RIGHT THEN, LEFT NOW¹: CONSTRUCTING “MACEDONIA” IN THE MACEDONIAN DIASPORAS IN AUSTRALIA AND EUROPE

*Aleksandar Takovski, AAB College in Priština, Kosovo,
aleksandar.takovski@universitatieaab.com*

*Maja Muhić, South East European University, in Tetovo and Skopje,
North Macedonia, m.muhić@seeu.edu.mk*

DOI: 10.31902/fil.31.2020.7

UDK: 314.745.3-054.72(=163.3)

Abstract: In the XX century, especially after WWII, a great number of ethnic Macedonians have migrated to Australia and the US, while recently, after the 1991 dissolution of Yugoslavia, the direction of the migration influx has changed its course mainly towards Europe. While the first diaspora community was motivated by economic reasons drawing rural and urban citizens alike in pursuit of better life, the second wave of migration was led by political circumstances pushing mostly young educated people who failed to envisage decent life in the homeland. Hence there is a reason to believe that the two communities have different views and feelings of their homeland that underpin their construction of it. To identify the types of ‘Macedonia’ constructed by these two communities of migrants, and trace similarities and differences, this study will analyze on-line discourses on Macedonia produced by the members of the two diasporas. In so doing, we will be particularly interested in the meanings, attitudes, feelings and images the two communities ascribe to the homeland through the on-line interaction on their FB pages.

Keywords: diaspora, homeland, banal nationalism, discourse

Introduction (context, problem statement, hypothesis, objectives and methods)

Although originating from a single homeland, different immigration motives and circumstances underpinning two immigration waves set fifty years apart can create two different diasporas, which in

¹ The head title refers to both the geographical positioning of the two diasporas, the right pointing to Australia when seen on the map, the left on the spatial positioning of Europe, while at the same time it refers to the ideological positioning of the diasporas on the political continuum, Australian diaspora occupying the right part of the ideological axis, conservative republicans, European diaspora being located at the left part, the more socio-democratic so to say.

turn construct different images of their homeland. Based on this premise, and focusing on the internet and the new communication technologies as the semiotic resources used to construct those images, the general aim of this study is to examine the online construction of homeland by two geographically and temporally separate diasporic communities, the Macedonian² migrants in Australia and the Macedonian migrants in Europe. The purpose of so doing is to identify differences between the two constructs of the homeland and try to account for these differences by discussing the underpinning factors, economic, social and political.

Some of the circumstances that have given rise to the different representations of the homeland, we contend, are the time of the migration waves and the underpinning socio political circumstances. Regarding the former, the Macedonian immigration to Australia dates back to the 1950s, whereas the migration to Europe, is a more recent phenomenon intensified in the early 2000s. On one hand, the sixty and so years of Macedonian diaspora in Australia have resulted in second and third generations of immigrants, whereas the Macedonian diaspora in Europe has barely met its second generation. In terms of the construction of the images of homeland, the image of Macedonia among the recent immigrants in Europe has been brought to the host countries, and as such it is not an idealized image passed on to them by older generations of immigrants. Unlike which, the Australian immigrants of the second and the third generation were born with the idea of the homeland that has been imagined for them (Anderson 1983) by their elders, and instituted through a plethora of everyday practices and revered narratives of the homeland (Hobsbawm 1983). Without the first-hand experience of the homeland as shared by European migrants, in addition to the geographic distance between the host country (Australia) and the homeland, the only venue for the construction of the homeland for these generations of migrants is a symbolic one filled with persuasive, suggestive and identity mobilizing narratives.

Concomitant to these differences, is the sense of national identity, both as a political construct and personal “we feeling” performed by the two communities and shaped by two different

² Being a contested issue for many years, by Macedonians we refer to South Slavic ethnic group living on the territory of present Republic of North Macedonia (the new name of what was previously the Republic of Macedonia, marking the end of the years long dispute with the southern neighbor, Greece). We will however use the reference Macedonia in the remaining of the text given that some of the images of the homeland that we explore are created exactly as a reaction to the name change.

political circumstances these people have left behind when migrating. The Australian diaspora has eloped from the socialist regime that was unable to provide for them more satisfying economic conditions. Moreover, these immigrants did not leave their homeland with a feeling of political disappointment. As a matter of fact, one could claim that in circumstances of politically unfavorable or oppressing circumstances, the Yugoslav supra national identity and the pressure it imposed on national identity, made the later only stronger, being free to thrive in a politically non-threatening environment such as Australia. Different than this, a great deal of Macedonian migrants in Europe were led not only by economic motivations, but political too, manifested in the disappointment from the homeland and the politically inhibiting circumstances present such as partization of the state institutions, centralization of power, labour market under heavy handed control by the government and the ruling party, all resulting in discriminative labour relations and limited life and career opportunities.

These economic and political circumstances, we contend, in addition to the demographic factors such as the more educated Macedonian workforce migrating to Europe, the possible tendency to acquire a more supranational (European) identity rather than only perpetuate national identity, the geographic distance resulting in greater pressure to perpetuate national identity in the host land manifested by Macedonian diaspora in Australia, the transported Macedonian-Greek antagonism on Australian soil, have all contributed to the creation of two different images of homeland constructed by the two diasporas. In this context, we believe that the different immigration histories and motivations have contributed to the construction of two different national consciousness and identities that have in turn created two different homelands.

To identify manifestations of these differences first and then to plausibly account for them in terms of possible underlying reasons we have collected two data corpuses consisting of posts gathered from the FB sites of different Macedonian immigrant online communities in Australia and Europe. The posts harvested are multimodal in contents, most often a combination of image and an accompanying text, but very often image crops, videos, and images with captions and alike. Using the two corpuses we have examined the contents of the data and have identified five topics (topical categories) depicting different representations of the homeland (and types of relations). While some of the categories overlap when cross comparing the two corpuses, there are significant differences pointing to the different diasporic

imagination of the homeland. The categories will show a much greater patriotism with an abundance of historical narratives and mythical overtones of continuity of the country and the ethnic group in the case of the diaspora in Australia, and practical issues on residence procedures and solidarity as a key concept among the diaspora in Europe.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Anthropological studies on homeland & diaspora

The word diaspora is of Greek origin and means “scattering of seeds” (Anthias 560). Diaspora is a complex notion that is defined both in terms of national identity, but also as a distinct community that has developed a new collective identity, and a consciousness that is not fundamentally and pervasively nationalist.

One approach to the study of diaspora has been insisting on the inseparable link of the concept of diaspora with nationalism and ethnonationalism. Among the 6 characteristics of what constitutes a *diaspora*, Safran (1991) points out that it is a concept that should be applied to expatriate minority communities whose members “retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements” (83). This community recognizes that they cannot be fully accepted by the host country and desire for an eventual return to their homeland. Moreover, the members of this community continue to relate, to that homeland, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. According to Safran, the concept of *diaspora* can most legitimately be applied to the Armenian, Maghrebi, Turkish, Palestinian, Cuban, Greek, Chinese diasporas at present and of the Polish diaspora of the past, although, as he points out, “none of them fully conforms to the ‘ideal type’ of the Jewish Diaspora” (84). The specific side of Safran’s argument is the firm connection that he establishes between the concept of diaspora and the national identity or distinct community that is tied with it.

