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**«Мені б хотілося,  
щоб Україна була державою,  
яка будує нові правила життя  
з іншими країнами в умовах  
глобальних викликів» (І. Марков)**

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**INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE  
FROM CRIMEA TO VINNYTSIA  
(ON THE EXAMPLE  
OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS,  
THE VILLAGE OF NOVA HREBLYA,  
KHMILNYTSKY DISTRICT,  
VINNTYSKY REGION)**

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This article is based on the results of the interviews of the project «Crimean Tatars: when we return», which took place among Crimean Tatars displaced to the village of Nova Hreblya, Vinnytsia region. The *object* of the study is the socio-cultural integration of internally displaced persons as a result of the Russian-Ukrainian war in Vinnytsia. The relevance of the study is determined by the need to study the indigenous people of Crimea in the conditions of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war. The Crimean Tatar community, which was interviewed, are active participants in the war and organizers and leaders of the volunteer battalion «Crimea», which has now become part of the Main Directorate of Intelligence of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

The community is also an active participant and organizer of the social and cultural life of Vinnytsia and the region. Using examples and quotes from internally displaced persons, the determinants of the construction and transformation of IDP identities of residents of the East and the South and their integration into a common socio-cultural discourse with the host communities are considered. *The research methodology* is based on sociocultural approach, which make it possible to study the processes of identification of IDPs in their close relationship with the specific historical conditions of the emergence of a social group, its formation and transformations.

**Keywords:** Crimean Tatars, internally displaced person, integration, religion, Vinnytsia region.

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**ВНУТРІШНЬО ПЕРЕМІЩЕНІ ЛЮДИ  
ВІД КРИМУ ДО ВІННИЦІ  
(НА ПРИКЛАДІ КРИМСЬКИХ ТАТАР,  
СЕЛА НОВА ГРЕБЛЯ ХМІЛЬНИЦЬКОГО Р-НУ  
ВІННИЦЬКОЇ ОБЛ.)**

Ця стаття створена за результатами інтерв'ю проекту «Кримські татари: коли ми повернемося», які проводилися серед кримських татар, переселених у село Нова Гребля Вінницької області. *Об'єктом* дослідження є соціокультурна інтеграція внутрішньо переміщених осіб внаслідок російсько-української війни на Вінниччині. *Актуальність* статті зумовлена потребою вивчення корінного народу Криму в умовах триваючої російсько-української війни. Кримськотатарська громада, з якою проводилися інтерв'ю, є активною учасницею війни та організаторкою і керівницею добровольчого батальйону «Крим», який тепер увійшов до складу Головного управління розвідки Міністерства оборони України. Також громада є активною учасницею і організаторкою громадсько-культурного життя Вінниці та регіону. З 2014 року у Вінницькій області з'явилася невелика група кримських татар-переселенців, яким надали у користування покинутий гуртожиток у селі Нова Гребля Калинівського району. Життя в кардинально нових обставинах відносно замкнутої мусульманської групи з кількох десятків сімей, де кожен чоловік має по декілька дружин, ускладнювало умови життя самих сімей. Такі соціокультурні особливості стали причиною певних протиріч з місцевими жителями на побутовому рівні через різне сприйняття простору, їжі, а також відмінні комунікативні практики.

Головною *метою* дослідження є аналіз детермінант конструювання та трансформації ідентичностей ВПО мешканців Сходу та Півдня та їхня інтеграція у спільний соціокультурний дискурс із громадами, що їх приймають. *Методологія дослідження* полягає у соціокультурному підході до вивчення ВПО.

**Ключові слова:** кримські татари, внутрішньо переміщена особа, інтеграція, релігія, Вінниччина.

**Introduction.** The indigenous Ukrainian people inhabiting the territory of the Crimea — the Crimean Tatars found themselves in a difficult situation with the beginning of the occupation of the peninsula. Constantly suffering from repression, persecution, searches, oppression of national manifestations, falsification of criminal cases, and after a full-scale invasion by mobilization to the ranks of the armed forces of the Russian Federation. Since 2014, a small group of displaced Crimean Tatar has appeared in Vinnytsia region, and they were given the use of an abandoned hostel in the village of Nova Hreblya, Kalynivka area. Life in radically new circumstances of a relatively closed Muslim group of several dozen families, where each man has several wives, complicated the living conditions of the families themselves and caused certain contradictions with the locals at the household level due to different perceptions of space, food and communication practices.

