"My fatherland is Germany, my motherland is Turkey": The evolution across the life course of transnational ways of being and belonging of second generation Turkish-Germans.

Christine Barwick

"MY FATHERLAND IS GERMANY, MY MOTHERLAND IS TURKEY"

THE EVOLUTION ACROSS THE LIFE COURSE OF TRANSNATIONAL WAYS OF BEING AND BELONGING OF SECOND GENERATION TURKISH-GERMANS

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Nous vivons dans un monde où une proportion croissante de la population se déplace ou a des pratiques transnationales. Bien que nous ayons une bonne connaissance des pratiques transnationales des immigrés, ainsi que des élites mobiles, on en sait moins sur le transnationalisme de la deuxième génération des migrants, en particulier en Europe. Sur la base d'entretiens avec des Turcs de la deuxième génération à Berlin, je vais retracer leurs façons transnationales d'être et d'appartenir au cours de leur vie. Comme enfants de travailleurs immigrés, ils ont été socialisés de façon transnationale et vivent une vie transnationale à l'âge adulte. Ils s'engagent dans des modes d'être transnationaux, par exemple en visitant régulièrement la Turquie. Ils montrent également des formes d'appartenance transnationales, s'identifiant à la fois comme Allemands et Turcs. Cependant, à d'autres périodes de leur vie, ils se désengagent des pratiques transnationales et rejettent toute identification transnationale. Cela apparaît étroitement lié à des sentiments de rejet par les membres (indigènes) d'Allemagne, mais aussi de Turquie.

The pictures above are just two among several more, all part of a cartoon by Tunisian-Italian journalist and artist Takoua Ben Mohamed, which were exhibited on a random wall in Lisbon, Portugal during the summer 2016. The cartoon tells the story of a young Muslim woman, who lives in Italy and has roots in Tunisia. She wonders about who she is, not understanding that people from both societies do not see her as a full member of that respective society. The cartoon ends on a happy note, and the woman decides that she does not want to decide for any one culture but pick the best of both.

This dilemma is faced by many people, particularly in a world where migration and mobility across borders is one of the most fundamental changes that societies across the globe are witnessing. We live in a transnational world where the nation state is no longer the primary or sole institution for the organization of people's lives, nor for identification (Favell 2015; Fouron and Schiller 2001; Mau 2010). Broadly, transnationalism is defined as "all forms of exchange, communication, life practices, solidarity, feelings of affiliation, and employment relations that cross the border of nation-states" (Mau 2010: 18). The transnationalism paradigm was developed primarily by migration researchers in the USA. They demonstrated that the straight-line assimilation that was observed for white European immigrants does not apply to post-1965 immigrants, who came primarily from Latin America and Asia (Fouron and Schiller 2001; Waldinger 2015). Instead, these new migrants created "transnational social fields" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004), linking their country of residence (CoR) and their home

Two pictures part of a cartoon by Tunisian-Italian journalist and artist Takoua Ben Mohamed, exhibited in Lisbon, Portugal, 2016.

country through sending remittances, ethnic media consumption, or regular visits to the country of origin. Similar transnational practices have been found for migrants from Turkey, Algeria, Morocco or Tunisia, who came to Western European countries as labor migrants in the 1960s, either as part of Labor Force Agreements or post-colonial migration (Beauchemin et al. 2016; Ehrkamp 2005; Pötzschke et al. 2014). Migration is therefore not a "uni-directional or one-time change of residence. Instead, migrants' practices span different places of residence and geographic areas, which lead to lasting transnational bonds and spaces of activity" (Martiniello and Rea 2014: 1090f.).

Many politicians in immigration countries feared that keeping ties to the country of origin would make full assimilation or integration (for a discussion of the two concepts, see Favell 2015) into the new society impossible. Migration research, however, has demonstrated that engaging in transnational practices does not exclude integration, but that the two can occur together (Bauböck and Faist 2010). In fact, Teney and colleagues (Teney, Hanquinet, and Bürkin 2016) have shown that first-generation immigrants in various European countries identify with their home country, but just as much

with their CoR. Engaging in transnationalism even increases identification with the CoR.

To get a more nuanced picture of transnationalism, Levitt and Schiller propose to distinguish between transnational ways of being and transnational ways of belonging. The former refer to "actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in", whereas the latter capture the "practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004: 1010). Richter and Nollert (2014) proposed a similar differentiation, separating between social practice and forms of belonging. Transnational ways of being and belonging can overlap but also differ. Whether or not they overlap depends on context and time (life cycle) and is therefore not static.

