY	47
2.9 LIMITATIONS OF LITERATURE	58
2.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY	60
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN	61

3.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	61
3.2 THEORY OF MEDIATED DISCOURSE	61
3.2.1 <i>Theoretical principles</i>	61
3.2.2 <i>Mediated action</i>	63
3.2.3 <i>Objects as mediational means/cultural tools</i>	67
3.3 MULTIMODAL (INTER)ACTION ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK (MIA)	69
3.3.1 <i>Unit of analysis</i>	69
3.3.2 <i>Other relevant tools and concepts</i>	71
3.3.3 <i>Objects and frozen actions</i>	78
3.4 OPERATIONALISING THEORY AND METHODOLOGICAL TOOLS	84
3.4.1 <i>Stages of analysis</i>	84
3.4.2 <i>Identity cluster</i>	86
3.4.3 <i>Convergence of identity elements and identity compounds</i>	88
3.5 RESEARCH DESIGN RATIONALE	90
3.6 DATA COLLECTION: FIELDWORK AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	91
3.7 PARTICIPANT SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT	92
3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	95
3.8.1 <i>Partnership, participation, and protection</i>	96
3.8.2 <i>Researcher's safety protocol</i>	98
3.8.3 <i>A token of appreciation to the participants</i>	99
3.9 EQUIPMENT: TYPE AND USE.....	100
3.9.1 <i>Photography</i>	100
3.9.2 <i>Video</i>	101
3.9.3 <i>Audio</i>	101
3.10 DATA.....	102
3.10.1 <i>Still images</i>	102
3.10.2 <i>Interviews</i>	103
3.10.3 <i>Naturally occurring (inter)actions of the participants</i>	105
3.10.4 <i>Field notes</i>	106
3.11 PARTICIPANTS: INTRODUCTIONS AND HOW WE WORKED TOGETHER	106

3.11.1 Larisa (NZ)	107
3.11.2 Igor (NZ)	110
3.11.3 En-Dya (Russia)	115
3.11.4 Alexander (Russia).....	119
3.11.5 Ludmila (South Korea).....	123
3.11.6 Sasha (South Korea)	128
3.12 LOGISTICS.....	131
3.12.1 Schedule	131
3.12.2 Data storage	131
3.12.3 Contingency.....	132
3.13 CHAPTER SUMMARY	133
CHAPTER 4: MULTIMODAL IDENTITY PRODUCTION NEW ZEALAND	135
4.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE	135
4.2 LARISA’S IDENTITY	136
4.2.1 Family identity.....	138
4.2.2 New Zealand migrant.....	162
4.2.3 Ethnic & cultural identity.....	171
4.2.4 Personal identity	181
4.3 IGOR’S IDENTITY.....	191
4.3.1 Family identity.....	193
4.3.2 New Zealand migrant.....	198
4.3.3 Ethnic and cultural identity	207
4.3.4 Personal identity	214
4.4 CONCLUSION.....	224
CHAPTER 5: MULTIMODAL IDENTITY PRODUCTION RUSSIA.....	226
5.1 CHAPTER OVERVIEW	226
5.2 EN-DYA’S IDENTITY	226
5.2.1 Family identity.....	229
5.2.2 Occupational identity.....	251
5.2.3 Ethnic and cultural identity	256

5.2.4 <i>Russian settler</i>	263
5.2.5 <i>Personal identity</i>	269
5.3 ALEXANDER'S IDENTITY	274
5.3.1 <i>Family identity</i>	276
5.3.2 <i>Occupational identity</i>	282
5.3.3 <i>Ethnic and cultural identity</i>	285
5.3.4 <i>Russian settler</i>	288
5.3.5 <i>Personal identity</i>	290
5.4 CONCLUSION.....	304
CHAPTER 6: MULTIMODAL IDENTITY PRODUCTION SOUTH KOREA	307
6.1 CHAPTER OVERVIEW	307
6.2 LUDMILA'S IDENTITY	308
6.2.1 <i>Family identity</i>	311
6.2.2 <i>Occupational identity</i>	316
6.2.3 <i>Korean settler identity</i>	336
6.2.4 <i>Ethnic and cultural identity</i>	350
6.2.5 <i>Personal identity</i>	360
6.3 SASHA'S IDENTITY	366
6.3.1 <i>Family identity</i>	368
6.3.2 <i>Occupational identity</i>	373
6.3.3 <i>Korean settler identity</i>	385
6.3.4 <i>Ethnic and cultural identity</i>	387
6.3.5 <i>Personal identity</i>	394
6.4 CONCLUSION.....	399
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION.....	402
7.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	402
7.2 COMMONALITIES ACROSS THE THREE CONTEXTS	402
7.3 DIFFERENCES ACROSS THE THREE CONTEXTS	407
7.4 IDENTITY CLUSTERS.....	408
7.4.1 <i>Affordances</i>	409

7.4.2 Constraints	410
7.5 CONVERGENCE OF IDENTITY ELEMENTS AND IDENTITY COMPOUNDS	411
7.5.1 Affordances	413
7.5.2 Constraints	414
7.6 OBJECTS AND/AS MEDIATIONAL MEANS	415
7.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	419
7.8 FUTURE DIRECTIONS	420
7.9 CONCLUDING REMARKS	423
APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT POSTERS.....	426
APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET	428
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	436
APPENDIX D: CONSENT AND ASSENT FORMS	438
REFERENCES	448

Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university of other institutions of higher learning.

List of tables

Table 1: Main participants	93
Table 2: A sample from the dataset for Larisa	109
Table 3: A sample from the dataset for Igor.....	114
Table 4: A sample from the dataset for En Dya	118
Table 5: A sample from the dataset for Alexander.....	122
Table 6: A sample from the dataset for Ludmila	127
Table 7: A sample from the dataset for Sasha.....	130
Table 8: Schedule of activities	131
Table 9: ID Matrix - Larisa.....	136
Table 10: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Larisa.....	137
Table 11: ID Matrix - Igor's identity.....	191
Table 12: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Igor	192
Table 13: ID Matrix - En Dya.....	227
Table 14: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for En-Dya.....	228
Table 15: ID Matrix - Alexander	274
Table 16: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Alexander	275
Table 17: ID Matrix - Ludmila	308
Table 18: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Ludmila	309
Table 19: ID Matrix - Sasha	366
Table 20: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Sasha	367

List of figures

Figure 1: Modal configurations for two simultaneously performed actions	74
Figure 2: Larisa	107
Figure 3: Igor.....	110
Figure 4: En Dya	117
Figure 5: Alexander.....	121
Figure 6: Ludmila	125
Figure 7: Sasha.....	128
Figure 8: Wedding and family photos.....	138
Figure 9: Larisa’s wedding ring	139
Figure 10: The couple’s initials.....	140
Figure 11: Wedding photographs.....	141
Figure 12: Larisa in Thailand.....	142
Figure 13: Larisa’s fridge magnets and souvenirs	143
Figure 14: Photos from Larisa and Justin’s trip to Australia.....	143
Figure 15: Photos of Zoe and her handprint	144
Figure 16: Zoe’s books in English.....	146
Figure 17: Zoe’s books in the lounge	146
Figure 18: Zoe’s books in Russian.....	147
Figure 19: Books about children’s development	148
Figure 20: Larisa’s fridge.....	150
Figure 21: Books about movies.....	151
Figure 22: Books signed for Larisa by the author	151
Figure 23: Orthodox icons.....	154
Figure 24: Wedding gift	155
Figure 25: A wall calendar from parents	156
Figure 26: Family photos on display near the photo spot	157
Figure 27: Matryoshka (left) in the spare bedroom and in Zoe’s room (right).....	158
Figure 28: Teddy bear on the occasion of Zoe’s birth.....	160
Figure 29: A souvenir from Larisa’s mother-in-law.....	161
Figure 30: The placement of the souvenir stand above the tap.....	161
Figure 31: Reading local press	162
Figure 32: Reading Paperboy	163
Figure 33: Political party pamphlet, Stephen King’s novel, and local magazines.....	165
Figure 34: An article from Paperboy about voting.....	166
Figure 35: Sharing the news of having voted.....	168
Figure 36: Larisa’s grocery shopping list.....	169
Figure 37: Larisa’s home made Olivie salad	172
Figure 38: Stalls at the Russian Day event in Auckland	172
Figure 39: Novels in Russian	174

Figure 40: Larisa having lunch at the Korean restaurant in Central Auckland	175
Figure 41: Larisa eating Chicken and Squid Dosirak	178
Figure 42: Soju set gifted by Larisa's mum	179
Figure 43: Watching Bad Moms 2 at Chicks At The Flicks event in Central Auckland	182
Figure 44: Magazines from the Chicks At The Flicks event	183
Figure 45: Peripherals connected to the TV.....	184
Figure 46: Stephen King's and other books in Larisa's home in English and Russian	185
Figure 47: Books in the bedroom.....	187
Figure 48: Painting from a friend.....	189
Figure 49: Reusing the bags	190
Figure 50: Photo on the desk.....	193
Figure 51: Photo on the fridge.....	194
Figure 52: Poland by Adam Zamoyski	195
Figure 53: Igor's family photo.....	196
Figure 54: NZ Taekwondo Team bag with Igor's name	199
Figure 55: Ngā Kaponga haka for the World Championships.....	201
Figure 56: Travel documents and a brochure with the dates	202
Figure 57: Books about New Zealand.....	205
Figure 58: English language literature	206
Figure 59: Fridge magnets from Sakhalin.....	208
Figure 60: Matryoshka	209
Figure 61: Kitchen shelf	209
Figure 62: Having dinner at a Korean restaurant in Central Auckland.....	211
Figure 63: Korean biscuits	212
Figure 64: Buying Korean soft drinks.....	213
Figure 65: Supplements and vitamins taken by Igor.....	214
Figure 66: Using or wearing training gear.....	215
Figure 67: Branded gear	216
Figure 68: Reading about the effects of sugar	217
Figure 69: Igor at the physiotherapy clinic with his tournament bag	218
Figure 70: Protein tub as a rice storage container	219
Figure 71: Quiet by Susan Cain.....	220
Figure 72: Noise cancelling headphones	221
Figure 73: Igor's books.....	223
Figure 74: A book about well-behaved children	230
Figure 75: Children's books.....	231
Figure 76: Remote controllers.....	232
Figure 77: Interactive English dictionary	232
Figure 78: Playmat	233
Figure 79: Cabinet locks	234
Figure 80: Buying gloves for her son	235

Figure 81: Keeping up with her son's progress at school using a smartphone	236
Figure 82: Playing Masha and the Bear cartoon on iPhone.....	237
Figure 83: Wedding champagne	238
Figure 84: Photos together.....	239
Figure 85: Apartment plan.....	241
Figure 86: Husband's ski boots	241
Figure 87: Korean names.....	243
Figure 88: iPhone as a GPS to get to the store	245
Figure 89: Silver spoons for her relatives' children	246
Figure 90: Using Apple Pay on her iPhone to make in-store purchases.....	247
Figure 91: Rice cooker	248
Figure 92: Big Ben souvenir.....	250
Figure 93: Hwatu cards	251
Figure 94: En Dya's apartment that she rents out.....	252
Figure 95: En Dya shopping for a new washing machine	254
Figure 96: En Dya looking at a cheaper model shown by the sales consultant	254
Figure 97: Reading online reviews.....	255
Figure 98: University textbook for bachelor's degree students	256
Figure 99: Korean food	257
Figure 100: En Dya's chopsticks.....	259
Figure 101: Celebrating Kwang-su's dol	261
Figure 102: Borsch and sour cream.....	265
Figure 103: Fridge magnets	270
Figure 104: Family travels.....	271
Figure 105: Cat eye.....	272
Figure 106: Driving under the railway bridges.....	273
Figure 107: iPhone in the car	273
Figure 108: Container with water	276
Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life.....	278
Figure 110: A backpack from grandmother.....	280
Figure 111: Printing postcards for a family member	280
Figure 112: Alexander's device setup when working	282
Figure 113: Pizza for friends	291
Figure 114: Table, cards and chips set	292
Figure 115: Playing poker with friends	293
Figure 116: Reading messages on smartphone	294
Figure 117: Alexander's interest in illustration	295
Figure 118: Playing video games.....	296
Figure 119: Watching movies.....	298
Figure 120: Using a drink bottle as an ashtray.....	299
Figure 121: Reusing container from potato chips	301

Figure 122: Consuming energy/soft drinks	303
Figure 123: Making coffee in the kitchen	312
Figure 124: Grana Padano cheese	313
Figure 125: Ludmila socialising with her family and her mother's friends after sausage making	315
Figure 126: Barista training certificate.....	318
Figure 127: Bookings for Ludmila's restaurant.....	319
Figure 128: Party supplies	320
Figure 129: Smak menu.....	321
Figure 130: Gosari/fern brake dish.....	323
Figure 131: Notice for the patrons.....	324
Figure 132: Branding.....	325
Figure 133: Advertising the restaurant on social media	327
Figure 134: Set menu.....	328
Figure 135: Written instructions for Ludmila's employee	329
Figure 136: Calling her casual worker.....	330
Figure 137: Ludmila's supplements	331
Figure 138: One of Ludmila's commercial properties.....	332
Figure 139: Ludmila's business card.....	342
Figure 140: Barstools from a charity shop	343
Figure 141: Advertising other people's businesses.....	344
Figure 142: Document service station.....	345
Figure 143: Making sundae.....	346
Figure 144: South Korean food	348
Figure 145: Korean cutlery.....	349
Figure 146: Labelling objects	352
Figure 147: Pelmeni	354
Figure 148: Entrees.....	356
Figure 149: Cutlery at Smak restaurant	358
Figure 150: Buying and drinking a takeaway coffee	361
Figure 151: Money tree.....	363
Figure 152: Prayer	364
Figure 153: Sasha's workstation	368
Figure 154: A spare chair.....	369
Figure 155: Mother's Russian books and souvenirs	371
Figure 156: Family meals.....	372
Figure 157: International bank payment confirmation.....	373
Figure 158: School uniform and ID	375
Figure 159: Sasha's calendar	376
Figure 160: Counselling.....	377
Figure 161: University brochures and prospectuses.....	378

Figure 162: Scholarships information.....	380
Figure 163: Sasha's whiteboard.....	382
Figure 164: Korean language textbook.....	385
Figure 165: Maths textbooks from Russia and other books.....	387
Figure 166: Sasha's school student ID	390
Figure 167: A post-it with transliterated Korean (legal) name	393
Figure 168: Playing video games at home on a laptop.....	395
Figure 169: Sasha's best friend from school.....	397

Dedication

To my grandparents:

채 형문 (1933 – 1986)

채 광자 (1941 –)

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the unwavering support of so many, and I am immensely grateful to everyone.

To the participants: I cannot thank you enough for your openness, courage in sharing parts of your life with me, and for allowing me to explore and study your identity.

To the supervisory team: Prof Sigrid Norris, Prof Erica Hinckson, A/Prof Arezou Zalipour, Dr Inke DuBois, and Dr Tui Matelau. Your guidance, advice, and mentorship have been invaluable. I am particularly grateful to Arezou and Tui who agreed to take over in the final leg of my candidature during some very challenging times that the university experienced.

I thank members and associates of the Multimodal Research Centre: Dr Tui Matelau, Dr Jarret Geenen, Dr Jessie Pirini, Prof Theo van Leeuwen, Dr Inke DuBois, and of course Prof Sigrid Norris, for truly enlightening and inspiring conversations about multimodality, identity, languages, music, poetry, food, and many other lifelong interests that we share. Additionally, I would like to acknowledge members of the GRAPE at Universitat Jaume I de Castelló, Spain, in particular Dr Edgar Bernad-Mechó, Prof Inmaculada Fortanet-Gómez, and Prof M^a Noelia Ruiz-Madrid for their support.

To my friends: Dr Katrin Gottschalk, Devi T Muruganathan, Beck Moyle, Jennifer Butcher, Miles Hadley, Peter Goodwin, Vasily Antashov and the Antashov family, Irina Shabanova, and Sofia Sverdlova – words simply cannot express how grateful I am for your care, kindness, and encouragement, your willingness to listen and come to the rescue, especially when life got in the way and it felt like I could not carry on.

I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Ann Marie Pike, Dr Barry Dowdeswell, Sergey V. Ivlev, Joseph Jérôme, Bibiana Petrerá, Luke Heather, Dr Atakohu Middleton, Dr Oksana Opara, Dr Shirin Brown, Dr Carmel Cedro, Danielle S. Julian, Sarah Lee, Charles Grinter, Jenny Healy, Kevin Roach, Prof Geoff Craig, A/Prof Vijay Devadas, Karen Donovan, Edelita Clark, Ruby Roebuck, and Jessie Hsu. I am also grateful to the School of Communication Studies for awarding me the Postgraduate Scholarship and contestable grants, which enabled me to undertake this research and present parts of it at international conferences.

And finally, to my family, including cats (Moses, who sadly passed away two years ago, and Vincent): thank you for your unconditional love and belief in me.

Ethics Approval

This research obtained ethics approval №17/247 from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 09 August 2017 and minor amendments under the same reference on 17 January 2018.

Abstract

‘Who do you think you are?’ is a question that many might stumble upon. Not only does it assume one’s understanding of various facets that make up their identity but also how this identity is produced in everyday life. An additional layer of complexity lies in such significant events as migration and settlement, which both challenge that understanding and shape identity in (new) ways that then can be found in tangible instantiations: food that a person makes and serves, language(s) they use, the books they buy, read, and keep, and other objects that may be present in their home or work environment.

The focus of this thesis is Sakhalin Korean identity and how members of this diaspora produce their identity across three countries: New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea in daily life contexts. The scholarship concerning Sakhalin Korean identity in general, to date, remains highly limited and investigating identity production among members of this diaspora beyond a single country is one of the key contributions that this thesis seeks to make.

The thesis is grounded in the mediated discourse theory and multimodal (inter)action analysis (MIA) framework. Using mediated action as the key unit of analysis, I find that as the participants (inter)act with various objects they produce distinct identity elements that relate to family, their ethnicity, settlement in the new home country (New Zealand or South Korea) or life in Russia, occupation, and personal interests.

A micro analysis of frozen actions, that is mediated actions embedded in the objects, yields further insight into a highly complex nature of identity production, and culminates in theoretical and methodological development. I have found that the existing methodological tools within mediated discourse theory and MIA are not sufficient to explicate how identity elements are structured (inter)action, particularly in instances when an object mediates more than one identity element. I develop and introduce three theoretical and methodological notions: identity cluster, identity elements' convergence, and identity compound to fill this gap and show how they can be applied in the analysis.

Identity cluster is a superordinate level of identity elements' structure that can be used as a tool to determine scope, order, and scale for the analysis of relevant identity elements. Identity elements' convergence and identity compound are two interrelated and interconnected notions. Convergence of identity elements is a notion that enables discovery of several identity elements that a social actor produces as mediated by one object. Together, those identity elements form an identity compound, which is an integral structure recognisable through the analysis of frozen actions embedded in the objects.

Application of these three notions as methodological tools enables investigations into complexity of the produced identity going beyond a single cluster and contributes to the ontological discussion about objects and/as mediational means. The final chapter summarises identity production across the three countries, addresses affordances and constraints of the developed tools, and proposes areas for further research.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Identity, particularly my own, has always challenged and fascinated me, not only when I was a young girl living in Russia but also long after I moved to New Zealand. This study is deeply rooted in questions that my inner self would often ask: Who do you think you are? Who are you becoming? Why is it that things (physical objects and social constructs), people, and the environment have so much impact on one's identity? And what can change during and following significant life events?

An illuminating moment was an accidental (for me, but surprisingly not for the other person) discovery of us wearing the same perfume a few years ago. Of course, an immediate inference that one can make is that both people like perfume and maybe this particular brand, and that we prefer this scent – all of which is situated within just personal identity. However, when treating this perfume as a mediational means/cultural tool (Jones & Norris, 2005a; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995b; Scollon, 1998, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Wertsch, 1993, 1994, 1998, 2005; Wertsch & Rupert, 1993) and examining actions that a social actor performs with it, a different insight into identity is revealed. While we both undoubtedly like perfumes in general, we produce different identity elements as we use it. When I wear that scent and keep the bottle, I produce a friend identity. *My* perfume embeds frozen mediated actions (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, 2013a, 2019, 2020, 2021) of receiving it as a birthday gift from one of my best friends and catching up with them in the city. When the other person wears that 'same' perfume, they produce an identity of a traveller. *Their* bottle embeds different frozen mediated actions, such as travelling overseas,

shopping at duty free shops at an airport, and purchasing it from one of the stores during a stopover.

As we were discussing this discovery in the lobby near the lifts next to the postgraduate suite, this perfume became a mediational means/cultural tool through which we again produced different identity elements. For me, in that (inter)action (Norris, 2011a) the perfume enabled the production of a student identity element in addition to the friend identity that I had already been producing. For them, this perfume was a teaching 'tool' as they were explaining how the concept of mediational means/cultural tool can be applied in everyday life, while also producing their traveller identity as they were wearing it. Thus, the same object, or in this case, product, carries different meaning and facilitates the production of different identity elements. And the same identity elements can be and are embedded in other objects and artefacts that a person has and (inter)acts with. Such realisations and interests shaped the core essence of this research and directed my attention towards objects as mediational means. By examining how objects mediate identity and how individuals produce distinct identity elements in (inter)action, I show that there is a superordinate level and a thematic organisation of identity elements, which I call identity cluster. As a social actor (inter)acts with an object, their identity elements can converge forming identity compounds, i.e. integral structures that hold more than one identity element, which capture their identity more fully.

In this introductory chapter, I explain my interest in identity production further and how I situate myself in this study. I then state the significance and social rationale of research into Sakhalin Korean identity and provide reasons for

studying identity production across different contexts. Afterwards, I explain the focus on objects and/as mediational means and employing multimodal (inter)action analysis (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021) as my theoretical and methodological framework. Following an outline of the theoretical and methodological approach, I state my research questions and provide an overview of the thesis.

1.1 Motivation and situating self in this study

A deep, personal interest in identity has developed naturally from observing mundane differences in the way everyone in the family does ‘things’, how we speak and relate to each other, how we are treated by others, why we look different, and why we will perhaps always be different. This observation has led me to rethink the impact of history on my family, the ways migration has affected our lives, and how these continue to shape our and my identity.

I was born on Sakhalin Island to ethnic Sakhalin Korean parents and grew up in Siberia, Russia. I consider myself as a third-generation Sakhalin Korean with the first generation being my maternal grandmother, who was born on Sakhalin. Her husband, my grandfather, was born on Hokkaido, Japan; however, his Soviet passport states his place of birth is Sakhalin. We think this was because the family wanted to avoid any further discrimination and restrictions that many Koreans had already been experiencing. I know little about my paternal grandparents since both passed away and I did not have a close relationship with that part of the family. But what I do know is that my paternal grandfather was born in Korea and came to Sakhalin as a young adult on his own.

After the Second World War, many Sakhalin Koreans became stateless, and their children did not automatically qualify for Soviet Union citizenship. This was the case for my Dad who only obtained Soviet Union citizenship around 1979. My grandfather on Mum's side received his in 1983. Being stateless created many obstacles and restrictions related to free movement within a country, education, and employment. For example, each time my grandfather wanted or had to travel outside his town Ulegorsk (Japanese toponym: Esutoru) to pick up his daughter from the airport or to go fishing, he had to apply for a special permit at the local police station. Due to my Dad's stateless status, his study options were limited in terms of the cities and majors available. Dad could not go to Moscow or Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg) and was ineligible to study and work in anything related to nuclear energy and other strategically important industries. Unlike my Dad and some other family members on both sides, I was granted Soviet Union, and later Russian, citizenship by birth and did not face formal restrictions.

My parents' choice to study economics and engineering respectively meant that Mum and Dad had to leave Sakhalin. There was only one higher education institution on Sakhalin, and it did not offer degrees that my parents wanted to study. Both chose Irkutsk, a Siberian city near lake Baikal, where they met and married. Leaving Sakhalin and moving to Irkutsk was a pivotal moment. That is when their ties with close and extended family started to loosen, but at the same time, it was an exciting time of a new life outside Sakhalin.

Following completion of their undergraduate studies, my parents moved again, further away from Sakhalin. This time it was due to Dad's work placement when

he graduated. In mid-1980s, Dad was first assigned to work at one of the industrial plants in Angarsk, a small town near Lake Baikal. Later, he was reassigned to work at a petrochemical plant in Tomsk, another small town in Siberia, where we were also given an apartment. We lived in Tomsk until 1999 when the family, yet again, had to move to another city in Siberia, Novosibirsk.

In all of these cities where my family lived – Angarsk, Tomsk, and Novosibirsk – we did not have close relatives and so I grew up without a strong family bond and exposure to Korean language and culture. As both parents worked full-time, unlike most of my Sakhalin-based cousins, I could not go to my relatives' houses and be in a Korean and family home environment. Instead, I had to attend a kindergarten and then an after-care unit at school, where I socialised with Russian children in Russian. Korean was barely spoken at home; my parents only used it to discuss matters that we, children, were not allowed to hear. Even when some relatives came for visits, they were not enough for me to form a genuine connection and maintain regular contact. They seemed too 'Korean', too 'traditional', and too strict. The consequence of my family settling outside Sakhalin and growing up in a predominantly Russian environment was a double-edged sword. I never felt comfortable being around peers and Russian people in general due to my ethnicity and cultural differences. And likewise, there has always been some uneasiness socialising and meeting other Koreans due to my limited knowledge and understanding of Korean culture and traditions and not being able to converse in Korean.

The multiplicity of my and my family's experiences, including the struggle to fit in and feeling disconnected from my Korean roots, are part of our identity

production. As the family and I moved quite a lot, identity-related questions would be most acute when it came to adaptation and settlement in a new place and/or environment. At times, it was more difficult not only because of another place or environment per se (for example, a new school or a new city), but due to being visibly different and other people's perceptions and attitudes. As a child, I was often teased, and at an early age I thought that the culprit was my Korean, non 'typical' Russian appearance. Later, I experienced some racist remarks in public places from strangers. Each tease and racist treatment felt like a reminder that I was a stranger in my own country, and being Korean meant that I would never fully belong. When Mum shared her experience of being subjected to racism by her maths schoolteacher who mocked all their Korean students for eating kimchi and openly stating that all Koreans were too 'dumb' to get A grades, I realised that racism towards us is an unfortunate 'given' and it might be one of the main barriers to acceptance in Russia and elsewhere.

My education and career-related pursuits led me to look wider, beyond Siberia and Russia. For me, too, education was a push big enough to leave home and move elsewhere. While my parents' choices were limited to universities within the Soviet Union only, mine were not. Distance from home and not having family nearby were barely a deterrent. I chose this part of the world – New Zealand and Australia – because both seemed fairly open to migrants and my English was adequate enough to undertake studies and work. Partly, settling in a migrant country has been an opportunity to live and be among the like: migrants with a similar history and background. And so, naturally I developed

both a personal and academic interest in the context of migration and settlement.

As I chose to settle in an English-speaking country, acquiring full functional literacy in English was highly important. Working towards communicative competence (Hymes, 1964, 1972) in English and learning about sociolinguistic intricacies and language quirks has been a lifelong hobby. Here in New Zealand, I developed a strong interest in migrants' acquisition of English literacy and language practices in daily life. So, prior to this doctoral study, several years ago I embarked on a master's research project that focussed on the analysis of New Zealand's English language education policy for migrants and refugees (Khan, 2016). This work helped me gain a thorough understanding of the New Zealand immigration policy from the mid-late 1990s, tertiary education and immigration policy settings that shaped settlement outcomes for many migrants and refugees.

Migration and settlement experience both within and outside Russia created even more identity-related questions: occupation and areas of study, reasons behind a lack of motivation to learn Korean, and why life in a Western society has always been attractive, to name a few. As places of residence and conditions changed, the search for answers would resume. This was the case when the family moved to Novosibirsk and also when I emigrated to New Zealand, then to Australia, and back to New Zealand.

Although I spent considerable time in this part of the world and now call New Zealand home, a return to Russia or a move to South Korea theoretically will

always be a possibility. Another relocation will inevitably lead to changes in daily practices with regard to spoken languages, consumed food, employment, and immediate network. Therefore, the contextual scope of this study has been extended to include the main participants from Russia and South Korea. As much as these considerations are primarily driven by personal interests, they increase the value and significance of this study highlighting unique settings in which identity production and relevant changes occur, and what cultural aspects are most prominent across these three countries.

1.2 Significance and social rationale of this study

By focussing on identity of direct descendants of the forcefully resettled Koreans to the Sakhalin Island, this research raises significant social justice issues. It highlights such consequences as loss of heritage language, a sense of disconnectedness with the heritage culture, particularly for second and third generations of Sakhalin Koreans, as well as implications of being a visible minority. This includes discriminatory practices that many Koreans were and still are being subjected to. How Sakhalin Koreans negotiate their identity in light of these conditions and how they produce their identity in everyday life in the context of migration and settlement make this study relevant and of interest to scholars working in the field of Korean studies, migrant and diaspora studies and of course everyone who has an interest in identity.

As the focus is clearly on examining concrete actions that people perform, including those that are larger in scale (Norris, 2017), such as participation in society, settlement in a new country, getting education, finding employment, and becoming parents, the findings also hold relevance to stakeholders in the

policy domains and the broader socio-economic field. The notion of identity cluster that has been developed in this thesis can be particularly useful in mapping identity production with larger-in-scale actions, which can then be linked to the relevant policy domains. The other two notions – the convergence of identity elements and identity clusters – can explain how different identity elements are interwoven and integral in the process of migration, people's participation in education, employment, family practices, and engaging in leisure and personal interest activities. Understanding the intricacies and a highly complex nature of identity production can facilitate and nurture the practice of inclusiveness, a sense of belonging, and accessibility, and thus ensure better outcomes associated with migrant settlement, particularly among ethnic minorities. The thesis, therefore, makes a methodological contribution as the notions of identity cluster, convergence of identity elements, and identity cluster advance the multimodal (inter)action analysis (MIA) framework and extend its methodological toolkit.

1.3 Why study Sakhalin Korean identity across several contexts?

There are several considerations involved that have shaped my study in terms of a clear focus on the Sakhalin Korean diaspora and the contexts. Sakhalin Koreans are a distinct group of people whose history and settlement in the Soviet Union and Russia occurred under different circumstances compared to other ethnic Koreans. Another consideration is the rise of international human mobility in recent years, which facilitates migration and settlement outside of people's countries of birth or ethnic origins.

In the former Soviet Union and Russia, the Korean diaspora is not a homogenous group. There are ethnic Koreans who moved to the Far East of Russia voluntarily in the XIX century and those, most of whom, have been forcefully resettled by the Japanese. The former are descendants of impoverished farmers from north-eastern parts of the Korean peninsula, present-day North Korea, many of whom either remained in the Far East or were resettled by Stalin in Central Asia, and who are widely known as *Koryo-saram*. The latter come from the southern parts of Korea, present-day South Korea, who were brought to Sakhalin, which at the time was a Japanese territory, to fill labour shortages in the 1930s and early 1940s. While both *Koryo-saram* and Sakhalin Koreans endured severe hardships and suffered from many injustices, their settlement and integration into Soviet and then Russian society were different. Scholars note linguistic and cultural differences between the two diasporas (Din, 2013, 2015a, 2015b; Fumagalli, 2022; Kokaisl, 2018; Saveliev, 2010; Tsuda & Song, 2019) and also varying access to long-term work permits and residence visas in South Korea for Korean diasporas, including *Koryo saram*, Sakhalin Koreans, *Chosonjeok*¹ and others (E.-J. Han, 2020; J. Lee, 2002; J. S. Park & Chang, 2005; S. U. Park, 2019; Saveliev, 2010). Thus, ethnicity as a marker and criterion had to be further specified and the focus, then, had to be narrowed down to a particular diaspora.

Labour shortages and economic stimuli facilitated by migrants and business activities have prompted many Western countries to review their immigration

¹ Ethnic Koreans from China

policies. For many Koreans, like other migrants, emigration with subsequent long-term and permanent settlement outside their countries of birth or origin is linked to career and education opportunities for them and their children, joining family, and living in countries with less discrimination towards women (E.-J. Han, 2020). The migration and settlement of ethnic Koreans outside Korea throughout the 20th century and at the turn of the new millennium in North and South America, Europe, as well as Australia and New Zealand, indicates how dispersed Korean diaspora is, and the questions of Korean identity and accompanying issues of belonging become increasingly important (Balitskaya & Park, 2020; E.-J. Han, 2020; Min, 2020; Nelson, 2016; S. U. Park, 2019; Young, 2009).

In my decision to study identity production of Sakhalin Koreans in New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea, the intention is to explore not only how identity is produced, but also what is retained as part of ethnic identity, what is lost, and what is acquired. Studying identity production across these three countries helps us understand which identity elements are more susceptible to change and which ones prove to be more durable as people either continue to live in their country of birth where they are an ethnic minority, or they choose to migrate elsewhere. The changes and durability of some, as I show in Chapters 4-6, are reflected in the way identity elements are structured in (inter)action. Through the analysis of frozen actions, I show which identity elements are produced, which ones converge, and which objects mediate them.

1.4 Why objects and artefacts?

The focus on objects and artefacts arises from a personal interest in things that people acquire, keep, and use in everyday life. It was further deepened by engagement with mediated discourse theory and MIA that consider objects and artefacts as mediational means/cultural tools through which a social actor (inter)acts and thereby produces their identity. Treating objects and artefacts as such, gives a different insight and uncovers identity production that often occurs beyond the conscious level.

My interest in objects and artefacts was further solidified by Scollon's (2001) theoretical notion of nexus of practice and mediated action theory developed by Wertsch and his associates (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995a, 1995b; Wertsch, 1985, 1993, 1994, 1998, 2005; Wertsch & Rupert, 1993). When objects and artefacts are viewed as mediational means/cultural tools, the analysis is enriched by the following considerations:

- There is a dialectic relationship between the material aspects of an object and the person.
- There is a historical link between mediational means/cultural tools and various entities in the world and the history of appropriation of that object or mediational means.
- There is also a principle of partiality in that mediational means can afford some actions and at the same time limit others.
- Mediational means are connective as they can connect multiple purposes and participants.
- And finally, it is important to understand that mediational means/cultural tools are classes of objects and are representational. Scollon's (2001)

example of coffee and coins is particularly useful. Although he used to order the same kind of coffee, it would not be the same cup of coffee that he would get every day, and not the same coins that he handed to the cashier.

Treating objects as mediational means/cultural tools widens the potential to understand the role of objects in identity production. When examining the presence of objects in someone's home or workplace and the way they are used, objects, as I show in Chapters 4-6, may not necessarily be employed for the purposes that they had been originally designed for. Additionally, through the analysis of all frozen actions embedded in the objects, i.e. how participants have (inter)acted with them previously, I argue that identity can be discovered in a more complete and nuanced way. Not only is it worth investigating observable actions that a social actor produces in real time, but equally so it is important to include all frozen actions that the object in question embeds in the analysis. I argue further that objects more often than not mediate several identity elements at the same time, and the number of embedded identity elements in them can grow as social actors continue to (inter)act with and through those objects. And it is through all relevant mediated actions embedded in those objects that a social actor produces unique, to them, identity compounds that hold more than one identity element.

1.5 Why Multimodal (Inter)Action Analysis (MIA)?

In my focus on identity production across several contexts and how identity is produced by means of objects and artefacts, I required a comprehensive and holistic theoretical and methodological framework. In the overview of common

methodological approaches to Korean identity and identity construction in the context of migration and settlement within fields of migrant and diaspora studies, and broadly socio- and applied linguistics, I found that scholars tend to give primacy to one mode – language – in their analyses. Such an approach on the one hand allows for in-depth investigations of language practices, particularly when relevant linguistic tools are employed, as well as discovering major themes in people’s narratives and discourses. On the other hand, it overlooks other modes through which a social actor enacts their identity where language might be hardly used or not used at all. My study, then, would have fallen short of identifying significant instances of identity production and the production of identity elements that are key to getting to know my participants and understanding their identity. I therefore needed a framework that considers all modes that are involved in social action and has relevant tools to study this complex phenomenon.

I chose to ground my study within the MIA framework, which was initially developed to study identity production using participant observation and video-ethnographic data (Norris, 2004a, 2011a, 2019, 2020). It was later applied in the study of social action in a number of different contexts, such as business coaching (Pirini, 2013), high school tutoring (Pirini, 2016, 2017), lifestyle sports (Geenen, 2013a, 2013b), art and creativity (Matelau-Doherty, 2019, 2020), religious and vegetarian identity (Makboon, 2013, 2015; Norris & Makboon, 2015), teacher identity (Christensson, 2018), video-conferencing (Geenen, 2017; Norris, 2019), university lectures and higher education (Bernad-Mechó, 2017, 2023), TV production and sports commentary (Du Bois, 2023), and others.

The availability of relevant tools to study identity production and a clear focus on mediated action as a unit of analysis made MIA highly relevant and useful. In my analysis I draw on such tools as higher-level action, frozen action, scales of action, modal configurations, and the concept of identity element (Geenen, 2013c; Norris, 2004a, 2011a, 2019, 2020). My analysis is also informed by mediated discourse theory in which MIA grounded theoretically and thus builds upon the key notions of mediated discourse such as mediated action, mediational means/cultural tools, site of engagement, and practice (Jones, 2005, 2015; Jones & Norris, 2005a, 2005c; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995b; Scollon, 1998, 2001; Wertsch, 1994, 2005).

Applying the MIA framework allows me to investigate identity production across several contexts at varying levels and highlight the complexity of multimodal identity production by means of objects and artefacts. Rather than being led astray by the analysis of objects *per se* and what they represent to anyone but their owner, I focus on what it is that a social actor does with them, as well as how and which identity elements are being produced.

1.6 Research questions

In this thesis, I investigate how social actors produce their identity in everyday life and what MIA reveals about the use of objects as mediational means/cultural tools in identity production. The overarching question that this thesis seeks to answer is how Sakhalin Koreans multimodally produce and communicate their identity in daily life in New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea. This subsumes the following research questions:

- RQ1: Which identity elements do participants produce?

- RQ2: How are identity elements structured in (inter)action?
- RQ3: Which objects embed identity elements that the participants produce?

1.7 Overview of the thesis

This thesis investigates multimodal identity production among Sakhalin Koreans across three different contexts and specifically focusses on how objects are used by the participants as they produce their identity.

In Chapter 2, I present an overview of literature related to Sakhalin Korean identity. I begin with the background of the Sakhalin Korean diaspora and the context of migration. I provide an overview of relevant approaches and explain how the chosen theoretical and methodological framework is different. I signal main areas from where relevant key findings emanate: Korean studies, migrant studies, and studies related to language, objects, and food through which identity is produced. I highlight the scarcity of research into Sakhalin Korean identity and the reliance on interviews and photographic data from researchers' personal archives in the current scholarship on the identity of Sakhalin Koreans, particularly of the third and later generations.

Chapter 3 is the methodology and the research design chapter. I outline key theoretical principles of mediated discourse theory within which this study is grounded and detail methodological tools. Those are: mediated action (Holland & Lachicotte Jr, 2011; Scollon, 1998; Wertsch, 1985, 1993, 1994, 1998) and mediational means/cultural tools (Jones & Norris, 2005a; Scollon, 2001; Wertsch, 1994, 1998; Wertsch & Rupert, 1993). I turn to the MIA framework

(Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, 2013a, 2019, 2020, 2021) and provide a detailed discussion of methodological tools within MIA (Norris, 2004a, 2011a, 2019, 2020) that I use in my analysis and build upon. Those tools are lower-level action, higher-level action, and frozen action (Matelau-Doherty, 2019; Norris & Makboon, 2015), as well as scales of action (Norris, 2017), mode (Norris, 2013b), modal density/configurations/aggregates (Norris, 2004a, 2019, 2020), and identity element (Norris, 2011a, 2020). The frozen action tool is given particular attention, and I further examine its use in the analysis of objects and artefacts through which identity is produced. Afterwards, I explain how I operationalised the theory and methodological tools, the stages of analysis, and the three notions that I have developed: identity cluster, convergence of identity elements, and identity compound. In the following sections of this chapter, I discuss the research design. This includes the rationale, data collection methods, participant selection and recruitment, ethical considerations, the equipment, and the types of data that were collected. Given that the data are mostly in Russian and English, I also explain how relevant excerpts from the interviews are transcribed. Afterwards, I introduce my participants and explain how we worked together. I provide samples of datasets for each participant, which are based on the data collection tables (Norris, 2019). Finally, I address the logistics and contingencies and explain how I dealt with a partial loss of data.

Chapter 4 is my first findings and analysis chapter where I analyse identity production in New Zealand. I apply the tools of MIA and the notions that I have developed. I explain how the identity elements of Larisa and Igor, the New Zealand-based participants, are structured in (inter)action, and which objects

mediate their identity elements and identity compounds. This analysis addresses the three research questions: the identity elements that are being produced, how they are structured, and which objects mediate those identity elements. Following the analysis of each participant's identity, I summarise commonalities and differences in the participants' identity as they settle in New Zealand.

In Chapter 5, I present the findings and analysis of identity production in Russia by drawing on the same tools and developed notions. I explain how the identity elements of En Dya and Alexander are structured in (inter)action and which objects mediate their identity elements and identity compounds. The chapter concludes with an overview of commonalities and differences in identity production among the participants based in Russia.

In Chapter 6, I present the findings and analysis of identity production in South Korea. I apply the same tools and notions and explain how the identity elements of Ludmila and Sasha are structured in (inter)action and which objects mediate their identity elements and identity compounds. The chapter concludes with an overview of commonalities and differences in identity production among these participants.

In the final chapter of the thesis, I engage in a discussion of the findings drawing on commonalities and differences across the three contexts. Then I turn to a discussion of the affordances and constraints of the developed notions as methodological tools: identity cluster, convergence of identity elements, and identity compound. Following this, I discuss how objects become mediational

means and are to be treated as such, as well as a repository of identity elements. I acknowledge the limitations of this study, suggest areas for further research, and provide concluding remarks.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Chapter outline

This research is situated at the intersection of Korean and Sakhalin Korean studies in particular, migrant studies, identity production, and the MIA. Given a complex background that incorporates at least three cultures (Russian, Korean, and Japanese), there are inevitably several identity aspects/fragments or rather identity elements (Norris, 2011a, 2020) that need to be studied. Furthermore, as some participants chose to remain in Russia and some migrated to New Zealand or South Korea, this complexity and multiplicity of identity becomes even more apparent. This motivates RQ1: Which identity elements do participants produce?

The RQ2 and RQ3 are interconnected. How are identity elements structured in (inter)action and which objects embed identity elements that the participants produce are motivated by the need to study how several identity elements come together or, as I theorise, converge in (inter)action through objects, language, and other means in highly complex and diverse contexts.

Sakhalin and Sakhalin diaspora have not received considerable attention in the current scholarship. Resultantly, many might not be familiar with the geographical location of the island, the history of Sakhalin Korean people and their identity. I begin this chapter with a background: how this diaspora has formed, highlight the key challenges that the first generation of Sakhalin Koreans experienced in their forced settlement, which shaped experience of subsequent generations, and acknowledge a contested nature of generational

categorisation. I then provide an overview of New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea immigration and socio-economic contexts that shape migration and settlement in those countries, as these are the countries where my participants are based.

Afterwards, I outline most relevant approaches to study identity production and turn to the key means in identity production: language practices, objects, and food. In the following sections, I address Korean identity production and then address matters pertaining to Sakhalin Korean identity production: their special status in the Family Reunification Programme (Pak & Savkovich, 2019; S. U. Park, 2019), how Sakhalin Koreans describe their identity and cultural practices, and the interconnected Russian, Korean, and Japanese factors in Sakhalin Korean identity production. The chapter includes limitations of the current scholarship concerning Sakhalin Korean identity, particularly the third generation, including a lack of comparative studies on identity production of this diaspora and across several contexts. It also signals gaps of methodological nature, which I address in the following chapter and introduce new tools to enhance understanding of multimodal identity production.

2.2 Background

2.2.1 Sakhalin and Sakhalin Korean diaspora

Sakhalin (Japanese toponym: Karafuto) is an island in the North Pacific region, located to the north of Japan and east of Russia. Other than indigenous peoples (e.g. Ainu, Nivkhs or also known as Gilyaks, etc.) Sakhalin was inhabited by Russians, ethnic Koreans from both northern and southern parts of the Korean peninsula, Japanese, Ukrainians, and others.

Sakhalin, as Stephan (1970) describes it, was 'Alsace-Lorraine' of East Asia and at different times the territory was claimed by all of the surrounding countries: China, Japan, and the USSR/Russia. For Sakhalin Koreans the geopolitics of the region from early to mid-20th century resulted in unfavourable consequences due to weakness of Korea and it being vassal state of Japan. After the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) that ended with Russia's defeat, the Portsmouth Treaty of 1905 ruled that southern part of Sakhalin had to be given to Japan while its northern part was retained by Russia. Furthermore, Russia agreed that it would no longer pursue its interests in Korea and recognised Japan's political dominance on the Korean peninsula (Din, 2015b). After World War II, the entire island became part of the Soviet Union/Russia as per the Yalta Conference agreements between the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain in 1945.

The end of World War II and the Yalta-Potsdam system of international relations – a bipolar system with two competing superpowers, the Soviet bloc, and the NATO members, determining spheres of influence – resulted in further hardships for Sakhalin Koreans. Many of them became stateless and were unable to return to Korea and unite with the families. The division of the Korean peninsula into communist North and capitalist South created significant barriers to keep any contact with family members based in southern parts of the Korean peninsula because of the absence of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea. Many Koreans had to remain on Sakhalin and endure their stateless status before the USSR citizenship was eventually granted (Fumagalli, 2022).

What makes Sakhalin Korean diaspora unique is that the people have had to adapt and assimilate first to the Japanese colonial rule and then Sovietisation (Saveliev, 2010). Later, with the collapse of the USSR, they had to find their way and place in contemporary Russia. It is thus not surprising that culturally Sakhalin Koreans are quite eclectic. Other than elements of Korean culture that the first and second generation tried to preserve and maintain, there are a few remnants of the Japanese culture and language, as well as those from the Soviet times (Urbansky & Barop, 2017). While the first- and second-generation Sakhalin Koreans were subject to various forms of discrimination and restrictions that affected daily practices, the third generation in legal terms are citizens of the Russian state and de-jure, they are not limited in their intra-country mobility, education, and employment.

The generational categorisation remains contestable. For the purposes of repatriation and family reunification, the first-generation Sakhalin Koreans are those who were born prior to 1945. However, the factual arrival and settlement of some Koreans on Sakhalin might not reflect this. Some arrived before the Japanese forced mobilisation and would have established themselves as early as the 1910s-1920s. Additionally, not all those Sakhalin Korean early settlers' children or siblings are considered as 'first-generation' if some were born after 1945. As a result, some are not eligible for repatriation under the Red Cross programme co-funded by the Japanese and South Korean governments causing a further familial split (S. U. Park, 2019). And finally, the generational count is subject to people's own assessment.

2.2.2 Migration and settlement in New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea

For Sakhalin Koreans, migration and subsequent settlement experiences are at the core of their identity production. Migration of Sakhalin Koreans to another country adds another layer of complexity associated with learning different cultural practices and settling in a new environment (Balitskaya & Park, 2015; Paichadze, 2022; Saveliev, 2018). The third generation Sakhalin Koreans are Soviet/Russian citizens by birth and have not had mobility restrictions compared to their stateless parents and grandparents. Some migrate domestically to another region within the former Soviet Union or Russia, and others choose to move to a different country. For many, the determining factors, particularly for the third generation, are the host countries' immigration policies and socio-economic situation at home.

2.2.2.1 New Zealand: Immigration policy settings

Many migrants who identify themselves as Korean or Russian come to New Zealand voluntarily under the current immigration settings. In the last 30 years, the number of Korean migrants choosing to settle in New Zealand has grown considerably from just 930 Koreans in 1991 to 38,114 in 2019 (H. Kim, 2021). For Russians, also in the last 30 years, New Zealand has become an important destination and many use either the skilled migrant category or family streams to settle here permanently (Opara, 2017).

The foundation of the current policy settings can be traced to a series of provisions introduced from 1970s to 1991. Previous discriminatory policy toward migrants from Asia and preferences toward migrants Europe including the UK, who had had no entry restrictions for the purposes of permanent settlement,

were abolished. The latter is linked to the UK's entry to the European Economic Community in 1973 and from 1974 British and Irish migrants had to apply for an appropriate visa. The Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement of 1973 with subsequent iterations allowed Australian citizens and permanent residents to enter New Zealand freely and have work rights (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2000; Ongley & Pearson, 1995; Spoonley, 2006). Another trend was focussed on employment and filling labour market shortages. First, New Zealand targeted migrants from the South Pacific to address shortages low skilled labour (Bedford et al., 2000) and later, with the introduction of the points system in 1991, the policy signalled a shift to attracting migrants with the skills where shortage was identified, work experience and qualifications (Bedford et al., 2000; Coates & Carr, 2005).

At present, New Zealand continues to maintain its fairly open immigration policy that enables people to migrate on long and short-term bases. Other than Australian citizens and permanent residents and people from the New Zealand realm in the South Pacific region such as the Cook Islands, Tokelau and Niue who are eligible to live in New Zealand permanently, New Zealand has several broad streams under which people can obtain residence permits: Skilled Migrant Category, Family, UNHCR Refugee Quota, the Samoan Quota and the Pacific Access, and Business (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). Based on the number of residency applications, the two most popular streams are the Skilled Migrant and Family categories (Immigration New Zealand, 2021). From 2010 to 2021 these streams received most interest from prospective migrants wishing to settle in New Zealand permanently with an average number of 7,000

applications per month compared to about 1,000 in others (Immigration New Zealand, 2021).

Prior to becoming permanent residents, many migrants, including Sakhalin Koreans, hold temporary visas, for example, student, visitor, and work permits. It is not known how many choose to settle in New Zealand permanently and how sizeable Sakhalin Korean diaspora in New Zealand is. The most recent 2018 Census data that captures ethnicity and identity provides two broad ethnic groups which Sakhalin Koreans can self-identify with: Russian and Korean (Statistics New Zealand, 2018a, 2018b). Both do not specify any ethnic subgroups, which creates challenges in tracing Sakhalin Korean migration and settlement in New Zealand.

2.2.2.2 Russia: Socio-economic and political context of (e)migration in the 1990s and 2000s

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 was a major event that resulted in many social, economic, and political issues that affected all its member states. Political changes primarily concerned the newly (then) acquired sovereign status of each state. Sovereignty parades – a metaphor for public celebrations of independence from the communist regime and ideology – were accompanied by the rise of nationalist agendas and rhetoric (Semenenko, 2015). The economic issues that former Soviet Union countries faced were rooted in ineffective distribution and management of resources, command economics, and policies that were driven by ideological aims to overtake the rival Western bloc. As a result, national economy was severely depleted and lagged in terms

of industrial and technological advancement. Social matters were particularly evident throughout the 1990s as people were choosing to emigrate.

Vorobyeva, Aleshkovski, and Grebenyuk (2018) identify five waves of emigration from Russia: 1990-1994, 1995-2000, 2001-2005, 2006-2010, and from 2010 to present. The first wave can be characterised as ethnic due to the host countries policies that stipulated ethnic background and the largest recipients were Germany, Israel, and the United States. The first wave, according to Vorobyeva et al. (2018), was the largest in the modern history of Russia. Subsequent waves were triggered by the social, political, and economic climate in Russia and changes in immigration policies in the receiving nations. From the second wave onwards, there has been an increase in other types of emigrants who left Russia permanently, such as entrepreneurs, highly skilled professionals, businesspeople, as well as fiancé and fiancées. Temporary emigration includes students and highly skilled professionals.

The extent of emigration in the last two decades is significant not only for the number of people who left, i.e. around 6 million people according to the estimates of Vorobyeva et al. (2018), but also due to negative effects on the country's socio-economic potential and loss of human capital (Maksimova, 2019; Slepenskova, 2022). Economic motivations, including job and study opportunities, and quality of life are cited as key drivers for both permanent and temporary emigration (Belov, 2020). Many Russian students and graduates who complete their studies at overseas universities choose not to return to Russia also for such considerations as salary range, quality professional environment, access to modern technologies, wider research opportunities, and professional

growth. This, according to Belov (2020), contributes to the issue of brain drain and loss of a highly skilled workforce.

For Sakhalin Koreans, the collapse of the Soviet regime, liberalisation, and establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and South Korea meant that they could visit their family members in South Korea – something that previously had been impossible. It also signified equal civil rights: freedom of movement within the country, the right to Russian citizenship, and other provisions that many ethnic Koreans were deprived of, for example, having restrictions in their tertiary study options. If for the first and more recently, second generation Sakhalin Koreans, emigration from Russia to South Korea is based on ethnic origins and family reunification, the third and subsequent generations' choices are not limited to one country and they, like other Russians, may choose to migrate elsewhere and for different reasons.

2.2.2.3 South Korea: The Red-Cross programme: repatriation and family reunification

The first wave of Sakhalin Korean migration to South Korea is linked to the agreement on family reunification between Japan, Russia, and South Korea that these three countries signed in 1992. The repatriation and family reunification programme that was subsequently established, is a result of considerable and numerous bottom-up efforts of the members of Sakhalin Korean community who had petitioned the Japanese, South Korean and Soviet Union/Russian governments for several decades (Din, 2015b; S. U. Park, 2019). The programme is co-funded by the Japanese and South Korean governments and coordinated by the Red Cross. It has allowed the 'first'

generation Sakhalin Koreans born prior to 15 August 1945 to relocate to South Korea on a permanent basis and facilitated further migration.

From early 1990s there has been a steady flow of elderly, first generation Sakhalin Koreans settling in South Korea under the repatriation and family reunification programme (Din, 2015a). According to Ishikida (2005), between 1990 and 2000 about 12,400 Sakhalin Koreans visited South Korea; 2,000 of them permanently emigrated to South Korea.

Under the repatriation and family unification programme, the first-generation Sakhalin Koreans receive substantial settlement support and a number of social benefits, such as the right to retain Russian citizenship whilst holding the South Korean one, subsidised health care and accommodation, pension, paid airfare to Russia to visit family once every two years and for the family members to visit them in South Korea. Most of first-generation Sakhalin Koreans settled in towns surrounding Seoul, such as Ansan, Incheon and Gimpo, Paju in the north and Cheonan in the south-west.

This programme has facilitated migration of further generations of Sakhalin Koreans who can obtain long-term work permits known as F4 visa and subsequently qualify for permanent residency (F5 visa) and later citizenship (Embassy of Republic of Korea in Russian Federation, 2019). Many of them migrate to Korea on a long-term or permanent basis due to family ties and economic benefits (Din, 2015a; D. Lee, 2011). However, the second and subsequent generations do not receive the same settlement support and are expected to be self-sufficient.

2.3 Approaches to study identity production

Identity is a complex phenomenon and has been a subject of investigation across many fields and disciplines, including but not limited to psychology and socio-cultural psychology in particular, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, linguistics, discourse studies, and multimodality. These fields and disciplines offer different perspectives and lenses from which identity is examined.

One important commonality is that identity is a social construct (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2003; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Giddens, 1994; Goffman, 1956; S. Hall, 1996b; Holland & Lachicotte Jr, 2011; Mead, 1934; Schiffrin, 1996; Scollon, 1997; Tannen, 1994). This view challenges primordialist approach that considers identity as a fixed entity and static. Rather, identity comes about through social interactions and is therefore dynamic, fluid, contested and being prone to change over time (S. Hall, 1996b; Norris, 2011a; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995b; Scollon, 1997).

Mead (1934), the founder of American school of social psychology, referred to identity as 'self', i.e. individual's conscious experience of the mind which develops in social interactions through language or other symbolic means. 'Self' consists of two parts: *I* and *Me*, where the former is a conduct in response to social situations and the latter is an internalised social experience of individuals. The *I* and the *Me* are interrelated and together they form the 'self'. Mead's (1934) work was foundational for development of symbolic interaction (Blumer, 1969), identity theory (Stryker, 2007; Stryker & Burke, 2000), and sociocultural studies (Holland & Lachicotte Jr, 2011; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995a, 1995b; Wertsch, 1985, 1993, 1994, 1998). The key contribution to understanding of

self is an emphasis on social interaction and the social nature of humans for whom interactions and encounters are important. Identity and a sense of self emerges through participation in activities and interactions that a social actor engages in.

Another significant direction in identity studies is developmental psychology and Erikson's (1968, 1980) psychosocial theory. Identity, according to him, is "a process located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture" (Erikson, 1968; Holland & Lachicotte Jr, 2011, p. 102).

Psychosocial theory acknowledges the salience of culture in parental practices and environment in which a person is raised, which affect developmental stages of an individual. At each of the eight stages of development an individual faces psychosocial tasks and experiences identity crises, particularly at adolescence stage during which they develop a sense of self (Erikson, 1968, 1980).

Erikson's (1968, 1980) psychosocial stages of development were influential in studies that use narrative and storytelling, particularly in the field of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (Bamberg, 1997; De Fina, 2003, 2019; Duranti, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2006, 2007; Labov & Waletzky, 1997).

Identity is viewed as discursive and narrative constructions that are enabled by stories that social actors tell about themselves. A story and narratives have usually follow a sequential order and thus a temporal aspect that indicates development and may incorporate psychological elements. It usually begins with initial information about the story overall and who the participants are, followed by actions and the point of a story, and culminating with closure and result that bring it to the present moment (Elliot, 2005). Although life stories and

narratives provide rich content and data for the analysis of shared meanings, any dominant ideologies at play, argumentation and persuasion, and how social actor's identity is discursively shaped, this approach relies on language as the primary mode of communication. While it enables a detailed analysis of how a social actor talks about their identity and constructs it in their story, narrative identity studies do not allow for a more holistic analysis of identity production that involves action and how identity is enacted.

Sociological perspectives developed on the basis of Goffman's (1956, 1963) dramaturgical approach highlight performative nature of identity. Identity is enacted as an individual engages in their daily activities and interactions. Similar to a theatre performance, an individual performs their role which is predetermined and in line with the setting, i.e. location, props, and time. Furthermore, an individual may perform different roles as social actors may have multiple identities or selves that are performed in their interactions. Performance of these roles can involve body language, the language itself, a tone of voice, and style of speech. Similar to other perspectives, Goffman (1956, 1963) views identity as a social construct that is enacted in accordance with a situation they are in, in relation to others, and with a particular message that a social actor wants to communicate.

The performative aspect of identity and an acknowledgement of different roles that a social actor assumes and enacts as part of their identity have been echoed in many studies focused on representative practices, discourse, and Discourse with a big 'D'. For example, Gee (2000, 2017) via his NIDA (Nature Institution Discourse Affinity) identity theory and van Leeuwen (1996, 2008,

2015), who developed classification of social actors, argue that social actors engage in practices that are linked to particular roles that they assume in their daily lives. The discourse analytic and social semiotic perspectives on identity signal a move from purely language and text based analyses towards action, albeit at a macro, practice level. The practices that social actors engage in are representative of their roles in society which are assumed by them and assigned by others. I would, however, argue that although practices can indeed indicate what a person does to enact a particular identity, each action is unique and is not necessarily produced with the same means, at the same time or location, and in relation to the same people.

An analytical shift towards performance and action in discourse studies that address issues of identity is complemented further by social semioticians who emphasise a representative aspect of practices and inclusion of material means in the analysis. Van Leeuwen's (2008, 2015, 2021) work in particular incorporates artefacts, such as books, toys, brochures, photographs, newspaper articles, and creative pieces. Artefacts are to be used as resources to study social practices that are concrete, visible, and much less abstract than discourses.

Sociocultural studies particularly those that draw on the theory of mediated action (Holland & Lachicotte Jr, 2011; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995a, 1995b; Scollon, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2005; Scollon & Scollon, 2001, 2004; Wertsch, 1985, 1993, 1994, 1998, 2005) and MIA (Matelau-Doherty, 2019; Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2011a, 2013a, 2017, 2020, 2021; Norris & Makboon, 2015), offer a comprehensive methodological approach to study identity production. It

incorporates the performative nature of identity, i.e. identity is enacted. Identity is constructed or produced through social interaction and in relation to others. And finally, identity production and associated practices are rooted in the person's historical body (Scollon, 2001) or habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), which can explain actions that are both intentional and those that are not necessarily goal-oriented.

The MIA framework that this thesis utilises treats all modes of communication as equally important without giving primacy to a single mode, such as language. Furthermore, using mediated action as a unit of analysis enables a more integrative view of identity production. Not only does this framework include language but also offers a way to analyse non-linguistic and paralinguistic features, especially objects and artefacts. In mediated action theory and MIA, objects are treated as mediational means/cultural tools (Jones & Norris, 2005a; Scollon, 2001; Vygotsky, 1934, 1982; Wertsch, 1985, 2005) and as I show later in my analysis (see Chapter 4: Multimodal identity production | New Zealand, Chapter 5: Multimodal identity production | Russia and Chapter 6: Multimodal identity production | South Korea), objects provide a gateway to discover how, and which identity elements are produced as social actor (inter)acts with and through them.

The existing notions within MIA, such as identity element, horizontal and vertical identity production analytical tools provide grounds for discovery of multiplicity of identity (Norris, 2007), fluidity and hybridity (S. Hall, 1996a, 1996b; Luke & Luke, 1999), and simultaneous production of different identity elements.

However, the existing tools do not afford analysis of other structures that can be

formed in (inter)actions, especially those that indicate hierarchy and superordinate level, as well as wholeness and integrity. While the former is acknowledged in the form of varying scales of action (Norris, 2017), hierarchy and superordinate level do not apply to identity elements that a social actor produces. Whole and integral structures that a social actor produces in their (inter)actions are not addressed in the current scholarship that utilise MIA and theory of mediated action. In the three analysis chapters and also in section 3.4 Operationalising theory and methodological tools, I show that these gaps can be filled with the notions of identity cluster, convergence of identity elements and identity compounds I have developed and introduce in this thesis.

2.4 Language practices and identity

Language remains one of the key markers of identity through which individuals produce it and a symbol of ethnicity (Fishman, 1989). There are several issues associated with language practices among migrants and ethnic minorities pertinent to this study, such as language shift and language loss, maintenance of heritage language (henceforth HL) and linguistic strategy that enable production of identity. In all of these studies, the way language is used and context within which it occurs are the analytical foci that index identities associated with culture and ethnicity, speech community, workplace, and family (Altman et al., 2021; Barkhuizen, Knoch, & Starks, 2006; Boyd & Cao, 2009; De Fina, 2012).

Studies emanating from sociolinguistics, sociology of language, and language policy and planning are particularly helpful in understanding challenges associated with maintenance of HL (Barkhuizen, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch,

2006) and acquisition and use of language of a host country (Baynham, 2007; Crezee, 2010; Holmes, 2000; White, Watts, & Trlin, 2001, 2002). How migrants navigate those challenges gives valuable insights into how Discourse with a big 'D' (Gee, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2014) shapes negotiation of ethnic identity and what happens at the outer layers of discourse (Matelau, 2015; Norris, 2011a) in the process of identity production. On the one hand, it is the ethnic and cultural identity that is being preserved and constructed through continued use of HL. On the other hand, acquisition of the host country's language is linked to an emerging migrant identity associated with long-term settlement, integration, and naturalisation (Burns & Roberts, 2010; Cooke, 2006; Dickey, Drinkwater, & Shubin, 2018; C. Han, Starkey, & Green, 2010).

Maintenance of HL among migrants occurs mostly in the domains of communication with family and close personal networks, as well as in community settings. This practice is attributed to a sense of ethnic identity and a deep personal value of connection to family and ancestry (Fishman, 1972, 1989; Ozers, 2024). Using the example of third generation Latvian migrants in Australia, Ozers (2024) shows the use of HL and the Latvian identity are closely connected. Latvian language was spoken between family members and at events organised for and by the Latvians.

Other than maintenance of HL, a shift to the dominant language is a significant area that is intricately related to identity, settlement, and how people position themselves in society (Cavallaro, 2005; Fishman, 1964a, 1964b, 2006; García, 2022; Joo, 2009; M. Roberts, 2005). This is particularly critical for the third generation migrants and diasporic members most of whom are native speakers

of dominant language with little or no knowledge of their HL. Largely this is facilitated by language-in-education policies, a lack of sufficient support for minority languages, and economic reasons (May, 2006, 2012). These factors have been noted in the language policy of the Soviet Union where, despite initial promotion of bilingualism (HL and Russian proficiency) in all republics, a catalyst for Russification was Russian's prestige and its perceived intellectual and cultural qualities (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr, 2011; Sloboda, 2011). The perceptions also concerned the societal class. For example, as Sloboda (2011) notes, Belarusian speakers did not want to be perceived as poorly educated people from the rural areas. This stigma and a rapid urbanisation in 1950s-1980s facilitated a complete shift to Russian. And as a result, by the end of 1980's it became dominant not only the in public domain, but also in private communication among Belarusians.

The contribution from sociolinguistic scholarship gives further insights into identity production through language. Each time a person uses language, they negotiate their sense of self in relation to the social world. The third wave of sociolinguistics relies on such concepts as 'persona' (Podesva, 2007) and 'indexicality' (Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003). The 'persona' is a character that a person enacts in a context by means of different stylistic choices (Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Podesva, 2007), as well as visual means such as dress, appearance, body posture, and stance. The 'indexicality' is a notion akin to a mechanism, a process association, that enables performance of identity by pointing to ways a person identifies and positions themselves through language use and relevant patterns. For example, intraspeaker variation can explain

shifts in social meaning and performance of different 'personae' that depend on particular contexts and interactional goals.

Among ethnic migrants and members of diaspora, in a similar vein, language practices, such as code-switching can also index identities that associate with group membership and, broadly, collective ethnic identity. Code switching is a deliberate choice and a strategic linguistic practice that people employ to negotiate their social status and enact identities in diverse contexts and situations (Bamberg, De Fina, & Schiffrin, 2011; Du Bois, 2011; Gumperz, 1968/2001, 1977). For Sakhalin Koreans, as explained later in this chapter (see 2.8.3 Interconnectedness of Russian, Korean and Japanese factors in Sakhalin Korean identity) and findings, relevant language practices reflect their complex history, settlement, and integration into new home countries.

2.5 Objects – identity – action

Objects received a significant attention in anthropology, in the field of material culture (Appadurai, 1986; Belk, 1988; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Kopytoff, 1986; Money, 2007; Purbrick, 2014; Woodward, 2007) and social semiotics (Sengupta, 2021; van Leeuwen, 2021; Zappavigna, 2019). Objects have practical uses, including consumption, symbolic and representational functions; they also carry social meaning connecting people and communities that signify a person's identity and belonging (Hardy & Zalipour, 2023) and/or enforcing status and power (Candlin & Guins, 2009; Scholar, 2017). All these studies acknowledge that objects involve action of some sort and objects are part of performance of self and social identities. Identity studies that involve objects and artefacts draw attention to people-

object(s) relations, which highlights meaning and value that people develop when possessing, acquiring, using, and keeping them.

The concept of bricolage that originally comes from anthropological work of Lévi-Strauss (1962) and which later was adopted by cultural studies scholars (e.g. Hebdige, 1979), is of relevance and utility. Objects, through their use, can become particular symbols, be repurposed and create new meanings. Although Hebdige (1979) focused on subcultures, style functions as a secret code which consists of various elements that are considered as a form of communication and an act of resistance to the 'norms' and against the original meaning. A notable example is a safety pin that is being used as a symbol of non-conformity and being against the establishment as opposed to a common household object to hold clothes together.

One of the key themes in migrant and diasporic identity studies concerning objects is home and a sense of belonging. Pechurina (2020, 2023) in her studies of Russian migrant identity in the UK observed homemaking practices that involve the presence and use of objects and food in the participants homes. The everyday objects that her participants had in their homes act as symbols of connection and detachment from the home country. Objects, as she notes, help the Russian-speaking migrants reproduce a home through personalisation of their private spaces and keeping certain material possessions that represent a significant sentimental value. Objects act as reminders of her participants' heritage and cultural identity (Pechurina, 2017, 2020, 2023).

Food can be seen as a class of objects that Russian and/or Korean migrants continue to consume in their homes. Ethnic food being an important marker of identity has received attention among scholars studying Korean identity. Song (2016) in his ethnographic work in parts of Central Asia, Russia, including Sakhalin, and Ukraine, captured several Korean dishes that members of *Koryo-saram* and Sakhalin Korean diaspora continue to consume in their homes. Rice, which is a staple in Korean cuisine, and common side dishes, particularly kimchi, are continued to be eaten, made or purchased by ethnic Koreans. Song (2016) and S. U. Park (2019), who studies Sakhalin Korean identity, have provided visual data of some of the dishes *Koryo-saram* and Sakhalin Koreans consume in their homes. These studies are of high value and relevance to this thesis as these two scholars did not rely solely on interviews but provided (auto)ethnographic accounts.

A similar pattern of retention of Korean food practices is noted among Koreans living in the USA (J. Jeong, 2020; Oum, 2005; Young, 2009). Unlike Soviet and Russian Koreans who purchase ready to consume side dishes at open markets, Korean Americans purchase imported ingredients and condiments at grocery stores or at Korean restaurants run by fellow Korean migrants. In these studies, participants were asked about their food consumption practices and how they negotiate their identity through altering and combining Korean food with American dishes, particularly around celebration of public holidays. Although not stated explicitly, Korean food serves as (mediational) means for Korean parents to create a 'culinary home' for their children (J. Jeong, 2020).

In the above studies that attempt to explore the relationship between objects, including food, and people, there is a lack of sufficient analytical focus on action. The nature of relationships that people maintain through objects and artefacts, authenticity of the food they consume, and any new culinary combinations are studied at a practice, generic level. Furthermore, as I explain in sub-sections 3.2.3 Objects as mediational means/cultural tools and 3.3.3 Objects and frozen actions, in order to understand how identity is produced through objects, the latter should be considered as integral part of any action. A micro-level of analysis allows one to dissect such important to identity production elements as smell, taste, and texture (of ethnic food), language(s) and linguistic choices that people make as they produce their identity, proxemics, and many other both verbal and non-verbal modes that can be involved in (inter)acting with objects.

The way objects are approached in the study of identity production is tied to a theoretical and methodological orientation. The approach to study objects in this thesis is grounded in multimodal discourse theory and MIA because of its strengths and the methodological toolkit that affords a comprehensive analysis of identity production.

2.6 Food practices and identity

Food is another significant means through which ethnic migrants and members of diasporic communities produce their identity. Food connects people to their ancestral homelands, countries of birth, and histories (Fischler, 1988; Goirizelaia et al., 2022; Hariyatmi, 2019; J. Jeong, 2020). It functions as an emotional, social, and powerful cultural anchor (Alder, 2015; Parasecoli, 2014;

Takhar, Kizgin, & Magede, 2020). Through food, people negotiate belonging and contrastive experiences in new environments (Alder, 2015; Schermuly & Forbes-Mewett, 2016), including business and entrepreneurship (Nancheva, 2024), which is reflected in ways they produce both individual and collective identities (Lakoff, 2006; Marino, 2018).

Food practices among migrants highlight generational dynamics and how associated food culture is maintained and passed on and from one generation to another (Joseph & Voeks, 2021). First generation migrants utilise unique strategies to maintain their identity through food whilst adapting to new environments. This generation becomes skilled at substituting ingredients and developing hybrid recipes that maintain main flavour profiles. In their study of Iranian diaspora in New Zealand, Sayadabdi and Howland (2021) show how first generation Iranian women used considerable cultural knowledge and culinary skills in maintaining Persian flavours as they substituted ingredients and used what is available in New Zealand. The first Korean settlers in the Far East and Central Asia had to use different produce to make side dishes due to harsher climate. These settlers also introduced locals to the Korean flavours through food exchange and through adaptation of recipes established a distinct *koryo-saram* cuisine that this diaspora and its subsequent generations strongly identify with (Song, 2016). Indian immigrant women in Southern California would cultivate spices that are not available locally in their home gardens or bring them from India (Joseph & Voeks, 2021). The intergenerational transference of culinary knowledge among Joseph and Voeks' (2021) participants is vertical, i.e. through grandmothers and mothers to their daughters.

Food can be seen as a catalyst for migrant entrepreneurship. Nancheva's (2024) ethnographic study of the first generation Korean migrants in London is a clear example of how food enables them to maintain cultural authenticity and create business opportunities. Like other first generation migrants, Korean restaurant owners modify traditional recipes drawing on cultural knowledge and utilising their business acumen. Some, however, choose to focus on maintaining traditional flavours targeting ethnic markets. In his study of Malaysian Chinese family businesses Yew (2023) finds that food related enterprises evolve across generations in terms of strategies. The first generation entrepreneurs established food manufacturing businesses on the basis of traditional Chinese food knowledge and serving mainly ethnic Chinese markets. The second and third generations' strategies varied as they expanded their markets by serving Malaysian and international markets respectively. Korean migrants in New Zealand, faced with challenges like language barriers and non-transferable qualifications, have turned to self-employment. Establishing and operating restaurants has been a powerful path to creating their own opportunities and gaining economic independence (Song, 2013).

Food practices among the second generation highlight complexity of cultural negotiation associated with dual or 'hybrid' (Bhabha, 1994) identity. This generation of migrants and members of diasporic communities preserve ancestral food practices, which manifests in such activities as creating community spaces where people socialise over consumption of ethnic food, for example, social clubs, boarding houses, and restaurants (Alfonso, 2012; Goirizelaia et al., 2022). As noted earlier, Yew's (2023) study of Malaysian

Chinese family businesses in food manufacturing, second generation entrepreneurs adapt their strategy targeting wider market going beyond ethnic Chinese to include local, Malaysian clients. Through food, migrants of this generation develop a 'dual cultural identity' or an identity of 'in-betweeners' that incorporates elements from parental and host country's food culture (Takhar et al., 2020). This duality is enacted in people's situation and context specific food preferences that signal their belonging to a particular group. Using the an example of British ethnic migrants and their food practices, Takhar et al. (2020) demonstrate that food serves as representation of roots and ancestral identity. It is also a tool to negotiate identity, as well as representation of the in-between identity. Their participants navigate strategically between 'Indian curry houses' for authenticity and 'fish and chips' for British belonging (Takhar et al., 2020). Other than combining ethnic and host country's food cultures and flavours, the second generation leaves room for further iterations of recipes. Roberts (2023), in their study of identity among Koreans in Germany and the United States, points to multiplicity of identity as second generation Koreans make deliberate choices on the basis of personal preferences rather than following the recipes.

The third and later generations maintain connections to ancestral culture mainly through food-related memories across generations and geographic distances. For them, food serves as a repository of cultural memory, even when practical knowledge is lost. In her ethnographic work Yamanouchi (2024) shows that Japanese descendants in Australia would often discuss and share food stories despite rarely preparing those dishes themselves. Positive relationships with ancestors who engaged in cooking practices create warm and connecting

memories, whereas conflicted relationships would often result in ambivalence. The emotional factor in food memories is echoed in Hariyatmi's (2019) study on the role of food among members of diasporic communities. She notes that migrants remember flavours, spices and gastronomical experiences. For them, food and associated memories is what connects them to their homelands and gives comfort as they settle in new countries and overcome the feeling of being 'homesick' (Hariyatmi, 2019).