The *object* of the article is the socio-cultural integration of internally displaced persons as a result of the Russian-Ukrainian war in Vinnytsia. The *subject* of the study is the determinants of the construction and transformation of IDP identities of residents of the East and South (on the example of the Crimean Tatars) and their integration into a common socio-cultural discourse with the host communities.

Nataliya Belitzer, an expert on the rights of national minorities and indigenous peoples from the Pylyp Orlyk Institute of Democracy wrote the book «Crimean Tatars as an indigenous people History of the issue and modern realities». In the book analyses some aspects of the situation in and around the Crimea after the two years of its occupation and illegal annexation by the Russian Federation. The first part addresses the situation regarding human rights, especially those of the most vulnerable Crimean Tatar indigenous people and ethnic Ukrainians. It also covers some other negative trends resulting from changing the status of the territory. The second part provides the analysis of the most important responses of the international community, whereas the third one deals with the national context of the Crimea-related issues [1]. Olena Gazizova in the article «The Crimean Tatars in the conditions of integration into the Ukrainian space» are violated problems of the Crimean Tatars in the conditions of the present time. The attention is focused on activity of political parties of the Crimean Tatars. The relations between Crimean Tatars and Ukrai-

nians are considered [2, p. 437—446]. Ethnicity as a tool for forming horizontal ties among migratory groups of development Ihor Markov. In the article «Migration and ethnicity: some aspects of the construction of a horizontal space of coexistence», he considered the factor of ethnicity in the construction of social ties in groups of migrants abroad [3].

*The research methodology* is based on sociocultural approach, which make it possible to study the processes of identification of IDPs in their close relationship with the specific historical conditions of the emergence of a social group, its formation and transformations. In the process of research is mostly based on phenomenological methodological school, which works with the construction of images of «Self and Other».

The *main source* of the study were anthropological interviews, collected using the ethnographic method of collecting and processing information, in the form of recording a free interview with the respondent, according to prepared questionnaires. Interviews were collected by students of the history faculty of the VSPU named after M. Kotsyubynskyi among the Crimean Tatars in the village of Nova Hreblya, Vinnytsia region, as part of the project «Crimean Tatars: when we return». Phenomenology became the methodological basis of our research [4]. Phenomenology as a philosophical doctrine arose at the end of the 19th — at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A number of sociological methods and techniques (including observation, qualitative analysis, interviewing) were used to identify the types of daily reactions and behavior of representatives of IDP in the conditions of transformation of the living environment, which allow evaluating the object of observation in a set of systemic social relationships [5].

**Main part.** Crimean Tatars are characterized by manifestations of ethno-regional Crimean Tatar identity, cultural, political and national identity, which has become stronger as a result of new extreme circumstances. IDPs in Ukraine appeared precisely as a result of the war and created new challenges for mutual understanding in communities. Studying the experiences of first-wave settlers can help understand the empirical challenges of a new full-scale invasion.

The image of «self» — «other» is formed through the everyday experiences of a person in certain circumstances. Social institutions have a great influence on the creation of this part of human identity, one of the first such

institutions is the school. As a result of monitoring by the working group, three «historical memories» or so-called «own-images» were identified in school history textbooks, depending on the region of distribution. The publication, created in 2014 by historians, was designed to change the prejudiced attitude towards Crimea and their history, which was presented in a distorted way even in Ukrainian school textbooks at the time of independence. Crimean Tatars, for example, were depicted only as enemies. Study «Crimea: a journey through the ages: history in questions and answers» edited by Henadii Boriak stresses: «Similarly, the average residents of Crimea and Ukraine know too little about the common pages of history, culture, life and customs of their own and their neighbors. After all, the history of Crimea and the peoples that make up its ethnic face today is inexhaustible. There is much that has not yet been explored in it, and much that will never be explored due to the absence or purposeful destruction of sources. However, what is known for sure now is enough to assert: in the Black Sea civilization space, Crimea and southwestern Russian (later Ukrainian) lands were in the same coordinate system» [6].