While most research so far has focused on transnationalism of first-generation migrants, much less is known about second generation transnationalism, particularly in Europe. A reason for this lack is the belief that the descendants of immigrants do not "engage in their ancestral homes with the same intensity and frequency as their parents", nor to "be as influenced by homeland values and practices" (Levitt 2009). However, given the transnationalism observed for first-generation

immigrants, it is likely that the second generation is raised in a transnational way, which likely has an effect on transnationalism later in life (Guarnizo 1997). Levitt and Schiller remark that "Even children who never return to their parent's ancestral homes are brought up in households where people, values, goods and claims from somewhere else are present on a daily basis" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004: 1017). This view, however, is very much in line with the traditional idea of a straight line assimilation or integration of immigrants and their descendants into majority society – something which has already been refuted (Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1994).

This lack becomes even more striking in the European context. Ever since the Treaty of Maastricht a 'Sociology of the European Union' (Favell and Guiraudon 2011) has developed which treats similar theoretical questions to those addressed in the transnationalism literature. While predominantly using different terminologies, such as mobility and identity, EU scholars are likewise interested in transnational ways of being and belonging and the causal relationship between the two. A variety of authors have therefore analyzed European citizens' mobility patterns across borders and how mobility is related to national and European identity (Favell and Recchi 2009; Fligstein 2009; Kuhn 2015; Recchi 2015). This stream of literature, however, largely disregards immigrants and their descendants so that we know very little about their cross-border practices. Two exceptions are the studies by Teney, Hanquinet, and Bürkin (2016) and Pötzschke et al. (2014) who inquired about European identification and cross-border mobility, respectively, of (first generation) immigrants in Europe.

However, neither the migrant transnationalism nor the intra-EU mobility literature adequately addresses second generation transnationalism. In this paper, I will therefore ask what transnational practices do second generation ethnic Turks engage in and how are they related to transnational belonging? As we will see, practices and belonging change over the life course, from childhood through adolescence to adult life. In the following two sections, I will lay out the reasons why we need more research on second generation transnationalism and then describe my sample on which the analysis is based on.

SECOND GENERATION TRANSNATIONALISM

Studying second generation transnationalism in Europe might reveal interesting for various reasons. The descendants of immigrants are clearly part of European societies. While many of them are doing better than their

parents socioeconomically (Guiraudon 2014), they still have lower educational degrees and occupy lower positions compared to the majority society. Based on a large scale survey in various European cities, the TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) study has shown that even for the second generation, being Turkish includes an ethnic penalty: their unemployment rate is consistently higher than for native whites, even when controlling for factors such as educational degree.

Closely related, ethnic Turks, just as the descendants of immigrants from the Maghreb or Sub-Sahara Africa, are stigmatized in European societies based on their skin colour, ethnic and assumed religious background (Adida, Laitin, and Valfort 2016; Beaman 2015; Duyvendak 2011; Ramm 2010). They are thus not viewed as full members of their respective societies. Experiences of discrimination and stigmatization can lead to higher transnational practices, as previous research has indicated (Beauchemin et al. 2016; Fokkema et al. 2012; Santelli 2016).

Taken together, these two aspects raise theoretically interesting questions regarding the link between integration and social mobility. If certain ethnic groups, even those of the 2nd or 3rd generation, are continuously stigmatized by majority society and therefore occupy lower socioeconomic positions, integration might actually reduce the chances for social mobility. In contrast, spatial mobility across borders, i.e. transnationalism, might increase social mobility.

In Europe, transnational practices of second generation migrants, particularly of descendants of non-EU guest worker migrants, have rarely been addressed so far. An exception is the TIES study which also focused on transnational behavior and integration of the Turkish, Moroccan and Yugoslavian second generation in various European cities (Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012; Fokkema et al. 2012). In this study, the authors asked about three transnational practices: sending remittances, visits to the (parents') home country within the last year and ethnic media consumption. They found overall low levels of transnationalism, with the Turkish group displaying the highest level. Thereby, "one's level of transnational engagement decreases significantly in proportion to one's level of socio-cultural integration while a positive association is observed between level of economic integration and transnational engagement" (Fokkema 2012: 117). This corresponds to the findings of Beauchemin et al. (2016) who show that those migrants who are best incorporated economically show the highest levels of transnational engagement.