Changes in food practices reflect a transformative nature of identity and emergence of 'hybrid' as well as 'in-betweeners' identities (Bhabha, 1994; S. Hall, 1992/2007; Hariyatmi, 2019; J. Jeong, 2020; Marino, 2018; Takhar et al., 2020). These concepts are helpful in understanding how identity are negotiated and constructed in transnational contexts and beyond one locality. Furthermore, food practices among the third and later generations reflect a highly complex nature of identity. Migrants and diasporic members of this generation may not have the culinary skills to prepare traditional and ethnic dishes. However, they employ food related narratives to maintain connection to their ethnic culture. Through food choices and preferences people signal different identities and affiliations, depending on contexts, for example, opting for fish and chips to indicate British identity (Takhar et al., 2020) or eating turkey on a Thanksgiving day in America and serving Korean dishes as well (J. Jeong, 2020).

2.7 Korean identity production among other ethnic Koreans

Much of research on Korean ethnic and cultural identity focusses around the themes of settlement and integration of ethnic Koreans, including employment matters, hybridity and transnationalism of ethnic Koreans returnees', and

Korean national identity (Denney, Ward, & Green, 2023; Y.-J. Jeong, You, & Yang, 2024; H. K. Lee, 2018; J. S. Park & Chang, 2005; Sohn, 2023; Tsuda & Song, 2019). The context of migration and settlement is central to the understanding of such aspects of identity as language practices (Nelson, 2016; Roh & Chang, 2020; Young, 2009), consumption of ethnic food (J. Jeong, 2020; H. Kim & Hocking, 2018; Koenker, 2018; Oum, 2005; Song, 2016), occupation (G. Kim, 2009; H. Kim & Hocking, 2018; Lisovskaya, 2018), and home and a sense of belonging (Hong, Song, & Park, 2013; Min, 2020).

Research on Korean identity production can be viewed as a subset within the field of migrant studies that focus particularly on ethnic Koreans who migrated and settled outside the Korean peninsula as well as those who chose to return to Korea. Given how broad, diverse, and dispersed Korean diaspora is in the world (E.-J. Han, Han, & Lee, 2020), it needs to be acknowledged that not all Korean diasporas have received sufficient attention in the contemporary scholarship.

In the, broadly, western scholarship research on Korean identity has initially been focused on Korean American adoptees, many of whom were brought to the USA as children following the Korean War. For the first generation adoptees and Korean emigrees a common challenge that they experienced was limited fluency in English (Y.-J. Jeong et al., 2024; O'Connor & Batalova, 2019) For many, not having a full command of the language and 'Korean' accent are signifiers of 'otherness' (Young, 2009).

Matters pertaining to language practices among migrants, including ethnic Koreans, have been sufficiently addressed in the fields of migrant studies, sociolinguistics, language policy, and applied linguistics. Continued maintenance of the migrants' first/heritage language, as Holmes (2008) notes, is due to language being an important symbol of migrant identity, which many choose to preserve as they settle in new countries.

Young's (2009) research into hybrid identity production echoes the idea of performativity and a shifting nature of Korean identity. Additionally, the way identity is enacted is context specific. Location, language, and the dialectical tension of assimilation-preservation are the three sites that she identifies for identity formation. Performativity of Korean identity is echoed in Lee's (2018) study concerning Korean American and *Chosonjok* (Korean Chinese) diasporas. Koreanness, she notes, is observed in the food that that return migrants eat, the language they use, and performance of traditions and customs – all of which is embedded in everyday practices. She further argues that Koreanness is not only a cultural construct, but a far more complex notion that involves class, ethnicity, and national identity in people's country of origin and their ethnic homeland.

2.8 Sakhalin Korean identity

To date, studies on Sakhalin Koreans and Sakhalin Korean identity remain extremely limited. Sakhalin Korean diaspora has received some recognition in the literature in relation to recent family reunification programme (Din, 2015a, 2020; D. Lee, 2011; J. Lee, 2002; S. U. Park, 2019). The key feature that has been discussed is the legal status of Sakhalin Koreans who were unable to

return to Korea following the World War II and have since petitioned for their return to their homeland and settlement experiences (Balitskaya & Park, 2015, 2020; Din, 2015a; Saveliev, 2010, 2018).

2.8.1 Special status Sakhalin Korean returnees

The identity of Sakhalin Koreans has primarily been addressed in relation to nationality and eligibility for South Korean citizenship. As noted by J. S. Park and Chang (2005), ethnic origin alone is not sufficient for overseas Koreans to claim access to economic opportunities in South Korea through work rights and permanent migration. Unlike other ethnic Koreans based outside South Korea, e.g. *Chosonjok* (ethnic Koreans in China) and *Koryo-saram* (ethnic Koreans from Central Asia), Sakhalin Koreans – the first generation or those who were forcefully resettled by the Japanese before August 15 1945 – are eligible for South Korean citizenship and settlement support (Din, 2015a, 2015b; S. U. Park, 2019).

The third generation Sakhalin Koreans, including this study's participants, are eligible for long-term work permits (F4 visa) that can lead to permanent residency and South Korean citizenship. This somewhat open immigration policy has allowed considerable number of the second and third generation Sakhalin and Russian Koreans to join or visit their parents and grandparents who chose to settle in South Korea as part of the family reunification programme (Din, 2015b). It is worth noting that other ethnic Koreans from the former Soviet Union, for example, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, did not enjoy this privilege until mid 2010s. For Sakhalin Koreans, such recognition and policy towards reunification of the forcefully resettled people has contributed to and

facilitated their mobility and long-term migration and settlement in the historic homeland.

2.8.2 Sakhalin Koreans on their identity and cultural practices

The current scholarship concerning Sakhalin Koreans highlights changes associated with cultural practices for those who continue to live on Sakhalin and Russia and settlement challenges in South Korea. The central issue revolves around their knowledge of Korean and socio-cultural competence when visiting and living in South Korea on a long-term basis. Assimilation into Soviet and then Russian culture, as S. U. Park (2019) notes, has resulted in language shift and subsequently Korean language loss. While the first generation of Sakhalin Koreans spoke Korean as their first language, for the third generation, including my participants, and their parents it was replaced by Russian. He further adds that young Sakhalin Koreans, third and fourth generations, are not or barely familiar with the history of their ancestors, Korean traditions, and customs (S. U. Park, 2019).

The issue of language and differences between Russian and South Korean cultures that many Sakhalin Koreans have experienced whilst either visiting their elderly relatives or working in South Korea, prompted them to reflect on their identity (Din, 2015a, 2015b). Many, particularly third generation Sakhalin Koreans, question whether they can be considered as 'real Koreans' having faced a different treatment due to their lack of knowledge of Korean, Russian mentality and behaviour, and worldview (Din, 2015b).

Given those cultural differences, the third generation Sakhalin Koreans also do not seem to consider themselves being part of South Korean society. As Din's (2015b) Sakhalin-based participants state, they strongly identify themselves with the island rather than a country, either Russia or South Korea:

«Я сахалинка, такой себя и ощущаю. Поехать в Корею? Зачем? Если захочу уехать с Сахалина, может быть, даже в другую страну – в Австралию, Канаду, Америку... Для меня Корея – такая же страна, абсолютно чужая»

[I'm a Sakhaliner, and I feel that way. Going to Korea? For what? If I want to leave Sakhalin, maybe even for a different country – Australia, Canada, America... For me Korea is the same country, absolutely foreign²] (Din, 2015b, p. 216).

«Я раньше думал – кто я больше: русский или кореец? Я решил, что я – отдельная личность, отдельная нация. Я в первую очередь сахалинец, а уж потом все остальное. Но хангуком себя не ощущаю»

[In the past I would think – who I am more: Russian or Korean? I decided that I am a separate person, separate nation. I am first of all a

² Translation my own

Sakhaliner, and only then everything else. But I don't feel that I'm a *hanguk*³] (Din, 2015b, p. 220)

Another participant in Din's study who also identifies herself with the island more than a country, states that cultural differences, particularly people's mentality and outlook, are more important:

«Не чувствую себя корейкой. Конечно, я думаю и говорю исключительно на русском языке, моя родина Сахалин. Но даже не в языке и месте жизни дело. Язык можно выучить, место поменять. Мироззрение, менталитет останется, хоть где ты живешь. Я вижу разницу между местными корейцами и корейцами из Кореи, они совершенно другие. Они мне нравятся, но я не ощущаю связи... они как японцы, или китайцы, или американцы – просто другая нация, не похожая на нас. А если я не похожа на них – значит, я не корейка!»

[I don't feel that I'm Korean. Of course, I think and speak exclusively in Russian, my homeland is Sakhalin. But it is not even a matter of language or place of residence. One can learn a language and change the place. Worldview, mentality will remain the same, no matter where you live. I see the difference between local Koreans and Koreans from (South) Korea, they are totally different. I like them, but I don't feel

³ Hanguk is an adopted word from Korean which means a South Korean person from South Korea. Translation of this quote is my own.

connection... They are like Japanese, or Chinese or Americans – simply another nation, not like us. And if I am not like them, therefore I am not Korean⁴] (Din, 2015b, pp. 220-221).

Different outlook that Din's participants mentioned and how people feel about their Koreanness or lack thereof, appear to be co-related with their settlement potential. Both Din (2015b) and S. U. Park (2019) in their monographs report that their Sakhalin Korean participants felt about being strangers in South Korea. The third generation's lack Korean language fluency and knowledge of local customs and laws, prevents them from obtaining skilled employment. As a result, many are forced to work as labourers for low wages and rethink their plans in relation to permanent settlement in South Korea. Their monographs are currently the only sources that address issues pertaining to Sakhalin Korean identity, settlement, and adaptation.

2.8.3 Interconnectedness of Russian, Korean and Japanese factors in Sakhalin Korean identity

Cultural fusion and hybridity consisting of Russian, Korean, and Japanese elements that Sakhalin and Russian Koreans practice, is notable. This fusion and hybridity are found in the spoken languages and linguistic choices, food consumption and surrounding practices, as well as Korean cultural celebrations, which are intricately connected with family life and relations that Sakhalin Koreans maintain (S. U. Park, 2019; Saveliev, 2018; Song, 2016).

⁴ Translation is my own.

For Sakhalin Koreans, language has become one of the primary markers of their ethnicity (Balitskaya & Park, 2015, 2020). Language practices of Sakhalin Koreans have undergone significant changes that resulted in language shifts: first from Korean to Japanese, then from Korean to Russian, as well as language loss heritage language. The latter has been widely reported among second and subsequent generations (Balitskaya & Park, 2015, 2020; Din, 2013, 2015a, 2015b; S. U. Park, 2019). Linguistic assimilation, as Holmes (2008) notes, clearly indicates ethnic assimilation and the dominant language becoming a symbol of ethnic identity.

There are three distinct features of language practices among Sakhalin Koreans: a shift to Russian, little to no knowledge of Korean heritage language (Din, 2013, 2015a, 2015b), and an occasional use of Japanese words in daily life. S. U. Park (2019) attributes them to cultural assimilation that occurred over time first from the Japanese colonial rule, then due to the Sovietisation and later after the *Perestroika*.

Due to the Japanese colonial rule and the assimilation policies that were imposed on Sakhalin Koreans (Fumagalli, 2022; Logie, 2016; S. U. Park, 2019), many still use Japanese words in daily life. Song (2016) links their use in the culinary culture to refer to food related items, such as various kinds of seaweed (Japanese *wakame* and *kombu* vs Korean *myok* and *tashima*) and chopsticks (Japanese *hashi* vs Korean *chotkarak*). Similarly, S. U. Park (2019) in his descriptions of Sakhalin Korean dishes resorts to the Japanese coined word *ajinomodo* to refer to MSG, a common ingredient in Korean cuisine. While the

use of Japanese words in daily life has been a result of relevant policies, from the sociolinguistic perspective it is a linguistic choice that is identity telling. Marra (2014) notes this is one of the ways in which a speaker signals their membership of a cultural group and hence using Japanese words in everyday lexicon is a component of Sakhalin Korean (cultural) identity.

Balitskaya and Park (2020); Din (2013, 2015a, 2015b); S. U. Park (2019) are the only scholars, to date, whose research focuses mainly on Sakhalin Korean identity and settlement. They address the issues of language shift and language loss in the context of settlement and adaptation to foreign cultural environment, particularly for the first and second generation of Sakhalin Korean diaspora members. Language practices of the third and subsequent generations remain largely uncovered in the current scholarship.

One issue that has been highlighted is a lack of Korean language literacy among Sakhalin Koreans who have chosen to migrate South Korea on a long-term or permanent bases (Balitskaya & Park, 2020; Din, 2013, 2015a, 2015b; S. U. Park, 2019). Insufficient knowledge of Korean, particularly literary forms and observing South Korean cultural norms that are embedded in language, cause significant barriers for Sakhalin Korean migrants' settlement and integration into a skilled workforce (Balitskaya & Park, 2020). While the first generation receive several social benefits and their need to supplement income is not as acute, low level of Korean, particularly the South Korean/Seoul standard, force the second and younger generations to engage in an unskilled labour. Some, like other ethnic Koreans from the former Soviet Union, resort to

working in a Russian language environment with fellow migrants who open businesses in South Korea (Lisovskaya, 2018).

Apart from language, Sakhalin Koreans produce their identity through food. Like other ethnic Koreans in the Soviet Union and Russia, Sakhalin Koreans also adjusted their food consumption practices. This involved using different ingredients as some produce is unavailable on Sakhalin and replacing it with locally grown greens and vegetables for *namul*⁵, and the introduction of Soviet/Russian and broadly western dishes (Song, 2016). S. U. Park (2019) gives examples of bread, dairy, and various smoked and cured meats that Sakhalin Koreans include in their diet, as well as salted salmon roe, fish pate, and other seafood. It is also quite common to have a bowl of rice next to *borsch*⁶ or serve *plov*⁷ with *doenjanguk*⁸ and *banchan*⁹ next to Russian salad *Olivier*¹⁰ (S. U. Park, 2019; Song, 2016).

Given the variety of dishes and incorporation of the Russian/western dishes, Sakhalin Koreans have continued to use Korean cutlery and include knives and forks (Song, 2016). Lankov (2000), in his detailed overview of Korean daily life in South Korea, notes that Korean cutlery is quite distinct. Unlike the Chinese and Japanese chopsticks, the Korean ones are made of stainless steel. They are thin in shape and are roughly 20-25 cm long. Lankov (2000) also reports

⁵ Side dishes made of greens.

⁶ Beetroot and tomato soup of Ukrainian and Russian origins.

⁷ Plov is a rice dish with meat and vegetables, originally from Central Asia.

⁸ Doenjanguk is a soup made with fermented soybean paste.

⁹ Side dishes which may as well include namul, sides made of greens

¹⁰ It is also known as Winter salad and in Europe it is referred to as 'Russian salad'.

that Korean spoons compared to European have a longer stem and the spoon's bowl is less deep. While Song (2016) reports that chopsticks are still being used by Sakhalin Koreans, neither he nor Lankov (2000) observed any differences in the cutlery itself that Sakhalin Koreans use in their homes or the kinds of cutlery that are available to them at local eateries.

Apart from food consumption practices, Sakhalin Koreans managed to preserve Korean traditions, including cultural celebrations (Saveliev, 2010). For Koreans and particularly Sakhalin Koreans they revolve around kinship and maintaining family ties (S. U. Park, 2019). Such significant life milestones as *dol*, a child's first birthday, and *hwanggap*, a person's 60th birthday, involve participation of immediate family members and other relatives in rituals and presence of family friends (Lankov, 2000; S. U. Park, 2019; Samsonov, 2013).

A notable change in contemporary cultural celebrations of *dol* and *hwanggap* among Sakhalin Koreans is due to the influence of 'European' traditions (S. U. Park, 2019). In the past, they were celebrated at home, now Sakhalin Koreans choose to organise these festivities in restaurants. Another change concerns the choice of music. S. U. Park (2019) in his description of contemporary *dol* and *hwanggap* reports that Sakhalin Koreans include a mixture of Korean and Russian songs.

A significant feature that indicates how Korean and Russian factors are interconnected is seen in the naming practices. In the post-Karafuto time, after the end of Japanese colonial rule, for Sakhalin Koreans, particularly among third generation, Russian names have become popular. As a result of

adaptation to the Soviet and then Russian culture, S. U. Park (2019) reports that many Sakhalin Koreans of this generation bear and tend to give patronymic names to their children in accordance with the Soviet/Russian naming pattern, i.e. western names followed by a patronymic¹¹. Furthermore, the practice of including a patronymic name in birth certificates and other documents is also a legal requirement which has forced many to adopt patronymics despite such names being culturally inappropriate. Since most Sakhalin Koreans of the first and second generations bear Korean legal names, their children's names are somewhat peculiar, i.e. a Russian first name followed by a patronymic based on father's Korean given name (Balitskaya & Park, 2015; S. U. Park, 2019).

Some Sakhalin Koreans, however, have retained preference for Korean names. In daily life many of them also adopt and go by Russian names. S. U. Park (2019) attributes this practice to Russians not being accustomed to the 'strange' sound of Korean names. Thus, some Sakhalin Koreans have both Korean and Russian names that they use in various contexts.

In 1950-1970s most Sakhalin Korean families followed the principles of Neo-Confucian philosophy in the naming practices. Newborn Sakhalin Korean babies were primarily given by the older generation relatives (Lankov, 2000; S. U. Park, 2019). Given names, as Lankov (2000) explains, should not contain the same characters that are included in names of close relatives, including parents. For women, according to the Confucian traditions, it is generally not

¹¹ A patronymic name is a derivative of father's first name followed by a suffix -ovich/-evich/-ivich OR -ovna/ -evna/-ivna for males and females respectively.

common to take husband's surname upon marriage. However, under the influence of Russian culture, some young Sakhalin Koreans started going against this tradition and now prefer bearing their husband's family name (S. U. Park, 2019).

2.9 Limitations of literature

The existing scholarship on Sakhalin Korean identity remains scarce and even more so concerning the third generation. S. U. Park (2019), Din (2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2020), and Balitskaya and Park (2015, 2020) are the only scholars whose research focuses on Sakhalin Korean diaspora specifically. These studies cover Sakhalin Koreans who either continue to reside on the island or have emigrated to South Korea. Neither of these scholars include Sakhalin Koreans who have settled in mainland Russia and neither have they considered Sakhalin Korean emigrants who chose to settle outside Russia and South Korea, for example, in New Zealand.

Another limitation concerns methodological differences. Most studies on Korean and Sakhalin Korean identity rely heavily on interviews as a method of data collection. Reliance on the mode of language as a major source and resource causes further limitations to the extent identity is and can be studied. S. U. Park (2019), Din (2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2020), and Balitskaya and Park (2015, 2020) who conducted interviews with a number of participants focused on such areas as nationality, ethnicity, and cultural domains having overlooked such elements of personal identity as relationships, including family, personal interests, and occupational identity.

Visual data is largely absent from the current scholarship on Sakhalin Korean identity. S. U. Park (2019) study includes still images of various objects, such as home interior, different foods that Sakhalin Koreans consume, traditional dress and other items. However, those images come from his personal archive and are accompanied by his personal accounts and reflections. This thesis, by contrast, utilises participants' data gathered during video-ethnographic fieldwork that I conducted across three countries focussing on identity production among the third generation Sakhalin Koreans.

And finally, as I have signalled in section 2.5 Objects – identity – action approaches that rely on interviews to study the people-object(s) relationship and how people produce their identity through material means cause further limitations. The lack of studies that showcase visual and multimodal data and analyses of identity is mediated by objects particularly for Sakhalin Koreans are likely due to challenges associated with conducting ethnographic studies that involve the use of photographic and video-recording equipment. As Pechurina (2020) explains in her postscript-like article and Pink (2012, 2021) who discusses difficulties with conducting ethnographic work more broadly, there might be ethical considerations that concern both the researcher and participants, and access to participants' homes and objects may be restricted or simply not granted.

Further to restrictions related to data, there is an insufficient focus on how people (inter)act with and through objects as they produce their identity. While the existing studies on objects acknowledge a performative aspect, the level at which actions are analysed are rather macro and generic. They do not or barely

consider a) different modes that may be involved, b) that objects can be (inter)acted with in a manner which is different to their original, functional use or symbolic representation except the concept of bricolage (Hebdige, 1979), c) there may be more than one identity that a social actor produces through an object, and d) every action that a person produces through the same object is not the same (Scollon, 2001) and hence can be telling of a different identity.

2.10 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the reader(s) into Sakhalin and Sakhalin Korean diaspora, provided an overview of key policy and socio-economic conditions that Sakhalin Koreans face in New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea. I then reviewed literature pertaining to approaches to study identity production, language practices, objects, food, Korean and Sakhalin Korean identity. Following this, I highlighted some key limitations in the current scholarship concerning Sakhalin Korean identity and everyday identity production through objects in the context of migration and long-term settlement.

Chapter 3: Methodology and research design

3.1 Chapter outline

Theoretically, this study is grounded in multimodal discourse and employs ethnographic methods of data collection and interpretation. In this chapter, I first explain the thesis' theoretical framework, focusing on Mediated Discourse Analysis and then turning to the Multimodal (Inter)action Analysis (MIA) framework. I then detail how the analytic tools of Mediated Discourse and MIA are operationalised and applied in my analysis. Following the theoretical discussion, I turn to the research design. I explain the data collection methods, including how participants were recruited and selected, and the ethical considerations addressed. I then list the equipment and the specific types of data collected. Next, I introduce the six main participants and describe what a typical data collection day involved for each. Finally, I address the logistical considerations of the study and disclose any force majeure circumstances that required mitigation.

3.2 Theory of mediated discourse

3.2.1 Theoretical principles

Mediated discourse analysis is theory of human action developed by Ron and Suzanne Wong Scollon (Scollon, 1998, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Mediated discourse analysis is underpinned by three key principles: social action, communication, and history.

The principle of social action

In mediated discourse theory, discourse is conceived by social action rather than thoughts, values or representations (Scollon, 2001). The aim is to understand how social action becomes possible in society and the extent discourse plays a role in that action. The unit of analysis is then a social action or mediated action.

Social/mediated action is quite often based in tacit action forming practice.

Wertsch (1998) explains practice as chains of actions with a history within a particular group of social actors and within an individual's cognitive development. Scollon (2001) in his definition follows Bourdieu (1977) and Nishida (1958) highlighting the social, historical and mediational aspects.

Scollon (2001) defines practice as a historical accumulation of mediated actions within Bourdieu's habitus or Nishida's historical body, that are performed over a period of time. Other social actors recognise and understand them as the 'same' social action (Jones & Norris, 2005b). Social practices and actions are appropriated within social actors' habitus and also, as Norris (2004a) theorises, practice can be found 'frozen' within mediational means that a social actor uses as they (inter)act.

The principle of communication

This principle is linked to the principle of social action in that the social aspect is realised when it is communicated to others, which should be shared and understood by others. The way shared meaning is produced is via mediational means such as language, physical objects, gestures, and others. As Scollon (2001) addresses communicative aspect of action, he makes an important

remark about how mediational means are organised. He notes that a mediated action involves multiple mediational means and the relationship between them is complex. Furthermore, the multiplicity of mediational means are not accidental aggregates but can be more salient and preferred, which only highlights complexity of their relationship to each other and how they are related within a site of engagement.

The principle of history

This principle means that shared meaning derives from the common past.

Scollon (2001) further explains that social action is interdiscursive as social action is positioned within overlapping discourses that can be conflicting. Social action embeds intertextuality, i.e. links to other discourses and texts that have been used in previously or elsewhere (Gee, 2011a, 2011b, 2014; Lemke, 1992). And finally, social action is dialogic as all communication is a response to prior communication that assumes that further communication will follow.

3.2.2 Mediated action

In mediated discourse theory as well as multimodal (inter)action analysis, mediated action is the ecological unit of analysis. Mediated action is understood as an action performed by a social actor or agent with and through mediational means/cultural tools (Jones, 2015; Norris, 2019, 2020; Scollon, 1998, 2001, 2005; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Wertsch, 1993, 1994, 1998). The concept of mediated action is largely based on L.S. Vygotsky's (1934, 1982) idea of mediation (опосредствование/oposredstvovanie) (Norris, 2011a; Wertsch, 1985, 1993, 1994, 1998, 2005), as well as M.M. Bakhtin's (1975) notion of

appropriation (присвоение/prisvoenie). Mediation links social, cultural and mental processes of an individual (Wertsch, 1985).

The analysis of a mediated action should have a dual focus: an agent and mediational means. The essence of mediated action, as Wertsch (1994, 1998) argues, lies in the irreducible tension between mediational means and actions. This dictum is the key characteristic that Wertsch (1998) addresses first in his outline of properties of mediated action.

3.2.2.1 Characteristics and properties of mediated action

- ***An irreducible tension between agent and mediational means***

A mediated action is never carried by the agent/social actor alone without the use and presence of mediational means/cultural tools. Similarly, mediational means/cultural tools do not exist independent of action(s). Using an example of pole-vaulting sport, Wertsch (1998) demonstrates futility of understanding pole vaulting action without considering both the agent and mediational means. A vaulter is not able to jump over a bar without a pole and knowing how to use it; and a pole cannot bring a vaulter over the bar.

- ***All mediational means are material***

Some mediational means that are involved in action, particularly physical objects/artefacts, continue to exist over time and beyond the agents' lifespan. Other means, like spoken language, have a momentary materiality but that, as Wertsch (1998) argues, does not make it any less real.

- ***Mediated action has multiple simultaneous goals***

Building on Burke's (1969) ideas around motivation and using his pentadic elements framework, Wertsch (1998) explains that a mediated action serves multiple purposes or goals and quite often those goals may be found in conflict with each other. For example, a pole vaulter may want to let their competitor win and thus foregoes the goal of getting over the cross bar. In his other example of multiplication 343 by 822, Wertsch (1998) departs from Burke in his suggestion to view action involving multiple goals as opposed to dissolution of purposes due to 'instrumentality'. That is goals of an action should be formulated in such a way that can avoid reduction associated with the use of tools, for example a calculator, specific ways of solving a problem and solving it under certain settings, for example, exam conditions (Wertsch, 1998). Although implied implicitly, the use of tools and/or performing under the exam condition to solve a problem are goals and therefore viewing a mediated action embedding multiple goals and hence multiple actions helps a researcher examine it holistically.

- ***Mediated action is situated on developmental paths***

Further to the first point on irreducible tension between an agent and mediational means, Wertsch (1998) points to a historical situatedness and that both agents and their mediational means are under the process of further changes. Additionally, development is affected by contingent events and accidents which, in turn, shapes an action.

- ***Constraints and affordances of mediational means***

Just as mediational means can enable an action, they can also significantly limit agent's ability to perform it. Jones and Norris (2005a) explain this using an example of microphone. Indeed, a microphone allows the speaker(s) to be heard at a great distance by large audiences. At the same time, it limits the speaker's privacy should they wish to say something to another person and not wanting to be heard by others in the audience.

- ***Mediated action is transformed by novel mediational means/cultural tools***

A significant change in mediated action can be caused by a new mediational means/cultural tool. Referring to an earlier example of pole vaulting, Wertsch explains how replacing aluminium pole with a fibreglass one resulted in major transformation of this sport.

- ***Mastery***

Mastery refers to agents' skill level that they need to use mediational means.

- ***Appropriation***

Closely related to mastery, appropriation (Bakhtin, 1975) is a characteristic of mediated action that one can understand as a process of making something their own, albeit partially.

- ***Spin-off***

This characteristic refers to how mediational means are produced. Quite

often, as Wertsch notes, they are a result of development in other, unrelated areas. For example, fibreglass as a material was not initially intended for the use in pole vaulting sport. Originally, as Wertsch explains (1998), it was researched and developed by military and aviation industries that needed light and strong materials.

- ***Power and authority***

Issues of power and authority concern both the agent and mediational means. The former refers to locating power and authority in an individual or institutions that influence a person in acting in a particular way or making them do what is required. The latter, particularly new mediational means/cultural tools, can transform or even challenge power and authority. Wertsch (1998) illustrates this in the family, parents-daughter, interaction at a restaurant, where power and authority initially were held by the father and later shifted to the daughter as she introduced Euler's formula, a new (to their conversation) topic, that served as mediational means. Even though the daughter did not quite understand the formula, it enabled her to gain control over this interaction and change its dynamic from the instruction-response-evaluation sequence towards a request for information and explanation.

3.2.3 Objects as mediational means/cultural tools

In mediated discourse as well as MIA, mediational means and cultural tools is an interchangeable term and concept. Mediational means or cultural tools are physical and psychological objects that are integral part of an action (Jones & Norris, 2005a).

Based on Wertsch's (1998) account of characteristics of mediated action that included those of mediational means, Scollon (2001) summarises key characteristics of objects and proposes the fifth that has not been addressed.

Objects as mediational means are:

1. Dialectical

There is a dialectic between the material aspect of an object that exists in the world and the psychological process of an actor who uses it as they act.

2. Historical

Objects are historically linked to economic, political, social and cultural entities and to a person who uses it. The historical aspect is related to Wertsch's claims of mediated action being situated on a developmental path, mediational means being appropriated by an individual, as well as the presence of power and authority in society.

3. Partial

Scollon (2001) notes that mediational means do not fit the action fully and exactly. Only some features of an object are relevant and impactful. This partiality is due to mediational means' affordances and constraints which, in turn, transform a mediated action in question.

4. Connective

The connectivity is linked to mediation action's multiple goals and purposes. Scollon (2001) adds that mediational means also connects multiple participants. In his example of using coins to pay for coffee, he notes that coins are handed to the cashier to pay for the drink and the same coins are part of the cashier's pay. Coins, as Scollon goes on to explain, connect multiple goals of buying

coffee, having a conversation, and supporting a student-run coffeeshop where he goes.

5. Classificatory and representational (not concrete)

Scollon (2001) argues that “mediational means are classes of objects or representations of objects, not objects in themselves (p. 121). Referring to an earlier example of buying coffee at a student-run coffeeshop, he notes that it is not the same cup of coffee that he buys and neither the coins are the same. Rather, what is purchased and exchanged is tokens of the type. This characteristic is related to mediational means being partial and thus “mediational means are a class of objects suited to a class of actions” (ibid).

3.3 Multimodal (inter)action analysis framework (MIA)

3.3.1 Unit of analysis

MIA (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021; Pirini, 2015) is a comprehensive framework that is anchored in mediated discourse theory (Scollon, 1998, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). It has an abundance of tools that enable an analysis of human (inter)action and identity. The term (inter)action refers to actions that a social actor produces through tools, environment, objects, and other individuals. It encompasses a multitude of actions that are involved in production of identity (Norris, 2011a).

At the core of MIA lies the notion of mediated action (Scollon, 1998, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Wertsch, 1993, 1994, 1998), which Norris (2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021) further delineates into the following units:

- Lower-level action,
- Higher-level action, and
- Frozen action.

Lower-level action is the smallest pragmatic unit of an action performed through a particular mode or modes, for example, an utterance through the mode of spoken language, or a brush stroke through the modes of object handling and paint. **Higher-level action** is an action comprised of chains of lower-level actions and both lower- and higher-level actions constitute each other. An example of higher-level action is a participant having dinner. This action involves such lower-level actions as sitting down, using cutlery, the actual consumption of food, putting a plate on the dining table, etc. **Frozen action** is a lower- or higher-level action embedded in material objects and environment, and within a site of engagement that a social actor performed in the past (Norris, 2004a, 2011a, 2013a, 2019, 2020, 2021; Norris & Makboon, 2015; Pirini, 2015). Frozen action within the same example of participant having dinner is an action embedded in the plate that was put on the dining table.

On a philosophical level lower-, higher-level and frozen actions are grounded in the notions of perception and embodiment (Norris, 2019, 2021). A lower- or higher-level action is perceived by the person producing it; that action can also be perceived by others. In case of an object and/or environment, both are perceived by the social actors and others. Perception of the latter involves reading actions off and assigning them to that object or environment. This ability is supported by our own learned experience and background knowledge of the social actors (Norris, 2020).

In mediated discourse theory, there is a connection and interdependence between the body-mind and environment (Norris, 2019, 2021). Actions and cognitive activities are not performed by bodies and brains independently and by themselves. All mediated actions: lower-, higher-level and frozen are produced by the body, objects, and environment. All actions are always embodied and mediated in multiple ways.

3.3.2 Other relevant tools and concepts

3.3.2.1 Scales of action

Social actors may perform several smaller or larger scale actions simultaneously and continuously. It is a useful tool for the analysis of multiplicity of actions and determining how those actions are structured. Norris (2017) giving an example of driving and shopping for arts supplies explains that while her participant performs several actions at the same time, they are different and not necessarily sequential. She shows that drive is embedded in the action of shopping for arts supplies and drive also embeds car talk. The larger scale action of shopping for arts supplies does not just involve driving to the store alone, but other higher-level mediated actions, such as making a shopping list, buying the supplies, and driving back home.

Further to this complexity one also has to consider mediational means/cultural tools (Jones & Norris, 2005a; Scollon, 2001) and the multiplicity of various means that a social actor uses in each (inter)action of larger or smaller scale (Norris, 2017). Mediational means/cultural tools play an important role in actions both of regulatory and auxiliary in nature. As Norris (2017) explains, driving is

mediated not only by the car, but also streets, the participant's body, including arms, legs, and eyes. Similarly, a large-scale higher-level action of shopping for arts supplies is realised by such mediational means/cultural tools as a shopping list, the participant's phone where notes were taken, and the actual supplies that she bought, among other, not so visually evident psychological means as a verbal announcement of having to buy the supplies and her thoughts about it.

3.3.2.2 Mode

In MIA, mode is a theoretical concept and an analytical tool. It is defined as a system of mediated action with rules and regularities, which comes about through concrete lower-level actions (Norris, 2013a, 2013b, 2020). There are several theoretical considerations that need to be accounted for when applying it as an analytical tool:

- 1) Mode is a theoretical concept and a heuristic unit that one can draw on to explain social actions (Norris, 2004a, 2013b, 2020).
- 2) It does not exist in the world in isolation (Norris, 2013b).
- 3) Mode, as it develops through lower-level actions, is transferable to other lower-level actions that a social actor performs (Norris, 2013b).

As the Norris' (Norris, 2004a, 2012, 2013a, 2013b) definition of mode builds on the notion of mediated action, rules and regularities can be more linked to mediational means/cultural tools (Jones & Norris, 2005a; Norris, 2004a, 2013a, 2014, 2019; Scollon, 1998, 2001; Wertsch, 1994) or the social actor. In the case of language, as Norris (2013a) observes, rules and regularities are embedded in the cultural tools of semantics, syntax and other domains that make up this

(abstract) system. In contrast, the mode of walking or running would be more attached to the social actor's body as they move from point A to point B.

3.3.2.3 Modal density, modal configurations, and modal aggregates

Modal density or lower-level action density is a methodological tool that enables the researcher to determine intensity and/or complexity of lower-level actions in (the almost always) *multiple* higher-level actions performed in a given interaction. In other words, modal density refers to the importance of particular actions and the interrelationship between the lower-level actions (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2011a, 2013a, 2014, 2020; Pirini, 2015).

When analysing a series of actions associated with, for example, finding temporary accommodation (a higher-level action) for a migrant or by a migrant, modal density can help identify which lower-level action is prevalent, and how it intersects with other lower-level actions. A person may be browsing various websites on their laptop and at the same time they may be talking to their partner and showing them different options. In this hypothetical example, the following communicative modes may be present: spoken language (their first language or the language of the host country), object handling (Norris, 2011a; Scollon, 2001), touch/feel, gaze, print, proxemics (E. T. Hall, 1966), and so on. The application of modal density as an analytical tool enables a researcher to provide detailed explorations and explanation of how social actors interact and through what actions their migrant identity, on this occasion, is produced.

Closely related to modal density, **modal configurations** is a tool that allows us to investigate the hierarchy and connections between the modes that are

employed within a higher-level action (Norris, 2014, 2020). From the analysis of modal density and having identified which modes are utilised, we can then use a tool of modal configuration to demonstrate which of those modes are absolutely necessary or least necessary in an (inter)action and in simultaneously performed higher-level actions. Using the same example of a higher-level action of finding accommodation, we have two (inter)actions: one is browsing a relevant website on a laptop and discussing options with the partner (refer to Figure 1: Modal configurations for two simultaneously performed actions).

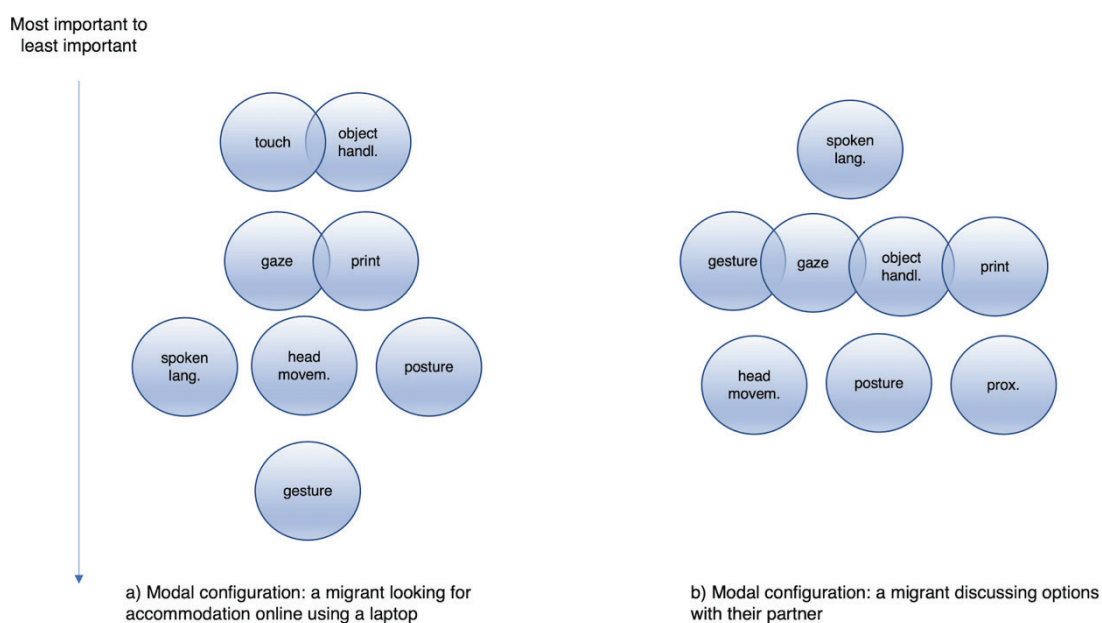


Figure 1: Modal configurations for two simultaneously performed actions

Here, we see that various modes are structured hierarchically on the basis of necessity to perform these two higher-level actions. In the given example of a migrant using a laptop to find an accommodation the most important modes are touch and object handling that are involved in operating the device. The least important mode in this (inter)action is gesture in that it is possible for them to browse the website without gesticulating. As they browse the website, there is a

simultaneous higher-level action of discussing options with the partner. In this (inter)action the mode of spoken language (their mother tongue or L2) is the most important whereas the migrant's head movement, posture, and proxemics are least important and necessary in order to have this discussion.

The analysis of modes and modal configurations also leads into discovery of **modal aggregates**, i.e. interlinked modes that a social actor uses (Norris, 2014, 2020). In the first analysis of modal configurations (refer again to Figure 1: Modal configurations for two simultaneously performed actions), we have two modal aggregates: 1) touch/feel and object handling as it is impossible to handle a laptop without touching and feeling the cursor off the touchpad as it is used to scroll and navigate a webpage, and 2) gaze and print that are interlinked as the social actor looks at and reads the print. In the second analysis of modal configurations there is one aggregate that consists of gesture, gaze, object handling, and print. In the conversation with their partner about options, the migrant, social actor, employs those modes to show what they have found by pointing at the screen, looking at it and what is written, while using the laptop. Modal aggregate is a useful tool to demonstrate the structure and complexity of (inter)action and an interplay of various modes that a social actor utilises in their lower and higher-level actions.

3.3.2.4 Identity element

The notion of identity element is of heuristic value. In MIA, rather than being fragmentary in nature, identity is viewed as a process where each piece or aspect is part of a bigger whole (Norris, 2007, 2011a). In this process identity elements are co- re- and/or produced by the social actor within various sites of

engagement where their actions take place (Geenen, 2013c; Jones & Norris, 2005c; Norris, 2011a, 2019, 2020; Scollon, 1998, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and drawing on discourse systems where social actor claims their identity element(s) (Norris, 2007). Although there are similarities between the MIA concept of identity element and a sociolinguistic notion of 'persona', the differences lie in units of analysis. In MIA, non-verbal and visual means are not complementary to language and meaning creation. Those means, as well as modes that enable actions, are treated equally in terms of meaning making and in interpretation and analysis of those actions.

Norris (2007, 2011a) explains the notion of identity element by offering an analogy from chemistry. In chemistry, some elements are permanent and long lasting (gold, for example) and others like hydrogen and oxygen are volatile and combine with others:

... gold can be found free and unattached in the natural world, whereas other elements like oxygen or hydrogen are highly volatile when free and must be combined with others. When thinking of identity in this way, we could say that a person's gender identity is more like gold in that it is not highly situation dependent; whereas a person's occupational identity element is probably more like oxygen in that it is highly situation dependent. Thus, we find that some identity elements take on a more permanent form, being present at homes times in most interactions, whereas other identity elements take on less permanency and may be presented at one moment, while hidden at another (Norris, 2007, p. 655)

The combination that Norris (2007, 2011a) is referring to features strongly in her research and also my findings. She demonstrates that a social actor's identity elements can be combined as they (inter)act with various objects (see 3.3.3 Objects and frozen actions for further detail). Her participant produced an

identity of a mother and an identity of an office worker and what was marked as a 'working mother identity element' (Norris & Makboon, 2015).

Similarly, in my analysis as demonstrated in the following chapters, En Dya's identity production, for example, also involves a combination or rather, as I theorise, a convergence of identity elements forming a whole structure, which I call an identity compound. It can be said that En Dya produces a combined identity of an ethnic Korean homemaker mediated by one object, a rice cooker, as she prepares a Korean meal for herself, her children and husband. However, when we analyse all (known) frozen actions embedded in this rice cooker, it becomes apparent that the combined element of an ethnic Korean homemaker converges with En Dya's extended family member identity. This identity compound consisting of, thus, three converged identity elements: a homemaker, an ethnic Korean, and an extended family member who helped En Dya purchase this rice cooker, is quite durable and has taken on a more permanent form.

The notion of identity element, therefore, tells us of:

1. Permanent or volatile nature.
2. Some identity elements are more situation dependent, whilst others are not.
3. Identity elements can combine and as I argue converge with others.
4. Identity elements can be produced simultaneously.
5. They are "part of a whole that also can build a whole in itself" (Norris, 2011a, p. 2).

6. The analysis of identity elements requires sufficient background knowledge of the social actors whose mediated actions, including frozen, are being studied (Norris, 2020).

3.3.3 Objects and frozen actions

In this sub-section I provide an overview of how, to date, the notion of frozen action has been applied in the analysis of objects followed by theoretical and methodological conclusions.

In multimodal (inter)action analysis (MIA), objects are analysed as part of mediated actions that a social actor produces. Objects and the notion of frozen action are intricately linked. Objects embed actions that a social actor performed in the past with and through them (Matelau-Doherty, 2019; Norris, 2004a, 2011a, 2019, 2020; Norris & Makboon, 2015). In MIA, the focus of our analysis is not the description of objects or what they represent to an outer world, but rather what is it that people do with them that can explain, among other things, their identity. The unit of analysis as with other instances of (inter)action, for example observed real time actions, is always a mediated action.

As explained in subsection 3.3.1 Unit of analysis, frozen action is defined as a mediated higher- or lower-level action that a social actor performed at an earlier time. These actions, as Norris (2004a, 2011a, 2019, 2020) theorises, are frozen in material objects and in the environment and thus are durable and evident. For example, a magazine on the kitchen counter embeds such frozen actions as purchasing it or acquiring it in some other way, bringing it home, and putting

it on the counter. A piece of furniture that stays in the same spot in the living room is very much part of the environment or layout of the living room. This environment or layout is realised by several frozen actions: someone somehow acquired it in the past, brought it home, and placed it where it is.

Norris and Makboon (2015) drawing on two separate ethnographic studies that they had conducted individually, examine how their participants produced identity. They use the notions of frozen action and site of engagement (Jones, 2005; Jones & Norris, 2005c; Scollon, 1997) as tools to delineate relevant objects and actions. They found that social actors produce multiple identity elements that are embedded in multiple objects. They also demonstrate that one identity element may involve different frozen actions that social actors perform. At a workshop on bean sprout farming, identified as a site of engagement, Makboon's Thai-based participant, Nimit, produces an organic bean sprout farmer identity, religious identity, expert identity, and sustainability identity. These identity elements are produced by means of several objects, such as bean sprouts, uniform, a portrait of the late king, and a microphone. Multiple frozen actions are also embedded in one object and one identity element. Using the example of a bean sprout they demonstrate that Nimit selects mung bean seeds, soaks them, harvests mature sprouts, waters them, grows them on gunny bags, and prepares equipment for cropping (Norris & Makboon, 2015).

Similarly, Norris' American participant, Tanya, also produces several identity elements that are embedded in various objects and performs multiple frozen actions that are embedded in one object. Tanya as she works in the office,

produces her friend identity, working mother, cyclist, and work identity elements. She performs those identity elements by means of several objects which embed the following previously performed actions: hanging a painting in the office that she received as a gift from a friend, making and then hanging a photo calendar on the wall that contains photos of her children, parking her bicycle next to her desk, and writing her work motto on a whiteboard. The self-made photo calendar embeds the following frozen actions: being married, raising children, creating the calendar, selecting family photos, and hanging up the calendar on the office wall. Those four frozen actions are involved in the production of Tanya's working mother identity element (Norris & Makboon, 2015).

An important theoretical conclusion of Norris and Makboon's (2015) research is that frozen actions are made possible due to convergence of practices and discourses. Furthermore, studying frozen actions and the objects that embed those actions allows one to delve into the analysis of practices, which, in MIA, are treated as mediated actions with a history (Norris, 2011b; Scollon, 1998), and Discourses with a Big D: "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (Gee, 2011b, p. 29). The usefulness of frozen action as a methodological tool to study objects and identity lies in its affordance to gain an understanding of differences that may or may not always be immediately evident at the practice and/or discursive levels of (inter)action.

Utilising frozen action (Norris, 2004a, 2011a; Norris & Makboon, 2015) as a methodological and analytical tool in the study of Māori and Samoan creative

identities, Matelau-Doherty (2019) shows that ethnic identity is not constant and fixed but rather fluid. Research into a fluid nature of ethnic identity of *tangata whenua*, Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous people, and the people who migrate here from the Pacific realm is socially significant for New Zealand in that it highlights construction of positive identity and a possible correlation of positive identity, inclusivity, and wellbeing. This deeper understanding of ethnic identity and fluidity, as Matelau-Doherty (2019) notes, can facilitate an overall success and positive outcomes for Māori and Pacific people. Examining the artworks of the two visual artists, she finds that fluidity is embedded in various artworks of her participants. The Māori visual artist produces her fluid Māori identity as she engages in several frozen actions such as displaying, painting, and researching the art and thereby combines traditional Māori and contemporary features. Similarly, the Samoan artist produces a fluid identity through displaying and painting the art. Both artists combine traditional and contemporary elements of other cultures that they produce and re-produce and thereby constructing their ethnic identity.

Just as Norris and Makboon (2015), Matelau-Doherty (2019) shows that one object embeds multiplicity of frozen actions. A closer examination of those actions reveals that Māori and Samoan identities are combined with other, broadly, contemporary western cultures. Both artists achieve this by means of colour, chosen content, and adopted features from other cultures and creative works, as well as ways of displaying their art. This fluidity is also evident across different paintings that the participants created and display in their homes, which is consistent with Norris and Makboon's finding of one identity element being produced through several, different objects.

In their study of musical instructions during orchestra rehearsals Stöckl and Messner (2021) find that objects and the embedded frozen actions play a pivotal role in (inter)action. Music score is the key material object in (inter)action for the conductor and musicians during rehearsals. It is used by both parties to read and follow the music simultaneously, to give and receive instructions of how music is to be performed. The score, as Stöckl and Messner (2021) note, is an object that enables converging actions of the conductor and musicians.

In the analysis of actions that involve using the score, Stöckl and Messner (2021) identify gaze as an omnipresent action which fulfills the function of sequencing chains of higher-level actions associated with instruction. Stöckl and Messner (2021), however, depart from MIA theoretically in that they do not clearly differentiate between gaze as a mode, a system of mediated action with regularities (Norris, 2013b), gaze as an action that the conductor performs to read the score, and gaze as semantic/pragmatic means (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, 2013a) to mark shifts in smaller scale higher-level actions that the conductor performs throughout rehearsals. Instead, Stöckl and Messner (2021) view gaze as an independent device that helps the conductor transition from one higher-level action to another and a resource that realises the ideational and interpersonal moments as the score is being read and used by the conductor to instruct and connect with the orchestra.

Analysing the linguistic landscape of the Arctic and using frozen action as one of the methodological tools, Pietikäinen, Lane, Salo, and Laihiala-Kankainen (2011) demonstrate that frozen actions can help identify and recognise D/discourses (Gee, 2011a, 2011b) that influence social actors in their ways of

being and engaging in particular practices. This tool also enables them to identify who social actors are. Taking an action-focussed approach in their study of village signs in the Arctic, Pietikäinen et al. (2011) argue that inclusion or exclusion of certain languages in signs are not choices made in a vacuum or isolation. These signs embed previously performed actions, such as producing the signs, which includes choosing languages that will be used and installing those signs in various locations. Depending on the producers of the signs: public authorities, various organisations and businesses, and individuals, production of signs may be guided by relevant language policies, particularly in the case of public authorities and semi-official organisations, or the target audience in the case of business and individuals offering their service. Signs, then, are manifestations of enacted D/discourses and frozen action as a tool enables to dissect those D/discourses into identifiable actions that are embedded in material objects.

In sum, the MIA's approach to studying objects yields the following dicta:

- In the study of identity, objects and the embedded frozen actions demonstrate that social actors may produce one identity element that involves different frozen actions. Social actors also produce multiple identity elements by means of multiple frozen actions embedded in different objects.
- Frozen action allows us to discover multiplicity of ways an identity telling action is mediated.
- Frozen actions are possible due to convergence of practices and discourses.

- Objects and frozen actions that they embed can be pivotal in (inter)action and some modes can be persistent as social actors handle and use those objects.
- Analysis of objects and frozen actions allows researchers to gain a deeper understanding of practices and discourses by dissecting actions that are part thereof.

3.4 Operationalising theory and methodological tools

In this thesis, my theoretical and methodological orientation towards analysis of objects is that they are not taken for granted taken and neither is a social actor who (inter)acts with and through them. Objects are treated as a gateway for the analysis of identity production. The key unit of analysis is a frozen mediated action – a higher or lower-level action embedded in the objects (Norris, 2004a, 2011a, 2019, 2020, 2021; Norris & Makboon, 2015).

Following Scollon's assertion that every action is identity telling (Norris, 2011a, 2020; Scollon, 1998, 2001), I use to the following tools: scales of action (Norris, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021), frozen action (Norris, 2004a, 2011a, 2019, 2020, 2021; Norris & Makboon, 2015), and modal aggregate (Norris, 2014, 2020) to establish which identity elements are produced and how they are structured. In the following sub-section, I explain the stages of analysis and how these tools have been applied.

3.4.1 Stages of analysis

Following tabulation of the dataset and reconstruction of field notes and relevant prompts, the first stage involves identifying the participants' larger scale

higher level actions and the key mediational means/cultural tools that are part of those actions. This is done to gain a thematic understanding of what identities the participants produce during the observation period based on their (inter)actions **and** to warrant the findings. I tabulate these findings using both the data that have been captured on the video cameras and the pieces that were documented in the fieldnotes only. This stage enables me to discover the themes and associated identities through the larger scale higher-level actions (Norris, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021). An example of this is a family identity produced by the New Zealand based participant as she is engaged in a larger scale higher level action of doing grocery shopping. This action is mediated by multiple objects, one of which is a shopping list that she has made prior to going to the supermarket with her daughter. This stage gives partial answers to the RQ1: which identity elements the participants produce in (inter)action.

At the second stage, I direct my analytical focus towards the frozen actions and the objects that embed them. I look at each object and tease apart multiple frozen actions that can then give insight into the identity elements that the participants produced. Frozen action here serves as both an analytical tool and a focal point. I analyse the frozen actions further by employing the modal aggregate and modal configurations tools (Norris, 2014, 2020) to demonstrate how those concrete actions were produced through the objects that the participant (inter)acted with. This enables me to answer the RQ3: which objects embed identity elements that the participants produce.

The data that are used at this stage are objects that I have photographed or captured on a video camera or smartphone, and the objects of which I

developed an in-depth understanding following fieldwork. Referring to an earlier example, I find that the shopping list which mediates the participant's family identity also mediates her New Zealand migrant identity. I establish this through the analysis of relevant frozen action embedded in that shopping list, i.e. writing down items that the participants planned to purchase. Further, applying the tool of modal aggregate to this action I find that the making of this list entails at least three modes: object handling, English language, and gaze. These modes form an aggregate as the participant uses a piece of paper and pen to write down the items she needs, and she does it using the mode of English language to produce her shopping list.

At the third stage, I assign identity elements that are associated with the analysed frozen actions. I do this drawing on the ethnographic insights gained during fieldwork and insider's point of view and building on the findings from the previous stages and thus answer the RQ1 and partially answer the RQ2: how identity elements are structured in (inter)action.

The fourth stage is aimed at answering the RQ2 and determining the structures of identity in (inter)actions. At this point I arrive at three theoretical notions: identity cluster, convergence of identity elements, and identity compounds. These notions, importantly, are of heuristic value.

3.4.2 Identity cluster

Identity cluster is a thematic and hierarchical organisation of identity elements. While the existing notions in MIA – vertical and horizontal identity productions (Norris, 2011a, 2020) – explain how identity elements are produced and what

shapes them, the notion of identity cluster provides the basis for scope, order, and scale for the analysis of identity production and presentation of findings.

The thematic part is a focal point and commonality that brings identity elements together and determines the scope. The hierarchical part refers to identity cluster being a superordinate level of identity elements' organisation. The organising principle for a cluster is a key, major theme that is evident in any identity element within it. For example, in the case of family, production of relevant identity elements is anchored in kinship and/or an intimate relationship that a social actor enters and maintains in their daily life in the form of a de-facto partnership, civil union or marriage. Thus, such identity elements as a wife/married woman and a mother that a participant produces in her (inter)actions, are placed within the cluster, and build it under the 'family' umbrella.

Using the example of Larisa's shopping list, the frozen actions that she performs are nested within a larger scale higher-level action of doing grocery shopping. One of the nested frozen actions is planning what food and general items are needed, through which she produces her wife/married woman identity element. Another set of nested frozen actions is going to the supermarket with her daughter Zoe as she is too small to be left on her own and including items that Larisa had to buy for Zoe, such as baby wipes and lactose free milk; Through these actions Larisa produces a mother identity element. As these two identity elements are associated with Larisa's kinship and her marriage, they are organised into the family cluster and importantly for Larisa, they form part of her family identity.

3.4.3 Convergence of identity elements and identity compounds

At the second and third stages that involve analysis of frozen actions and assignment of relevant identity elements based on the knowledge gained during fieldwork, I discover that as the participants (inter)act with objects, the latter become a repository of multiple frozen actions. The multitude of actions mediates several identity elements which become 'frozen' in an object. From this analysis I arrive at the two concepts: convergence of identity elements and identity compounds. These concepts are interrelated and interconnected.

Convergence of identity elements comes about through relevant actions that a social actor performs. At the lower level, it can be evident in the modes of action, for example, proxemics, object handling or language. At the higher level, a social actor (inter)acts with reference to their immediate network who become implicated in an action and as a social actor starts (inter)acting and using the object post the initial frozen action, it can and quite often *does* mediate a different identity element and not necessarily from the same cluster.

When two or more identity elements converge, they form integral structures, which I call identity compounds. Similar to a notion of chemical compound from chemistry, where a compound is defined as a substance made up of several elements with strong bonds, an identity compound is a structure where identity elements bind into one and the bond is difficult to break apart. While each identity element can explain what and why a social actor is doing something, an identity compound gives a more complete picture of the produced identity.

To explicate the notions of convergence of identity elements and formation of an identity compound, I refer to the shopping list of Larisa once again. This shopping list embeds several frozen actions, and those actions tell of different identity elements: Larisa as a mother and a wife/married woman. The analysis of at least two frozen actions: deciding what to buy (wife/married woman identity element) and buying necessary items for Zoe (mother identity element) – demonstrate that the shopping list ‘holds’ these two identity elements as Larisa performs a larger-scale higher-level action of grocery shopping.

Identity compounds do not necessarily consist of identity elements from the same cluster. Convergence can occur across identity clusters. A further analysis of how Larisa’s shopping list was produced, which is another frozen action embedded in this object, results in discovery of another identity element – English language user – from the New Zealand migrant identity cluster. The English language mode that was used to write this list on the one hand tells of Larisa’s mastery and appropriation of English and on the other hand, she uses this language to perform tasks associated with, broadly, family. Hence this shopping list is an instantiation of three converged identity elements that form a single identity compound that Larisa produces.

As in chemical compounds where the bond between elements is difficult, albeit not impossible, to break and when it does the substance changes, identity compounds behave similarly. Here, I argue that Larisa’s shopping list and its content would have been quite different had she not, for example, been a mother or had she relied heavily on her first language in daily communication and life. If this was the case, the shopping list would not contain baby items and

would be written in Russian. Resultantly, the identity compound would be formed by different identity elements. Hypothetically, Larisa would be producing a *wife/married woman – Russian* identity compound instead of *wife/married women – mother – English language user*. Thus, convergence of identity elements and formation identity clusters that are embedded in the objects are concepts that highlight the complexity of identity production further as well as explain presence and use of objects unique to social actor's identity.

3.5 Research design rationale

This ethnographic research, supported by the photographic, audio- and video-equipment, is informed by the theoretical orientation toward mediated action (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995b; Wertsch, 1985, 1993, 1994, 1998, 2005; Wertsch & Rupert, 1993) and specifically frozen action (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, 2013a, 2019, 2020, 2021; Norris & Makboon, 2015). The latter leads to discovery of identity elements (Norris, 2007, 2011a, 2013a, 2020, 2021; Norris & Makboon, 2015) that objects embed and mediate.

As Wertsch (1998) points out, since human action is always irreducibly mediated by mediational means/cultural tools, we cannot consider social actor acting alone. And neither, in this theoretical orientation, mediational means/cultural tools, that include objects, can be studied in isolation.

Additionally, the key principles of social action, communication, and history (Scollon, 1998, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) guided the design of this research in terms of data collection, how I worked with the participants, the types of data that I used in the analysis and how findings are presented.

3.6 Data collection: fieldwork and participant observation

To gain a sound understanding of my participants' identity, I set out to conduct an ethnographic fieldwork and observing them in everyday life whilst also participating in some of their activities. An overarching goal of the fieldwork was to learn about the participants' lives, what mattered to them, their interests, views on own identity, migration, and how they produced their identity in their current places of residence, particularly through objects.

Because of the multimodal aspect, my dataset had to involve a rich visual data and not be limited to interviews alone. I therefore used several tools to collect the data: video and photographic cameras, an audio-recorder, my smartphone, and stationery for the fieldnotes. The latter were also taken using the Notes app on the phone and/or laptop.

Geographically, the fieldwork was conducted in Auckland, New Zealand, Novosibirsk, Russia, and Incheon, South Korea. The exact locations for each participant observation varied. Some participants chose to be observed, video-recorded and photographed in their homes and (semi)public places, others preferred work or study space. Because the aim was to study identity production in everyday life, I intentionally kept the scope of activities quite broad so that the participants did not feel restricted in their daily (inter)actions (Norris, 2011a) as I conducted my fieldwork. (Inter)actions refer to all actions that a participant performs without disregarding simultaneity and different modes at play, i.e. environment and objects, as well as other people. A broad focus was also purposefully maintained so that the participants were not bound by their own preconceptions of what might or might not be relevant to their identity.

The time I spent with each participant varied. It was mainly due to their schedule and availability that I had to accommodate. While there was certainly more flexibility for New Zealand-based participants, for the participants in Russia and South Korea, fieldwork was bound by the dates when I was in those locations: mid-November 2017 – early January 2018 in Russia and mid-January 2018 – late February 2018 in South Korea (see Table 8: Schedule of activities). Generally, I would spend from three to five hours with each participant at a time in locations that they had suggested.

Data collection began with the interviews, all of which were audio-recorded and conducted in a semi-structured format. Some interviews were also video recorded if the participants were comfortable with video on the first day. During a typical session I took photographs, video-recorded my participants' interactions, took observational notes and accompanied the participants wherever they wanted me to go. At the end of data collection, if I had further questions or needed to clarify something, I conducted the final interviews and then presented a *koha*¹² to each participant (see 3.8.3 A token of appreciation to the participants for details).

3.7 Participant selection and recruitment

I recruited two participants in each country: six in total (see Table 1: Main participants). The participants were selected based on the following criteria:

¹² A gift in the Māori language.

- Be of Sakhalin Korean descent,
- Adults (18 year old+),
- Speak Russian as their first language,
- Reside in either New Zealand, Russia, or South Korea permanently or on a long-term basis,
- (Self)identify as 3rd generation Sakhalin Korean.

Table 1: Main participants

Name	Residence	Age	Gender	Occupation	Spoken languages
Larisa	Auckland	Mid 30s	F	CRM database coordinator	Russian and English (fluent)
Igor	Auckland	Mid 20s	M	Data analyst	Russian and English (fluent); Korean (basic)
En-Dya	Novosibirsk	Mid 30s	F	Homemaker	Russian, English (intermediate)
Alexander	Novosibirsk	Mid 20s	M	Freelance graphic designer	Russian, English (basic)
Ludmila	Incheon	Mid 50s	F	Restaurant owner	Russian, Korean (fluent), English (basic)
Sasha	Incheon	18	M	High school student; university applicant	Russian, English (fluent), Korean (basic)

Age criterion was set fairly open due to consideration of the contested nature of how generations are counted. For example, for the purpose of obtaining a long-term work permit with subsequent naturalisation for overseas ethnic Koreans, eligibility is limited to three generations, where the first generation is a grandparent who was born or lived in the USSR before 15 August 1945, the day when Korean peninsula was liberated from the Japanese colonial rule (Embassy of Republic of Korea in Russian Federation, 2019). The implications of having such a strict cut-off date are that some siblings of the ‘eligible’ first

generation are considered as second generation and therefore the grandchildren of the latter are outside the eligibility criteria. Additionally, for many Sakhalin Koreans the generational count began with the actual settlement of their forefathers, i.e. great grandparents. For these reasons, the age criterion could not have restrictions and thus the only requirement was the person had to be at least 18 years old at the time of participation in this study.

Apart from the main six, there were also secondary and incidental participants. Secondary participants are people from the immediate networks of the main participants, who knew them well. Those were family members, including partners or spouses, colleagues, employees, sports coach, and others. They are the people with whom those six main participants had frequent interactions and who quite often were around. The incidental participants are people who happened to be present during observations. Neither secondary, nor incidental participants are the focus of this study.

The participants were recruited using social media channels, extended personal networks, and snowball sampling. On social media, I posted invitations to participate in this study in Russian and English on my personal pages, as well as shared the posters in various groups for Russian migrants in New Zealand, ethnic Koreans in Russia, and South Korea (see Appendix A: Participant recruitment posters).

When potential participants showed interest, we met in person and discussed the project in detail before they agreed to participate. The participants were also given participant information sheets with written information in Russian or

English about the project and relevant contact details in case they had any queries and/or concerns (see Appendix B: Participant information sheet) and also a list of sample questions for the interviews (see Appendix C: Interview guide). The secondary participants were invited to participate during introductory meetings or by the main participants themselves. The incidental participants were informed of the research project and filming.

The primary and secondary participants had to sign relevant forms: consent and release form, parent/guardian consent, or assent form for children (see Appendix D: Consent and assent forms). Once the written consent was obtained, data collection activities would begin. Incidental participants if they were comfortable with filming expressed their consent verbally.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Other than following general principles and procedures outlined by the university's ethics committee (AUTECH, n.d.), this research is grounded in the following ethical considerations: partnership, participation, and protection that were upheld during participant recruitment, data collection activities and the post-fieldwork stage of working with the data and producing findings. Those principles are inter-related. Particular attention was drawn to safety and I, as a researcher, ensured everyone's safety risks, including my own, were adequately mitigated and managed.

3.8.1 Partnership, participation, and protection

Partnership between the researcher and participants was critical for a research project that involved such exposure to the participants' lives and their (inter)actions with people from their immediate networks. The participants were rather treated as co-research partners which meant that both parties established enough trust and respect towards each other, the process, and the project itself. Treating the participants as co-researchers from the outset has many benefits, but mainly it helps establish a concrete basis for ethical research and how it is realised in practice (Pirini, Norris, Geenen, & Matelau, 2015). Thus, there were ongoing, open conversations about the research, which helped us gain a deeper understanding of identity production and relevance of certain pieces of data to the study. I encouraged the participants to ask questions, seek clarification and give feedback on any aspect of this research. I also asked them to suggest possible places and activities that could be recorded and observed, and they did. For example, I was invited to join one of the participant's family to the mountains for skiing/snowboarding, to come along to the supermarket for grocery shopping, recording interactions with children, or going to the movies with them. The participants' input, thus, shaped the project and gave them a sense of empowerment and agency (Pink, 2021).

Participation in this research was realised through the participants' expressed informed written consent to be video recorded, photographed, and interviewed, and agreement to the researcher's presence in the participants' homes or workplaces. All participants suggested places, times, and activities that I could observe and capture on the cameras. Given the nature of this study that utilises visual data, the participants' faces are visible and therefore there is no

anonymity. Further, none of the participants wanted me to use pseudonyms having opted for their real or preferred names. The latter is particularly common among Sakhalin Koreans who, in addition to their ethnic names that appear on passports, also use Russian names in everyday life. Other than participants' names, their affiliations were also disclosed. One of the participants' identities was strongly linked to her restaurant/family business that she runs in South Korea, and since most recordings were done there and the restaurant logo and other identifying information were visible. Similarly, one participant in New Zealand was open about his martial arts club where he trains and occasionally works as taekwondo coach.

The principle of protection is closely related to the principle of partnership regarding maintaining the participants' privacy and divulging certain details. All information gained from the data collection activities was treated with utmost care. During data collection there were some pieces that participants asked to exclude from the study as they felt they might not be received positively or understood by other family members if mentioned. Additionally, since some participants were recruited from own wider network and I had some 'insider' knowledge of the participants' background, those private and sensitive details had to be excluded from the study and not mentioned explicitly or implied. This was done to protect the participants and for the sensitive information to remain private to the participants and their family and thus avoiding negative outcomes (Pink, 2021).

3.8.2 Researcher's safety protocol

Other than ensuring safety of my participants, safety considerations (Madden, 2010) also applied to me during fieldwork. Those considerations included informing at least one person of my whereabouts during fieldwork in New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea. A text message was sent as soon as I entered participant's home, work or started filming at an alternative place, and at the end when I left. This ensured that in the event of immediate danger or adverse circumstances, someone knew how and where to find me and assist.

While I could use own transport in New Zealand, this was not the case in Russia and South Korea and getting to and from the fieldwork safely carrying equipment, required planning. Where necessary, getting to some locations in Russia I opted to use Uber service for several reasons. Its built-in function to send details of each trip, vehicle model and registration number was useful as it allowed both people in my immediate network and some participants to track my rides. As one of the participants lives in a remote area, which is known to be an unsafe suburb of Novosibirsk, Russia, private taxis and public transport were not reliable enough. Furthermore, Siberian winter conditions and safe payment option were also a factor in using Uber during fieldwork in Russia. In Incheon, South Korea, I found that the safest and fastest way to get to and from the fieldwork was subway and occasionally a local bus network. However, the subway and bus network operating hours put certain restrictions: out of safety, I chose not to stay, observe and film one of my Incheon-based participants until the end of each work shift.

3.8.3 A token of appreciation to the participants

The AUT Ethics Committee's guidelines advise against financial enticement particularly at the participant recruitment stage to avoid unnecessary coercion or pressure to participate (AUTECH, n.d.). Therefore, any gifts that were to be given to the participants had not been discussed with them directly at any stage of this research until the data collection stage was complete. The advice not to advertise any reward ensured that participants decided to take part in research out of free will and based on their personal interest in the topic.

On other hand, there had to be room to embed cultural considerations and show genuine appreciation for the time that the participants volunteered to this research. The contemporary use and connotation of the Māori concept *koha* is associated with reciprocity (AUTECH, n.d.). As in the Māori culture, reciprocal gestures are highly valued in the Russian and Korean cultures. Furthermore, during the consultation period with independent people, which is part of the ethics application procedure at AUT, I was advised that, for example, Korean participants would appreciate souvenirs from New Zealand given the country's positive reputation.

Other considerations that I had, related to the Korean and Russian cultures. It is generally customary in Korea to match the value of gifts people receive. Gift giving is related to the value of generosity embedded in the Russian culture. Therefore, I ensured that:

- a) the value of gifts did not exceed the university's acceptable limits.

b) gifts were chosen in accordance with the participants' interests and coincidentally, their identity. While the gifts were within the same price range, they were different for each participant.

c) to avoid potential coercion and pressure, the gifts were presented once all data collection activities were complete.

And finally, I added a personal touch and wrote letters to each participant expressing gratitude for their time and willingness to participate in this research. The letters were given together with the gifts on the last day of data collection. They were written in either Russian or English, according to the participants' preferred language of communication, and signed.

3.9 Equipment: type and use

The study utilised various equipment to conduct fieldwork: photo and video cameras, an audio recorder, and a smartphone. I used this equipment to record the participants' naturally occurring (inter)actions in their homes and public places, photograph objects (including the participants interacting with them), record interviews, and write fieldnotes. The type of equipment, how it was placed, and when it was used, depended on the location, activities, and the duration of each data collection session.

3.9.1 Photography

A great number of still images were taken throughout fieldwork using an Olympus OM-D E-M10 (digital SLR camera), a Panasonic Lumix-DMC-TZ70, and the researcher's iPhone. Some images were also captured on a Panasonic HC-V380 video camera, which allowed still images to be taken whilst recording.

I photographed various items in the participants' homes and workplaces, study, work, and lounge spaces, as well as in other locations. The Panasonic HC-V380 was only used to capture stills if, during video recording, I saw objects or (inter)actions that could be helpful in the analysis of the participants' identity. This video camera has a function to take photographs during filming without interrupting a video-recording session.

3.9.2 Video

Video recordings were primarily captured using a Panasonic HC-V380 and a GoPro Hero5, as well as an iPhone. The latter was used as a backup in case the other two were unavailable due to flat batteries or were recording action from different angles. The Panasonic camera was used mostly in static conditions, for example, filming a participant sitting at their desk and working on a computer. The camera would be attached to a tripod and placed a metre or two away from the participant. The GoPro Hero5, given it is an action camera that is light and compact, was used when participants had to be followed from one place to another and/or when most of their actions could be captured using a wide angle, for example, when the participant went to the shops or attended a sports practice.

3.9.3 Audio

A Zoom H2n recorder was used to record interviews with the participants. Several microphones and a four-channel feature ensured clarity and wide area coverage. Sometimes, the Zoom H2n was also used in conjunction with the video cameras to ensure the sound was properly captured, especially if the observation area was quite wide and participants were (inter)acting with their

children or spouses further away from the video camera. In those instances, this recorder would be placed in the middle of the lounge or hall. In some situations, an iPhone was used if and when batteries on other devices were flat or because memory cards were full.

3.10 Data

The dataset consists of the following:

- 1) still images of various objects, places, and the participants
- 2) interviews
- 3) video-recordings of naturally occurring (inter)actions of and with the participants
- 4) field notes

3.10.1 Still images

During fieldwork, I took numerous photographs of various objects that the participants used, had, and (inter)acted with. All participants were informed of my interest in objects and that there would be at least one dedicated session during which I would take photos. All participants commented on those objects either while I was taking photos, or they shared some information about how the objects were acquired and used at a later stage. A dedicated photographic session usually took place after the interview, either on the same day or the following day. Photos were taken throughout the fieldwork.

3.10.2 Interviews

Before filming and taking photographs, all participants were interviewed. I followed a semi-structured format (see sample questions in Appendix C: Interview guide). Semi-structured interviews give flexibility around the sequence, wording, and the ability to ask questions that have not been included in the guide, addressing issues and things that participants might mention during interviews. The participants also have leeway in how they respond and can emphasise aspects that they consider relevant and important (Bryman, 2012). Additionally, having set questions and ready-made response categories would likely limit the depth and breadth of the participants' answers (Dornyei, 2007). Some questions, therefore, were intentionally broad and open-ended—for example, about settlement and experience of living in Russia as a Korean—so the participants could share as much as they wanted and have room to reflect upon their identity. The interviews were roughly one hour long and conducted in the participants' preferred language and at places of their choice. The interviews were recorded using a Zoom H2n.

I reserved the option of conducting final interviews with some participants in case I needed to clarify something or developed questions based on observations. The final interviews did not have a formal structure, nor did they have an indicative list of questions or themes. On average, they were half an hour long. These final interviews were video-recorded. They were conducted in the participants' preferred language at a place they suggested, usually on the last day of participation.

3.10.2.1 Transcription conventions

Interviews have been transcribed using a combination of transcription conventions following Tannen (1995) and Norris (2004a).

For English:

Punctuation reflects intonation, not grammar.

Brackets show an overlap of two people speaking at once.

Underlines mark emphatic stress.

.. Noticeable pause or break in rhythm.

... half second pause.

.... Full second pause.

. refers sentence-final falling intonation.

, refers to phrase-final intonation.

? Question or rising intonation.

-- glottal stop.

: indicates a lengthened vowel; extra colons for greater lengthening (for English)

[*words*] used for comments on the context.

[overlapping speech; two people talking at the same time.

] brackets on two lines indicate latching.

/words/ indicate uncertain transcription.

Tannen (1984, p. xix)

For Russian:

Same as for English, except the following:

Extra vowels or consonants for lengthened or prolonged use.

, for a noticeable pause and for phrase-final intonation, more to come.

... half second pause.

.... full second pause.

(comments): refers to clarification of the context or content.

macron for non-standard stress.

"words" for direct speech.