Crimea is a land where ethnic groups that exist only here were formed: Crimean Tatars, Karaites, Krymchaks and Mariupol Greeks. For many centuries, the Crimean Tatars were one of the main parts of the population of the peninsula, and after deportation, returning, and now annexation and partial internal displacement, they still remain in key positions in the representation of Crimea. Despite the Crimean Tatars' support for the Maidan and protests against the occupation of Crimea, the vast majority of Ukrainians still have many stereotypes about this ethnic group. There are many historical prerequisites for cooperation between the Ukrainian and Turkish governments, in addition to this, there are many support programs for the Crimean Tatars in Turkey, which was confirmed with the beginning of the annexation of Crimea and the relocation of a large part of the ethnic Crimean Tatars [7].

The host side has a clear understanding of the reasons for the phenomenon of displacement in the region and the emergence of a new group of IDPs, respectively: «Political factors that cause mass displacement of people arise due to military operations, ethnic conflicts (forced displaced refugees)».

On one of the most popular Ukrainian YouTube channels «by the T.G. Shevchenko's name», the au-

thors, Kapranov brothers touched on the main stereotypes in the story about the Crimean Tatars about «eternal enemies, people catchers, Zayds, Busurmans, in a word, such steppe orcs, but personal communication completely breaks this image. Well, remember Jamala, Akhtem Seitablaiev, Mustafa Dzhemilev, Envera Izmaylov — well, do they look like orcs?» [8]. In the comments to the video, we can find a lot of favorable reviews from the Crimean Tatars themselves, the user Ismail Abliazizov writes: «Thank you very much for such a truthful video! I am a Crimean Tatar, but now I live and study in Lviv. Everything that my father, a historian, told people for years, you told very correctly — thank you very much!» [8]. Spectators who have been or have experience of communication with Crimean Tatars also had a positive opinion about them: «Up to the 2014 year, they visited Crimea every year. All the generations. The most pleasant vacation was visiting Krymchak restaurants. Soulful, delicious, and the cheapest on the peninsula. Extremely hospitable people» [8].

In 2019, students and teachers of the History Faculty of Vinnytsia State Pedagogical University named after Mykhailo Kotsiubinsky conducted a study in the community of displaced Crimean Tatar in the village of Nova Hreblya, Kalyniv district. The project was carried out by the Non-governmental organisation «Vetan» with the support of the Ukrainian Cultural Fund, the Department of Social Policy of the Vinnytsia Regional State Administration, the Youth Center «Kvadrat» and the NGO «Podilska Spadschina», dedicated to the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars. As part of the project, the oral memories of Crimean Tatar families who survived deportation and returned to the Motherland to Crimea were collected, analysed and presented in the form of a youth documentary theater play «Crimean Tatars: when we return...».

As part of the project, the youth documentary theater in Vinnytsia prepared a performance based on 30 narrative interviews with Crimean Tatars — internally displaced persons living in the territory of the Vinnytsia region. The performance was based on the family memories of the Crimean Tatars about the deportation in 1944, the return to Crimea in the late 1980s, and forced displacement due to the annexation of Crimea in 2014. The performance is available in an audio version on the Internet [9].

In addition, it is worth paying attention to the factors that unite IDPs among the Crimean Tatars: common historical trauma, language, religion and traditions. Due to Muslim practices, which are not widespread in the rest of the territories of Ukraine, where Christianity prevails quantitatively, practicing Muslim Crimean Tatars cause surprise, curiosity, and sometimes negative behavior caused by stereotypes. It was the same with the displaced community in question. Conflicts arose in the village due to the prejudice of local residents towards closed clothes or the way of life of the Crimeans. Despite this, the community created many projects that developed not only their own community, the village, but also resonated in Vinnytsia and beyond. Yuliia Piskunova, deputy head of the NGO «Vetan», about the school children's project: «The puppet theater is another idea to unite the community of the village and the Crimean Tatar immigrants from the peninsula. The people of Vinnytsia should see that Tatars are the same citizens of Ukraine, just with a different culture and religion, which are worth studying and researching — there is a lot of interesting things there. I really want social dialogue to be established in the community.