The authors of the TIES study also found an unexpected "negative effect of a multicultural approach on transnational behaviour among second-generation

adults in Europe" (Fokkema et al. 2012, 118), compared to countries with assimilationist or exclusionary policies. Another important determinant of transnationalism is whether or not the partner/spouse is a first generation immigrant who shares the same ethnic background, or a member of the majority society. Compared to Yugoslavians and Moroccans, ethnic Turks show the highest levels of transnational practices. While this study gives important insights into transnational behaviors of Europe's second-generation, it also has some shortcomings. First, the authors only inquire about a very limited number of transnational practices. They did not ask about personal networks, and did not address at all the aspect of transnational belonging. Furthermore, their surprising finding that transnational practices are higher in more assimilationist countries might not be so surprising, given the positive correlation between discrimination and transnational practices found in other studies (Beauchemin et al. 2016; Santelli 2016). There might be less racism in multicultural societies, as ethnic and religious diversity are more accepted than in countries with assimilationist or exclusionary integration policies (Adida, Laitin, and Valfort 2016) and therefore lower transnationalism.

In contrast to quantitative approaches that measure the extent of certain (pre-defined) transnational practices, my qualitative approach has the advantage that it captures the evolution of transnational practices throughout the respondents' lives and relates these to transnational ways of belonging. I will thus trace the development over the respondents' life course of transnational practices and feelings of belonging, paying particular attention to when and why they do (not) overlap. This qualitative approach allows me to analyse "transnationalism as it occurs within, and has impact upon, the daily lives of individuals" (Vertovec 2004: 974).

RESEARCH DESIGN & DATA

The paper is based on a study of 41 upwardly mobile second generation Turkish-Germans in Berlin. In-depth interviews, lasting mostly around 1.5 hours, were conducted by the author in 2012-13, inquiring about social and residential mobility, identifications along ethnicity, class and place, family and friendship networks, as well as transnational practices. The interviews had a strong biographical component, as I asked the respondents about their experiences of growing up in Germany, their educational and professional trajectories, and how their identifications had changed over time.

The focus on upwardly mobile ethnic Turks has two reasons. First, I was interested in neighborhood choice. As low economic capital, as well as lacking language

skills, inhibit residential choice, I only interviewed those second generation ethnic Turks who were proficient in German and had an income that would allow them to consider living in middle-class Berlin neighborhoods. Second, I was highly interested in identification. To learn more about how people identify and how that changes over the life course, it is particularly fruitful to analyze those who are in a 'blurry' social position, such as upwardly mobile persons. Bourdieu (1987: 12) explained that people who find themselves in the "intermediate or middle positions of the social space" have the most room to fill the fuzzy space between practices and social positions. How they fill this space depends not only on social class, but also ethnicity, nationality, or locality (Bourdieu 1987: 7).

To reach upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, who were employed, I used convenience sampling. I relied on several points of entry to the field, contacting ethnicity-based organizations, calling businesses that were owned by ethnic Turks, inquiring in schools and kindergartens. Lastly, I also made use on personal contacts. I ended the interview phase when a theoretical saturation was reached, making sure at the same time that I had a balanced sample, regarding gender and the respondents' family status. All interviews were transcribed word by word, and then coded and analyzed according to grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1994).

The respondents are the descendants of immigrants, they either came to Germany as children, as part of family reunification, or they were born in Germany. They were working as lawyers, tax consultants, in the social service sector, or self-employed in the food sector. The Turkish-Germans were between 29 and 63 years old at the time of the interviews, but most clustered between the ages 35 and 50. The majority was married and had children, the ones without children were all in a relationship.

The respondents are upwardly mobile, and have higher economic and cultural capital than their parents, who were - typical for guest workers - mostly employed as manual laborers, and only had basic schooling (in Turkey).

TRANSNATIONAL WAYS OF BEING AND BELONGING FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD

THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF TRANSNATIONALISM I: GROWING UP IN A TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELD

Given the transnational ways of lives that have been demonstrated for first generation immigrants, it is no surprise that the respondents were raised transnationally.

A Berliner Kebab

Their parents came to Germany in the 1960s and 1970s under the Labour Force Agreement between Germany and Turkey. As they planned to return to Turkey after a few years, they kept strong ties to their family and kin in Turkey. Even when they brought over their spouse and children, transnational practices such as frequent return visits, transnational networks, sending remittances or transnational political involvement, continued. Their children, hence the second generation, were thus raised in a transnational social field connecting Germany and Turkey.