3.10.3 Naturally occurring (inter)actions of the participants

As Norris (2011a) notes, there might not always be a match between what social actors do, what they show awareness of and what they recount in interviews. Hence video recordings of the participants' naturally occurring (inter)actions were also included the dataset. These (inter)actions were usually with the participants' immediate networks in the home and workplace environments, and semi-public places. I used a Panasonic HC-V380, GoPro Hero5 or an iPhone. Observing those (inter)actions gave insight into what the participants do as part of their identity production in daily life and the context within which their (inter)actions took place. Furthermore, video recordings provided greater detail and accuracy and gave an opportunity to refer to them multiple times as opposed to relying solely on manually recorded fieldnotes. The video data were particularly useful in reconstructing field notes that were lost (see 3.12.3 Contingency) and in the preliminary analysis of the performed mediated actions (Jones, 2005; Jones & Norris, 2005c; Norris, 2020), larger scale higher level actions (Norris, 2017, 2020), and identity elements (Geenen, 2013c; Norris, 2007, 2011a, 2020). Video data complemented and warranted the findings that are based on the analysis of objects and the embedded frozen

actions. Using several types of data enabled triangulation of what was observed, mentioned by the participants in the interviews, and captured on the cameras (Denzin, 1970, 1978, 1997; Norris, 2011a).

3.10.4 Field notes

The dataset also includes fieldnotes that I took during data collection activities. The fieldnotes were mostly handwritten in a notebook. Some notes were typed on an iPhone or a laptop when handwriting was impossible or inconvenient, and post factum because of unforeseen circumstances (see 3.12.3 Contingency).

I recorded what had to be excluded from the analysis following the principle of protection, clarification questions or prompts, and significant moments that were highly relevant to the analysis of their identity. The notes also included some factual data about the participants and some technical issues that I experienced and had to consider in data processing and analysis. For example, a GoPro's batteries going flat or running out of space on a memory card and having to use an iPhone.

3.11 Participants: introductions and how we worked together

In this section I introduce my participants: Larisa and Igor (New Zealand), En-Dya and Alexander (Russia), and Ludmila and Sasha (South Korea) and explain how the data were collected. All dataset tables, samples of which are included in the data collection sub-section for each participant, have an added column, observational notes. As the handwritten field notes were lost, I engaged with the data again to reconstruct them (see 3.12.3 Contingency for

further details).

3.11.1 Larisa (NZ)

Larisa was born on Sakhalin and grew up in Irkutsk, a Siberian city near Lake Baikal. Her family moved from Sakhalin to Irkutsk when she was two years old. Larisa is of Sakhalin Korean and Russian-Ukrainian descent. She came to New Zealand as an international student to improve her English and, after finishing her course, decided to stay. She holds an undergraduate university degree with a major in teaching English and Russian. Larisa permanently settled in Auckland, New Zealand, where she lives with her husband Justin, their daughter Zoe, and their family cat Gracie.



Figure 2: Larisa

In New Zealand, Larisa works in a different field to language teaching. At the time of data collection, she held a position as a CRM database coordinator at a commercial real estate agency. At work and with her husband, Larisa speaks English. However, with her daughter, she mainly communicates in Russian to

ensure her daughter can speak to her grandmother (Larisa's mother) and because it is easier. She explains this in the interview excerpt below:

- (450) Л: ну, с дочкой я говорю только по-русски естественно.
- (451) Ю: угу. Вот почему эээ... ты решила с дочерью говорить по-русски?
- (452) Л: просто ммм... Ты знаешь, вот когда... Потому что мама моя приезжала когда, она родилась и вот в прошлом году. Ммм... Если я не-... Я так подумала, если я не буду с ней говорить по-русски, она не сможет потом с бабушкой разговаривать.
- (453) Ю: угу
- (454) Л: вот. Ну, не только поэтому. Просто так легче, знаешь. Мужа нет дома. Естественно я по-русски. Ну. Все равно это же первый язык. Эээ... Как говорится, вот.

English translation:

- (450) L: well, with daughter I only speak Russian
- (451) Y: uh huh. So why, errr... did you decide to speak Russian with your daughter?
- (452) L: just mmm... You know when... Because when my mum came, she was born and so last year. Mmm... If I didn't... I thought, if I don't speak Russian with her, she won't be able to speak with grandmother.
- (453) Y: uh huh
- (454) L: So. But not only because of that. It's just easier, you know. When husband is not at home. Of course Russian. Well. It is anyhow first language. Err... So to speak, so.

3.11.1.1 Data collection with Larisa

Larisa responded to my recruitment poster on the "Russians in New Zealand" Facebook page and expressed interest in this research project. We had two informal meetings where we discussed the details, including what was involved, time commitments, and who else might be interested.

The study began with an interview at her house, which was audio-recorded.

Larisa's husband agreed to participate as a secondary participant on the same

day as I conducted the interview. Their daughter, Zoe, felt comfortable around me and the cameras, so her parents agreed to include her as a secondary participant, too.

Most of the data collection sessions took place at Larisa’s house. On one of the days, she invited me to join her and Zoe at the supermarket. On other days, we went to the movies, a Russian Cultural Day festival in Howick (one of Auckland’s suburbs), and Korean eateries in Central Auckland. Below is an example of a typical data collection day during which Larisa’s (inter)actions and objects were audio- and video-recorded and photographed.

Table 2: A sample from the dataset for Larisa

Date	Total amount by type	Location(s)	Data type and amount	Participants, environment and objects	Observational notes
01 Oct 2017	Audio: 2 hrs 47 mins Photos: 130 Video: approx. 4 hrs	Home: Mt Wellington	Audio (Zoom): 2hrs 47 mins	Larisa, Zoe and I Home	Audio was recorded in addition to the video.
			Photos (iPhone) : 2	Larisa and Zoe Lounge	Watching TV together
			Photos (Olympus): 128	Larisa, Zoe and I various parts of the house, see notes.	Captured various objects in the kitchen, bedrooms and lounge + Larisa and Zoe
			Video (GoPro): 70 mins	Larisa, Zoe and I House	Split into 4 files: showing the rest of the house
			Video (GoPro): 08:30	Larisa, Zoe and I Lounge	In the lounge, showing me various videos
			Video (GoPro): 09:44	Larisa, Zoe and I Sitting on the couch	In the lounge, watching Larisa's wedding
			Video (GoPro): ~22 mins	Larisa, Zoe and I Sitting on the couch	Showing me where she shops online

			Video (Panasonic): ~2hrs 10 mins	Larisa, Zoe and I Sitting on the couch	Panasonic was recording at the same time as GoPro, the camera was in front of the TV (3 files)
			Video (iPhone): 47 mins	Larisa and Zoe at home	Reading and playing with Zoe in the lounge and kitchen

3.11.2 Igor (NZ)

Igor was born and raised on Sakhalin. Both of his parents are Sakhalin Koreans. He came to New Zealand as an international student to study English at a language school and then enrolled in a Graduate Diploma programme at a New Zealand university. He holds two degrees: an undergraduate degree from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Russia, and a Graduate Diploma from a New Zealand university.



Figure 3: Igor

Igor has a strong interest in taekwondo and martial arts, which was one of the factors in his decision to migrate to New Zealand and not elsewhere. He explained this during the interview:

- (569) И: ну, это довольно смешно [усмехается]. Ну, сначала у меня в списке стран, в которые я мог мигрировать, хотел бы мигрировать, были главные три страны. Это, ну, разумеется, Австралия, Канада, Новая Зеландия. Самые простые страны... Западные развитые страны для иммиграции.
- (570) Ю: угу
- (571) И: но так же я думал об Ирландии, Польше
- (572) Ю: угу
- (573) И: но я занимаюсь тэквондо [смеется].
- (574) Ю: ага
- (575) И: поскольку... Поэтому как Ирландия она всегда в топ-5.
- (576) Ю: да?
- (577) И: по тэквондо. Новая Зеландия тоже. И Польша.
- (578) Ю: угу
- (579) И: ну, и Польша меня еще привлекала тем, что... Ну, довольно дешево там учиться.
- (580) Ю: угу, угу
- (581) И: там цены на уровне России, даже ниже.
- (582) Ю: угу, угу
- (583) И: Ирландия привлекала тем, что ты... Ну, Европа. Опять же очень высокий уровень тэквондо там [смеется].
- (584) Ю: угу
- (585) И: но туда... Там почти нереально получить гражданство.
- (586) Ю: угу
- (587) И: т.е. можно отучиться, но что дальше будет неизвестно.
- (588) Ю: угу
- (589) И: а ну, в Польше минус, что то, что нужно учить польский год.
- (590) Ю: угу
- (591) И: мне не хотелось этого делать.
- (592) Ю: угу

- (593) И: и.. Но Канада, Австралия, там тэквондо на низком уровне. [смеется]
- (594) Ю: угу
- (595) И: и они более дорогие.
- (596) Ю: угу
- (597) И: т.е. Новая Зеландия как бы совпадала по нескольким критериям
- (598) Ю: ага
- (599) И: цена, возможность как бы перманентной миграции и тэквондо

English translation:

- (569) I: Well, it's quite funny [chuckles]. Well, firstly in the list of countries where I could migrate, would like to migrate there were 2 main countries. These, well, of course Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. The easiest countries. Developed western countries for immigration.
- (570) Y: uh huh
- (571) I: but I also considered Ireland, Poland
- (572) Y: uh huh
- (573) I: but I practise taekwondo [laughs]
- (574) Y: uh huh
- (575) I: because... As Ireland is always in top 5.
- (576) Y: yeah?
- (577) I: in taekwondo. New Zealand also. And Poland.
- (578) Y: uh huh
- (579) I: well and Poland was attracted also because... Well, it's quite cheap to study there
- (580) Y: uh huh
- (581) I: the prices there are at the same level as in Russia, even lower
- (582) Y: uh huh, uh huh
- (583) I: Ireland was attractive because you're... Well, Europe. And again very high level of taekwondo there [laughs]
- (584) Y: uh huh
- (585) I: but there. It's almost unreal to get citizenship
- (586) Y: uh huh
- (587) I: that is you can study but what's next is unknown

- (588) Y: uh huh
- (589) I: and in Poland the disadvantage is that one has to learn Polish for a year
- (590) Y: uh huh
- (591) I: I didn't want to do it
- (592) Y: uh huh
- (593) I: and... But Canada, Australia, over there taekwondo is at a low level [laughs]
- (594) Y: uh huh
- (595) I: and they are more expensive
- (596) Y: uh huh
- (597) I: so New Zealand matched several criteria
- (598) Y: uh huh
- (599) I: price, ability for like permanent migration and taekwondo

Igor lives in Auckland with his partner, Natalia, who agreed to be part of this research project as a secondary participant. Igor and Natalia met at a language school where they both studied English. They are in the process of applying for permanent residency.

3.11.2.1 Data collection with Igor

Like Larisa, Igor saw my recruitment poster on the "Russians in New Zealand" Facebook page. He requested the Participant Info Sheet via email and then offered to meet in person. We met at a local café in Central Auckland to discuss the details and who else might be interested in participating as main or secondary participants. Following this initial meeting, Igor agreed to participate and nominated his partner, Natalia, and his taekwondo coach, Carl, as secondary participants, both of whom agreed to take part in the research

project.

The data collection began with an interview that I audio- and video-recorded.

The locations of data collection sessions varied. Igor suggested a myriad of places where I could observe his (inter)actions, for example, his taekwondo

gym, public places, Auckland Art Gallery, a physiotherapy clinic, his home, a

Korean supermarket, and a Korean restaurant. Below is an example of a typical

data collection day during which Igor's (inter)actions with and objects were

observed and recorded:

Table 3: A sample from the dataset for Igor

Date	Total amount by type	Location(s)	Data type and amount	Participants, environment and objects	Observational notes
30 Sep 2017	Audio: 28:51; Video: 2 hrs 10 mins; Photos: 107	Home, St Pierre's sushi, Chancery Ln, PB Tech, Countdown supermarket, Warehouse Stationery, Art Gallery	Audio (Zoom): 28:51	Igor and Natalia	Used Zoom as a backup
			Video (iPhone): ~1 hr 25 mins	Igor, Natalia and random people on the streets	GoPro didn't work, so had to use my phone. 7 files in total. Videos were recorded in various places: Art Gallery, grocery shopping, walks in the city and PB Tech. I was not allowed to film inside the Art Gallery where the collection was, so only took photos and recorded the participants in the lobby. It was a very long day.
			Video (Panasonic): 33 mins	Igor and Natalia at home	Recorded at home, Igor trying to fix something on a computer
			Video (GoPro): 09:15	Igor and Natalia out and about in CBD	Leaving home, getting lunch at St Pierre's sushi
			Photos (iPhone): 62	Igor, Natalia and various places	It was a long day and because we were moving around, photos were taken on different devices

			Photos (Olympus): 43	Various objects at home	Mainly photographed different objects: souvenirs, books they both read, some groceries, etc.
			Photos (Panasonic): 2	Igor at home; laptop	Taken off the video on a Panasonic camera that allows this option. Igor was trying to fix something on a computer.

Because of his commitments and preparations for the Taekwondo World Championships, there was about a one-month break halfway through before we could resume data collection activities. On the last day, we had a final, informal interview and a presentation of *koha*—my gratitude for his time and participation in this project.

3.11.3 En-Dya (Russia)

En-Dya is of Sakhalin Korean descent. Her family lived in Moldova, a former Soviet republic, for several years as her mother was assigned to work there. When En-Dya was eight, the family moved and settled in Novosibirsk, Russia, where they continue to live. For En-Dya, having parents living in the same city does not just mean getting occasional help with childcare, but also staying connected to Korean culture and traditions. A significant influence comes from her and her husband's parents, as she explains in the interview:

- (200) Ю: на чем был основан такой выбор, это решение дать детям корейские имена?
- (201) Е: возможно если бы у меня было русское имя...
- (202) Ю: угу
- (203) Е: и у мужа... Возможно дали бы русские имена. Но так как я сама с корейским. Муж с корейским. Ну как бы плюс... Родители наши очень чтут все-таки традиции свои корейские.
- (204) Ю: угу

- (205) E: и там прежде чем дать имя, это они не придуманные имена. Т.е. по дате рождения.
- (206) Ю: мм
- (207) E: детей. Моей дате, дате рождения мужа там. Что-то смотрели в какой-то корейской книге в Корее, т.е. вот так.
- (...)
- (278) Ю: они, значит, соблюдают традиции. А вот насколько ты соблюдаешь традиции? Вообще какое у тебя отношение к корейским традициям?
- (279) E: Ну вот мы годик праздновали. Т.е. у корейцев это очень важно.
- (280) Ю: мм
- (281) E: да. Это одна из самых важных, да? Толь. Как бы и тоже... Как свадьбу, можно сказать, играли. Что первому, что второму, да? Вот так. Ребенку. Т.е. Много гостей было. Были в национальных костюмах.
- (282) Ю: ты ханбок надела?
- (283) E: я надела ханбок только на юбилей свекра. На 60-летие.

English translation:

- (200) Y: what was the basis for your decision to give Korean names to your children?
- (201) E: maybe if I had a Russian name...
- (202) Y: uh huh
- (203) E: and husband... Maybe we'd give Russian names. But because I'm with a Korean. Husband is with Korean. Well and also... Our parents very much follow their Korean traditions
- (204) Y: uh huh
- (205) E: and before giving a name, they weren't made up there. So, according to date of birth
- (206) Y: mm
- (207) E: of children. My date, husband's date of birth. They referred to some Korean book in Korea, so like that.
- (...)
- (278) Y: so they follow traditions. But how much do you follow traditions? What's your attitude to Korean traditions?
- (279) E: Well, we celebrated first birthday. That's very important for Koreans. I
- (280) Y: mm
- (281) E: yes. It's one of the most ones, yeah? Dol. And also like... Celebrated like a wedding, could say. For the first and the second, yeah? Like that.

For the child. So there were a lot of guests. Wore national gowns.

(282) Y: did you put on a hanbok?

(283) E: I wore hanbok only at father-in-law's jubilee. His 60th.



Figure 4: *En Dya*

En-Dya holds an undergraduate degree in business, having majored in finance. After finishing her studies, she worked as an economist, then was promoted to a lead economist, and afterwards switched to accounting. En-Dya is married and has two children. She is now a stay-at-home mother and looks after her children. Other than childcare and performing household tasks, En-Dya also manages family properties, while her husband works at a construction company.

3.11.3.1 Data collection with En Dya

En-Dya heard about this research project through a mutual friend, my schoolmate from Novosibirsk. En-Dya was a year senior to us. My friend forwarded the recruitment poster that I had shared on a Facebook page, and En-Dya expressed interest. She invited me to her house for an in-person

meeting and an opportunity to meet her husband, Vova, and their children, Kwang-Su and Yuna. The family, including the children, agreed to participate.

En-Dya is a stay-at-home mother and is quite busy with family properties. Other than looking after her children and doing housework, En-Dya also manages family rentals. Data collection began with an interview at her house, which was audio- and video-recorded. Most of the data collection sessions were conducted at her home, her rentals, and in public places, such as various shops, a public hospital, a school drop-off area, and eateries. I was also invited to join the family at a ski resort to film and observe them in the mountains, as well as at movies and cafes. Below is an example of a typical data collection day during which En-Dya's (inter)actions and objects were audio- and video-recorded and photographed.

Table 4: A sample from the dataset for En Dya

Date	Total amount by type	Location(s)	Data type and amount	Participants, environment and objects	Observational notes
14 Dec. 2017	Video: ~3 hrs 3 mins; Photos: 10	Beauty salon, Gallery Mall, shops, school	Photos (iPhone): 10	Shops, and TV remotes covered in plastic.	En Dya, like me, also covers her remote. I've seen it in many, if not all, homes in Russia and where Russians live.

			Video (GoPro): ~43 mins	En Dya beauty salon, phone, car	3 files. En Dya had an early morning appointment to do her eyelashes. It's a some sort of procedure after which they look like you've applied mascara and curled them. It took about an hour or so. I didn't film the actual procedure because the room was too small + I didn't want the beautician to feel uncomfortable. So I waited just outside the door. After that we drove to the shops.
			Video (GoPro): ~1 hr 21 mins	En Dya, shops, phone, car	7 files. After the beauty salon, we went to the shopping centre. En Dya was looking for new shoes, then we had lunch in the food court, and went to M Video shop for the fridge. She was furnishing one of their rentals.
			Video (Panasonic): 59 mins	En Dya, phone, car, shops, her son	3 files. After M Video we went to market type shops (near Central market) to get batteries for an ear cleaning device. Then we drove to school to pick up Kwang Su. At the school car park En Dya met a friend who had a child transferred to the same school.

3.11.4 Alexander (Russia)

Alexander was born and grew up on Sakhalin. He moved to Novosibirsk when he was about 16 years old to study at a boarding school under the auspices of Novosibirsk State University. He won a maths competition at a state level and finished the last year of high school at that boarding school. Alexander chose to stay in Novosibirsk and enrolled in an engineering mathematics major. When

asked about his decision to study mathematics, Alexander explained it as follows during our interview:

- (249) Ю: А что тобой двигало при выборе именно вот этой специальности? Были ли какие-то у тебя, ну, карьерные, так сказать, устремления? Вот после окончания ВУЗа, чем ты тогда хотел заниматься?
- (250) А: ну, тогда у меня не было осмысления. Просто там какие-то. Ну... Ммм... Короче, в детстве вообще меня спросили, «кем ты хочешь стать». Эээ, ну, такой дурацкий вопрос «кем ты хочешь стать». Эээ, вот когда вырастишь. Я сказал, что вообще там директором колбасного завода [смеется]. Вот. Потом все изменилось там. Я хотел. Ну, у меня началось это... Получаться по математике. Я думал, сделать карьеру в банке каком-нибудь
- (251) Ю: угу
- (252) А: или просто щ-. Ну, что-то типа бухгалтера там вообще. Ну, где-то. Я брал просто примерные описания работы какой-то другой
- (253) Ю: угу
- (254) А: вот. Т.е. у меня не было особо такого стремления. Просто я знал, что у меня в математике хоть что-то получается, поэтому туда шел

English translation:

- (249) Y: What drove you to choose that particular major? Did you have any career, so to speak, aspirations? After finishing university, what did you want to do?
- (250) A: well, then I did not have any special awareness. Just some.... Well... Mmm... In short, in childhood I was asked 'who do you want to become?' Errr, well such a silly question 'who you want to become'. Errr, when you grow up. I said that would become a director of a sausage factory [laughs]. See. Then everything changed. I wanted. Well, I started... Doing well in maths. I thought of making a career at some bank.
- (251) Y: uh huh
- (252) A: or just sch- Well, something like accounting. Well, somewhere. I went by sample job descriptions of other jobs.
- (253) Y: uh huh
- (254) A: So I didn't really have an aspiration. I just knew that at least I was doing okay in maths, so I went there.

Alexander did not finish his studies and changed his career direction toward graphic design. His parents moved from Sakhalin to Novosibirsk several years ago, and they live together. Alexander enjoys video games, playing poker with friends, and watching movies.

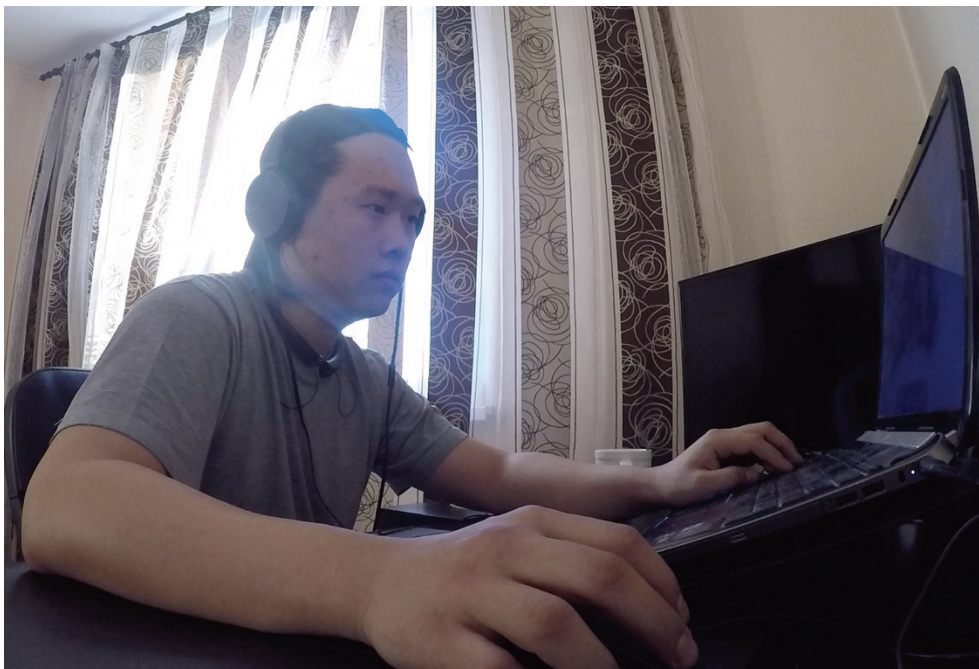


Figure 5: Alexander

3.11.4.1 Data collection with Alexander

Alexander heard about this research project through his cousin, who is friends with my brother. Alexander was given a Participant Information Sheet, and we also met in person to discuss the details, how to participate, and time commitments. After he signed the consent form, data collection activities began with an interview in his family home.

There were no secondary participants. All data collection sessions were at home, except for one day during which Alexander showed me his neighbourhood and university and invited me to join him and his friends for a

poker night. Below is an example of a typical data collection day with

Alexander:

Table 5: A sample from the dataset for Alexander

Date	Total amount by type	Location(s)	Data type and amount	Participants, environment and objects	Observational notes
20 Dec 2017	Video: ~ 2 hrs 8 mins; Photos: 36	Home	Video (Panasonic): ~26: 43	The participant, desk, TV, black baseball cap, mobile	The participant was watching TV and at the same time was doing something on his computer. GoPro was recording at the same time.
			Video (Panasonic): 1 hr 2 mins	The participant, headphones, black baseball cap, laptop, mobile	3 files. The participant went out, came back and started playing a videogame. In between he was checking his mobile phone and VK (Russian social network). GoPro was recording at the same time.
			Video (Panasonic): 17:27	The participant, headphones, black baseball cap, laptop, mobile	The participant was playing a game and kept using his mobile, most likely exchanging messages with someone. GoPro was recording at the same time.
			Video (Panasonic): 12: 18	The participant, headphones, black baseball cap, laptop, mobile	Continued playing the game and using his mobile phone. Received a phone call towards the end. GoPro was recording at the same time.
			Video (GoPro): ~24 mins	The participant, desk, TV, black baseball cap, mobile	2 files. Recorded concurrently with Panasonic.
			Video (GoPro): 1 hr 2 mins	The participant, headphones, black baseball cap, laptop, mobile	4 files: 1940-31940. Same as Panasonic.
			Video (GoPro): 01:24	The participant, headphones, black baseball cap,	The participant went out and then came back and carried on.

				laptop, mobile	
			Video (GoPro): 00:14	The participant, headphones, black baseball cap, laptop, mobile AND his drawing	On this short piece, there's a drawing on the right side of the desk done in black pen or pencil. Different fonts and a message about winter and snow.
			Video (GoPro): ~41 mins	The participant, headphones, black baseball cap, laptop, mobile	3 files: 1943-21943. At the beginning of this part, the participant was using a notepad (plan sheets, non-ruled) and a pencil, which he later put aside.
			Photos (iPhone): 3	Food and tea that the participant's mother kindly offered each time I came; green bottle that he uses as ashtray	Traditional Pyanse pies (Korean) and tea - all served on a tray. The greenbottle is used as an ashtray for his cigarette butts on the balcony.
			Photos (Olympus): 33	Photos of the participant's family tree and his essay about his grandparents that he wrote when he was at school	The photos also include images of his grandparents in Sakhalin. The essay described his grandparents' struggles. Reading it made me a bit emotional, as these stories were not strange to me. The last page was unfortunately damaged (torn) and the ending isn't clear.

3.11.5 Ludmila (South Korea)

Ludmila was born and grew up on Sakhalin and lives in South Korea. Her mother lives in Ansan, a small town near Seoul, South Korea, where many Sakhalin Koreans have been settling under the Red Cross Family Reunification Programme. Ludmila identifies as a third-generation Sakhalin Korean and explains that, in her case, the count should begin with her grandparents who moved to Sakhalin in 1938:

(166) Ю: а как получилось, что вы вот третье поколение? Т.е. получается, значит, что ваш дед выехал на Сахалин... Э... в каком году это получается?

- (167) Л: как? Они, это... Бабушка с дедушкой выехали. Они здесь были в 38 году на Сахалине. До войны.
- (168) Ю: угу
- (169) Л: по пути, когда они ехали сюда, родился наш папа.
- (170) Ю: угу
- (...)
- (198) Л: ну, правильно, надо от дедушки считать же.
- (199) Ю: ага
- (200) Л: дедушка, папа, и я.
- (201) Ю: т.е.
- (202) Л: на Сахалине
- (203) Ю: угу
- (204) Л: правильно?
- (205) Ю: т.е. значит, вы считаете с... Вы за основу берете, вот... Своего деда, который жил на Сахалине? Ага
- (206) Л: надо с дедушки считать.
- (207) Ю: угу
- (208) Л: правильно? Он же жил.
- (209) Ю: угу
- (210) Л: и причем они... Бабушка его... моего папу родила когда было 20 лет. Это получается они всю жизнь там прожили. С молодости.

English translation:

- (166) Y: but how did it happen that you're a third generation? So, it means that your grandfather came to Sakhalin... Er.... Which year was it?
- (167) L: How? Well, they... Grandma and grandpa left. They were here on Sakhalin in 38. Before the war.
- (168) Y: uh huh
- (169) L: in essence when they were on their way here, our dad was born
- (170) Y: uh huh
- (...)
- (198) L: well, that's right, have to count from grandpa.
- (199) Y: ah huh
- (200) L: grandpa, dad and I
- (201) Y: so
- (202) L: on Sakhalin

- (203) Y: uh huh
- (204) L: right?
- (205) Y: so you then count from... You base it on... Your grandpa who lived on Sakhalin? Ah huh
- (206) L: have to count from grandpa
- (207) Y: uh huh
- (208) L: right? He lived
- (209) Y: uh huh
- (210) L: and besides they... Grandma... gave birth to my dad when she was 20 years old. So they lived there their entire life. Since youth.



Figure 6: Ludmila

Ludmila moved to South Korea more than a decade ago to be closer to her mother and to start her own business. She's the owner of Smak, the oldest Russian/Sakhalin restaurant in Korea, which is a well-known establishment among Russian-speaking migrants. Ludmila lives in Incheon with her South

Korean husband, Peter, who helps her and runs a beer pub right next to Smak. Ludmila speaks fluent Korean and knows a bit of English. She is a citizen of South Korea and has also retained her Russian citizenship.

3.11.5.1 Data collection with Ludmila

Ludmila heard about this project from my poster that was shared in the group for Russian-speaking migrants on Facebook. My grandmother's husband had been to Ludmila's restaurant on multiple occasions and knew her. We organised a meeting at Smak, where I met Ludmila in person and told her about my research. She introduced me to her daughter, who was just finishing a Korean language course at Seoul University and was about to go back to Sakhalin, as well as her husband, Peter, and later, one of her employees, Luda, who works in the kitchen.

Ludmila agreed to take part and suggested her husband, Peter, and Luda could join as secondary participants. I spoke to them separately and they also agreed to be part of the research in that capacity. Most of the data collection sessions took place at Ludmila's restaurant, where she spends most of her time. There were, however, some occasions when Ludmila and Peter had to do some grocery shopping for the restaurant at Costco, a meat market, and a bakery, or ate out at local eateries and got coffee before coming to work, and I was invited to join, observe, and film those activities. Below is an example of a typical data collection day during which Ludmila's (inter)actions and objects were audio- and video-recorded and photographed.

Table 6: A sample from the dataset for Ludmila

Date	Total amount by type	Location(s)	Data type and amount	Participants, environment and objects	Observational notes
05 Feb 2018	Photos: 21; Video: ~2 hrs 42 mins	Ansan: Smak restaurant	Photos (iPhone): 21	Dining tables and food for someone's jubilee	Take note of what's being served and how. Some guests were from Kazakhstan who brought some chocolate from there and some dishes might also be from Central Asia. But if I remember correctly, the person whose birthday was celebrated was from Sakhalin.
			Video (GoPro): ~73 mins	Ludmila, Peter, her mother, Luda and another casual worker	5 files. Ludmila had a few people helping her with the event. Peter was entertaining guests and wearing traditional Russian shirt, singing Russian songs. Ludmila and her workers were busy preparing and serving food. Panasonic was left in the restaurant and was recording, but as guests were arriving it was put further away in the corner.
			Video (GoPro): ~1 hr 28 mins	Ludmila, Peter, her mother, Luda and another worker	6 files. Ludmila and her staff continued cooking food, tasting it and serving.
			Video (iPhone): 00:44	Ludmila, clients and her mother	2 files. People came to enquire about pricing for an event. They were planning to invite 12 people. She took them to the bar and offered to show the venue. Her mother was standing behind her, by the counter.
			Video (Panasonic): ~57 mins	Guests, restaurant	3 files. The camera was left recording preparation of tables and guests' arrival. It was put further away to avoid obstruction.
			Video (Panasonic): 09:11	Guests at the restaurant	I moved the camera away from the tables and set it up near the counter.

3.11.6 Sasha (South Korea)

Sasha is a Sakhalin Korean, born on Sakhalin, who grew up in Novosibirsk and currently resides in South Korea. Sasha's parents were our neighbours in Novosibirsk in the early to mid-2000s and know my family quite well. Sasha is currently finishing his last year of high school in Incheon, South Korea and will be starting university the following year. He is attending an international school where the language of instruction is English.



Figure 7: Sasha

Sasha speaks fluent English, having improved it significantly after the family moved to South Korea and enrolled him at an international school. He preferred to be interviewed in English, but the main language of communication at home is Russian. When asked about his studies in Russia during the interview, he switched to Russian to clarify some details with his parents and then switched back to English with ease¹³:

¹³ Translation into English is provided after each Russian line due to Sasha's ability to switch between the two languages during our interview.

- (45) Y: so.. how many years did you spend studying in the Russian school?
- (46) S: mmm... [postural shift]
- (47) C: мама, сколько лет?
S: Mum, how many years?
- (48) Мать: что?
Mum: what?
- (49) C: сколько лет я учился в России?
S: how many years did I study in Russia?
- (50) Мать: в России?
Mum: in Russia?
- (51) C: мм
C: мм
- (52) Мать: Шесть лет
Mum: 6 years
- (53) C: Шесть?
S: Six?
- (54) Мать: да
Mum: yes
- (55) C: точно?
S: sure?
- (56) Отец: в 6 классе он закончил. 6 класс закончил
Dad: when he was in 6th grade. He finished the 6th grade.
- (57) Мать: 6 класс не закончил, и мы сюда уехали.
Mum: he hadn't finished the 6th grade and we moved here.
- (58) S: ok
- (59) Отец: после 6 класса
Dad: after the 6th grade
- (60) S: I finished 6th grade and then I did 7th grade partially and then I transferred. I moved to Korea.

The family has been living in Incheon South Korea on a long-term basis for several years and are looking to settle there permanently. Sasha enjoys science subjects and is an avid video gamer.

3.11.6.1 Data collection with Sasha

Sasha learned about this research project through his father, who knew that I was in South Korea and recruiting participants. Sasha expressed his interest and willingness to participate. We organised a meeting in their home so that I could explain what was involved in person and answer any questions he had before we began. He signed the consent form, and data collection started with an interview.

Like with Alexander, there were no secondary participants. All data collection events were at home, except for two occasions when he was picked up from school and driven home by his father. Sasha is finishing his last year of high school and is getting ready to start university studies. Below is an example of Sasha's (inter)actions on a typical data collection day.

Table 7: A sample from the dataset for Sasha

Date	Total amount by type	Location(s)	Data type and amount	Participants, environment and objects	Observational notes
26 Jan 2018	Photos: 101; Video: ~1 hr 40 mins	Car ride from school to home; apartment in Incheon	Photos (Olympus): 98	Various items in Sasha's bedroom	Took the photos again.
			Photos (Panasonic): 3	Sasha, laptop, notebook	Captured Sasha doing homework
			Video (GoPro): ~1 hr 40 mins	Sasha, his parents and I in the car; then Sasha doing homework in his room; laptop, stationery, tea mug.	6 files. Recorded continuously. Sasha is left handed. GoPro was recording concurrently from when he started doing homework.
			Video (Panasonic): ~1 hr 3 mins	Sasha, laptop, desk, tea mug, stationery	3 files. Sasha was doing homework. Recorded at the same time with GoPro from a different angle.

3.12 Logistics

3.12.1 Schedule

Given the scope of this research project in terms of locations and pre-arranged travel dates, all activities had to follow a strict schedule (see Table 8: Schedule of activities).

Table 8: Schedule of activities

Dates	Activities	Location(s)
August – September 2017	Participant recruitment in New Zealand	Auckland, New Zealand
September – early November 2017	Data collection	Auckland, New Zealand
October – late November 2017	Participant recruitment in Russia	New Zealand, Russia
Late November – late December 2017	Data collection in Russia	Novosibirsk, Russia
Mid November 2017 – mid January 2018	Participant recruitment in South Korea	Russia, South Korea
Mid-January 2018 – late February 2018	Data collection in South Korea	Incheon/Ansan, South Korea

To maximise the time spent overseas, I alternated data collection days between the participants in each country. Not being in my participants' space every day was beneficial to both parties. It gave them an opportunity and time to think of the activities I should observe and record. For me, the benefit of working on alternate days helped me to remain productive and complete fieldwork within the allocated timeframe.

3.12.2 Data storage

Given the size of the raw data, appropriate data storage and backup solutions were necessary. All data were saved on several portable hard drives, which are kept in three different locations. This was done to prevent a complete loss in the event of unforeseen circumstances. All processed files, transcripts, as well as images selected for the analysis are being kept on a cloud-based server.

As I collected and saved the data, I kept an accurate data collection log with details such as dates, types of data, the equipment that was used, and locations. This log was useful in data processing and the reconstruction of fieldnotes (see 3.12.3 Contingency).

3.12.3 Contingency

Despite data storage solutions aimed at preventing a complete data loss, the project was still vulnerable to unforeseen circumstances and human error.

There were two incidents that led to a partial loss: a burglary and failure to copy and save video data from one fieldwork day.

As a result of a house burglary, I lost one portable hard drive with raw data and a notebook with handwritten fieldnotes after I had returned from South Korea.

The following steps were taken to remedy the situation:

- Additional hard drives were purchased, and the data were saved and backed up on several devices.
- Backups are stored in different locations, with one HDD being securely kept at the AUT Multimodal Research Centre.
- Fieldnotes were reconstructed during the data processing stage, specifically by compiling dataset tables. I viewed and logged all collected data. Having kept an accurate record of fieldwork activities (i.e., a data collection log) and having video-recorded my participants, I was able to reconstruct most of the key fieldnotes that I had taken. Even though I could still remember a lot, the videos were highly beneficial. Thus, reconstructed fieldnotes were typed in a separate column titled

'Observational notes' in the dataset tables, as shown in the typical data collection days for each participant (see Tables 2-7).

Another loss occurred due to human error during the early stage of copying data from several devices. The solution at the time was to reconstruct from memory everything that had been observed on that day and have a detailed record of it in the fieldnotes, which were unfortunately later stolen. What helped me reconstruct that day again was the data collection log, viewing still images that I had taken myself, and photos shared publicly on the internet by other members of the public who attended the Russian Day in Howick (a cultural event in Auckland).

3.13 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the key postulates of multimodal discourse theory that underpin my methodological approach. I then turned to the MIA framework and explained how the tools of mediated discourse and MIA are operationalised and used in my analysis. The remaining part of the chapter contains the research design rationale, details on data collection, participant recruitment, and ethical considerations. I have listed the equipment I relied on and the types of data collected. Afterwards, I introduced my participants and gave examples of a typical data collection day for each of them.

In the following three chapters, I present the findings based on the four stages of analysis and show which identity elements the participants produced and how they are structured in (inter)action. I apply the concepts of identity clusters, the convergence of identity elements, and identity compounds to explain the

structures of identity production in New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea and through which objects identity is mediated.

Chapter 4: Multimodal identity production | New Zealand

4.1 Chapter outline

In this chapter I present the analysis of Larisa's and Igor's identity production.

The analysis is based on the tools of frozen action, higher level action of varying scale, and modal aggregate. It enables answering the following questions for these participants:

- RQ1: Which identity elements do Larisa and Igor produce?
- RQ2: How are their identity elements structured in (inter)action?
- RQ3: Which objects embed Larisa's and Igor's identity elements that they produce?

I first present an analysis of Larisa's identity and then turn to the identity of Igor.

The findings are organised using the notion of identity cluster, which brings relevant identity elements together under one umbrella (see ID matrix tables for both participants). Identity compounds are formed as Larisa and Igor (inter)act with various objects, which are I treat as mediational means/cultural tools. The produced identity compounds highlight their integral nature and show that identity elements can converge both within and across different clusters (see overview of identity clusters and identity compound tables for both participants).

The chapter concludes with a summary of key findings for the New Zealand participants.

4.2 Larisa's identity

Following the four stages of analysis, I've established that Larisa's identity is produced across four clusters: family, New Zealand migrant, cultural & ethnic, and personal identity. Each cluster contains one or more identity elements that are anchored in a major theme from her (inter)actions. Her family identity is centred on kinship. New Zealand migrant identity is produced through objects and the associated higher-level actions of varying scales she performs. Ethnic and cultural identity involves elements of Russian and some Korean culture and practices, with a particular focus on the Russian language. Her personal identity cluster is composed of her interests and connections, which are mediated by relevant objects.

Table 9: ID Matrix - Larisa

IDENTITY ELEMENTS	IDENTITY CLUSTERS			
	Family	NZ Migrant	Ethnic & cultural	Personal
Wife/Married Woman	X			
Mother	X			
Daughter	X			
Daughter-in-law	X			
Aucklanders		X		
New Zealand Citizen		X		
English Language User		X		
New Zealand Customs Adopter		X		
Russian Food Consumer			X	
Russian Language User			X	
Korean			X	
Movie Fan				X
Reader				X
Friend				X
Sustainability				X

The analysis of frozen actions shows that many instances of convergence and formation of distinct identity compounds: intra- or inter-cluster. The table below summarises Larisa's identity clusters and identity compounds.

Table 10: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Larisa

Objects/mediational means and actions	Identity clusters	Identity compounds
Wearing a wedding ring on the left hand	Family, NZ Migrant	Wife/Married Woman - NZ Customs Adopter
Grocery shopping list written in English	Family, NZ Migrant	Wife/Married Woman - Mother - English Language User
Reading English children's books to her daughter	Family, NZ Migrant, Personal Identity	Mother - English Language User - Reader
Reading Russian children's books to her daughter	Family, Ethnic & cultural, Personal	Mother - Russian Language User - Reader
Reading and keeping the books about cinematography gifted by her father	Family, Ethnic & cultural Personal	Daughter - Movie Fan - Reader - Russian
Buying pastry at a Russian cultural event	Ethnic & cultural, Family	Russian Food Consumer - Russian Language User - Mother - Wife
Reading local magazines (e.g. Paperboy)	NZ Migrant, Personal	Aucklander - English Language User - Reader
Keeping and displaying a wall calendar from Russia with Zoe's photos	Family, Ethnic & cultural	Mother - Daughter - Russian Language User
Souvenir stand with an English message	Family, NZ Migrant	Daughter-in-law - English Language User
Keeping and using Chicks At The Flicks bags	Personal	Movie Fan - Sustainability
Repurposing a soju set for serving soy sauce	Ethnic & cultural, Family, Personal	Korean - Daughter - Sustainability
Reading Stephen King's books in English	Personal, NZ Migrant	Reader - Movie Fan - English Language User
Reading free Magazines from Chicks At The Flicks events	Personal, NZ Migrant	Aucklander - English Language User - Reader - Movie Fan
Reading Paperboy on the train	NZ Migrant, Personal	Reader - Aucklander - Commuter - English Language User
Reading Russian books about children's development	Family, Ethnic & cultural, Personal	Mother - Russian Language User - Reader
Using Chicks at the Flicks bags at a supermarket	Personal, Family	Movie fan - Sustainability - Wife/married woman – Mother

Displaying fridge Magnets and photos from Australia	Family	Mother - Wife/Married Woman - Expectant Mother
---	--------	---

4.2.1 Family identity

While the identity elements within the family cluster are found in different objects that embed various frozen actions that Larisa has performed, family identity is also produced through environment – a dedicated spot that binds all identity elements that are included in this cluster.

Photo spot – putting family photos together

The photo spot that Larisa created (see Figure 8: Wedding and family photos) is a complex mediational means/cultural tool and environment that embeds several frozen actions associated with her intra-cluster identity elements: being a wife/married woman, a mother to Zoe, her parents' daughter, and through a photo of her husband's parents, a daughter-in-law.



Figure 8: Wedding and family photos

Placing wedding photos next to or near the photos of her daughter and both spouses' parents demonstrates the salience of Larisa's family identity and the integral nature of this cluster. The complexity of this environment is due to multiple higher-level actions Larisa performed in the past, which are now frozen and embedded in this photo spot. These include: becoming a couple, organising a wedding, getting married, giving birth, having those moments captured on camera, getting the photographs printed and framed, and hanging them on the wall. Other than family relationships and kinship, the integral nature of family identity mediated by this photo spot is achieved through the modal aggregate (Norris, 2014, 2020) of proxemics, object handling, and gaze, namely placing the selected photographs together or next to each other, and framing, hanging, and placing them at an eye level.

4.2.1.1 Wife/married woman identity

Wedding ring – getting married



Figure 9: Larisa's wedding ring

Wife identity element is produced as part of several cultural practices that indicate Larisa's marital status and migrant journey. The ring itself embeds a number of higher-level actions, such as her husband placing it on Larisa's wedding finger at their ceremony, and her continued wearing of it every day on her left hand (see Figure 9: Larisa's wedding ring). Through the modes of object handling and wearing jewellery, Larisa produces an identity of a wife/married woman. The latter is remarkable as it indicates a deviation from the Russian tradition of wearing a wedding ring on the right hand and follows a broadly Western and New Zealand custom. Larisa, thus, produces a **wife/married woman – NZ customs adopter** identity compound (see further 4.2.2.4 New Zealand customs adopter).

Initials (souvenir) – being a couple



Figure 10: The couple's initials

The 'L&J' stands for Larisa and Justin, the participant's husband. Larisa placed the initials on top of the fireplace shelf, to the right of the family photo frames. They are highly visible and are at the centre of the combined lounge and

kitchen areas (see Figure 10: The couple's initials). This souvenir embeds a higher-level action of being a married couple and associated frozen actions, such as placing it at an eye level in the lounge, quite close to the photo spot. These frozen actions were produced by a modal aggregate of four modes: *object handling – gaze – English language – proxemics.*

Wedding photos – getting married



Figure 11: Wedding photographs

Larisa reinforces her identity as a wife/married woman by displaying several wedding photos in the lounge. The photos were taken on a wedding day, selected, framed, and put on the wall in the centre of the lounge, hung above the photos of her daughter Zoe and her and Justin's parents. As with the L&J letter stand, all of these photos are highly visible and are noticed as soon as one enters Larisa's home. The modal aggregate used to produce these frozen actions as part of Larisa's wife/married woman identity element is *object handling – gaze – proxemics.*

Photos and souvenirs – travelling as a married couple

Within her family identity cluster, Larisa also produces her wife/married woman identity through a number of photos and souvenirs displayed in her home. She has travelled to a few overseas destinations with her husband, taking photos and buying souvenirs together. On display are several souvenirs from their trip to Thailand: a plate with their photo kept on the piano in the lounge (see Figure 12: Larisa in Thailand), masks hung in the spare bedroom, and fridge magnets (see Figure 13: Larisa’s fridge magnets and souvenirs highlighted in blue). Photos from their trip to Australia are also on display (see Figure 14: Photos from Larisa and Justin’s trip to Australia).



Figure 12: Larisa in Thailand



Figure 13: Larisa's fridge magnets and souvenirs

Australian photos from Lone Pine Koala Sanctuary (see Figure 14: Photos from Larisa and Justin's trip to Australia) and fridge magnets (see Figure 13 highlighted in blue) are objects through which Larisa produces her wife/married woman and expectant mother identity. The photos are kept in Zoe's room. Larisa was four months pregnant when she and her husband travelled to Australia and visited the Koala sanctuary.



Figure 14: Photos from Larisa and Justin's trip to Australia

Grocery shopping list – deciding what to buy

As a wife and mother, Larisa regularly shops at a local supermarket for food and general items for the family. The shopping list she uses embeds several frozen actions that Larisa performed in the past. To produce this list, she had to check what her family of three, including herself, needed, think about what they wanted to eat, and then produce the list. (see Figure 36: Larisa’s grocery shopping list). The frozen actions embedded in this list produce a **wife/married woman–mother–English language user** identity compound. Convergence with the mother identity (see 4.2.1.2 Mother identity) and English language user identity element (refer to the sub-section 4.3.2.3 English language user where I analyse the relevant frozen action) occurs due to all of the frozen actions embedded in the list, including the higher-level actions nested within the larger-scale, higher-level action of Larisa’s grocery shop.

4.2.1.2 Mother identity

A photo frame with photos of Zoe and her handprint – becoming a mother



Figure 15: Photos of Zoe and her handprint

Under the wedding photos, Larisa is displaying photos of her daughter Zoe and Zoe's handprint (see Figure 15: Photos of Zoe and her handprint). The photo frame holds twelve selected photos of Zoe when she was a newborn. Together with the wedding photos and the photos of Larisa's parents and her parents-in-law, Zoe's photos form part of the photo spot (Figure 8: Wedding and family photos) that Larisa created. The frozen actions that Larisa performed in the past, having become a mother, include selecting, printing, framing, and placing Zoe's photos next to other photos and her handprint.

Grocery shopping list – buying supplies for Zoe

The shopping list that Larisa produced (see Figure 36: Larisa's grocery shopping list) also embeds her mother identity, which, as I noted earlier, converges with the wife/married woman and English language user identity elements. One of the frozen actions is Larisa checking what is needed for Zoe and including those items on the shopping list. This action is produced through checking the fridge and her pantry and is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze*. Object handling refers to multiple objects, such as opening the fridge and pantry, and the food and general items used for Zoe's care. Larisa also used the mode of gaze to visually inspect the areas where she keeps those supplies and to note what was needed.

Books for children in English and Russian – reading to her daughter



Figure 16: Zoe's books in English



Figure 17: Zoe's books in the lounge



Figure 18: Zoe's books in Russian

Larisa has a number of children's books at home in both languages (see Figure 16: Zoe's books in English, Figure 17: Zoe's books in the lounge and Figure 18: Zoe's books in Russian). By reading to her daughter in English and/or Russian, she produces her mother identity as well as identity elements from the ethnic, New Zealand migrant, and personal identity clusters, which strongly indicates her practice of raising a bilingual child.

The English-language children's books embed several identity elements across different clusters. Given Larisa's full functional command of English and its use in daily communication with her New Zealand family and colleagues, English is a distinct mode that binds all four clusters: family, ethnic & cultural, New Zealand migrant, and personal. These books mediate Larisa's ***mother-English language user-reader*** identity compound.

Similarly, the Russian language is another mode that Larisa uses to produce a mother identity together with her Russian identity. The Russian books mediate

Larisa's *mother–Russian language user–reader* identity compound.

Books about children in Russian – reading about children's development



Figure 19: Books about children's development

Among all books in Zoe's bedroom, Larisa has a few that are targeted to parents interested in children's development, colours, shapes, developmental games, and conversations with a mother. Larisa's mother identity element is embedded in these books. Given the subject and nature of this literature, these books are for Larisa herself, not Zoe, which indicates how being and becoming a parent shapes her reading practice. Hence, through the presence of literature for parents in Zoe's room and the frozen action of reading these books, she produces another example of a *mother–Russian language–reader* identity compound.

Zoe's books – cultivating interest in books and reading

The books are kept within Zoe's easy reach: either on or near a playmat in the lounge (see Figure 16: Zoe's books in English, Figure 17: Zoe's books in the

lounge, Figure 18: Zoe's books in Russian) or in her bedroom on the two bottom shelves, which are kept with other books (see Figure 19: Books about children's development). The books in her bedroom are kept at Zoe's eye level, and as Figure 19: Books about children's development shows, she is able to take a book off the shelf herself.

The mode of language is irrelevant in this instance, as Zoe is too young to read herself. However, through the modes of proxemics, object handling, and gaze, Larisa enables Zoe's mimicking activity and thereby cultivates an interest in books from a young age. The presence of a considerable number of books suggests that Larisa's frozen actions of obtaining, keeping, and using them quite possibly correlate with her own interest in reading, which is part of her personal identity, as well as her husband's, who is also a reader.

Zoe's photo and drawing on the fridge – being a mother

Larisa produces her mother identity through the items she keeps on her fridge (see Figure 20: Larisa's fridge highlighted in yellow). On the right side of the fridge door, she displays her daughter's photo, and on the left, Zoe's drawing is held by other magnets.



Figure 20: Larisa's fridge

The fridge is an object that Larisa uses to display items related to her family identity. Not only does it mediate her mother identity through Zoe's photograph and drawing, but it also mediates her identities as a daughter (see 4.2.1.3 Daughter identity) and a wife/married woman through other objects (see 4.2.1.1 Wife/married woman identity).

4.2.1.3 Daughter identity

Books about cinematography (in Zoe's room) – receiving a gift from Dad

Larisa's personal interest in movies is embedded in various objects she has at home, including these books. She received the two volumes of a '3,500' movie review book from her dad as a gift from Russia (see Figure 21: Books about movies). These books were signed for Larisa by the author (see Figure 22: Books signed for Larisa by the author). Larisa keeps these two volumes on top

of the shelves in Zoe's room where she placed other gifts from family and friends.

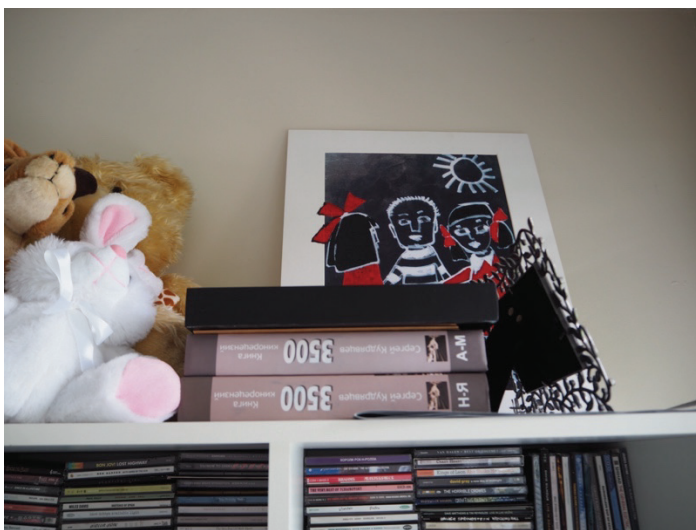


Figure 21: Books about movies

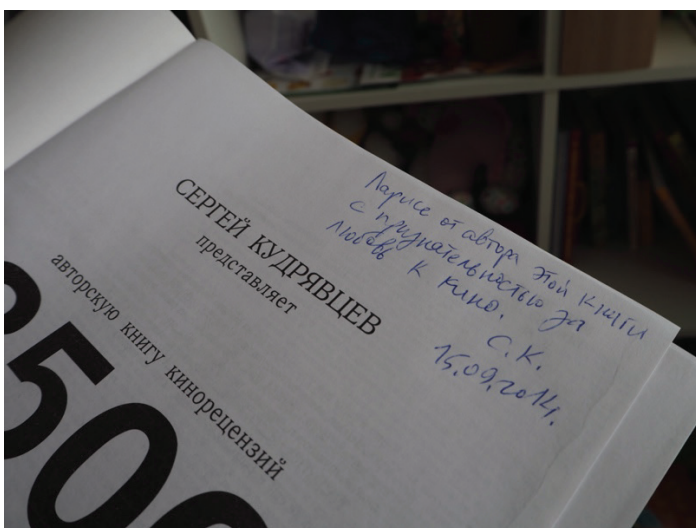


Figure 22: Books signed for Larisa by the author

Larisa's father's gift embeds three other identity elements: Russian identity, a movie fan, and a reader. The first of these is part of the ethnic and cultural identity cluster, which is mediated by the Russian language. The other two identity elements, a movie fan and an avid reader, are part of her personal identity. All four elements converge to form a distinct identity compound. I will address each part of this compound within the relevant clusters.

A fridge magnet – displaying Dad’s hometown

On her fridge, among various magnets and other items, Larisa displays a magnet from her dad’s hometown (see Figure 20: Larisa’s fridge highlighted in white). Her dad and his side of the family come from Chernovtsy, a small town in the western part of Ukraine. During the interview, Larisa mentioned that her dad’s family moved to Sakhalin because of her grandfather’s assignment, which reflects the Soviet system of employment after graduating from a higher education institution:

- (81) Ю: значит, родители твои переехали в Иркутск... Когда ты уже родилась, да?
- (82) Л: да. Мне было 2 года, когда они переехали.
- (83) Ю: ага
- (84) Л: т.е. я не помню вообще.
- (85) Ю: мм, мм... Т.е. они.. значит познакомились на Сахалине?
- (86) Л: да. Как получилось? У отца, значит, ммм... эээ... дедушка мой, папин отец, он был.. значит.. сначала военный летчик во время войны. А потом после войны он был учитель истории. И по распределению его послали на Сахалин. С Украины. С Черновцов. Это Западная Украина. Вот. Эээ... Папа естественно с сестрой уже родились там на Украине. Ну они были дети, когда переехали на Сахалин. Там лет 10 или 11 ли им было.
- (87) Ю: мм
- (88) Л: и они в Южный (примечание: Южно-Сахалинск). Нет, во Взморье они переехали.

English translation:

- (81) Y: so, your parents moved to Irkutsk... When you were born, right?
- (82) L: Yes, I was two years old, when they moved.
- (83) Y: uh huh
- (84) L: so I don't remember at all.
- (85) Y: mmm... So then they... met on Sakhalin?
- (86) L: yes. How did it come about? Dad's, mmm... err... My grandfather, Dad's father, he was an air force pilot during the war. And then after the war he was a history teacher. And as per assignment, he was sent to Sakhalin. From Ukraine. From Chernovtsy. That's Western Ukraine. Yes, err... Dad and his sister of course were born in Ukraine. Well they were children, when they moved to Sakhalin.

They were about 10 or 11 years old.

(87) Y: mm

(88) L: And to Yuzhny [note: Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk]. No, they moved to Vzmor'e.

Larisa's frozen action of displaying this magnet is mediated by the modal aggregate of gaze–object handling–Ukrainian language. Larisa's fridge is an essential mediational means/cultural tool that holds this magnet, as well as other objects that mediate her production of a mother and a wife/married woman identity.

Fridge magnets – receiving a gift from Mum

Larisa keeps two magnets from her mum on the fridge that depict a Korean couple wearing hanbok, a traditional outfit (see Figure 20: Larisa's fridge highlighted in red). Although she does not fully identify as Korean, by keeping and displaying these magnets Larisa primarily produces her identity as a daughter and a married woman within a family cluster. The ethnic Korean identity element is secondary in this instance, as it is Larisa's mum who has a strong connection with Korean culture rather than Larisa herself. The frozen action of displaying the magnets is produced through the modal aggregate of gaze–object handling. The fridge is an essential mediational means/cultural tool that enables this frozen action and, like the fridge magnets, also embeds the element of Larisa's daughter identity.

Orthodox icons – keeping and displaying them privately



Figure 23: Orthodox icons

In a conversation during fieldwork, Larisa said she isn't religious. However, the Orthodox icons in her home (see Figure 23: Orthodox icons) produce a daughter identity and indicate a connection with her mum, who is a practising Christian. The icons are gifts that Larisa keeps on top of drawers in a spare bedroom, where her mum stays when visiting from Russia. They are highly visible and displayed at eye level, but are kept in this private space. The frozen action of keeping these icons where they are is produced by the modal aggregate of *gaze–object handling–proxemics*. Gaze and object handling are necessary for Larisa to lift the icons and put them where they are visible to her mum. The mode of proxemics helps achieve visibility, but only in private, as Larisa does not display the icons in common areas.

Mother's Korean wedding gift – keeping it at home



Figure 24: Wedding gift

This panel was a wedding gift from Larisa's mother (see Figure 24: Wedding gift). In contrast to other gifts through which Larisa produces her family identity, this panel is tucked away under the hall table near the entrance to the house. The panel features a message in Korean for newlyweds titled 'Couple's intentions' that contains advice for a married couple to support each other. Although Larisa does not speak or read Korean, she knows what the meaning is. The frozen action of putting the panel below eye level and making it not immediately noticeable is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–proxemics*. The mode of language here is secondary, as Larisa does not

speak or read Korean and upon seeing this panel, she is unable to decode what is written there, having to rely on the interpretation provided by her mother at the time it was given.

A wall calendar – keeping and displaying it in the hallway



Figure 25: A wall calendar from parents

Larisa has a wall calendar hanging above the hall table near the entrance door (see Figure 25: A wall calendar from parents). This calendar was a gift from her parents in Russia, and it includes photographs of her daughter Zoe. The calendar is in Russian and embeds several frozen actions that resulted in its creation: selecting and sending Zoe's photographs to her parents, communicating with them in Russian, being given the calendar by her parents, and attaching it where it is kept. Through these frozen actions, this calendar is a mediational means/cultural tool for Larisa to produce a ***mother–daughter–Russian language user*** identity compound. The initial frozen action of hanging the calendar involved the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–*

proxemics–Russian language. During every subsequent (inter)action she has with it, as she sees it on the wall, she still produces those three elements but with a lesser modal complexity through a triple modal aggregate of *gaze–proxemics–Russian language*.

Parents' photos – keeping and displaying their photos



Figure 26: Family photos on display near the photo spot

Larisa keeps a couple of photos of her parents on top of a dresser, together with other items related to the family identity cluster (see Figure 26: Family photos on display near the photo spot). The photos were taken in Russia, framed, brought to New Zealand, and are now kept on display in the lounge.

The frozen actions embedded in Larisa's parents' photos are performed through the modal aggregate of *object handling–proxemics–gaze*. The parents' photos form part of the family identity element that Larisa produces in her home. They are placed near photos of Zoe, Larisa's and her husband Justin's wedding

photos, and her parents-in-law. All of these photos are highly visible and are kept in the common area.

Matryoshka – displaying Mother’s gift

A Matryoshka, a traditional Russian nesting doll, is a gift from Larisa’s mother, which was brought from Russia. The dolls are kept in three locations: next to Larisa’s parents’ photo (see Figure 26: Family photos on display near the photo spot), in the spare bedroom where Larisa’s mum stays during her visits, and in Zoe’s room (see Figure 27: Matryoshka (left) in the spare bedroom and in Zoe’s room (right)).



Figure 27: Matryoshka (left) in the spare bedroom and in Zoe’s room (right)

Larisa keeps the dolls in various places at home and displays them in both common and private areas of the house. Through the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–proxemics*, she opened a nesting doll, took out the smaller dolls, and placed them on a cupboard or shelves at eye level, making them visible, particularly in areas where she often interacts with them. As *matryoshka* is one of the most recognisable symbols of Russian culture, its visibility in Larisa’s home is not surprising. This observation echoes her

sentiment over Russian and Korean identity and identifying as Russian, as mentioned in the interview:

- (185) Л: т.е. я чувствовала себя русской вообще. 100% русской. И поэтому когда я смотрела в зеркало, мне это казалось... Ну вообще.
- (186) Ю: угу
- (187) Л: что это не я. Вот до того, что до такой степени, что казалось, что это не я.
- (188) Ю: угу, угу. А сейчас?
- (189) Л: сейчас эээ... Я тоже ощущаю себя русской. Я не сказала бы, что я... Ну... хотя сейчас больше я воспринимаю. Ну, что вот эту корейскую часть, да? Ммм. Ну, все равно если меня спросят, я скажу, что я русская.

English translation:

- (185) L: So I felt Russian. 100% Russian. And when I looked at myself in the mirror, it seemed... Well really.
- (186) Y: uh huh
- (187) L: Like it's not me. To a point, to such an extent that it seemed it's not me.
- (188) Y: uh huh uh huh. And now?
- (189) L: Now, errm... I also consider myself Russian. I wouldn't say that I'm... Well, now I accept it more... Well, that Korean part, yeah? Mmm... But nonetheless, if I'm asked, I'll say I'm Russian.

Larisa's daughter identity converges with her Russian identity from the ethnic and cultural identity cluster. The matryoshka dolls mediate the converged elements.

4.2.1.4 Daughter-in-law identity

A teddy bear from Nelson – receiving gifts from in-laws

Larisa received a number of gifts from her mother-in-law, including a soft toy detailing Zoe's birth information. Larisa keeps it on the top shelf in Zoe's room, just below the books given to her by her father (see Figure 28: Teddy bear on

the occasion of Zoe's birth).



Figure 28: Teddy bear on the occasion of Zoe's birth

A souvenir stand – displaying it in the kitchen

The souvenir stand is another gift through which she produces her daughter-in-law identity element, as well as an identity of New Zealand migrant (see Figure 29: A souvenir from Larisa's mother-in-law). Larisa keeps it in the kitchen on a window sill, just above the tap, at eye level. This stand is highly visible and displayed in the frequently used area (see Figure 30: The placement of the souvenir stand above the tap) where Larisa (inter)acts with it. The frozen action of displaying the stand in the kitchen is produced through the modal aggregate

of object handling–gaze–proxemics–English language.



Figure 29: A souvenir from Larisa's mother-in-law



Figure 30: The placement of the souvenir stand above the tap

This souvenir mediates Larisa's **daughter-in-law–English language user** identity compound. The mode of English language is critical, as it is both the language featured on the souvenir and the language of communication between Larisa and her New Zealand-based family, including her mother-in-law.

4.2.2 New Zealand migrant

4.2.2.1 Aucklander

Local media – reading in English on her way to work and at home

Auckland is the city where Larisa permanently resides. As part of her settlement, Larisa produces her identity as an Aucklander by reading local newspapers and magazines and taking an interest in what is happening in the city. She continues the practice of reading newspapers and magazines in Auckland and New Zealand (see Figure 31: Reading local press).



Figure 31: Reading local press

Larisa often reads *Paperboy*, a free magazine (see Figure 32: Reading Paperboy) that she picks up at a train station on her way to or from work and then brings home. She usually reads it and other local newspapers and magazines on the kitchen counter whilst preparing food for her family, or having a snack.



Figure 32: Reading Paperboy

The frozen actions that Paperboy embeds strongly indicate that Larisa produces several converged identity elements: being an avid reader, an Auckland, and an English language user. Paperboy mediates these identity elements simultaneously, making them an integral part of each other. The frozen actions embedded in Paperboy are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–English language* as she collects it from the train station, brings it home, and reads it. This convergence would not be possible had Larisa not been able to speak and read English, had not been interested in reading, or had she not lived in Auckland and used Auckland public transport. Thus, the local magazines that she reads mediate an ***Auckland–English language user–reader*** identity compound, which links the New Zealand migrant and personal identity clusters.

As my field note prompt, there was a short exchange between Larisa and I about Paperboy, which I transcribed and present below:

- (1) Л: ты любишь Paperboy? Я его всегда на train station беру
(2) Ю: Не читала ни разу.

- (3) Л: Здесь всегда хорошие статьи, про Окленд и другие города. Очень интересно. Там, куда пойти, что поесть, в какие театры... Я тоже раньше (прим: его; пропущенное указательное местоимение) не читала. Только когда на поезде начала ездить.

English translation:

- (1) L: Do you like Paperboy? I always get it at the train station.
(2) Y: I've never read it
(3) L: There are always good articles about Auckland and other towns. Very interesting. Like where to go, what to eat, which theatres... I also hadn't read it [note: added anaphoric reference 'it', referring to Paperboy] before. Only when I started using a train.

4.2.2.2 Being a NZ citizen

As a citizen of New Zealand, Larisa takes her responsibility of voting in elections seriously. Her interest in politics and elections is not new; before moving to New Zealand, she exercised her right to vote as a Russian citizen. Furthermore, as she shared during an interview, her parents worked in election campaigns in Russia. As a New Zealand citizen now, Larisa continues the practice of voting in her new home country. The fieldwork coincided with New Zealand's general election, and in a conversation a week prior, Larisa shared further details about why voting is important to her. An excerpt of that conversation is transcribed below:

- (1) Л: Я всегда хожу голосовать.
(2) Ю: А почему ты ходишь голосовать? Насколько тебе это важно?
(3) Л: Мне это важно, потому что во-первых столько людей борется за то, чтобы у них было право голосовать. То есть если у тебя есть это право, ты обязательно должен... Выразить свое мнение. А для меня это важно потому, что это один из признаков того, что я – гражданин. То есть я гражданин Новой Зеландии и я имею право выбирать, кто будет у руля.

English translation:

- (1) L: I always go to vote.
(2) Y: Why do you go to vote? How important is it for you?

- (3) L: It's important because firstly there are so many people fighting to have the right to vote. So, if you have this right, you definitely must... Express your view. For me, it is important because it's one of the indications that I am citizen. So, I'm a citizen of New Zealand and I have the right to choose who will be at the wheel.

Larisa's New Zealand citizen identity is produced by several higher-level actions related to voting, such as reading about a political party's election policies and going to vote with her family. The former action is embedded in two objects: a pamphlet and an article from a local magazine. The latter action is embedded in the sticker that is given to voters who have voted, which was given to Zoe.

Political party pamphlet – reading about election policies



Figure 33: Political party pamphlet, Stephen King's novel, and local magazines

One of the objects that embeds Larisa's frozen action of reading about policies is a pamphlet from the New Zealand Labour Party which she placed on top of the cabinets near the kitchen (see Figure 33: Political party pamphlet, Stephen King's novel, and local magazines).

This pamphlet embeds several frozen actions, the most recent of which are reading it and then putting it next to other items that she has read. The

production of both higher-level frozen actions involves the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–English language*. Object handling was employed to hold the pamphlet while it was read and to move it from one location to another.

Gaze was used to read the information on the pamphlet, which Larisa employed together with the mode of English language. Gaze was also necessary when Larisa chose a spot for the pamphlet and placed it where it is. Finally, the English language mode is also part of this modal aggregate because without Larisa's ability to read English, she would not be able to understand what is written there or whether it is of enough relevance to be kept.

Local press – reading about NZ politics

The production of the New Zealand citizen identity element also involves Larisa reading local press about voting. Below is an article that she read in a local magazine about how families vote. (see Figure 34: An article from Paperboy about voting).



Figure 34: An article from Paperboy about voting

Larisa's frozen action of reading this article is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–English language*. These three modes were necessary to produce the higher-level action of reading, as she held the magazine and turned the pages, looked at and read the English-language text. During fieldwork, Larisa shared that she found the article interesting and resonating with how her family votes. She votes the same way she always does, out of habit, giving preference to a political party rather than a candidate, in the same way as her parents. Although this article is part of a magazine that produces a ***reader–Aucklander–commuter–English language user*** identity compound (see subsection 4.2.2.1 Aucklander), her New Zealand citizen identity does not converge with it. Rather, Larisa's New Zealand citizen identity element is strongly grounded in her continuous practice of casting a vote for a party at each election and being interested in politics, which she addresses by reading relevant texts. Had politics and voting not been something she felt strongly about, it would be highly unlikely that Larisa would have read and commented on this article.

'I voted' sticker – receiving a sticker upon voting

In New Zealand, the Electoral Commission issues 'I voted' stickers that those who are enrolled and have voted can collect and display on their clothes or other items. Larisa went to a polling station with her husband Justin and daughter Zoe, who was given a sticker. Although I did not join them that day, the topic of voting came up on one of the data collection days, shortly after they had voted. This conversation that the three of us had was captured on camera (see Figure 35: Sharing the news of having voted). An excerpt is of it is transcribed below:

- (1) L: did you vote?
- (2) Y: No
- (3) L: How come?
- (4) Y: Pfff... [shaking my head]
- (5) L: We did. We went all together [cheerfully]
- (6) Justin: Zoe voted as well. [everyone laughs]
- (7) Justin: Hey Zoe, we voted yesterday. You got a sticker.



Figure 35: Sharing the news of having voted

For Larisa, the New Zealand citizen identity element, which she produces by reading relevant articles, voting, and getting a sticker, does not converge with the family identity cluster. Although they went to the polling station together, completing a voting paper is an individual and private activity that Larisa did on her own.

Her 'I voted' sticker is the object that she received upon placing her completed voting paper into the ballot box. The frozen action of receiving a sticker was produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–proxemics*. She had to be close enough to the staff member for it to be handed to her, see the staff member, and use her hands to receive it. The mode of English language is not

part of this aggregate, as the action of handing and agreeing to receive it can occur without the use of language, and often a person's facial expression, relevant gestures, and head nods have the same communicative function.

For Larisa, voting intersects several other practices: going to vote with her husband and taking their young daughter with them, reading relevant articles, using English in the presence of her husband, and being a New Zealand citizen.

4.2.2.3 English language user

Grocery shopping list – using English

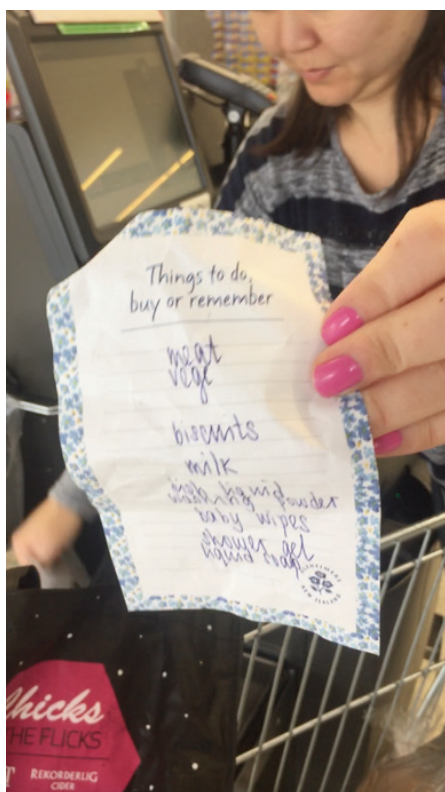


Figure 36: Larisa's grocery shopping list

While English language use in the workplace, education, and public domains is largely driven by its de facto status, Larisa produces this identity element in situations where she has significant agency to choose the language for her own texts. One such example is a shopping list she made before going to the

supermarket (see Figure 36: Larisa's grocery shopping list). The list is written entirely in English, as opposed to Russian, her mother tongue, even though she went to the supermarket without her husband and the list was only for her to read.

The frozen actions embedded in this list are produced by the modal aggregate of object handling, gaze, and English language. This list is a complex mediational means/cultural tool that required Larisa to use other material means to produce it, such as paper and a pen. Object handling mode involved operating the pen and using a page from her shopping list notepad. Gaze and English language modes were employed at the same time as object handling, as Larisa would not have been able to write the list without them. The English language is a key mediational means/cultural tool that Larisa uses to produce her English language user identity element.

Other than English language user identity, this shopping list also mediates the production of Larisa's family identity, as it contains common toiletries and other items she had to buy for her family. The mode of English language is quite intense in the higher-level action of grocery shopping since all price tags, product descriptions, aisles, the interface of self-checkouts, and interactions with checkout assistants in New Zealand supermarkets are in English. Even though this list could have been written in Russian, the mode of English due to its significance binds Larisa's production of English language user and family identity elements.

English language literature and press – reading

Given Larisa's fluency in English and mastery of this mediational means/cultural tool, she engages in reading English language texts. This identity element converges with Larisa's reader identity from the personal identity cluster (see subsections 4.2.2.1 Aucklander and 4.2.4.2 Reader) and also her mother identity, which is mediated by the English language books that she buys and reads to her daughter (see Figure 16: Zoe's books in English and Figure 17: Zoe's books in the lounge).

4.2.2.4 New Zealand customs adopter

Wedding ring – wearing it on the left hand

Larisa's ring, worn on her left hand, is a complex mediational means/cultural tool. While an object and a social actor's body may be seen as separate entities, this concrete frozen action (see Figure 9: Larisa's wedding ring) produces an identity of an adopter of New Zealand customs as well as a wife/married woman identity, which converge into a **wife/married woman–NZ customs adopter** identity compound. These two identity elements converge as the two mediational means/cultural tools are inseparable. Had Larisa put this ring on her right hand, it would have partly told a different identity element, namely a wife/married woman who is maintaining her Russian identity element.

4.2.3 Ethnic & cultural identity

4.2.3.1 Russian food consumer

Russian salad – making and eating it at home

Sometimes Larisa makes Olivié, also known as Winter salad (see Figure 37: Larisa's home made Olivié salad). It is a popular Russian dish usually served

around New Year festivities and special occasions, such as friends and family gatherings. Because this salad is quite filling, it may be eaten on its own without a second course. The salad is traditionally served with bread, and Larisa serves it with a piece of wholemeal bread.