We would like to see a decrease in national conflicts with national minorities. I would like the people of Vinnytsia to learn more about the Crimean Tatars, who chose Ukraine, leaving everything on the peninsula» [13].

Despite existing stereotypes, the ethnic community, pride, support and talent of the Crimean Tatars lead them to great heights and help to present Crimea and Ukraine on the world stage. Today's famous public figures include Mustafa Dzhemilev, singer Jamala, director Akhtem Seitablaiev. And their own traumas of annexation and deportation remain in the center of their narratives, and became the reason for resilience: «If one of us heard that some Crimean Tatar family had moved to Crimea and lived 2—3 km away, we would go to those families along the mountain paths. In general, the Crimean Tatars distinguished each other very easily. For example, you look at the license plates and realize that a person is from Central Asia. At that time, there was a 99 percent probability that he was a Crimean Tatar who came to Crimea. They always stopped and approached each other, even if they did not know each other or had no common relatives (but Crimean Tatars have relatives almost everywhere). And they helped each other if it was nec-

essary to find a house for sale or to spend the night and for various other issues» [11].

In matters of displacement, a person's choice is governed by many factors including their national identity. With the beginning of the war and the annexation of Crimea, such a choice, as well as the choice of national identity, which until then might have been not so clearly articulated, could divide even families, where some chose a pro-Russian identity, while others advocated a pro-Ukrainian course. Pro-Ukrainian position in Crimea often could lead to denunciations and pressure (psychological of the family, neighbors and physical threats for life) and became a natural factor in choosing to leave these territories. Such a choice could be influenced by other identities that were under increased pressure changing.

The life, culture, and adaptation of the Crimean Tatars who moved to Vinnytsia region are studied by teachers and students of Vinnytsia Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi State Pedagogical University. Studies are relevant in the socio-cultural discourse in the plane of intercultural dialogues. Crimean Tatars (about 200 people) compactly settled in the village. Nova Greblia, Kaliniv area, Vinnytsia region. Interest in the topic grew into several projects: «International relations: the Ukrainian dimension and regional contexts» — «Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars: two nations — a common history» (March, 2019) and «Crimean Tatars in Vinnytsia: stories from the first mouth» (April, 2019). Two non-governmental organizations began to implement it: «Podilska Spadschyna» and Crimean Tatar «Vetan». For second-year history students, surveys were conducted as part of ethnographic practice: «The purpose of the practice was to track down and record oral histories from representatives of the Crimean Tatar community about the deportations and annexation of the peninsula of Crimea and the current situation of the Crimean Tatars in occupied Crimea» [6].

In the context of the coexistence of Crimean Tatars and local residents of Vinnytsia in the village of Nova Hreblia, which was already discussed earlier, there were certain conflicts with the villagers that had both everyday, worldview, and religious foundations. Sometimes misunderstanding led to physical contact, verbal insults, and fights: «Tensions are brewing in the village between local residents and displaced people from Crimea. There have even been several fights between local boys and

Crimean Tatars. And the incident that happened on the night of March 1 caused a stormy reaction among the residents of the village. Dmytro Labunets, a 23-year-old resident of Druzhny, was injured then. The boy suffered a brain injury.

He ended up in a hospital bed, as a result of his injury, he cannot smell or taste. It is not known for sure who caused the injuries to the young man. Local residents say that it was done by the Crimean Tatars. Representatives of the Crimean Tatars do not deny the very fact of the incident and small conflicts before it, but assure that they did not beat anyone. The police are identifying the persons involved in the beating, are investigating the circumstances and causes of the incident and say that it is not known for sure who exactly caused the injuries to the victim. Some believe that people in a state of alcohol intoxication suffer similar injuries to the occipital part of the skull. As long as the investigation continues, it's definitely too early to talk about something» [9]. The play «Crimean Tatars: When We Return» is not directly about these differences. It is more expressed in public and everyday manifestations in the life of the local community.