Most respondents have spent longer periods of their childhood in Turkey. On the one hand, this is the so-called 1.5th generation. They have been born in Turkey and predominantly came to Germany with their mother and other siblings to join their father in Germany as part of family reunification. But even the second generation, those who were born in Germany, often spent some of their childhood years in Turkey. Their parents, holding on to the idea that they would return to Turkey after a few years, sometimes sent their children to Turkey so that they grow up there with their grandparents or other kin. They brought back their children to Germany only when they realized that they would not return to Turkey. These are the so-called suitcase children. For my respondents, thus, the differentiation between the 1,5th and second generation as commonly used in migration studies is not very telling, as both have spent time in Turkey as children, and they all describe this period as an important part of their life.

Lacin is a case in point. He was born in Germany, where he spent the first six years of his life. His parents then decided to return to Turkey. His mother and he himself went there first, his father wanted to join after a few months. However, months turned into years, and after six years in Turkey without their husband and father, Lacin and his mother moved back to Germany. While this back and forth brought many problems, particularly regarding the acquisition of the German language, Lacin highly values the time he has lived in Turkey:

> I was born here [Germany], but I also experienced Turkish culture, it influenced me a lot, because I've also lived in Turkey for a bit. And because my parents are first generation, they were able to give me a lot. So I am German, I am Turkish, there is no antagonism between the two.

Ferda and Nevcan are also suitcase-children, just as Lacin. Both their parents were working and since childcare facilities were very limited at that time, they sent their children to Turkey where they lived with their grandparents, uncle or aunt. Whether or not they have been born in Turkey or Germany, most respondents lived transnational lives from very early-on.

Nevertheless, having lived in Turkey is no prerequisite of growing up transnationally. Even the children of guest worker immigrants from Turkey, who have been born in Germany and never lived in Turkey for an extended period of time, grew up in a transnational way. As Pötzschke et al. (2014) have shown, first-generation Turkish immigrants, particularly in Germany, regularly go back to Turkey for holidays and they usually take their children along, particularly for extended summer holidays. Thus, no matter whether or not the respondents had actually lived in Turkey, they regularly spent the summer holidays there with their parents. Most respondents remember these holidays in a very positive light, they enjoyed going to Turkey, and keeping ties to family, kin and friends.

Various scholars have demonstrated the effect of how children experience such holiday transnationalism on their transnationalism later in life (Wessendorf 2013; see also King, Christou, and Teerling 2011). Based on an ethnographic study with second generation south Italians in Switzerland, Wessendorf (2013: 34) observed that "The way in which members of the second generation experienced their holidays during these lively summer weeks strongly impacts on their transnational relations later in life". If the children, enjoyed these holidays, they continuously engage in transnational ways of being and belonging as adults. If, however, the holidays in the parent's home country made them aware of cultural differences between Swiss and Italians, and they preferred life in Switzerland, they started to withdraw from transnational practices and felt exclusive belonging to Switzerland.

Apart from spending time in Turkey, the respondents' lives in Germany were likewise very transnational. Transnational socialization goes beyond spending time in the parents' home country, and also includes speaking Turkish, having Turkish friends in the CoR, or celebrating Turkish holidays.

In the respondents' accounts, language plays an important role, and being able to converse in at least two languages is tightly connected to transnational belonging. For Europeans, Fligstein (2009) has shown that being proficient in more than one language is an important prerequisite for transnational practices, and it also influences identification. This makes sense, given that "Communication and culture are inextricably intertwined since language is both a symbol and a tool of membership" (Soehl and Waldinger 2012: 785).

The respondents clearly link language and culture. For most, Turkish was their first language, and they learned German in kindergarten and school. They thus naturally became brokers between their Turkish parents, kin and friends and certain spheres of German society, particularly the welfare state. The respondents often had to translate official letters or accompany their parents or other Turkish immigrants to the foreigner's department or other social service agencies, a kind of involvement that many of the respondents have continued throughout their lives (Reference deleted for reasons of anonymity).

Most importantly, though, is that language opens up different systems of communication and is a tool through which "connections and connectedness are imparted from parents to children" (Soehl and Waldinger 2012, 783). Selbi is a case in point, when she explains that Turkish is …

> " … a completely different language. German, for example, is very rigid and very precise. A juridical language. Turkish or oriental languages, they are very flowery. Rich in metaphors. So you have completely different images that you can create with language.