A similar approach is taken by Weingrod and Levy (2005) who place diaspora in the framework of ethnic groups and minorities set within larger societies (xii). An important point is brought into light by the authors with respect to emphasizing the significance of the *homeland*, with which the diaspora remains attached, and even engaged with its fates and futures. In this respect, one of our tasks is to study the nature and the manifestation of this link and the engagement of the diaspora in the fate of the homeland. Defining

diaspora and homeland is by no means an easy task. This is well elaborated by Weingrod and Levy who shed light on the transformative meanings of both concepts through time. Hence if *diaspora* once denoted melancholy places of exile and oppression, it now came to denote the formation of new, “hybridic” identities (4). Similarly, if the *homeland* represented places filled with memory of past glory, it now represents nation-states often repressing minorities and limiting their cultural and other freedoms (5).

Brubaker (2005) proposes the following three criteria for defining diaspora. The first is dispersion in space; the second, orientation to a “homeland”; and the third, boundary-maintenance (5-6). While the first two categories have been briefly discussed earlier, the third one, accentuates the importance of the preservation of a distinctive identity vis-à-vis the host society (6). There are various means by which the boundaries can be maintained such as endogamy and other forms of self-segregation. We deem these categories as important and have used them as points of analysis in the concluding remarks of our study. Yet, as Brubaker points out, there is great ambivalence in the literature treating diaspora, from those emphasizing the preservation of identity as the focal point to those arguing that diasporas bring forth hybridity, syncretism, and creolization (6). This new understanding of diaspora has developed out of the emerging literature on transnationalism and among the postcolonial theory scholars.

Unlike the above-discussed theories which emphasize the inseparable connection of diaspora with national identity and hence, homeland, these theories see the diaspora as a transnational formation thus challenging its boundedness to the nation state and nationhood (Clifford 1994; Bhabha, 1994; Gilroy, 1993). The simplified understanding of the diaspora as a scattered community yearning for its national homeland has been challenged by a number of scholars (Boyarín & Boyarín, 1993; Hall, 1990). Among the underpinning arguments of the postcolonial scholars regarding diaspora and its hybridity is the challenge to the global power relations whereby diaspora is always understood as an unprivileged homogenous community, a minority. The concepts of hybridization and transnationalism have brought forth the argument that the diasporic identity has the capacity to declare even if only symbolically a liberation from the inferior position of ethnic minority in an “oppressive national hegemony” (Clifford, 225). The dichotomy of an ethnic minority and a liberal state is challenged by Clifford who argues that “diasporic identifications reach beyond ethnic status within the

composite, liberal state,” imparting a “sense of being a ‘people’ with historical roots and destinies outside the time/space of the host nation” (225).

A third approach to diaspora comes from scholars who place this category within the framework of co-responsibility, thus defining diasporas as potential moral communities which engage in different ways with their homelands. According to Kleist for instance (2008) diasporas are not necessarily representative of one entity with common interests, but can often be groups with diverse position and interest. She even argues that diaspora should be understood in a rather mobile, fluid sense, understanding it not so much as a category that tells us something about a population, but as a “category that tells us something about the *claims and identifications* who identify or are identified as ‘a diaspora’” (1130). This approach challenges the first one and brings forth the importance of how the homeland is being perceived because it claims that diasporas are not always defined by their orientation to a singular national homeland. Instead, the individual’s own narrative and definition of diaspora identity is what actually defines diaspora (Werbner 2000, 15). We argue that these theoretical perspective are to a great extent applicable to our analysis of the Macedonian diaspora in Europe and less so to the one in Australia.

Finally, we would like to add that the new emerging components, which played a key role in the structuring of our study are the communication technology and social networks as well as the online construction of homeland and national identities. The communication technology has been considered by some scholars as a catalyst for national movements (Aghapouri, 2019). Moreover, social media started facilitating the grounds for ethnic groups in diaspora to reinforce their identity and the internet became a shield against assimilation (Saunders, 2011). The internet then, has become some kind of a boundary-maintenance tool, guarding against assimilation and helping in the reproduction of the concepts, such as, nation, homeland, community, self, and so forth. These perspectives are supported in our study of the immigrants in Australia among which the social media serve as a platform for solidifying the categories of homogeneity and ethnic belonging. An interesting case study comes from Morino (2015) who argues that online platforms give new visibility and expression to “migrant communities that have been traditionally associated with phenomena of marginalization and exclusion (8). In her case study of Italians in London, Morino brings

forth 2 curious aspects of the relation between on-line space and diaspora:

1. on-line space as space to criticize former cultural identity (the same one that makes you part of a unique diaspora)
2. discussing elements of national identity (religion, food, music) as expression of needs of displaced belonging

We believe that the data presented in this study shows that the first aspect is more typical of the on-line manifestations of the Macedonian diaspora in Europe, while the latter bares more similarities with Macedonian diaspora in Australia.

2.3 Discursive construction of homeland

The discursive research interest in the construction of homeland vis-à-vis transnational and national identity have tackled quite a few subjects ranging from identity immigrant narratives, multilingualism, migration literature, linguistic performance among heritage speakers (Golden, Anne and Elizabeth Lanza 2015; Petersen, Hansen and Thøgersen 2019) return migration (Nikolaou, Sclafani 2018) including temporary vacation trips (Marques and Koven 2017), to immigrant and translational identity construction. Some of the genres deployed towards the construction of transnational (immigrant) identity include linguistic landscape (Woldemarian and Lanza 2015), folklore and literature (Sugarman 1999, Leena 2015) oral histories (Clary-Lemon 2010), and nonetheless online interactions.

Internet in this respect is a particularly viable instrument to construct, negotiate and even challenge national identity. As noted before, internet is the indispensable tool of what Anderson has termed as “long-distance nationalism” (1998), which among other ends, contributes to the circulation of propaganda and influence political events in the homelands. Internet is thus a resource for self-imagining (Appadurai, 1996, 4); which contributes to the construction of a community through the practices of posting (both writing and reading) particular narrated texts, such as posts with homeland contents. It is these practices that help produce a narrating national “we” and particular narrated, nation-framed images of homeland (Appadurai, 1996; Axel, 2004; Bernal 2006; Dick 2010). This in turn may influence homeland politics, as is the case with the Eritrean diaspora in US (Bernal 2006) who have used the advantages of the internet as an accessible and safe platform of political action not only to create an on line nation-based collective but also to influence the domestic public

sphere, and the homeland politics. In addition, internet may also function as a tool of reconciliation of conflicting ethnicities as is the case with the Burindi collectives of Hutu and Tutsi (Kandene Kaiser 2000). Apart from the nationally affirmative online actions, some diasporas use the internet to actually oppose and resist images of national identity as imposed by their homeland (Chan 2005) or as is the case of the Kurds, the Tamils from Sri Lanka, the Macedonians, and the Armenians, “to assert rights to establish their own territorial states, or to stake claims on territories that are currently occupied by other countries” (Bakker, 2001; Tekwani, 2003). Albeit the plethora of idealized imaginations of the homeland, some on line national communities, both diasporic and non-diasporic, such as the Filipino in Japan (Figer 2010) and the Taiwanese (Yao-Tai Li and Yunya Song 2019) use online interaction to criticize and even mock their homelands.