At meetings organized by local residents, various points were discussed, calls for eviction arose. Despite the generally positive attitude towards the Crimean Tatars in Ukraine, after the ethnic community's active opposition to Russian aggression, worldview contradictions based on religion and traditions arose in the settlement.

For the Crimean Tatars, the discourse of «return» generally has a double meaning, as it is combined with deportation and return to Crimea after Ukraine's independence, return to their own land and return of this land and in general. Despite the more difficult geopolitical situation and the non-military form of annexation of the Crimean Peninsula, for the Crimean Tatars who left the peninsula, their state affiliation is unchanged: «All Crimean Tatars living in Nova Hreblia are determined to fight for their homeland as well as to establish a peaceful life on the territory, where we were given a home. But we will definitely return Crimea. It just takes time» [17].

*Deportation in 1944.* Through all the interviews of the Crimean Tatars who moved to live in the village of Nova Hreblia in the Vinnytsia region, there is a discourse comparing the deportation of their relatives from

the territory of Crimea in 1944 and their forced relocation from the occupied Crimea in 2014. Some members of the community left in the following years, but the main part of the community moved together.

Amyetov Akim's grandfather and grandmother were deported from Crimea, most of his grandfather's brothers died on the way. Akim and his parents were born in Uzbekistan and constantly remembered deportation, grandparents constantly remembered deportation, which Akim himself defines as treason. This reminder affected the nature of relations with the Russians, who were wary of them: We were always reminded who the USSR was, who the Russians were, they always had this: never take a Russian person as your friend because they (Russians) have usurpation, treachery, and if you take it, look at your luck, but it is better to be careful because ... And they told stories about how it all happened, how they acted treacherously, and this sediment remained, and they often reminded» [15].

Gulnara's parents also mentioned the Crimea, which they remembered as children and did not let them talk about it: «Yes, when we lived in Tashkent, we talked and remembered everything. My parents always remembered their homeland, we got used to it there, our friends were there, we worked together, and my parents always spoke about Crimea, they always spoke, my mother was a student during the war years, they lived in Sevastopol, my parents in Sevastopol lived there, just outside Sevastopol, there is Sturm village, there is a straight 2 km or 1 km, my mother lived there, and my father lived in Balaklava» [16].

*Relations between Crimean Tatars and representatives of host communities.* Thanks to the arrival of displaced people, the opening of their businesses, the relocation of educational universities, institutions and the creation of community associations, and the usual work of competitive immigrants who entered the labor market, the work of everyone else also improved to meet the declared level.

In the context of the coexistence of Crimean Tatars and local residents of Vinnytsia in the village of Nova Hreblia, which was already discussed earlier, there were certain conflicts with the villagers that had both everyday, worldview, and religious foundations. Sometimes misunderstanding led to physical contact, verbal insults, and fights: «Tensions are brewing in the village between local residents and displaced people from Crimea. There have

even been several fights between local boys and Crimean Tatars. And the incident that happened on the night of March 1 caused a stormy reaction among the residents of the village. Dmytro Labunets, a 23-year-old resident of Druzhny, was injured then. The boy suffered a brain injury. He ended up in a hospital bed, as a result of his injury, he cannot smell or taste. It is not known for sure who caused the injuries to the young man. Local residents say that it was done by the Crimean Tatars. Representatives of the Crimean Tatars do not deny the very fact of the incident and small conflicts before it, but assure that they did not beat anyone. The police are identifying the persons involved in the beating, are investigating the circumstances and causes of the incident and say that it is not known for sure who exactly caused the injuries to the victim. Some believe that people in a state of alcohol intoxication suffer similar injuries to the occipital part of the skull. As long as the investigation continues, it's definitely too early to talk about something» [10]. The play «Crimean Tatars: When We Return» is not directly about these differences. It is more expressed in public and everyday manifestations in the life of the local community.