The respondents did not only speak Turkish, but also read books in Turkish and listened to Turkish music. Taken together, language is an important tool that often leads to a form of 'emotional transnationalism' (Wolf 2006) or at least a 'transnational consciousness' (Burrell 2003). As recounted by Selbi and other respondents, speaking both German and Turkish means having access to two different cultures. Conversing in Turkish (social practice) is thus an expression of feelings of cultural belonging. This also explains why it is so important for those respondents with children to teach them the Turkish language (see below).

Socialization does not only occur within the family, but also in other institutions that might encourage or discourage transnational behaviours. At the time the respondents were growing up and going to school in Berlin, the regional government had a highly segregated school system in play. They had instituted so-called 'Turkish classes', which were exclusively for the children of Turkish guest workers. One reason for this segregated system was the then still dominant belief that the children would return 'home' with their parents after a few years and integration was not necessary. Unsurprisingly, this system largely inhibited socializing with native-German children as well as learning the German language.

Usually, for the second generation, the use of the parents' mother tongue should decrease through socialization in host country institutions (Soehl and Waldinger 2012). This would then lead to boundary blurring and to a decrease in ethnic identification. This was clearly not the case in Berlin, where no efforts were undertaken for a long time to facilitate the integration of the children of immigrants into majority society.

Due to the language constraints, open racism by teachers and culturally insensitive parents, the respondents see their early school experiences rather negatively. Mehri's example is a case in point:

> " If you had German friends and went to their place, you were confronted with stereotypes, as a young boy. The German parents didn't give you anything to eat, because they didn't know how to deal with it. Do you eat what they prepare? Do you drink what they drink? But without asking, without ever confronting these issues. Obviously, you just didn't get anything to eat. (…) Or they never offered anything to drink, you know?!

This exemplifies how, as children already, the Turkish-Germans were confronted with the difficulties of moving in two seemingly different worlds. Being a marginal man or cultural hybrid, as Park (1928) has pointed out, includes possibilities for identification, but also difficulties. Whether or not, for a migrant, the possibilities or difficulties weigh heavier, depends on the life cycle stage and can change over time. During their childhood years, most respondents felt categorized and excluded by majority society, without understanding why that was the case.

Nevertheless, not all respondents look back to their early childhood experiences in a negative way. Mahir, for example, rather focused on the advantages of the cultural hybridity, even as a young child:

> " Even during my childhood, I always had to listen to how bad it was for us migrant kids. I didn't feel like that. And I didn't define it that way. Many always evoked this image 'I am sitting between two chairs'. And for me, I always said 'I am eating out of two pots'. That was my image. A counter-image.

These two different accounts indicate that even young children can experience the effects of being raised and living transnationally in very different ways. This corresponds to the findings of Wessendorf (2013). In her study on roots migration of second generation Italians born and raised in Switzerland, she has shown that a transnational socialization might have two very differing

outcomes: while some of her respondents were so tied to their parents' home country that they migrated there when they were adults, others – even from the same family – did the opposite and drew strong boundaries to other Italy and Italian culture. Discrimination and social categorization are highly influencing in this regard, particularly in institutions dominated by the majority society, as the accounts of the Turkish-Germans have shown.

DIS-ENGAGING FROM TRANSNATIONALISM AND FIGURING OUT HOW TO IDENTIFY: THE ADOLESCENT YEARS

No matter whether or not the respondents remember their transnational childhood in a more positive or negative light, most of them had a period in their life when they distanced themselves from their Turkish background and hence did not engage anymore in transnational practices.

In the social psychology literature on ethnic identity development, this stage might be called the exploration (moratorium) stage, which is often "accompanied by some confusion about the meaning of one's own ethnicity" (Phinney 1989: 38). For children who grow up transnationally, this exploration phase might be particularly pertinent. Instead of feeling belonging to two cultures they rather feel 'neither here nor there'. Sayad (1999) has calls this the 'double absence' of immigrants and their descendants – not belonging to the CoR not to the (ancestral) home country. This feeling was evoked by several respondents, who spoke of an identity crisis or identity conflict which they experienced most profoundly during their teenage and adolescence years. Nevcan's account is an illuminating example:

> " When I was 16, I had an identification problem. I didn't know who I was. It was difficult to identify, to say I'm Turkish, but it was also difficult to say I'm German. It was a very difficult time. (…) It was like this, when I tried to behave German, people told me I'm Turkish, then I acted more Turkish, then I was told that it wasn't good either. So what am I? Am I Turkish or German?