Regardless of the attitude towards the homeland, quintessential in this semiotic work of identity construction seems to be the myth of the homeland as a unifying principle, and sense making mechanism. In this respect, the construction of homeland is inseparable from the construction of national identity. For the migrants, homeland is an identity resource upon which they draw to make themselves visible, representable, differentiable and identifiable in the new recipient society. In so doing they mobilize nationalist and historic discourses to enhance and perpetuate their identity. This we contend is the case at least with the Macedonian diaspora in Australia. A way to understand the construction of the homeland vis-à-vis national identity, is to regard the homeland and the nation as a narration and look into the specific constituent elements of the story, its discursive strategies and the semiotic/linguistic means of realization. In other words, to look at the notions of homeland and identity as narrative constructs. The assumption is concomitant to the discussions on narrative identity which assert that, “national cultures construct identities by creating meanings of ‘the nation’ [...] these are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed” (Hall 1994: 201; Martin 1995). Thus, identity is “a discursive construct often revealed in the stories people tell about themselves and others and in relaying memories of the past [...] identities are constructed in relation to the Other and exist as a negotiation of competing stories about similarity and difference.” Conceived in this way, the image of the homeland confirms Levy and Weingrod’s idea that homeland is portrayed “as a sacred place filled with memories of past glory and bathed in visions of nobility and

renaissance,” while at the same time these visions obey the also the principles of boundary making (Barth 1969, Safran 1991, Brubaker 2005). In this context, our analysis of the homeland construction first tries to identify and describe the contents of the story of the homeland and the contents and the mechanisms of the boundary making, that is the processes of assimilation (creating a single national “we”) and dissimilation (assertion of differences). In so doing we follow the model of discursive construction of national identity proposed by Wodak et al. (1999) and Wodak and Reisigl (2001) that unfolds on three levels of analysis: identification of topics/contents of the identity, analyzing the discursive strategies of identity formation, and analyzing the linguistic means of realization. Regarding the strategies, Wodak et al. (1999) identify five discursive strategies of national identity construction: a) constructive strategies that attempt to establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation, b) strategies of perpetuation that attempt to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity, i.e. to preserve, support and protect national identity, c) justification strategies that are employed primarily in relation to problematical actions or events in the past which are important in the narrative creation of national history, d) strategies of transformation that aim to transform a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity, and f) destructive strategies that aim at dismantling or dis-paraging parts of an existing national identity construct, but usually cannot provide any new model to replace the old one.

To accommodate other aspects of homeland/national identity in the analysis, we shall also include practices other than narrative/discursive ones. Here, we primarily refer to the “we-feeling” of pride and declaration of belonging/commitment to a community through various practices constitutive of what Billig has termed “banal nationalism” (1995) in regard to which we will try to identify and analyze several subcategories. Out of all these we will pay most attention to constructive strategies, strategies of dissimilation (boundary making), strategies of embodied nationalism (practices that enact national belonging through participation in events) which are subcategory of constructive and perpetuation strategies, and the construction of we-feeling through banal nationalism and empathy towards fellows. The organizing principle to allocate data to the selected categories of topic and strategies is their ideational function (what they represent), their purpose, and their interpersonal function,

in other words, the relations created between the in-group and the out group (Halliday 1978).

3. Methodology

To identify and discuss the similarities and differences in the online construction of homeland by the two Macedonian diasporas (in Australia and Europe) we have created two data corpuses consisting of posts gathered from the FB sites of different Macedonian immigrant online communities in Australia and Europe. The Australian FB sites were identified by browsing one of them, Macedonian Man Cave, previously known to the researchers, whereas the additional 6 pages were identified by looking into cross-postings. The FB pages of the Macedonian diaspora in Europe were identified by using the name of the European country where the largest communities of Macedonians live and work. This search resulted in seven FB pages which together with those visited by the Macedonian diaspora in Australia make the total of 14 pages, all listed in the Annex 1. From these pages we have harvested 168 posts of different, usually multimodal, types. Most of them were images of different objects with accompanying captions or more usually whole body texts. There were also images of book or newspaper pages with contents related to Macedonian history. Some were images of online articles about successful Macedonians, others images of sport events, invitations, images and videos of culture celebrating events, images of branded products, images of people wrapped in the Macedonian flag, memes etc. We have also considered pages' profile images and objective descriptions in the analysis, as well as some verbal reactions to the posts consisting of images only.

By looking into the contents of each post (the ideational plane in SFL terms), we were able to isolate five different topics under which the data can be classified. These include: a) homeland as a historical narrative (intended to legitimize its identity and continuity), b) homeland as a political differentiation/boundary making ("we are not the Other"), c) homeland as practice of national identity manifested in the organization and participation in identity enacting events (cultural events), d) banal nationalism (sport events, flags, garment and other), e) the "we feeling" of pride and empathy for the fellow compatriot. The contents of each of these categories as well as variations across corpuses are discussed in details in Section 5.

In order to contextualize the data and relate it to the initial assumption that the different sociohistorical contexts underpin the rise of two diasporas and two imagined homelands respectively, a short

historic overview with relevant sociopolitical data regarding the two diasporas is provided in the next section.

4. Short historic background of the two migrant communities

Australia is the home to one of the biggest Macedonian diasporas. According to the international organization United Macedonian Diaspora, there are around 200,000 Macedonians in Australia those these number might not be accurate. The immigration processes follow a dynamic historical path with fluctuations of larger and smaller immigration waves at certain periods. The early immigration to Australia has started as early as the end of XIX century and the early 1900s through the endeavour known as “pečalba.”³ The Greek Civil War which lasted from 1946-1949 has brought a large number of Macedonians fleeing prosecution in Greece to Australia. They are mainly referred to as Aegean Macedonians or *egejci*. The war was essentially an ideological one between the right Greek government and the left Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) which promoted the communist ideology. The collapse of the DSE has led to prosecutions, imprisonment, and land confiscations of communists, which resulted with the big wave of migrations of ethnic Macedonians to Australia.

A large wave of emigration followed after WW II. During the 1970s, Yugoslavia launched a set of policies which encouraged its citizens to go and work abroad. This wave of immigrants has mainly consisted of families from rural environments with a predominantly agricultural background. The 80s mark the end of this emigrational wave with a short disturbance until 1991 and the breakup of Yugoslavia, when a new younger and more educated population started moving to Australia.

The migration of Macedonian to the EU countries has somewhat different dynamics. Some emigrated in a similar pattern as those in Australia – Greek civil war, then a wave moving in the 1960s and then a remarkable new trend of those emigrating after the breakup of Yugoslavia. The third category is the one most prominent in the countries of the EU such as Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland

³ This word connotes going abroad far away from one's homeland in order to earn money that would then be invested back into the one's homeland. The closest word to describe this phenomenon would be migration. There are many historical accounts of the *pecalbari* and the hardships of leaving one's home and family behind in the process.