Local residents differ in their positions. Some consider them «their own», then a quote from a volunteer who helped the displaced: «Own, but a little different, other, probably yes. Because the mentality is a little different, especially how to take displaced from Crimea. Well, in general, they are different, but they are very special, because I would like the displaced people to consider me their own, well, at least, those I have encountered over the years — I think they consider me their own» [3].

The issue of studying the level of acceptance of the Crimean Tatars is less developed in our country, which may indicate its lack of demand and the likely absence of problems. The practice of European administrative bodies ignoring historical dates related to the history of the Crimean Tatars remains negative: «On the day of mourning of the Crimean Tatar people for the victims of the deportation from Crimea on May 18, 1944, the European Union did not make any statement. Only the representative office of the European Union in Ukraine issued an official statement regarding the ban by the «authorities» of Crimea on events commemorating the victims of the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people» [11].

There is also a difference in the perception of physicality, the limits of permissible nudity, which differ be-

tween Ukrainian peasants and Crimean Tatar women. It is worth noting that the Crimean Tatar women of Nova Hrebliia cover their heads, as do little girls. Mukader describes the incident as she made a remark to an unknown person because of her frank appearance, and she was pleasantly surprised by the change and wearing more decent clothes: «it's because the mother gave birth, and you say: «why are you walking like that, maybe you dressed a little more modestly?». But if Allah gives the hint and there it is in the head, this person came and made a remark to me that I was there in what mother gave birth, and the next day we see each other and it is already nice to talk with that person, it is nice to communicate with his or her already» [1].

Also, conflicts arose in the village between Ukrainian peasants and Crimean Tatars due to non-drinking of alcohol. For a long time, Ukrainian men tried to go with alcohol and mix the Crimean Tatars to drink with them, it led to fights, because the Tatars did not want to come into contact in this way. The respondents did not want to talk about these events for the record. The peculiar attitude of the Crimean Tatars to the use of alcohol is determined by the commandments of the prophet, which they quote to the peasants themselves, who may come to their house drunk: «no matter who he is, if he is drunk there or barely walks and stumbles, you lift him up, help him, say» why do you drink? you can not drink» you can walk normally, you are an adequate person», and as they say «what is on the mind of a sober person, is on the tongue of a drunk» and then, «yes yes, sorry, that's all I won't» and he starts, even though he drinks, he drank, his head is buzzing from this alcohol, but he knows that this is a bad thing» [1].

At the same time, the village of Nova Hrebliia has been adapting to new co-residents for a long time, and in general they began to make friends at the everyday level and communicate: «Our fellow villagers, when they see me, they are happy: «oh, how did you come, why can't you be seen, those who, they ask how Yakym is, how Lily is» they ask. Well, there are such and such» [16]. In the same way, children who are allowed to invite guests talk and play with each other: «she says her friends are coming, she says let's talk, she says we are friends, well, that's it» [1].

Mukader recalls the difficulties at the beginning, when they had not yet been provided with a dormitory building to live in and they lived in more difficult conditions.

Now each wife of one husband has a separate room with her children. At the beginning of the move in 2014, they all had to live together in one room, but everyone agreed and helped each other: «especially when we lived in school. Oh girls, it was something terrible, we lived on top of each other, frankly, in the same room, imagine here, there in one house, there is a mother with a child, then with several children, and it turns out that they lived together in one small room, lived together with children. Somewhere in the middle of the night someone is crying, someone has a fever, someone has a toothache or something, you you don't say «Hey, get up and look after your child, you're lying here.» You go and help, let me help you in a friendly manner» [15].

*Religion factor.* The Crimean Tatars understand the temporary nature of their situation and are grateful for the fringe and the opportunity to preserve their religious beliefs: «Now? Well, Ukraine accepted us as guests, and we live here, we are not hindered in anything, we preach our religion. Once we were taken here from there, we cried, and they also cried when they looked at us» [20]. A nearby village or city cannot completely provide for religious needs, there is only an Islamic center nearby, and the Crimean Tatars believe that a mosque is not necessary for a person to communicate with God: «In Vinnytsia, too, there is just an Islamic center, it is not a mosque, there is a real mosque in Dnipro, there is one in Odesa, so we don't have to go to a mosque, if a person wants to pray, it is not necessary to go to a mosque, a person, for example, may be at the sea or in the steppe, they always need to communicate with God, to pray» [16].