Nevcan and other respondents do not express a transnational belonging, but rather the opposite, a dis-identification from Turkish and German society. Mehri, who previously talked about his negative experiences in school and particularly with German parents, explains how he ,moves in a space which is outside society. That's my space. This Turkish or German is completely beyond

Mariano Mantel - 2013 - licence CC

Berlin - Alexander Platz

me'. These two examples illustrate well that a transnational belonging is by no means always evident. In contrast, it can change over the life course. A particular period seems to be the adolescent years when the respondents were confronted with neither being accepted as full members of German nor Turkish society. The lack of a transnational feeling of belonging does hand in hand with a dis-engagement from transnational practices. Basari is a case in point:

> " I had a period where I kept my distance to Turkey, I just tried to live my life somehow. But before, [I went to Turkey] every year. Every summer with my parents. Which was great, no question. And now, since I have been together with my girlfriend, who is interested in Turkey and Turkish culture, now we go to Turkey every other year. That's nice somehow.

Basari, just as other respondents, thus had a period in his adolescence when he consciously decided not to engage in transnational practices, such as going to Turkey for holidays. Other respondents stopped speaking Turkish for a while. As children, the respondents did not have much of a choice, they grew up transnationally because their parents lived transnationally. But with age, the respondents gained more agency, which often came along with a low transnational ways of being and belonging.

However, as we see in Basari's quote, this period of a rejection of a transnational way of life was only temporary. Just as Basari, all respondents show transnational behaviour in their adult years. Baysan, for example, moved to Berlin from Cologne for his studies. When he came to Berlin, he was careful to choose a neighborhood with a low share of ethnic Turks as he wanted to keep his distance and 'not be drawn into any identity issues', as he explains. After a few years, his native-German girlfriend who already lived in Neukoelln, a neighborhood with a high percentage of Turkish migrants, convinced him to move there. While he was very sceptical at first, he meanwhile loves the 'Turkish flair' and would not want to miss it anymore. Through living in Neukoelln, he (re-)developed a transnational belonging. In the following part, I will focus in more detail on this chosen transnationalism.

CHOOSING A TRANSNATIONAL WAY OF LIFE IN ADULTHOOD

All respondents engage in various transnational practices in their adult years. First, they are still regularly in Turkey, either for holidays, for visiting family and kin, or as part of their work. Several respondents went to Turkey frequently as part of their job, and some even spent several months there, again for the or for an internship.

Selami, a real estate agent is one of the respondents who spent several years in Turkey as an adult. In 2002 he went to South-East Anatolia as part of a humanitarian organization, worked there for a bit and then tried his luck producing and selling some kind of fertilizer from Switzerland in Turkey. This business failed and so he returned to Germany after four years. For him, the possibility to travel freely between Germany and Turkey – which he can with a permanent residence permit for Germany and the Turkish citizenship – is one of the main advantages of belonging to both nations:

An advantage is on the economic side. You can feel at home anywhere, in different parts of the world. You can be there, make money, or be here and make money. If I did not have the possibility to work in my profession here, I could continue in Turkey. But if someone from Turkey would want to come here for work, it wouldn't be possible. But through our residence status, we have both possibilities.

Selami, as most respondents, actually has the Turkish citizenship and a permanent residence permit for Germany. This is related to Germany's strict citizenship laws, which prohibits double nationality for all those born before 1990. Selami and most other respondents did not want to give up their Turkish citizenship. They thus kept it, together with the unlimited residence permit, which presents a very secure status in Germany. Instead of renouncing the Turkish citizenship in favour of the German one, most respondents have a status that lets them travel, work and live freely in both Germany and Turkey. For Selami, this is a great advantage and he explicitly links it to a reduced risk of economic failure.

Devran, who is the child of a mixed couple – a Turkish father and German mother, did not speak much Turkish when he grew up. But he still went to Turkey every summer with his parents and also keeps contact to his kin there. However, out of own interest, he went to Turkey to work with an NGO, and also as an Erasmus student. He has good memories of living in Turkey as an 'expat' and he met many Turks to whom he keeps contact. Their common language, however, is English, not Turkish.