(although not an EU member) and Sweden (and is the category we mostly look into when analyzing the FB pages of the Macedonian diaspora in the EU countries).

5. Data presentation

5.1 Macedonian diaspora in Australia

The first notable difference between the two data corpuses are the names of the FB pages which could serve as indexes of the social context of their production, of the (non)nationalist ideologies and discourses embedded in them, and hence indexes of diasporic self-identification. The names of the FB pages of the Macedonian diaspora in Australia reveal its nationalist character of the pages, by signifying different aspects of it, from its totality ("Everything Macedonian"), its mythological origin and continuity ("Macedonia: True Endless Story," and "Ancient Dawn"), to unifying character ("Macedonian coalition") and ethno-nationalist purity ("Macedonia for Macedonians"). The revolutionary messages such as "Death or freedom" and the visual imagery portraying the XIX riffle and knife ("kubura and kama") used by IMRO revolutionaries that appear on the profile images of the FB pages among Australian diaspora undeniably show the embeddedness of nationalist discourses in the online discourses modeled upon them. On the other hand, the names of all Facebook pages visited by Macedonian diaspora(s) in Europe, only indicate the country of immigrants' residence such as "Macedonians in Germany," "Macedonians in Italy." The difference between the two data corpuses is also visible in their contents here presented by following the five categories (topics) of homeland construction.

5.1.1 Homeland as a historical narrative (intended to legitimize its identity and continuity)

The most frequent manner of constructing the Macedonian myth of origin is by presenting excerpts from historiographic books that allegedly contain hard-scientific evidence that legitimizes and supports the claim to antiquity and continuity. Such is the book "The Glory of Generositie"⁴ which locates the mythological beginning of the Macedonians at the heart of Egyptian civilization, explaining that Macedon, the alleged predecessor of the Macedonians was a son of

⁴ Adam Grant. "Makedonians and the Wolf." Web. 12 June 2019 <<https://www.facebook.com/adamgrant389/posts/2977792588928272>>

Osiris whose symbol, the wolf's head still bears significant symbolic (identitarian) value among present day Macedonia. Similar books, intended to legitimize the Macedonian myth of glorious past, continuity and rich national culture abound as one can find a whole list of literature on Macedonia art, history, culture, folklore,⁵ even historiographic studies presenting Macedonia as the cradle of European civilization such as "MACEDONIA – THE BIRTHPLACE OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION AND CULTURE: Europeans, The Descendants of Ancient Pelasgians Proto-Slavs"⁶ authored by Dr. Petar Popovski, an immigrant in Australia.

Other means of supporting the same claim is by showing archeological artefacts excavated in Macedonia such as the cup with the Vergina sun as Shown in Figure 1 accompanied by the information of the geographic location of excavation (Ohrid fortress), the date (III BC) and the place of exhibition (Museum of Ohrid). The Vergina sun on the cup should metonymically indicate relation between the Ancient Macedonia symbolized by the Sun and the location of excavation (present day Republic of Macedonia). Another popular (sub) strategy of constructing the Macedonian myth of antiquity is by sharing a link to an article on usually international web sites which discuss the Macedonian origin of Alexander the Great or his father Philip II.

⁵ Kosta, Abdul Kire. 10 Jun. 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/Kostur/posts/10157295455231550>. Accessed 05 January 2020.

⁶ Dr. Popovski, Petar. "MACEDONIA - THE BIRTHPLACE OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION AND CULTURE: Europeans, The Descendants of Ancient Pelasgians Proto-Slavs'." 13 Aug. 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/dr.petarpopovski/posts/2076280465718204>, Accessed 05 January 2020.

Figure 1. A cup with the Vergina sun excavated in Macedonia⁷

Finally, the whole narrative of continuity located in the times immemorial is well summarized in the mission statement of one of the FB pages among Australian diaspora “Macedonia for the Macedonians,” whose profile image shows the Vergina Sun, the map of United Macedonia,⁸ and the Macedonian lion symbol of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization⁹ from the XIX and XX century. The page states that the next generation of Macedonian activists, has been forged throughout history starting from Alexandar the Great, through all its successors such as the X tsar Samoil, the XIV king Marko up to the XIX IMRO revolutionaries such as Goce Delcev, Nikola Karav and others, all presented via reference to their heroic and historic contributions to the Macedonian nation, thus creating the lineage of continuity from the apostle of Macedonian nation/identity – Alexander the Great – up to present day Macedonian immigrants.

5.1.2 Homeland as a boundary making (“we are not the Other”)

The second group of most frequent posts are manifestations of identity work carried over the attempt to establish unambiguous and undeniable boundary (creation of difference) between Macedonian national identity and the identities of its neighbours, Greece and Bulgaria in particular given the turbulent XIX and XX history and the Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913, which ended with the Bucharest Treaty form 1913, with which the territory populated with Macedonians was divided between Greece, Bulgaria an Serbia. This political act has put an end to the Macedonian dream of united Macedonia, and have set the pathway for much modern day contestation of Macedonian identity by Greeks and Bulgarians. As such the urge to imagine a Macedonia outside the neighbors’ anti Macedonian narratives is a perpetuate struggle and a culturally intimate moment for modern day

⁷ Macedonia for the Macedonians. “A cup”, 12 Jun. 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/MKD4MKD/photos/pcb.424672061462864/424671791462891/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 05 January 2020.

⁸ The famous, almost sacred map for the Macedonians shows the three parts of Macedonia, the Vardar Macedonia (present day republic of Macedonia), Pirin Macedonia (present day west Bulgaria) and Aegean Macedonia (present day north Greece). The whole territory once populated with Macedonian people was divided after the second Balkan War.

⁹ IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) was a organization set in the late XIX with the primary mission of liberating Macedonia from the Turkish rule and uniting all Macedonian territories and people.

Macedonians that makes the boundary making especially significant for them.

The boundary making is established by a combination of dissimulation, destruction and perpetuation strategies (see Wodak et al. 2009). One of the specific sub-strategies deployed is negating ethnic relation to especially Bulgarians, and thus rejecting the Bulgarian mantra ‘two states one peoples’ referring to the national sameness of Macedonians with Bulgarians. This is carried out by either making ethno genetic claims that Bulgarians are of Turko-Mongolian origin by showing segments of Bulgarian historiographic books¹⁰, by juxtaposing images of Macedonian historic figures and Bulgarian figures to support the physiological difference, or sharing links to articles on the subject of Macedonia never being part of any of the neighbours’ empires or states, as is the case with Figure 2 that is a screen shot of an article on the subject of the boundary line between Greek and Macedonian history.