The community of Crimean Tatars who moved to the village belong to Salafetism, a current of Sunnism, and are a rather closed religious community, and in addition, even the food eaten and grown by the Tatars is different, which offended the villagers, who specially harvested crops for the displaced people: «The local residents were surprised that the displaced people pray several times a day, that their women cover their faces, do not work near the land, that they planted potatoes for the displaced people, but no one cultivates them. And many other things seemed strange and new. Mentally different communities, different religions, different traditions met in the Podil village» [12].

At meetings organized by local residents, various points were discussed. Despite the generally positive attitude towards the Crimean Tatars in Ukraine, after

the ethnic community's active opposition to Russian aggression, worldview contradictions based on religion and traditions arose in the settlement. The community of Crimean Tatars who moved to the village belong to Salafetism, a current of Sunnism, and are a rather closed religious community, and in addition, even the food eaten and grown by the Tatars is different, which offended the villagers, who specially harvested crops for the displaced people: «The local residents were surprised that the displaced people pray several times a day, that their women cover their faces, do not work near the land, that they planted potatoes for the displaced people, but no one cultivates them. And many other things seemed strange and new. Mentally different communities, different religions, different traditions met in the Podil village» [12]. However, in the Crimean Tatar community there are atheists and Ukrainian women who married and converted to Islam. Atheists are relatives of someone from the community, so the religious factor is not the main factor for community involvement.

*Crimean Tatars and their language(s).* In Crimea, where the population is significantly Russified, the main language of communication is Russian, among the part of Crimean Tatars who have their own language — Crimean Tatar, but among representatives of their ethnic group. The vast majority of Crimean Tatars who moved from Crimea to the village of Nova Hreblia in Vinnytsia speak Russian among themselves, someone speaks the Crimean Tatar language, studies Arabic, understands Ukrainian, but there are some of them, who speak poorly. Crimean Tatars gave interviews in Russian. However, not all members of the community know Crimean Tatar.

Crimean Tatar woman Muniver when asked whether she speaks Crimean Tatar, answered comprehensively about knowledge of Crimean Tatar, everyday use of Russian: «I know. Children? Children also know. It's just that we're already used to Russian here, for example, my children speak Ukrainian, my son also graduated from school, they're just shy to speak with us, but they speak very well. And I'm Ukrainian, well, I didn't study it at school, and now I'm teaching children, I have all the books in Ukrainian. I speak Ukrainian, they start laughing, I speak Russian because of that» [21].

And yet, despite the growing Russification of the Crimean Tatars and the partial replacement of the Crimean Tatar language by Russian, they try to preserve and study it even outside the linguistic environ-

ment of Crimea and remember their older generations, for whom the language was decisive: «Yes, the language is yes. My parents, those generations all spoke their own language, always, I know well, and now it's just our generation, our children are already in full swing in Russian, I say — speak your own language, how is that? The son is already trying to speak, granddaughter Asiia, and she speaks Tatar, there are such children who hardly know, here she knows» [16].

*Discourse of return.* One of the key themes of the «migration discourse» is item of return. Some IDP can go home on vacation, weekends, vacations to visit relatives. In the front-line territories, there is a practice of residents of the occupied territories registering the fact of living in the territories controlled by Ukraine in order to receive social benefits, cross the demarcation line for work or for food. Physical return and displacement to the occupied territories is a separate issue in this discourse. If the women of this community of Crimean Tatars can cross the demarcation line with the annexed Crimea, then the men are more likely to be subjected to repression and arrest. The community of Crimean Tatars in Novaya Hreble is the backbone of the volunteer battalion «Crimea», the vast majority of whose fighters do not hide their faces.

When asked if she wants to return, Gulnara/Khanifa answered unequivocally: «Of course, very much! I really want to go home. I could live there, the children are here, I live there alone, I go there in the summer, I live for a month, I live for two, I live for three, but the children are here, we all really want to, at the first good opportunity, we will all go to Crimea, that is our homeland» [16].