Figure 37: Larisa's home made Olivier salad

Pastry – buying it at a Russian cultural event for her family



Figure 38: Stalls at the Russian Day event in Auckland

The Russian community in Auckland organises several cultural events that usually feature performances, stalls with Russian food, souvenirs, and those advertising businesses and services that are run by Russian-speaking migrants. Larisa and her family attended an event called Russian Day in Howick, a suburb

in South-East Auckland. This event is a fundraiser aimed at supporting a Christian school in the Far East.

At the event, Larisa bought two kinds of pastry from the stall in Figure 38 for her daughter Zoe. While Zoe and Justin, Larisa's husband, were eating it, Larisa saw an old friend and had a brief conversation with her in Russian. Later, Larisa and her family went outside to watch some cultural performances: live music and dancing.

When buying pastry at this event, Larisa employed a modal aggregate of object handling–gaze–Russian language. The mode of object handling involved handing cash and picking up the pastry. Gaze was needed to see what kinds of pastry the stall was selling. The Russian language was used to ask about the price and to communicate the choice and quantity of pastry to the stall staff. Once purchased, Larisa used the mode of handing to give the pastry to her husband and daughter. This pastry, thus, mediates a **Russian food consumer–Russian language–mother–wife** identity compound through the frozen actions embedded in it.

4.2.3.2 Russian language user

Books – reading in Russian

Russian language is a mode that Larisa uses to perform different actions through which she produces her Russian identity as well as other identity elements from different clusters that converge with it: a reader from the personal identity cluster, and a mother and a daughter from the family cluster. Other than local press, Larisa reads a variety of books in both languages.

These include children’s books that she reads to her daughter (see Figure 17: Zoe’s books in the lounge and Figure 18: Zoe’s books in Russian), books about parenthood (Figure 19: Books about children’s development), and non-fiction (see Figure 21: Books about movies and Figure 39: Novels in Russian).



Figure 39: Novels in Russian

The non-fiction books in Russian are kept in a separate pile next to the English language books on a built-in shelf in the bedroom. In the production of her Russian identity element, the mode of Russian language is key and intense when Larisa engages in the higher-level action of reading those books. It is part of the *object handling–gaze–Russian language* aggregate that she employs when each book is read. Due to the critical and integral nature of this mode, Larisa’s Russian language user identity converges with her mother and reader identity elements when she reads to Zoe in Russian and uses Russian-language literature about parenthood (see Figure 17: Zoe’s books in the lounge, Figure 18: Zoe’s books in Russian, Figure 19: Books about children’s development). The Russian language user identity element also converges with reader, daughter, and a movie fan identity elements when she reads gifted books from her dad (see Figure 21: Books about movies and Figure 22: Books signed for Larisa by the author). Finally, this identity element converges with

Larisa's reader identity from the personal identity cluster when she reads novels in Russian for pleasure (see Figure 39: Novels in Russian).

4.2.3.3 Korean identity

Korean food – eating it with chopsticks

In New Zealand, Larisa does not eat Korean food at home anymore unless her mother visits. Korean food is now eaten at restaurants (see Figure 40: Larisa having lunch at the Korean restaurant in Central Auckland).



Figure 40: Larisa having lunch at the Korean restaurant in Central Auckland

When Larisa eats Korean, she uses Korean chopsticks and operates them quite confidently, which strongly suggests she has mastered and appropriated this type of cutlery. Larisa was observed eating a Korean meal twice, and each time she opted for chopsticks, even though a knife and fork are almost always available in Korean restaurants in New Zealand.

Chopsticks, along with Korean food, are a distinct mediational means/cultural tool that Larisa employs as she produces her Korean identity. The mode of object handling when operating chopsticks is quite intense. Since Korean

chopsticks are made of steel or brass, they are heavier, flat, and have a smooth surface, which requires more muscle strength and skill to hold properly and pick up pieces of food.

By extension, the mode of object handling also applies to the food that Larisa eats using chopsticks. The intensity of this mode is further amplified due to the nature of Korean food, which consists of multiple side dishes that are placed in the middle of the table. Therefore, chopsticks are used not only to pick one kind of food, but also pieces of several side dishes, all of which have a different consistency.

Korean food – recognising the differences

The Korean food that Larisa eats in New Zealand is not a typical Sakhalin Korean meal (see Figure 41: Larisa eating Chicken and Squid Dosirak). Despite the presence of many Korean restaurants in Auckland, most of them serve South Korean dishes that differ in flavour, presentation, variety, and ingredients. During the interview, Larisa noted the differences in Korean food available in New Zealand:

- (301) Ю: а сейчас вот ты корейскую еду ешь?
- (302) Л: вот здесь только и начала. Потому что в России-то как? Ну, в смысле мама там готовила. А вот сюда приехала, здесь же все... Дешево. Available. Ну, в смысле, пойти можно хоть куда, в аут, да? Тем более, я в сити жила долгое время.
- (303) Ю: угу, угу
- (304) Л: вот. И в этот ходила. На Elliott Street, вот в этот-то...
- (305) Ю: ресторан
- (306) Л: корейский. Да. Т.е. здесь я конкретно я начала все это есть. Да.
- (307) Ю: ну, и каково тебе этот было? т.е. вот ты, значит, стала здесь эммм... кушать эти корейские блюда. И вот напомнили ли они тебе о домашней

еде?

- (308) Л: эмммм... Ты знаешь, по первости, когда я в первое время приехала, то может быть да.
- (309) Ю: мм
- (310) Л: а щас уже как? Ну, как ты говоришь, все же разные в Ирку-... Ну, в России там разные были.
- (311) Ю: мм
- (312) Л: например, папоротника я здесь вообще не видела.
- (313) Ю: угу
- (314) Л: ну. Да. Папоротника я здесь ни разу не ела.
- (315) Ю: угу, угу
- (316) Л: и... че тока вот? Кальмары... Да даже морковча вот... Как. (смеется) здесь ну и это так. Ну, т.е.
- (317) Ю: морковча есть в русском магазине (смеюсь)
- (318) Л: ааа, ну вот. (смеется) Вот. Видишь, здесь-то вообще не это.

English translation:

- (301) Y: And do you eat Korean food now?
- (302) L: I only started here. Because in Russia it was like... I mean Mum cooked. But when I came here, it's all... Cheap. Available. Well, meaning you can go out, yeah? Moreover, I lived in the city for a long time.
- (303) Y: uh huh, uh huh
- (304) L: yeah and went to that.... On Elliott Street, to that...
- (305) Y: Restaurant
- (306) L: Korean. Yes. So I actually started eating it all here. Yeah.
- (307) Y: So how was it for you? Meaning you err... started eating all these Korean dishes here. And so did they remind you of home food?
- (308) L: Mmmm... You know, at first, when I came here first, maybe yes.
- (309) Y: Mm
- (310) L: And now? So as you say, everything is different in Irku-... Well, in Russia it was different.
- (311) Y: Mmm...
- (312) L: For example, I haven't seen fern bracken here anywhere
- (313) Y: uh huh

- (314) L: Well, yeah. I haven't eaten fern bracken here at all.
- (315) Y: uh huh uh huh
- (316) L: And... only what? Squid... And even carrot salad... How. [laughs] Here it's like that. I mean...
- (317) Y: Carrot salad is available in the Russian shop [laugh]
- (318) L: aaah, so you see. [laughs]. You see, here it's completely not that.



Figure 41: Larisa eating Chicken and Squid Dosirak

Larisa noted the differences in the ingredients used in local (South) Korean restaurants and that they did not have what she was accustomed to from her 'old' home. The mode of object handling, although important, is not what she primarily draws on to discern the differences between South Korean and Sakhalin Korean food. The frozen actions embedded in the food were enabled by the modal aggregate *smell–gaze–taste*. All three modes are and were necessary for her to notice the ingredients being used at local Korean restaurants, as well as to smell and taste the flavours as the food was

consumed. Because her palate is familiar with the Sakhalin Korean flavours, the mode of taste, as well as smell, enabled her to draw a comparison between the flavours of South Korean cuisine that is widely available in Auckland.

Korean soju set – using it differently



Figure 42: Soju set gifted by Larisa's mum

The soju set that Larisa has and uses (see Figure 42: Soju set gifted by Larisa's mum), was a gift from her mum, who brought it from Russia. Soju is a Korean alcoholic drink. Although Larisa barely drinks alcohol, she has chosen not to give the set away and instead uses it to serve soy sauce, a popular condiment in Korean and Asian cuisines.

By keeping and using this soju set, albeit differently, Larisa also produces a ***Korean–daughter–sustainability*** identity compound, where the three elements from the ethnic and cultural, family, and personal identity clusters converge. Larisa's soju set is a mediational means/cultural tool that she has

appropriated according to her needs; it is also a “spin-off” as it was not originally designed for serving soy sauce. The modal aggregate *object handling–gaze* is key, as it is necessary to hold the set and pour soy sauce, which is another, correlated in this instance object and mediational means/cultural tool, inside or from the bottle onto the food.

Wedding gift – keeping but not fully displaying it

I previously noted that the wooden panel Larisa received as a gift from her mum is a mediational means/cultural tool through which she produces her daughter identity (see Figure 24: Wedding gift). Within the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–proxemics*, the mode of proxemics is significant, as the panel’s location suggests Larisa chose not to give it full visibility in her home. Although the mode of Korean language in this frozen action is secondary, it is nonetheless also significant. As previously noted, Larisa does not speak or read Korean. Furthermore, her Korean heritage comes only from her mother’s side, and her relationship with Korean culture—of which language is a part—and Korean identity is somewhat conflicting. During the interview, Larisa was asked to reflect on being Korean and Russian in Russia. She said she did not identify herself as Korean when she was younger and still sees herself as Russian (see the interview excerpt in sub-section 4.2.1.3 Daughter identity). Larisa’s response indicates that her Korean identity is only partial and based on how she feels. This corroborates the earlier observation of the limited visibility of Korean-ness and a partial acceptance of being Korean in her home environment.

4.2.4 Personal identity

4.2.4.1 *Movie fan*

Books – reading about movies

Larisa's personal interest in movies is quite distinct. She not only watches them regularly but also reads about them. The books, gifted by her father (see Figure 21: Books about movies and Figure 22: Books signed for Larisa by the author) are mediational means/cultural tools that highlight the convergence of identity elements through several frozen actions: receiving them as a gift from her parent, reading them, and using the Russian language.

In subsections

4.2.1.3 Daughter identity and 4.2.3.2 Russian language user, I explained that through these books, she produces a ***daughter – movie fan – reader – Russian*** identity compound. I explained that through these books, she produces a ***daughter–movie fan–reader–Russian identity compound***. Each identity element within this compound is necessary for them to converge and form this compound.

Chicks At The Flicks bags – going to the movie theatres

Larisa regularly attends *Chicks At The Flicks* events, which are monthly movie nights for women. Each ticket holder receives a goodie bag containing magazines, skincare products, samples, and other items, as well as ice cream and a drink (see Figure 43: Watching *Bad Moms 2* at Chicks At The Flicks event in Central Auckland). Larisa usually attends with friends or colleagues

from work.



Figure 43: Watching *Bad Moms 2* at *Chicks At The Flicks* event in Central Auckland

The empty bags found in Larisa’s home embed several frozen actions related to *Chicks At The Flicks* events, such as buying tickets, checking the schedule, getting to the movie theatres, receiving a goodie bag, and watching a movie.

When Larisa receives and carries this bag into the movie theatre and then home, she uses the modes of object handling and gaze. The same modes are also used when Larisa finds a different purpose for the bag, thus producing a different identity element (see subsection

4.2.4.4 Sustainability). These two identity elements converge forming a *movie fan – sustainability* identity compound.

Magazines – going to the movie theatres

Larisa generally likes reading newspapers and magazines. The magazines she reads are found in two locations: on the kitchen counter, under a book (see Figure 33: Political party pamphlet, Stephen King’s novel, and local magazines and Figure 44: Magazines from the *Chicks At The Flicks* event) and on the

coffee table near the entrance.



Figure 44: Magazines from the Chicks At The Flicks event

Mindfood and Next are local magazines that Larisa received as part of her goodie bag from the Chicks At The Flicks events that she regularly attends at Auckland movie theatres. These magazines, like books about cinematography, do not just relate to Larisa's other interest in reading in English. They embed the frozen actions of buying tickets to these events, going to the movie theatres where Larisa was given these magazines, and watching movies. These magazines mediate her **Aucklander–English language user–reader–movie fan** identity compound.

Peripherals, Chromebook, TV, and internet – watching movies at home

Larisa also watches movies at home, using a Chromebook connected to her TV with a wireless keyboard and mouse (see Figure 45: Peripherals connected to the TV). According to my field notes, she and her husband watch a lot of movies at home for economic reasons, as well as because their daughter is too young for the cinema and childcare is a factor.



Figure 45: Peripherals connected to the TV

The peripherals and other devices that Larisa connected are mediational means/cultural tools that enable the production of a movie fan identity element. She interacts with them using the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–language–proxemics*. The peripherals are handled to navigate relevant websites, with gaze and language modes also employed. The mode of proxemics is also integral, as wireless devices work within a particular radius and she needs to be close enough to see the screen.

4.2.4.2 Reader

Books – being a reader

As mentioned earlier, Larisa is an avid reader. She reads books of different genres and on different topics in both Russian, her mother tongue, and English. Her interest in reading intersects with her interest in movies, which forms a converged identity compound of a movie fan and a reader. Depending on the language of the book Larisa is reading, this compound will include either a

Russian or English language user identity element.



Figure 46: Stephen King's and other books in Larisa's home in English and Russian

In the kitchen, Larisa keeps the book she is currently reading, “It” by Stephen King, on top of a wooden wine rack, next to a pamphlet and magazines (see Figure 33: Political party pamphlet, Stephen King's novel, and local magazines).

Larisa's choice of the book is not random, as she likes horror movies and has several other Stephen King's books on a bookshelf in the spare bedroom (see Figure 46: Stephen King's and other books in Larisa's home in English and Russian).

During fieldwork, Larisa mentioned that she prefers reading a book before watching a movie. A transcript of our conversation about movies and books is below:

(1) Л: Стивена Кинга любишь?

- (2) Ю: да я, честно говоря, не смотрела. А вот ты, смотрю, читаешь книжку...
Книжка такая большая.
- (3) Л: да.
- (4) Ю: ну, ты еще только в начале или ты уже?
- (5) Л: Я стремлюсь к середине (смеется). Да.
- (6) Ю: т.е. ты сначала читаешь книги?
- (7) Л: да.
- (8) Ю: а потом уже, прочитав книгу, ты идешь в кино?
- (9) Л: ну как правило, да
- (10) Ю: смотришь кино и потом ты как, сравниваешь с книгой?
- (11) Л: да. Для меня книга всегда изначальна.
- (12) Ю: всегда?
- (13) Л: всегда
- (14) Ю: понятно

English translation:

- (1) L: do you like Stephen King?
- (2) Y: to be honest, I haven't seen. But I see that you're reading a book there...
Such a big book.
- (3) L: yeah
- (4) Y: so are you just at the beginning or already done?
- (5) L: I'm aiming for the middle [laughs], yeah.
- (6) Y: so do you first read books?
- (7) L: yeah
- (8) Y: and then, having read the book, you go to the movies?
- (9) L: well, as a rule, yeah.
- (10) Y: you watch a movie and then, do you compare it with a book?
- (11) L: yeah. For me, the book is always primary.
- (12) Y: always?
- (13) L: always

“It” and other books by Stephen King that Larisa has at home and has read embed several identity elements from different clusters: personal identity as well as New Zealand migrant. Within the personal identity cluster, two identity elements associated with her love of reading and watching (horror) movies converge, forming an intra-cluster compound. There is further convergence with the English language user identity as Larisa relies on the mode of English to read and watch Stephen King’s movies. Thus, this book mediates a ***reader–movie fan–English language user*** identity compound.

Other than horror, Larisa also reads other novels. Next to the Russian literature, she has a pile of English novels in her bedroom (see Figure 47: Books in the bedroom). In the spare bedroom, there is a full bookshelf of mostly English books (see Figure 46: Stephen King’s and other books in Larisa’s home in English and Russian).



Figure 47: Books in the bedroom

Local press – reading newspapers and magazines

Larisa's reader identity element also involves reading local press. As she shared during fieldwork, before moving to New Zealand she would regularly read Russian newspapers and magazines. This practice continues in New Zealand, as explained earlier (see subsection 4.2.2.1 Aucklander, Figure 31: Reading local press and Figure 32: Reading Paperboy). Auckland newspapers and magazines mediate Larisa's ***Aucklander–English language user–reader*** identity compound. She continues to produce her reader identity in New Zealand, but it also converges with her identities as an English language user and an Aucklander, given that the press she reads is about Auckland and New Zealand and the content is in English. The magazines that she collects from the local Chicks at the Flicks events mediate Larisa's movie fan identity, which converges with the other identity elements to form an ***Aucklander–English language–reader–movie fan*** identity compound.

Children's books and books about parenting – reading and parenting

Larisa produces her reader identity through relevant literature she has at home concerning parenting and books for her daughter (see Figure 19: Books about children's development, Figure 18: Zoe's books in Russian, Figure 17: Zoe's books in the lounge, Figure 16: Zoe's books in English). English language books mediate Larisa's ***mother–English language user–reader*** identity compound, while Russian language books mediate a ***mother–Russian language user–reader*** identity compound. These two identity compounds are examples of how Larisa's reader identity converges with elements from the family, personal, and either the New Zealand migrant or ethnic and cultural

identity clusters.

4.2.4.3 Friend

Painting – receiving a friend’s gift and displaying it

Larisa produces her friend identity element by receiving, keeping, and displaying gifts from her friends. In her spare bedroom, she has a painting (see Figure 48: Painting from a friend) from an Auckland-based artist. The painting, which was a birthday gift, portrays Muriwai beach in West Auckland. The action of receiving this gift involved several lower-level actions that were enabled by the modal aggregate of *English language–gaze–object handling*. It is safe to assume the Auckland-based artist communicated with Larisa in English when the gift was handed to her. The painting was later brought home and hung on the wall. While this may have been done by Larisa herself, this latter frozen action was enabled by at least two modes: gaze and object handling.



Figure 48: Painting from a friend

4.2.4.4 Sustainability

Chicks At The Flicks bags – reusing them



Figure 49: Reusing the bags

One of the items Larisa took to the supermarket is a bag from Chicks At The Flicks events (see Figure 49: Reusing the bags). Although this bag was acquired at a movie event as Larisa produced her movie fan identity, its new (re)use indicates a spin off and the production of a sustainability identity element. At the supermarket, Larisa used it as a handbag for her wallet and to carry other small items while doing grocery shopping, which are 'new' frozen actions embedded in this object. Thus, several identity elements converge in it: movie fan, sustainability, wife/married woman, and mother, forming a compound that this object holds.

Soju set – repurposing it

Another example of how mediational means/cultural tools transforms an action is a soju set that Larisa received as a gift from her mother. As explained earlier (see 4.2.3.3 Korean identity), this object embeds several frozen actions that reveal three identity elements: Korean, daughter, and sustainability. These elements converge into a compound as the set was received as a gift, kept, and used for a different purpose. Each identity element is necessary for them to converge, forming a compound.

4.3 Igor's identity

Igor's identity is produced across four clusters: family, New Zealand migrant, ethnic and cultural, and personal identity. Each cluster consists of several identity elements anchored in a major thematic anchor that is evident in his (inter)actions. Igor's family identity is anchored in his relationship with his long-term partner and parents. The New Zealand migrant identity cluster revolves around his life in New Zealand, including learning about the country, representing it, and using its de-facto official language in his daily communication. Igor produces his ethnic identity by means of relevant objects that show aspects of Russian identity and Korean food. Finally, the personal identity cluster revolves around his deep personal interests in taekwondo, reading, and introversion, as well as a developing practice of sustainability.

Table 11: ID Matrix - Igor's identity

IDENTITY ELEMENTS	IDENTITY CLUSTERS			
	Family	NZ Migrant	Ethnic & cultural	Personal
Partner	x			
Son	x			
NZ representative		x		

Former international student/graduate		x		
English language user		x		
Russian identity			x	
Korean food consumer			x	
Taekwondo practitioner				x
Sustainability				x
Introvert				x
Reader				x

The analysis of Igor's (inter)actions reveals that he produces not just separate identity elements but rather identity compounds that consist of identity elements from the same or different clusters (see below).

Table 12: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Igor

Objects/mediational means and actions	Identity clusters	Identity compounds
NZ Taekwondo Team bag with Igor's name	NZ migrant; Personal	New Zealand representative – English language user – taekwondo practitioner – sustainability
Ngā Kaponga haka for the World Championships	NZ migrant; Personal	New Zealand representative – taekwondo practitioner – English language user
Travel documents and a brochure with the dates	NZ migrant	NZ representative - English language user
University textbooks on the shelf	NZ migrant	Former international student/graduate – English language user
Reading about Poland	Family; NZ migrant	English language – partner
Books about New Zealand	NZ migrant	English language user – reader
New Zealand Road Code	NZ migrant	English language user – reader
English language literature	NZ migrant; Personal	English language user – reader
Having dinner at a Korean restaurant in Central Auckland	Ethnic & cultural; NZ migrant	Korean food consumer – English language user
Korean biscuits & Korean soft drinks	Ethnic & cultural; NZ migrant	Korean food consumer – English language user
Supplements and vitamins	Personal; NZ migrant	Taekwondo practitioner – English language user
Purchasing and using training gear	Personal; NZ migrant	Taekwondo practitioner – English language user
Using branded t-shirt and water bottle with the club's logo and website	Personal; NZ migrant	Taekwondo practitioner – English language user

Reading about the effects of sugar	Personal; NZ migrant	Taekwondo practitioner – reader – English language user
Protein tub	Personal	Sustainability - taekwondo practitioner
Quiet by Susan Cain	Personal; NZ migrant	Reader - English language user
Purchasing the book - The Mountain Shadow book by Gregory D. Roberts	Personal; NZ migrant	Taekwondo practitioner – English language user – reader

4.3.1 Family identity

4.3.1.1 Partner

Photos together – keeping and displaying them at home

Igor and his partner Natalya have a few photos together that were taken, framed, or attached to various places in their apartment (see Figure 50: Photo on the desk and Figure 51: Photo on the fridge). One of the photos was framed and put on the desk, which is used by both Igor and Natalya.



Figure 50: Photo on the desk

Another photo with Natalya is attached with magnets to the fridge door (see below).



Figure 51: Photo on the fridge

Both photos are kept in highly visible places that Igor uses frequently. The frozen actions of keeping them on the desk and the fridge are achieved by employing the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics* simultaneously as the framed photo was placed on the selected spot. Once placed on the desk, the photo has become ‘frozen’ in the environment and Igor’s (inter)actions with it are realised through the modal aggregate of gaze–proxemics as he uses the desk and is able to see it in close proximity or while passing by his desk and seeing it.

The same modal aggregates were employed to attach the other photo to the fridge at eye level: *object handling–gaze–proxemics*. And afterwards, once the photo became ‘frozen’ in the environment, Igor uses the modal aggregate of gaze–proxemics each time he uses the fridge and sees the photo.

A book about Poland – getting to know his partner’s home country



Figure 52: Poland by Adam Zamojski

Igor’s partner identity element converges with two other identity elements from the ‘New’ New Zealander and personal identity clusters: English language user and reader. These three identity elements are produced through Igor’s higher-level action of reading a book about Poland, which is kept among other books on the shelf (see Figure 52: Poland by Adam Zamojski highlighted in yellow).

Reading is the frozen action embedded in this book. It involved the *gaze–English language–object handling* modal aggregate as he looked at the English text, held the book, and turned the pages. The choice to read about the history of Poland is not random; it is his partner’s home country. Additionally, as he explained in the interview (see subsection 3.11.2 Igor (NZ)), Poland is one of the countries that he has considered for emigration due to its high level of taekwondo development. Igor’s love of reading, which has become evident during fieldwork, also intersects with his interest in learning more about Poland. The mode of English language enables Igor to communicate with his partner

and read this book, which, in turn, produces his English language user identity.

4.3.1.2 Son

Family photograph – displaying it on the bedside table

Igor's family photo embeds several frozen actions: bringing it from Sakhalin, having it framed, and keeping it on the bedside table in his bedroom in the Auckland apartment (see Figure 53: Igor's family photo). The frozen action of bringing this photo from Sakhalin to New Zealand is nested within a higher-level action of previously living in Sakhalin, Russia, with his parents. The other two frozen actions are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–proxemics*, as the photo was held and placed on a selected spot.



Figure 53: Igor's family photo

Similar to the photos through which Igor produces a partner identity element, the photo of his parents is ‘frozen’ in the environment once it has been placed. Igor’s further (inter)action with it is realised through the modal aggregate of *gaze–proxemics*. Through this modal aggregate, he maintains his family bond and relationship with his parents. This aggregate is also notable given that the photo is kept in a private area and on Igor’s side. Igor’s father had passed away just before Igor started his undergraduate studies. His mother still lives on Sakhalin, and Igor is hoping she will join him in New Zealand or any other country where he might migrate, as he mentioned in the interview:

- (917) И: найду работу в более крупной компании. Там... Перевезу маму сюда.
 (918) Ю: угу
 (919) И: ну, такой план. Какого-то четкого плана нет.
 (920) Ю: а мама вообще задумывалась о переезде? Как ей все это? Ну, поменять страну.
 (921) И: ну, мама у меня уже в возрасте. Ей 63 года. И сейчас она живет не одна. Мой двоюродный брат живет в нашей квартире с ней.
 (922) Ю: угу, угу
 (923) И: но она учитель.
 (924) Ю: угу
 (925) И: это помогает тоже. Она не скучает. Ей всегда есть чем заняться.
 (926) Ю: угу
 (927) И: но все равно мне кажется, нужно быть по близости с ней. Как бы племянник это одно, а сын – другое. Конечно, поможет. Но все равно...
 (928) Ю: а у тебя братья-сестры есть?
 (929) И: нет, я единственный.
 (930) Ю: ага
 (931) И: поэтому куда бы я ни переехал, я все равно буду думать, как маму там поближе перевезти.
 (932) Ю: угу
 (933) И: чтоб я мог за ней ухаживать или... если у меня дети будут, чтобы она могла с детьми...
 (934) Ю: угу
 (935) И: я думаю в Новой Зеландии ей будет... Я найду чем ее занять.
 (936) Ю: угу
 (937) И: я уже смотрел, есть языковые курсы для пожилых
 (938) Ю: угу
 (939) И: и там можно. Но здесь очень красивая природа.
 (940) Ю: угу
 (941) И: ну и вообще это более-менее безопасная страна
 (942) Ю: угу
 (943) И: поэтому я не вижу каких-то больших проблем с этим

English translation:

- (917) I: will find a job in a bigger company. Then... Get mum here

- (918) Y: uh huh
 (919) I: well, kind of a plan. There is no precise plan.
 (920) Y: has mum thought about moving? How does she find it all? Well, changing a country.
 (921) I: well, my mum's already senior. She's 63 years old. And now she doesn't live alone. My cousin lives with her in our apartment.
 (922) Y: uh huh
 (923) I: But she's a teacher
 (924) Y: uh huh
 (925) I: and that helps too. She's not lonely. She's got things to do..
 (926) Y: uh huh
 (927) I: But nevertheless, I think I need to be closer to her. Like a nephew is one, but a son is different. Of course, he'll help, but still...
 (928) Y: Do you have any brothers and sisters?
 (929) I: no, I'm the only one
 (930) Y: uh huh
 (931) I: so wherever I might move, I will still be thinking of how to get Mum closer
 (932) Y: uh huh
 (933) I: so that I could look after her or... If I have children, she could with the children...
 (934) Y: uh huh
 (935) I: and I think in New Zealand she will... I will find how to keep her busy.
 (936) Y: uh huh
 (937) I: I've already looked up language courses for the elderly
 (938) Y: uh huh
 (939) I: and we could... But here's beautiful nature.
 (940) Y: uh huh
 (941) I: and in general it's a more or less safe country
 (942) Y: uh huh
 (943) I: So I don't see any big problems with it.

Given Igor's intention to bring his mother to New Zealand, it can be assumed that his bond with her is strong. This identity element will likely involve Igor's (inter)actions with and through other objects in the future.

4.3.2 New Zealand migrant

4.3.2.1 New Zealand representative

Igor trains at an Auckland martial arts club, VRMA, and enters international taekwondo competitions as part of his club's team representing New Zealand. In this instance, taekwondo is both a complex mediational means/cultural tool and a larger-scale, higher-level action that Igor engages in. The action of representing New Zealand at the World Championship is mediated by several

objects: official gear, a handout about the *haka*¹⁴, a travel document pouch, and a print-out with the dates of the World Championships.

This identity element converges with the taekwondo practitioner from the personal identity cluster. For Igor, the level of taekwondo development in New Zealand was an important factor in his decision to migrate, as he explained in the interview (refer to the excerpt from sub-section 3.11.2 Igor (NZ)). Igor's interest in taekwondo and martial arts in general is personal (see 4.3.4.1 Taekwondo practitioner), and this identity element developed when he lived on Sakhalin, prior to his move to New Zealand.

Official gear – being part of the New Zealand Taekwondo team



Figure 54: NZ Taekwondo Team bag with Igor's name

The sports bag (see Figure 54: NZ Taekwondo Team bag with Igor's name) is part of the New Zealand team's gear that was issued to Igor for the World Championships in Ireland. Multiple frozen actions are embedded in this object: becoming a member of the New Zealand team, using it for the gear at the tournament, travelling to Ireland and competing. Initially, receiving this bag from

¹⁴ A Māori war dance and a customary welcome and challenge that many NZ sports teams perform before the matches.

the organisers involved *gaze – proxemics – gaze – English language – object handling* modal aggregate. These four modes were employed simultaneously in order to receive the bag: being close enough to the issuer, seeing it in order to receive it, seeing and reading the name, and holding it.

This identity element converges with three other elements—one from the NZ migrant identity cluster and two from the personal identity cluster—as Igor continues using this bag beyond the tournament (see further 4.3.4.1 Taekwondo practitioner and 4.3.4.2 Sustainability identity). The resulting identity compound consists of the following identity elements: taekwondo practitioner, sustainability, being an introvert, and reader. Some of these identity elements converge within a cluster, such as ***taekwondo–sustainability***. Other identity elements converge with elements from other cluster(s), such as ***reader–partner–English language user*** or ***taekwondo practitioner–reader–English language user***. This bag thus mediates Igor’s ***New Zealand representative–English language user–taekwondo practitioner–sustainability*** identity compound.

Representing New Zealand – learning and performing the haka

Many New Zealand sports teams traditionally perform the *haka*, a Māori war dance, before matches. The New Zealand Taekwondo team performs the ‘Ngā Kaponga’ *haka* (see Figure 55: Ngā Kaponga haka for the World Championships).



Figure 55: Ngā Kaponga haka for the World Championships

Igor has a handout on his pinboard that tells the history of this haka and provides guidance, guidelines, and commentary around its meaning. To perform it, Igor had to read the handout, learn the words and movements, and follow the guidelines. Additionally, as haka always involves te reo, the Māori language, Igor had to learn how to read and pronounce the words. Thus, prior to the performance, the modal aggregate *gaze–English language–te reo Māori language–proxemics* was used to read the handout. This identity element converges with the English language user identity element as Igor learns the background of this haka that he planned to perform as part of the taekwondo world championships. This brochure, thus, mediates a ***New Zealand representative–taekwondo practitioner–English language user*** identity compound.

Travel documents and printouts – preparing for the tournament

Being part of a New Zealand sports team involves travelling and planning. Igor has been preparing for his journey to Dublin, Ireland, for the World Championships. On his desk, he has his travel documents from the travel agency and a brochure with the dates on the pinboard (see Figure 56: Travel documents and a brochure with the dates).



Figure 56: Travel documents and a brochure with the dates

Multiple frozen actions are embedded in both objects: engaging with the team, finalising travel, using English language, attaching the brochure to the pinboard at home, and putting the pouch with travel documents and other information on the desk. In all of those embedded frozen actions, Igor used the modes of English language, object handling, gaze, and proxemics. Once the brochure has been attached, Igor (inter)acts with it using the modal aggregate of *gaze–English language–proxemics*. He needs to be close enough to the pinboard to see it and read the information. For the pouch, his (inter)actions involve the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–English language* to be able to check

the content and read what is written on the documents.

4.3.2.2 Former international student and graduate

Textbooks – receiving education in New Zealand

Igor arrived in New Zealand as an international student. He first attended an English language school, where he met his partner, and then studied for his Graduate Diploma at a university in Auckland. Igor still keeps his textbooks on international business, leadership, governance and accountability, information systems, and human resource management. They are on the same shelf as other books that he reads (see Figure 58: English language literature).

His textbooks, like other books on this shelf, embed several ‘frozen’ higher-level actions: enrolling in the university, buying and using them to study, and now keeping them following completion of his studies. To use them for studies, Igor employed the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–English language* as he turned pages, looked, and read the content. Since Igor received his education at a New Zealand university, which involved reading textbooks in English, the English language mode in his (inter)actions is intense and key. Furthermore, studying at a tertiary level also assumed fluency and thus mastery of the English language. Thus, this identity element converges with Igor’s English language user identity, forming a ***former international student/graduate–English language user*** identity compound. This compound is an example of convergence that links identity elements from the same cluster.

4.3.2.3 English language user

English language – communicating with partner and learning about her country

The mode of English language is critical for Igor to produce a partner identity given that English is the only language of communication that both he and Natalya speak. Thus, this identity element converges with the partner identity element, forming an ***English language user – partner*** identity compound.

English, as a mode and mediational means/cultural tool, is integral to Igor's production of the New Zealand migrant cluster and all elements within it. Finally, the convergence of the English language user with all four elements from the personal identity cluster is evident as Igor engages in taekwondo, produces his sustainability identity, and reads relevant literature (see further 4.3.4 Personal identity).

Books – reading about life in New Zealand

As a migrant and fairly recent newcomer to New Zealand, Igor has read several books about living and working conditions, travelling, and driving. All of these resources are in English. He keeps a few travel guide books about New Zealand and Auckland on the top shelf, as well as a book about living and working in New Zealand (see Figure 57: Books about New Zealand).



Figure 57: Books about New Zealand

The books embed several frozen actions, such as purchasing them locally, bringing them home, reading them, and keeping them on the shelf. The frozen higher-level action of reading required a modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–English language* as Igor held the books, turned the pages, looked at the content, and read it. These books mediate Igor’s **English language user–reader** identity compound.

New Zealand Road Code – reading in preparation for the driver license test

On a shelf closer to the desk, among other books, is the New Zealand Road Code (see Figure 58: English language literature). Several frozen actions are embedded in this book: getting it, bringing it home, reading and studying the

in his (inter)actions with the books he has (see Figure 58: English language literature). This identity element converges with Igor's reader identity, forming an *English language user–reader* identity compound, as I explain further (see 4.3.4.4 Reader). The mode of English language is critical, as it is what enables the convergence of these two identity elements.

Textbooks – reading as part of university studies

This identity element converges with Igor's former international student/graduate identity element (see earlier subsection 4.3.2.2 Former international student and graduate). He keeps his university textbooks on one of the shelves. These textbooks embed several frozen actions from when Igor used them, all of which are nested within a larger-scale, higher-level action of studying for his university qualification in New Zealand. The mode of English language that was ever-present in Igor's (inter)actions with these textbooks enabled the convergence of these two identity elements.

4.3.3 Ethnic and cultural identity

4.3.3.1 Russian identity

Russian souvenirs – keeping and displaying them at home

Igor has several Russian souvenirs in his apartment through which he produces his Russian identity element: fridge magnets and a Matryoshka doll. On Igor's fridge are two magnets brought from Sakhalin (see Figure 59: Fridge magnets from Sakhalin). The one on the left is from his hometown, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (Japanese name: Toyohara). The other one is a photo from Tikhaya Bay and a

mountain peak, an area on the East coast of Sakhalin.



Figure 59: Fridge magnets from Sakhalin

Once the magnets were attached to the fridge, which involved the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–Russian language*, Igor’s (inter)actions with them are realised through the aggregate of *gaze–Russian language–proxemics*. The mode of proxemics in his subsequent (inter)actions is needed to be able to see them.

Among Igor’s traditional Russian souvenirs are a couple of Matryoshka dolls. One of them is a fridge magnet and a bottle opener (see Figure 59: Fridge magnets from Sakhalin on the right) and the second is the actual doll that Igor keeps in the kitchen next to some grocery items (see Figure 60: Matryoshka). The frozen actions embedded in the fridge magnet involved the modal aggregate *object handling–gaze*. The placement of the Matryoshka doll involved *object handling–gaze–Russian language*.



Figure 60: Matryoshka

Groceries – buying them at a local Russian shop

Igor produces his Russian identity element through food items he purchases at a local Russian shop, 'Skazka'. One of the products he bought at that shop and consumes is Basilur tea, a popular brand with many Russian migrants (see Figure 61: Kitchen shelf).



Figure 61: Kitchen shelf

During the interview, Igor mentioned that he shops at Skazka, a grocery store that sells Russian and Eastern European food, because he misses it:

- (1065) И: ну и в целом, да. Начинаешь ценить какие-то вещи, о которых ты не задумывался, даже там кухня. Мне не хватает.
(1066) Ю: угу
(1067) И: российской кухне. Я хожу в эту Сказку. Магазин Сказка там, закупаюсь. Там медовиками всякими, гречкой, квасом, пельменями.
(1068) Ю: кто это тебе все варит?
(1069) И: ну, пельмени че там варить? (смеется)
(1070) Ю: ну, а гречку?
(1071) И: гречку тоже. У меня девушка полька. С Польши.
(1072) Ю: ага
(1073) И: у них очень похожая кухня.

English translation:

- (1065) I: And on the whole, yeah. You start appreciating some things that you haven't thought about, even food. I miss it.
(1066) Y: uh huh
(1067) I: Russian cuisine. I go to that Skazka... Skazka shop, and buy. Honeycakes, buckwheat, kvas, pelmeni...
(1068) Y: and who cooks it all for you?
(1069) I: well, what's there to cook for pelmeni? [laughs]
(1070) Y: and buckwheat?
(1071) I: and buckwheat, too. My girlfriend is Polish. From Poland.
(1072) Y: aha
(1073) I: they have a very similar cuisine.

The frozen actions embedded in the groceries from Skazka include commuting to the store, reading product labels and information, communicating with shop assistants in either Russian or English, paying for the groceries, bringing them home, and consuming them. Product selection and purchasing are realised through the modes of gaze, Russian or English language, and object handling. Depending on the language, there may be an inter-cluster convergence that will form Igor's *English language user – Russian* identity compound.

4.3.3.2 Korean food consumer

Korean food – eating out

For Igor, emigrating to New Zealand involved changes in his eating habits.

Before coming to New Zealand, he consumed Korean food at home. In New

Zealand, he now eats Korean food at restaurants, most of which are run by migrants from South Korea (see Figure 62: Having dinner at a Korean restaurant in Central Auckland). The food he eats embeds such frozen actions as reading the menu and using the English language to communicate his order to the waiting staff.



Figure 62: Having dinner at a Korean restaurant in Central Auckland

Ordering this meal is an action produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze–English language*. It is supported by the mode of taste that Igor relied on when selecting a particular dish. Object handling applies to the menu, while gaze and the English language are used to read the menu and the description of dishes. Thus, through the frozen actions embedded in this meal that Igor is eating, his Korean food consumer identity element converges with the English language user identity element, forming a ***Korean food consumer–English language user*** identity compound. This inter-cluster identity compound

links Igor's ethnic and New Zealand migrant identity clusters.

Korean cutlery – using it

Igor produces his Korean food consumer identity element through his use of chopsticks. Although Western cutlery is almost always available on request, Igor prefers using chopsticks (see Figure 62: Having dinner at a Korean restaurant in Central Auckland). The use of chopsticks involves the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze*. Within this aggregate, the object handling mode is intense, considering it is not only employed to operate the chopsticks but also to pick up pieces of food. Igor's preference for chopsticks and the ease with which he operates them strongly indicates mastery of this mediational means/cultural tool.

Korean biscuits and soft drinks – shopping at a Korean grocery store



Figure 63: Korean biscuits



Figure 64: Buying Korean soft drinks

Igor produces his Korean identity through food he buys at local Korean stores in Auckland. He prefers Korean sweets over what is available in general supermarkets. One example of his shop is two packets of Orion brand *chocosongi*, mushroom-shaped biscuits with chocolate coating, one packet of *chocochip* biscuits, and two beverages: *Milkis*, a soda-like drink with creamy flavour, and *Let's Be*, a cold coffee in a can (see Figure 63: Korean biscuits and Figure 64: Buying Korean soft drinks).

These items embed frozen actions of varying scale, such as going to the Korean shop, choosing the products, picking them up off the shelves, paying at the till, and taking them home. Igor's knowledge of the Korean language is limited, so he primarily communicates with staff at the store and reads price labels and descriptions in English. Choosing and consuming the products of a particular flavour is realised through the modes of object handling, taste, smell, gaze, and English language. Buying them again and picking them off the shelves is a higher-level action enabled by the modal aggregate of *gaze–proxemics–object handling–English language*. Thus, these items mediate Igor's

Korean food consumer–English language user identity compound.

4.3.4 Personal identity

4.3.4.1 *Taekwondo practitioner*

Supplements – taking and storing them



Figure 65: Supplements and vitamins taken by Igor

To support training and recovery, Igor takes whey protein and other supplements that are kept in a kitchen cupboard (see Figure 65: Supplements and vitamins taken by Igor). These supplements embed frozen actions such as purchasing them, reading product information on how to take them, bringing them home, taking and storing them. The frozen action of consuming whey protein and other supplements involves the modal aggregate of *object handling–taste–gaze–English language*. Once they have been taken, Igor puts them away in the cupboard. This frozen action is realised through the *object handling–gaze* modal aggregate. These supplements, thus, mediate Igor’s ***taekwondo practitioner–English language user*** identity compound.

Training gear – using or wearing it

Another group of objects that mediate Igor's taekwondo practitioner identity is his gear. This training gear includes a uniform that he wears for practice, gloves and footwear, sports bags that Igor purchased (see Figure 66: Using or wearing training gear), and other accessories.



Figure 66: Using or wearing training gear

Purchasing this gear involved using the English language. After the gear was purchased, its use is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling–gaze*. The object handling mode is of high intensity, as Igor puts on and uses the gear during training. In the actual use of this gear, the English language mode is secondary. However, the embedded frozen action of purchasing it and communicating in English enables its convergence with the English language user identity element. Thus, this gear mediates Igor's *taekwondo practitioner–English language user* identity compound.

Training gear – being a member of the club

Igor has a number of items that link his taekwondo practitioner identity to his club membership. For training, he wears a branded black t-shirt with the club's logo and website address (see Figure 67: Branded gear). He also has a

branded water bottle that he carries in his sports bag when he attends training sessions (see Figure 66: Using or wearing training gear).



Figure 67: Branded gear

Similar to other gear, the use of the club's branded uniform and water bottle is realised through the intense mode of object handling. These items were purchased at the club, where the language of communication is English. Thus, this is another example of Igor's production of a ***taekwondo practitioner-English language user*** identity compound.

A book about sugar – maintaining interest in fitness



Figure 68: Reading about the effects of sugar

The book *Sweet poison* (see Figure 68: Reading about the effects of sugar) embeds several frozen actions through which Igor produces *a taekwondo practitioner–reader–English language user* compound. These identity elements converge in this one object, which requires Igor to use the English language to read it, making the mode of English intense as he performs this action. By reading this book, Igor attempts to understand why it is difficult to stop eating sweets and how sugar may prevent someone from losing weight. The context and timeliness of Igor reading this book is crucial, as it coincided with his preparation for the Taekwondo World Championships and his aim to be placed in a lighter weight category. Another book next to *Sweet poison* also mediates the same compound (see further 4.3.4.4 Reader).

4.3.4.2 Sustainability identity

Official gear – using it beyond the tournament



Figure 69: Igor at the physiotherapy clinic with his tournament bag

The bag that Igor received as part of his official kit continues to be used in daily life beyond the tournament. One example is him carrying it during a visit to a physiotherapy clinic (see Figure 69: Igor at the physiotherapy clinic with his tournament bag). Igor received an injury at the Championships and, upon his return to Auckland, he went to a physiotherapy clinic for an assessment. By using the bag beyond the international tournament, Igor continues to produce his New Zealand representative identity which converges with sustainability identity element and thus forming a **NZ representative – sustainability** identity compound.

Tubs from protein – using them as storage

A large protein tub that Igor has recently finished is being reused as a rice container instead of being thrown away. This tub stands on the floor by the dish drawer and oven (see Figure 70: Protein tub as a rice storage container).



Figure 70: Protein tub as a rice storage container

The intensity of the *object handling–gaze* modal aggregate here is due to the use of this tub and the new frozen actions embedded in it, such as cleaning the tub, transferring rice into it, and afterwards opening the lid and taking out rice to prepare a meal. Because this protein was consumed as part of training, this tub mediates *a taekwondo practitioner – sustainability* identity compound.

4.3.4.3 Introvert

Relevant literature – reading

Igor's interest in personal identity is evident in the literature he reads. He produces this identity element by choosing and reading the book 'Quiet' by Susan Cain in an attempt to better understand his introverted nature. The book is kept on his desk next to a photo frame. (see Figure 50: Photo on the desk and Figure 71: Quiet by Susan Cain).

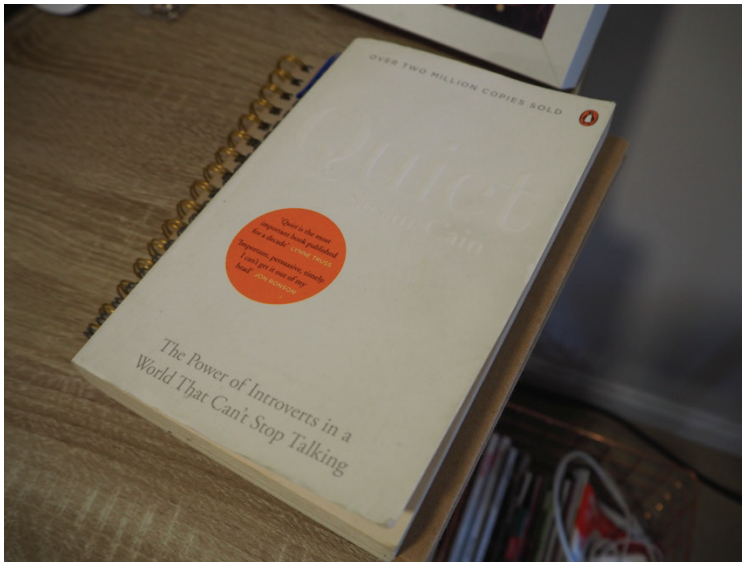


Figure 71: Quiet by Susan Cain

This object embeds frozen actions associated with two other identity elements: reader and English language user. Together, all three, form a compound that this book holds. When it is read, Igor employs the *object handling–gaze–English language* modal aggregate. The English language mode is necessary for Igor to read and understand the content. It is also a mediational means/cultural tool to produce a New Zealand migrant identity cluster where each identity element, particularly English language user, involves an intense mode of English language in Igor’s (inter)actions.

Noise-cancelling headphones – shopping

Another object associated with the introvert identity element is noise-cancelling headphones that Igor wants to buy (see Figure 72: Noise cancelling headphones). On a few occasions during fieldwork, Igor mentioned his awareness of his own introversion and, at times, his discomfort with people who talk a lot. In the first store, Igor was testing on-ear headphones at a Beats stand. In the second store he visited that same day, he looked at over-ear Sennheiser headphones. For him, noise-cancelling headphones are a solution

for disruptive background noise in the office, particularly from his colleague's talk.

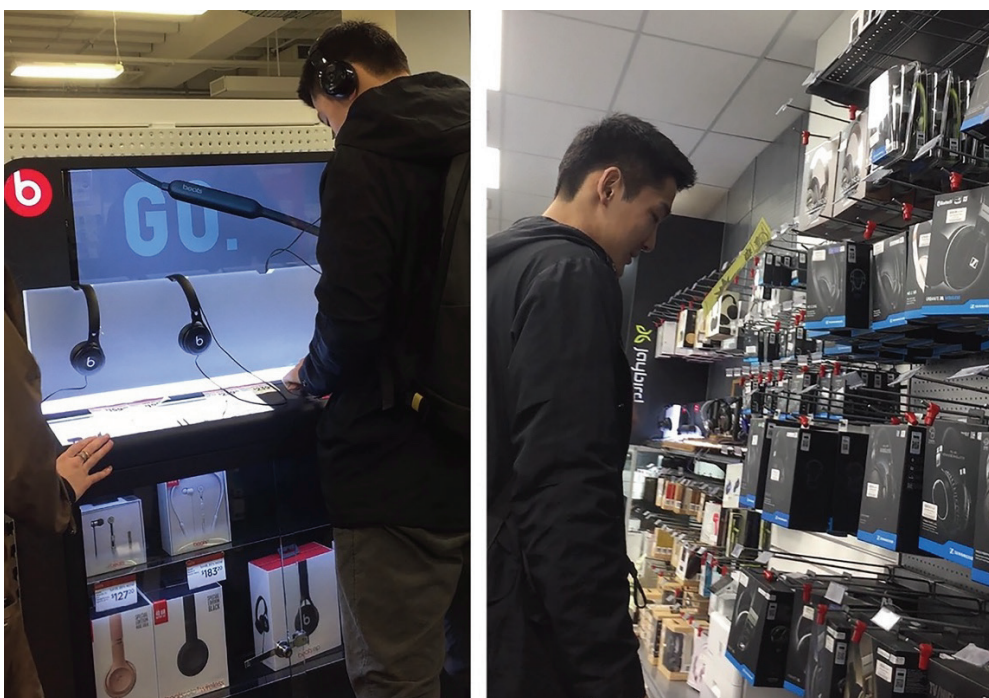


Figure 72: Noise cancelling headphones

hopping for headphones involved testing different products and checking prices. The testing of headphones was realised through the modal aggregate of *object handling–music*. The mode of object handling involved wearing headphones and pressing the buttons of the audio player. The modal aggregate of *gaze–English language* is used as Igor selects the headphones to test.

4.3.4.4 Reader

Igor developed his love of reading from an early age, mostly due to the influence of his mum, a teacher of Russian and literature. He acknowledged her input during an interview:

- (111) Ю: а какие предметы любимые были в школе?
(112) И: ну... С первого по третий класс наверное русский язык.
(113) Ю: книжки любил читать?
(114) И: да, я читал много. У меня мама привила как бы любовь к чтению.
(115) Ю: угу
(116) И: я много тогда читал.

- (117) Ю: угу
И: мне нравился русский язык. Ну, наверное потому что я был хорош в нем. Ну, для своего возраста, разумеется.
- (118) Ю: угу, угу
- (119) И: я опережал, мне кажется. Сверстников. Ну, за счет того, что... Не то что я какой-то гений. Просто мама действительно...
- (120) Ю: угу
- (121) И: да... Научила меня многому.

English translation:

- (111) Y: what were your favourite subjects at school?
- (112) I: Well, from the first to the third grade, I think, it was Russian.
- (113) Y: Did you like reading books?
- (114) I: Yes, I read a lot. Mum instilled this love of reading in me.
- (115) Y: uh huh
- (116) I: And I read a lot then.
- (117) Y: uh huh
- (118) I: And I liked Russian language. Well, maybe because I was good at it. For my age, of course.
- (119) Y: uh huh
- (120) I: And I was ahead, I think. Of peers. Well, due to... Not because I was some kind of a genius. Mum just really...
- (121) Y: uh huh
- (122) I: Yes... She taught me a lot.

Novels – reading in English

In New Zealand, Igor continues to produce a reader identity that converges with his English language user identity element, forming a **reader-English language user** identity compound. All the books in Igor's apartment are in English (see Figure 58: English language literature). Furthermore, depending on the books he reads, there is further convergence with other elements, such as partner (see subsection 4.3.1.1 Partner), taekwondo practitioner (see Figure 73: Igor's books on the right), and introvert (see Figure 71: Quiet by Susan Cain).

The choice of books Igor reads is driven by personal interests as well as the influence of his immediate network, namely his partner and coach. The book about Poland, highlighted in yellow (see Figure 73: Igor's books), as I explained

earlier, embeds frozen actions that give off Igor's partner identity, taekwondo practitioner, and English language user identity elements.



Figure 73: Igor's books

The Mountain Shadow book – purchasing it upon coach's advice

Another example of reader identity element converging with English language user and taekwondo practitioner elements is the Mountain Shadow book by Gregory D. Roberts (see Figure 73: Igor's books on the right). This book embeds the following frozen actions: getting advice from the coach to read it, using English language to communicate with the coach, purchasing it from a local store, and putting it on the shelf to be read. The latter is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language*. Igor used the mode of object handling to hold the book and to place it on the shelf. Gaze is used to find a spot for this book and to see it. English language mode is part of this modal aggregate given it is an English language content that Igor (inter)acts with and will be reading. This book, thus, mediates Igor's ***taekwondo practitioner – English language user – reader*** identity compound that links NZ migrant and personal identity clusters.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how the New Zealand-based participants, Larisa and Igor, produce their identity. Based on their observed (inter)actions, I established four main identity clusters: family, New Zealand migrant, ethnicity and culture, and personal identity. Each cluster consists of one or more identity elements. Taking a closer examination of objects as mediational means/cultural tools, I established the key identity elements Larisa and Igor produce within and across each cluster. Through the analysis of frozen actions, nested larger-scale, higher-level actions, and modal aggregates, I showed how identity elements converge to form identity compounds.

Analysis of identity production demonstrates that languages and food are distinct mediational means/cultural tools that enable continuity of ethnic and cultural identity production. For both Larisa and Igor, English is strongly associated with their identity within such clusters as family, New Zealand migrant, and personal identity. Both participants use it as the main language of communication with their partners and thus produce their wife/partner identity element. English language use is also observed across other clusters, particularly the New Zealand migrant and personal identity clusters, which enable Larisa's and Igor's performance of higher-level actions linked to their settlement in New Zealand and personal interests.

Like languages, food is an important mediational means/cultural tool that both participants use to maintain their ethnic and cultural identity outside their country of birth. Larisa and Igor produce their Russian and Korean identities through the food they eat at home and at local eateries. A notable change is the

consumption of Korean food in local eateries, as opposed to home-made meals prepared by their mothers. Additionally, since Korean restaurants in Auckland are mostly run by South Korean migrants, the food differs from Sakhalin Korean cuisine. Through the modes of taste, gaze, and smell, Larisa was able to note these differences.

The modes of proxemics and gaze shed light on other important aspects of identity production. Larisa's choice to place certain items further away from her eyes suggests a distance and lack of engagement, as shown in the analysis of frozen actions embedded in a wedding gift. Igor's placement of a family photo in his bedroom implies that the production of his son identity is private, but quite important to him.

Finally, the object handling mode is present in all objects, as all were handled and continue to be handled (i.e., used, reused, or placed in a permanent position). This mode is critical when analysing not only what the participants do, but also how. This helps us understand how new identities are produced and converge with other elements.

Chapter 5: Multimodal identity production I Russia

5.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I present the findings for En Dya and Alexander. I use the tools of frozen action and modal aggregate, as well as larger scale higher level action to show how identity elements are produced and converge forming distinct structures: identity clusters and identity compounds. For these participants, the analysis and findings address the following research questions:

- RQ1: Which identity elements do En Dya and Alexander produce?
- RQ2: How are En Dya's and Alexander's identity elements structured in (inter)action?
- RQ3: Which objects embed En Dya's and Alexander's identity elements that they produce?

As shown in the previous chapter, the notion of identity cluster is useful in organising identity elements under the main anchor (see ID matrix tables for both participants). Identity compounds are formed as the participants (inter)act with various mediational means. These structures highlight their integral nature and show that identity elements can converge both within and across different clusters, as summarised in the overview of identity clusters and identity compounds tables). I conclude this chapter with a summary of main findings of En Dya's and Alexander's identity production.

5.2 En-Dya's identity

Following the analysis of higher level actions of varying scales, including En Dya's frozen actions, I establish that her identity is produced across five clusters: family, occupational, ethnic & cultural, Russian settler, and personal

identity (see column headings in Table 13: ID Matrix - En Dya) Each cluster consists of one or more identity elements that are anchored in a major theme which is evident in the participant's (inter)actions. En Dya's family identity is anchored in kinship. Occupational identity includes identity elements that are produced through income generating activities and previous studies. Ethnic and cultural identity cluster revolves around Korean culture and traditions that En Dya follows. Her Russian settler identity is produced through various mediated actions involving Russian language and culture and her legal status of a citizen. En Dya's personal identity cluster consists of the enacted personal interests and beliefs. All identity elements that she produced are listed in the left column of the table below and marked in the relevant clusters.

Table 13: ID Matrix - En Dya

IDENTITY ELEMENTS	IDENTITY CLUSTERS				
	Family	Occupational	Ethnic & cultural	Russian settler	Personal
Mother	x				
Wife	x				
Daughter	x				
Extended family member	x				
Private landlord		x			
University graduate		x			
Sakhalin/Korean			x		
Russian				x	
Russian language user				x	
Russian citizen				x	
Traveller					x
Superstitious person					x

The analysis of frozen actions embedded in the En Dya's objects and the produced identity elements enabled a discovery of distinct identity compounds.

These structures are formed via convergence of identity elements from one or more clusters (see the table below).

Table 14: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for En-Dya

Objects/mediational means and actions	Identity clusters	Identity compounds
A book about behaviour - reading to her daughter	Family, Russian settler	mother – Russian language user
Children's books - buying and making them available for children	Family, Russian settler	mother – Russian language user
Books and toys - making English language books toys available	Family	mother – extended family member
Gloves - buying them for her son	Family, Russian settler	mother – Russian language user
Smart phone - monitoring her son's school progress	Family, Russian settler	mother – Russian language user
Smartphone - keeping her daughter entertained	Family, Russian settler	mother – Russian language user
Souvenir champagne - keeping it in the lounge	Family, Russian settler	wife – Russian language user
Photo spot - placing family photos together	Family, Personal	mother – wife – traveller
Design catalogue - working with an architect	Family, Russian settler	wife – Russian language user
Snow sport gear- exchanging it for her husband	Family, Russian settler	wife – Russian language user
Korean names certificate - receiving it as a parents' gift	Family, Ethnic	mother – daughter – Korean
iPhone - driving to the jewellery store to buy gifts for relatives	Family, Russian settler	extended family member – Russian language user
Silver spoons - buying them as gifts for relatives	Family, Russian settler	extended family member – Russian language user – Russian
Smartphone - paying for the silver spoons	Family, Russian settler	extended family member – Russian language user – Russian
Rice cooker - buying it with the help of extended family	Family, Ethnic	extended family member – Sakhalin Korean – mother – wife
Hwatu cards - receiving them as a gift from parents-in-law	Family, Ethnic	extended family member – Korean

'Maternal capital' - buying a property	Occupational, Russian settler, Family	private landlord – mother – Russian citizen – Russian language user
Family properties - managing them as rentals	Occupational, Russian settler, Family	private landlord – mother – Russian citizen – Russian language user
New washing machine - furnishing another rental	Occupational, Russian settler	private landlord – Russian language user
Smart phone - reading customer feedback	Occupational, Russian settler	private landlord – Russian language user
Textbook - using it for studies	Occupational, Russian settler	university graduate – Russian language user
Korean food - cooking and consuming it	Family, Ethnic	mother – wife – extended family member – Sakhalin Korean identity
Korean name - using it in daily life	Family, Ethnic	mother – daughter – Sakhalin Korean identity
Photo of Kwang-su's birthday - displaying it	Family, Ethnic	mother – Korean identity
Borsch and Korean dishes - serving and eating it together	Russian settler, Ethnic	Russian – Sakhalin Korean identity
Silver spoons - buying them as gifts for relatives	Family, Russian settler	Russian – extended family member
Patronymic name - including it in her daughter's birth certificate	Family, Russian settler	mother – Korean – Russian citizen
Fridge magnets - buying and keeping souvenirs from her travels	Personal, Family, Russian settler	traveller – mother – wife – Russian language user/English language user
Photographs from trips - taking photographs and displaying them	Family, Personal	traveller – mother – wife
Souvenirs against bad luck - keeping and displaying them	Personal	traveller – being superstitious

5.2.1 Family identity

Several identity elements from this cluster mostly converge with the Russian language user identity element due to persistence of the Russian language mode that En Dya uses in her (inter)actions. There are distinct dual identity compounds: ***mother – Russian language user***, ***wife – Russian language user***, and ***extended family member identity – Russian language user***. The other significant convergence is with Korean and Sakhalin Korean identity elements from the ethnic cluster that form compounds consisting of two or more elements.

5.2.1.1 Mother

A book about behaviour – reading to her daughter

En Dya's mother identity element is mediated by the book that she reads to her daughter Yuna, who recently started attending a kindergarten (see Figure 74: A book about well-behaved children). It contains rhymes about behaviour and etiquette. Reading it to her daughter Yuna involves the modal aggregate of *Russian language – gaze – object handling*. These three modes are necessary for En Dya to be able to read the content and see it – all while holding this book in her hands and turning pages. The mode of proxemics is used in relation to the distance between her and her daughter as she reads to her and keeping the book within her daughter's easy reach. The book was left on the sofa in the lounge, where Yuna spends a lot of time playing and watching cartoons.



Figure 74: A book about well-behaved children

Given that Russian language is the main language of communication for En Dya, it is also the language in which she parents. This book, like other objects that involve the use of Russian, mediates En Dya's Russian language user identity, an identity element from Russian settler cluster. Through this book En Dya, therefore, produces a *mother – Russian language user* identity compound.

Children's books – buying and making them available for children

En Dya has bought a quite a few books for her children, which she stores in one of the cabinets. The books are nursery rhymes and fairy tales for Yuna and novels that her son Kwang Su reads for his literature class at school.



Figure 75: Children's books

The modal aggregate of *gaze – proxemics – object handling* was employed to place the books within her children's easy reach. The presence of books and placing them in at her youngest child's eye level may suggest that En Dya cultivates interest in books and encourages her children to read.

An earlier frozen action embedded in these books is choosing to buy Russian language literature. En Dya used the modal aggregate of *Russian language – gaze – object handling* to select the books, purchase them, and bring them home. Other than a mode, Russian language is also a mediational means/cultural tool that En Dya employs in parenting and raising her children. Thus, her mother identity converges with the Russian language user identity from the Russian settler cluster forming a ***mother – Russian language user*** identity compound.

Remotes – keeping them in a protective cover

Given that accidental spills, staining and scratches can occur especially when young children are around, En Dya has covered remote controllers for the two TVs that she has: one in the kitchen and the other one in the lounge. As shown on the left in Figure 76: Remote controllers, Yuna sometimes plays in the kitchen and on the sofa in the lounge. The frozen action embedded in both remotes is produced by the modal aggregate of *gaze – object handling*.



Figure 76: Remote controllers

Books and toys – making English language books toys available

En Dya has several books and toys with English language content. Some items were bought by her or given to the family as gifts. En Dya is highly supportive of her children learning English as evidenced by a number of English language resources. For her son, she has an interactive dictionary that contains English words and images (see Figure 77: Interactive English dictionary). It comes with a device that reads words off the dictionary and plays pronunciation.



Figure 77: Interactive English dictionary

This dictionary is kept together with other books in one of the cabinets, within children's easy reach. Like other books, En Dya uses the modal aggregate of *gaze – proxemics – object handling* to place these books on the lower shelves so that they are visible for the children. In this frozen action, the English language mode is secondary as it is her children who are meant to (inter)act with it.

Other than English language books, En Dya has a playmat with various English words (see Figure 78: Playmat) for her daughter Yuna. The mat is kept in the lounge, where Yuna spends a lot of time as well as her brother. Although the mat is for Yuna, its placement ensures that her brother Kwang-su who is learning English as a foreign language at school, also sees it.



Figure 78: Playmat

As this playmat is a gift from one of the relatives who purchased it overseas and brought it to Novosibirsk, it mediates En Dya's extended family member identity. Thus, through the embedded frozen actions, there are two converged identity elements that form an intra-cluster identity compound: ***mother – extended family member***.

Locks – childproofing her home

En Dya installed quite a few locks on cabinet doors so that her daughter Yuna could not injure herself. This is also done to keep fragile items safe. Yuna is at the age of being able to climb on shelves and furniture and opening cabinets' doors (see Figure 79: Cabinet locks). En Dya employed the *object handling – gaze – proxemics* modal aggregate to select potentially hazardous parts of furniture which Yuna can reach and to install them.



Figure 79: Cabinet locks

Gloves – buying them for her son



Figure 80: Buying gloves for her son

En Dya is producing a ***mother – Russian language user*** identity compound by purchasing appropriate clothing and accessories for her son Kwang-su (see Figure 80: Buying gloves for her son). Every winter En Dya and her family often go skiing and snowboarding in the mountains. Before picking her son up from school, she went to one of the sports stores to buy him new gloves. She used *object handling – gaze* modal aggregate to select the gloves and at the counter she used *gaze – object handling – Russian language* modal aggregate to pay for them.

Smart phone – monitoring her son’s school progress

En Dya places high importance to her son’s education. She produces ***mother – Russian language user*** identity compound by monitoring her son’s progress on the portal which is available to parents. She checks it using her iPhone usually before picking her son up from school, while she is waiting for him in the

car (see Figure 81: Keeping up with her son's progress at school using a smartphone).



Figure 81: Keeping up with her son's progress at school using a smartphone

This involves the modal aggregate of *object handling – touch – gaze – Russian language*. On her smartphone En Dya taps on the relevant buttons on the screen to log into the portal and check her son's progress all while she looks at the screen and reads information in the Russian language. During interview En Dya mentioned that grades matter depending on the subject and attitude. She is hoping that as her son Kwang-su gets older, she won't be as involved in his homework and checking it thoroughly:

- (912) Я: угу. А вот к детям ты как?
(913) Е: (усмехается немного)
(914) Я: вот сейчас у тебя сын пошел в школу...
(915) Е: я ему тоже говорю, за 5-ки, там... Вернее, за 4-ки я естественно не ругаю. Я ругаю его за те предметы когда я знаю 100% что он это может, он просто тупо ленится.
(916) Я: угу
(917) Е: Вот за это я ругаю. За его лень, а не за знания
(918) Я: угу
(919) Е: т.е. по физкультуре если он пробалдел, ему поставили 2, это влияет на четверть, да? Т.е. я говорю, это позорно.
(920) Я: угу
(921) Е: для тебя иметь 4, допустим. И так же как по русскому. Для тебя это классно иметь 4. Ну, потому что это сложный предмет и я, ну...
(922) Я: ты понимаешь
(923) Е: я понимаю, да.
(924) Я: угу. Угу. И вот как ты думаешь, у тебя такое отношение оно и останется на протяжении всех этих школьных лет или ты..?
(925) Е: нет, ты что. Я надеюсь, что с 5 класса он будет самостоятельно.
(926) Я: сам, да?

(927) E: конечно.

English translation

- (912) Y: uh huh. And for the kids?
(913) E: [chuckles a bit]
(914) Y: now your son goes to school...
(915) E: I also tell him for 5s... I mean, for 4s I'm not telling him off. I tell him off for those subjects that I know 100% he can, but just being silly and lazy.
(916) Y: uh huh
(917) E: I scold him for this. For his laziness rather than knowledge.
(918) Y: uh huh
(919) E: so for PE if he mucked around and got 2, this affects his term result, right? So I tell him it's shameful.
(920) Y: uh huh
(921) E: for you, to have a 4, for example. And same as for Russian. For you it's great to have a 4. Well, cause it's a difficult subject, and so I...
(922) Y: you understand?
(923) E: I understand, yes
(924) Y: Uh huh. And so what do you think, will you have the same attitude for the rest of his school years or?
(925) E: no, what the heck. I hope that from the 5th grade he'll manage on his own.
(926) Y: on his own, yeah?
(927) E: of course

Smartphone – keeping her daughter entertained

En Dya's smartphone is also used to play cartoons for her daughter who usually sits at the back of En Dya's car (see Figure 82: Playing Masha and the Bear cartoon on iPhone).



Figure 82: Playing Masha and the Bear cartoon on iPhone

The phone is attached to the holder and tilted towards Yuna. En Dya uses an *object handling – gaze – proxemics* to attach the phone to the holder and turn slightly to the right so that Yuna could see the screen. In this lower-level action En Dya handles two objects: her phone and the holder. The modal aggregate of *object handling – touch – gaze – Russian language* is used to select a cartoon and play it. The cartoon is a contemporary production based on the Russian folk fairy tale called Masha and the Bear. By choosing to play Russian language content for her daughter and navigating Russian online sources, En Dya produces a ***mother – Russian language user*** identity compound where two elements converge.

5.2.1.2 Wife

Souvenir champagne – keeping it in the lounge

One of the objects that mediates En Dya’s ***wife – Russian language user*** identity compound is a champagne bottle that she keeps as a souvenir. This label reads “Свадебное шампанское” (English translation: Wedding champagne) and features En Dya and her husband’s photos. This bottle is kept in one of the cabinets in the lounge.



Figure 83: Wedding champagne

Several frozen actions of varying scale are embedded in this champagne bottle: getting married, organising and being part of the wedding function, bringing this bottle home, and putting it on the shelf. En Dya's (inter)actions associated with the most recent frozen action include placing the bottle on the shelf further away from the edge to prevent a fall, seeing it and reading the label. This frozen action involves *object handling – proxemics – gaze – Russian language modal aggregate*.

Photos together – displaying them in the lounge

At home En Dya has multiple photos with her husband that mediate her wife identity element. Some are displayed on the top shelf in the lounge in the silver frame (see Figure 84: Photos together).



Figure 84: Photos together

En Dya uses the modal aggregate of *object handling – proxemics – gaze* to perform a lower-level action of placing the silver photo frame on the shelf. Once placed, the photo frame stands on the shelf without being moved and thus becomes 'frozen' in the environment.

Photo spot – placing family photos together

The photo spot that En Dya is a dedicated space that has created displaying a collection of family photos. It features photos with her husband and photos of their children that are put together either in one frame or right next each other. By placing the photos in a visible spot and putting them together, En Dya employs *object handling – gaze – proxemics* modal aggregate. Some of those photos in the photo spot area have been taken during family holidays and overseas travels. Those photos, then, embed such frozen actions as going on holidays overseas, having those photos taken, which En Dya brought home, framing, and placing them together.

The photo spot, thus, mediates En Dya's ***mother – wife – traveller*** identity compound. These three identity elements converge due to *object handling – proxemics – gaze* modal aggregate that En Dya used to put all the photos together in one dedicated area.

Design catalogue – working with an architect

As En Dya's husband entrusted all interior design related matters for their apartment to her, their apartment is decorated and furnished in accordance with En Dya's ideas. She worked with a local architect who created these design impressions (see Figure 85: Apartment plan). This catalogue, therefore, embeds several frozen actions that En Dya performed: finding an architect, meeting with them, developing and communicating design ideas, using Russian language in her communication, and finalising the plans.



Figure 85: Apartment plan

(Inter)actions with the final designs that were included in this catalogue were realised through the modal aggregate *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. The catalogue was held; its pages were turned, looked at, and read. En Dya, thus, produces **wife – Russian language user** identity compound.

Snow sport gear – exchanging it for her husband

Every winter En Dya goes to the mountains to ski and snowboard with her family. They are quite fond of skiing and snowboarding, so they choose to use own gear. The new ski boots that En Dya had bought for her husband were too small, so she went back to the store and exchanged them for a bigger size (see Figure 86: Husband's ski boots).



Figure 86: Husband's ski boots

Going back to the store where the boots were originally purchased and exchanging them on behalf of her husband, are actions through which En Dya produces a wife identity. The exchange involved communication with the shop assistant in Russian, showing them the original pair and requesting a swap for a bigger size. This (inter)action was enabled by the modal aggregate of *object handling – Russian language – gaze*.

Russian language other than being a mode, is a mediational means/cultural tool through which En Dya produces a Russian language user identity element. The use of Russian is part of the frozen actions embedded in these ski boots and therefore En Dya produces a *wife – Russian language user* identity compound.

5.2.1.3 Daughter

Korean names certificate – receiving it as a parents' gift

Among photos and souvenirs in the lounge, En Dya also keeps a framed certificate of their Korean names in Hanja, a traditional writing system based on Chinese characters (see Figure 87: Korean names). This certificate is a gift from her parents. Although En Dya does not read Korean and Hanja, she recognises its importance and keeps it on display in the lounge.



Figure 87: Korean names

The frozen action of receiving this certificate from her parents is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. Placing it on top of the cabinet in the lounge at an eye level is another frozen action which is realised by means of *object handling – gaze – proxemics* modal aggregate.

During our interview, En Dya explained that her parents and parents-in-law follow Korean traditions. Korean traditions are also reflected in the practice of giving Korean names to children and using Korean names in daily life. Both En Dya and her husband have Korean names; their children were named by their grandparents:

- (194) Ю: а мама у тебя как... Родители как они к тебе?
 (195) Е: Ен-Дя, по-корейски
 (196) Ю: а, да? Все по-корейски. Ну вот смотри, вот у тебя корейское имя.
 (197) Е: угу
 (198) Ю: родители тебе дали корейское имя. У твоего мужа корейское имя тоже. И детям вы дали корейские имена
 (199) Е: корейские имена. Да.
 (199) Ю: на чем был основан такой выбор, это решение дать детям корейские имена?
 (200) Е: возможно, если бы у меня было русское имя...
 (201) Ю: угу
 (202) Е: и у мужа... Возможно, дали бы русские имена. Но так как я сама с корейским. Муж с корейским. Ну как бы плюс... Родители наши очень чтут все-таки традиции свои корейские.
 (203) Ю: угу

- (204) E: и там прежде чем дать имя, это они не придуманные имена. Т.е. по дате рождения.
- (205) Ю: мм
- (206) E: детей. Моей дате, дате рождения мужа там. Что-то смотрели в какой-то корейской книге в Корее, т.е. вот так.
- (207) Ю: а, т.е. тебе, значит, вообще-то дали...
- (208) E: а мне просто придумали. Ну, как мама сказала. Просто как-то понравилось, где-то может быть папа там что-то...
- (209) Ю: услышал, да?
- (210) E: придумал. Да. А вот у детей они конкретно по книге. И они что-то означают, т.е. как бы так.