Figure 2. Snapshot of an online article about Macedonia never been under Greek rule.¹¹

Another popular manner of establishing the identity making difference is by presenting the neighbours’ history as a consequence,¹²

¹⁰ Macedonia: A true endless story. “БАН: Првите Блгари са били торко-моголи” [BAN: The first Bulgarians were Turko-Mongols]., 15 Jun. 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/macedoniaendless/photos/a.2033171050042108/3279788255380375/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 05 January 2020.

¹¹ Macedonia history. “History: Macedonia was never a part of the ancient Hellenic city-states.”. 15 Mar, 2019, https://history-from-macedonia.blogspot.com/2019/03/history-macedonia-was-never-part-of.html?m=1&fbclid=IwAR3y-1RoER0HwPQYIO7MhNHC5P2dDqbFhntR6RFAZtokZKo2jrMapbiVc_k, Accessed 05 January 2019.

¹² <https://www.facebook.com/dr.petarpopovski/posts/2076280465718204>

or even a forgery of Macedonian history as the meme in Figure 3 shows:

Figure 3. A meme ridiculing Greek history being a copy of the Macedonian.¹³

Another negative fashion of establishing boundary making is through accusation of identity theft, blaming the neighbor – Bulgaria for “stealing” Macedonian folklore¹⁴. Identity in this, difference making manner, is also established positively by voicing the thoughts of IMRO revolutionaries such as those by Goce Delcev, the founding father of Macedonian modern nation, as shown in Figure 4.

¹³ Everything Macedonian. A meme. 22 Apr. 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/540402412835596/photos/a.541726119369892/1010902965785536/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 05 January 2020.

¹⁴ Everything Macedonian. “Чеда Аспарухови од Турски произход”. [Апарух’s children form Turkish descent]”. 6 June 2019. https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1039451686263997&id=540402412835596, Accessed 6 January 2020.

Figure 4. Goce Delcev explaining who Macedonians are.¹⁵

5.1.3 Homeland as practice of national identity manifested in the organization and participation in identity enacting events

The category of performing homeland through national identity enacting practices refers to the engagement in cultural events where different aspects of national culture are being put on display, and involvement is encouraged. One such is the “the Bankston city Macedonian festival,”¹⁶ the description for which states:

A family event for everyone to come along, see and experience the Macedonian traditions and culture. A day filled with fun, music, entertainment by Grupa “Bez Ime” and other singers, Macedonian Dancing Groups performing, great delicious foods, beverages, fun rides and much much more.

Such events not only promote national culture but help recreate the national “we feeling” of belonging to it. For the same purpose, similar events celebrating national and religious holidays which host activities such as folk dances and rituals, wearing traditional costumes and enjoyment of traditional food are organized all over the Australian continent. These events are not implicitly constructive of national identity or the homeland in terms of nationhood, but can be conceived as forms of what Billig (1995) has termed “banal nationalism.” Other manifestations of the phenomena that are more explicitly grounded in nationalist discourses among Australian diaspora are the successes of Macedonia sport teams and individual athletes, and the celebration thereof.

5.1.4 Banal nationalism

A sport event that sparked both national and international euphoria and was recontextualised in ethno-nationalist discourses was Vardar, a handball club from the Macedonian capital, winning the European Handball League of Champions for the 2018/2019 season. The event was the third of the kind in Macedonian sport history and the second for the team, an unprecedented event that fueled much

¹⁵ Macedonian for the Macedonians. “A photo”. <https://www.facebook.com/MKD4MKD/photos/rpp.205602643369808/412065369390200/?type=3&theater>, 19 May 2019, Accessed 06 January 2020.

¹⁶ Bankston city Macedonian festival. 29 June 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/events/458309034741607/>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

emotions, nationalist including. The next figure, a twitter post print screen, shows a cheering crowd and a white canvas with the caption “We are Macedonians, and our heart (Virginia sun inserted) beats for Vardar” (the symbol of Vardar inserted), with Setina-Ovcarani-Lerin-Voden [towns in North Greece] written below. The placard, so to say, expresses nostalgic claims over the loss of Aegean Macedonia, the very part these Macedonian populated and assimilated towns are located in.

Figure 5. Vardar cheering crowd¹⁷

Similar nationalist nostalgia can be noticed on other manufactured forms of banal nationalism such as the following image of a little girl laying on a blanket with the motif of the “United Macedonia” map accompanied by the comment “Beautiful little Macedonian girl is warming herself with the Macedonian Sun that warms us all.”

Figure 6. A girl laying on a “United Macedonia” blanket.¹⁸

¹⁷ Macedonian coalition. “Lerin, Voden, Ovcarani...we are Macedonians and our heart beats for Vardar”. 05 June 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/MacedonianCoalition/photos/a.249182832292598/462338904310322/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

Similar merchandise, this a time t-shirt, with the name of IMRO, a horrifying image of a skull on a background of black and red, the traditional colours of IMRO and the caption “Life member” can be ordered from the page titled “Ancient Dawn.” The image is accompanied by gratitude for the person who ordered and sent the picture, with the call “We fight to keep our history alive” written in capital letters in English. The second T-shirt shows the map of united Macedonia encircled with the message “For her we fought, for her we will die.” Over the map there is a stylized version of the traditional riffle and knife.

Figure 7. IMRO life member t-shirt.

Figure 8. “For her we fight, for her we will die” t-shirt.¹⁹

Beside the revolutionary imagery display on blankets and t-shirts, another unconventional media of communicating the devotion to the nation, unexpectedly, yet intriguingly so, is the human body, which one

¹⁸ Macedonians of Mayham. A photo by Daniel Danz Ilieski. 08 June 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/1095164680642570/photos/a.1095202823972089/1284330328392670/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

¹⁹ Ancient Dawn-The Macedonian Patriotic Arsenal. “Photo Album”. 18 Mar. 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/drevnazora/photos/a.1908025336092526/2368838273344561/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

of the Macedonian immigrants has used to express his patriotic commitment (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. IMRO tattoo.²⁰

Beside the image, there are laudable comments by the page administrator:

Macedonian patriot, Toni K's healed tattoo of the sacred revolutionary oath. Drevna Zora [Ancient Dawn] is all about inspiring our fellow patriotic brothers and sisters and we love to see the same passion coming from our followers!! Thank you for the photo brat [bro], love it! ☺

Text [on the tattoo] is as follows:

" I swear in the name of God, and before the holy cross, that I will be faithful to our oath, "freedom or death." If I am to break it, may I be punished by the weapons that stand before me. Long live Macedonia. "

5.1.5 Proud to be Macedonian, the "we feeling" of pride and empathy for the fellow compatriot

Another manner of expressing national belonging is by allegiance to the flag which not only unites the nation but also those in love as shown in Figure X, and those who are getting married under the patronage of the flag (Figures 10 & 11).

²⁰ Ancient Dawn – The Macedonian patriotic arsenal. "Image of a hand tattoo," 09 June 2019.

<https://www.facebook.com/drevnazora/photos/a.1908025336092526/2426728010888920/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

Figure 10. Young couple wrapped in the flag with Vergina sun, photographed by the Alexander the Great monument in the Skopje city enter.

Figure 11. Newlyweds with the flag with the Vergina sun photographed at the Skopje fortress²¹.