Akim, who would like to introduce children to Crimea, answers the same way: «This is probably a stupid person who will sometimes say: «No, I don't want to go home.» Of course, I would like to be in my homeland, let's say my ancestors, so that I can tell my children my story» [15].

For the Crimean Tatars, leaving for unoccupied territories could become a choice between (not) life. Mukader and her husband's second wife call the Crimean Tatar rallies, which are attended by many police officers and arrests, as one of the moments that frighten the Crimean Tatars in the occupation. Crimean Tatar rallies, mostly dedicated to honoring the deportees and Aisha Seitmuratova, who tried to preserve their memory: «Let's say that every year they gather in the park,

Crimean Tatars gather, and every year, when Crimea has already become Russia, every year a helicopter flies over it with a bunch of militia or police, that they already have there in the Crimea, and every year something like this happens there, which is simple. Everyone thinks that suddenly someone from the Crimean Tatars will plant a bomb, in the square they have already forgotten his name, but they have already reached the helicopters that the helicopter is flying around, they have these weapons on the helicopter, suddenly just in case, and there people are simply without weapons, without anything came out to commemorate» [19].

Amet Akimov, who took wives and children out of Crimea, defines his goals as twofold: protection of children and national interests: «If I want a healthy state, I must protect the family — these are women and children, and women will raise children in honesty and justice. If something happens there, I won't be able to protect my family here, they will be somewhat safe here. My grandparents always said: «It is not for us to be with the Russians, it is not for us to be with them, they are our enemies» and the system. Many people say that they are put there, they lose their friends with whom they talked, even, I will say more — I ate with them at the same table. They are no more, they were simply lost by so many who are destroyed for what they say» [15]. Interviews of the project «Crimean Tatars: when we return» show a number of needs and characteristics characteristic of Crimean Tatars, internally displaced persons, which determine further interaction and communication with host communities.

**Conclusions.** The identity of the Crimean Tatars relocated to Novaya Hreble of the Vinnytsia region plays an important role: the common area of residence of all members of the community — a dormitory; Muslim religion and worldview, common religious rites, prayers; experience of joint relocation from the territory of temporarily occupied Crimea; historical and family memory of the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people in 1944; the participation of the men of the community in the protection of the territorial integrity of Ukraine as part of the volunteer battalion «Crimea». These factors are unifying for the community trying to preserve its originality and national identity on the mainland.

However, external manifestations of Crimean Tatar identity can and do cause misunderstanding on the part of local residents of Novaya Hreble. There were misun-



understandings at the household level and interactions in the settlement. For example, in 2014, the villagers planted potatoes before the Crimean Tatars arrived, and they refused to dig them up and eat them. Another subject of misunderstanding was the non-drinking of alcohol by the Crimean Tatars and the closed type of clothing of women and girls from the Crimean Tatar community. Over the years of cohabitation, joint economic relations, the education system, communication, and the holding of information events by the Crimean Tatar community, cases of misunderstanding have become rare.

The annexation of Crimea did not end Russia's territorial encroachments on Ukraine, but only started them. The insular nature of Crimea's economy prompts the Russian Federation to make further territorial claims for a land corridor connection with the Russian Federation, in particular, this applies to the Donbass, Odesa and Kherson regions. And this means that the processes investigated in this work are not complete and continue to change.

The identity of the Crimean Tatars affects the unity of the IDPs among the Crimean Tatars: common historical trauma, language, religion and traditions. Despite the existing stereotypes, the ethno-religious community, pride, support, giftedness and active public participation of the Crimean Tatars became the basis of self-presentation achievements on the world stage. And their own traumas of annexation and deportation remain fundamental for them, and helping each other has become a reason for resilience.

But what is final for an immigrant in choosing to change his place of residence is not only the fear of war, but national identity, which does not depend on the ethnic origin or the issue of a person's language, which is manipulated by Russian politicians to continue the war. It's a choice of the future of his children and the national identity of a Ukrainian citizen.

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