Spending time in Turkey also confronts the respondents with situations they do not feel comfortable in. In other words, they start to appreciate more certain characteristics of German society and the German state. Nasir and his wife, for example, were in Turkey for holidays, when his wife was pregnant. At one point, she got sick and they went to the hospital. He was shocked by the hygienic conditions there which were reason enough for him to cancel the rest of the holidays and go back to Germany. Nevcan, who usually went to Turkey for

holidays, wanted to spend there some more time and lived there for three months, to more fully experience

> " … how it is. It wasn't possible. So I was like holidays nice, but I couldn't work here. Just for fun, I went to a boutique where they sold clothes, told them I wanted to work there. They said 'you can come at 10am, or at 11am, that's also okay'. Well… That's impossible for me. How does the economy work there? [laughing]. Those are just things I simply can't deal with. I need this… system. I could rather work in Switzerland than in Turkey.

Nevcan actually has lived in worked in Switzerland for a few years, which also indicates that transnational practices span more than just the country of residence and the ancestral home country.

Next to traveling to Turkey for holidays or work, transnational political, humanitarian or philanthropic engagement is another common transnational practice (Portes, Escobar, and Radford 2007; Hess and Korf 2014) that also occurred among the respondents of my sample.

Aydin, for example, is member of an Alevi cultural and religious organization in Berlin. While he particularly stresses the social aspect of their meetings, the organization has a clear political agenda. Alevi's are the largest religious minority and Turkey, but they suffer from various forms of discrimination. For example, their places of gathering do not have a legal status and might be prohibited to build or use such places. The organization in Berlin therefore tries to support their fellow believers in Turkey, particularly through collecting money, so that they can finance their religious, social and cultural activities.

Another example is Nizami who is highly involved in a transnational philanthropic project. He founded an organization which collects money for the village he was born in. The idea was, above all, to keep and re-establish ties to the people from the hometown in Turkey. Nizami recounts how many of the village residents left Turkey and settled in different cities across Germany. Due to the spatial distance, they progressively lost contact. At one point in his life, he regretted that loss, even more so as many of the former village residents are also related to each other:

> " I didn't know my cousin anymore. And I said, that can't happen, we have to find a solution. And the solution was to found that organization, to meet at least once a year. And we've made it happen, last year, we were in our village, had a big party there and all the people who haven't seen each other for fifty years, they met again in the village. More than

a thousand people. And now we said we will have this party every year in the last week of the seventh month.

Nizami not only organizes the yearly get-together in Turkey, he also organizes regular meetings in Germany. In addition, he also implemented another project that aimed at planting trees in the village. With the sole reason that there are not many trees, he wanted to plant some there. He was very proud to tell me that at the end of the month he was going to fly to his village, and – together with other volunteers – plant 50 000 hectares of trees.

Keeping ties to and supporting people from the (parents') home town or village, through collecting money as well as organizing visits there, is a common form of transnational engagement. Aydin, who goes back to the village he's been born in, every year also recounts how many guest workers invested in the village by building houses that they now inherited to their children – most of whom live in Germany, but come back in the summer months.

These transnational practices are accompanied by transnational feelings of belonging. The feeling of being 'neither here nor there' transforms into 'something extra here, something extra there', as in Mohamed's cartoon. Lacin's example is a good illustration:

> " I'm German, I'm Turkish, I'm not feeling at odds. (...) My fatherland is Germany, my motherland is Turkey. In Turkey you say motherland, in Germany fatherland. I feel that I belong to both.

Lacin, just as all other respondents, found a way to combine his Turkish and German background and identify with both. The example of Dalim underlines the agency inherent in identifying transnationally:

For a while, I did have this feeling, as a Turk you have to do this and that. Why, it doesn't matter, so there will be Turk 2.0. That exists. There is some type of Turk here, they really succeeded in making a synthesis of both [cultures], and not having to make this decision, are you more Turkish or more German? But as a Turk you will always be confronted with this question, but I won't answer it anymore. Because there is just no way you can answer it.

During their adolescent years, the respondents were not as self-confident to dismiss what the majority society expected from them. These expectations have not changed, but the respondents are less concerned by it. In contrast, they are at ease with their bi-cultural background and see it as enrichment. They also have a clear idea of what they perceive as more German and more

Turkish and what 'extras' they want to pick. Most of them believe that the emotional side of the character and hospitality are typically Turkish, whereas the more organized way of life is more German. They perceive these characteristics as positive and try to achieve a melange, just as Dalim expressed it in his comment.