The second figure (Fig. 11) is accompanied by the following comments:

Blaga Seremetkovska Petrovska We love you proud Macedonians. Congratulation on your marriage and may God endow you with many Macedonian children.

²¹ Macedonian Coalition. "Photo of newlywed". 9 June 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/MacedonianCoalition/photos/a.249182832292598/464924484051764/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

Risto Angelov Let there be many proud and successful Macedonian boys and beautiful and hardworking housewives and mothers.

These comments, do not only demonstrate the “we feeling of pride” for being compatriots, by congratulating on life significant events such as marriage, but also index the strife for continuity through the wishes for healthy males and reproductively capable women.

5.2 Europe

5.2.1 Homeland as a historical narrative (intended to legitimize its identity and continuity)

The first noticeable difference between the FB pages of the two Macedonian diasporas is the lesser frequency of posts that construct the homeland through the historic narrative of ancient origin, continuity and glory appearing on the FB pages set by Macedonian diaspora in Europe. Such contents as the following can be found but a much rare when compared to the Australian online community.

Figure 12 A map of united Macedonia.²²

²² Makedonci vo Köln/Leverkusen. “Map of United Macedonia”, 7 Feb. 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/makedoncieln/photos/a.1822209454703337/2316852761905668/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

Interestingly, the comment by the image reads “Let those who wish evil be dead” followed by three little flags of Republic of Macedonia, flags not with the Vergina Sun as one would expect in this context given the image of United Macedonia. Instead the constitutional flag is being used.

5.2.2 Homeland as a political differentiation/boundary making (“we are not the Other”)

Another intriguing aspect in the online discourse of the Macedonian diaspora in Europe is the absence of the boundary making discourse, so much vehemently present among Macedonians in Australia. These significant differences notwithstanding, the discourses of the two diasporas show relative similarities, especially in respect to the national identity and sensations of we feeling and pride as manifested in the forms of banal nationalism previously discussed, such as culture events, sport success and merchandise.

5.2.3 Homeland as cultural performance, banal nationalism and “we feeling” of communal pride.

Similar to their compatriots in Australia, the Macedonian diaspora in Europe is actively engaged in the organization and involvement of cultural events promoting the homeland and enhancing the feeling of belonging as the next Figure shows.

Figure 13. A poster of an international music festival with the star headliner, the Macedonian “Kocani orchestra” ensemble²³.

²³ Makedonier in Deutschland -Македонци во Германија. “Денес во Офенбах!!! “[Today in Offenbach!!!]”. 14 June 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/411516065880004/photos/a.452876398410637/855060108192262/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

Sport based feeling of national pride have affected the Macedonian diaspora in Europe as well. Images of handball players of Vardar, especially the captain Stojanche Stoilov, one of the rare Macedonian players of the otherwise international team, have been contextualized in a nationalist framework, as Figure 14 shows. In it, one can see the image of Stoilov with arms wide ajar and fists clenched expressing overwhelming joy and bellow the caption “I am Macedonian, my fatherland is Macedonia.” Having in mind the common knowledge among Macedonians and all those who follow European handball that Stoilov is Macedonian, the illocutionary force of the caption then is not to simply inform about Stoilov’s national belonging but more over to critically comment on the constitutional name change when one considers Stoilov’s personal anti-North Macedonia attitude communicated elsewhere.

Figure 14. Vardar’s captain Stoilov celebrating Vardar’s victory²⁴.

Unlike the Macedonian diaspora in Australia, the Macedonian diaspora in Europe has also framed the sport success in terms of audience reception overwhelmed with joy and pride, not in a nationalist, but rather a genuine sport fan hood fashion both for international success like that of Vardar or a smaller scale success as that of nine-year-old Eva Skolovska, a girl living in Germany who has won a golden medal in gymnastics on a republic/regional competition.

²⁴ Republika Makedonija. “A photo of Stilov”, 14 Jan. 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/RepublicMakedonija/photos/a.615011481875747/2154986071211606/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

clenched fist (determination and fight) with the Macedonian flag (not the one with Vergina sun) and the caption in German ‘This is in my blood.’ The comment given reads “Lets promote Macedonia in every possible way. That’s how one loves his fatherland.”

Figure 17. Screen shot of a T-shirt made by a Macedonian diaspora in Germany.²⁷

Finally, other significant differences between the diasporic online communities in Australia and those in Europe are the names of the FB groups of the later, which as explained in the previous section bear no reference to any ideas of unity, nation and alike. Instead, many are expressions combining the expression “Macedonians” with the country of immigrants’ residence. The relative absence of ethno nationalist discourse is also manifested in the mission statements of many such on line communities including the one in Malta whose FB page reads:

The group is without any political affiliation, without any racial, religious, gender or ethnic discrimination [...] is intended for making questions, giving advice or useful information [...] a group to help each other since we moved away [from our homeland]²⁸.

²⁷ Makedonier in Deutschland -Македонци во Германија. “A photo of a t-shirt”. 19 May 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/411516065880004/photos/a.452876398410637/836755200022753/?type=3&theater>, Accessed 06 January 2020.

²⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/525750377528481/>

Not surprisingly, many of the posts on such pages have to do with hiring, renting, looking for accommodation, offering or seeking job, offering/asking for services (repairs, hair dressing) offering and seeking transportation of people and goods, requiring information necessary for the regulation of status, permits, documents, making inquiry about legal procedures related to issuing passports, undertaking vaccination, issues related to education, health care, etc. With these interests bonding the group, such communities function more as groups of practical interest among compatriots, rather than communities premised on national interest and preservation of national identity.

5.3 Comparative Perspective

Prior to discussing the constructions of the homeland by the two diasporic communities, a summary of the contents of the five selected categories as a pretext for an easier comparison and discussion is in order.

Topics	Australia	Europe
Homeland as historic narrative	Significant number of contents where the myth of origin and continuity (historic narrative) is created by the FB page names, profile images and mission statements, historiographic books, 'impartial' sources, archeological artefacts, etc.	Very few of such contents, the grand narrative created visually by maps of United Macedonia or images of Alexander with no accompanying discourse.
Homeland as boundary making	Significant number of contents that criticize neighbour's attempts at ethnic assimilation (Bulgarian discourse) or identity negation (Greek discourse), contents that dismantle neighbour's identity by revealing historic evidence of not being related to Macedonians, evidence that Macedonia was never part of neighbours' state/kingdom, presenting neighbours' history as based or forged upon Macedonian, identity claims made by Macedonian revolutionaries.	No boundary making discourse, only criticism for the name change

Homeland as performance	Cultural events	Cultural events
Forms of banal nationalism	Sport events, merchandise (blanket, t-shirts, tattoos) grounded in nationalist discourse presented by maps of united Macedonia, the Vergina Sun, IMRO imagery (rifle and guns) and revolutionary calls.	Some sport events grounded in the nationalist narrative other in the discourse of 'we feeling' of pride for a compatriots' sport, art, culture success, Garment with the constitutional flag, not the Vergina sun. (fewer elements of nationalist discourse
"We feeling"	Compatriots united by the flag as symbol of national identity. Identity is the key value.	Compatriots united by common practical interests such as information about residence procedures etc. Manifested in page's names, and mission statements. Solidarity is the key value.