English translation:

- (194) Y: And how does Mum... How do your parents refer to you?
- (195) E: En Dya, in Korean
- (196) Y: ah, yeah? All in Korean. So look, you have a Korean name.
- (197) E: uh huh
- (198) Y: Parents gave you a Korean name. Your husband also has a Korean name. And you gave your children Korean names
- (199) E: Korean names. Yes
- (200) Y: What was the basis of such a choice, this decision to give children Korean names?
- (201) E: Maybe, if I had a Russian name...
- (202) Y: uh huh
- (203) E: And if the husband had.. Maybe we would've given Russian names. But since I have a Korean, husband has a Korean.. And it's like a plus. Our parents still follow their Korean traditions.
- (204) Y: uh huh
- (205) E: and before giving names, it's not made up. So, it's based on the date of birth.
- (206) Y: mm
- (207) E: of children. Mine, date of birth of my husband's. They referred to some Korean book in Korea, so like that.
- (208) Y: ah, so you were given...
- (209) E: for me they just came up with it. Well, as Mum said. Just liked it, maybe Dad something...
- (210) Y: heard, yeah?
- (211) E: came up with. Yes. But for children they specifically followed the book. And they have a meaning, so kind of like that.

Thus, En Dya receiving this certificate as a gift from parents and displaying it are the embedded frozen actions through which she produces a **mother – daughter – Korean** identity compound.

5.2.1.4 Extended family member identity

iPhone – driving to the jewellery store to buy gifts for relatives

En Dya's phone is used to produce several identity elements. Relevant frozen

actions are attaching the iPhone to the holder and using it as a GPS (see Figure 88: iPhone as a GPS to get to the store). These two frozen actions are actions nested within a larger scale higher level action of gift shopping for relatives. The GPS is needed because En Dya is driving on a less familiar road to get to the jewellery store where she wants to buy gifts for her niece and nephew.



Figure 88: iPhone as a GPS to get to the store

The use of iPhone as a GPS involves the modal aggregate of *gaze* – *Russian language* – *proxemics*. The phone is held at an angle which gives En Dya the view of the chosen route and close enough to be able to see the screen. She uses the mode of Russian language to receive and follow instructions. The iPhone, then, mediates En Dya's extended family member identity which converges with the identity of a Russian language user from the Russian settler cluster. Thus, through the two frozen actions (driving to the store and buying gifts for relatives) En Dya produces an ***extended family member – Russian language user*** identity compound.

Silver spoons – buying them as gifts for relatives

The silver spoons mediate En Dya's *extended family member – Russian language user – Russian* identity compound. En Dya's choice to purchase silver spoons is grounded in the Russian culture; it is customary to give silver spoons as a gift to celebrate a child's first tooth and/or their first birthday.

Before picking her son up from school, En Dya drove to the jewellery shop where she bought two silver teaspoons for her nephew and niece who recently turned one (see Figure 89: Silver spoons for her relatives' children). She used the modal aggregate of *gaze – object handling – Russian language* as she held the silver teaspoons in her hands, looked at them, and (inter)acted with the shop assistant in Russian at the same time. They were later sent to Khabarovsk, a city in the Far East, where those relatives live.



Figure 89: Silver spoons for her relatives' children

Smartphone – paying for the silver spoons

Although En Dya carries her wallet with bank cards in the handbag, she opts for contactless payment (see Figure 90: Using Apple Pay on her iPhone to make in-store purchases). The frozen action of paying for the silver spoons is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – touch – gaze – Russian language – proxemics* as En Dya holds the phone, looks at the displayed price, taps the passcode following a prompt on the phone, and brings it closer to the payment terminal for the transaction to go through. In this instance, her smartphone is an additional mediational means/cultural tool that enables production of the *extended family member – Russian language user – Russian* identity compound.



Figure 90: Using Apple Pay on her iPhone to make in-store purchases

Rice cooker – buying it with the help of extended family

En Dya's rice cooker is a complex mediational means/cultural tool. This object embeds several frozen actions associated with each identity element that forms an ***extended family member – Sakhalin Korean – mother – wife*** identity compound. As En Dya's family eats rice and Korean food daily, rice cooker is an essential appliance that she uses to prepare meals for her husband and children. In Novosibirsk, where she lives, rice cookers are not widely available in appliance stores and many ethnic Koreans purchase their rice cookers elsewhere. En Dya's rice cooker (Figure 91: Rice cooker) was purchased on Sakhalin by her husband's cousin at their request. Once purchased, it was sent to En Dya's family in Novosibirsk.



Figure 91: Rice cooker

Cuckoo is a South Korean kitchen appliance brand and the rice cookers that are imported from South Korea come with a Korean control panel. The instruction manual is also in Korean. Because En Dya does not speak or read Korean and hence the mode of Korean language is not employed, initially she had to ask relatives how to use this rice cooker. Once rice and water are put in the bowl and the lid is closed, En Dya uses the modal aggregate of *gaze* –

object handling to start the cooking process. The mode of gaze is employed to visually locate the position of the relevant button and object handling mode is used to press it.

Convergence of these four identity elements into a single compound occurs due to En Dya's frozen actions embedded in this rice cooker. It was purchased with the help of a relative so that En Dya could cook rice, which is a staple in Korean cuisine. And finally, the size of it and the amount of rice that she cooks is according to the number of people that will be eating it.

A souvenir – receiving a gift from her brother-in-law and displaying it

En Dya produces her extended family identity by keeping and displaying a gift that she received from her brother-in-law who visited London (see Figure 92: Big Ben souvenir). En Dya keeps it in the lounge on the shelf next to a family photo. The placement of this miniature Big Ben is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics*. The souvenir is placed in a highly visible spot at an eye level and next to a photo taken at En Dya's son's first birthday (addressed in detail in the Korean identity element section Figure 101: Celebrating Kwang-su's dol).



Figure 92: Big Ben souvenir

Hwatu cards – receiving them as a gift from parents-in-law

Hwatu is a traditional Korean card game which is popular in many Korean homes (see Figure 93: Hwatu cards). The frozen actions embedded in these cards are receiving them as a gift from her husband's parents and keeping them in one of the cabinets in the lounge as a souvenir. The modal aggregate of *object handling – handing – gaze* was employed to receive them as a gift and to place them on the shelf. Although En Dya has not been seen playing hwatu herself during fieldwork, the presence of these cards in her home is notable. They mediate En Dya's ***extended family member – Korean*** identity compound given that it is a traditional Korean game and a gift from her parents-in-law.



Figure 93: Hwatu cards

5.2.2 Occupational identity

5.2.2.1 *Private landlord*

‘Maternal capital’ – buying a property

In Russia, mothers who have two or more children are entitled to a state support known as ‘maternal capital’. This money can only be spent towards one of the three options: mother’s pension, children’s education or buying property.

En Dya opted for property and bought an apartment in Mochische, a village in the outskirts of Novosibirsk. This apartment which is currently tenanted (see Figure 94: En Dya's apartment that she rents out).



Figure 94: En Dya's apartment that she rents out

Several frozen actions are embedded in this apartment: liaising with relevant Russian government agencies, submitting application documents, using 'maternal capital' to purchase this property, and becoming the owner. In all of these (inter)actions En Dya used the mode of Russian language, object handling for the documents and stationery, and gaze. En Dya's private landlord identity converges with three other elements: mother, Russian citizen, and Russian language user. The apartment, thus, mediates a four-element compound ***private landlord – mother – Russian citizen – Russian language user***.

Family properties – managing them as rentals

En Dya manages all family properties that are rented out. This involves finding tenants, furnishing apartments, buying various supplies to fix or renovate the interior, and liaising with tenants. All these frozen actions are embedded in the rentals and in the items that she buys. The actions are produced through En Dya's use of Russian language, gaze, and object handling modes as she

(inter)acts with tenants, purchases supplies, whiteware, and furniture.

One of the rentals that she manages was purchased using her maternal capital, as noted previously (see Figure 94: En Dya's apartment that she rents out). The apartment is currently tenanted and En Dya has organised to drop off some spare parts, which she left with the tenant. She used the modal aggregate of *object handling – handing – gaze – Russian language* to hand those parts to the tenant and ask if there were any other concerns and issues. This apartment mediates En Dya's ***private landlord – mother – Russian citizen – Russian language user*** identity compound.

New washing machine – furnishing another rental

Another apartment that En Dya manages is also located in Novosibirsk. The old tenant left, and En Dya is using this opportunity to renovate and furnish this property. She decided to purchase whiteware, provide basic bedroom furniture, and replace lighting. One of the items that she has purchased is a washing machine at a local store. Several frozen actions that are embedded in it, are: reading price labels and product description (Figure 95: En Dya shopping for a new washing machine), consulting with a sales assistant, and reading customer feedback on her phone (see further Figure 97: Reading online reviews).



Figure 95: En Dya shopping for a new washing machine

The first frozen action is produced by the modal aggregate of *gaze – Russian language*. Before communicating with a sales assistant, she looked at several models and checked the prices. The next frozen action of (inter)acting with a sales assistant involved the modal aggregate of *Russian language – gaze – proxemics*. She stood next to the sales assistant and close to the washing machines, looked at the suggested models, and listened to the sales assistant’s advice (see Figure 96: En Dya looking at a cheaper model shown by the sales consultant).



Figure 96: En Dya looking at a cheaper model shown by the sales consultant

The washing machine that En Dya purchased, thus, mediates her **private landlord – Russian language user** identity compound.

Smartphone – reading reviews

Buying whiteware is a larger scale higher level action that En Dya produces as part of her private landlord identity element. In this action reading customer reviews on the appliances that En Dya is considering buying, is a nested frozen action (see Figure 97: Reading online reviews). This frozen action is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – touch – Russian language – gaze* as En Dya holds and looks at the phone, uses her fingers to tap on the screen and scroll down the pages reading Russian language content.



Figure 97: Reading online reviews

En Dya's smartphone mediates *private landlord – Russian language user* identity compound as she (inter)acts with it drawing on the Russian language content and manages this rental.

5.2.2.2 University graduate

Textbook – having used it for studies

Apart from children's and parenting books that En Dya has in the lounge there is also a textbook on management (see Figure 98: University textbook for bachelor's degree students). En Dya used this textbook for her university studies. It embeds several frozen actions of varying scales: being a (former)

student of the business faculty, taking management as a subject, and using this textbook to study the course content. En Dya's use of this textbook is enacted through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language* as she held it, turned pages, looked at this textbook, and read the content in Russian.



Figure 98: University textbook for bachelor's degree students

Engaging in tertiary education in Russia and using Russian to study is indicative of En Dya's production of Russian language user identity element from the Russian settler cluster. Hence, two identity elements converge and form a ***university graduate – Russian language user*** identity compound.

5.2.3 Ethnic and cultural identity

5.2.3.1 Sakhalin/Korean identity

Korean food – cooking and consuming it

For En Dya and her family, food is central to her and the family's Korean identity. Through the Korean food that En Dya cooks and eats, her Sakhalin/Korean identity element converges with several others in this cluster as she cooks and serves it to her children and husband.

In her cooking, she uses local groceries as well as those imported from South Korea, for example, *doenjang* (a soybean paste) and curry spice by Ottogi brand (see Figure 99: Korean food). *Doenjang* can be consumed as a dip or spread, as well as used a key ingredient in the *doenjang-guk*, a soybean soup. En Dya uses it as a dip for fresh cut cucumbers (refer to the top left of Figure 99: Korean food), which are served as a side dish. Ottogi spice is used for one of the popular mains that Sakhalin Koreans refer to as *rice curry*. It is usually made of pork, carrots, potatoes, and onions and served together with rice as shown on the bottom left in Figure 99: Korean food.



Figure 99: Korean food

Preparation of food is produced by several higher- and lower-level actions that are embedded in En Dya's dishes. Each dish that she makes is an object and a mediational means/cultural tool that mediates her ***mother – wife – extended family member – Sakhalin Korean identity*** compound. Although the ingredients that En Dya uses have labels in Korean, which she does not read, En Dya relies on the modal aggregate of *taste – smell – gaze – object handling* to determine how they can be used in cooking, the amount, and flavour combinations. Mother and wife identity elements within this compound are

produced through the regular higher-level action of preparing meals for her children and husband. The extended family member identity element is part of this compound due to rice being a staple in the Korean cuisine, which she cooks using the rice cooker that was purchased by the relative (see earlier Figure 91: Rice cooker).

During the interview, En Dya shared that most meals are prepared by her and Korean food is consumed regularly:

- (300) Ю: ну, т.е. вот эти традиции вы соблюдали в плане больших праздников, из значительных дат. А вот в повседневной жизни у вас есть что-то такое, что это корейское, это по-корейски. И поскольку это корейское, мы вот это делаем.
- (301) Е: Ну, мы кушаем.
- (302) Ю: так
- (303) Е: пища у нас. Рис это каждый день.
- (304) Ю: рис каждый день едите.
- (305) Е: да. Т.е. мы хлеб особо не едим.
- (306) Ю: угу
- (307) Е: как бы так. Чимчи.
- (308) Ю: угу. А есть вот любимые какие-то корейские блюда, которые вы прям все семьей вы любите и вот едите периодически?
- (309) Е: Чимчи жареное.
- (310) Ю: аа. А жарите вы как?
- (311) Е: Свинину берем, жарим. Потом туда добавляем.
- (312) Ю: понятно. А че-нить еще добавляете? Например картошку.
- (313) Е: В чимчи – нет.
- (314) Ю: т.е. просто свинина там, мясо.
- (315) Е: да
- (316) Ю: ясно. Т.е. вот это у вас такое любимое?
- (317) Е: возможно одно из.
- (318) Ю: одно из. А кто готовит?
- (319) Е: ну я готовлю.
- (320) Ю: аа
- (321) Е: у меня муж может приготовить, но это очень редко.

English translation:

- (300) Y: so, these traditions are followed when celebrating big holidays, significant dates. And how about having something in everyday life, something that's Korean, this is the Korean way? And because it's Korean, we do this?
- (301) E: Well, we eat.
- (302) Y: right
- (303) E: our food. Rice is every day.
- (304) Y: do you eat rice every day?
- (305) E: Yes. We don't really eat bread.
- (306) Y: uh huh
- (307) E: kind of that. Kimchi.

- (308) Y: uh huh. And do you have any favourite Korean dishes that the whole family enjoys and you eat it regularly?
- (309) E: fried kimchi
- (310) Y: ahh. How do you fry it?
- (311) E: we take pork and fry it. And then we add into it.
- (312) Y: I see. Do you add anything else? For example potatoes?
- (313) E: into kimchi - no.
- (314) Y: so just pork, meat?
- (315) E: yes.
- (316) Y: I see. So is it your favourite?
- (317) E: maybe one of them.
- (318) Y: one of... And who cooks?
- (319) E: Well, I do.
- (320) Y: aa.
- (321) E: My husband can cook something, but it's quite rare.

Chopsticks – using them to eat Korean food



Figure 100: En Dya's chopsticks

Chopsticks is another object that mediates En Dya's Sakhalin/Korean identity element. She uses them to eat home-made Korean meals. The chopsticks that she uses are made of wood and their shape is square with slightly rounded edges (see Figure 100: En Dya's chopsticks). This kind of chopsticks are common in Sakhalin Korean homes as opposed to flat and metal ones that are popular in South Korea. The mode of object handling is intense as it applies to chopsticks and the food that En Dya picks up and eats. She operates them with ease which is indicative of mastery and appropriation.

Korean name – using it in daily life

Korean identity is part of the *mother – daughter – Sakhalin Korean identity* compound (see Figure 87: Korean names). This compound is produced by frozen actions embedded in the names certificate that En Dya received as a gift from her parents and displays in the lounge. The entire family has Korean legal names that are used in daily life. During the interview, En Dya mentioned that she prefers being referred to by her Korean name and chooses not to adopt a Russian name:

- (214) Ю: аа, ну понятно. Интересно. Ну, а вот бывает так, что например, люди услышав твое корейское имя, им это...
- (215) Е: режет?
- (216) Ю: непривычно это слышать и они просто теряются.
- (217) Е: да-да. “Как? Как?” Да постоянно.
- (218) Ю: аа. И как тебе это ощущается?
- (219) Е: На самом деле многие говорят что классно
- (220) Я: Есть [дисконфорт?
- (221) Е: [дисконфорт?
- (222) Е: “Здорово. Как красиво. А что означает?” Наоборот пытаются... “Ой а давай мы тебя будем как-то по-другому называть” – нет.
- (223) Ю: а на работе было так, что вот например ну... Ну как так по имени? Надо ж имя отчество?
- (224) Е: было такое, когда.. Давай мы тебе какое-нибудь русское имя дадим, чтобы нетяжело, да? Т.е. я как-то... говорила, нет. Ну, давайте вот так. Т.е. если человек запоминает мое имя, он запоминает на всю жизнь.
- (225) Ю: мм
- (226) Е: ну, один раз запомнил...
- (227) Ю: понятно. Т.е. у тебя и школе так было, ты с корейским именем...
- (228) Е: да
- (229) Ю: в институте тоже с корейским именем
- (230) Е: да
- (231) Ю: и на работе
- (232) Е: да-да

English translation:

- (214) Y: ah, I see. Interesting. Well, have you had, like for example, people having heard your Korean name, they are...
- (215) E: hurts the ear?
- (216) Y: it's unusual hearing it and they just get confused.
- (217) E: yeah yeah. “How? What?” All the time.
- (218) Y: ah, and how do you feel about it?
- (219) E: actually, many say it's cool
- (220) Y: is there [discomfort?
- (221) E: [discomfort?
- (222) E: “Great. How beautiful. And what does it mean?” They on the contrary try to... “Oh, but shall we call you differently” – no.

- (223) Y: and at work, for example... Well, can't just go by the name. Have to use a patronymic.
- (224) E: I had it, when they said "let's give you some Russian name so that it wasn't difficult", yeah? And I, like... said no. Well, let's do it this way. So, if a person remembers my name, they remember it for life.
- (225) Y: mm
- (226) E: well, remember it once...
- (227) Y: I see. So was it like this at school too with a Korean name?
- (228) E: yes
- (229) Y: in university also with Korean name?
- (230) E: yes
- (231) Y: and at work
- (232) E: yeah yeah.

Photo of Kwang-su's birthday – displaying it

In the lounge, there is a family photo of her family and her son Kwang-su dressed in hanbok (see Figure 101: Celebrating Kwang-su's dol). It was taken at a café where the celebration took place. Thus, several frozen actions are embedded in this photo: celebrating En Dya's son first birthday, having this photo taken and printed, and displaying it in the lounge.



Figure 101: Celebrating Kwang-su's dol

According to Korean traditions, *dol*, the child's first birthday, is a significant milestone. Celebrations usually involve inviting close family members and other relatives, dressing the child in a traditional outfit called *hanbok* and a table full of specially assembled treats and dishes. En Dya celebrated both of her children's first birthdays. Other than a festive meal, an important part of *dol* ritual during which a child is offered several objects to choose from, for example, a pen, scissors, money, and a cotton. It is believed that whatever a child chooses can tell what the future holds for them.

During interview, En Dya was asked about Korean traditions and she mentioned that *dol* is quite important:

- (278) Ю: А вот насколько ты соблюдаешь традиции? Вообще какое у тебя отношение к корейским традициям?
- (279) Е: Ну вот мы годик праздновали. Т.е. у корейцев это очень важно.
- (280) Ю: мм
- (281) Е: да. Это одна из самых важных, да? Толь. Как бы и тоже... Как свадьбу можно сказать играли. Что первому, что второму, да? Вот так. Ребенку. Т.е. Много гостей было. Были в национальных костюмах.
- (282) Ю: ты ханбок надела?
- (283) Е: я надела ханбок только на юбилей свекра. На 60-летие.
- (284) Ю: ааа, на 60-летие.
- (285) Е: вот тогда по-моему, нет. Только дети были.
- (286) Ю: ага
- (287) Е: ну, вот...
- (288) Ю: и детям вы делали... Ну, знаешь, как там... Когда ножницы...
- (289) Е: да, да
- (290) Ю: потом, значит, что... ножницы, там деньги...
- (291) Е: да-да. Там деньги, книжка, ручка.
- (292) Ю: ага
- (293) Е: вот как-то вот
- (294) Ю: ну и что дети взяли?
- (295) Е: Так. Старший по-моему ручку взял. Младшая по-моему деньги схватила и тоже ручку. Ну, и что-то...
- (296) Ю: понятно
- (297) Е: ну, хорошее.
- (298) Ю: короче, вы довольны.
- (299) Е: да, да

English translation:

- (278) Y: To what extent do you follow traditions? What's your attitude to Korean traditions in general?
- (279) E: Well, we celebrated 1-year. That's very important for Koreans.
- (280) Y: mm

- (281) E: yes. It's one of the most important ones, right? Dol. And also... It was celebrated like a wedding. For the first and second, yeah? So yes. A child. So there were many guests. They were in national outfits.
- (282) Y: did you put on hanbok?
- (283) E: I wore hanbok on father-in-law's jubilee. His 60th.
- (284) Y: aaa, 60th
- (285) E: but then I don't think so. Only the kids were wearing it.
- (286) Y: uh huh
- (287) E: so, yeah...
- (288) Y: and did you do for the kids... You know, like... When there's scissors?
- (289) E: yes, yes
- (290) Y: and then what else? Scissors, money...
- (291) E: yes, yes. There's money, a book, a pen
- (292) Y: uh huh
- (293) E: well kind of like that
- (294) Y: and so what did the kids take?
- (295) E: So. The eldest I think took a pen. The youngest I think grabbed money and also a pen. And something else.
- (296) Y: I see
- (297) E: well, the good stuff
- (298) Y: in short, are you happy?
- (299) E: yes, yes

This photo embeds frozen actions associated with the production of ***mother – Korean identity*** compound. In this compound the identity element of a mother is embedded in this photo as it is a celebration of En Dya's child's first birthday. The Korean identity element is produced by choosing to celebrate *dol*, dressing her child in the traditional outfit, and performing the ritual. En Dya displays the photo on one of the shelves in the lounge. It is put at an eye level next to the relative's gift (see Figure 92: Big Ben souvenir) and therefore is quite visible. The frozen action of placing it on the shelf is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics*.

5.2.4 Russian settler

5.2.4.1 *Russian identity*

This identity element is produced by means of such objects and mediational means/cultural tools as Russian food and gifts.

Borsch – cooking and eating it

Russian food, e.g. borsch, that En Dya cooks and eats at home mediates her Russian identity element (Figure 102: Borsch and sour cream). Although the origins of borsch are controversial, it remains a traditional dish that is eaten in Russia regularly. Its main ingredients are beetroot, potatoes, carrots, cabbage, onion, and garlic all cooked in a meat-based broth. The higher-level action embedded in this borsch is realised by several modes, such as object handling, gaze, taste, and smell. The *Object handling – gaze* modal aggregate applies to the cookware and ingredients that she used. The modal aggregate of *gaze – taste – smell – object handling* was used to determine whether the soup had the right amount of seasoning, key ingredients, and if it was ready.

During the interview, En Dya commented on her attachment to Russian food that she feels when the family travels overseas:

- (472) Ю: угу. А русскую еду вы едите?
(473) Е: все едим. И борщ ем.
(474) Ю: и борщ. А кто готовит?
(475) Е: я, конечно. (смеется)
(476) Ю: а вы можете, например... Бывает такое, что вот хочется только русское. Борщи, супы. Или вы...
(477) Е: мы чередуем.
(478) Ю: чередуете
(479) Е: не можем там. Если мы куда-то уезжаем, даже за границу
(480) Ю: угу
(481) Е: к примеру. Нам не хватает допустим. Если в Азию, там много восточной кухни. Нам не хватает того же. В Тайланд поехали – ой, как хочется борща, да? К примеру.

English translation:

- (472) Y: uh huh. Do you eat Russian food?
(473) E: we eat everything. I eat borsch too.
(474) Y: And borsch. But who cooks?
(475) E: I do, of course [laughs]
(476) Y: but can you, for example... Have you had something like wanting only Russian. Borschs, soups. Or you...
(477) E: we alternate.
(478) Y: alternate.
(479) E: we can't. If we go somewhere, even overseas.
(480) Y: uh huh

(481) E: for example. We miss it. If in Asia, there is lots of oriental cuisine. We miss that. When we went to Thailand – oh, how we want borsch, yeah? For example.



Figure 102: Borsch and sour cream

Borsch and Korean dishes – serving and eating it together

Borsch is usually garnished with fresh herbs, sour cream and served with bread. However, En Dya deviates from the common practice and serves it as an accompaniment to a Korean meal. As she explained in the interview (see subsection 5.2.3.1 Sakhalin/Korean identity), they do not eat bread often as their daily staple is rice. In Korean cuisine, rice is usually served with either hot or cold soup. En Dya replaces a Korean soup with borsch (refer to Figure 102: Borsch and sour cream again), which is quite common among Sakhalin Koreans.

This higher-level action embedded in the meal that she has, is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – proxemics – gaze* as En Dya put different dishes and sides next to each other so they can be eaten together. And thus, through the food combination like this, fusing two cuisines, preparing these

dishes and serving them together, En Dya produces a **Russian – Sakhalin/Korean** identity compound.

Silver spoons – buying them as gifts for relatives

This identity element converges with En Dya's identity of an extended family member forming a **Russian – extended family member** identity compound. As I have shown and explained previously, the spoons that En Dya bought (see earlier Figure 89: Silver spoons for her relatives' children) are gifts that were later sent to the relatives. The Russian element here is grounded in the tradition of giving silver spoons on the occasion of a child's first birthday, their first tooth or when they are able to bite and eat hard textured foods and sometimes christening. En Dya bought the spoons for her nephew's and niece's first birthdays who live in another city in the Far East.

5.2.4.2 Russian language user

This identity element is produced through the use of Russian. For En Dya, despite her Korean ethnic heritage, Russian is a native language. She parents in it, uses it in personal communication with family and friends, in professional and academic contexts, including receiving all stages of education from primary through to tertiary.

Convergence of this identity element with others is due to persistence of the Russian language mode in En Dya's (inter)actions. Not only does it converge with other identity elements from the same cluster, but also identity elements from other clusters (see Table 14: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for En-Dya and Figure 74: A book about well-behaved children,

Figure 75: Children's books, Figure 83: Wedding champagne, Figure 95: En Dya shopping for a new washing machine, Figure 97: Reading online reviews; Figure 98: University textbook for bachelor's degree students).

5.2.4.3 Russian citizen

En Dya and her children hold Russian citizenship. In Russia, citizens are commonly expected to bear a patronymic name, which is recorded on their birth certificate and passports. The use of patronymic names is a form of cultural practice in Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union. From the mediated discourse theory perspective, a patronymic name is a mediational means/cultural tool that people use in production of their cultural and civic identity.

Patronymic name – including it in her daughter's birth certificate

En Dya and her children use Korean names (see sub-section 5.2.3.1 Sakhalin/Korean identity) that mediate their Korean ethnic identity. However, she was forced to give a patronymic name to her daughter and follow Russian naming practices on identity documents. The patronymic name is a derivative of the child's father's first name, which is used in conjunction with a person's first name in formal contexts.

Her daughter's birth registration and certificate, thus, embed such frozen actions as completing the form and communicating with the staff member of the local registry office. All these (inter)actions involve Russian language. Relevant excerpts from the interview are presented below where En Dya explains why giving a patronymic name for her daughter Yuna was a forced action:

- (234) Ю: О корейских именах. И о практике записи имен в свидетельстве о рождении твоих детей. И вот ты говоришь, что вот сыну дали корейское имя. У него без отчества.
- (235) Е: да, мы хотели без отчества. Потому что как это? Ну...
- (236) Ю: ну, не принято.
- (237) Е: для нас. Да
- (238) Ю: да. У корейцев не принято.
- (239) Е: да. Ни у кого, ни у одной нации нет отчества кроме русских по сути.
(...)
- (246) Ю: а вот у дочери у вас...
- (247) Е: настояли.
- (248) Ю: вам настояли...
- (249) Е: настояли.
- (250) Ю: а вот чем они обосновали?
- (251) Е: вы живете в России. Соблюдайте российские законы.
- (252) Ю: ага.
- (253) Е: это по закону. Да.
(...)
- (262) Ю: ну, у сына же нет отчества?
- (263) Е: тогда мы писали заявление. И было как-то проще. Заявление. Прямо мы просили в ЗАГСе. Что вот по нашим как бы традициям не принято, т.е. тогда вот прошло это
- (264) Ю: т.е. вам пошли на встречу?
- (265) Е: да, да. Но сейчас еще говорят, что это усложнилось, потому что комп--
... Все стало компьютеризовано.
- (266) Ю: угу
- (267) Е: и там графа «отчество». Если оно пустое, не пропускает система.
- (268) Ю: аа
- (269) Е: и они тоже. Мы понимали. Что если... Приходится сыну иногда путаться. Писать нет или писать прочерк. Т.е. это проблема.
- (270) Ю: ага
- (271) Е: на самом деле
- (272) Ю: и т.е. они не могли написать «отчества нет»?
- (273) Е: нет, нет. Сейчас уже сказали, давайте отчество.

English translation:

- (234) Y: On Korean names. And on practice of recording children's names on their birth certificates. And so you're saying your son was given a Korean name. He has no patronymic.
- (235) E: Yes, we wanted without patronymic. Because like how? Well...
- (236) Y: well, it's uncommon
- (237) E: for us, yes.
- (238) Y: yes. Not common for Koreans.
- (239) E: Yes. No one, no nation has patronymics except Russians actually.
(...)
- (246) Y: and your daughter's...
- (247) E: they insisted
- (248) Y: you were made...
- (249) E: insisted
- (250) Y: But how did they justify it?
- (251) E: You live in Russia. Follow the Russian laws.
- (252) Y: uh huh
- (253) E: it's by law. Yes
(...)
- (262) Y: but your son doesn't have a patronymic?

- (263) E: then we wrote an application. And it was sort of easier. An application. We requested it at the Civil registry office. That according to our traditions, it's not acceptable and back then it worked.
- (264) Y: so they met your request?
- (265) E: Yes, yes. But now they also say that it got complicated because of comp--. Everything is digitalised.
- (266) Y: uh huh
- (267) E: and there is a field "patronymic". If it's blank, the system doesn't let you.
- (268) Y: aa
- (269) E: and they also. We understood. That if... My son gets confused sometimes. To write 'none' or put a dash. So it's a problem.
- (270) Y: uh huh
- (271) E: really
- (272) Y: and so they couldn't write "no patronymic"?
- (273) E: no, no. Now they already said provide a patronymic.

For En Dya, living in Russia resulted in a forced adoption of a different cultural practice. Thus, her daughter's birth certificate is an artefact and mediational means/cultural tool where En Dya's three identity elements converge forming a ***mother – Korean – Russian citizen*** compound.

5.2.5 Personal identity

This cluster consists of identity elements that relate to En Dya's personal interests and beliefs: traveller and being superstitious. The analysis of frozen actions embedded in the objects shows there is also convergence of identity elements from this cluster as well as family.

5.2.5.1 Traveller

En Dya is an avid traveller. Her traveller identity converges with the elements from the family and Russian settler clusters forming a ***traveller – mother – wife – Russian language user/English language user*** identity compound. This identity element also converges with another identity element within this cluster forming a ***traveller – being superstitious***, an intra-cluster identity compound. She produces her traveller identity through various objects that are found in her

home: fridge magnets, photographs, and souvenirs. These objects are highly visible and are displayed in several areas of En Dya's home. The first identity compound is mediated by the fridge magnets and photographs. The other, *traveller – being superstitious*, is mediated by the cat eye souvenir.

Fridge magnets – buying and keeping souvenirs from her travels

In the kitchen, En Dya has several fridge magnets from various cities that she brought from her trips, for example Kemer (Turkey), Antalya (Turkey), Dubai (UAE), Phuket (Thailand), as well as places in Russia, including Sakhalin (see Figure 103: Fridge magnets). These magnets were purchased as souvenirs overseas and in Russia.



Figure 103: Fridge magnets

As most of these fridge magnets were purchased during family trips En Dya produces *a traveller – mother – wife – Russian language user/English language user* identity compound. These identity elements converge due to the frozen actions of travelling to these destinations together with her husband and children.

The display of fridge magnets is realised through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics* as they were held, attached to the fridge and moving some to the upper part of the fridge so that are not easily reached by children to prevent accidental breakage. Depending on the destination, this modal aggregate may also include the mode of Russian or English language.

Photographs from trips – taking photographs and displaying them

En Dya produces *traveller – mother – wife* identity compound through the photographs that were taken during her trips, which she keeps at home (see Figure 104: Family travels).



Figure 104: Family travels

This photograph was taken in Thailand that En Dya and her family visited several years ago. It is being kept on top of the cabinet in the lounge, next to the Korean names certificate (mentioned earlier in Figure 87: Korean names).

En Dya uses the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics* to place this photograph in the highly visible area next to other, family- and Korean identity-related artefact.

5.2.5.3 Being superstitious

En Dya believes in some superstitions and acts upon them. She produces this identity element through several objects: a cat eye and a wallet/smartphone.

Souvenirs against bad luck – keeping and displaying them

In the hall En Dya has a souvenir that she brought from Turkey (see Figure 105: Cat eye). It is hanged right by the entrance and its purpose is to protect herself from bad luck. To attach it, En Dya used a modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics* to put on the hook near the entrance, a spot where it is highly visible as soon as one enters the apartment. This object mediates two converged identity elements of En Dya's which form a ***traveller – being superstitious*** identity compound.



Figure 105: Cat eye

Wallet or phone – Driving under the railway bridges

When driving under bridges with railway tracks and especially if a train is also passing by, En Dya puts a wallet on her head (see Figure 106: Driving under the railway bridges). She believes that this ritual brings money and helps

generate wealth. This higher-level action embedded in the wallet is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling* – *gaze*. Object handling is needed to hold the wallet while driving; gaze is used momentarily to quickly see where the wallet is so it can be picked up. Gaze then shifts towards the road and mirrors while En Dya is driving.

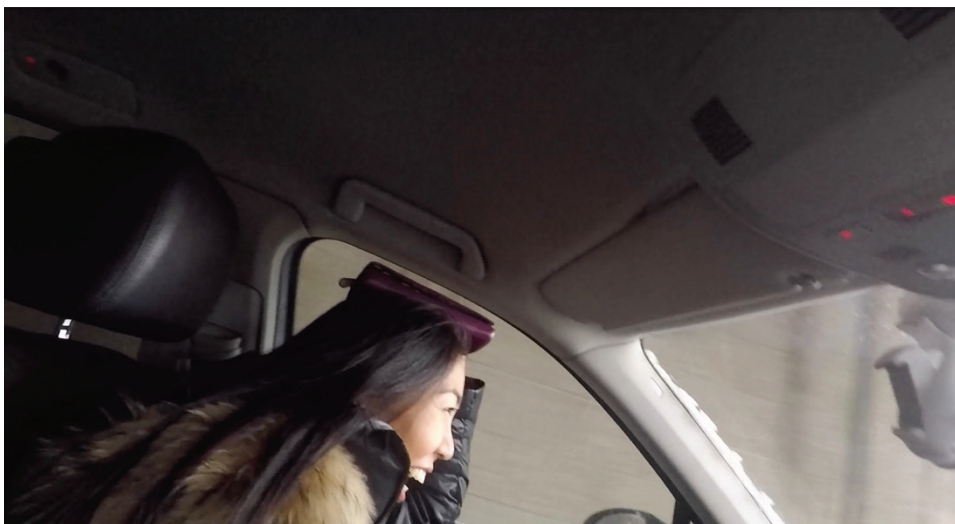


Figure 106: Driving under the railway bridges



Figure 107: iPhone in the car

In case she cannot get the wallet out of her handbag in time, En Dya would reach for her phone that she puts next to the gearbox (see Figure 107: iPhone in the car). Although it is not a wallet, En Dya uses her a contactless payment application on her iPhone to make payments for her purchases. The mode of

proxemics is important here as the phone’s placement is within an easy reach in case she needs to use it instead of her wallet.

En Dya uses the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze* to produce a higher-level action of putting the phone on her head while she is driving as in the case of a wallet. Using her phone instead of the wallet suggests that En Dya has appropriated this mediational means/cultural tool according to her superstitious beliefs.

5.3 Alexander’s identity

The analysis of Alexander’s actions shows that he produces his identity in and across five identity clusters: family, occupational, ethnic, Russian settler, and personal (see the table below).

Table 15: ID Matrix - Alexander

IDENTITY ELEMENTS	IDENTITY CLUSTERS				
	Family	Occupational	Ethnic & cultural	Russian settler	Personal
Son	x				
Grandson	x				
Extended family member	x				
Former student		x			
Graphic & web designer		x			
Sakhalin/Korean			x		
Russian name bearer				x	
Russian language user				x	
Friend					x
Illustrator					x
Gamer					x
Movie fan					x
Smoker					x
Sustainability					x
HFSS food consumer					x

Each cluster consists of one or more identity elements that are anchored in a major theme. At the core of Alexander’s family identity is kinship and family relations that are evident in his (inter)actions. He produces occupational identity through a number of frozen actions associated with his current job and former studies at school. Ethnic identity in the Russian context is Alexander’s (inter)actions that reflect Sakhalin/Korean culture and traditions. His Russian settler identity cluster is anchored in the use of Russian language and Russian name practices. Russian name bearer and Russian language user identity elements. And finally, personal identity cluster is formed and shaped by Alexander’s hobbies and interests, as well as preferences.

As Alexander (inter)acts with different objects, his identity elements converge with the elements from the same cluster and/or other clusters forming intra- and inter-cluster identity compounds (see the table below).

Table 16: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Alexander

Objects/mediational means and actions	Identity clusters	Identity compounds
Container with water – humidifying the room, filling, keeping on sill	Family, Ethnic, Personal (Sustainability)	Son – Korean – sustainability
An essay about grandmother's life – still keeping it (listening to stories, writing, referring to names, keeping)	Family, Occupational, Russian Settler, Ethnic	Grandson – former student – Russian language user – Sakhalin Korean
Postcards – helping a family member (printing, sorting, leaving aside)	Family, Russian Settler	Extended family member – Russian language user
Laptop and social media channels – reading about design ideas	Occupational, Russian Settler	Graphic and web designer – Russian language user
An essay about grandmother's life – using Korean name in official contexts	Ethnic, Russian Settler	Sakhalin Korean – Russian language user
Ssamjang container – eating it at home	Ethnic, Family, Personal	Son – Sakhalin Korean – sustainability

Social media account on VK platform – using Russian alias 'Саня'	Russian Settler	Russian name bearer – Russian language user
Pizza – sharing it with friends	Personal	Friend – HFSS food consumer
Poker game setup – playing and socialising with friends	Personal, Russian Settler	Friend – Russian language user
Smartphone/laptop and social media – maintaining friendships	Personal, Russian Settler	Friend – Russian language user
Gottfried Bammes' book – reading relevant literature	Personal, Russian Settler	Illustrator – Russian language user
Laptop and periphery – playing video games	Personal, Russian Settler	Gamer – Russian language user
TV and laptop setup – setting up and watching movies	Personal, Russian Settler	Movie fan – Russian language user
Fizzy drink bottle – using it as an ashtray	Personal	Smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer
Potato chips container – using it as storage	Personal	Sustainability – HFSS food consumer

5.3.1 Family identity

5.3.1.1 Son

Container with water – humidifying the room



Figure 108: Container with water

Alexander lives in an apartment with his parents in Akademgorodok, a suburb in Novosibirsk. His parents, despite Alexander's age, still look after him which is

evident in the presence of one of the small containers (see Figure 108: Container with water). Originally, it was Alexander's mother idea to fill the container with water and to put it on the window sill in his room. This is done to humidify the air which gets dry due to central heating. Water gets refilled and Alexander continues keeping these containers on the sill.

The frozen action of filling the container with water and putting it on the sill is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. Object handling is used to hold the container whilst filling it with water. Gaze is used to ensure there is enough water in it.

An earlier frozen action embedded in this container is notable as it is an artefact through which Alexander produces Sakhalin/Korean identity and sustainability identity. According to the label on the container, it is *ssamjang* – a spicy Korean paste or dip sauce that is used mostly for meat and vegetables. At home Alexander and his family eat Korean meals that are prepared by his mother, who kept this container when the sauce was finished, filled it with water and put it in her son's room. Alexander continues this practice and thus produces a **son – Korean – sustainability** identity compound.

5.3.1.2 Grandson identity

School essay about his grandmother – still keeping it

Alexander produces a **grandson – former student – Russian language user – Sakhalin/Korean** identity compound through several frozen actions: listening to his grandmother's stories, writing about her, writing in Russian, writing his Korean name, referring to his grandmother using her both Russian and Korean

names, and still keeping this essay (see Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life). This essay was his homework in intermediate school that he attended on Sakhalin. In this essay, Alexander presented a family chart consisting of four generations of his family. It also includes his grandmother's photos and description of her life on Sakhalin. Although Alexander left Sakhalin more than a decade ago and now lives in Novosibirsk, he still keeps it.

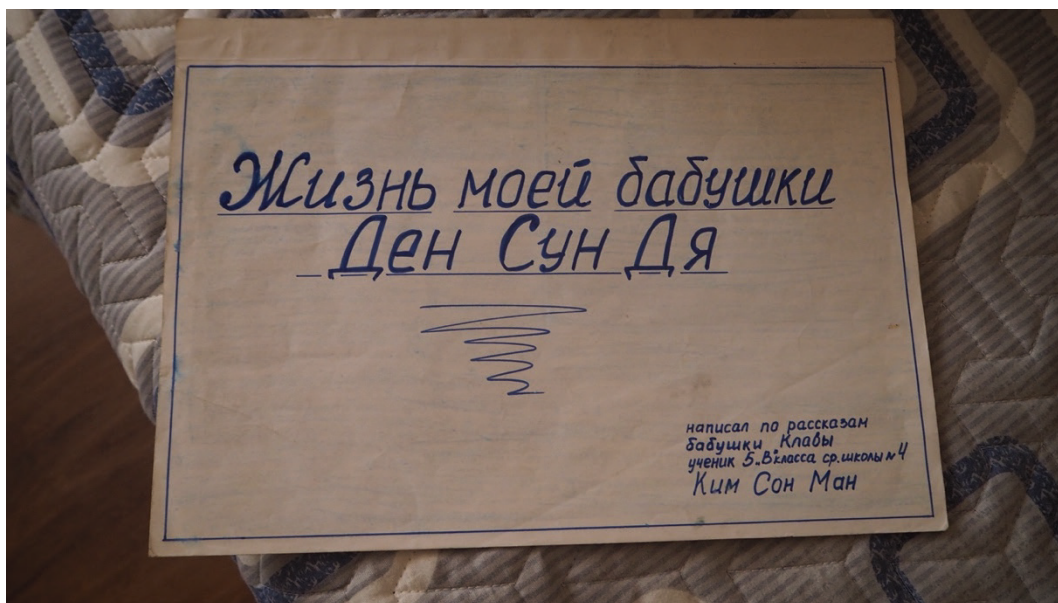


Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life

The frozen action of writing this essay is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. Alexander was holding and using the gel pen as he was handwriting the essay, looking at the paper and his own text that he produced in the Russian language.

The mode of Russian language in all frozen actions embedded in this essay and this mode is intense. Russian language is also a mediational means/cultural tool that Alexander uses to produce all of the identity elements in the Russian settler identity cluster.

The frozen action of keeping it produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. The essay is carefully kept in one of the draws and therefore is not visible to anyone entering Alexander's room. It is notable that Alexander has chosen not to discard it. He brought it from Sakhalin to Novosibirsk and has been keeping it for more than a decade since it was written.

Black backpack – receiving a gift from his grandmother and using it

The grandson identity element is also produced by receiving the backpack as a gift from his grandmother and using it. Alexander keeps the backpack on the stand when it is not used (see Figure 110: A backpack from grandmother). This backpack is a gift from his grandmother who moved to South Korea several years ago and now lives in Ansan, a small town near Seoul. The backpack was purchased in South Korea, brought to Russia, and then given to him.

The frozen action of receiving the backpack is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – handing – gaze*. This backpack is being used more often than a beige one that Alexander hangs on the side of the rack; it is bigger and more suitable for carrying his laptop. The frozen action of using the black backpack, then, is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze* as Alexander opens it and holds it while putting his belongings into relevant compartments.



Figure 110: A backpack from grandmother

5.3.1.3 Extended family identity

Cards – helping a family member



Figure 111: Printing postcards for a family member

Alexander produces his extended family identity element by helping his cousin's family with printing postcards. A pile of remaining cards on his desk are those that had some defects (see Figure 111: Printing postcards for a family member).

The postcards, thus, have several frozen actions embedded in them: offering help in Russian, printing the file, sorting them based on quality, and leaving poor quality prints aside. The first frozen action was produced by the modal aggregate of *Russian language – object handling – gaze*. Alexander communicated with the relative in Russian and agreed to help. Object handling and gaze were used to handle the original file, computer, and see what had to be printed. All other frozen actions involved a modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. In the first instance, it involved the use of the printer, laptop, and paper. The mode of object handling in this aggregate is quite intense. In the other two frozen actions, it is the mode of gaze that has higher intensity as Alexander had to carefully look at the printed cards and spot any defects. On this basis, some cards had to be kept aside in a separate pile.

In the first frozen action there is high intensity of the Russian language mode as this was the language of communication between Alexander and his cousin's wife. In the last frozen action, although highly visible, Russian language is secondary due to the focus on the quality of print rather than content. Thus, through all frozen actions embedded in the printed cards Alexander produces an ***extended family member – Russian language user*** identity compound. These two identity elements converge as Russian language is an important mode that enabled the request for help and all subsequent frozen actions and as Alexander (inter)acted with the printed cards. This identity compound links Alexander's family and Russian settler identity clusters.

5.3.2 Occupational identity

5.3.2.1 Former student identity

School essay about his grandmother – writing and submitting it

This identity element is part of the **grandson – former student – Russian language user – Korean** identity compound. When Alexander was in the 5th grade, one of his assignments was to write an essay about the life of a close family member. This object is of considerable importance to his identity due to several frozen and higher-level actions of varying scales that are embedded in it, as I have explained earlier (see Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life). This inter-cluster identity compound links Alexander's family, occupational, Russian settler, and ethnic and cultural identity clusters.

5.3.2.2 Graphic and web designer

Laptop and peripherals – creating work

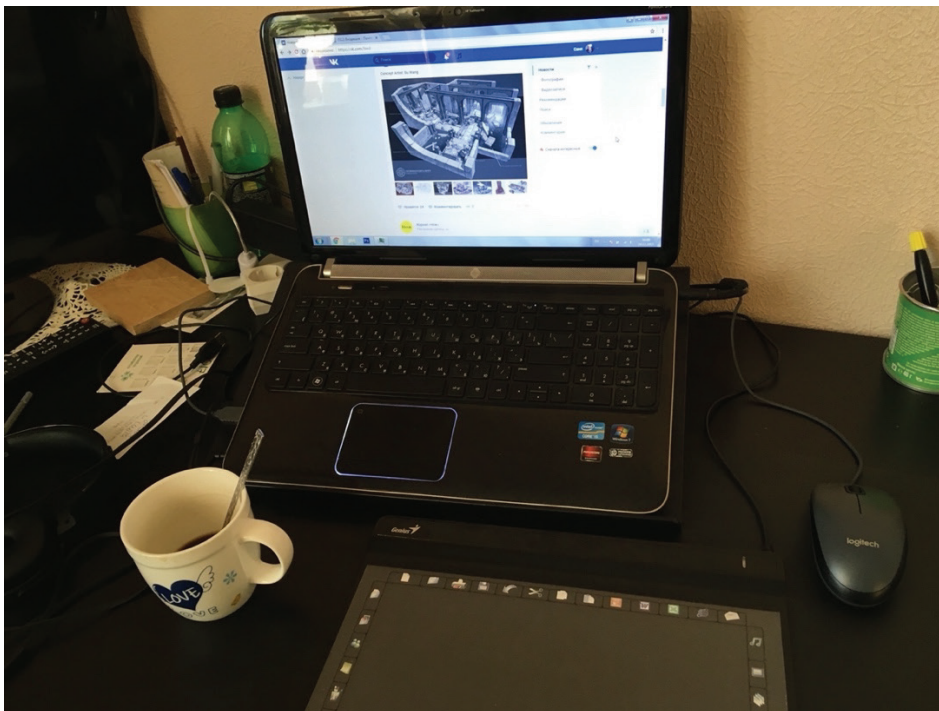


Figure 112: Alexander's device setup when working

Alexander uses several devices that are associated with this identity element: a laptop, an external mouse, a graphic tablet and a stylus (see Figure 112: Alexander's device setup when working). Laptop is used in conjunction with the graphic tablet to produce work. When Alexander creates designs on his graphic tablet, he uses the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. Both modes are employed simultaneously as he holds and draws something with a stylus on the tablet's screen and looks at what is being drawn. The same aggregate applies to the laptop and a mouse when Alexander uses them to view, edit, and produce the work.

Social media posts – reading about design ideas

Alexander uses social media channels to read posts about design ideas and concepts and does it mainly on his laptop. This higher-level frozen action of reading these posts is produced through the modal aggregate of *gaze – Russian language – object handling*. The laptop is being used to navigate relevant pages on social media and social media pages are accessed to look at and read the material, which is presented in the Russian language. This identity element, thus, converges with the Russian language user identity forming a ***graphic and web designer – Russian language user*** identity compound.

Alexander's interest in design is related to his hobby of drawing. During the interview, he mentioned that he is self-taught and his interest in drawing originates from childhood:

- (87) Ю: Кем ты сейчас работаешь и насколько тебе нравится то, что ты сейчас делаешь?
(88) А: мм. Где-то 2 года назад, что ли. Я начал пробовать рисовать.
(89) Ю: угу
(90) А: нашел планшет и научился работать в фотошопе и других редакторах
(91) Ю: угу

- (92) А: эмм... как-то пытался... ну, все это... Ну, учиться рисовать.
- (93) Ю: угу
- (94) А: и все это привело к тому, что... Ну, мне предложили делать дизайн всяких приложений. Мобильных.
- (95) Ю: угу
- (96) А: потом делать сайты. Ну просто мой работодатель он думал, если ты умеешь там делать... эээ... что-то. Ну, рисовать там, всякое такое, дизайнить. То ты можешь надизайнить там себе интерьер кухни и всякое такое (улыбается)
- (97) Ю: угу
- (98) А: т.е. это все, что там связано с дизайном. Ты должен уметь.
- (99) Ю: понятно. Т.е. для него дизайн это одно
- (100) А: да. Чт*... да.
- (101) Ю: угу
- (102) А: поэтому я там пробовал. Эээ... много чего делать. Эээ, ну, на базовом уровне все это делал.
- (103) Ю: угу
- (104) А: мм... но сейчас вот занимаюсь сайтами
- (105) Ю: сайтами, угу. А каким образом ты выучил эти, эээ, ну, программы? Там, Фотошоп и так далее.
- (106) А: ну, методом тыка, так сказать
- (107) Ю: угу
- (108) А: просто пробовал
- (109) Ю: понятно. А каким образом ты вообще решил именно заниматься дизайном? Т.е. у тебя были какие-то мысли вот, что может быть, вдруг у меня получится вот, скажем, это? Или у тебя всегда был интерес, ну, к рисованию, к чему-то такому творческому?
- (110) А: ну, был интерес. Я ходил на... В детстве я ходил на это, на рисование
- (111) Ю: угу
- (112) А: в кружок. Эмм. Я не всегда там всю жизнь рисовал, а так, иногда рисовал. И че-то вспомнил 2 года назад
- (113) Ю: угу
- (114) А: ммм. Тем более там все это надоело. Там учеба и всякое такое.
- (115) Ю: угу
- (116) А: решил отвлечься че-то.
- (117) Ю: угу, угу
- (118) А: вот. И... Несколько месяцев продуктивно так работал
- (119) Ю: угу, угу
- (120) А: ну вот и все
- (121) Ю: понятно. Т.е. значит сейчас ты дизайнер и ты делаешь... Ты строишь сайты?
- (122) А: угу

English translation:

- (87) Y: what do you do now and how much do you enjoy what you're doing?
- (88) A: mm. About 2 years or so... I started attempts at drawing.
- (89) Y: uh huh
- (90) A: got a tablet and learned how to work in Photoshop and other editors.
- (91) Y: uh huh
- (92) A: mmm... Somehow tried. Well, all this stuff. Well, learning how to draw.
- (93) Y: uh huh
- (94) A: and it all led to.... Well, I was offered to do design of various applications. Mobile ones.
- (95) Y: uh huh
- (96) A: and then build websites. Just that my employer thought if you can do... mmm... something. Well, drawing and stuff, and to design. So you can design a kitchen interior and stuff like that [smiles]
- (97) Y: uh huh
- (98) A: So everything that's related to design. You should know how to do it.

- (99) Y: I see. So for him, design it's just one thing.
 (100) A: Yes... Like-... Yes
 (101) Y: uh huh
 (102) A: So I tried there... Err... Doing lots of things. Err... Well, I did it all at a basic level.
 (103) Y: uh huh
 (104) A: mmm. But now I do websites
 (105) Y: websites, uh huh. How did you learn, err... those programmes? Like Photoshop and etc?
 (106) A: Well, just at random so to speak.
 (107) Y: uh huh
 (108) A: just tried.
 (109) Y: I see. And how come you decided to do design? Did you have any thoughts of, maybe, I could, let's say, do this? Or have you always had an interest in drawing and something creative?
 (110) A: well, I had an interest. I went to... During childhood I took drawing classes.
 (111) Y: uh huh
 (112) A: a club. Mmm. I haven't been drawing all my life, just sometimes I'd draw something. And somehow 2 years ago I remembered.
 (113) Y: uh huh
 (114) A: mmm, and moreover I got fed up with everything. Like studies and things like that.
 (115) Y: uh huh
 (116) A: decided to get a distraction
 (117) Y: uh huh, uh huh
 (118) A: And so... For a few months I'd worked quite productively
 (119) Y: uh huh, uh huh
 (120) A: and so that's it.
 (121) Y: I see. So you're a designer now and you are... You build websites?
 (122) A: uh huh

5.3.3 Ethnic and cultural identity

5.3.3.1 Sakhalin Korean identity

Korean name – using it in the official contexts

Alexander's Korean name is his legal name that appears on identity documents, including passport. This conditions the bearer to use it in all formal contexts, including educational settings. As shown in Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life, the cover page features his Korean name. It can be inferred that throughout his schooling Alexander's work was recorded under his Korean name. Additionally, when he was an undergraduate student at a university, he had to be enrolled under his legal name as per the university regulations.

Although not explicitly required, Alexander has chosen to use his Korean name when filling out the details on consent form in order to participate in the current study. The choice may have been driven by the academic nature of this research and a sense of formality from the letterhead¹⁵.

On both occasions the frozen action of writing the Korean name involved using the mode of Russian language, which is part of the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. His Korean name is a transliteration using the Russian writing system and phonetics. Thus, the documents and assignments submitted under his legal name mediate two identity elements, which converge forming a ***Sakhalin Korean – Russian language user*** identity compound.

Korean food – eating it at home

Korean is a mediational means/cultural tool through which Alexander produces a Sakhalin/Korean identity element. At home he eats Korean meals which are prepared by his mother. As seen in Figure 108: Container with water, the family buys Korean made sauces and the food they eat at home is not the same as what ethnic Koreans from Central Asia eat. During the interview, he mentioned that Korean food is something that he is accustomed to:

- (87) Ю: угу. Т.е. дома все равно значит кормили тебя по-корейски. Ну, мама т.е. готовит по-корейски, да?
(88) А: да, я жил с бабушкой еще.
(89) Ю: угу
(90) А: у нее там намного больше связей
(91) Ю: угу
(92) А: с Кореей, с Японией.
(93) Ю: угу
(94) А: вот. Она многое что умела.

¹⁵ This can be an example of institutional discourse that shapes practice, in this case the participant may have felt compelled using legal (Korean) name when filling out a form.

- (95) Ю: угу
(96) А: по дому. И как раз готовила она много чего такого. Сама делала.
(97) Ю: угу. Понятно. А сейчас ты чем питаешься в основном? Так вот сравнить, вот то, что ты ел на Сахалине, да? Вот какие блюда подавались, то, чем тебя кормили. Вот сейчас насколько оно отличается?
(98) А: ну, по большей части у нас ничего не изменилось. Мы просто делаем каждый день кашу.
(99) Ю: угу
(100) А: рис. И есть еще панчан
(101) Ю: угу
(102) А: т.е. там несколько блюд, которые...
(103) Ю: угу
(104) А: ну т.е. как и остальные корейцы.
(105) Ю: угу
(106) А: так же...
(107) Ю: а ты пробовал здесь так называемые корейские блюда, которые продаются на рынках? И так же в некоторых супермаркетах тоже есть корейские салаты.
(108) А: ммм... Я их не покупаю.
(109) Ю: а почему?
(110) А: не знаю. Потому что как-то странно покупать то, что, ну... Что делают русские, не знаю. (смеется)
(111) Ю: ага. Ну, а ты вообще пробовал вот все эти салаты?
(112) А: да, пробовал.
(113) Ю: и вот как они тебе на вкус? Ну, вообще нравятся – не нравятся?
(114) А: ну, как будто сделали это... ммм... неправильно. Как-то по... в грубой форме, короче, сделали эти... салаты.
(115) Ю: понятно. Т.е. ты эти салаты вообще не покупаешь? И даже вот сейчас, прожив некоторое время здесь.
(116) А: нет. Ну, тем более, у меня мама же всем занимается.
(117) Ю: угу. Т.е. готовит мама?
(118) А: да.

English translation:

- (87) Y: uh huh. So at home anyway you were fed the Korean anyway? Like Mum, she cooks Korean, yeah?
(88) A: yes, I also lived with a grandmother.
(89) Y: uh huh
(90) A: She has a lot more links
(91) Y: uh huh
(92) A: with Korea, Japan
(93) Y: uh huh
(94) A: So. She could do a lot
(95) Y: uh huh
(96) A: around the house. And she cooked a lot of this stuff. She did it herself.
(97) Y: Uh huh. I see. And now what do you eat in general now? Just to compare what you ate on Sakhalin, the sort of meals you were given, yeah? And now how different is it?
(98) A: Well, mostly nothing changed. We just cook kasha every day.
(99) Y: uh huh
(100) A: rice. And also there's banchan.
(101) Y: uh huh
(102) A: so there are several dishes that are...
(103) Y: uh huh
(104) A: well, like other Koreans
(105) Y: uh huh
(106) A: same...
(107) Y: have you tried here the so called Korean dishes that are sold in markets? And also some supermarkets sell these Korean salads as well.

- (108) A: mmm... I don't buy them.
 (109) Y: how come?
 (110) A: don't know. Because it's kind of weird to buy what... well... What Russians make [laughs]
 (111) Y: uh huh. So you actually have tried all those salads?
 (112) A: yes, I have
 (113) Y: and so how do you find their taste? Do you generally like or not like them?
 (114) A: well, as if they are made... mmm... wrong. Like... Made in a rough manner, in short... These salads...
 (115) Y: I see. So you don't buy these salads at all? Even though you lived here for some time?
 (116) A: no. Well, moreover because my Mum does everything.
 (117) Y: Uh huh. So Mum cooks?
 (118) A: yes

For Alexander, home-made food is an object and mediational means/cultural tool through which he produces his Sakhalin Korean identity. This identity element is part of a ***son – Sakhalin Korean – sustainability*** identity compound (see for example, Figure 108: Container with water that mediates the compound). As he stated in the interview, it is his mother who cooks all meals in their Novosibirsk home. Employing the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – taste – smell*, Alexander is able to discern differences in flavour and how food is prepared. Sakhalin Korean side dishes are different compared to the 'salads' that are sold by *Koryo-saram*, Koreans from Central Asia. Despite their wide popularity and availability at city markets, Alexander does not buy them.

5.3.4 Russian settler

Alexander's Russian settler identity cluster consists of two elements: Russian name bearer and Russian language user. Table 16: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Alexander notes several instances of inter-cluster convergence where these two identity elements converge with others from the ethnic and cultural, family, occupational, and personal identity clusters.

5.3.4.1 Russian name bearer

Russian name – using it among friends and family

Privately, in social settings Alexander uses his Russian alias ‘Саня’ (English transliteration: Sanya). It is a diminutive form of his Russian name under which he registered his social media account on VK platform (see Figure 112: Alexander's device setup when working). This is the name he chose to be known on social media and allows others to use it when referring to him. The frozen higher-level action of registering a social media account under his Russian alias, thus, is an example of intra-cluster convergence: **Russian name bear – Russian language user** identity compound. Production of this compound involves the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. The name is written in Russian using his laptop or mobile phone on a Russian social media account that Alexander has created. Using his Russian name in all but formal contexts instead of Korean suggests a deviation from the production of Korean identity and a signals a shift towards, broadly, a Russian cultural practice.

Russian names – referring to family members

This identity element is also evident in the Alexander's references to his grandmother. The title page of his school essays includes his grandmother's adopted Russian name, Клава (English transliteration: Klava), which suggests that in their (inter)actions, that is the name he uses (see Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life). Similar to his use of his own Russian name on social media, the frozen higher-level action of including his grandmother's Russian name and writing it in Russian is another example of intra-cluster convergence.

5.3.4.2 Russian language user

Russian language – using it in everyday life

Russian language is a distinct mediational means/cultural tool that Alexander uses in his everyday (inter)actions. For him, Russian is a native language and has been the language of instruction at schools that he attended on Sakhalin and in Novosibirsk, and also at university. It is used in his communication with family, friends, and in workplace settings to produce relevant identity elements.

Through the use of Russian language, Alexander produces a Russian language user identity element, which as I have noted earlier, forms identity compounds with the identity elements from different clusters. Russian language user identity element converges with such elements as grandson (see Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life), extended family member (see Figure 111: Printing postcards for a family member), former student (see Figure 109: An essay about grandmother's life), graphic and web designer (see Figure 112: Alexander's device setup when working), Russian name bearer (see Figure 112: Alexander's device setup when working), friend (Figure 116: Reading messages on smartphone), illustrator (see Figure 117: Alexander's interest in illustration), and a movie fan (see Figure 119: Watching movies).

5.3.5 Personal identity

This identity cluster consists of identity elements that are related to Alexander's relationships outside family, hobbies, and personal preferences (see Table 16: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Alexander).

5.3.5.1 Friend

Food – sharing it with friends

One of instances of friend identity element production is embedded in a few slices of pizza that he shared with his friends (see Figure 113: Pizza for friends).

This identity element is part of the *friend – HFSS food consumer* identity compound.



Figure 113: Pizza for friends

Alexander had a few pieces of this pizza for dinner at a local café. The remaining pieces were put in a container and taken to one his friends' apartment where they had agreed to meet for a poker game. This frozen higher-level action is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. The object handling mode applies to both the pizza and the container that Alexander had requested from the café staff. Gaze is utilised to place the leftover slices into the container.

Poker game – playing and socialising with friends



Figure 114: Table, cards and chips set

This poker game that Alexander is engaged in, is a complex mediational means/cultural tool through which he is producing a friend identity. This identity element is part of the *friend – Russian language user* identity compound. The complexity here refers not to the rules but to several objects that are integral to the game. They are the table with its specific shape and layout, cards, chips, dealer button, and dices (see Figure 114: Table, cards and chips set). It is also complex because the game involves a series of higher level actions.

Additionally, it is an activity and a common interest that Alexander shares with his friends over which they get together and socialise (see Figure 115: Playing poker with friends).



Figure 115: Playing poker with friends

The larger-scale higher level frozen action of playing the game involves smaller in scale actions, such as mixing the cards, looking at one's stack, using chips, gesticulating, or using spoken language to announce a pass or a bet. Many of these actions involve such modes as object handling, gaze, gesture/beats, and Russian language. The latter mode is ever-present throughout the game and evening. Russian language serves as means to (inter)act between the players during the game and discuss topics outside poker.

Smartphone/laptop, and social media – maintaining friendships

Alexander is an active user of social media that he accesses by means of his smartphone and/or laptop (see Figure 116: Reading messages on smartphone). He uses both devices interchangeably to keep in touch with his friends and to read the newsfeed.



Figure 116: Reading messages on smartphone

The frozen action of reading messages from friends on his smartphone is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – touch – gaze – Russian language*. This identity element is part of the Russian **friend – Russian language user** identity compound. Friendship is being maintained through contact via smart phone and social media, and Russian language user identity element is produced through language that he uses to communicate with his friends.

5.3.5.2 Illustrator

Gottfried Bammes' book – reading relevant literature

This book embeds Alexander's frozen action of reading it based on his interest in drawing. Drawing is closely related to his occupational identity and is something that he enjoyed during childhood. Alexander attended lessons at a drawing club when he was a school boy (see subsection 5.3.2.2 Graphic and web designer).



Figure 117: Alexander's interest in illustration

The frozen action of reading this book is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. Alexander uses the mode of object handling as he holds the book and turns pages. He uses gaze to look at the pages, illustrations, and content. And finally, he uses the mode of Russian language to read it. This book mediates Alexander's *an illustrator – Russian language user* identity compound as he reads relevant content and does it in the Russian language.

Arts supplies and tools – using them to produce work

Apart from reading, Alexander has several tools that he uses to produce creative work and thus embraces his illustrator identity element. In the same pile, he keeps colour pencils, sketch books, and several graphite pencils on his

desk (see Figure 117: Alexander's interest in illustration). Additionally, Alexander uses his computer and the tablet, which he initially purchased for personal use (see Figure 112: Alexander's device setup when working). The use of these objects to draw involves a modal aggregate of *object handling – touch/feel – gaze*. The object handling mode applies to paper, sketch books, tablet and pencils, whether ordinary or digital. The touch/feel mode in using ordinary or digital pencil against paper or tablet screen as well as the use of finger against paper is necessary to create varying width and textures of illustrations. Both object handling and touch/feel modes are used in conjunction with gaze as each stroke is put on a paper or screen.

5.3.5.3 Gamer

Laptop and periphery – playing video games

Alexander is an avid player of video games. This identity element is produced through the action of playing games on a laptop and using periphery (see Figure 118: Playing video games).



Figure 118: Playing video games

The frozen action of playing one of the videogames is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language – sound*. Object handling mode is needed to operate the laptop, launch and play the game, as well as using a mouse. Gaze is part of this aggregate as Alexander looks at the screen as the game unfolds. Russian language is a mode through which he reads relevant information about the game and communicates with fellow players. Sound is a mode that is needed for Alexander to receive aural content, for example, the sound of different actions that Alexander's or any other character performs as the game is played.

The mode of Russian language in this aggregate applies to the action of understanding content of the game and using the laptop where the operating system's language is Russian. This identity element, thus, converges with Russian language user identity forming a ***gamer – Russian language user*** identity compound. The laptop, periphery, the game(s) that Alexander plays, and Russian are mediational means/cultural tools through which this identity compound is produced.

5.3.5.4 Movie fan

TV and laptop – setting up and watching movies

Having a TV connected to the laptop and placed on the desk is a set up through which Alexander produces his movie fan identity element (see Figure 119: Watching movies). The streamed content is displayed on the connected TV.



Figure 119: Watching movies

The embedded frozen actions of connecting those objects to each other and placing them in close proximity is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics*. The mode object handling is applied to both devices and cables as they get connected. Gaze is employed to see them as they are handled and operated. The mode of proxemics is used in placing the TV close enough to the laptop and at the same time at a comfortable viewing distance. Having a TV in his room and connecting it to the laptop allows Alexander to choose the content freely, independent of what his parents might prefer watching instead in the lounge.

The frozen action of streaming movies and TV series from online sources is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. Alexander uses his laptop to browse relevant websites and select movies. The object handling mode comes together with gaze and Russian language as Alexander uses Russian language websites and watches the content translated into Russian. Thus, the Russian language content that

Alexander streams embeds two converged identity elements that form a **movie fan – Russian language user** identity compound.

5.3.5.5 Smoker

Fizzy drink bottle – using it as an ashtray

Other than buying cigarettes at local shops, the action that gives off Alexander's smoker identity is using an empty bottle from a fizzy drink as an ashtray (see Figure 120: Using a drink bottle as an ashtray).



Figure 120: Using a drink bottle as an ashtray

The modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze* is used to attach the empty bottle to the balcony frame with a tape. The mode of gaze and object handling in this aggregate are intense due to the neck of the bottle being smaller and narrower than a standard ashtray. This requires Alexander to pay closer attention to the bottle as he discards his cigarette butts in it and then closes the lid so that they do not fall out of it in case the bottle is tipped.

In this bottle, Alexander's smoker identity converges with two other identity elements from this cluster: sustainability and HFSS food consumer and thus forming ***a smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer*** identity compound. The sustainability identity element is produced through the action of repurposing empty drink bottles and reusing them. His HFSS food consumer identity in this instance is produced through consumption of fizzy and energy drinks.

5.3.5.6 Sustainability

Plastic bottles and containers – reusing them for different purposes

Alexander is seen to employ various waste reduction solutions and resisting to buy more, namely, repurposing packaging from previously consumed products. As with other objects, multiple frozen actions are embedded in them through which Alexander produces his identity. This identity element converges with smoker and fast food consumer identity elements as I explain and show (see 5.3.5.5 Smoker and 5.3.5.7 High in Fat, Salt, and Sugar (HFSS) food consumer).

Potato chips container – using it as storage

When the Pringles chips were finished, the container was not thrown away. Instead, Alexander found a way to extend life of the product's packaging and thereby reduce waste. He uses the container to store small items on his desk next to the penholder (see Figure 121: Reusing container from potato chips).



Figure 121: Reusing container from potato chips

This frozen higher-level action embedded in the container is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. The object handling mode applies to the container and the items that were put into it. Gaze is needed to see both the container and the items that could fit into it and be kept there.

While the action of reusing the container is indicative of Alexander's sustainability identity, the frozen action of consuming potato chips also is part of his HFSS food consumer identity element. Through these two frozen actions embedded in the container of Pringles chips two identity elements converge forming a ***sustainability – HFSS food consumer*** identity compound.

A bottle from a fizzy drink – using it as an ashtray

Finding a way to reuse an empty plastic bottle is another example of Alexander's sustainable solution to waste (see Figure 120: Using a drink bottle

as an ashtray). This identity element converges with the other two elements: smoker and HFSS food consumer and thus forming a ***smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer*** identity compound. The sustainability identity element within this compound is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. Object handling applies to all objects that enable the use of this bottle as an ashtray: the empty bottle itself, the tape which Alexander used to attach it, the balcony frame to which he attached the bottle, and cigarette butts. Gaze is used to discard them into the bottle.

5.3.5.7 High in Fat, Salt, and Sugar (HFSS) food consumer

HFSS foods – consuming them

Alexander consumes various kinds of foods that are high in fat, salt, and sugar and thereby produces the identity element of HFSS foods consumer. This identity element is evident in the food choices that he makes, for example, pizza (see Figure 113: Pizza for friends), potato chips (see Figure 121: Reusing container from potato chips), and fizzy drinks (Figure 122: Consuming energy/soft drinks).



Figure 122: Consuming energy/soft drinks

This identity element, as shown earlier, converges with other identity elements from the same cluster, i.e. friend, smoker, and sustainability. Through the frozen actions embedded in these foods and drinks that Alexander consumes at home and in public places, he produces identity compounds that consist of two or three identity elements. Pizza mediates **friend – HFSS food consumer** identity compound. Potato chips can mediate **HFSS food consumer – sustainability** identity compound. Fizzy drink bottle mediates **smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer** identity compound.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how Russian-based participants, En Dya and Alexander, produce their identity and how it is structured in (inter)action. I used the introduced notion of identity cluster that organises identity elements on the basis of a common theme that connects them through relevant mediated actions. En Dya and Alexander produce their identity in and across family, ethnic and cultural, occupational, Russian settler, and personal identity clusters. The analysis and assignment of identity elements to the participants' actions are based on the knowledge gained during fieldwork and observations that were captured on photo- and video cameras.

In the following stages, I closely examined and focus on the objects as mediational means/cultural tools. Through the analysis of frozen actions, associated larger scale higher level actions, and the modal aggregates I have explained how identity elements converge into identity compounds and found that they link identity elements within the same cluster (intra-cluster convergence) as well as from other clusters (inter-cluster convergence).

The analysis shows that En Dya's identity production involves both intra- and inter-cluster convergence that result in formation of relevant identity compounds. An example of intra-cluster identity compound is ***traveller – being superstitious*** identity compound that she produced by means of cat eye souvenir. There are also multiple instances of inter-cluster identity compounds which are found in most objects, for example En Dya's ***private landlord – mother – Russian citizen – Russian language user*** which connects her family and Russian settler identity clusters via family property that she manages

as a rental. Alexander's identity production also involves intra- and inter-cluster identity compounds which are a result of convergence. An example of intra-cluster identity compound is **a smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer** which is mediated by the fizzy drink bottle. Inter-cluster identity compound example is a **grandson – former student – Russian language user – Sakhalin Korean** that Alexander produces by means of his school essay that he still keeps. All those instances show that ubiquitous objects usually mediate more than one identity element through the embedded frozen actions and the notion of identity compound highlights integral nature of this structure as well as complexity of identity production.

As Russian settlers, En Dya and Alexander both produce Russian language user identity. For them, Russian is the native language and the only language in which they communicate with their immediate networks and in occupational contexts. Russian language is a distinct mediational means/cultural tool and an important mode that enables most of their (inter)actions and it is through this means and mode the participants' identity elements converge forming relevant identity compounds. En Dya's Russian language user identity converges with such identity elements as mother, wife, extended family member, Russian identity, private landlord, and a university graduate. Similarly for Alexander, Russian language user identity element also converges with the identity elements outside the Russian settler cluster: family, occupational and personal identity. Russian language is used to communicate with family, receive education, read literature relevant to his professional and personal interests, and to maintain friendships.

Korean names and food are mediational means/cultural tools through which En Dya and Alexander maintain their ethnic identity in Russia. The ethnic identity cluster for En Dya and Alexander has only one identity element, i.e. Sakhalin Korean. This identity element revolves around such cultural practices as using Korean names in daily life and Korean food consumption. Both participants' legal names are Korean. En Dya uses it in all contexts, privately and publicly, whereas Alexander goes by his adopted Russian name among family and friends, and resorts to the Korean name in formal contexts. Korean food is consumed at home which indicates that both participants retain their preference for their ethnic food. And importantly, it serves as one of the binding factors that enables convergence of identity elements from the ethnic and family identity clusters.

The mode of object handling which is present in all (inter)actions with the objects as they are placed, used, and reused. This mode is of particular importance as it allows us to see and understand not only what En Dya and Alexander do with the objects that mediate their identity but also how they (inter)act with them. This yields further insights into complexity of mediational means and identity production.

Chapter 6: Multimodal identity production I South Korea

6.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I present the analysis of Ludmila's and Sasha's identity production. The analysis is based on the tools of frozen action, higher level action of varying scale, and modal aggregate. It enables answering the following questions for these participants:

- RQ1: Which identity elements do Ludmila and Sasha produce?
- RQ2: How are Ludmila's and Sasha's identity elements structured in (inter)action?
- RQ3: Which objects embed Ludmila's and Sasha's identity elements that they produce?