Table 1. Summary of the contents and the strategies of constructing "Macedonia" by the two diasporas.

6. Final remarks and conclusion

The study of the construction of homeland in the Macedonian diasporas in Australia and Europe through the analysis of fb pages has shown certain patterns, some similarities, and differences. Reflecting at the different scholarly works on diaspora, we noticed that the concept is defined both in terms of national identity, but also as a distinct community that has developed a new collective identity, and a consciousness that is not fundamentally and pervasively nationalist. These different approaches seem to align well with our study, where the former approach of tying diaspora to the national identity manifests itself greatly in the narratives of Macedonians in Australia

while the latter becomes much more noticeable in the study of the more recent diaspora of Macedonians in Europe. The most typical manifestations among the diaspora in Australia are amplified feelings of continuity, insistence on nation origin myths, criticism of neighbourhood assimilationist policies, vehement rejection of the name change, and strengthened sense of patriotism. This has been missing in our sample from Europe, where a more pragmatic approach regarding residence procedures and a sense of solidarity with the community has been diagnosed.

We also argue that the theories placing the national identity and the close tie with the homeland left behind (Anderson 1994; Anthias 1998) support to a greater extent our study of the Macedonian diaspora in Australia. The results of this study confirmed that these immigrants are more active in expressing their national/ethnic belonging, as well as maintain the link and actively participating in the fate and future of Macedonia, as their homeland. In the case of the Macedonian immigrants in Australia, the results show that the homeland is often perceived as a source of national identity and there is a strong sense of continuity that goes back to the ancient kingdom of Macedonia and Alexander the Great. Regarding the notion of co-responsibility, where diasporas are understood as potential moral communities engaging with the future of their homeland, hence not representing one entity with common interest (Kleist 2008; Werber 2000), we believe that the study showed that it can be applicable to a great extent to our analysis of the Macedonian diaspora in Europe and less so to the one in Australia.

Regarding the on-line dimension of expressing one's group feelings and attitudes for the homeland, we argued that in some cases of our study it seemed as if the internet has become some kind of a boundary-maintenance tool, guarding against assimilation and helping in the reproduction of the concepts, such as, nation, homeland, community, self, and so forth (Saunders, 2011). These perspectives were supported in our study of the immigrants in Australia among which the social media serves as a platform for solidifying the categories of homogeneity and ethnic belonging.

We do however, believe that stronger similarities between the two diasporas might have been detected had we included the fb pages of European church communities, as one example.²⁹ These

²⁹ We were able to identify few such natiolist FB pages among European diaspora <https://www.facebook.com/MakedonischerBund/> and unfortunately for us in German, also

communities act as organizers of the social life of the immigrants and preform ideological practices of religious and cultural events, thus sustaining the communal life. It is very likely that these events act as promoters of conservative, fatherland loving values similar to those present among the immigrants in Australia. We also believe that one of the reasons that the Macedonian migrants in Europe manifest a different type of attachment to the homeland where the overtly patriotic and national elements are missing might be because they may have the feeling that the Macedonian identity is unusable/non lucrative in a sense. Hence they may want to run away from it, or perhaps do not want to over emphasize their national identity in an attempt to fit better into the European transnational identity.

Finally, we would like to point out that we believe that the difference in the ways *homeland* is constructed among the two diasporas, in addition to being a result of different generations, time periods, and educational levels, might also be a consequence of the different multicultural policies of Australia and the EU countries. Australia in general acknowledges that the government must be responsive to the cultural diversity and should provide equitable services to all Australians regardless of their background. The EU countries greatly differ in their multicultural policies, but there has been a general trend of strengthening the right-wing, nationalist parties together with strong anti-immigrant sentiments. This, we believe, does shape the ways in which the two diasporas express their understandings, perceptions and feelings for the homeland. All these additional aspects, may be further revealed through another detailed study methodologically focusing on the migrant narratives.

Works Cited:

Aghapouri, Jiyar Hossein. "Towards Pluralistic and Grassroots National Identity: A Study of National Identity Representation by the Kurdish Diaspora on Social Media" *National Identities*, (2019): 1-20.

https://www.facebook.com/DeutschlandMazedonienFreundschaft/?__tn__=kCH-R&eid=ARAI8v_h1_mDzpodF2PzBdV8mwxYU9SCvhFQPTkESdoY25qb-DjYvvu9clrY0ULQPpFAlelHHA6qJOCY&hc_ref=ARRZzyH_uamhL8y_5t3lLwgfQ8I7NRGxZDbNTUK_kWhIKyG6s2RrX9VtZzELWfFcWzA&fref=nf

- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Anthias, Floya. Evaluating 'Diaspora': Beyond Ethnicity." *Sociology* 32.3 (1998): 557-580.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Benedict, Anderson. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*. London: Verso, 1998.
- Bakker, Piet. (2001, February 20-24). *New Nationalism: The Internet Crusade*. Paper presented at the 2001 International Studies Association Convention. Chicago, USA. Retrieved April 12, 2005, from <http://users.fmg.uva.nl/pbakker/VN/InternetCrusade.pdf>
- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller and Christina Szanton Blanc. *Nations unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1994.
- Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries the Social Organization*. Little Brown & Company, 1969.
- Bernal, Victoria. "Diaspora, Cyberspace, and Political Imagination: The Eritrean Diaspora Online." *Global Networks* 6.2 (2006): 161-179.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995.
- Boyarin, Daniel and Jonathan Boyarin. "Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity." *Critical Inquiry* 19.4 (1993): 693-725.
- Brubaker, Rogers. "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28.1 (2005): 1-19.
- Chan, Brenda. "Imagining the Homeland: The Internet and Diasporic Discourse of Nationalism." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 29.4 (2005): 336-368.
- Clary-Lemon, Jennifer. "'We're not ethnic, We'Re Irish!': Oral Histories and the Discursive Construction of Immigrant Identity." *Discourse & Society* 21.1 (2010): 5-25.
- Clifford, James. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* 9.3 (1994): 302-38
- Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1997.