I first present an analysis of Ludmila's identity and then turn to the identity of Sasha. The findings are organised using the notion of identity cluster, which brings relevant identity elements together under one umbrella (see ID matrix tables for both participants). Identity compounds are formed as Ludmila and Sasha (inter)act with various objects, which are I treat as mediational means/cultural tools. The produced identity compounds highlight their integral nature and show that identity elements can converge both within and across different clusters (see overview of identity clusters and identity compound tables for both participants). The chapter concludes with a summary of key findings for the South Korean participants.

6.2 Ludmila's identity

Ludmila's identity is produced in and across five clusters: family, occupational, Korean settler, ethnic, and personal identity (see the table below).

Table 17: ID Matrix - Ludmila

IDENTITY ELEMENTS	IDENTITY CLUSTERS				
	Family	Occupational	Ethnic & cultural	Korean settler	Personal
Wife	x				
Mother	x				
Daughter	x				
Business owner/entrepreneur		x			
Employer		x			
Passive/additional income planner		x			
Korean language user				x	
Korean name bearer				x	
Supporter of local initiatives				x	
Supporter of settlers from the former USSR				x	
Supporter of Sakhalin Korean community				x	
Consumer of South Korean food				x	
Russian language user			x		
Russian name bearer			x		
Russian food maker			x		
Sakhalin Korean			x		
Being health conscious					x
Coffee drinker					x
Spiritual/superstitious person					x

Ludmila's family identity is anchored in kinship and family relations that she maintains. As part of her occupational identity cluster, she produces identity elements that involve income generating activities and employing staff. Korean settler is a cluster within which Ludmila produces identity elements associated

with permanent migration and settlement in South Korea. Ludmila's ethnic identity in South Korea relates to Russian language, name, and food, as well as Sakhalin Korean identity which Ludmila produces through a combination of Russian and Korean aspects that are reflected in her language practices, having more than one name, and the food that Ludmila cooks at her restaurant. And the final fifth cluster, personal identity, is made up of identity elements that are anchored in her personal interests and views.

The table below presents all identity clusters and identity compounds that she produces.

Table 18: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Ludmila

Objects/mediational means and actions	Identity clusters	Identity compounds
Coffee – making and serving it	Family, Occupational, Personal	wife – employer – coffee drinker
Grana Padano cheese – purchasing it and giving it away to her daughter	Family, Occupational	mother – business owner and entrepreneur
Lunch – spending time with her mother at the restaurant	Family, Ethnic, Korean Settler, Occupational	daughter – Russian language user – Korean language user – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community – business owner/entrepreneur
Barista training certificate – undergoing professional development	Occupational, Korean Settler, Personal	business owner/entrepreneur – Korean language user – coffee drinker
Calendar – keeping track of orders and events	Occupational, Ethnic	business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user
Party supplies – ordering them for an event	Occupational, Korean Settler, Ethnic	business owner/entrepreneur – supporter of other settlers from the former USSR – Korean language user – Russian language user
Smak menu – making it accessible and relevant	Occupational, Ethnic, Korean Settler	business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user – Korean language user
Gosari/fernbrake dish – cutting it short	Occupational, Ethnic	business owner/entrepreneur – Sakhalin Korean
Notice for the patrons – communicating expected behaviour from patrons	Occupational, Ethnic	business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user

Branded placemats, serviettes, and business cards – branding and promoting her business	Occupational, Ethnic, Korean Settler	business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user; business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user – Korean language user
Social media ad – creating a promotional post	Occupational, Ethnic	business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user
Set menu list – meal planning for a set/banquet	Occupational, Ethnic	business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user
A note – giving instructions to the kitchen hand	Occupational, Ethnic	employer – Russian language user
Smart phone – calling a casual worker	Occupational, Ethnic	employer – Russian language user
Health supplements – purchasing and keeping them at work	Occupational, Personal	passive/additional income planner – health conscious
Poster – communicating new premises	Occupational, Korean Settler, Ethnic	passive/additional income planner – business owner/entrepreneur – Korean language user – Russian language user
Ludmila's business card – using Korean name	Korean Settler, Ethnic, Occupational	Korean name bearer – Russian name bearer – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user – Korean language user
Bar stools – buying them at a charity shop	Korean Settler, Occupational	supporter of local initiatives – business owner/entrepreneur
Document service station – supporting settlement	Korean Settler, Occupational	business owner/entrepreneur – supporter of other settlers from the former USSR – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community
Sundae – getting community members involved	Family, Korean Settler, Ethnic, Occupational	daughter – Russian language user – Korean language user – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community – business owner/entrepreneur
South Korean food – eating out	Korean Settler, Personal, Family	consumer of South Korean food – Korean language user – wife
Labelling objects – using Russian language for labels	Occupational, Ethnic	employer – Russian language user
Pelmeni – making and serving it	Ethnic, Occupational	Russian food maker – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur
Entrees – cooking and serving a mix of Russian and Korean food	Ethnic, Occupational	Russian food maker – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur
Cutlery at Smak restaurant – making it available	Ethnic, Occupational	Sakhalin Korean – Russian food maker – business owner/entrepreneur
Takeaway coffee – buying and drinking it at coffeeshops	Personal, Korean Settler	coffee drinker – Korean language user
Money tree – receiving it as a gift and displaying it	Personal, Occupational, Ethnic	business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language – being superstitious/spiritual

Prayer – printing it and interacting with it at the counter	Personal, Ethnic, Occupational	being spiritual/superstitious – Russian language user – business owner/entrepreneur
---	--------------------------------	---

6.2.1 Family identity

6.2.1.1 Wife

Coffee – making and serving it for her husband

Both Ludmila and her husband Peter are coffee drinkers and consume it daily. At work, they have coffee that Ludmila makes in the restaurant’s kitchen. The cup of coffee in the black mug that was given to Peter, embeds (see Figure 123: Making coffee in the kitchen) at least these three frozen actions: it was made by Ludmila who used the ingredients, equipment, and crockery she had available to her; the coffee was poured into the black mug, and then Ludmila took this mug out of the kitchen and brought it to the bar for Peter.

The first frozen action is produced by multiple objects: the ingredients (coffee, water, milk, sugar), equipment (a stove and counter), and crockery (a pot, a teaspoon, and a mug). The higher level action of coffee making is produced by the modal aggregates of *object handling – gaze* as well as *gaze – taste*. The modes in both aggregates are of high intensity as Ludmila had to use multiple objects; gaze is used to look at the ingredients, equipment, and crockery. Both gaze and taste were used to visually measure the ingredients based on prior knowledge of how they taste and to observe the cooking process.

The second frozen action was also produced by the *object handling – gaze* modal aggregate as Ludmila poured the coffee and frothed milk into Peter’s mug and then added sugar per his liking.

The next frozen action of serving coffee to Peter was produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – walking*. Peter's bar is located on the same floor as the restaurant and although it is part of their family business, it is a separate venue. Once the coffee was ready, Ludmila picked up the black mug as shown on the right image (see Figure 123: Making coffee in the kitchen), walked out of the kitchen and her restaurant, and headed towards the bar whilst holding the mug.



Figure 123: Making coffee in the kitchen

Coffee – making it for everyone

While the coffee in the black mug that Ludmila poured and served to her husband mediates her wife identity, it is only a portion of what she had made moments before. The amount and volume of coffee that she had made embeds two other identity elements: employer and coffee drinker¹⁶. An earlier frozen action embedded in the total amount of coffee that Ludmila had made, produces her *wife – employer – coffee drinker* identity compound. The employer identity (more on this identity element is explained in the sub-section 6.2.2.2 Employer identity) is produced by the frozen action of pouring the coffee into another mug for Ludmila's kitchen-hand worker. The coffee drinker identity

¹⁶ The coffee was also served to the researcher and hence it embeds Ludmila's research participant identity element. However, I exclude this from the analysis.

element refers to Ludmila's own portion of coffee – a drink that she enjoys having daily (see more on this identity element 6.2.5.2 Coffee drinker). This identity compound is produced by the frozen action of making coffee for everyone. It is enabled by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. As explained in the first frozen embedded in Peter's share, both modes are of high intensity as Ludmila utilised a few objects and visually judged the amounts of ingredients that had to be used in making this coffee so that there was enough for everyone.

6.2.1.2 Mother identity

Cheese – purchasing it and giving it away to her daughter



Figure 124: Grana Padano cheese

Production of Ludmila's mother identity element involves doing something for her daughter Lilia. The timing of fieldwork coincided with Lilia's temporary stay in South Korea. On several occasions Ludmila was seen picking her daughter up from the university, eating out together, and checking up on her health. One

representative instance of Ludmila's mother identity element production is giving away Grana Padano cheese to Lilia to take home (see Figure 124: Grana Padano cheese). Lilia has recently completed her Korean language at a Korean university and is returning to Sakhalin.

There are several frozen actions embedded in this cheese: picking it up and then putting it aside. As Ludmila unpacks and sorts her recent grocery shopping for the restaurant, she picks up two packs of Grana in her hands and looks at them briefly. She produces this action through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. The following action of placing these two packs of cheese aside is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics – walking*. Ludmila while still holding the cheese in her hands, carries it outside the kitchen and places these two packs on the counter next to the till. By putting it further away on a different counter, Ludmila clearly separates this cheese from the rest of her grocery shop to ensure it is not used for the restaurant meals.

Ludmila's mother identity is part of the ***mother – business owner and entrepreneur*** identity compound. An earlier frozen action embedded in this cheese is purchasing it from Costco, where she does regular shopping for the restaurant – an action that produces her business owner identity element (more on this identity element see subsection 6.2.2.1 Business owner/entrepreneur). Initially, this cheese was meant to be used for the Caesar salad. But the flavour and smell of this cheese are too strong for the restaurant's clientele and Ludmila decided to replace it with a milder alternative. Her daughter Lilia and

Lilia's boyfriend, on the other hand, appreciate the flavour and therefore this cheese was given to Lilia.

6.2.1.3 Daughter identity

Lunch – spending time with her mother at the restaurant

Lunch that Ludmila has served to her mother, her mother's friends, and her husband Peter embeds several frozen actions (see Figure 125: Ludmila socialising with her family and her mother's friends after sausage making). The lunch included a few dishes that had been prepared earlier, then brought out of the kitchen and placed on the table. The pastry was purchased from a local bakery. Other than being a mere object of consumption, this food is a complex mediational means/cultural tool through which Ludmila socialises with her mother *and* is a token of gratitude for the help that she received in making a Korean sausage (see further on this in the 6.2.3.5 Supporter of Sakhalin Korean community).



Figure 125: Ludmila socialising with her family and her mother's friends after sausage making

The frozen action of serving food was produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. The object handling mode refers to several dishes, pastry, tea, mugs, and a kettle with hot water. The mode of gaze is necessary to see which items had to be served, for whom and how many people, and where to place them.

Another frozen action embedded in the food is socialising with mother and other elderly ladies over tea after the sausage making process. This frozen action is more complex given that it involves multiple modes and several modal aggregates. Ludmila's gaze and posture, which form an aggregate, are directed towards her mother who is sitting in the far corner on the opposite side of the table. While listening to and looking at her mother who was constantly code-switching between Russian and Korean, Ludmila is holding a piece of sweet cottage cheese pie in her left hand and keeping the tea mug close.

Serving this lunch to her mother and other elderlies is an action nested within another, a much larger in scale: engaging (with) the members of Sakhalin Korean diaspora who live locally and getting their assistance in making sundae, Korean blood sausage. The lunch, thus, is a complex mediational means/cultural that mediates Ludmila's ***daughter – Russian language user – Korean language user – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community – business owner/entrepreneur*** identity compound.

6.2.2 Occupational identity

Under this cluster, Ludmila produces business owner/entrepreneur, employer, and passive income/additional income planner identity elements. Each of these

identity elements and associated mediated actions are anchored in income generation, be it for the restaurant, which is Ludmila's main business, or seeking additional avenues. There is a high degree of convergence between identity elements within this cluster that form intra-cluster compounds, as well as convergence with identity elements from other clusters.

6.2.2.1 Business owner/entrepreneur

Certificate – undergoing professional development

As part of her business owner/entrepreneur identity element, Ludmila engages in professional development and learning new skills (see Figure 126: Barista training certificate). Ludmila received this certificate following completion of barista training course in South Korea, which she attended together with her husband, in 2015. She thought it would be useful for her career as an entrepreneur in South Korea.

Ludmila displays her certificate next to her husband's on the left above the front entrance, along with other business-related certificates and licences. The frozen action of keeping and displaying her certificate is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics*. All certificates related to business, including the barista training one, are framed and hung in the dedicated spot just above the front door.



Figure 126: Barista training certificate

This identity element converges with two other identity elements from the Korean settler (see 6.2.3.1 Korean language user) and personal identity (see 6.2.5.2 Coffee drinker) which form a **business owner/entrepreneur – Korean language user – coffee drinker** identity compound. As the course was taught in Korean, Ludmila relied on the mode of Korean language heavily to understand the content. The mode of taste and her appreciation of coffee as observed during fieldwork strongly suggests that this personal interest was an important factor in doing a barista training course.

Calendar – keeping track of orders and events

Ludmila's business it attracts both a la carte dining clientele and those who book her restaurant for special occasions: banquets, first birthdays of a baby, an elderly's jubilee, memorial services, and other events. She uses the calendar (see Figure 127: Bookings for Ludmila's restaurant) to keep booking records and keeps it in the draw near computer keyboard.

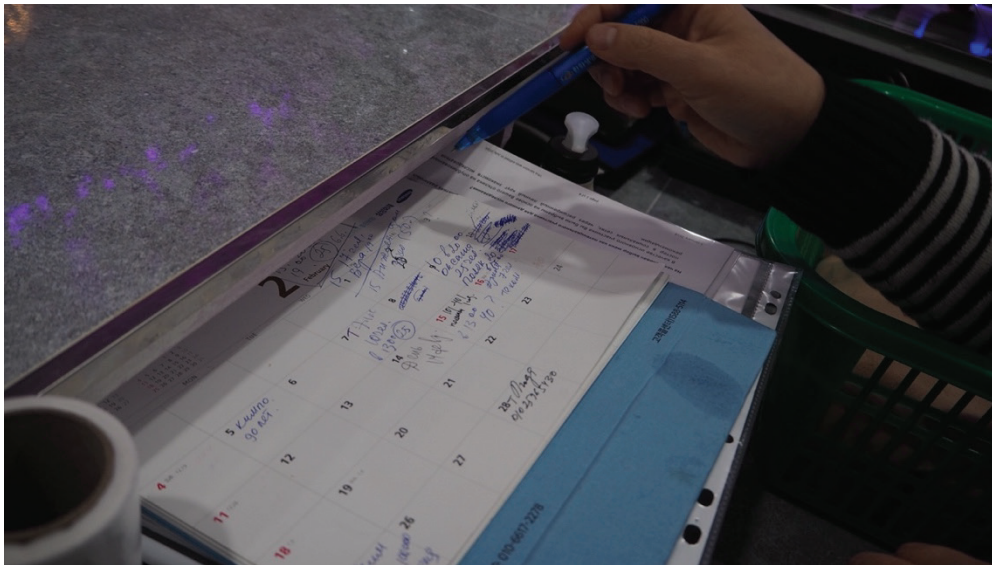


Figure 127: Bookings for Ludmila's restaurant

Although this is a desktop calendar, Ludmila folds it flat and uses it for taking notes and record event bookings. The frozen action of keeping track of orders and events is produced by means of *object handling – gaze – Russian language* modal aggregate. Object handling mode refers to the calendar and pen(s) that Ludmila uses to make notes as well as placing the calendar in the draw when it is not needed. Gaze is used to write notes and to put the calendar away, so it is not immediately visible to others. Russian language mode is present in Ludmila's handwriting. Thus, through the use of this calendar two identity elements converge forming a ***business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user*** identity compound.

Party supplies – ordering them for an event

Ludmila organises various theme events and invites external, Russian speaking DJs, an MC and sometimes singers and dancers to entertain her guests. The frozen action of ordering supplies is nested within a larger in scale higher level action of supporting migrants from the former USSR, many of whom come to South Korea under the F4 visa issued to overseas Koreans.



Figure 128: Party supplies

For the upcoming Valentine’s Day event, Ludmila ordered angel’s wings and other supplies that the external events team had asked (see Figure 128: Party supplies). The supplies were purchased online from a local company and delivered to Ludmila’s restaurant. This frozen action is produced through several modes and in particular the modal aggregate of *Korean language – gaze – object handling* as Ludmila was reading the website content and operating the device to select the goods, pay for them, and get them delivered. Thus, these party supplies mediate several converged elements from different clusters forming a ***business owner/entrepreneur – supporter of other settlers from the former USSR – Korean language user – Russian language user*** identity compound.

Menu – making it accessible and relevant

Given that the clientele of Ludmila’s restaurant is mostly Russian speakers and to the lesser extent South Koreans and other foreigners, the menu is primarily in Russian (see Figure 129: Smak menu). It includes some basic English

translation. The last page features some items in Korean that South Korean clientele will likely be ordering.

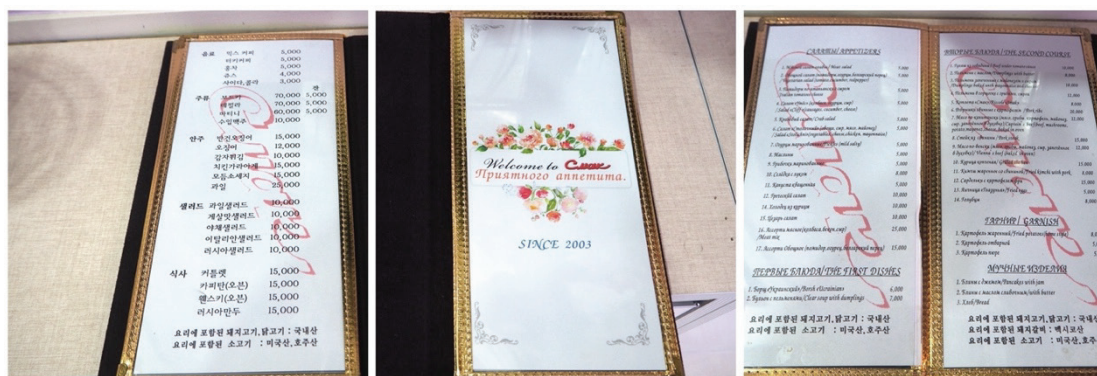


Figure 129: Smak menu

The menu embeds several frozen actions: working with a local designer/illustrator to create it and get it printed, considering what food will be popular and who will be ordering it. Production of this menu involved different modes and in particular the modal aggregate of *Russian language – Korean language – English language – gaze – object handling*. All of these modes were necessary to write the text of the menu, whilst either doing it on the computer and thus operating several objects, i.e. a mouse and keyboard, and looking at the screen, or doing it manually using pen and paper. Ludmila’s business owner/entrepreneur identity converges with the Korean language user and Russian language user identity elements forming an inter-cluster compound: ***business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language – Korean language***. Despite the use of English language mode in the production of the restaurant menu, Ludmila’s level of English is quite basic. She has not mastered it, nor has she appropriated its use in her workplace and everyday life. The other languages, by contrast, are spoken daily.

Cheese – choosing a different kind

As mentioned in the mother identity subsection, Ludmila produces a ***mother – business owner/entrepreneur*** identity compound. Through the frozen action of purchasing this cheese for the restaurant, Ludmila produces a converged identity element of a business owner and entrepreneur (see Figure 124: Grana Padano cheese). As a restaurant owner who is heavily involved in preparation of the meals that are served, Ludmila shows awareness of her clientele's preferences. She draws on the modal aggregate of *taste – smell* to tell the difference between Grana and milder alternatives (for example, Cheddar that she uses), which are less mature, less intense in flavour and softer in texture compared to Grana.

Using my fieldnotes prompt, I draw on one of our conversations that enables me to provide further detail. In that conversation, Ludmila shared that she had observed how some clients were putting the plate with Caesar salad aside and would leave it untouched due to the smell of Grana or Parmesan. The mode of gaze, thus, was also employed to gauge feedback. Having seen that her Caesar salad was not eaten, Ludmila decided against using Grana again and gave this cheese away to her daughter.

Gosari/fernbrake dish – cutting it short

Gosari¹⁷ is a Korean fern brake side dish that Ludmila prepares and serves. It is one of the dishes that she includes for the banquets, i.e. special occasions that

¹⁷ 고사리 (in Korean) is one of fern brake dishes that Sakhalin Koreans eat. Ludmila prepares this dish using the available key ingredient in South Korea.

her clients celebrate over lunches or dinners. As a business owner/entrepreneur, Ludmila takes into consideration the way this dish is eaten and adjusts it. As a side, it is usually shared by several people at the table. Although fern stems are not usually cut into smaller pieces, Ludmila does so out of consideration that shorter stems are easier to pick (see Figure 130: Gosari/fern brake dish).



Figure 130: Gosari/fern brake dish

As she explained, this is also a more hygienic way to serve it as shorter pieces do not fall out of the plate and are easier to pick. This frozen action is produced by the modal aggregate *object handling – gaze*. Object handling mode applies to fern brake stems and a knife that Ludmila uses to cut them. Gaze is used at the same time to see what is being cut and to visually determine the length of stems.

Gosari, being a popular dish among many Sakhalin Koreans, also mediates Ludmila's own Sakhalin Korean identity through cooking and serving it to her guests. Thus, business owner/entrepreneur identity converges with Sakhalin Korean identity forming a **business owner/entrepreneur – Sakhalin Korean** identity compound.

Notice – communicating expected behaviour from patrons

In the hallway, Ludmila displays a printed notice about the expected behaviour.

In it (see Figure 131: Notice for the patrons), she makes an explicit reference to the administration of the building and the police who will be called if a conflict arises.



Figure 131: Notice for the patrons

This notice embeds several frozen actions: typing it on a computer, having it printed, and then attaching it to the wall at an eye level of an average adult person. The first frozen action is significant as it is produced through the modal aggregate of *Russian language – gaze – object handling*. Russian language mode applies to the text that Ludmila composed while looking at a computer screen and using the mode of gaze and at the same time ‘handling’ the computer’s peripherals: a keyboard and a mouse.

This notice mediates Ludmila’s **business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user** identity compound. The use of Russian language in this compound is due to it being Ludmila’s first language (see more on this identity element in subsection 6.2.4.1 Russian language user) as well as her clientele’s most of whom come from the former USSR. Since many of them are migrants

on temporary work permits, Ludmila warns them of the consequences of being deported should someone be found at fault by the police.

Consumables – branding and promoting her business

Ludmila’s restaurant name appears on the serviettes, paper placemats, and business cards (see Figure 132: Branding). The placemats are used for banquets only. These consumables embed multiple frozen actions which build inter-cluster identity compounds: **business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user** mediated by the placemats and serviettes and **business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user – Korean language user** mediated by Ludmila’s business cards.



Figure 132: Branding

These objects were produced with the help of a local designer and print company, and importantly with Ludmila’s input. As a business owner/entrepreneur, Ludmila is aware of who her clientele is and therefore

these materials feature mostly Russian text and some Korean and English. The restaurant name appears the same and in Russian across all branded materials: the menu (see Figure 129: Smak menu), her business cards, serviettes, and paper placemats.

Following production of the branded materials, they continue mediating these compounds as Ludmila uses them: when serving clients in the case of menu, serviettes, and placemats, and displaying her business cards on the counter where her clients settle their bills. For all these objects the modal aggregate of *gaze – proxemics* is key in Ludmila's mode of object handling. She places them close enough for the clients to (inter)act with these objects: to see them, read, or take with them in the case of her business cards.

Smart phone/social media – creating a promotional post

While cooking or when having a break, Ludmila reads her newsfeed and checks responses to her social media posts, which feature her text, captured short videos and photos from various events for example, *dol* (a child's first birthday), jubilees (e.g. *hwangap*, a person's 60th, in particular), memorial days, weddings, and birthdays. To promote her restaurant further, some posts are on-shared to migrant expat social media group pages.

For Ludmila, social media activity is a way to engage with her current and future clientele and creating awareness of what kinds of events she organises, and which events potential clientele might want to celebrate at the restaurant. One such post is about Lunar New Year. In it, Ludmila is encouraging clients to make a booking (see Figure 133: Advertising the restaurant on social media).



Figure 133: Advertising the restaurant on social media

The frozen action of creating this post is part of a larger in scale higher level action of Ludmila promoting her business among Russian speaking clientele. Her social media post is produced through the modal aggregate of *Russian language – gaze – object handling*. Through the Russian language mode, Ludmila's business owner/entrepreneur identity element converges with the Russian language user forming a **business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user** identity compound. The mode of Russian language is significant as it is the main means for Ludmila and her clients to communicate and promote the restaurant on social media. The mode of gaze is used to both see the content and virtual keyboard on her smart phone. The object handling mode is applied to the smartphone that Ludmila uses to type the content and post it on her social media page.

A list – meal planning for a set/banquet

Many clients make group bookings to celebrate various occasions and opt for a set menu. Ludmila makes lists of dishes that she includes in the set menu, an example of which she shared (see Figure 134: Set menu)

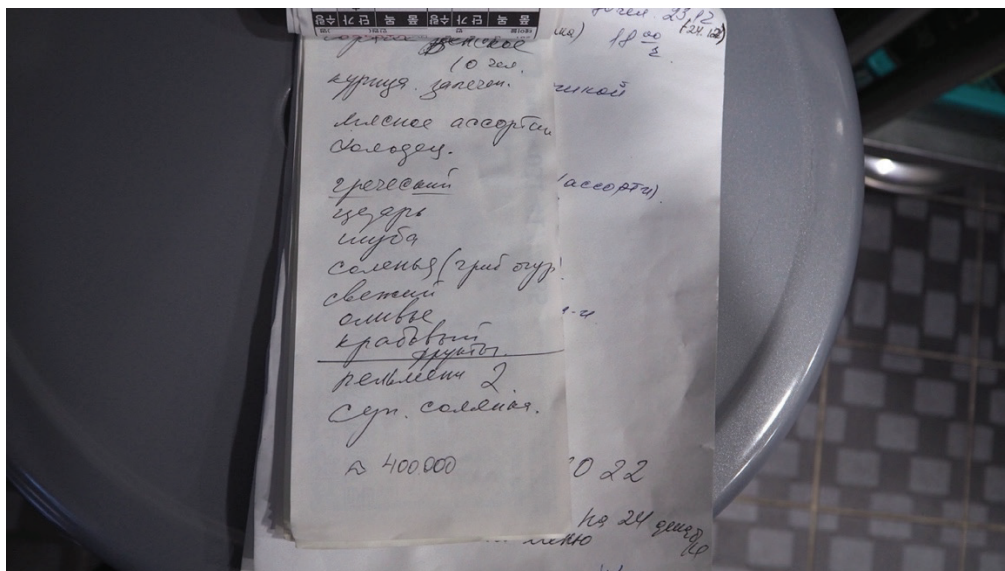


Figure 134: Set menu

The frozen action of making this list is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – Russian language – gaze*. Object handling applies to a notepad and a pen that Ludmila used to write this list. Gaze was necessary to see the notepad and own handwriting. The mode of Russian language was used to produce the text. It enabled convergence of two identity elements that formed a ***business owner/entrepreneur identity – Russian language user*** identity compound that Ludmila produces by means of this list.

6.2.2.2 Employer identity

A note – giving instructions to the kitchen hand

Ludmila produces her employer identity through the action of assigning tasks to her kitchen hand. One way of doing it is in the written form. Ludmila leaves handwritten notes for Luda, her employee (see Figure 135: Written instructions

for Ludmila's employee). In one such note, Ludmila listed various tasks that needed to be done for the following day: cooking rice at 3 pm, leaving good kimchi aside, grinding pepper with seeds, and making borsch.

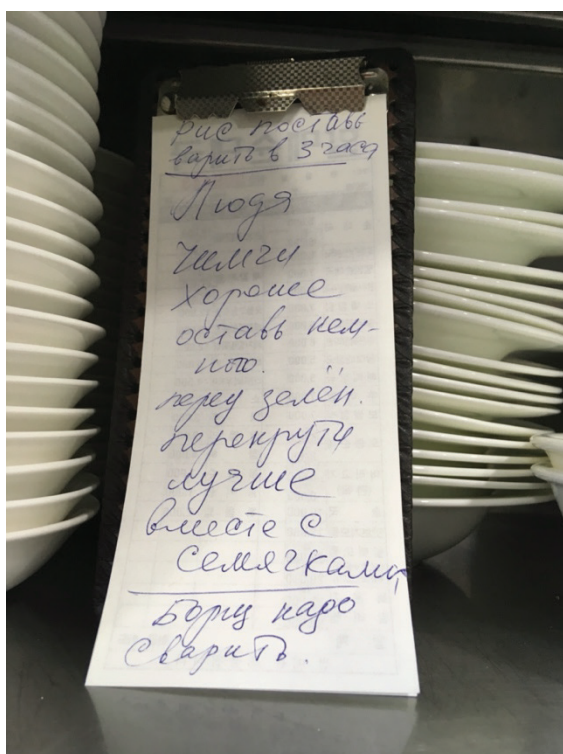


Figure 135: Written instructions for Ludmila's employee

The frozen action of writing these instructions is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – Russian language – gaze*. Ludmila used a pen and a notepad to write the instructions. The modes of gaze and Russian language are used at the same time as Ludmila was producing the text and writing in Russian. Once the instructions were written, Ludmila then placed this notepad on one of the shelves where it is visible through the modal aggregate of *object handling – proxemics – gaze*. The note was left leaning against a pile of plates at Luda's eye level.

The mode of Russian language was necessary for Ludmila to produce this note and communicate instructions to her employee. Ludmila's employer identity

element converges with the Russian language user identity element and together they form an **employer – Russian language user** identity compound.

Smart phone – calling a casual worker

As employer, Ludmila sometimes asks casual staff to assist with cooking and serving tables at banquets. As Ludmila is using her phone (see Figure 136: Calling her casual worker), she is producing an employer identity element. In this call, Ludmila is asking Galya, one of her casual staff, to come at a particular hour and mentions the tasks that are assigned to her.



Figure 136: Calling her casual worker

This identity element converges with Ludmila’s Russian language user identity forming an **employer – Russian language user** identity compound. The frozen action of making that call is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – Russian language mode*. The latter is used to communicate with the casual worker.

6.2.2.3 Passive/additional income planner

Health supplements – purchasing and keeping them at work

Ludmila explores various ways to generate other income in addition to running a restaurant and for when she eventually steps down. Among those options is her openness to multilevel marketing (henceforth MLM) and purchasing products through this type of business.

This identity element is being mediated by the health supplements that Ludmila purchased (see Figure 137: Ludmila's supplements) from an MLM representative with a view of getting involved in this business and receiving income from subscribers. Another frozen action embedded in these supplements is keeping them at work on the counter near front door. This frozen action is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling* – *gaze* – *proxemics*. Object handling mode applies to the three jars that Ludmila picks up and places on the counter. Gaze and proxemics are necessary for Ludmila to see them but also making sure they are not visible to others and placing them away from the clients' eyes.

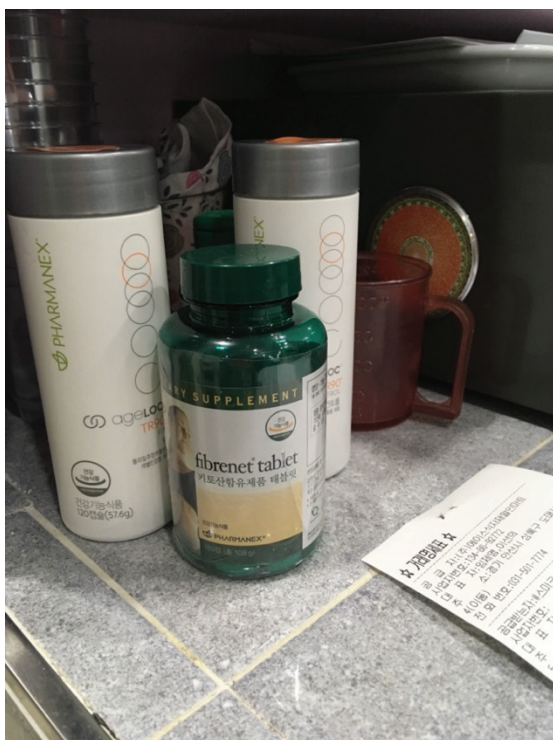


Figure 137: Ludmila's supplements

This identity element converges with Ludmila's health conscious identity element from the personal identity cluster (see further 6.2.5.1 Being health conscious). These supplements, thus, mediate Ludmila's *passive/additional income planner – health conscious* identity compound through multitude of frozen actions, particularly taking these supplements.

Poster – communicating new premises

Passive/additional income planner identity is also mediated by the poster that Ludmila displays (see Figure 138: One of Ludmila's commercial properties).

This poster embeds several frozen actions associated with her identity of an entrepreneur and a Russian language user: buying commercial property, changing premises, renting out the old building to another business, producing the poster, and attaching it to next to the front door.



Figure 138: One of Ludmila's commercial properties

Before becoming a commercial rental, the premises housed Ludmila's restaurant, which has since moved to a new location. The poster's text was produced by a *Russian language – Korean language – gaze – object handling*

modal aggregate. All these modes were used simultaneously as Ludmila composed the text.

The passive/additional income planner identity converges with several other identity elements from this and other clusters, such as Korean settler and ethnic identity. This convergence forms a *passive/additional income planner – business owner/entrepreneur – Korean language user – Russian language user* identity compound, which is mediated by the poster. Using mostly Russian and Korean, Ludmila communicates with current and prospective clientele who might not be aware of her new address. The text's production largely in Russian strongly suggests Ludmila's intended audience is the restaurant's clientele and fellow migrants from the former USSR, including Sakhalin Koreans for whom Russian is the first language. The passive/additional income planner identity element within this compound is produced through the actions of buying commercial property, renting it out to another business, and receiving additional income.

Ludmila's interest in property, as she explains in the interview, is motivated by her desire to have more time for herself and do things that she enjoys:

- (1184) Л: в Корее. Все хотят пробыться на третью.
(1185) Ю: мм
(1186) Л: но к... на рантье.
(1187) Ю: угу
(1188) Л: ну, иметь недвижимость, сдавать недвижимость. Там заводы иметь. Там или какие-то франшизы свои держать. Но в общем, твоего участия нет.
(1189) Ю: угу
(1190) Л: ты просто только это. Контр... ну как? даже и не контролируешь. Контролируют другие люди.
(1191) Ю: угу

- (1192) Л: да, вот. Если ты вот в этой третьей... ты до третьего не попал, то ты неудачник считается в Корее, серьезно. Ты сейчас это второй уровень это когда ты там не смог. Это не смог. А это ты не хочешь, пральна? И даже если хочешь, а ты уже по возрасту тебе не подо-- да 50 лет уже нигде тебя на работу не берут в Корее.
- (1193) Ю: угу, угу
- (1194) Л: да. Ты самое последнее делай, это таксовать и открыть ресторан.
- (1195) Ю: угу
- (1196) Л: в Корее.
- (1197) Ю: угу
- (1198) Л: поэтому они "не надо", и этим не гордишься. Потому что ты привязан к этому ресторану.
- (1199) Ю: угу
- (1200) Л: без тебя здесь у тебя ничего не двигается.
- (1201) Ю: угу
- (1202) Л: пральна?
- (1203) Ю: угу
- (1204) Л: а если тебе... а ты постоянно привязан, значит ты не можешь заниматься своими любимыми делами. Ты не можешь заниматься спортом, путешествовать.
- (1205) Ю: угу
- (1206) Л: пральна? И вот на данный момент я потихоньку. Я наверное, я уже становлюсь этим 한국사람 (прим: южнокореец). Может быть я этому хорошему учусь. Я сейчас иду. Потихоньку. Выхожу на вот этот третий уровень. Но покаместь в этом году я, говорю, первое это... Мои успехи, что я уже сдала одно помещение.
- (1207) Ю: угу
- (1208) Л: я в том году выкупила
- (1209) Ю: угу
- (1210) Л: летом.
- (1211) Ю: угу-угу
- (1212) Л: и в этом году я сдала. Вот... В аренду.
- (1213) Ю: угу
- (1214) Л: ну, я на этом не останавливаюсь. Я сейчас иду... Ну, сейчас присматриваю сейчас второе помещение. Да.
- (1215) Ю: т.е. вы дальше хотите?
- (1216) Л: да, хочу дальше, чтобы к 60 лет я была свободна. Да. Свободна и могла заниматься своими любимыми делами. На что я пожертвовала вот на это все. Свои годы самые лучшие. Хотя надо в лучшие годы путешествовать.

English translation:

- (1184) L: In Korea. Everyone wants to get to the third.
- (1185) Y: mm.
- (1186) L: But towards... as a landlord.
- (1187) Y: uh huh
- (1188) L: Like to have property, lease it. Have plants. Or own some franchises. So, without your participation.
- (1189) Y: uh huh
- (1190) L: you just... Contr... Well now? Not even control. Other people do it.
- (1191) Y: uh huh
- (1192) L: Yeah, so. If you're on the third... If you haven't reached the third, you're a loser, it's like that in Korea, really. You're on the second, when you weren't able to. You couldn't. And you don't want it, right? Even if you do, but your age isn't suit--. When you're 50, no one hires you in Korea.
- (1193) Y: uh huh, uh huh
- (1194) L: yes. So the last thing you do is, taxi or open a restaurant.
- (1195) Y: uh huh
- (1196) L: in Korea
- (1197) Y: uh huh
- (1198) L: so they say "don't", and you aren't proud of it. Because you're stuck to this restaurant.
- (1199) Y: uh huh
- (1200) L: without you nothing moves
- (1201) Y: uh huh
- (1202) L: right?
- (1203) Y: uh huh
- (1204) L: and if you... and you're constantly tied to it, you can't do your favourite things. You can't do sports, travel.
- (1205) Y: uh huh
- (1206) L: right? And so currently I'm gradually. Maybe, I'm becoming like a 한국사람 [note: a South Korean]. Perhaps I'm learning this good stuff. I'm moving. Gradually. Entering this third level. But so far this year, I'm telling you, firstly... My achievement is that I've already rented out one property.
- (1207) Y: uh huh
- (1208) L: I bought it last year
- (1209) Y: uh huh
- (1210) L: in summer
- (1211) Y: uh huh, uh huh
- (1212) L: and this year I've rented it out. Leased.
- (1213) Y: uh huh

- (1214) L: But I'm not stopping there. I keep going... Well, I'm looking at the second property now. Yeah.
- (1215) Y: so you'd like to continue?
- (1216) L: Yes, I want more so that by the time I'm 60 I'm free. Yes. Free and can occupy myself with favourite things. Which I sacrificed everything for. My best years. Although it's during those best years one has to travel.

6.2.3 Korean settler identity

Production of this cluster's identity elements (see Table 17: ID Matrix - Ludmila) and relevant mediated actions is anchored in Ludmila's permanent settlement in South Korea. There is a high degree of convergence with the elements from other clusters, such as family, occupational, and ethnic cultural identity (see Table 18: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Ludmila).

6.2.3.1 Korean language user

The menu, business cards, a poster, South Korean food and takeaway coffee, and certificate – using Korean language

Several objects mediate Ludmila's Korean language user identity element. The menu (see Figure 129: Smak menu), her business cards (see Figure 132: Branding and Figure 139: Ludmila's business card), and a poster (see Figure 138: One of Ludmila's commercial properties) – all feature Ludmila's use of Korean.

The analysis of frozen actions embedded in these objects shows that Ludmila's Korean language user identity element converges with other identity elements, forming distinct compounds. In the case of the menu and business cards, this is a **business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language – Korean language identity** compound, which consists of identity elements from the occupational,

Korean settler, and ethnic and cultural identity clusters. The poster also mediates an inter-cluster compound of **passive/additional income planner – business owner/entrepreneur – Korean language user – Russian language**.

In each of these objects and identity compounds, however, Ludmila's use of Korean is selective. For example, business cards only include her Korean name and address. As noted previously, the menu features limited use of Korean since the restaurant's core clientele are not South Korean. Similarly, the poster only includes the address of the new premises, which suggests its intended readers are primarily Russian speakers.

Ludmila uses the mode of Korean language in other instances: when ordering food and drinks at local cafes and eateries and completing a barista course. For example, when consuming South Korean food, she produces a **Korean language user – consumer of South Korean food – wife** identity compound (see further 6.2.3.6 Consumer of South Korean food). Similarly, Ludmila's Korean language user identity element is part of a **Korean language user – coffee drinker** identity compound (see further 6.2.5.2 Coffee drinker). Finally, the certificate from barista course she attended in 2015 (see Figure 126: Barista training certificate) mediates her **business owner/entrepreneur – Korean language user – coffee drinker** identity compound. In these instances, Korean language user identity converges with elements from other clusters: family for lunch, personal identity for the takeaway coffee, and both occupational and personal for the barista training certificate.

In personal communication outside the restaurant, as observed during fieldwork, Ludmila displays a high level of fluency and mastery of this mode. She produces her Korean language user identity element through daily communication with her husband, some family members, and others in public. Ludmila's acquisition of Korean language literacy and mastery of this mode began after she moved to South Korea. During an interview, she shared her experience of learning Korean in South Korea:

- (555) Ю: а вот вам как в плане языка? Вот, вы... У вас все-таки сахалинский диалект больше.
- (556) Л: если честно, я когда приехала сюда, я ни одного слова не знала. Я только понимала.
- (557) Ю: угу
- (558) Л: но в семье-то мама, бабушка, они все-то по-корейски разговаривали. Но я-то слышала, я все понимала. Но я совершенно не разговаривала. Да.
- (559) Ю: а как вот вы начали изучать? С чего вы начинали?
- (560) Л: с чего я начала? Всего я начала с того, что во-первых на рынок я стала ходить. На рынок идешь, там же ты не будешь по-русски, да, разговаривать. А это ежедневно...
- (561) Ю: ну
- (562) Л: ну, хотя бы с того, что. 얼마예요? (по-корейски: сколько стоит?) И пошло, и поехало. И дальше-дальше, потихоньку. Потом, так получилось. Я говорила, что у меня второй этаж и все вторые этажи были кафе-шопы.
- (563) Ю: угу
- (564) Л: и приходили все корейцы чай пить.
- (565) Ю: угу
- (566) Л: ну, кофе пить. Ну и так как они приходят, они говорят, «о это 러시아, 러시아 (по-корейски: Россия, Россия), ресторан, да»? И это. И им интересно.
- (567) Ю: угу
- (568) Л: Да. Кто хозяйка? Пообщаться. И вот я с ними садилась, да. И с ними и разговаривала.
- (569) Ю: угу
- (570) Л: ну, у меня тогда повара, официанты были. Но че мне делать? И я это с гостями общалась, и в общении я потихоньку-потихоньку стала учиться. Научилась г-- говорить. Но при этом. Я хоть, у меня акцент и сейчас тоже неважный. А тогда еще был похлеще.
- (571) Ю: да?

- (572) Л: но. И мне вот нравятся корейцы, они. У них такого нету. Ну, как?
Смеяться над тем, что неправильно там сказал.
- (573) Ю: ага, ага
- (574) Л: да. Они даже и не поправляют. Они все понимают. (смеется)
- (575) Ю: хм (улыбаемся)
- (576) Л: у них нет там, «ты неправильно сказал там. Не так говорят. А вот надо так говорить». Не учат.
- (577) Ю: угу, угу
- (578) Л: они даже так умиляются, смеются. А я еще люблю. Еще я сам человек такой по себе, немножко это, с юмором. И всегда по-корейски, так, стараюсь, в юморе говорить (смеется)
- (579) Ю: (тоже смеюсь)
- (580) Л: восполняю свой недостаток.
- (581) (сеемся вместе)
- (582) Л: чтоб поинтереснее было.
- (583) Ю: а
- (584) Л: ну, они конечно такие довольные все. Я так потихоньку-потихоньку подтянула
- (585) Ю: угу
- (586) Л: подтянула. А учить буквы я начала с первого дня сразу же как приехала. Но там, ну. Как эту. Книжку взяла. Сама. Самостоятельно. Тогда никаких этих не было, курсов, ничего. Сама, самостоятельно всё взяла эту книгу. И там всё, раскладка была. Алфавит выучить было легко.
- (587) Ю: угу
- (588) Л: потом идешь в магазин, читаешь: а вот, 감자 (по-корейски: картофель).
Ага, вон 양파 (по-корейски: лук), да?
- (589) Ю: угу
- (590) Л: ну. Ах ты это, вот, 빵 (по-корейски: хлеб). Всё знаешь. А потом уже два-три слова. Ну и вот так.
- (591) Ю: а как... А книжку где вы купили?
- (592) Л: книжка была у родителей. Ну, всякие словари там, да.
- (593) Ю: т.е. у них были русско-корейские словари.
- (594) Л: конечно. Они привезли, это самое. И причем они были с Кореи. Там было написано автор Северной Кореи (смеется)
- (595) Ю: северокореец (сеемся вместе)
- (...)
- (602) Л: вот так мы выучили. А там уже и Петр.
- (603) Ю: вы тут с ним? Интересно, вы говорите с ним по-корейски? Он конечно молодец в том плане, что он русский немножечко подучил.

(604) Л: да, я ему говорю по-корейски, а он мне отвечает даже на русском.

English translation:

(555) Y: how is it for you in terms of language? So, you... You've got still more of a Sakhalin dialect.

(556) L: to be honest, when I came here, I didn't know a word. I could only understand.

(557) Y: uh huh

(558) L: but in family, mum, grandmother, they all spoke Korean. But I heard, I understood everything. But I didn't speak at all. Yes.

(559) Y: And how did you start learning it? What did you begin with?

(560) L: What I began with? I only started first of all by going to a market. You go to the market and you won't speak Russian there, right? And it was daily...

(561) Ю: ну Y: yeah

(562) L: Well at least from. 얼마예요? [Korean: how much is it?] And then it went on and on. And then onwards, slowly. Then it was like that. I told you I had the second floor and all second floors were coffee shops.

(563) Y: uh huh

(564) L: and all South Koreans came to drink tea.

(565) Y: uh huh

(566) L: well, to drink coffee. And when they come, they say, "oh it's 러시아, 러시아 [Korean: Russia, Russia] restaurant, right?" And so. And they were interested.

(567) Y: uh huh

(568) L: Yes. Who's the owner? For a chat. And so I would sit down with them, yeah. And would talk to them.

(569) Y: uh huh

(570) L: well, back then I had cooks, waiters. And what did I have to do? I was chatting with the guests and through conversations, slowly-slowly I started to learn. Learned how to s--. Speak. But at the same time. Even though, I had an accent and now it's also not ideal. But back then it was worse.

(571) Y: yeah?

(572) L: but. I like Koreans that way. They. There's no such thing. Well, like? Laughing when someone said something incorrectly.

(573) Y: uh huh, uh huh

(574) L: yes. They even don't correct you. They understand. [laughs]

(575) Y: hm [smile together]

(576) L: they don't have it, like "you didn't say it correctly. We don't say it like that. You have to say it like this." They don't teach.

(577) Y: uh huh, uh huh

- (578) L: They even get so touched, laugh. And I also love. I'm also a kind of person with a bit of humour. And always try in Korean, so I try to speak with a humour [laughs]
- (579) Y: [also laugh]
- (580) L: compensating my flaw
- (581) [laughing together]
- (582) L: so it's more interesting
- (583) Y: ah
- (584) L: well, they are all of course content. This way I slowly-slowly improved.
- (585) Y: uh huh
- (586) L: improved. But I started learning letters right from the first day of arrival. But then, well. What's it. Took the book. Myself. On my own. Then there were no such courses, nothing. Myself, on my own, took that book. And it had it all, an explanation. It was easy to pick up an alphabet.
- (587) Y: uh huh
- (588) L: then you go to a shop and read: oh here's 감자 [Korean: potato]. Uh huh, and that is 양파 [Korean: onion], right?
- (589) Y: uh huh
- (590) L: well. Ah, and you there, that's 빵 [Korean: bread]. You know everything. And then two-three words. So like that.
- (591) Y: and how... Where did you buy the book?
- (592) L: my parents had it. Also different dictionaries there, yeah.
- (593) Y: so they had Russian-Korean dictionaries.
- (594) L: of course. They like brought them. And what's more, they are from Korea. It was written that the author is from North Korea [laughs]
- (595) Y: a North Korean [laughing together]
- (...)
- (605) L: so that's how we learned. And then there was Peter.
- (606) Y: with him here? Interesting, you speak Korean with him? Definitely good on him for picking up some Russian.
- (607) L: yes, I speak Korean to him and he even responds to me in Russian.

6.2.3.2 Korean name bearer

Business card – using Korean name

Ludmila's legal name is Korean, though it is only used on certain occasions: privately by her mother, on legal documents, and for business. As shown in

Figure 139: Ludmila's business card and Figure 132: Branding, the business card a few frozen actions are embedded. One of these actions is providing the details to the designer for the cards to be produced and printed, which involved the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Korean language – Russian language – English language*.



Figure 139: Ludmila's business card

Ludmila's business cards feature her names in three different languages with her Korean name is written in the Korean script and also transliterated into English. Ludmila's Korean name bearer identity converges with several other elements, forming a sizeable ***Korean name bearer – Russian name bearer – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user – Korean language user*** identity compound that connects different clusters. Ludmila's use of Korean name alongside her Russian name is explained later in the chapter (see sub-section 6.2.4.4 Sakhalin Korean).

Ludmila's use of Korean on her print is quite selective primarily due to her restaurant's clientele. The decision to include her Korean name on the business card is a higher-level action nested within her permanent settlement in South Korea, where using a Korean name is appropriate. Ludmila's Korean name,

thus, serves as a mediational means/cultural tool through which she enacts her Korean name bearer identity element. Her business card is an example of how a less tangible mediational means/cultural tool materialises and enables production of a Korean settler identity cluster.

6.2.3.3 Supporter of local initiatives

Bar stools – buying them at a charity shop

Ludmila produces this identity element by purchasing goods at local charity shops. One such purchase is a couple of barstools that she has in the kitchen and her husband's bar behind the counter (see Figure 140: Barstools from a charity shop). As Ludmila shared in one of our conversations during fieldwork, she appreciates that the money raised from sale of such goods goes towards the disabled and other people in need in the community.



Figure 140: Barstools from a charity shop

The frozen actions that are embedded in these barstools mediate Ludmila's identity as a the supporter of local initiatives and a business

owner/entrepreneur. By performing these mediated actions, these identity elements converge to form a **supporter of local initiatives – business owner/entrepreneur** identity compound. This convergence connects two clusters: Korean settler and occupational identity.

6.2.3.4 Supporter of other settlers from the former USSR

Business cards – promoting other migrant businesses

Ludmila supports fellow migrants' entrepreneurship by displaying their business cards on the counter next to hers (see Figure 141: Advertising other people's businesses).



Figure 141: Advertising other people's businesses

Placing these business cards on the counter is a frozen action nested within a larger in scale higher-level action of supporting other migrant businesses. The frozen action is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – proxemics – gaze*. Object handling refers to the business cards of other migrants' businesses. The mode of proxemics is utilised in relation to the counter and Ludmila's business cards. Gaze is used to see where the cards were placed. Because the counter a highly visible area where customers place orders and make payments, these business cards will likely be noticed and taken.

A space for the document service station – supporting settlement

This identity element is also produced by having a dedicated space for a document drop-off service near lockers (see Figure 142: Document service station). In that corner, by the lockers, Ludmila has a printer/copier, some stationery, information leaflets, and a drop box where documents can be submitted.



Figure 142: Document service station

The rationale for allowing a local company to offer this service next to Ludmila's business is that most patrons of Ludmila's restaurant are Russian-speaking migrants, including Sakhalin Koreans. Upon arriving in South Korea, these patrons may need to apply for various documents, such as driver licence translation, birth and marriage registrations or passports. The frozen action of choosing and allowing space for this service is produced by the modal aggregate of *proxemics – gaze*. Both proxemics and gaze were used to determine the most appropriate and visible location for the equipment and leaflets.

This identity element converges with the two others, forming an inter-cluster compound: **business owner/entrepreneur – supporter of other settlers from**

the former USSR – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community. This document service and the space that Ludmila provides to another company mediate these three converged identity elements, as the service is on her premises and is aimed at Russian speakers and citizens residing in South Korea, including Sakhalin Koreans.

6.2.3.5 Supporter of Sakhalin Korean community

Sundae – getting community members involved



Figure 143: Making sundae

One of foods that Ludmila sells and serves for banquets is *sundae* (순대), a Korean blood sausage (see Figure 143: Making sundae). The sausage is made at the restaurant with the help of elderly Sakhalin Korean women, including Ludmila's mother, who all live nearby in the Sakhalin Korean settlement village in Ansan. For these elderly women, making *sundae* is a social pastime and an opportunity to feel useful. After a few hours of work, Ludmila serves a light lunch, followed by tea and pastries.

Sundae making is a large scale higher level action that nests several smaller in scale frozen actions and involves more than one object, all of which mediate an inter-cluster identity compound (see Figure 125: Ludmila socialising with her family and her mother's friends after sausage making). The sausage that Ludmila and the elderly Sakhalin Korean women made mediates the same identity compound: ***daughter – Russian language user – Korean language user – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community – business owner/entrepreneur***. While making the sausage, Ludmila (inter)acts with her mother and the other women using both Russian and Korean languages. This process supports them by creating a social space while also fulfilling a business goal of producing a product that will be served at the restaurant and sold separately to customers. Just as the lunch that she serves is a complex mediational means/cultural tool, so is the handmade sausage that mediates this inter-cluster identity compound.

6.2.3.6 Consumer of South Korean food

Local food – eating out

This identity element is produced through Ludmila's consumption of South Korean food at local cafes and eateries. She usually eats out with her husband Peter during lunch time just before coming to work at the restaurant. The dishes that Ludmila orders and eats (see Figure 144: South Korean food), are similar to Sakhalin Korean meals – with rice, soup, protein, and sides – though there are differences in taste, texture, ingredients, and the way some dishes are prepared.



Figure 144: South Korean food

This food embeds several frozen actions: going to a local eatery in Ansan, reading the menu, communicating with her husband in Korean about the order, and eating the food together. These are large scale frozen higher level actions that involve multiple mediational means/cultural tools. A family car, for instance, was used to get to the eatery, while the order was mediated by the menu, Korean language, object handling, and gaze. Consumption is produced through several chains of higher- and lower-level actions embedded in the food and cutlery. Thus, as Ludmila produces her identity element of a consumer of South Korean food, it converges with at least two other identity elements: Korean language user and a wife to form in inter-cluster identity compound of ***consumer of South Korean food – Korean language – wife.***

Korean cutlery – using it

The chopsticks Ludmila uses in local restaurants are different from what is used in most Sakhalin Korean homes. The chopsticks in South Korean eateries and restaurants are flat and made of stainless steel; they tend to be heavier (see Figure 145: Korean cutlery). Despite these differences in shape, material and weight, Ludmila uses them confidently and with ease (see Figure 144: South Korean food).



Figure 145: Korean cutlery

Korean tablespoons (see Figure 145: Korean cutlery) also differ from Western spoons (see Figure 149: Cutlery at Smak restaurant) as they are longer to make eating shared soups and stews easier (see Figure 144: South Korean food).

The frozen action of using South Korean cutlery is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. Through the mode of object handling, Ludmila demonstrates mastery of the cutlery despite differences in shape, weight, and material. As Korean meals typically include shared side dishes, the distance between them and a person's rice bowl can make the chopstick use

challenging. However, Ludmila operates them skilfully and just as confidently as what most Sakhalin Koreans have in their homes.

6.2.4 Ethnic and cultural identity

This cluster consists of Russian and Sakhalin Korean elements. In the South Korean context, Ludmila produces a Sakhalin Korean identity that is an amalgam of Russian and uniquely Sakhalin Korean ways of being. She does this through Russian language, her Russian name, and by making and serving Russian dishes alongside the Sakhalin Korean ones. The latter are prepared differently to the South Korean meals to suit her clientele's age and preferences. As Ludmila produces the identity elements of this cluster, they converge with elements from other clusters forming inter-cluster identity compounds as shown in Table 18: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Ludmila.

6.2.4.1 Russian language user

Notes, print notices, menu, party supplies, consumables, labels, smartphone, money tree, and prayer – using Russian language

In South Korea, Ludmila continues using Russian in everyday life and thus produces a distinct Russian language user identity element, which forms part of several identity compounds. The Russian language user identity converges with Ludmila's business owner/entrepreneur identity element, which is mediated by such objects and their embedded frozen actions as a calendar (see Figure 127: Bookings for Ludmila's restaurant), a printed notice (see Figure 131: Notice for the patrons), ordered party supplies (see Figure 128: Party supplies), a menu (Figure 129: Smak menu), various consumables (see Figure 132: Branding),

and a social media post created on her smartphone (see Figure 133: Advertising the restaurant on social media). As Ludmila (inter)acts with these objects, she produces a ***business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user*** identity compound. In the case of the money tree and prayer (see further 6.2.5.3 Being spiritual/superstitious), the Russian language user identity element converges with her business owner/entrepreneur and being superstitious/spiritual identity elements, forming a ***business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language – being spiritual/superstitious*** identity compound.

Ludmila produces a ***daughter – Russian language user – Korean language user – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community – business owner/entrepreneur*** identity compound through the sundae (see Figure 143: Making sundae) and lunch (see Figure 125: Ludmila socialising with her family and her mother's friends after sausage making) that she served to her mother and the elderly Sakhalin Korean women who live in the same neighbourhood. Ludmila's Russian language user identity element is produced through the mode of Russian language that she uses to communicate with her family and the Sakhalin Korean migrants she (inter)acts with at the restaurant. This converged structure links four clusters: family, occupational identity, Korean settler, and ethnic and cultural identity.

Ludmila's Russian language user identity element converges with her employer identity when she gives instructions to her kitchenhand (see Figure 135: Written instructions for Ludmila's employee) and makes a phone call (see Figure 136: Calling her casual worker). Another example of is the labels that Ludmila

attaches to objects with a Russian description (see Figure 146: Labelling objects). For instance, she marks a sugar tub in the kitchen and light switches for herself and staff for whom Russian is the main language.



Figure 146: Labelling objects

Because salt and sugar are stored in the same containers and are not easily distinguishable, gaze alone is not sufficient to tell them apart. Ludmila labelled one jar using the modal aggregate of *Russian language – object handling – gaze*. A similar frozen action was performed for the light switches, which all look the same but control different lights. After the lighting was installed, Ludmila labelled each button using the same modal aggregate. Although initially this was done for herself, her staff also use the labels. Thus, through the mode of Russian language and the frozen actions embedded in these objects, two identity elements converge to form an **employer – Russian language user** identity compound that links occupational and ethnic and cultural identity clusters.

This identity element also converges with others in several instances. For example, Ludmila uses her Russian name on social media and (inter)acts in Russian with patrons of her restaurant and members of the Sakhalin Korean diaspora in Ansan. Through these actions she produces identity compounds that link this cluster with the occupational, family, and personal clusters. The

mode of Russian language that Ludmila uses in her (inter)actions is significant across the entire dataset.

6.2.4.2 Russian name bearer

Russian name – using it in daily life

Although Ludmila's Russian name is not legal, it is used frequently in both private and public settings. It is included on her business cards (see Figure 139: Ludmila's business card and Figure 132: Branding) and also is used on social media to advertise her business to a wider migrant community in South Korea (see Figure 133: Advertising the restaurant on social media).

Like many Sakhalin Koreans with an official Korean name, Ludmila adopted a Russian first name that she uses together with a patronymic name¹⁸, i.e. Ludmila Vladimirovna. While patronymic names are not common among Koreans, it is a form of cultural practice for referring to people in formal and semi-official contexts when they are not close. Ludmila chose to form her patronymic using her father's Russian first name instead of his Korean name. This, broadly, ethnic identity is produced through name stylisation that has taken material forms: business cards and social media.

The frozen action of using her Russian name on social media is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. Both her business cards and social media account have Ludmila's Russian

¹⁸ A patronymic name among Russian citizens and those from the former USSR is a derivative of a child's father's first name with a gender-based suffix. In Ludmila's case, her patronymic ends with -ovna. A masculine form would have the suffix -ovich (Vladimirovich).

name written in Russian/Cyrillic script, transliterated version. Having several names is common among many Sakhalin Koreans (see also sub-section 6.2.4.4 Sakhalin Korean). This identity element, thus, converges with the Russian language user identity element, forming a ***Russian name bearer – Russian language user – Sakhalin Korean*** identity compound.

6.2.4.3 Russian food maker

Russian food – making and serving it

This identity element converges with Ludmila’s business owner/entrepreneur identity element, forming an inter-cluster compound. She positions her business as a Russian restaurant where patrons can expect to be served Russian food (see Figure 139: Ludmila's business card). Although the origins of these dishes can be contested (see some salads and cold appetisers in Figure 148: Entrees), the food Ludmila makes is what people in Russia commonly eat at home or in cafes and eateries. One of the dishes that she always has available is пельмени/pelmeni: a dumpling-like dish with meat filling, which is popular across Russia and the former USSR (see Figure 147: Pelmeni).



Figure 147: Pelmeni

Besides being on the à la carte menu, Ludmila also sells frozen pelmeni to clients who wish to cook them at home. Once the pelmeni are made, she places them on trays for freezing, then portions them into plastic bags for storage in the freezers.

Making and serving pelmeni are actions produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. The object handling mode applies the handmaking process, ingredients, and kitchen utensils and trays. Gaze is used to determine the amount of filling, and when placing pelmeni on a tray or in plastic bags.

Other than this modal aggregate, pelmeni making also involves the mode of taste. Ludmila relies on it to select ingredients and their amounts, affecting the dish's texture, flavour, and readiness.

Ludmila's Russian food maker identity converges with her identity as a Sakhalin Korean and business owner/entrepreneur. Her ***Russian food maker – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur*** identity compound is mediated by a combination of food (see Figure 148: Entrees) that she serves at the restaurant. This food combination embeds several frozen actions, including preparing each dish and then placing them on tables to create a mix of Russian and Sakhalin Korean dishes. The placement of dishes is a frozen action embedded in a larger in scale higher level action of serving food to the clients. This frozen action produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – proxemics – gaze*. Russian dishes appearing alongside Sakhalin Korean food at banquets is an example of how this identity compound is produced.

6.2.4.4 Sakhalin Korean

Food – cooking and serving it

The food Ludmila cooks and serves is particularly telling of her Sakhalin Korean identity element, which converges with her business owner/entrepreneur identity element. Sakhalin Korean food features a combination of Russian and Korean dishes (see Figure 148: Entrees), and an adjustment of some dishes either due to the absence of some ingredients, to achieve a certain flavour and/or to accommodate her clientele.



Figure 148: Entrees

As shown in Figure 148: Entrees, the food is a combination of Russian/Western and Korean dishes that are consumed at the same time. This is particularly evident at banquets and special events. For example, the first course includes Russian and Western cold sides and entrees like холодец/holodets, винегрет/vinaigrette and мимоза/mimosa salads, served alongside Korean dishes such as 김치/kimchi, 고사리/gosari, and 묵/mug. This combination embeds several frozen actions, including serving these meals together, which Ludmila produces through the *object handling – proxemics – gaze modal* aggregate.

As previously explained, one example of adjustment is the Caesar salad dressing, in which Ludmila replaces Grana Padano with a different cheese with less intense flavour and smell (see Figure 124: Grana Padano cheese). She uses the modes of smell, taste, and gaze to adjust the recipe in accordance with her clientele's preferences. Another of example of adjustment is cutting the stems of 고사리/gosari (fern brake) to make this dish easier to eat (see Figure 130: Gosari/fern brake dish), as well as using a different kind of fern than 고비 (gobi), which is widely available on Sakhalin.

Other than using different ingredients, Ludmila also fuses both cuisines, a notable example of which is пельмени/pelmeni (see Figure 147: Pelmeni). Sometimes she makes a separate batch with 김치/kimchi filling, which is popular among many Sakhalin Koreans. Using the modes of taste and smell, Ludmila is aware that not all patrons like pelmeni with kimchi, so she separates this batch from the rest. This fusion is an example of how her Russian food maker identity element converges with her Sakhalin Korean identity and business owner/entrepreneur identities, forming a **Russian food maker – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur** identity compound.

Suitable cutlery – making it available

Cutlery is another mediational means/cultural tool that Ludmila uses in her production of **Sakhalin Korean – Russian food maker – business owner/entrepreneur** identity compound. At her restaurant, Ludmila offers a combination of utensils for her clientele (see Figure 149: Cutlery at Smak restaurant). Making this cutlery available and putting it on the tables is a frozen

action nested within the larger-in-scale higher level action of serving a combination of meals. The shape of Ludmila's cutlery is different to what is used in South Korean eateries and restaurants (see Figure 145: Korean cutlery).



Figure 149: Cutlery at Smak restaurant

At Smak Ludmila includes a fork for Western and Russian dishes. The tablespoon's handle shorter and has larger bowl compared to a Korean one, which has a longer handle and smaller bowl (see Figure 145: Korean cutlery). The chopsticks at Smak, although also stainless steel, are round and shallow, making them lighter than common Korean chopsticks (see Figure 145: Korean cutlery). The shape of the chopsticks that Ludmila uses at Smak is similar to those found in Sakhalin Korean homes.

Ludmila's choice to make this cutlery available is driven by the type of dishes she serves. Ludmila relies on her own mastery and appropriation of forks, spoons, and chopsticks for consuming this food. These actions are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*, which applies to both

the cutlery and the food. For example, a мимоза/mimosa salad is usually eaten with a fork, whereas kimchi would be picked up using chopsticks.

Mostly Russian and some Korean – using them in daily communication

The Sakhalin Korean identity element is also mediated by a mixture of Russian and Korean languages that Ludmila uses in her (inter)actions. These languages take material forms through a multitude of frozen actions embedded in various objects. In each of these (inter)actions, the modes of Russian and/or Korean language are present, as seen in the examples of a calendar (see Figure 127: Bookings for Ludmila's restaurant), party supplies (see Figure 128: Party supplies), the menu (see Figure 129: Smak menu), a notice for the patrons (see Figure 131: Notice for the patrons), consumables (see Figure 132: Branding), a social media post (see Figure 133: Advertising the restaurant on social media), a list of dishes for an event (see Figure 134: Set menu), a note with instructions for her employee (see Figure 135: Written instructions for Ludmila's employee), a poster (see Figure 138: One of Ludmila's commercial properties), and the text of a prayer (see Figure 152: Prayer). Each of these objects also serves as an example of how Russian language user and Korean language user identity elements converge with other identity elements to form inter-cluster identity compounds.

Russian and Korean names – having more than one name

It is common for many Sakhalin Koreans to have more than one given name, or a name that follows Russian stylisation, including a patronymic. While Ludmila's legal name is Korean, but she opts to use her adopted Russian name in most

contexts, especially among friends, family, co-workers, and clientele. Her legal name is only used when required, typically in formal contexts.

The presence and use of Ludmila's two names are a complex mediational means/cultural tools through which she produces her Sakhalin Korean identity element. On her business card (see Figure 139: Ludmila's business card), which features both names, this identity element converges with others, as explained earlier. This forms a sizeable ***Korean name bearer – Russian name bearer – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user – Korean language user*** identity compound. This inter-cluster identity compound links occupational, Korean settler, and ethnic and cultural identity clusters.

6.2.5 Personal identity

6.2.5.1 *Being health conscious*

Health supplements – taking them

On the counter, Ludmila keeps supplements that she regularly takes for weight management, appetite control, and fibre maintenance. Her identity of a health conscious person converges with the passive/additional income planner identity element (see sub-section 6.2.2.3 Passive/additional income planner and Figure 137: Ludmila's supplements) through a frozen action embedded in these supplements: buying them from an MLM business with the prospect of starting one herself. Regularly taking these supplements is an action that mediates Ludmila's health concerns, while the supplements themselves also mediate the production of a passive/additional income planner identity element. Thus,

through several frozen actions Ludmila produces a ***being health conscious – passive/additional income planner*** identity compound.

6.2.5.2 Coffee drinker

Coffee – buying it at coffeeshops

Ludmila enjoys coffee and sometimes buys it at local coffeeshops before work or while shopping for supplies (see Figure 150: Buying and drinking a takeaway coffee).



Figure 150: Buying and drinking a takeaway coffee

The frozen action of buying coffee at a local café is produced by several chains of higher- and lower-level actions, which involve the modal aggregate of *Korean language – gaze* that she uses to read the menu and place an order. Ludmila also relies on the mode of taste to decide on her coffee, as well as the mode of object handling to collect and carry her cup. This takeaway coffee mediates Ludmila's ***coffee drinker – Korean language user*** identity compound, as these two identity elements converge when she orders in Korean. This is an example of inter-cluster convergence, mediating Ludmila's Korean settler and personal identity.

Coffee – making it herself

This identity element is also mediated by coffee that Ludmila makes herself at work (see sub-section 6.2.1.1 Wife and Figure 123: Making coffee in the kitchen). She uses instant coffee since she does not have an espresso machine. The coffee she makes herself is produced through the modal aggregates of *object handling – gaze* and *gaze – taste* as explained earlier.

This coffee mediates a **wife – employer – coffee drinker** identity compound, which consists of three identity elements that link Ludmila's family, occupational, and personal identity clusters.

Certificates – learning how to make coffee

This identity element is also found in Ludmila's barista certificate (see 6.2.2.1 Business owner/entrepreneur and Figure 126: Barista training certificate), which she displays at her restaurant next to other certificates and licences. Coffee making is a professional skill that Ludmila learned at a barista training course. As mentioned earlier, this object mediates her **business owner/entrepreneur – Korean language user – coffee drinker** identity compound. In this compound, all three identity elements that Ludmila produces are necessary: her interest in professional development, her mastery of Korean, and an appreciation of coffee.

6.2.5.3 Being spiritual/superstitious

Although Ludmila is not a religious person, she has several items in her restaurant through which she produces a spiritual/superstitious person identity. These items include a money tree and a printed prayer. Both objects mediate more than one identity element, as I explain below.

Money tree – receiving it as a gift and displaying it



Figure 151: Money tree

The money tree, a gift from a client, hangs near the kitchen door (see Figure 151: Money tree). It has become a collection of bank notes from various countries that clients bring to Ludmila. As she shared during fieldwork, Ludmila believes the money tree attracts wealth and brings luck.

Receiving the tree and bank notes is an action that Ludmila produces through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. As this frozen action is usually preceded by an (inter)action with clients in Russian, the mode of Russian language is also implicated in the frozen actions these objects embed. Thus,

receiving these souvenirs, communicating in Russian, and displaying the money tree are actions that enable convergence of this identity element. The money tree, therefore, mediates a **business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language – being superstitious/spiritual** identity compound, which connects Ludmila’s occupational, ethnic and cultural, and personal identity clusters.

Prayer – printing it and (inter)acting with it at the counter

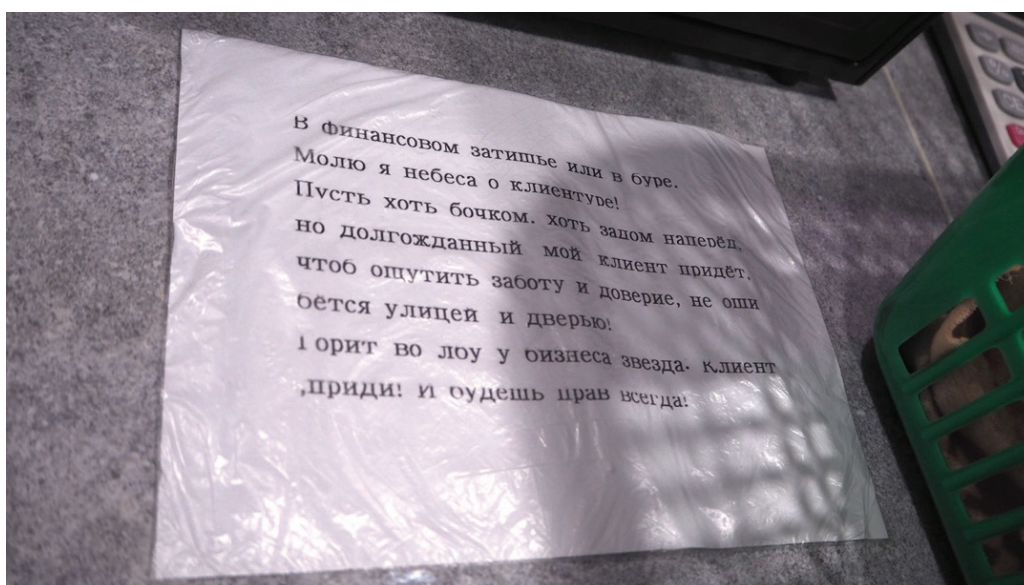


Figure 152: Prayer

A printed, poem-like prayer is another object through which Ludmila produces her identity of a spiritual/superstitious person (see Figure 152: Prayer). She keeps it inside a clear file to avoid damage and accidental spills and places it on the counter where she processes clients’ bills. The prayer’s text is in Russian and its content is an appeal to potential clients, who are expected and appreciated.

The prayer embeds several frozen actions, including reading the text, printing it and putting the document into a clear file, as well as attaching it to the counter. The first action involve a modal aggregate of *gaze – Russian language*, which

also supported by the mode of object handling. Attaching the filed prayer to the counter is produced through the modal aggregate of *proxemics – object handling – Russian language*. Gaze and proxemics are used to determine a suitable, private spot that remains visible to Ludmila behind the counter. Object handling applies to the document, clear file, and tape. The subsequent frozen actions are Ludmila's (inter)actions with the prayer when she stands near the counter, sees and reads it.

This prayer mediates a ***being spiritual/superstitious – Russian language user – business owner/entrepreneur*** identity compound, which links personal, ethnic and cultural, and occupational clusters. These three identity elements converge through the mode of Russian language that Ludmila uses to (inter)act with this prayer, as well as proxemics that enables its physical closeness to the area where she (inter)acts with clients and processes payments. The spirituality/superstitious identity is mediated by Ludmila's reading of this prayer.

6.3 Sasha's identity

Sasha's identity is produced across five clusters: family, occupational, ethnic and cultural, Korean settler, and personal (see the table below).

Table 19: ID Matrix - Sasha

IDENTITY ELEMENTS	IDENTITY CLUSTERS				
	Family	Occupational	Ethnic & cultural	Korean settler	Personal
Son	x				
High school student		x			
University applicant		x			
English language user		x			
Korean language learner				x	
Russian language user			x		
Russian food consumer			x		
Russian name bearer			x		
Gamer					x
Friend					x
Multi-tasker					x

Sasha's family identity cluster is anchored in his relationship with parents which is produced as part of his son identity element. Occupational identity cluster links Sasha's identity elements that relate to his current and future studies. His life in South Korea is a large scale higher level action that mediates several identity elements associated with Korean language, food, and name. Sasha's ethnic and cultural identity is maintained through Russian and Sakhalin Korean mediational means that connect him to his birthplace and hometown. And finally, personal identity cluster is anchored in Sasha's personal interests and preferences.

As Sasha (inter)acts with various mediational means, his identity elements converge and form identity compounds that either link identity elements within the same or across different clusters (see the table below).