- Dick, Parsons Hilary. "Imagined Lives and Modernist Chronotopes in Mexican Non-migrant Discourse." *American Ethnologist* 37.2 (2010), 275–290.
- Eilittä, Leena. "The world at large ... is only an expanded homeland.": From Goethe's idea of world literature to contemporary migration literature." *Major versus Minor? – Languages and Literatures in a Globalized World*, Ed. Theo D'haen, Iannis Goerlandt and Roger D. Sell, 2015, 233–240.
- Figer, Reggy Capacio. "Diasporic Discourse Online: Imagining the Homeland in Cyberspace." *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 28.2 (2010): 82–102.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic*. London: Verso, 1993.
- Golden, Anne and Elizabeth Lanza. "Coon Valley Norwegians Meet Norwegians from Norway: Language, Culture and Identity among Heritage Language Speakers in the U. S." *Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Acquisition, Attrition and Change*. Ed. Janne Bondi Johannessen and Joseph C. Salmons, 2015. 323–358.
- Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. Ed. Jonathan Rutherford, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990. 222–37.
- Hall, Stuart. "The Question of Cultural Identity." *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*. Ed. Hall, Stuart, Held, David, Hubert, Don and Thompson, Kenneth. Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford, 1996. 595–634.
- Halliday, Michael Alexander Kerkwood. *Language as Social Semeiotic. The Social Interpretation of Language and Ameaning*. London: Edward Arnold, 1978.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (eds.): *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Kadende-Kaiser, M. Rose. "Interpreting Language and Cultural Discourse: Internet Communication among Burundians in the Diaspora." *Africa Today* 47. 2 (2000): 121–148.
- Keith Brian, Axel. "The Context of Diaspora." *Cultural Anthropology* 19. 1 (2004): 26–60.
- Kleist, Nauja. "In the Name of Diaspora: Between Struggles for Recognition and Political Aspirations." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34.7 (2008): 1127–1143.
- Kleist, Nauja. "Mobilising the 'Diaspora': Somali Transnational Politics Engagement." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34.2 (2008): 307–323.

- Marino, Sara. "Making Space, Making Place: Digital Togetherness and the Redefinition of Migrant Identities" *Social Media + Society*, 1.2. (2015): 1-9.
- Martin, Denis-Constant. "The Choices of Identity." *Social Identities* 1.1. (1995). 5–20.
- Marques, Isabelle Simões, and Michèle Koven. "We Are Going to Our Portuguese Homeland! French Luso-Descendants' Diasporic Facebook Conarrations of Vacation Return Trips to Portugal". *Narrative Inquiry* 27.2 (2017): 286–310.
- Nikolaou, Alexander and Jennifer Sclafani. "Representations of Self and Other in Narratives of Return Migration." *Positioning the Self and Others: Linguistic perspectives*. Ed. Kate Beeching, Chiara Ghezzi and Piera Molinelli, 2018. 241–262.
- Petersen, Jan Heegård, Gert Foget Hansen and Jacob Thøgersen. "Correlations between Linguistic Change and Linguistic Performance among Heritage Speakers of Danish in Argentina." *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* (2019) Online-first. <https://benjamins.com/catalog/lab.17068.pet>
- Reisigl, Martin and Ruth Wodak. *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Safran, William. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora*. 1. 1 (1991): 83-/99.
- Saunders, Robert. *Ethnopolitics in cyberspace: The Internet, minority nationalism and the web of identity*. New York: Lexington Books, 2011.
- Sugarman, C. Jane. "Imagining the Homeland: Poetry, Songs, and the Discourses of Albanian Nationalism". *Ethnomusicology* 43. 3 (1999): 419-458.
- Tekwani, Shyam. "The Tamil Diaspora, Tamil Militancy and the Internet." *Asia.com: Asia encounters the Internet*. Ed. In K. C. Ho, R. Kluver&C. C.Yang. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. 175-192.
- Levy, Andre and Alex Wengrod. *Homelands and Diasporas: Holy Lands and Other Places*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 2005.
- Li, Yao-Tai and Yunya Song. "Taiwan as Ghost Island? Ambivalent Articulation of Marginalized Identities in Computer-Mediated Discourses." *Discourse & Society*. 1-22. on line. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926519889124>.
- Werbner, Pnina. "The Materiality of Diasporas-Between Aesthetic and 'Real' Politics." *Diaspora A Journal of Transnational Studies* 9.1 (2011): 5-20.

Woldemariam, Hirut, and Elizabeth Lanza. "Imagined Community: The Linguistic Landscape in a Diaspora". *Linguistic Landscape* 1. 1/2 (2015): 172–190.

Wodak, Ruth, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Second edition. Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Annex 1 – Data resources

Facebook pages of Macedonian diaspora in Australia

1. Macedonian man cave, available at:
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/564407047006089/>
2. Everything Macedonian, available at:
https://www.facebook.com/Everything-Macedonian-540402412835596/?__tn__=%2CdkCH-R-R&eid=ARCzGjJ1lqIWn9tH-r9SkW8gLCy6N8uT0YGH5ULIUWJnST3Cm2G40jEqZR9t7r-eNdrAbblWeh7P8XAc&hc_ref=ART3LxC5phkPaqjNdSh6L-3ZosX8jzHsm-dauVr-8ptaMjs0EvOz5GEsKTOOQSKdjuE&fref=nf&hc_location=group
3. Macedonia: a True endless story, available at:
https://www.facebook.com/macedoniaendless/?ref=timeline_chaining
4. Ancient dawn [Древна зора], available at:
https://www.facebook.com/pg/drevnazora/about/?ref=page_internal
5. Macedonian coalition, available at:
<https://www.facebook.com/MacedonianCoalition/posts/464924517385094>
6. Macedonian community Brisbane, available at:
https://www.facebook.com/Macedonian-Community-of-Brisbane-358123857948307/?__tn__=kC-R&eid=ARA5CAynK9WePxFzbPxV3BVDQNZ6Ej65qngjkvJ6Ar2MAAlZZB5eDbXbDLSBOBOZi8MPGpdZV0TnRqAv&hc_ref=ARTpBs7yVRU107NI156hrD-gHQ7BuE2-Rkut1wWF5OykFsIh_9YHDunGmmfBGm8_zg4
7. Macedonia for Macedonians, available at:
https://www.facebook.com/MKD4MKD/?__tn__=%2CdkCH-R-R&eid=ARB4DKuMqueuQVnPwtBzDWN6inyUgxPFmzQobElx3uihjc79Bqu8rJzGQVa_A0HDmQr7-rWWWhB_wfm3kD&hc_ref=ARRLeHsEACsyhT1fOnPaXrzcZNAaG

CBXH-pHvbyfQ9W7HNnxPh-
nbyr51KHTabZbGxw&fref=nf&hc_location=group

Facebook pages of Macedonian diaspora in Europe

8. Macedonians in Malta [Македонци во Малта], available at:
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/525750377528481/>
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1188665437923231/>
9. Македонци во Германија [Macedonians in Germany],
available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/Makedonien/>
<https://www.facebook.com/makedonci.vogermanija/about?lstd=807639605%3A100000311853492%3A1559734630>
https://www.facebook.com/Makedonier-in-Deutschland-%D0%9C%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BD%D1%86%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D0%93%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%98%D0%B0-411516065880004/?ref=br_rs
10. Macedonians in Hamburg [Македонци во Хамбург], available
at:
https://www.facebook.com/MakedonciVoHamburg/?ref=br_rs
11. Macedonians in Denmark [Македонци во Данска], available
at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/133074366864890/>
12. Macedonians in Sweden [Македонци во Шведска], available
at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/600295826754203/>
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/600295826754203/?ref=search>
13. Macedonians in Slovenia [Македонци во Словенија],
available at:
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/276886958999930/>
14. Macedonians in Italy [Македонци во Италија], available at:
<https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100007385268730>
<https://www.facebook.com/makedonijaitaly>