Table 20: An overview of identity clusters and identity compounds for Sasha

Objects/mediational means and actions	Identity clusters	Identity compounds
Chairs – using Dad's furniture from his old office	Family, Occupational, Personal	son – high school student – university applicant – gamer; son – gamer – friend
Childhood photo with Mum – keeping it on the shelf	Family, Ethnic and cultural	son – Russian language user
Space on the shelf – keeping his mother's belongings	Family, Ethnic and cultural	son – Russian language user
Family meals – eating food prepared by his mother	Family, Ethnic and cultural, Personal	son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean – multitasker
International bank transfer payment confirmation – paying an application fee	Family, Occupational	son – university applicant
Workstation – using it to do homework	Occupational, Personal	high school student – university applicant – gamer
Branded uniform and school ID – keeping them ready	Occupational, Ethnic and cultural	high school identity – English language user – Russian name bearer
Calendar – keeping track of the volunteer tutoring hours	Occupational, Ethnic and cultural	high school student – English language user – Russian language user
Appointment slip – getting an appointment with a counsellor	Occupational, Ethnic and cultural	university applicant – high school student – English language user – Russian name bearer
Prospectuses from overseas universities – referring to them	Occupational	university applicant – English language user
Scholarships' information – receiving it by post and reading	Occupational	university applicant – English language user
Sasha's whiteboard – preparing to sit international exams and using it for studies	Occupational	university applicant – high school student – English language user
Math textbooks from Russia – reading in Russian	Ethnic and cultural, Occupational	Russian language user – high school student
Russian food (e.g., borsch, pickled cabbage salad) – eating Russian food in South Korea	Ethnic and cultural, Family, Personal	son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean – multitasker
Student ID card – using a full first name in semi-formal contexts	Ethnic, Occupational	high school identity – English language user – Russian name bearer

Each object mediates more than one identity element, which is recognisable through the analysis of frozen actions.

6.3.1 Family identity

6.3.1.1 Son

Chairs – using Dad’s furniture from his old office

Sasha has a couple of office chairs in his bedroom (see Figure 153: Sasha's workstation and Figure 154: A spare chair). These chairs embed several frozen actions: they were originally purchased and used by his Dad in the office.

Following Dad’s business closure, Sasha took the chairs and put them in his bedroom. One chair is part of his workstation where he does his homework, prepares for international exams, and plays videogames.



Figure 153: Sasha's workstation



Figure 154: A spare chair

The frozen action of using these chairs as part of the workstation is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – proxemics – gaze*. Object handling applies to the chairs that were moved. Both proxemics and gaze are used to place the chair Sasha uses close to his desk and to keep a spare one next to the bookshelf.

These two chairs mediate several identity elements that converge through the frozen actions they embed and their continuous use. The chair that Sasha uses mediates a ***son – high school student – university applicant – gamer*** identity compound (see further subsections 6.3.2.1 High school student, 6.3.2.2 University applicant and 6.3.5.1 Gamer). The spare one mediates a ***son – gamer – friend*** identity compound (see further subsections 6.3.5.1 Gamer and

6.3.5.2 Friend). Sasha's son identity element, which he produces through the initial frozen action of taking both chairs from his Dad's office, converges with several other identity elements from different clusters as he engages in studies, the university application process, and playing video games.

Childhood photo with Mum – keeping it on the shelf

Sasha produces his son identity through a childhood photo that he keeps on display on top of a bookshelf (see top left of the Figure 154: A spare chair). This photo, which was taken at the Novosibirsk zoo in Russia when Sasha was little, was brought from Russia to South Korea and is now kept in his room. Keeping and displaying his childhood photo on the shelf is a frozen action produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics*. The photo was first held and then placed on the shelf at eye level, with gaze and proxemics used to establish and enable its visibility.

One of previous frozen actions embedded in this photo is Sasha's (inter)actions in Russian with the photographer and his mother when it was taken. This frozen action is nested within a larger scale higher level action: Sasha's visit to the zoo with his parents in Novosibirsk, Russia, where the family lived before moving to South Korea. The photo, thus, mediates more than identity element, including Sasha being a Russian language user, which forms an inter-cluster identity compound of ***son – Russian language user***.

Space on the shelf – keeping his mother’s belongings

Apart from his own books and small items, Sasha made space for his mother’s belongings, including her novels and souvenirs brought from Russia (see top shelf of Figure 155: Mother's Russian books and souvenirs).



Figure 155: Mother's Russian books and souvenirs

The frozen action embedded in his shared is produced through the modal aggregate of *proxemics – gaze – Russian language*. The items are highly visible in in Sasha’s bedroom upon entrance. The mode of Russian language is present due to Russian content of the books, some of which are his and some are his mother’s. This mode is also used when Sasha (inter)acts with his own items. Thus, the space he shares with his mother is telling of two identity elements, which converge through the modes of proxemics, gaze, and Russian language, forming a *son – Russian language user* identity compound.

Family meals – eating food prepared by his mother

Sasha eats home-made meals prepared by his mother (see Figure 156: Family meals), which are typically dinners that the family eats together.



Figure 156: Family meals

The food Sasha is eating in Figure 156: Family meals mediates his son identity element. Through this food and the way he eats it, he also produces three more identity elements from the ethnic and cultural identity cluster: Russian food consumer (see further subsection 6.3.4.2. Russian food consumer), Sakhalin Korean (see further subsection 6.3.4.4 Sakhalin Korean) and multitasker (see further subsection 6.3.5.3 A multi-tasker). This inter-cluster convergence is due to other frozen actions embedded in this meal: having borsch, putting it to the right of the rice, mixing rice with borsch, and using cutlery. All of these frozen actions, including having this meal with his parents at home, form a **son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean – multitasker** identity compound.

International bank transfer – paying an application fee

Sasha has spent considerable time choosing a university programme and preparing his application documents, with the application fee being covered by

his parents. As shown in Figure 157: International bank payment confirmation, Sasha still keeps a confirmation of payment slip from the bank on his desk.



Figure 157: International bank payment confirmation

Thus, through the frozen actions embedded in this payment confirmation slip, Sasha's son identity element converges with another identity element from the occupational cluster, forming **a son – university applicant** identity compound. Convergence is due to Sasha's parents financial support that he receives and other higher-level actions related to the preparation for his future studies (see further 6.3.2.2 University applicant).

6.3.2 Occupational identity

6.3.2.1 High school student

Workstation – using it to do homework

Sasha's workstation is a complex mediational means/cultural tool through which he produces several identity elements. It comprises various objects, including furniture, such as chairs from his father's old office, stationery, a laptop and

peripherals (see Figure 153: Sasha's workstation). The workstation and its items are used for homework, typically in the afternoon and evenings.

The chairs, as mentioned earlier, are part of the ***son – high school student – university applicant – gamer*** identity compound. Unlike the chairs, Sasha chose and purchased the laptop himself, so the son identity is not part of the identity compound produced by the laptop's use. The frozen actions embedded in the laptop and peripherals are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics*. Object handling applies to the keyboard and mouse. Gaze is used to look at the screen and keyboard. Proxemics relates to Sasha's physical positioning relative to the desk. The laptop and peripherals mediate a ***high school student – university applicant – gamer*** identity compound, which connects occupational and personal identity clusters. These three identity elements converge through the frozen actions that are embedded in these devices.

Branded uniform and school ID – keeping them ready

Sasha produces his high school student identity element by wearing, using and keeping various school-related items, such as uniform, student ID, and photos (see Figure 158: School uniform and ID).



Figure 158: School uniform and ID

These objects embed multiple frozen actions, including frequent use, particularly his uniform and school ID. Sasha keeps clean polo shirts and jackets on a rack in his bedroom, which is covered with a plastic film to protect them from dust. His student ID card is kept on top of the bookshelf when he returns home from school. The photographs, which were taken at school (see Figure 158: School uniform and ID in top left), are also kept on top of the bookshelf together with other items.

While these objects mediate Sasha's high school identity, through his (inter)actions with them he also produces English language user (see further 6.3.2.3 English language user) and Russian name bearer (see further 6.3.4.3 Russian name bearer and Figure 166: Sasha's school student ID) identity elements. Three identity elements converge in Sasha's school ID, forming a **high school identity – English language user – Russian name bearer** identity compound. The convergence of these identity elements is due to several frozen actions that are embedded in this object, including giving his

Russian name to the school staff to be printed on his ID (see Figure 166:

Sasha's school student ID), communicating with the school staff in English, and using English language in his studies. Sasha's (inter)actions are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language* as he looks at and uses these objects.

Calendar – keeping track of the volunteer tutoring hours

At school, Sasha's involvement as a tutor in the community work is a large scale higher level action that produces his high school identity element. He keeps track of his volunteering hours on a desktop calendar from the school (see Figure 159: Sasha's calendar).

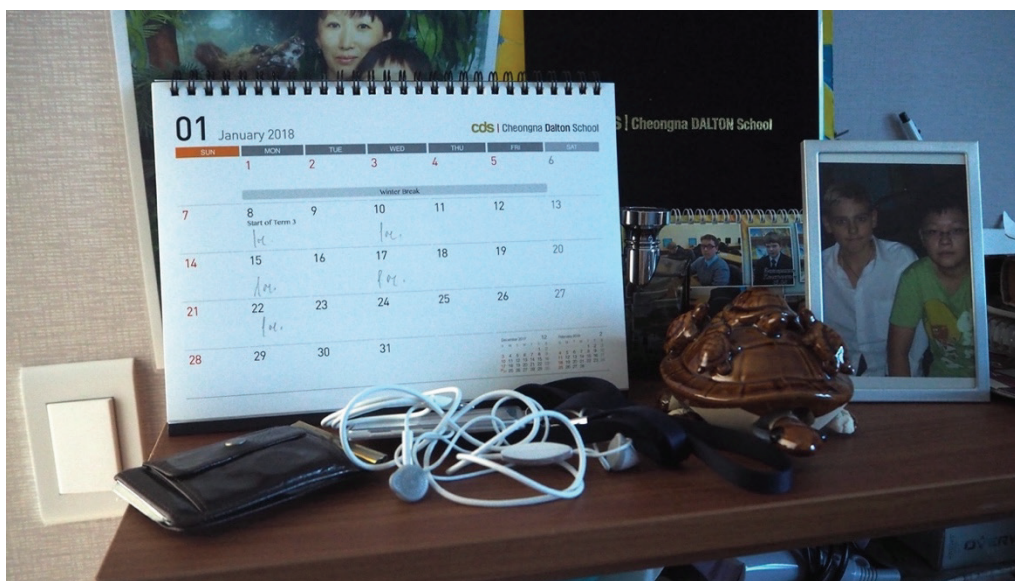


Figure 159: Sasha's calendar

Recording his hours is a frozen action produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language – English language*. Object handling applies to the calendar and pen, while gaze is used to look at the calendar and record the hours. The English language mode is used because of the calendar's language, while the Russian language mode is used to record the hours themselves. The frozen actions embedded in this calendar, including

Sasha's records, enable the convergence of three identity elements, forming a **high school student – English language user – Russian language user** identity compound. This structure connects Sasha's occupational and ethnic and cultural identity clusters.

6.3.2.2 University applicant

Appointment slip – getting an appointment with a counsellor

Choosing a career, deciding which university to attend, and submitting applications has been challenging for Sasha. He attended high school counselling sessions to address his concerns. The appointment slip that he has on his desk is a booking confirmation (see Figure 160: Counselling).

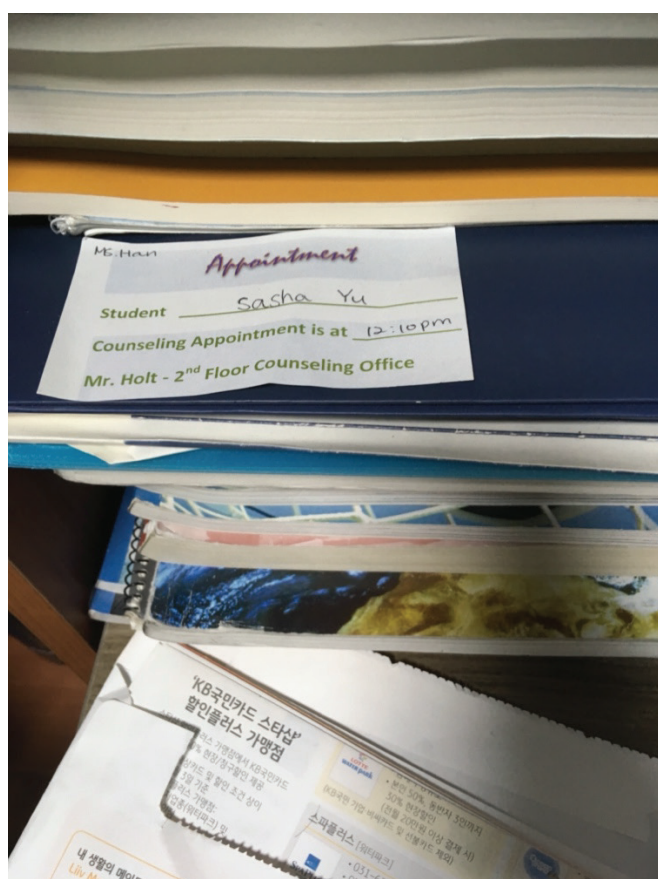


Figure 160: Counselling

This appointment slip embeds several frozen actions nested within two larger scale higher level actions: being a high school student and a university

applicant. Sasha booked an appointment with a high school counsellor, gave his Russian diminutive name (see further 6.3.4.3 Russian name bearer), received a confirmation, brought the appointment slip home, and attached it to a folder on his desk. His (inter)action with this appointment slip at home is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language*. Sasha attached it to a visible spot using the modes of gaze and English language to see and read the appointment details. Through the analysis of all known frozen actions embedded in this appointment slip, Sasha's university applicant identity element converges with several others, forming a ***university applicant – high school student – English language user – Russian name bearer*** identity compound. This converged structure connects all three identity elements from the occupational identity cluster and Sasha's ethnic and cultural identity.

Prospectuses from overseas universities – referring to them



Figure 161: University brochures and prospectuses

Sasha produces his university applicant identity element by receiving, keeping, and referring to prospectuses and brochures from various universities. He

keeps them on his desk, in a pile with old notebooks and other study materials (see Figure 161: University brochures and prospectuses). Some of these were obtained at education fairs and presentations that he had attended. As shown in Figure 161: University brochures and prospectuses, Hong Kong is a study destination Sasha is considering, specifically the University of Hong Kong (top prospectus) and the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (a maroon pamphlet at the bottom of the pile).

Sasha's (inter)actions with these brochures and prospectuses are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language*. The brochures and prospectuses were held, looked at, and read. The supplementary mode is proxemics, as these materials are kept on the desk within Sasha's easy reach should there be a need to refer to them again. This identity element converges with another from the same cluster, forming a ***university applicant – English language user*** identity compound through Sasha's (inter)actions with these materials and the frozen actions of attending education fairs and presentations.

International bank transfer payment – applying to study at a university

International bank transfer payment paperwork is an instance of Sasha's university applicant identity element converging with his son identity element, as mentioned earlier. This paperwork connects two identity elements from the family and occupational identity clusters, forming a ***son – university applicant*** identity compound. The confirmation of payment (see again Figure 157: International bank payment confirmation) embeds several frozen actions: selecting a university and programme, submitting an application, going to the

bank with his parent(s), providing payment details, and bringing the paperwork home to place on his desk. These frozen actions are nested within the two larger scale higher level actions: Sasha being financially supported by his parents and applying to study further towards an undergraduate degree. Thus, both son and university applicant identity elements are integral in Sasha's production of this inter-cluster identity compound, as mediated by the bank payment confirmation.

Scholarships' information – receiving it by post and reading

Among the various brochures on Sasha's desk is mail from universities regarding scholarships. For example, an envelope from an American university is placed under the HKUST prospectus (see Figure 161: University brochures and prospectuses and Figure 162: Scholarships information). Sasha is aware of the costs involved in obtaining an overseas degree and is exploring scholarships opportunities in countries where degrees are taught in English. One such opportunity he has explored is Seton Hall university in New Jersey, USA.

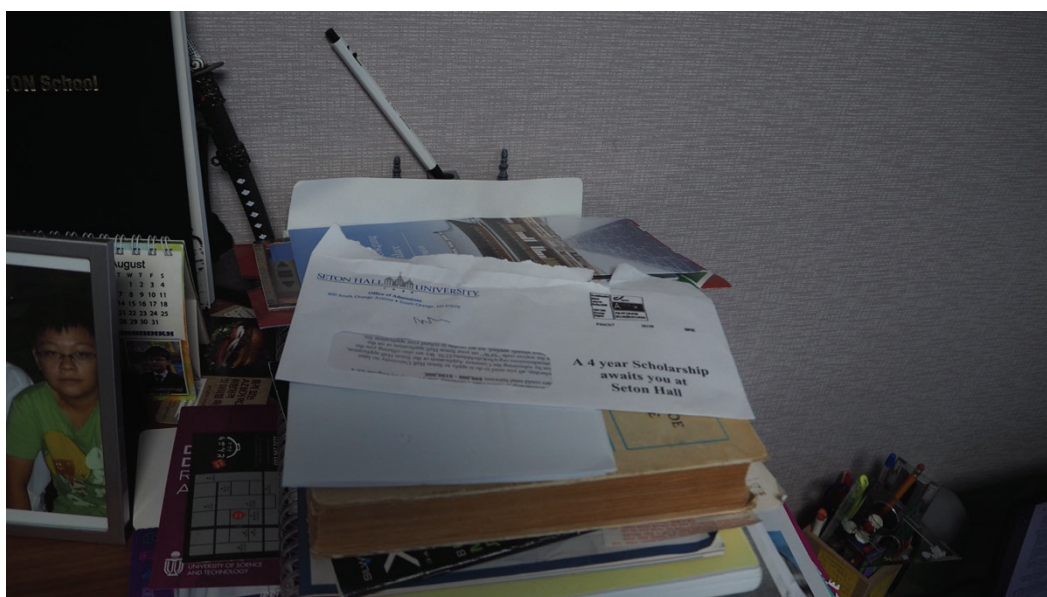


Figure 162: Scholarships information

This object embeds several other frozen actions, such as bringing the mail to his bedroom, opening the envelope, reading the content, and keeping scholarship information on the desk. All frozen actions embedded in this mail are nested within a large scale higher level action of applying to university.

Sasha's (inter)actions with this mail is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language*. Object handling mode is used to hold the envelope, open, remove the documents from the envelope, while gaze and English language modes are used to read the information. Sasha's university applicant identity element converges with his English language user identity element (see further 6.3.2.3 English language user), forming an intra-cluster ***university applicant – English language user*** identity compound. The convergence of these two identity elements and the formation of this identity compound is due to all the frozen actions embedded in this mail and his (inter)action with it, which draws heavily on the mode of English language.

Sasha's whiteboard – preparing to sit international exams and using it for studies

Sasha produces his identity of a university applicant as he prepares for international exams. He uses a whiteboard to write a checklist for his SAT (Scholastic Aptitude/Assessment Test) to ensure he has the most important items are with him on test day (see Figure 163: Sasha's whiteboard). The preparation for the SAT and the writing of the checklist are frozen actions nested within a larger scale higher level action of Sasha applying to study at a university.

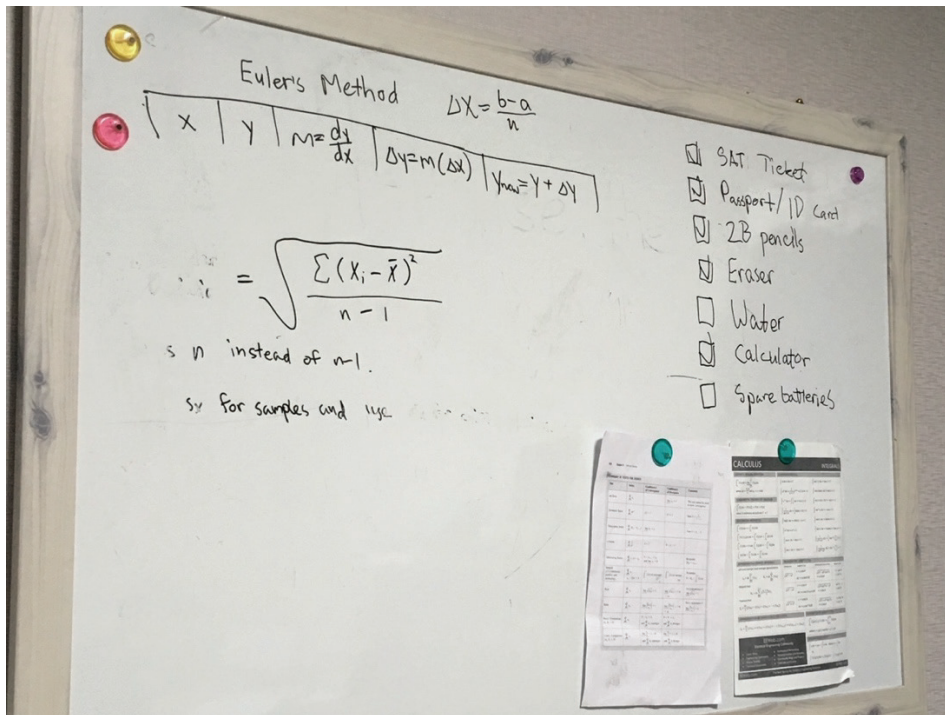


Figure 163: Sasha's whiteboard

The frozen action of writing the checklist is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language*. Object handling applies to the whiteboard and black marker that Sasha used. Gaze is used to see the whiteboard and own writing on it. The mode of English language mode applies to the language in which Sasha produced the text. Sasha's mastery of English language is evident across the dataset. This checklist is an example of using English language privately, which suggests that his English language user identity element is distinct (see further 6.3.2.3 English language user).

The white board is also used to write down formulae and attach handouts from Sasha's calculus class. These two frozen actions are part of the large scale higher level action of Sasha still studying at high school. Both the written formulae and the attached handouts are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language*. Object handling applies to the whiteboard, marker, magnets, and printed papers. Gaze and the English

language are used to see what is written, what is attached, and where. The English language mode specifically applies to Sasha's writing and reading of the attached handouts.

Thus, Sasha's whiteboard with its embedded frozen actions mediates three identity elements. This is an example of an intra-cluster convergence that forms a ***university applicant – high school student – English language user*** identity compound.

6.3.2.3 English language user

English dictionaries – mastering English

Sasha produces a distinct English language user identity element through his proficiency and ease of switch between English and Russian. The two English dictionaries on his shelf, placed next to his mother's belongings and his Russian textbooks, are objects that embed his previous work to improve his English (see Figure 155: Mother's Russian books and souvenirs and Figure 165: Maths textbooks from Russia and other books). One is a bilingual dictionary brought from Russia, while the other is a Longman thesaurus. The frozen actions embedded in these dictionaries, such as taking them off the shelf, finding an unknown word, and reading its translation, were performed multiple times throughout his studies, particularly when he first arrived in South Korea. The frozen action of referring to the Russian-English dictionary is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language – Russian language*. The modal aggregate for the Longman dictionary is *object handling – gaze – English language*, as it only offers meaning explanations in English.

As shared during fieldwork, Sasha's level of English was insufficient upon his arrival in South Korea, requiring him to take extra classes at a local Academy. He was also placed in a year below due to differences in the education system and his insufficient English level. These dictionaries embed Sasha's frozen actions of improving his English to a level that enables him to receive an education in that language at school. This identity element, through Sasha's frozen actions, converges with his high school identity element, forming a ***high school student – English language user*** identity compound.

Sasha's whiteboard – using English privately

Sasha's preferred use of English has also been noted as part of a large scale higher level action of applying to study at a university. His whiteboard embeds a handwritten exam checklist in English, which Sasha produced even though he is the only one who reads and refers to it (see Figure 163: Sasha's whiteboard). This whiteboard and how he uses it, as mentioned earlier, mediates Sasha's ***high school student – university applicant – English language user*** identity compound.

English language – using it for school and university education

Sasha's use of English is also evident in his high school studies and university preparations (see Figure 158: School uniform and ID, Figure 159: Sasha's calendar, Figure 160: Counselling, Figure 161: University brochures and prospectuses, Figure 162: Scholarships information). The mode of English language is present in all of his (inter)actions with these objects, as he produces other intra- and inter-cluster identity compounds that link his English language user identity element with others.

6.3.3 Korean settler identity

Sasha's Korean settler identity cluster is anchored in higher level actions related to his settlement in South Korea, such as taking Korean language classes. The only identity element that he produces within this cluster is his Korean language learner identity, which is found in the Korean language textbook. This cluster is the smallest given that Sasha plans to continue his studies elsewhere and possibly settle in a different country. Another feature of this cluster is that Sasha's Korean language learner identity element does not converge with any others.

6.3.3.1 Korean language learner

Textbook – taking Korean classes

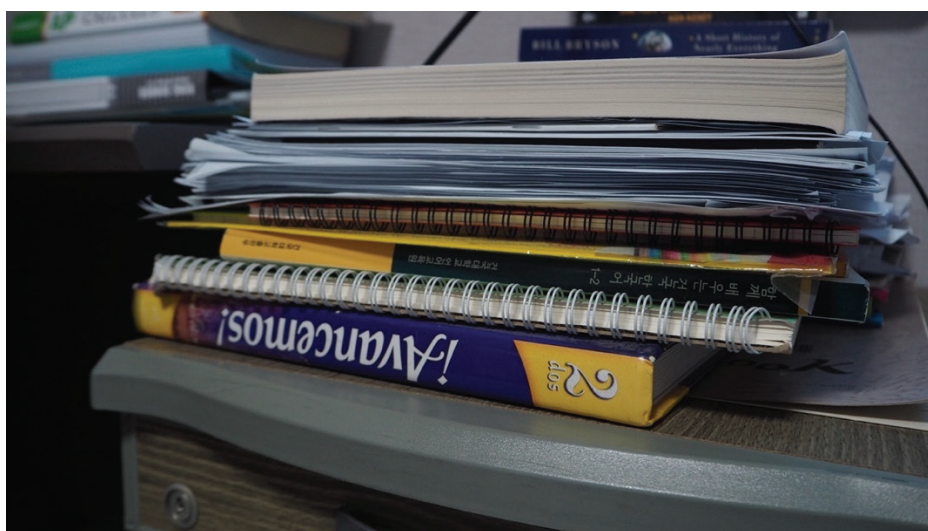


Figure 164: Korean language textbook

Sasha still keeps a Korean language textbook from the classes he attended (see Figure 164: Korean language textbook). His parents insisted he learn Korean when the family moved to South Korea, but he took classes at a local academy for only a short while before stopping. Although he has lived in South Korea for several years now, he has not developed sufficient fluency to

converse freely with locals. During our interview, he linked his lack of motivation to different priorities and a desire to live and study in the United States or Hong

Kong:

- (367) Y: Well since you live in Korea, people obviously on the streets speak Korean. Have you had a chance to learn this language?
- (368) S: well, I had the chance. But I didn't take it. To be honest, I was just too lazy.
- (369) Y: uh huh
- (370) S: in my mind I didn't really need it because first of all in my school you don't need Korean to study. And second of all, I... I wasn't planning to study in a Korean university or even live in Korea in the first place.
- (371) Y: uh huh
- (372) S: like I personally wanna live in America
- (373) Y: uh huh
- (374) S: I don't know how possible is that now but umm. So I want to go to either America or Hong Kong
- (375) Y: uh huh
- (376) S: and to live there you don't need English... oh, you don't need Korean
- (377) Y: uh huh. Ok. But umm can you get by like, you know, buying something in the shop or...?
- (378) S: I know like basic words, like hello, goodbye, how much is this
- (379) Y: uh huh
- (380) S: numbers
- (381) Y: uh huh. So do you feel that you know enough Korean to be able to communicate with people?
- (382) S: no
- (...)
- (398) S: I went to an Academy that teaches Korean for some time, but I stopped because it was too far and I needed to do my school studies
- (399) Y: uh huh
- (400) S: my school studies were a priority for me
- (401) Y: right, ok. And was it difficult actually? How did you find learning Korean?
- (402) S: ummm. It was difficult. But I think it was difficult because of my ummm, lack of effort.

Sasha keeps the textbook among other books at the bottom of a pile on his drawers. During fieldwork, he did not refer to it once, nor did he ever move anything from that pile. The frozen action of placing this textbook where it is kept, is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling* – *gaze* – *proxemics*. Object handling refers to the textbook, the drawers, and the other books that Sasha placed on top of it. Gaze is used to see where it is placed,

and the mode of proxemics applies to the distance and location where this textbook is not immediately visible.

6.3.4 Ethnic and cultural identity

6.3.4.1 Russian language user

Math textbooks – reading in Russian



Figure 165: Maths textbooks from Russia and other books

Sasha produces this identity element by reading various books in Russian. He has a number of textbooks on a bookshelf, most of which cover Russian high school curriculum in algebra and geometry (see Figure 165: Maths textbooks from Russia). These textbooks were brought from Russia so that he could use them in South Korea. As he explains in the interview, the focus on maths is driven by his desire to pursue a career in science:

- (143) S: so I was quite bad at it. But at some point I was like.. oh, I want to do science but I hate math. So that kind of doesn't make sense. And sometimes you realise it's like.. wait, if you want to do science math is a must. Like you need math.
- (144) Y: yeah
- (145) S: so after that I started studying really hard for math.
- (146) Y: oh ok
- (147) S: It was in 9th grade when I was starting, when I was doing pre-calculus
- (148) Y: uh huh
- (149) S: oh I mean, in 10th
- (150) Y: 10th ok
- (151) S: in the beginning my grades were like mediocre. They were like not that good.

- (152) Y: uh huh
(153) S: I realised, oh I need to do math if I want to do science. I need to get a good score so I can make it to the AP calculus BC course
(154) Y: uh huh
(155) S: so it was like in the middle of the year.
(156) Y: mm
(157) S: after that I started... I studied really hard and my grade was actually... It reached the threshold for going into the AP calculus.

Reading these textbooks is a frozen action nested within a large scale higher level action of studying maths to improve his grades at school in South Korea. Sasha's references to these textbooks are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. Object handling mode applies to the textbook(s) and turning pages, while gaze and Russian language modes are used to read the content. This identity element converges with Sasha's high school student identity element, forming a ***Russian language user – high school student*** identity compound. The convergence of these two identity elements is due to the Russian language that mediates Sasha's reading of relevant texts, which has supported his progress in maths at high school.

Calendar – keeping track of tutoring hours in Russian

This object mediates a ***Russian language user – English language user – high school student*** identity compound. These identity elements converge to form an inter-cluster identity compound that connects Sasha's occupational and ethnic and cultural identity clusters. As explained earlier (see Figure 159: Sasha's calendar and 6.3.2.1 High school student), Sasha's voluntary community tutoring at school produces his high school student identity element. The Russian language mode in this compound is distinct because Sasha keeps this calendar at home and the records of his tutoring hours are private, for his use only.

Photo with mum – using Russian language

Russian language was used in all contexts – in public spaces and at home – when Sasha lived with his family in Russia. A photograph taken at the Novosibirsk Zoo with his mother (see again on top of the shelf on the left Figure 154: A spare chair) mediates a **son – Russian language user** identity compound. As mentioned earlier, the two identity elements converge via the Russian language mode used during Sasha’s (inter)actions with his mother and the photographer at the zoo.

6.3.4.2. Russian food consumer

Russian dishes – eating Russian food in South Korea

Sasha’s ethnic and cultural identity production in South Korea involves his consumption of Russian food. This identity element converges with the two other elements, son and Sakhalin Korean, forming a **son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean – multitasker** identity compound. This identity compound is produced through the food that Sasha eats at home (see Figure 156: Family meals), and a combination of dishes that his mother cooks and serves. The dishes include borsch and pickled cabbage salad. The convergence of these four identity elements is due to all the frozen actions embedded in this meal and Sasha’s way of eating it (see further subsections 6.3.4.4 Sakhalin Korean and 6.3.5.3 A multi-tasker).

Traditionally, borsch soup is garnished with herbs and either a dollop of sour cream or mayonnaise. Cabbage salad is served as a side dish. Sasha added mayonnaise in his soup and ate the cabbage salad as a side. The action of adding mayonnaise to the borsch is produced by the modal aggregate of *object*

handling – gaze and is also assisted by the mode of taste. Object handling applies to the borsch and mayonnaise, while gaze is used to determine the amount of mayonnaise to add. The mode of taste is also important, as Sasha relies on his familiarity with the flavours of his mother’s borsch. Similarly, the action of eating the cabbage salad is also produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze* and supported by the mode of taste. The cabbage salad is being eaten as a side using chopsticks instead of a fork, and together with the Korean dishes that Sasha’s mother served.

6.3.4.3 Russian name bearer

Russian name – using a full first name in semi-formal contexts



Figure 166: Sasha's school student ID

Sasha produces this identity element by using his Russian name instead of his birth name. He continues to use his Russian name in semi-formal contexts, such as his student ID card (see Figure 166: Sasha's school student ID).

In Russia, it is customary for a student to use their full first name on assignments, official photographs, and other items, as displayed on the calendar behind his ID that Sasha brought from Russia. He continues this practice in South Korea. His school ID, as mentioned earlier (see 6.3.2.1 High school student), embeds several frozen actions that enable the convergence of this identity element with others, linking the occupational and ethnic and cultural clusters. The frozen actions and the modes implicated in them form a ***high school identity – English language user – Russian name bearer*** identity compound, which Sasha produces as he wears his student ID at school.

A diminutive Russian name – using it privately and among friends

At school, among classmates and some staff (see 6.3.2.2 University applicant and Figure 160: Counselling), Sasha goes by his adopted diminutive Russian name. As mentioned earlier, he produces a ***university applicant – high school student – English language user – Russian name bearer*** identity compound. The appointment slip embeds several frozen actions that enable the convergence of four identity elements from the occupational and ethnic and cultural clusters. While Sasha or Alexander is not his legal name, he uses his Russian name and its diminutive form in informal settings and among people who know him well, including family.

6.3.4.4 Sakhalin Korean

Sakhalin Korean food – eating it at home

Sasha produces his Sakhalin Korean identity element through the home-cooked meals prepared by his mother (see Figure 156: Family meals). This identity element converges with his son identity and Russian food consumer identity

elements, forming a ***son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean – multitasker*** identity compound. Sasha's meal consists of Russian and Korean dishes served together, such as borsch, rice, cabbage salad, kimchi, and other side dishes. Both borsch and cabbage salad are popular among many people from the former USSR, including Russia.

Traditionally, borsch is served with bread as a first course; cabbage salad is a side dish for the main. Sasha, however, eats his meal differently, mixing rice with borsch and eating it as a main dish. His bowl of borsch embeds the frozen action of putting rice into it with a spoon. This frozen action is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*, supported by the mode of taste. Object handling applies to the spoon and the soup bowl, while gaze is used to determine the preferred amount of rice. And finally, taste is the mode that Sasha uses to make and eat this mixture.

Chopsticks – using them to eat homemade meals

Production of Sasha's Sakhalin Korean identity is also mediated by his use of cutlery when he eats homemade meals (see Figure 156: Family meals). The food he eats at home, as mentioned earlier, is a combination of Russian and Korean dishes. Despite the presence of Russian dishes, except for borsch, they are served as sides and consumed using chopsticks rather than a fork, which is notably not used by any family member.

One of the frozen actions embedded in the consumption of this meal is produced by the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. Object handling applies to the chopsticks Sasha holds and operates, as well as the pieces of

food that he picks up with them. Gaze is used to visually determine the size of pieces and what to pick up. Sasha's use of chopsticks indicates not only mastery, but also appropriation in his handling of and eating Russian dishes that his mother prepares and serves alongside the Korean ones. As with the food, Sasha's use of chopsticks mediates his ***son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean – multitasker*** identity compound. These four identity elements converge through the frozen actions embedded in the chopsticks, how he uses them, and what he eats.

Korean (legal) name – using it in limited ways

Sasha's legal name is a Korean name given to him at birth. However, it is only used in formal contexts when required, such as when submitting his university applications. Applying to universities is a large scale higher level action within which the use of his Korean name is nested. For example, Sasha's legal name is written on a post-it note attached to the penholder (see Figure 167: A post-it with transliterated Korean (legal) name). His name was transliterated using Romanisation conventions adopted and practised in Russia.



Figure 167: A post-it with transliterated Korean (legal) name

The post-it embeds several frozen actions: writing his transliterated Korean name on it and attaching the post-it to the penholder. Both actions are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – English language*. Object handling applies to the stationery; gaze and the English language were used to write, spell, and refer to his transliterated name. Through these embedded frozen actions and a large scale higher level action in which they are nested, this identity element converges with Sasha's university applicant identity element, forming a ***Sakhalin Korean – university applicant – English language*** identity compound. Despite his migration to South Korea, Sasha continues to limit the use of his Korean name and opts for a Russian name in most aspects of daily life.

6.3.5 Personal identity

6.3.5.1 Gamer

Laptop and furniture – playing video games

Sasha is an avid gamer, and this identity element is produced through his use of several items. At home, he usually plays video games on his laptop, sitting at his desk and using a chair from his dad's old office (see Figure 168: Playing video games at home on a laptop).



Figure 168: Playing video games at home on a laptop

One of his favourite games is League of Legends, which, as Sasha explained in the interview, he plays it regularly with friends and sometimes alone when he wishes to get better ranking:

- (762) Y: So how often do you play?
 (763) S: mmm. Oh when it was a vacation, I played almost every day. I play with my friends.
 (764) Y: uh huh
 (765) S: on regular... on like school weeks I play on the weekends.
 (766) V: ok. And so you really enjoy the game?
 (767) S: mm, it can get frustrating sometimes.
 (768) Y: uh huh
 (769) S: but ummm, I still enjoy the game
 (770) Y: mm. Have you ever thought that this could've been your actually addiction? Have you ever thought of being addicted to this game?
 (771) S: maybe. But sss, ummm... I don't feel obligate (sic) to play. It's just that... when my friends play, I play with them. I usually don't play by myself. So
 (772) Y: uh huh
 (773) S: I would say if my friends quit playing, I'll probably stop playing as well. Cause it's not... sss. Personally, it's not that fun for me to play by myself.
 (774) Y: no?
 (775) S: I like the part when you can like... You can... We Skype. Like you can talk to your friends. You can make some strategies together.
 (776) Y: uh huh
 (777) S: then you know. You can be immersed in the moment together
 (778) Y: uh huh
 (779) S: but if you play by yourself it's not that fun. Unless sometimes I play competitive. That's the only time I play by myself pretty much.
 (780) Y: uh huh
 (781) S: but competitive it's just... sss, erm. You just wanna reach a certain ranking
 (782) Y: uh huh
 (783) S: you don't play it for fun
 (784) Y: are you competitive?
 (785) S: ummm. Competitive as a person? Or
 (786) Y: mm
 (787) S: yeah, I would say I like competition.

This identity element converges with several other identity elements as Sasha uses his laptop and the furniture that makes up his workstation, through all frozen actions they embed. These items mediate a ***son – high school student – university applicant – gamer*** identity compound (see earlier 6.3.2.1 High school student, 6.3.2.2 University applicant and 6.3.5.1 Gamer). This identity compound thus links Sasha's family, occupational, and personal identity clusters.

When Sasha plays with a friend, there is further convergence with a friend identity element, which is mediated by a spare chair that Sasha keeps in his room as I explain below.

Spare chair – playing videogames with a friend

The spare chair in Sasha's room also mediates his gamer identity. The frozen actions this chair embeds, including inviting a friend to play together, enable the convergence of Sasha's gamer identity with several other elements from the family and personal identity clusters (see earlier Figure 154: A spare chair and subsection 6.3.1.1 Son). When this chair is offered to a friend who joins Sasha for videogames, it mediates a ***son – gamer – friend*** identity compound.

6.3.5.2 Friend

Photo – displaying it on the shelf



Figure 169: Sasha's best friend from school

Sasha produces his friend identity by keeping a photo of his best friend on a shelf (Figure 169: Sasha's best friend from school). This photo was taken in Russia, framed, then brought to South Korea before being put on the shelf. Displaying this photo is a frozen action produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – proxemics*. The photo was held and placed on top of the shelf at Sasha's eye level. The mode of proxemics in this aggregate is also key, as it was used to place the photo in the middle of the shelf where Sasha can see it and easily pick up the photo frame.

A spare chair – keeping it for a friend

As noted earlier, a spare chair in Sasha's bedroom mediates a **son – gamer – friend** identity compound. Sasha produces his friend identity by keeping a chair in his room for a friend, a fellow gamer (see Figure 154: A spare chair). When a friend comes over to play video games, both chairs are used, and the friend identity element converges with both gamer and son identities since these

chairs were taken from Sasha's dad's old office (see earlier subsection 6.3.1.1 Son).

6.3.5.3 A multi-tasker

Cutlery – using both hands

Sasha produces his multi-tasker identity element through the cutlery he operates with both hands. When eating family meals, despite being left-handed, he uses his right hand for the tablespoon to eat soup (see Figure 156: Family meals), while using his left hand to pick up side dishes with chopsticks. Using cutlery with both hands is produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze*. The object handling mode is of high intensity as Sasha uses both hands to operate the cutlery. The mode of gaze is applied to the food that he picks and eats, as well as its amount.

Within the realm of cutlery, the chopsticks Sasha uses mediate a **son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean - multitasker** identity compound as explained earlier (see subsections 6.3.1.1 Son and 6.2.4.4 Sakhalin Korean). Sasha's use of cutlery indicates not only his mastery of chopsticks but also the use of his non-dominant hand to operate a tablespoon. The way he operates cutlery and eats is indicative of a unique, to him, personal appropriation of these tools, through which Sasha produces this identity compound.

Laptop and earphones – listening to music and playing a video game

Sasha produces his multi-tasker identity by playing his favourite music while playing video games on his laptop (see Figure 168: Playing video games at home on a laptop). His use of only one earphone indicates his attention is split

between the music and the game. This identity element converges with Sasha's gamer identity, which forms a ***multitasker – gamer*** identity compound linking two identity elements within one cluster. The laptop and earphones that embed this simultaneous use mediate the intra-cluster identity compound through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – audio*. Object handling applies to the laptop, its keyboard, and earphones. Gaze is used to see the laptop screen, and the mode of audio, which refers to aural perception of sound, applies to both the music and the game's sound. Similar to his use of cutlery, this is another example of Sasha's unique appropriation of mediational means/cultural tools.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how Ludmila and Sasha, the participants based in South Korea, produce their identity. The analysis of higher level actions, including frozen actions revealed that their identity is produced across five main clusters: family, occupational, Korean settler, ethnic and cultural, and personal identity. A closer examination of objects as mediational means/cultural tools enabled the establishment of which identity elements are produced within each cluster. Employing the tools of frozen action, large scale higher level action, and modal aggregate, I have shown how identity elements converge to form identity compounds, which may be formed by identity elements from the same or other clusters.

The participants produce both intra- and inter-cluster identity compounds.

Ludmila's ***passive/additional income planner – health conscious*** identity compound consists of two converged identity elements from the occupational

cluster. She also produces several inter-cluster identity compounds, such as the ***Korean name bearer – Russian name bearer – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur – Russian language user – Korean language user*** mediated by her business card or the ***Russian food maker – Sakhalin Korean – business owner/entrepreneur*** identity compound produced through the food that she serves in her restaurant.

Similarly, Sasha produces both intra- and inter-cluster identity compounds. His laptop and earphones mediate a ***multitasker – gamer*** identity compound from the personal identity cluster. Most of his identity compounds, however, are inter-cluster, for example the ***son – Russian food consumer – Sakhalin Korean – multitasker*** identity compound mediated by the family meals and the ***Sakhalin Korean – university applicant – English language*** identity compound mediated by the post-it note that used to ensure his legal name was spelled correctly on application documents.

The analysis demonstrates that the mode of Russian language is a distinct and key mediational means/cultural tools through which both Ludmila and Sasha produce their ethnic and cultural and family identity. In Ludmila's case, Russian is also the language in which she communicates with staff and clients, and thereby producing identity compounds that link family, ethnic and cultural, and occupational clusters. For Sasha, Russian language is strongly associated with his family and ethnic and cultural identity only.

Similarly, Russian and Sakhalin Korean food is another mediational means/cultural for producing the participants' ethnic and cultural and family

identity. For Ludmila, the food that she cooks and serves is also a means for producing of her occupational identity.

For both participants, identity production as part of the occupational cluster is notable. Ludmila primarily communicates in Russian in work settings, but uses Korean in her (inter)actions with her South Korean clientele or when attending professional development courses. Given her fluency in Korean, she uses it when eating out, communicating with her South Korean husband, and in the workplace context as required producing identity compounds that link different clusters. By contrast, Sasha has not acquired a full functional command of Korean. Instead, he developed a high degree of fluency in English, in which he receives education, and plans to study further.

A final important mediational means/cultural tool for production of Ludmila's and Sasha's ethnic and cultural identity is their names. Both are legal bearers of Korean names, but they opt for their adopted Russian names in most contexts. This combination is unique to Sakhalin Koreans and is instantiated in a number of objects, such as business cards, social media, an appointment slip, and a school ID. Despite migration to South Korea, neither participant opted for a sole use of their Korean name. This strongly suggests that the practice of using their Russian names and a limited use of Korean names indicates the durability of their ethnic and cultural identity regardless of their place of residence.

Chapter 7: Discussion & Conclusion

7.1 Chapter outline

This final chapter presents commonalities and differences in identity production across New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea. Then my discussion turns towards the developed notions that I applied in the analysis of findings: identity cluster, convergence of identity elements, and identity compounds. I address each of them in terms of affordances and constraints, and show how they extend the existing concepts and tools of the MIA framework and mediated discourse theory. Following this, I discuss objects and/as mediational means/cultural tools in identity production and argue that objects or artefacts are to be treated as key sources for the analysis as demonstrated in the previous three chapters. In the final sections I address limitations of the thesis, outline directions for further research, and provide concluding remarks.

7.2 Commonalities across the three contexts

The analysis of identity production across New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea among Sakhalin Koreans who self-identify as third generation has shown that there are several commonalities. These commonalities are of thematic and organisational nature, as well as relating to how identity is mediated, i.e. which mediational means/cultural tools are involved.

Addressing the RQ1: which identity elements the participants produce and the RQ2: how identity elements are structured in (inter)action, I have shown that thematically all participants produce their family identity, migrant/settler, aspects of ethnic identity, and those relating to personal interests and preferences. In

this thesis I refer to these as identity clusters, which provide a more nuanced understanding of identity production. Family, settler, aspects of ethnic identity, and personal identity are the common identity clusters that participants across New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea share. A micro-analysis of frozen actions embedded in the objects demonstrates that participants produce distinct identity elements as they (inter)act with them in their ordinary, everyday life. This analysis also addresses RQ3: which objects embed identity elements that the participants produce. These identity elements are specific, for example, an identity of a mother and/or daughter vs a generic category or theme of family identity. Importantly, these identity elements are produced through mediated action, which the thesis treated as the main unit of analysis.

The next commonality refers to Russian language being a key mediational means/cultural tool through which the participants produce their Russian language user identity element as well as identity elements with the family cluster. Russian is the participants' first language and instances when they all use it relate to identity elements in the family cluster. The analysis of frozen actions shows that this occurs at the lower level action involving the mode of Russian language, which is often part of a modal aggregate. For the participants based in New Zealand and South Korea, the practice of using Russian in communication with their family (parents and children) is consistent with the existing literature that covers issues pertaining to first/heritage language maintenance practice among ethnic migrants. Primarily this practice continues in the home domain, which remains critical (Baker, 2001; Barkhuizen, 2006; Fishman, 1964a; M. Roberts, 2005).

A notable distinction is that the use of Russian is not limited to spoken language only. A multimodal approach that has been used in this thesis has enabled me to showcase how Russian language intersects other modes and materialises in the participants' (inter)actions. For example, the New Zealand participants Larisa and Igor have a few souvenirs brought from Russia that they display in their homes and (inter)act with them through the initial *object handling – gaze – Russian language* modal aggregate and later, *gaze – Russian language*, once the object has become part of the built environment. For example, Larisa (inter)acts with the wall calendar that her mother had made for her in Russia and brought to New Zealand. Igor has several fridge magnets brought from Sakhalin. Similarly, for the participants based in South Korea, Ludmila's and Sasha's use of Russian language materialises in their calendars. Ludmila uses hers to keep track of the bookings. Sasha uses his to keep track of the volunteer teaching hours. Both actions are produced through the modal aggregate of *object handling – gaze – Russian language*. For the participants based in Russia, the use of Russian language is omnipresent given it is an official state language.

All participants regard Russian as their first language and no one, except Ludmila, is able to use Korean in their daily communication. Ludmila is the only participant who produces a Korean language user identity element. The inability to converse in the heritage language among the third generation Sakhalin Koreans has previously been reported in relation to their sense of belonging and potential to settle in South Korea (Balitskaya & Park, 2020; Din, 2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2020; S. U. Park, 2019). Having low or no knowledge of Korean among members of the Sakhalin Korean diaspora is due to language shift

(Fishman, 1964a, 1964b, 1985, 2006) that occurred largely during Soviet times and language policy for ethnic minorities (Kaplan & Baldauf Jr, 2011; Sloboda, 2011). In his monograph, S. U. Park (2019), outlines a number of barriers that earlier generations of Sakhalin Koreans faced in maintaining Korean and thus were unable to preserve their heritage language. Their subsequent shift to Russian, as he explains, occurred at the expense of losing Korean.

Across the dataset the dominance of Russian is evident in a number of objects with which the participants (inter)act: souvenirs, Russian language literature, notes, posters, calendars, and other items. At the lower-level, this is demonstrated in the modal aggregates where the mode of Russian language forms the aggregate's integral part. For many, the mode of Russian language is present in the production of identity elements beyond the family cluster. All, except Igor, produce a distinct Russian language user identity element which converges with other elements from various identity clusters.

The New Zealand and South Korean participants, except Sasha, produce distinct identity elements associated with the main language of those countries. An English language user identity element is evident in many of Larisa's and Igor's (inter)actions which is found across the family, New Zealand migrant, and personal identity clusters. A similar observation is made for Ludmila, who lives in South Korea. Like Larisa and Igor, she too developed a high level of fluency in the language of her new home country and produces a distinct Korean language user identity element from the Korean settler identity cluster. This identity element converges with elements from the family, occupational, and personal identity clusters.

Apart from the languages, another significant mediational means/cultural tool is Korean food and in particular the Sakhalin Korean food and how it is consumed. This finding is consistent with what others scholars have noted (E.-J. Han, 2020; J. Jeong, 2020; Joseph & Voeks, 2021; Parasecoli, 2014; S. U. Park, 2019; Pechurina, 2020). All participants grew up eating Sakhalin Korean food at home prepared by their parents and some later started cooking it themselves. A unique feature of Sakhalin food is a combination of Russian and Korean dishes with variations in ingredients that are available on Sakhalin island. Larisa and Alexander explicitly commented on differences between South Korean and Sakhalin food and Korean food made by Koreans from Central Asia and Sakhalin Korean respectively. Further, the participants continue using chopsticks as they eat their meals. Thus, the modes of taste and object handling are important in discerning those differences in flavour and texture and the ability to operate chopsticks when eating meals.

And finally, the modes of proxemics and gaze have also been significant in the participants' (inter)actions with the objects and their production of identity. Proxemics (E. T. Hall, 1966) in particular can be viewed as a mediational means/cultural tool that enables (inter)action and gives further insight into the production of particular identity elements. All participants have a number of objects in their homes or workplace that they place and keep in close proximity or in the area where they are visible. For example, the placement of fridge magnets, photographs and the created photo spots, gifts, and business cards mediate the participants' identity elements from the family, occupational, and personal clusters. Making these items highly visible and keeping them within

easy reach, enables (inter)action and strongly suggests that the objects bear significant meaning to the participants.

7.3 Differences across the three contexts

A major difference lies in the NZ migrant, Russian/Korean settler and ethnic identity clusters. Given that this study encompasses identity production across three different countries, the status of participants varies, and so does their settler and ethnic identity production. In New Zealand and South Korea the participants are first-generation migrants who settled in those countries by choice, whereas in Russia En Dya and Alexander are former USSR/Russian citizens who continue residing there with their families.

As New Zealand migrants, Larisa and Igor produce several identity elements that are grounded in their higher level actions of varying scales associated with life in New Zealand. As I have shown, within this cluster both participants produce a distinct English language user identity element. It converges with the elements from this and other clusters forming identity compounds. This strongly suggests that both participants have been successful in their settlement and managed to integrate in New Zealand society as they form and maintain personal relationships, receive education and are employed, and continue some of their core personal interests: taekwondo and reading in Igor's case and watching movies and reading for Larisa.

The ethnic identity cluster for New Zealand participants is anchored in aspects of Russian and Sakhalin/Korean culture, as well as Russian language. In both participants' (inter)actions the Sakhalin Korean identity is not immediately

evident. One of the key mediational means/cultural tools for a Sakhalin Korean identity is food, however, neither participant cooks or eats it in New Zealand. Both Larisa and Igor produce their Korean identity element through the consumption of rather a South Korean food that they eat at local eateries run by South Korean migrants. Compared to Igor's, Larisa's Russian identity appears to be more present and is produced across several clusters: family, ethnic, and personal.

For En Dya and Alexander, any identity elements that involve the use of Russian language or cultural artefacts are part of the Russian settler identity cluster. Their ethnic identity is focused on aspects of Sakhalin Korean identity that the participants produce through various mediational means/cultural tools, particularly food and Korean names.

Settler and ethnic identity clusters are also different for Ludmila and Sasha who reside in Incheon, South Korea. Their settler identity consists of relevant identity elements that the participants produce as part of their long-term or permanent residence in South Korea. The ethnic identity cluster focuses on the Russian and Sakhalin Korean identity elements' production with the latter being a distinct diaspora as reflected in the participants' use of Russian and Korean names, food consumption, and retention of their Russian language user identity element.

7.4 Identity clusters

The identity cluster is an overarching theme that brings relevant identity elements together. Cluster is also a superordinate level at which a social actor

produces their identity. The basis for cluster formation is relevance to the theme which is established through the analysis of larger scale higher-level actions (Norris, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021) and the nesting frozen actions (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, 2013a, 2019, 2020; Norris & Makboon, 2015) within them. Within MIA and mediated discourse theory, I have found that this aspect has not been addressed to sufficiently explain how and when we need to differentiate, for example, family identity and mother identity elements, as well as to show the relevance of identity elements to each other. An important distinction here is that identity cluster is a notion that explains identity production based on mediated actions rather than themes that arise from the interviews or narratives, where the analysis is focused on content and language.

7.4.1 Affordances

The utility of the identity cluster as a tool is two-fold. It allows a researcher to scope their analysis of identity production within a single parameter, i.e. an overarching theme, as well as allowing further specificity. The scope of analysis is determined thematically but as with other studies that use mediated action as a unit of analysis, the theme is derived based on a participant's concrete actions. For example, as I have shown across the three countries, all participants produce a family identity cluster, which is anchored in kinship and/or intimate relationships that they have formed. Within the family, there can be more than one identity element that a participant produces. For a cluster to be formed, all identity elements within it must be primarily related to their overarching theme.

As an identity cluster may consist of more than one identity element and thus be a complex structure, it retains a nuanced focus on identity production at a smaller scale, at an identity element level. To understand each cluster, a researcher is bound to an analysis of all identity elements that not only build that cluster but also help them gain further insight into what actions a participant performs as they produce relevant identity elements. As in Ludmila's example, at the heart of her family identity is kinship and marriage that she enacts as part of her wife, mother, and daughter identity elements. Each identity element within the family cluster is distinct and is produced through concrete mediated actions.

7.4.2 Constraints

The constraints of the identity cluster relate to its dependence on the available data within the observed period and the researcher's understanding during their ethnographic fieldwork. Insufficient data will likely yield incomplete clusters, that is clusters where not all identity elements have been included. This may be due to a participant's preferences not to grant a researcher access to observe some aspects of their lives where those identity elements are produced. A researcher's fieldwork schedule may also prevent them from observing how some identity elements are produced.

Other than data and fieldwork related limitations, the identity cluster may not fully capture all identity elements that a participant produces due to thematic scope. As I have shown across the dataset, there are many instances when identity is produced beyond a single cluster. For example, as I have explained in the chapter on Russian-based participants, En Dya's rice cooker embeds

several frozen actions through which she produces identity elements from two clusters: family and ethnic identity. Thus, if the identity cluster is a sole tool that one uses to explicate which identity elements are produced and how they are structured, it may not be sufficient. In the following subsection I refer to the two other complementary concepts: convergence of identity elements and identity compounds.

7.5 Convergence of identity elements and identity compounds

These two concepts are closely interrelated. Convergence of identity elements is a property of identity elements that come together. An identity compound is an integral structure that the converged identity elements form. These two concepts have been developed empirically through application of the following methodological tools and concepts: frozen action (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, 2013a; Norris & Makboon, 2015), modal aggregate (Norris, 2014, 2020), and properties of mediational means/cultural tools (Jones & Norris, 2005a; Scollon, 2001; Wertsch, 1993, 1994, 1998) that underpin mediated discourse theory.

Previous studies into multimodal identity production found that identity elements can be fluid and are co-produced with other elements (Makboon, 2015; Matelau-Doherty, 2019; Norris, 2007, 2011a; Norris & Makboon, 2015). The fluidity and co-production are also consistent with my findings; however, I delved into this further across my dataset for each participant as well as between the participants and I have found that identity elements converge forming structures that are whole and inseparable. Just as some actions cannot be performed without utilising several modes simultaneously, which the modal density tool (Norris, 2004a, 2004b, 2011a, 2011b, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2020)

affords, a social actor may produce several identity elements at the same time as they (inter)act with certain objects/mediational means. Identity compounds are formed both within and across clusters.

An important distinction between application of identity compound and horizontal identity production (Norris, 2011a, 2020) is that the former does not necessarily rely on the foreground-background continuum of attention. While a social actor can engage in several simultaneous higher-level actions at varying levels of attention/awareness and thus produce different identity elements, horizontal identity production does not acknowledge an integral structure. Rather, it offers a way to demonstrate which identity elements are produced at the fore-, mid- and background of the social actor's attention/awareness.

Identity elements that converge into a compound are produced by all actions that a social actor performs – both currently observable in the real time and those that were performed in the past. The notion and tool of frozen action is crucial as it shapes ethnographic work. To be able to read frozen actions correctly off an object and assign relevant identity elements, a researcher should focus on getting to know their participants and be prepared to ask questions about the objects' "history", e.g. how they were acquired and what the participant was doing. This focus enables an analysis of identity production that is not immediately observable, but nonetheless significant in understanding people's identity in a more complete and nuanced way.

7.5.1 Affordances

Convergence of identity elements and the formation of identity compounds highlight a highly complex nature of identity production. When these two concepts used as tools in the analysis of multimodal identity production, their capability is two-fold. Analysing all known frozen actions that a social actor has performed with/through objects gives us a more comprehensive picture of the produced identity elements. A micro analysis of those frozen actions, particularly the lower-level actions, shows which modes enable convergence and through which mediational means/cultural tools identity elements are produced.

I have noted previously that the notion of the identity cluster may be insufficient to explain how identity elements are structured in (inter)action, particularly when there are instances of inter-cluster convergence. Convergence of identity elements and identity compounds are the two notions with the capability to explain what a social actor does with objects and highlight aspects that are integral to their identity. For example, Ludmila's *sundae* sausage mediates several identity elements from more than one cluster. She produces them through multiple frozen actions, which indicate that the sausage is a complex mediational means/cultural tool that enables production of Ludmila's ***daughter – Russian language user – Korean language user – supporter of Sakhalin Korean community – business owner/entrepreneur*** identity compound. Each identity element within this structure is necessary, and the analysis of frozen actions that tell of those identity elements strongly suggests the making of this sausage would not have been possible otherwise.

And finally, these two notions allow access to other identity elements that a social actor might produce as they (inter)act further with an object. Because converged identity elements that form identity compounds are not limited to the immediate identity elements (Norris, 2011a, 2020) that a social actor produces in real time, both notions enable the analysis of all produced identity elements, whether that be through frozen actions or higher level actions that a researcher is able to observe in real time.

7.5.2 Constraints

The use of convergence of identity elements and identity compounds in the analysis relies heavily on ethnographic fieldwork and the researcher's access to participants' (inter)actions. Discovery of relevant identity elements is subject to the researcher's knowledge of the participants and an insider's view. In practice, this means that as researchers working within the MIA framework, we cannot deduce identity elements solely from the objects that might be present in the participants' environment. Rather, identity elements, including those that converge into identity compounds or make up clusters, are always established on the basis of knowledge that we gain about our participants during fieldwork. And ideally, we should also be able to observe their (inter)actions with those objects that mediate the participants' identity elements.

Other than constraints due to ethnographic methods, both convergence of identity elements and identity compounds retain partiality. An identity compound may grow as social actors (inter)act further with the same objects and thus a social actor may produce new identity elements. Therefore, the identity compound is not final, and it is to be treated as a mobile and a constantly

changing structure that can develop further. This is in line with Fortier (2000) and Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2008), who suggested that migrant identity is a process of being and becoming rather than a fixed entity.

7.6 Objects and/as mediational means

A key leitmotif of the thesis is that objects are not to be taken for granted, particularly in identity production. Through the analysis of all known frozen actions, I have shown consistently that ubiquitous objects mediate different identity elements: an empty plastic bottle, rice cooker, whiteboard, smartphone and others. Furthermore, objects are to be treated as a repository of identity elements as a social actor (inter)acts with them building on previously produced identities. Much of it is evident at the level of the object handling mode, which is supported by the properties of mediational means/cultural tools (Scollon, 2001; Wertsch, 1994, 1998), proxemics, as well as Russian/English/Korean language, and other modes.

A micro analysis of frozen actions has shown that identity elements are mediated not just by an object itself but rather by what a social actor does with it and how they do it. A representative example of this is an empty bottle from a fizzy drink that Alexander used as an ashtray to produce his **smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer** identity compound. In all identity elements within this compound, a larger scale higher-level action of using this bottle fulfils multiple goals. In the smoker identity element, this bottle is being used as an ashtray to keep cigarette butts. The sustainability identity is being produced through reuse and avoidance of buying new items. And the HFSS

food consumer identity element is evident through Alexander's frequent consumption of fizzy drinks.

While frozen actions that mediate Alexander's *smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer* identity compound are different, those actions involve the same object that connects these three identity elements. Because the bottle is used as an ashtray once the drink is consumed, the frozen actions undergo transformation, which is consistent with the properties of mediational means (Wertsch, 1998). I have shown, through the micro analysis, that the modes of gaze and object handling are intense due to the bottle's size and shape. Because it is not an ashtray but is being used as such, Alexander's object handling and gaze modes are of high intensity. Hypothetically, if he had used an actual ashtray, he would not have to employ high intensity gaze and pay closer attention when placing cigarette butts on to it, and neither would he have a suitable lid that would cover it tightly.

Other than the transformative property of mediational means, Alexander's use of the bottle is also an example of spin-off (Wertsch, 1998). There is little doubt that the bottle was initially designed in such a way that would enable the beverage company to safely transport, keep, and display the product to consumers. However, Alexander's frozen mediated actions challenge that initial design and demonstrate that it is possible to use the bottle for purposes beyond its original make. The embedded frozen actions have likely involved an element of thinking outside the box and considering ways of extending the life of this product. Here, I argue that this is largely because of Alexander's identity and

associated actions that enact it rather than resisting mainstream culture and challenging cultural norms in line with Hebdige's (1979) idea of bricolage.

This example is just one of multiple instances when a social actor produces identity compounds that I have discussed in this thesis. It is consistent with Geenen's (2013a, 2013b, 2015) observations that mediational means can be complex and interrelated due to irreducible tensions between a social actor and mediational means. In Alexander's case as he produces the **smoker – sustainability – HFSS food consumer** identity compound, the complexity of mediational means can be understood through a micro analysis of frozen actions embedded in the bottle, i.e. how he uses it and, importantly, which identity elements affect and shape those actions.

Similar findings pertaining to other participants as they produce their identity compounds also involve objects that are used beyond their main purpose: Larisa's alternative use of soju set, goodie bags from the movies, Igor's tubs from protein powder, En Dya's smartphone, Ludmila's money tree souvenir, and Sasha's chairs, to name a few. The way those ordinary objects are used tell us much more about the participants' identity than solely focussing on what those objects are and what their primary purpose is.

Mastery and appropriation are the characteristics of mediational means that have been noted in relation to Russian, English, and Korean languages, as well as ethnic food consumption. Languages and food as mediational means are quite complex; they are also key markers of ethnic identity. Fluency in a particular language, or a choice or preference to use one over another, may

indicate a high level of mastery and appropriation of that mode. Similarly, preparation and/or consumption of ethnic dishes also indicate how well a social actor is able to use ethnic cutlery, for example, chopsticks, or which dishes they eat using these 'tools'. For ethnic identity production, these mediational means/cultural tools are critical. As a social actor achieves mastery and appropriates these means, through the analysis of relevant mediated actions, we gain evidence of continuity and/or change in the ethnic identity production.

The complexity of mediational means is also evident in their capacity to be part of new means that are created, shaped, or affected through action. In the case of Russian and English languages, which are complex mediational means by themselves, they are used to produce new mediational means as social actors (inter)act with objects in a more durable form. For example, Larisa produced a grocery shopping list in English. Ludmila wrote notes for her employee in Russian; she also used Russian to write client booking details. Sasha used English for his pre-exam check list on the whiteboard. These objects are complex mediational means that participants created through (inter)action and employing other means of varying degrees of materiality. I would argue again that the way new mediational means are created is inherent in a social actor's identity. This is consistent and in agreement with Scollon's (1997, 1998, 2001) postulate that every action is identity-telling. However, what I would add here is that creation of these new mediational means is not just due to a single identity and one action but rather due to multiple mediated actions and several identity elements that converge and form identity compounds. Each of those objects, as I have shown in the analysis, mediate identity compounds, i.e. complex structures consisting of more than one identity element.

7.7 Limitations of the study

There are a few limitations which primarily relate to the ethnographic methodology, the analytical focus on frozen mediated actions, and quite possibly my limited knowledge of Korean and understanding of some cultural aspects.

As this study relied heavily on ethnographic data and data collection techniques, there were a few challenges. Working with participants required their full consent when filming, photography, or interviewing took place and what was recorded, also depended on what the participants were comfortable with. For example, there were some instances that could be highly useful in the analysis of identity production. One of the participants planned *jesa*, a Korean ritual performed to honour the ancestors or close family members who have passed away. I did not have access to that and therefore these audio-video and photographic data were not included in the dataset despite being relevant to the analysis of ethnic identity and in particular how Sakhalin Koreans perform these rituals in South Korea.

The participants were treated as co-researchers in the process of data collection, and they had significant agency in their choices of what I should be observing and recording, and what could and should be used in the analysis. So as much as this research was originally driven by an intention to study identity production beyond the conscious level, it was shaped by what the participants thought was useful and what they thought could explain their identity to themselves and to others. As noted in the methodology and research design chapter, the participants would quite often nominate what I should

observe and record. Hence, there is a certain degree of partiality and also limitations of the dataset that were imposed by the participants.

The analytical focus on frozen actions and objects also posed certain challenges to what could be used in the study. While I observed quite a lot of real-time (inter)actions and spent, on average, 100 hours with each participant, there are still gaps in the knowledge about the history of objects, how some of them were acquired and used prior to the observation period. Some objects, therefore, had to be left out of the analysis. This means that quite possibly there are other identity elements that were not discovered and as a result, some identity compounds are incomplete.

And finally, I have to acknowledge that my limited knowledge of Korean and lack of understanding of some cultural practices that we, Sakhalin Koreans, engage in also affected this research. During the data collection period in South Korea some (inter)actions that my participants had, involved Korean language. Given that my Korean is limited, I did not gain full understanding of some of those conversations, particularly around cultural celebrations and rituals. It therefore determined narrower parameters of the available data for analysis and also excluded (inter)actional moments that involved an intense mode of Korean language.

7.8 Future directions

Studying identity production from an MIA lens has yielded results with wide practical implications for the domains of education and immigration, and it can facilitate sustainable practices and influence product design. Using the three

developed notions of identity cluster, convergence of identity elements, and identity compounds, I have shown a highly specific, detailed, and a complex nature of identity production.

For the domains of education and immigration, convergence of identity elements can explain how migrants and ethnic minorities maintain their ethnic identity, particularly as it is mediated by such mediational means as language(s), ethnic food, and ordinary objects. In terms of settlement, gaining this in-depth understanding would help foster social cohesion between migrants/settlers and members of the host countries. Convergence of identity elements and the formation of identity clusters also demonstrate how, for example, identity elements that involve an intense mode of the target language are interconnected with family, occupational and personal identities. Similarly, it also indicates that production of these identities is shaped by mastery and appropriation of that language or the lack thereof.

These insights, I suggest, can inform immigration and settlement policies as well as the provision of relevant support services with regard to ethnic language maintenance, acquisition of a heritage language or the official language(s) of the host countries, and assisting migrants and settlers with employment. The developed notions can be applied in further and more focussed analysis of identity production as people continue to use or shift from their ethnic language towards a dominant language as they look for employment opportunities, participate in education, and engage in the community. These are important areas for the understanding of the effects of positive identity and people's wellbeing in society (Manuela & Anae, 2017; Matelau-Doherty, 2019), and

people's potential to contribute to the new home countries economically. For Sakhalin Koreans in particular, this understanding would address the issue of not being and feeling needed in the heritage country due to lack of skills, including insufficient knowledge of Korean and limited ability to participate in skilled employment as reported by Balitskaya and Park (2020); Din (2015a); and S. U. Park (2019).

A micro analysis of frozen actions embedded in everyday, ordinary objects has signalled another area for future research that I am particularly interested in. Across the three countries, several participants engaged in what I determined as sustainability identity production through reusing certain items or finding an alternative way of continuing to use them beyond their original purposes. The climate change and sustainability discourse have been particularly prominent in recent years prompting people to rethink how to reduce the amount of waste in landfill, how and what to recycle, and how to purchase less. Using the notions of convergence of identity elements and identity compounds in the study of how sustainability identity develops can yield further insights. For example, a family member identity element may converge with sustainability identity as social actors adopt relevant practices from their family. Additionally, as they engage with sustainability discourse, we may find other practices that a person might engage in. Whilst **sustainability – family** inter-cluster convergence is outside the scope of the thesis, it is nonetheless a highly relevant area for identity production.

Another example that relates to sustainability is convergence with identity elements from the personal identity cluster. A social actor's personal interests

can be found in the objects that they (inter)act with. The sustainability identity can emerge as they use and/or reuse, including finding alternative ways to use those objects. Focussing on convergence of sustainability and other elements from the personal identity cluster can also give insight into how sustainable practices can be shaped by personal interests and associated products.

Finally, the way objects and mediational means are used and how new mediational means are created is an avenue for research related to product development and design. Understanding how objects are used and for what purpose can inform product design that would enable and facilitate sustainability. Here I would recommend going beyond the photographic data and include video recordings of real-time (inter)actions with the objects in the analysis. Visual transcripts of mediated actions can be particularly useful in the analysis of relevant (inter)actions as objects are used, reused, or used in alternative ways, including instances when new mediational means are created.

7.9 Concluding remarks

In this thesis, I set out to explore how Sakhalin Korean identity is produced across three countries: New Zealand, Russia, and South Korea. I have employed the tools of MIA, and through engagement and analysis of the data, I found that existing concepts within the MIA framework and mediated discourse theory were insufficient to explain multiplicity of identity elements, and why and how they come together. The analysis of mediated actions, both larger scale higher-level and frozen actions embedded in the objects, resulted in the development of three notions: identity cluster, convergence of identity elements, and identity compounds. These notions extend the existing toolkit of the MIA

framework. They provide a more nuanced way to approach objects and other material artefacts in the analysis of identity production and challenge the objects' perceived meaning. I have argued and demonstrated consistently throughout the thesis that a social actor tends to produce identity compounds rather than a single identity element or separate identity elements. Each identity element in a compound is necessary for it to be formed and to exist. This highlights a complex nature of identity production that involves integral structures. These structures offer capability to discover and explain a person's identity in a more encompassing way. Additionally, I have shown how ordinary objects become mediational means as social actors produce their identity in (inter)action.

The findings of the thesis have prompted me to think further about the perfume and the mediated identities – a story that I shared in the introduction. Not long ago I learned that this product had been discontinued. This means neither I nor the other person can continue producing our identity compounds anymore, and those bound identity elements will stay in the past and in our memory. As in chemical compounds where bonds are difficult, albeit not impossible, to break down, identity compound structures behave in a similar way. For me to produce a **friend – student** identity compound will require using another mediational means and engaging in relevant higher-level actions. Likewise, the other person will have to find a different object that would mediate their **traveller – supervisor** identity compound.

When my perfume finished, I chose not to keep the empty bottle. Thus, there is now nothing to read the relevant frozen actions off anymore, and that unique

identity compound is part of my past. However, friendship with the person who gave me this perfume continues, and so my friend identity element is still current. And as I move forward, it might converge with other identity element(s) from within and across identity cluster(s), forming new identity compounds in the future.

Appendix A: Participant recruitment posters

In Russian



Приглашение

Привет!!!

- ❖ *Вы этнический(ая) кореец/корейка из России, чьи родители или бабушки и дедушки родом с Сахалина?*
- ❖ *Вы говорите по-русски?*
- ❖ *Вы проживаете в настоящее время в России/ Южной Корее/Новой Зеландии?*
- ❖ *Хотели бы Вы получить возможность лучше узнать себя, поделиться своими мыслями о корейской и российской культуре и опытом поселения в другой стране?*

Если да, то я приглашаю Вас принять участие в моем исследовательском проекте на соискание докторской степени.

В рамках этого проекта я хотела бы наблюдать за Вами и документировать Ваше социальное взаимодействие и действия в домашней/рабочей обстановке или общественных местах. А также я намереваюсь взять у Вас интервью. Язык общения – русский и/или английский. Кроме того, я хотела бы сфотографировать различные объекты и предметы, которые также помогут мне исследовать Вашу идентичность.

Я, как и Вы, корейка из России и вопросы формирования идентичности меня интересуют всю жизнь.

Если Вы желаете принять участие или знаете тех, кому это было бы интересно, пожалуйста, свяжитесь со мной для получения дополнительной информации:

Хан Юлия

Моб: [REDACTED]

Доступна на WhatsApp и Viber

Email: yulia.khan@aut.ac.nz

Научный руководитель: профессор Сигрид Норрис, sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz

Одобрено и утверждено Комитетом по этике Оклендского технологического университета 7 августа 2017 г., номер заявки 17/247.



AUT

TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Invitation

HELLO!!!

- ❖ *Are you an ethnic Korean from Russia whose parents or grandparents were born in Sakhalin?*
- ❖ *Are you a native speaker of Russian?*
- ❖ *Do you currently reside in Russia, or South Korea, or New Zealand?*
- ❖ *Would you like an opportunity to explore your identity and share your ideas about Korean and Russian cultures, and settlement?*

If yes, I invite you to take part in my PhD research project.

As part of this project, I would like to observe and record your social interaction and actions in your home/work environment or public places, and interview you. The language of communication will be either Russian or English, or both – your choice. In addition, I would like to take photos of various objects that may also help me understand your identity.

I am a Russian-born Korean myself and I have been interested in identity formation my whole life.

If you wish to participate or know someone who would, please contact me for further information:

Yulia Khan

Mobile: [REDACTED]

WhatsApp and Viber enabled

Email: yulia.khan@aut.ac.nz

Project supervisor: Professor Sigrid Norris, sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 07 August 2017 AUTEC Reference number 17/247

Appendix B: Participant information sheet

In Russian



Информационный лист участника

Для главных и второстепенных участников

Лист действителен от:

15 августа 2017

Название проекта

“Как Вы думаете, Вы – кто?” Сравнительный анализ формирования и изменений идентичности среди российских корейцев в России, Южной Кореи и Новой Зеландии.

Приглашение

Меня зовут Хан Юлия, и я приглашаю Вас принять участие в моем исследовательском проекте, который выполняется для получения докторской степени в Оклендском технологическом университете, Новая Зеландия. Научный руководитель – профессор Сигрид Норрис.

Я родом из России, выросла в России и в настоящий момент проживаю в Новой Зеландии. Меня интересуют вопросы идентичности среди корейцев, которые являются прямыми потомками первого поколения корейцев, переселенных на Сахалин в начале 20-го века. Меня особенно интересует идентичность российских корейцев, которые либо продолжают жить в России, либо переехали в Южную Корею или Новую Зеландию на долгосрочной или постоянной основе.

В этом исследовании я хотела бы узнать, каким образом национальная идентичность и личность человека проявляется в повседневной жизни, произошли ли какие-либо изменения в личности в связи с переездом в другую страну (если оно имело место быть) и что вызвало эти изменения. Для этого я планирую серию встреч от 3 до 6 недель, в течение которых я буду наблюдать за Вашими действиями в Вашем доме или в рабочей среде, или в общественных местах (по мере необходимости). Эти наблюдения будут записаны на видео. Я также намереваюсь провести с Вами интервью в начале периода наблюдения и в конце. Оба этих интервью также будут записаны. Язык интервью будет русский или английский, или оба – в зависимости от Ваших предпочтений. В этих интервью мы затронем историю вашей жизни и обсудим такие темы, как детство, Ваши мысли о том, каково быть корейцами и родиться за пределами Кореи, что мотивировало Вас эмигрировать (если применимо), отношения, карьера и культура. Я также буду фотографировать различные объекты в вашем доме / на рабочем месте. Они могут включать сувениры, вещи, которые вы часто используете, продукты для продажи и украшения, или все, что может иметь сентиментальную ценность для вас или вашей семьи.

Вы были выбраны на основе вашего наследия, а также культуры, национальной принадлежности, языка, возраста и и текущего места жительства. Ваше участие в этом исследовательском проекте полностью добровольное, и Вы можете отказаться от него в любой момент. Вы также сможете просмотреть любые данные о Вас, до публикации этой диссертации (или другой работы).

Цели исследования

Результаты этого исследования будут интересны российским корейским мигрантам в Южной Кореи и Новой Зеландии и потенциально всем этническим корейцам, проживающим за пределами Кореи, которые желают углубить понимание своей идентичности: как она построена и проявляется в нынешней стране проживания. Это исследование будет способствовать пониманию личной и национальной идентичности людей в процессе поселения в другой среде и повседневной жизни.

Помимо докторской степени, которую исследователь извлечет из этого исследования, результаты также помогут ей углубить понимание собственной идентичности.

Выводы будут интересны всем, кто интересуется русской и корейской культурой и ценностями, а также о тонкостях процесса миграции, поселения в новой среде и начала жизни заново. Результаты этого исследования будут распространяться через академические публикации и

представлены на научных конференциях, а также на соответствующих мероприятиях различных сообществ.

На чем основан выбор меня как потенциального участника для данного исследования?

В качестве основного участника Вы были выбраны на основе Вашего наследия, а также культуры, национальной принадлежности, языка, возраста и текущего места жительства, через расширенный личный круг знакомств исследователя или по рекомендации.

Если основной участник рекомендует Вас, это означает, что Вы приглашены принять участие в моем исследовании в качестве второстепенного участника. Основной критерий – быть хорошо знакомым(ой) с основным участником, с которым Вы регулярно общаетесь, и Вы говорите по-русски или по-английски.

В проекте примут участие от 2 до 6 основных участников. Если интерес возникнет от более 2 основных участников из каждой страны, выбор будет основан на основе сходства по возрасту с исследователем.

Для второстепенных участников нет особых критериев исключения, кроме личного знакомства с основным участником или разговорными языками. Но максимальное количество вторичных участников на каждого основного участника составляет 3.

Каким образом выразить согласие на участие?

Подписав форму согласия. Ваше участие в этом исследовании является добровольным (это Ваш выбор) и независимо от того, хотите ли вы принять участие, Ваш выбор никоим образом не окажет каких-либо последствий для Вас. Если Вы решите прекратить участие в исследовании, Вам будет предложен выбор либо изъять данные о Вас, либо согласиться на их дальнейшее использование. Однако как только результаты будут получены, удаление Ваших данных может оказаться невозможным.

Что из себя представляет данное исследование?

В период сессий от 3 до 6 недель исследователь будет вести наблюдения за Вами в домашней обстановке или рабочей среде. В целом, основные участники предположительно посвятят 100-130 часов своего времени данному проекту. Для второстепенных участников общее время составит 80-110 часов.

Аудио-видео технология будет использоваться для сбора данных, чтобы фиксировать действия участников и социальное взаимодействие в реальном времени. Примерный объем записанных данных для основного участника составляет от 15 до 30 часов. Для второстепенных участников - от 10 до 20 часов. Исследователь также будет делать цифровые фотографии различных материальных объектов. Кроме того, это будет сопровождаться наблюдательными заметками и полуструктурированного интервью в начале и в конце наблюдательного периода с каждым участником (см. Руководство по тематике интервью). Продолжительность интервью составит около одного часа.

Данные будут обработаны перед их анализом. На протяжении всего процесса анализа Вам будет предложена возможность оставить отзывы, чтобы обеспечить точность анализа во благо Вам. Вам будут предоставлены стенограммы и будет предложена возможность дать отзыв о точности анализа стенограмм.

Данные будут использованы для моей докторской диссертации, научных публикаций: журнальных статей, книг, глав книг и презентаций на конференциях. Прежде чем какой-либо материал из наблюдения и интервью будет передан кому-либо, у Вас будет возможность просмотреть материал о Вас. Этот материал не будет использоваться без Вашего разрешения. Данные будут храниться в течение 6 лет после завершения моей диссертации и могут быть использованы опытными специалистами в академическом контексте обучения и образования.

Дискомфорт и риск

У Вас может возникнуть ощущение дискомфорта во время записи интервью и наблюдений.

Каким образом дискомфорт и риск будут минимизированы?

Запись интервью и съемка наблюдений не начнется, пока Вы не предоставите разрешение. Если во время съемок будут моменты, когда вы захотите, чтобы камера была выключена, это будет сделано. Также, если вы говорите или делаете что-либо во время съемок, что Вы предпочли бы не использовать в исследовании, ваше желание учтется.

Маловероятно, что участникам потребуется консультация психологов.

В чем заключаются преимущества?

Участие в данном проекте позволит Вам исследовать свою идентичность

Для меня преимущество заключается в том, что это исследование проводится в рамках получения докторской степени в Оклендском технологическом университете. Кроме того, посредством этой исследовательской работы я надеюсь получить дополнительный опыт в проведении научных исследований.

Каким образом будет защищена моя конфиденциальность?

Запись интервью и съемка наблюдений не начнется, пока Вы не предоставите разрешение. Данные будут использованы для получения докторской степени, академических публикаций и презентаций конференций. Прежде чем какой-либо материал из наблюдений и интервью будет передан кому-либо, у вас будет возможность просмотреть материал о себе. Данные будут храниться в течение 6 лет после завершения моей диссертации и могут быть использованы опытными специалистами в академическом контексте обучения и образования.

Если во время съемок будут моменты, когда вы захотите, чтобы камера была выключена, это будет сделано. Также, если вы говорите или делаете что-либо во время съемок, что Вы предпочли бы не использовать в исследовании, ваше желание учтется.

Если я решу использовать какой-либо материал с видеоматериалами, то ваша личность не может быть конфиденциальной, т.к. будут видны Ваше лицо и другие идентифицирующие характеристики. Однако я повторно дам Вам возможность просмотреть любые кадры, которые я буду использовать либо в своей диссертации, либо в других публикациях.

В любой письменной стенограмме интервью или в период наблюдения Ваша личность будет конфиденциальной. Я не буду использовать Ваше имя или что-нибудь еще, что может легко идентифицировать Вас. Вам будет предоставлена возможность просмотреть все, что я пишу о Вас.

Вопросы, которые будут обсуждаться во время интервью могут быть найдены в вышеупомянутом руководстве. Если неуместные личные комментарии имеют быть, они будут удалены из стенограммы. Если Вы в любое время захотите переместиться в режим «вне записи» или предоставить сопроводительную информацию, запись будет остановлена, чтобы Вы могли обсудить проблему с исследователем и договориться о том, как обрабатывать информацию в окончательном отчете.

Какова стоимость и затраты участия в данном исследовании?

Участие в данном проекте бесплатное.

В общей сложности, основные участники предположительно посвятят 100-130 часов своего времени. Для второстепенных участников общее время составит 80-110 часов.

Принятие решения по поводу данного приглашения

Вы можете в любой момент ответить на это письмо. На рассмотрение приглашения дается до десяти рабочих дней. После этого я свяжусь с Вами по телефону или электронной почте и попробую организовать встречу с Вами и / или моим научным руководителем (только для

участников из Окленда), чтобы обсудить / подтвердить ваше участие. Если Вы согласны, Вам нужно будет заполнить и подписать прилагаемую форму согласия и вернуть ее исследователю, адресованную Оклендскому технологическому университету.

Получу ли я отзыв об этом исследовании?

Да. Прежде публикацией какого-либо материала из наблюдений и интервью, Вам будет дана возможность просмотреть материал о себе и по желанию удалить какие-либо части материала в этот момент.

Что делать в случае возникновения опасений в связи с этим исследованием?

Любые опасения относительно этого проекта должны быть доложены, в первую очередь, научному руководителю, профессору Сигрид Норрис, sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz, тел. +64 921 9999 добавочный номер 6262.

Если у Вас возникла обеспокоенность относительно проведения исследования, необходимо связаться с исполнительным секретарем Комитета по этике Оклендского технологического университета, Кейт О'Коннор, ethics@aut.ac.nz, тел. +64 921 9999 добавочный номер 6038.

С кем я могу связаться для получения дальнейшей информации по поводу этого проекта?

Пожалуйста, сохраните этот Информационный Лист и копию Разрешения для справки. Вы также можете связаться с исследователями по следующим данным:

Детали исследователя:

Хан Юлия

Электронная почта: yulia.khan@aut.ac.nz

Телефон: 

Контактные данные научного руководителя:

Профессор Сигрид Норрис,

Электронная почта: sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz,

Тел. +64 921 9999 добавочный номер 6262.

Одобрено Комитетом по этике Оклендского технологического университета 7 августа, на которое окончательное утверждение был предоставлен ссылочный номер 17/247.

Participant Information Sheet

For primary and secondary participants

Date Information Sheet Produced:

15 August 2017

Project Title

"Who do you think you are?!" A comparative study of identity construction and change among Russian-born Koreans in Russia, South Korea and New Zealand

An invitation

My name is Yulia Khan, and I am inviting you to take part in the research that is being undertaken in fulfilment of the requirements of a Doctorate in Philosophy (PhD) at Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand. The project supervisor is Professor Sigrid Norris.

I am a Russian-born Korean, raised in Russia and now I reside in New Zealand. I am interested in issues of identity among Russian Koreans who are the direct descendants of Koreans who were resettled to Sakhalin in early 20th century. I am particularly interested in identity of Russian Koreans who either continue to reside in Russia, or have relocated to South Korea or New Zealand on a long-term or permanent basis.

In this study I wish to find out how people produce and communicate their national and personal identity in everyday life, whether their identity has changed since people moved to another country and what caused those changes. In order to do this, I will observe and record you in a series of meetings over a period of 3-6 weeks in your home or work environment, or in semi and public places (as appropriate). I will also interview you at the beginning of the observation period and at the end. Both of these interviews will also be recorded. The language of interviews will be Russian or English, or both - whichever is convenient for you. These interviews will allow you to explore your life story and will include topics such as: childhood, your thoughts on being Korean and being born outside Korea, your motivation behind emigration (if applicable), relationships, career, and culture. I will also take digital photographs of various objects in your home/workplace. These may include but not limited to souvenirs, things that you use frequently, products for sale and decorations, or anything that may have sentimental value to you or your family.

You have been selected based on your heritage, cultural, ethnic and language background, age and current place of residence. Your involvement in this research project is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the research at any time. You will also be able to review any data involving you before this thesis (or other work) is published.

What is the purpose of this research?

The findings from this research will be of interest to Russian Korean migrants in South Korea and New Zealand and potentially all ethnic Koreans residing outside Korea, who wish to gain an in-depth understanding of their identity: how it is constructed, produced and re-produced in their current country of residence. This research will inform understanding of the people's personal and national identity in the process of settlement and everyday life practices.

Apart from the doctoral degree that the researcher is gaining out of this study, the findings will also help the researcher gain a deeper understanding of her own identity.

The findings will be of interest to everyone who would like to learn more about Russian and Korean culture and values, and the intricacies of migration, settlement and starting life afresh. The findings of this research will be disseminated through academic publications and be presented at academic conferences, as well as at relevant community events.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

As a primary participant, you have been selected based on your heritage, cultural, ethnic and language background, age and current place of residence through either researcher's extended personal networks or through referral.

If the primary participant nominates you, it means you are invited to take part in my study as secondary participant. The main criterion is being well familiar with the primary participant who has regular interactions with you, and you either speak Russian or English.

For this project I hope to work with 2-6 primary participants. If more than 2 primary participants from each country express interest then I will select participants based on their age similarity to the researcher's.

There are no particular exclusion criteria for secondary participants other than familiarity with the primary participant or spoken languages. But the maximum number of secondary participants per each primary participant is 3.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

By signing the consent form. Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

In a series of meetings over a period of 3 to 6 weeks the researcher will be observing you in your home/work environment. In total, primary participants are expected to give approximately 100-130 hours of their time to this project. For secondary participants, the total time will be 80-110 hours.

Audio-video technology will be used to collect the data in order to capture the participants' actions and real-time social interaction. An approximate amount of recorded data per primary participant is between 15 to 30 hours. For the secondary participants it will be between 10 to 20 hours. The researcher will also take digital photographs of various material objects. In addition, this will be supported with taking observational notes, and a semi-structured interview at the beginning and at the end of the observational period with each participant (please refer to the interview topics guide). The length of interviews will be approximately one hour.

The data will be transcribed and analysed. Throughout the analysis process I will seek feedback from you in order to ensure the accuracy of the analysis in order to benefit you. You will be given transcripts and will be asked to give feedback on the accuracy of the analysis of the transcripts.

The data will be used for my PhD, academic publications: journal articles, a book, book chapters, and conference presentations. Before any material from the observation period and interview is shared with anyone, you will have the chance to review the material about you, and the material will not be used without your permission. The data will also be stored for 6 years after completion of my PhD and shared with experienced professionals in an academic teaching and learning context.

What are the discomforts and risks?

You may feel uncomfortable being recorded during the interviews and observation period.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

Recording of the interviews and during observation will not begin until you have freely given permission. If during filming there are any times when you wish the camera to be turned off, it will be. Also if you say or do anything during filming which you would prefer not to be used in the research, then your wish will be respected.

It is unlikely that the participants would require counselling.

What are the benefits?

The research may be beneficial for you, as it will allow you to explore your own identity through participating in the study.

I will benefit from this project because it is being undertaken to meet the requirements of a Doctorate in Philosophy at AUT University. Also by doing this research I am hoping to gain more experience in conducting research.

How will my privacy be protected?

Recording of the interviews and during observation will not begin unless you have freely given permission. The data will be used for a PhD, academic publications and conference presentations. Before any material from the observation period and interview is shared with anyone, you will have the chance to review the material about yourself. The data will also be stored for 6 years after completion of my PhD and shared with experienced professionals in an academic teaching and learning context.

If during filming there are any times when you wish the camera to be turned off, it will be. Also if you say or do anything during filming which you prefer not to be used in the research, then your wish will be respected.

If I decide to use any videotaped material then your identity cannot be kept confidential where your face and other identifying features are visible. I will however once again give you the opportunity to review any footage that I would use either in my thesis or in other publications.

In any written transcript of the interview or observation period, your identity will be kept confidential. I will not use your name or anything else that may readily identify you. You will be given the opportunity to review anything I write about you.

The interview questions will focus on the topic guide mentioned earlier. If you make irrelevant personal comments they will be discarded from the transcript. If at any time you wish to move 'off-the-record', or provide information on 'background', recording will be stopped so that you can discuss the issue with the researcher and reach an agreement on how the information is to be treated in the final report.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no costs involved associated with participation in this research.

In total, primary participants are expected to give approximately 100-130 hours of their time to this project. For secondary participants, the total time will be 80-110 hours.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You are free to respond to this letter at any time. You have up to ten working days to consider this invitation. After that I will contact you by phone or email and seek to arrange an initial meeting with you and/or my supervisor (for Auckland-based participants only) to discuss/confirm your involvement. If you agree to participate in this research you will be asked to complete and sign the attached consent form and return it to the researcher, care of AUT University.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. Before any material from the observation period and interviews is shared with anyone, you will have the chance to review the material, and you will have a chance to ask for sections of the material to be deleted at that point.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Sigrid Norris, email: sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz , tel.: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 6262

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Yulia Khan

Email: yulia.khan@aut.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Sigrid Norris

Email: sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz

Tel. +64 9 921 9999 ext 6262

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *07 August 2017*, ATEC Reference number *17/247*.

Appendix C: Interview guide

In Russian

The logo for AUT (Auckland University of Technology) features the letters 'AUT' in a bold, white, sans-serif font on a black rectangular background.

TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKĀU RAU

Руководство по тематике интервью

Название проекта: **“Как Вы думаете, Вы – кто?” Сравнительный анализ формирования и изменений идентичности среди российских корейцев в России, Южной Корее и Новой Зеландии.**

Научный руководитель: **Профессор Сигрид Норрис**

Исследователь: **Хан Юлия**

Поскольку интервью будет в полуструктурированном формате, приведенные темы и вопросы являются показательными. Вопросы в интервью могут варьироваться.

- Опишите свой опыт жизни в России
- Есть ли у Вас еще родственники на Сахалине?
- Каково быть русским корейцем в России / Южной Корее / Новой Зеландии?
- Если вы переехали в другую страну, что Вас мотивировало?
- На каких языках Вы говорите дома? И какова Ваша позиция в отношении языков в целом?
- Был ли у Вас шанс выучить корейский? Если да, расскажите о своем опыте.
- Что Вы думаете о корейских традициях? Вы и ваша семья следуете им?
- Опишите свой опыт поселения на новом месте (для участников из Южной Кореи и Новой Зеландии).
- Каково было приспособиться к другой стране (для участников из Южной Кореи и Новой Зеландии)?
- Заметили ли Вы какие-либо изменения в своем отношении к родной стране? Поделитесь своими мыслями о принятии Вас обществом
- Как Вы думаете, что другие (русские / южнокорейцы / новозеландцы) думают о Вас? Они считают Вас русскими?



Interview Guide

Project title: ***“Who do you think you are?!” A comparative study of identity construction and change among Russian-born Koreans in Russia, South Korea and New Zealand.***

Project Supervisor: ***Professor Sigrid Norris***

Researcher: ***Yulia Khan***

As this will be a semi-structured interview, the following topics/questions are an indication. The actual questions in the interview may vary.

- Describe your experience of growing up in Russia
- Do you still have relatives in Sakhalin?
- What is it like being a Russian Korean in Russia/South Korea/New Zealand?
- If you moved to a different country, what motivated you?
- What languages do you speak at home? And what is your stance on languages in general?
- Have you had a chance to learn Korean? If yes, describe your experience.
- What do you think of the Korean traditions? Do you and your family follow them?
- Describe your experience of settling in a new place (for South Korean and NZ participants).
- What was it like to adjust to another country (for South Korean and NZ participants)?
- Have you noticed any shifts in your attitude towards your home country?
- Share your thoughts on acceptance
- What do you think others (Russians/South Koreans/New Zealanders) think of you? Do they consider you Russian?

Appendix D: Consent and assent forms

In Russian



AUT

TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKĀU RAU

Согласие и выпуск данных

Название проекта: *“Как Вы думаете, Вы – кто?!” Сравнительный анализ формирования и изменений идентичности среди российских корейцев в России, Южной Корее и Новой Зеландии.*

Научный руководитель: *Профессор Сигрид Норрис*

Исследователь: *Хан Юлия*

- Я прочитал(а) и понял(а) информацию, содержащуюся в этом исследовательском проекте, в Информационном листе, датированном 07/08/2017.
- У меня была возможность задать вопросы и получить на них ответы.
- Я понимаю, что участие в этом исследовании является добровольным (мой выбор) и что я могу в любой момент прекратить участие без каких-либо неблагоприятных последствий.
- Я понимаю, что если я прекращу участие, мне будет предложен выбор между: данные, где меня можно идентифицировать, были удалены или я позволяю их использовать. Однако как только результаты будут получены, удаление моих данных может оказаться невозможным.
- Я понимаю, что во время интервью будут сделаны заметки и что они также будут записываться на аудио и будут обработаны.
- Я понимаю, что во время наблюдений будут сделаны заметки и что они также будут записываться на видео и обработаны.
- Я понимаю, что ввиду характера этого исследования, не будет никакой конфиденциальности. Однако я могу попросить исследователя использовать псевдоним.
- Я разрешаю исследователю использовать фотографии, аудио- и видеозаписи, которые являются частью этого проекта, и / или любые адаптации от них, полностью или частично, отдельно или в сочетании с любой формулировкой и исключительно для (а) научного дела; и (б) образовательных выставок и экзаменационных целей.
- Я понимаю, что фотографии, аудио- и видеозаписи будут использоваться в академических целях и что они будут опубликованы в академических статьях, таких как докторская диссертация, конференции, журнальные статьи, главы книг и / или книги – все это может быть опубликовано в бумажном, а также электронном и, возможно, других форматах, которые еще неизвестны.
- Я понимаю, что любой материал авторского права, созданный фотографическими, аудио- и видеозаписями, считается принадлежащим исследователю и что я не являюсь владельцем авторских прав на любую из фотографий.
- Я согласен(на) принять участие в этом исследовании.
- Я хочу получить краткий обзор результатов исследований (отметьте один из них): Да Нет

Подпись участника:

Имя участника:

Контактные данные участника:

.....
.....
.....

Дата:

Одобрено Комитетом по этике Оклендского технологического университета 07 августа 2017, на которое окончательное утверждение было предоставлено Номер типа 17/247

Примечание: Участник должен сохранить копию этой формы



Consent and Release Form

Project title: *"Who do you think you are?!" A comparative study of identity construction and change among Russian-born Koreans in Russia, South Korea and New Zealand.*

Project Supervisor: *Professor Sigrid Norris*

Researcher: *Yulia Khan*

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 09 August 2017.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the observations and that they will also be video-recorded and transcribed.
- I understand that due to nature of this research there will be no confidentiality. However, I may request the researcher to use a pseudonym.
- I permit the researcher to use the photographs, audio and video-recordings that are part of this project and/or any adaptations from them, either complete or in part, alone or in conjunction with any wording solely and exclusively for (a) the researcher's portfolio; and (b) educational exhibition and examination purposes.
- I understand that the photographs, audio and video-recordings will be used for academic purposes and that they will be published in academic pieces such as a PhD thesis, conference presentations, journal articles, book chapters, and/or books, all of which may be published in paper as well as online and possibly in other formats not yet known.
- I understand that any copyright material created by the photographic, audio and video-recording sessions is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own copyright of any of the photographs.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes No

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):
.....
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 07 August 2017 AUTEK Reference number 17/247

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Форма согласия родителей / опекунов

Для использования в сочетании с:

- Соответствующей форма согласия, когда люди в возрасте до 16 лет являются участниками исследования *или*
- Формой согласия, в которой участвуют участники в возрасте 16-20 лет, когда их возраст делает их неблаготворными по соображениям информированного или добровольного согласия.

Название проекта: *“Как Вы думаете, Вы – кто?!” Сравнительный анализ формирования и изменений идентичности среди российских корейцев в России, Южной Корее и Новой Зеландии.*

Научный руководитель: *Профессор Сигрид Норрис*

Исследователь: *Хан Юлия*

- Я прочитал(а) и понял(а) информацию, представленную об этом исследовательском проекте в Информационном листе, датированном 07/08/2017.
- У меня была возможность задать вопросы и ответить им.
- Я понимаю, что во время интервью будут сделаны заметки и что они также будут записываться на аудио и обрабатываться.
- Я понимаю, что участие в этом исследовании является добровольным (мой выбор), и что я могу в любой момент отозвать своего ребенка / детей и / или себя от участия без какого-либо неблагоприятного последствия.
- Я понимаю, что во время наблюдений будут сделаны заметки и что они также будут записываться на видео и обрабатываться.
- Я понимаю, что ввиду характера этого исследования, не будет никакой конфиденциальности. Однако я могу попросить исследователя использовать псевдоним.
- Я разрешаю исследователю использовать фотографии, аудио- и видеозаписи, которые являются частью этого проекта, и / или любые адаптации от них, полностью или частично, отдельно или в сочетании с любой формулировкой и исключительно для (а) научного дела; и (б) образовательных выставок и экзаменационных целей.
- Я понимаю, что если я отзываю своего ребенка / детей и / или себя из данного исследования, мне будет предложен выбор между тем, чтобы данные, где их или меня можно идентифицировать были удалены, или позволить исследователю продолжать использовать эти данные. Однако, как только результаты будут получены, удаление наших данных может оказаться невозможным.
- Я понимаю, что фотографии, аудио- и видеозаписи будут использоваться в академических целях и что они будут опубликованы в академических статьях, таких как докторская диссертация, конференции, журнальные статьи, главы книг и / или книги – все это могут быть опубликовано в бумажном, а также электронном и, возможно, других форматах, которые еще неизвестны.
- Я понимаю, что любой материал авторского права, созданный фотографическими, аудио- и видеозаписями, считается принадлежащим исследователю и что я не являюсь владельцем авторских прав на любую из фотографий.
- Я согласен(на) с тем, что мой ребенок / дети примет(ут) участие в этом исследовании.
- Я хочу получить краткий обзор результатов исследований (отметьте один из них): Да Нет

Имя(ена) ребенка/детей:

Подпись родителя/опекуна:

Имя родителя/опекуна:

Контактные данные родителя/опекуна:

Дата:

Одобрено Комитетом по этике Оклендского технологического университета 07 августа 2017, на которое окончательное утверждение было предоставлено Номер типа 17/247

Примечание: Участник должен сохранить копию этой формы



Parent/Guardian Consent Form

For use in conjunction with either:

- An appropriate Assent Form when people under 16 years of age are participants in the research or
- A Consent Form when involving participants aged 16-20 years where their age makes them vulnerable as concerns informed or voluntary consent.

Project title: *“Who do you think you are?!” A comparative study of identity construction and change among Russian-born Koreans in Russia, South Korea and New Zealand.*

Project Supervisor: *Professor Sigrid Norris*

Researcher: *Yulia Khan*

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated dd mmmm yyyy.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw my child/children and/or myself from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the observations and that they will also be video-recorded and transcribed.
- I understand that due to nature of this research there will be no confidentiality. However, I may request the researcher to use a pseudonym.
- I permit the researcher to use the photographs, audio and video-recordings that are part of this project and/or any adaptations from them, either complete or in part, alone or in conjunction with any wording solely and exclusively for (a) the researcher’s portfolio; and (b) educational exhibition and examination purposes.
- I understand that if I withdraw my child/children and/or myself from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to my child/children and/or myself removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of our data may not be possible.
- I understand that the photographs, audio and video-recordings will be used for academic purposes and that they will be published in academic pieces such as a PhD thesis, conference presentations, journal articles, book chapters, and/or books, all of which may be published in paper as well as online and possibly in other formats not yet known.
- I understand that any copyright material created by the photographic, audio and video-recording sessions is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own copyright of any of the photographs.
- I agree to my child/children taking part in this research.
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes No

Child/children’s name/s :

Parent/Guardian’s signature:

Parent/Guardian’s name:

Parent/Guardian’s Contact Details (if appropriate):
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 07 August 2017 AUTEK Reference number 17/247

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Лист на разрешение

Для заполнения людьми в возрасте до 16 лет. Это должно сопровождаться формой согласия.

Название проекта: *“Как Вы думаете, Вы – кто?!” Сравнительный анализ формирования и изменений идентичности среди российских корейцев в России, Южной Кореи и Новой Зеландии.*

Научный руководитель: *Профессор Сигрид Норрис*

Исследователь: *Хан Юлия*

- Я прочитал(а) и понял(а) данный лист, рассказывающий мне, что произойдет в этом исследовании и почему это важно.
- Я мог(ла) задавать вопросы и получить на них ответы.
- Я понимаю, что во время интервью будут сделаны заметки и что они также будут записываться на аудио и обработаны.
- Я понимаю, что во время наблюдений будут сделаны заметки и что они также будут записываться на видео и обработаны.
- Я понимаю, что в этом исследовании не будет никакой конфиденциальности. Однако я могу попросить исследователя использовать псевдоним.
- Я понимаю, что я могу перестать быть частью этого исследования, когда захочу, и что это вполне приемлемо.
- Если я перестану участвовать, я понимаю, что тогда мне будет предложен выбор между тем, чтобы информация, где меня могут узнать другие, была удалена или я могу позволить исследователю продолжать использовать ее. Я также понимаю, что иногда, когда результаты исследования уже готовы, некоторая информация обо мне может быть не удалена.
- Я разрешаю исследователю использовать фотографии, аудио- и видеозаписи, которые являются частью этого проекта, и / или любые адаптации от них, полностью или частично, отдельно или в сочетании с любой формулировкой и исключительно для (а) научного дела; и (б) образовательных выставок и экзаменационных целей.
- Я понимаю, что фотографии, аудио- и видеозаписи будут использоваться в академических целях и что они будут опубликованы в академических статьях, таких как докторская диссертация, конференции, журнальные статьи, главы книг и / или книги – все это могут быть опубликовано в бумажном, а также электронном и, возможно, других форматах, которые еще неизвестны.
- Я понимаю, что любой материал авторского права, созданный фотографическими, аудио- и видеозаписями, считается принадлежащим исследователю и что я не являюсь владельцем авторских прав на любую из фотографий.
- Я согласен(на) на участие в этом исследовании.
- Я хочу получить краткий обзор результатов исследований (отметьте один из них): Да Нет

Подпись участника:

Имя участника:

Контактные данные участника:

.....

Дата:

Одобрено Комитетом по этике Оклендского технологического университета 07 августа 2017, на которое окончательное утверждение было предоставлено Номер типа 17/247

Примечание: Участник должен сохранить копию этой формы



Assent Form

For completion by people aged under 16 years. This must be accompanied by a Consent Form. When pre-schoolers are involved, please use the special Children’s Information Sheet which can be downloaded from the research ethics website at <http://aut.ac.nz/researchethics>.

Project title: *“Who do you think you are?!” A comparative study of identity construction and change among Russian-born Koreans in Russia, South Korea and New Zealand.*

Project Supervisor: *Professor Sigrid Norris*

Researcher: *Yulia Khan*

- I have read and understood the sheet telling me what will happen in this study and why it is important.
- I have been able to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the observations and that they will also be video-recorded and transcribed.
- I understand that due to nature of this research there will be no confidentiality. However, I may request the researcher to use a pseudonym.
- I understand that I can stop being part of this study whenever I want and that it is perfectly ok for me to do this.
- If I stop being part of the study, I understand that then I will be offered the choice between having any information that that other people can know is about me removed or letting the researcher keep using it. I also understand that sometimes, if the results of the research have been written, some information about me may not be able to be removed.
- I permit the researcher to use the photographs, audio and video-recordings that are part of this project and/or any adaptations from them, either complete or in part, alone or in conjunction with any wording solely and exclusively for (a) the researcher’s portfolio; and (b) educational exhibition and examination purposes.
- I understand that the photographs, audio and video-recordings will be used for academic purposes and that they will be published in academic pieces such as a PhD thesis, conference presentations, journal articles, book chapters, and/or books, all of which may be published in paper as well as online and possibly in other formats not yet known.
- I understand that any copyright material created by the photographic, audio and video-recording sessions is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own copyright of any such material.
- I agree to take part in this research.

Participant’s signature:

Participant’s name:

Participant Contact Details (if appropriate):
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 07 August 2017 AUTEK Reference number 17/247

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

In Russian

Спасибо за заполнение этой формы. Пожалуйста, попросите родителя или опекуна ее подписать.

..... (подпись)

..... (дата)

Если они видят, что вы понимаете, о чем это исследование, они вернут мне эту форму.

Исследователь: Хан Юлия

Что делать, если есть опасения по поводу данного исследования?

Любые опасения относительно этого проекта должны быть доложены, в первую очередь, научному руководителю, профессору Сигрид Норрис, sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz, тел. +64 921 9999 добавочный номер 6262.

Если у Вас возникла обеспокоенность относительно проведения исследования, необходимо связаться с исполнительным секретарём Комитета по этике Оклендского технологического университета, Кейт О'Коннор, ethics@aut.ac.nz, тел. +64 921 9999 добавочный номер 6038.

Одобрено Комитетом по этике Оклендского технологического университета 7 августа, на которое окончательное утверждение был предоставлен ссылочный номер 17/247.



«КАК ВЫ ДУМАЕТЕ, ВЫ КТО?!» СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ СРЕДИ РОССИЙСКИХ КОРЕЙЦЕВ В РОССИИ, ЮЖНОЙ КОРЕЕ И НОВОЙ ЗЕЛАНДИИ

ИНФОРМАЦИОННЫЙ ЛИСТ И ФОРМА СОГЛАСИЯ ДЛЯ ДЕТЕЙ

(родитель/опекун, пожалуйста, прочтите детям)

Эта форма будет храниться в течение 6 лет

Привет! Меня зовут Юля.

Я провожу исследование и хотела бы приходить к вам домой примерно 2-3 раза в неделю на протяжении около 4-5 недель. Во время моего нахождения я буду вести записи и проводить съемку, и вы меня заметите.



Я не принадлежу к кругу друзей вашей семьи. Со мной можно разговаривать и задавать вопросы, чтобы узнать меня получше. Можно спрашивать о моей работе в любое время. У меня с собой будет различная аппаратура и камера. Дайте знать, что думаете по этому поводу, указав один из вариантов: можно раскрасить, подчеркнуть или обвести.

С удовольствием

Хорошо

Не знаю

Мне тревожно

Если затрудняетесь или есть опасения, поговорите об этом со мной или с родителями.

Я изучаю идентичность одного из вашего родителей, что он(а) делает – таким образом, исследование не о вас (не о детях). Но будучи в одном и том же месте, что и ваш родитель, вы можете быть немного вовлечены в действие.

Действие это то, что ваш родитель делает: разговаривает с кем-то, готовит, смотрит ТВ или играет с вами. Вместе с вашим родителем мы будем снимать видео и вы можете попасть в кадр.

Да

Пожалуйста, обведите , если желаете принимать участие в съемках.

НЕТ

Пожалуйста, обведите , если не хотите.

ВОЗМОЖНО

Пожалуйста, обведите , если не знаете. Если вы не можете решить, ничего страшного, потому что можете присоединиться в любое время и сказать мне или вашему родителю.

Это - моя фотография.



Надеюсь, мы сработаемся. Буду рада знакомству. Вы меня узнаете по этой фотографии.

In English

Thank you for completing this form – will you ask your parent/caregiver to sign here

.....
(signature)

.....
(Date)

if they feel that you understand what this project is about, they give this form back to me.

Researcher: Yulia Khan

WHAT DO I DO IF I HAVE CONCERNS ABOUT THIS RESEARCH?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, *Professor Sigrid Norris*, sigrid.norris@aut.ac.nz, and 09 921 9999, ext. 6262.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 07 August 2017 final ethics approval was granted, AUTEK Reference number 17/247.



(This information sheet and assent form for pre-literate children was designed by our Early Childhood Education staff. It seems to work best when printed double-sided on coloured paper and folded like a book, so it looks more like a pamphlet than a letter. It is not suitable for children over 12 years of age and for literate children needs to be used with age appropriate language. Comprehensive information about AUT's ethics approval processes may be found on the research ethics website at <http://aut.ac.nz/researchethics>)

WHO DO YOU THINK YOU ARE?! A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY AMONG RUSSIAN KOREANS IN RUSSIA, SOUTH KOREA AND NEW ZEALAND.

INFORMATION SHEET AND ASSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN

(parent/caregivers please read to children)

This form will be kept for a period of 6 years

Hello – my name is Yulia.

I would like to spend time at your home and will come 2 or 3 times a week for a term, about 4-5 weeks. When I am there I will do some writing and videotaping, and you will notice me.



You will know that I am not one of your family friends. You can talk to me and we can get to know each other. You can ask me about my work whenever you want to. Sometimes I might use a tape recorder or camera. Let me know how you feel about this by colouring in one of these words -

Happy

Fine

Not Sure

Worried

If you are not sure or worried come and talk to me about it or ask one of your parents about this.

I am finding out about what a Russian Korean parent does and who they are – I am not finding out about you. But by being at the same place as your parent, you may be involved in the action a bit.

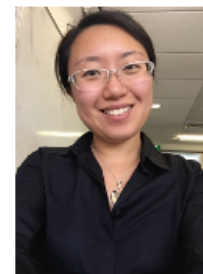
Action might be something that your parent does: talking to someone, cooking, watching TV, or playing with you. Together with your parent we will be making videos and you might be on them.

Please circle **YES** if you would like to take part in making the video

Please circle **NO** if you do not want to do this

Please circle **MAYBE** if you are not sure. If you cannot decide that is fine because you can come along anytime and tell me or one of your your parents that you want to join in.

This is my photo.



I hope we can do this together. It will be great to meet you and you will know who I am because of my photograph.

References

- Alder, J. A. (2015). Expressions of diasporic identity: Travel and food as signifiers of Polish identity. *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 15, 205-214. <https://doi.org/10.3727/109830415X14483038034164>
- Alfonso, I. D. (2012). We are what we now eat: Food and identity in the Cuban diaspora. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 37(74), 173-206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08263663.2012.11006007>
- Altman, C., Burstein-Feldman, Z., Fichman, S., Armon-Lotem, S., Joffe, S., & Walters, J. (2021). Perceptions of identity, language abilities and language preferences among Russian-Hebrew and English-Hebrew bilingual children and their parents. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 45(5), 1392–1407. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1974462>
- Appadurai, A. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (pp. 3-63). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- AUTEC. (n.d.). *Applying for ethics approval: Guidelines and procedures*. Retrieved 06/09/2019, from <https://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics/guidelines-and-procedures#3>
- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1975). *Вопросы литературы и эстетики: Исследования разных лет [The dialogic imagination]*. Moscow, USSR: Khudozestvennaya Literatura.
- Balitskaya, I., & Park, J. H. (2015). Education and mobility of Korean diaspora in Sakhalin. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 17(2), 82-96.
- Balitskaya, I., & Park, J. H. (2020). Korean diaspora in Sakhalin: “Your homeland doesn’t need you but we do”. In E.-J. Han, M. W. Han, & J. Lee (Eds.), *Korean diaspora across the world: Homeland in history, memory, imagination, media, and reality* (pp. 19-38). London, England: Lexington Books.
- Bamberg, M. (1997). Positioning between structure and performance. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4), 335-342.
- Bamberg, M., De Fina, A., & Schiffrin, D. (2011). Discourse and identity construction. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 177-199). New York, NY: Springer.
- Barkhuizen, G. (2006). Immigrant parents’ perceptions of their children’s language practices: Afrikaans speakers living in New Zealand. *Language Awareness*, 15(2), 63-79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658410608668851>
- Barkhuizen, G., & Knoch, U. (2006). Macro-level policy and micro-level planning: Afrikaans-speaking immigrants in New Zealand. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 29(1).
- Barkhuizen, G., Knoch, U., & Starks, D. (2006). Language practices, preferences and policies: Contrasting views of Pakeha, Maori, Pasifika

- and Asian students. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(5), 375-391. <https://doi.org/10.2167/jmmd450.1>
- Baynham, M. (2007). Transnational literacies: Immigration, language learning and identity. *Linguistics and Education*, 18(3), 335-338. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2007.10.002>
- Bedford, R., Ho, E., & Lidgard, J. (2000). *International migration in New Zealand: Context, components and policy issues*. Waikato, New Zealand: Population Studies Centre, The University of Waikato.
- Belk, R. W. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *the Journal of Consumer Research*, 15, 139-165.
- Belov, F. D. (2020). Учебная миграция: Факторы, влияющие на привлечение иностранных и возврат российских молодых ученых [Study migration: Factors that affect acquisition of foreign and return of Russian young scientists]. *Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов [RUDN Journal of Economics]*, 28(1), 184-195. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-2329-2020-28-1-184-195>
- Bernad-Mechó, E. (2017). Metadiscourse and topic introductions in an academic lecture: A multimodal insight. *Multimodal Communication*, 6(1), 39-60. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2016-0030>
- Bernad-Mechó, E. (2023). Multimodal (inter)action analysis for the study of lectures: Active and passive uses of metadiscourse. *Multimodal Communication, Ahead of Print*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2023-0007>
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture* (2nd ed.). London, England: Routledge.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyd, M., & Cao, X. (2009). Immigrant language proficiency, earnings, and language policies. *Canadian Studies in Population*, 36(1/2), 63-86.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4-5), 585-614. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605054407>
- Burke, K. (1969). *A grammar of motives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Burns, A., & Roberts, C. (2010). Migration and adult language learning: Global flows and local transpositions. *TESOL Quarterly*, 44(3), 409-419. <https://doi.org/10.5054/tq.2010.232478>
- Candlin, F., & Guins, R. (2009). Introducing objects. In F. Candlin & R. Guins (Eds.), *The object reader* (pp. 1-18). Abingdon, England: Routledge.
- Cavallaro, F. (2005). Language maintenance revisited: An Australian perspective. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29(3).
- Christensson, J. (2018). 'This is where my inner history teacher appears': A methodological approach to analysing student teachers' professional identity in interaction. *Classroom Discourse*, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19463014.2018.1530685>
- Coates, K., & Carr, S. C. (2005). Skilled immigrants and selection bias: A theory-based field study from New Zealand. *International Journal of*

- Intercultural Relations*, 29(5), 577-599.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.05.001>
- Cooke, M. (2006). "When I wake up I dream of electricity": The lives, aspirations, and "needs" of adult ESOL learners. *Linguistics and Education*, 17(1), 56-73. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2006.08.010>
- Crezee, I. (2010). Older Dutch migrants: Exploring benefits of formal instruction in L2 English pre-migration and ultimate attainment in L2. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics*, 16(1), 16-34.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981). *The meaning of things: Domestic symbols and the self*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- De Fina, A. (2012). Family interaction and engagement with the heritage language: A case study. *Multilingua*, 31, 349-379.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2012-0017>
- De Fina, A. (2019). Discourse and identity. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 1-8).
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0326.pub2>
- De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., & Bamberg, M. (2006). Introduction. In A. D. Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity* (pp. 1-23). Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Denney, S., Ward, P., & Green, C. (2023). Public support for migrant entrepreneurship: The case of North Koreans in the Republic of Korea. *International Migration Review*, 1-25.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231203927>
- Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act in sociology*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Denzin, N. K. (1978). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Denzin, N. K. (1997). Triangulation in educational research. In P. Keeves (Ed.), *Educational research methodology and measurement: An international handbook*. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.
- Dickey, H., Drinkwater, S., & Shubin, S. (2018). Labour market and social integration of Eastern European migrants in Scotland and Portugal. *Environment & Planning A*, 50(5), 1250-1268.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X18781086>
- Din, Y. (2013). Koreiskaya diaspora Sakhalinskoy oblasti: Konflikty grupp i stolknovenie identichnostey [The Korean diaspora in Sakhalin region: Contradictions among the groups and the collision of identities]. *Rossiya i ATR [Russia & The Pacific]*(4), 5-14.
- Din, Y. (2015a). Dreams of returning to the homeland: Koreans in Karafuto and Sakhalin. In S. Paichadze & P. Seaton (Eds.), *Voices from the shifting Russo-Japanese border* (1st ed., pp. 177-194). London, England: Routledge.
- Din, Y. (2015b). *Koreiskaya diaspora Sakhalina: Problema repatriatsii i integratsii v sovetskoe i rossiyskoe obschestvo [Sakhalin Korean diaspora: The problem of repatriation and integration into Soviet and Russian society]*. Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Russia: Sakhalin Region Press.
- Din, Y. (2020). The influence of the reform and post-reform period on the lives and migration of Sakhalin Japanese and Koreans Symposium conducted

- at the meeting of the Реформы конца XX – начала XXI в. на постсоветском пространстве: региональный аспект Retrieved from <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/vliyanie-poreformennogo-i-postreformennogo-perioda-na-zhiznedeyatelnost-i-migratsiyu-sahalinskih-yapontsev-i-koreytsev/viewer> <https://doi.org/10.24411/9999-056A-2020-10025>
- Dornyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Du Bois, I. (2011). *Discursive constructions of immigrant identity: A sociolinguistic trend study on long-term American immigrants* Berlin, Germany: Peter Lang GmbH.
- Du Bois, I. (2023). Inside the commentator's booth: A multimodal (Inter)action and conversation analysis on the production of first division football commentary on TV. *Multimodal Communication*, 12(2), 79-98. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2023-0019>
- Duranti, A. (2001). Linguistic anthropology: History, ideas, and issues. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (pp. 1-38). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers.
- Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 453–476.
- Eckert, P., & Rickford, J. R. (Eds.). (2001). *Style and sociolinguistic variation*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Elliot, J. (2005). *Using narrative in social research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London, England: SAGE.
- Embassy of Republic of Korea in Russian Federation. (2019). *Consular service: Visa information*. Retrieved 10/03/2021, from http://overseas.mofa.go.kr/ru-ru/brd/m_7334/view.do?seq=761163&srchFr=&srchTo=&srchWord=&srchTp=&multi_itm_seq=0&itm_seq_1=0&itm_seq_2=0&company_cd=&company_nm=&page=3
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Erikson, E. (1980). *Identity and life cycle*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Fischler, C. (1988). Food, self and identity. *Social Science Information*, 27(2), 275-292. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/053901888027002005>
- Fishman, J. A. (1964a). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. A definition of the field and suggestions for its further development. *Linguistics*, 2(9), 32-70. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1964.2.9.32>
- Fishman, J. A. (1964b). Language shift In J. Swann, A. Deumert, T. Lillis, & R. Mesthrie (Eds.), *Dictionary of sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1972). *The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Fishman, J. A. (1985). *The rise and fall of the ethnic revival: Perspectives on language and ethnicity*. Berlin, Germany: DeGruyter Mouton.
- Fishman, J. A. (1989). *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

- Fishman, J. A. (2006). Language policy and language shift. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 311-328). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Fortier, A.-M. (2000). *Migrant belongings: Memory, space and identity* (1st ed.). Oxford, England: Berg Publishers.
- Fumagalli, M. (2022). Post-Soviet Koreans. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.013.635>
- García, O. (2022). Too much psychology? The role of the social in language learning motivation. In A. H. Al-Hoorie & F. Szabó (Eds.), *Researching language learning motivation: A concise guide* (pp. 27-36). London, England: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, 25, 99-125.
- Gee, J. P. (2011a). Discourse analysis: What makes it critical? In R. Rogers (Ed.), *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education* (2nd ed., pp. 23-45). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2011b). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2012). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2014). *How to discourse analysis: A toolkit* (2nd ed.). Abington, England: Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2017). Identity and diversity in today's world. *Multicultural Education Review*, 9(2), 83-92.
<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/2005615X.2017.1312216>
- Geenen, J. (2013a). Actionary pertinence: Space to place in kitesurfing. *Multimodal Communication*, 2(2), 123-154. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2013-0007>
- Geenen, J. (2013b). *Kitesurfing: Action, (inter)action and mediation* (PhD thesis). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://orapp.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/6054>
- Geenen, J. (2013c). Multimodality and identity construction. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 1-5).
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0827>
- Geenen, J. (2015). Mediation as interrelationship: Example of kitesurfing. In S. Norris & C. D. Maier (Eds.), *Interactions, images and texts* (pp. 247-254). Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Geenen, J. (2017). Show and (sometimes) tell: Identity construction and the affordances of video-conferencing. *Multimodal Communication*, 6(1), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2017-0002>
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). Small and large identities in narrative (inter)action. In A. D. Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity* (pp. 83-102). Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2007). *Small stories, interaction and identities*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Giddens, A. (1994). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the modern age*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- Goffman, E. (1956). *Presentation of self in everyday life*. London, England: Penguin Books.

- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.
- Goizelaia, M., Iturregui, L., & Unda, A. (2022). Basque food: The connection with the home country. *Diaspora Studies*, 15, 209-227. <https://doi.org/10.1163/09763457-01502001>
- Gumperz, J. J. (1968/2001). The speech community. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (pp. 43-52). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1977). The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. *RELC Journal*, 8(2), 1-34. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/003368827700800201>
- Hall, E. T. (1966). *The hidden dimension*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Hall, S. (1992/2007). Cultural identity and diaspora. In S. Manning & A. Taylor (Eds.), *Transatlantic Literary Studies: A Reader* (pp. 131-138). Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hall, S. (1996a). Cultural identity and diaspora. In P. Mongia (Ed.), *Contemporary postcolonial theory: A reader* (pp. 110-121). London, England: Arnold.
- Hall, S. (1996b). Introduction: Who needs 'identity'? In S. Hall & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1-17). London, England: SAGE Publications.
- Han, C., Starkey, H., & Green, A. (2010). The Politics of ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages): Implications for Citizenship and Social Justice. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(1), 63-76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370903471304>
- Han, E.-J. (2020). Looking at Koreans' global migration path through the lenses of family history. In E.-J. Han, M. W. Han, & J. Lee (Eds.), *Korean diaspora across the world: Homeland in history, memory, imagination, media and reality* (pp. 1-16). London, England: Lexington Books.
- Han, E.-J., Han, M. W., & Lee, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Korean diaspora across the world: Homeland in history, memory, imagination, media, and reality*. London, England: Lexington Books.
- Hardy, A., & Zalipour, A. (2023). Material culture and changing identities: Religion, society, and art in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Alternative Spirituality and Religion Review*. https://doi.org/https://www.pdcnet.org/asrr/content/asrr_2023_0999_3_1_97
- Hariyatmi, S. (2019). Food: Invisible bridge connecting the past and present day of diasporic identity. *CELTIC: A Journal of Culture, English Language Teaching, Literature & Linguistics*, 6(2), 42-50.
- Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style* New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.
- Holland, D., & Lachicotte Jr, W. (2011). Vygotsky, Mead, and the new sociocultural studies of identity. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 101-135). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Holmes, J. (2000). Talking English from 9 to 5: Challenges for ESL learners at work. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.2000.tb00143.x>

- Holmes, J. (2008). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (3rd ed.). Harlow, England: Pearson Education.
- Hong, Y., Song, C., & Park, J. (2013). Korean, Chinese, or what? Identity transformations of Chosonjok (Korean Chinese) migrant brides in South Korea. *Asian Ethnicity*, 14(1), 29-51.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2012.703074>
- Hymes, D. (1964). *Language in culture and society: A reader in linguistics and anthropology*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 269-285). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.
- Immigration New Zealand. (2018, 20/03/2018). *Operational Manual*. Retrieved from <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/opsmanual/>
- Immigration New Zealand. (2021). *Statistics - Residence applications*. Retrieved from <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/documents/statistics/statistics-residence-applications-on-hand>
- Ishikida, M. Y. (2005). *Toward peace: War responsibility, postwar compensation, and peace movements and education in Japan*. New York, NY: iUniverse.
- Jeong, J. (2020). Homeland in the kitchen: The intersection of food and diasporic identity. In E.-J. Han, M. W. Han, & J. Lee (Eds.), *Korean diaspora across the world: Homeland in history, memory, imagination, media, and reality* (pp. 73-93). London, England: Lexington Books.
- Jeong, Y.-J., You, H.-K., & Yang, S. (2024). Revisiting transnational activities: Korean immigrant mothers' home visit for families. *SAGE Open*, 1-12.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440241240912>
- Jones, R. H. (2005). Sites of engagement as sites of attention: Time, space and culture in electronic discourse. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing mediated discourse analysis* (pp. 141-154). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Jones, R. H. (2015). Mediated discourse analysis. In S. Norris & C. D. Maier (Eds.), *Interactions, images and text: A reader in multimodality* (pp. 39-51). Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter.
- Jones, R. H., & Norris, S. (2005a). Introducing mediational means/cultural tools. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing mediated discourse analysis* (pp. 49-51). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Jones, R. H., & Norris, S. (2005b). Introducing practice. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing mediated discourse analysis* (pp. 97-99). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Jones, R. H., & Norris, S. (2005c). Introducing site of engagement. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing mediated discourse analysis* (pp. 139-140). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Joo, H. (2009). Literacy practices and heritage language maintenance: The case of Korean-American immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 19(1). <https://doi.org/10.1075/japc.19.1.05joo>
- Joseph, E., & Voeks, R. (2021). Indian diaspora gastronomy: On the changing use of herbs and spices among Southern California's Indian immigrant women. *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems*, 5(Article 610081), 1-21.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2021.610081>

- Kaplan, R., & Baldauf Jr, R. B. (2011). North Korea's language revision and some unforeseen consequences. In J. A. Fishman & O. García (Eds.), *Handbook of language and ethnic identity: The success-failure continuum in language and ethnic identity efforts* (Vol. 2, pp. 153-167). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Y. (2016). *Adult migrant English language education policy in Aotearoa New Zealand: 2002-2014* (Master of Arts thesis). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/handle/10292/9921>
- Kim, G. (2009). *Ethnic entrepreneurship of Koreans in the USSR and Post Soviet Central Asia*: Institute of Developing Economies.
- Kim, H. (2021). "Knocking on the door to integration": Korean immigrants' stories of seeking membership in Aotearoa New Zealand society. *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work*, 33(1), 29-43.
- Kim, H., & Hocking, C. (2018). A grounded theory of Korean immigrants' experiences of re-establishing everyday activities in New Zealand. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 16(3), 225-274. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2016.1272732>
- Koenker, D. P. (2018). The taste of others: Soviet adventures in cosmopolitan cuisines. *Kritika: Explorations in Russian & Eurasian History*, 19(2), 243-282. <https://doi.org/10.1353/kri.2018.0015>
- Kokaisl, P. (2018). Koreans in Central Asia - A different Korean nation. *Asian Ethnicity*, 19(4), 428-452. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2018.1439725>
- Kopytoff, I. (1986). The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (pp. 64-91). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Krzyzanowski, M., & Wodak, R. (2008). Multiple identities, migration and belonging: 'Voices of migrants'. In C. Caldas-Coulthard & R. Iedema (Eds.), *Identity trouble: Critical discourse and contested identities* (pp. 95-119). Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1997). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7, 3-38.
- Lakoff, R. T. (2006). Identity à la carte: You are what you eat. In A. De Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity* (pp. 142-165). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511584459>
- Lankov, A. N. (2000). *Koreya: Budni i prazdniki [Korea: Weekdays and holidays]*. Moscow, Russia: Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya.
- Lee, D. (2011). *Sakhalin Korean identity and engagement in the 21st century Korean diaspora* (Unpublished senior thesis). Pomona College, Claremont, CA.
- Lee, H. K. (2018). *Between foreign and family: Return migration and identity construction among Korean Americans and Korean Chinese*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lee, J. (2002). Korea's policy for ethnic Koreans overseas. *Korea and World Politics Quarterly*, Winter 2002. Retrieved from http://koreafocus.or.kr/design1/layout/content_print.asp?group_id=411

- Lemke, J. L. (1992). Intertextuality and educational research. *Linguistics and Education*, 4(3), 257-267. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0898-5898\(92\)90003-F](https://doi.org/10.1016/0898-5898(92)90003-F)
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1962). *La pensée sauvage*. Paris, France: Plon.
- Lisovskaya, A. (2018). *The role of enclave economy in the process of immigrant integration in host society: The case of ethnic Koreans from the Post-Soviet states in the Republic of Korea* (Master of International Studies thesis). Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea. Retrieved from <https://s-space.snu.ac.kr/bitstream/10371/141725/1/000000150299.pdf>
- Logie, A. (2016). Untold tales: Two lesser known personal and social-linguistic histories of Sakhalin Koreans. *Studia Orientalia Electronica*(117), 269-280.
- Luke, A., & Luke, C. (1999). Theorizing interracial families and hybrid identity: An Australian perspective. *Educational Theory*, 49(2), 223-249.
- Madden, R. (2010). *Being ethnographic: A guide to the theory and practice of ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Makboon, B. (2013). The 'Chosen One': Depicting religious belief through gestures. *Multimodal Communication*, 2(2), 171-194. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2013-0009>
- Makboon, B. (2015). *Spiritual vegetarianism: Identity in everyday life of Thai non-traditional religious cult members* (PhD thesis). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://orapp.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/8817>
- Maksimova, A. S. (2019). Migration of highly qualified specialists from Russia: Methodology and trends. *Statistics & economics*, 16(3), 34-43. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21686/2500-3925-2019-3-34-43>
- Manuela, S., & Anae, M. (2017). Pacific youth, acculturation and identity: The relationship between ethnic identity and well-being - new directions for research. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 1(1), 130-147.
- Marino, S. (2018). Digital food and foodways: How online food practices and narratives shape the Italian diaspora in London. *Journal of Material Culture*, 23(3), 263-279. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183517725091>
- Marra, M. (2014). Language and culture in sociolinguistics. In F. Sharifian (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and culture* (pp. 373-385). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Matelau, T. (2015). Vertical identity production and Māori identity. In S. Norris & C. D. Maier (Eds.), *Interactions, images and text* (pp. 255-266). Berlin, Germany: DeGruyter Mouton.
- Matelau-Doherty, T. (2019). Art, ethnic identity and frozen actions: Conceptualising art created and displayed in the home of a Māori visual artist and a Samoan visual artist. *Multimodal Communication*, 8(1), 1-17. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2018-0005>
- Matelau-Doherty, T. (2020). *The construction of indigenous identity through creativity: An exploration of Māori and Pacific identity constructed through dance, visual arts, and creative writing* (PhD thesis). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://orapp.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/13451>
- May, S. (2006). Language policy and minority rights. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 255-272). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- May, S. (2012). *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Min, W. (2020). The 1.5 and 2nd generations in Chile: Am I a Korean? In E.-J. Han, M. W. Han, & J. Lee (Eds.), *Korean diaspora across the world: Homeland in history, memory, imagination, media, and reality* (pp. 113-128). London, England: Lexington Bookx.
- Money, A. (2007). Material culture and the living room: The appropriation and use of goods in everyday life. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 7(3), 355-377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540507081630>
- Nancheva, N. (2024). First-generation Korean food entrepreneurship: Strategies of living with (ethnic) difference in the city. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2024.2405656>
- Nelson, K. P. (2016). Mapping multiple histories of Korean American transnational adoption. In M. Zhou & A. C. Ocampo (Eds.), *Contemporary Asian America: A multidisciplinary reader* (3rd ed., pp. 404-428). New York, NY: New York University Press. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.aut.ac.nz>
- Nishida, K. (1958). *Intelligibility and philosophy of nothingness*. Tokyo, Japan: Maruzen.
- Norris, S. (2004a). *Analyzing multimodal interaction: A methodological framework*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Norris, S. (2004b). Multimodal discourse analysis: A conceptual framework In P. LeVine & R. Scollon (Eds.), *Discourse and technology: Multimodal discourse analysis* (pp. 101-115). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Norris, S. (2007). The micropolitics of personal national and ethnicity identity. *Discourse & Society*, 18(1), 653-674. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926507079633>
- Norris, S. (2011a). *Identity in (inter)action: Introducing multimodal (inter)action analysis*. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Norris, S. (2011b). Practice-based research: Multimodal explorations through poetry and painting. *Multimodal Communication*, 1(1), 31-45.
- Norris, S. (2012). Multimodality in practice: Investigating theory-in-practice-through-methology. In S. Norris (Ed.), *Multimodality in practice: Investigating theory-in-practice-through-methology* (pp. 222-226). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Norris, S. (2013a). Multimodal (inter)action analysis: An integrated methodology. In C. Müller, A. Cienski, E. Fricke, S. H. Ladewig, D. McNeill, & S. Teßendorf (Eds.), *Body - Language - Communication: An international handbook on multimodality in human interaction* (Vol. 1, pp. 275-286). Berlin, Germany: DeGruyter.
- Norris, S. (2013b). What is a mode? Smell, olfactory perception, and the notion of mode in multimodal mediated theory. *Multimodal Communication*, 2(2), 155-170. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2013-0008>
- Norris, S. (2014). Modal density and modal configurations: Multimodal actions. In C. Jewitt (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of multimodal analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 86-99). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Norris, S. (2017). Scales of action: An example of driving and car talk in Germany and North America. *Text & Talk*, 37, 117-139.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/text-2016-0040>
- Norris, S. (2019). *Systematically working with multimodal data: Research methods in multimodal discourse analysis*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons.
- Norris, S. (2020). *Multimodal theory and methodology: For the analysis of (inter)action and identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Norris, S. (2021). Multimodal (inter)action analysis in a nutshell: Philosophy, theory, method and methodology. *QUIVIRR*, 2, 1-8.
<https://doi.org/10.5278/ojs.quivirr.v2.2021.a0004>
- Norris, S., & Makboon, B. (2015). Objects, frozen actions, and identity: A multimodal (inter)action analysis. *Multimodal Communication*, 4(1), 43-59. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2015-0007>
- O'Connor, A., & Batalova, J. (2019). *Korean immigrants in the United States*. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/korean-immigrants-united-states-2017>
- Ongley, P., & Pearson, D. (1995). Post-1945 international migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada compared. *The International Migration Review*, 29(3), 765-793.
- Opara, O. (2017). Trends and patterns of post-communist migration from Russia to New Zealand since the 1990s. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 26(4), 480-504.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/0117196817747103>
- Oum, Y. R. (2005). Authenticity and representation: Cuisines and identities in Korean-American diaspora. *Postcolonial Studies*, 8(1), 109-125.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790500134380>
- Ozers, L. (2024). Maintaining ethnic identity and heritage language through community involvement: A case study of third-generation Australian-Latvians. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 56(3), 599-620.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2024.2407872>
- Paichadze, S. (2022). *Identity, language and education of Sakhalin Japanese and Koreans: Continual diaspora*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-13798-3>
- Pak, A., & Savkovich, E. (2019). The program of repatriation of the Sakhalin Koreans of the Red Cross society of the Republic of Korea and Japan. *The Newman in Foreign Policy*, 47(91), 41-46.
- Parasecoli, F. (2014). Food, identity, and cultural reproduction in immigrant communities. *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 81(2), 415-439. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2014.0015>
- Park, J. S., & Chang, P. Y. (2005). Contention in the construction of a global Korean community: The case of the Overseas Korean Act. *The Journal of Korean Studies*, 10(1), 1-27.
- Park, S. U. (2019). *Sakhalinskije koreitsy v poiskah identifikatsii [Sakhalin Koreans in search of identification]*. Moscow, Russia: Pero Publishing House.
- Pechurina, A. (2017). Post-Soviet Russian-speaking migration to the UK: The discourses of visibility and accountability. In M. V. Nikolko & D. Carment (Eds.), *Post-Soviet migration and diasporas: From global perspectives to everyday practices* (pp. 29-45). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Pechurina, A. (2020). Researching identities through material possessions: The case of diasporic objects. *Current Sociology*, 68(5), 669-683.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120927746>
- Pechurina, A. (2023). 'Visiting home' as a method and experience: Researching Russian migrants' homes in the UK. In P. Boccagni & S. Bonfanti (Eds.), *Migration and domestic space: Ethnographies of home in the making*. Retrieved from
<https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/62389/978-3-031-23125-4.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Penuel, W., & Wertsch, J. V. (1995a). Dynamics of negation in negation in the identity politics of cultural other and cultural self. *Culture & Psychology*, 1, 343-359.
- Penuel, W., & Wertsch, J. V. (1995b). Vygotsky and identity formation: A sociocultural approach. *Educational Psychologist*, 30(2), 83-92.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep3002_5
- Pietikäinen, S., Lane, P., Salo, H., & Laihiala-Kankainen, S. (2011). Frozen actions in the Arctic linguistic landscape: A nexus of analysis of language processes in visual space. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 8(4), 277-298. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2011.555553>
- Pink, S. (2012). *Situating everyday life: Practices and places*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pink, S. (2021). *Doing visual ethnography* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pirini, J. (2013). Analysing business coaching: Using modal density as a methodological tool. *Multimodal Communication*, 2(2), 195-216.
<https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/mc-2013-0010>
- Pirini, J. (2015). Introduction to multimodal (inter)action analysis. In S. Norris & C. D. Maier (Eds.), *Interactions, images and text: A reader in multimodality* (pp. 77-92). Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter.
- Pirini, J. (2016). Intersubjectivity and materiality: A multimodal perspective. *Multimodal Communication*, 5(1), 1-14.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2016-0003>
- Pirini, J. (2017). *Peer tutoring: A training and facilitation guide*. Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER Press.
- Pirini, J., Norris, S., Geenen, J., & Matelau, T. (2015). Studying social actors: Some thoughts on ethics. In S. Norris & C. D. Maier (Eds.), *Interactions, images and texts* (pp. 233-242). Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Podesva, R. J. (2007). Phonation type as a stylistic variable: The use of falsetto in constructing a persona. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(4), 478-504.
- Purbrick, L. (2014). 'I love giving presents': The emotion of material culture. In A. Moran & S. O'Brien (Eds.), *Love objects: Emotion, design, and material culture* (pp. 23-35). London, England: Bloomsbury.
- Roberts, M. (2005). Immigrants' attitudes towards language maintenance in New Zealand. In A. Bell, R. Harlow, & D. Starks (Eds.), *Languages of New Zealand* (pp. 248-270). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Roberts, S. (2023). Identity markers among Koreans in Germany and the United States: Language loss and food preferences. *Migration and Language Education*, 4(2), 1-18.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.29140/mle.v4n2.1308>

- Roh, S. Y., & Chang, I. Y. (2020). Exploring the role of family and school as spaces for 1.5 generation South Korean's adjustment and identity negotiation in New Zealand: A qualitative study. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(12), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17124408>
- Samsonov, D. A. (2013). *Koreiskiy etiket: Opyt etnograficheskogo issledovaniya (Korean etiquette: An ethnographic study experience)*. St. Petersburg, Russia: 2013. Retrieved from <https://lib.kunstkamera.ru/files/lib/978-5-02-038335-7/978-5-02-038335-7.pdf>
- Saveliev, I. (2010). Mobility decision-making and new diasporic spaces: Conceptualizing Korean diasporas in the post-Soviet space. *Pacific Affairs*, 83(3), 481-504.
- Saveliev, I. (2018). Homeland and diasporic space: Transnational practices of Central Asian and Sakhalin Koreans. *Eurasia Border Review*, 9(1), 29-43. <https://doi.org/10.14943/ebr.9.1.29>
- Sayadabdi, A., & Howland, P. J. (2021). Foodways, Iranianness, and national identity habitus: The Iranian diaspora in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Food and Foodways*, 29(4), 331-354. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2021.1984577>
- Schermuly, A. C., & Forbes-Mewett, H. (2016). Food, identity and belonging: A case study of South African-Australians. *British Food Journal*, 118(10), 2434-2443. <https://doi.org/10.1108/BFJ-01-2016-0037>
- Schiffrin, D. (1996). Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic constructions of identity. *Language in Society*, 25(2), 167-203.
- Scholar, H. (2017). The neglected paraphernalia of practice? Objects and artefacts in social work identity, practice and research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 16(5), 631-648. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325016637911>
- Scollon, R. (1997). Handbills, tissues, and condoms: A site of engagement for a construction of identity in public discourse. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 1(1), 39-61.
- Scollon, R. (1998). *Mediated discourse as social interaction: A study of news discourse*. London, England: Longman.
- Scollon, R. (2001). *Mediated discourse: The nexus of practice*. London, England: Routledge.
- Scollon, R. (2005). The rhythmic integration of action and discourse: Work, the body and the earth. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing mediated discourse analysis* (pp. 20-31). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2001). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2004). *Nexus analysis: Discourse and the emerging internet*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Semenenko, I. (2015). Ethnicities, nationalism and the politics of identity: Shaping the nation in Russia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 67(2), 306-326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.1002681>
- Sengupta, T. (2021). Heroes and villains: Multimodal identity construction in children's wartime visual narratives. *Multimodal Communication*, 10(3), 265-288. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2021-0011>
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication*, 23, 193-229.

- Slepenkova, I. M. (2022). Loss of human capital caused by emigration *Studies on Russian Economic Development*, 33(4), 432-439.
<https://doi.org/10.1134/S1075700722040104>
- Sloboda, M. (2011). Belarusian In J. A. Fishman & O. García (Eds.), *Handbook of language and ethnic identity: The success-failure continuum in language and ethnic identity efforts* (Vol. 2, pp. 381-398). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Sohn, B.-G. (2023). Designing new Korean mothers, daughters-in-law, and wives: An analysis of Korean textbooks for newly arrived marriage migrants in South Korea. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 14(6), 1755-1779.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2022-2016>
- Song, C. (2013). Ethnic entrepreneurship of Korean New Zealanders: Restaurant business as self-employment practice. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 15(2), 94-109.
- Song, C. (2016). Kimchi, seaweed, and seasoned carrot in the Soviet culinary culture: The spread of Korean food in the Soviet Union and Korean diaspora. *Journal of Ethnic Foods*, 3(1), 78-84.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jef.2016.01.007>
- Spoonley, P. (2006). A contemporary political economy of labour migration in New Zealand. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 97(1), 17-25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2006.00492.x>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2018a). *Korean ethnic group*. Retrieved 11/05/2022, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-ethnic-group-summaries/korean>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2018b). *Russian ethnic group*. Retrieved 11/05/2022, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-ethnic-group-summaries/russian>
- Stephan, J. J. (1970). Sakhalin island: Soviet outpost in Northeast Asia. *Asian Survey*, 19(12), 1090-1100. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643058>
- Stöckl, H., & Messner, M. (2021). Tam pam pam pam and mi-fa-sol: Constituting musical instructions through multimodal interaction in orchestra rehearsals. *Multimodal Communication*, 10(3), 193-209.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2021-0003>
- Stryker, S. (2007). Identity theory and personality theory: Mutual relevance. *Journal of Personality*, 75(6), 1084-1102.
- Stryker, S., & Burke, P. J. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(4), 284-297.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2307/2695840>
- Takhar, A., Kizgin, H., & Magede, T. (2020). The identity construction of the inbetweeners, through food consumption: “You are what you eat”. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 48, 143-147.
- Tannen, B. (1994). *Gender and discourse*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Tannen, B. (1995). *Conversational style: Analyzing talk among friends* (6th printing ed.). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Tsuda, T., & Song, C. (Eds.). (2019). *Diasporic returns to the ethnic homeland: The Korean diaspora in comparative perspective*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Urbansky, S., & Barop, H. (2017). Under the red star's faint light: How Sakhalin became Soviet. *Kritika: Explorations in Russian & Eurasian History*, 18(2), 283-316. <https://doi.org/10.1353/kri.2017.0019>
- van Leeuwen, T. (1996). The representation of social actors. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* (pp. 32-70). London, England: Routledge.
- van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- van Leeuwen, T. (2015). Discourse as the recontextualization of social practice - a guide. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd ed., pp. 137-153). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.
- van Leeuwen, T. (2021). *Multimodality and identity* (1st ed.). London, England: Routledge.
- Vorobyeva, O., Aleshkovski, I., & Grebenyuk, A. A. (2018). Russian emigration at the turn of the 21st century. *Filosofija. Sociologia*, 29(2), 107-118. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.6001/fil-soc.v29i2.3706>
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1934). *Мышление и речь [Thought and language]*. Moscow/Leningrad, USSR: Государственное Социально-Экономическое Издательство [State Socio-Economic Publishing].
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1982). *Собрание сочинений. Том первый: Вопросы теории и истории психологии [Collected works. Volume 1: Problems in the theory and history of psychology]*. Moscow, Russia: Pedagogika.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1985). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1993). *Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1994). The primacy of mediated action in sociocultural studies. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 1(4), 202-208. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/10749039409524672>
- Wertsch, J. V. (1998). *Mind as action*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (2005). Vygotsky's two approaches to mediation. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing mediated discourse analysis* (pp. 52-61). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wertsch, J. V., & Rupert, L. J. (1993). The authority of cultural tools in a sociocultural approach to mediated agency. *Cognition and Instruction*, 11(3), 227-239.
- White, C., Watts, N., & Trlin, A. (2001). *Immigrant and refugee experiences of ESOL provision in New Zealand: Realities and responsibilities*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Massey University. Retrieved from http://newsettlers.massey.ac.nz/publications_pdfs/White,%20Watts%20and%20Trlin%20OP%20No.%205.pdf?PHPSESSID=030dc165e8f4311ddff388aee5e6930c
- White, C., Watts, N., & Trlin, A. (2002). New Zealand as an English-language learning environment: Immigrant experiences, provider perspectives and social policy implications. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*(18), 148-162.
- Woodward, I. (2007). *Understanding material culture*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.
- Yamanouchi, Y. (2024). Memories, relationships and identity: Food-related narratives and memory among Japanese descendants in Broome,

- Western Australia. *Food, Culture & Society*, 27(4), 1038-1055.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2023.2211485>
- Yew, L. K. (2023). From China to fostering rooting innovation in Nanyang: Three generations of Malaysian Chinese family businesses in food manufacturing. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 37(4), 1205–1223.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2023.2167070>
- Young, S. L. (2009). Half and half: An (auto)ethnography of hybrid identities in Korean American mother-daughter relationship. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 2(2), 139-167.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/17513050902759512>
- Zappavigna, M. (2019). The organised self and lifestyle minimalism: Multimodal deixis and point of view in decluttering vlogs on YouTube. *Multimodal Communication*, 8(1), 1-14. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2019-0001>