The transnational feeling of belonging seems to be an evolution compared to first generation immigrants from Turkey. For Turkish immigrants in Germany, Pötzschke et al. (2014) have found a rather low identification with their CoR (score of 1.3 on a scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), and a high identification with Turkey (score of 4.7 on the same scale). The authors also found that "Religion and Turkishness play a significant role in the experiences of Turkish migrants in Germany" and that "most participants see Western culture as a danger to the Muslim way of life" (Pötzschke et al. 2014: 21). While the results are not directly comparable due to the different research designs, there are clear differences in transnational identification. While first generation immigrants highly identify with Turkey and only weakly with Germany, the respondents in my sample strongly identify as both German and Turkish, without giving preference to any of the two. Moreover, while almost all respondents claim to be (somewhat) religious, they view religion as a private matter and do not feel any incompatibility between 'Western culture' and being a Muslim. That is likely the reason why there were almost no allusions to a transnational Muslim community or Ummah. The transnational ways of belonging are based on ethnicity and nationality, but not on religion.

THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF TRANSNATIONALISM II: SOCIALIZING THE THIRD GENERATION TRANSNATIONALLY

A good indicator of the importance attributed to a transnational way of life and of keeping the connection to the parents' home country consists in analysing how the respondents raise their own children, hence the third generation. In fact, all respondents with children make an effort to raise their children in a transnational way. Just as they themselves, their children grow up speaking German and Turkish. They spend their summer vacation in Turkey, or celebrate Turkish holidays with the extended family. Nevertheless, socializing the third generation transnationally can be a challenge. This is most clearly exemplified regarding language.

Many respondents say that Turkish is their children's mother tongue, not German. Sometimes, they only spoke Turkish to the child until it got into kindergarten or school. At times, one partner spoke only German,

Berlin

the other one only Turkish. However, as many of the children have native-German friends and mostly speak German at school, some parents also commented on the lack of language skills. Varol says about his two children:

> " At home [we speak] mostly Turkish [with the children]. Because German isn't a problem. But I also don't want them to forget their mother tongue. And I already feel, for them it is the opposite. For us, we only spoke Turkish and had to learn German, and for them it is the other way, they speak fluent German, but they speak Turkish like a foreigner.

The difficulty in raising children in a transnational way, particularly as expressed through growing up bilingual, becomes apparent for those with a native-German spouse. Fokkema et al. (2012) have identified the nativity and / or ethnicity of the spouse as a major factor influencing the extent of transnationalism. If the spouse has the same ethnicity and is a first generation immigrant,

transnational practices are higher. In contrast, having a native spouse will decrease transnational practices. This also becomes apparent in the socialization of bi-national / bi-ethnic children. Dalim, for example, has a native-German wife and finds it rather 'artificial' to speak Turkish with his children because his spouse does not speak the language. He also did not put too much effort in teaching his two daughters Turkish which is something he regrets now. Erdim, who likewise has a native-German spouse and therefore rarely speaks Turkish at home with the children, compensated for it by pushing for Turkish language classes in his children's school.

This thus underlines Mau's (2010) point. He claims that while children born into binational couples are natural border-crossers, "To what extent they eventually detach from one or the other of their reference societies remains unclear" (Mau 2010: 60). That the respondents fear that their children will be less transnational only shows the importance they themselves attribute to living their lives transnationally.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I described the transnational practices (ways of being) second generation ethnic Turks in Berlin engage in, and how these overlap with transnational ways of belonging, i.e. identification, across the life course. In general, all respondents have been socialized in a transnational way. Their parents migrated to Germany as guest workers and lived a transnational life which their children got automatically integrated in. They thus also engaged in holiday transnationalism, kept ties to family and friends in Turkey, and spoke Turkish at home. Many respondents, after a period of dis-engaging from these transnational practices, still engage in a transnational way of life, by going to Turkey regularly for business or pleasure as well as political or other voluntary involvement. Moreover, the respondents with children also try to socialize their children in a transnational way, whereby holiday transnationalism and speaking the Turkish language are the most important ingredients.

In their adult years, transnational ways of being are clearly mirrored in transnational ways of belonging. The Turkish-German respondents stress their belonging to two societies and cultures, which they highly value. This relationship, however, has not always been that clear. Particularly during their teenage and adolescence years, most respondents did not know how to identify and they drew boundaries to Turkish, and sometimes also German, society and culture. This is tightly related to their outsider status which they experienced in Germany, but also in Turkey. They felt excluded from both societies and therefore did not feel any transnational belonging. This complicates the established relationship in the transnationalism literature between discrimination and transnationalism. While this relationship might be true for first generation migrants, it cannot easily be adopted to the second generation, which might be excluded in both societies. Higher transnationalism would then not be a possible answer to discrimination and exclusion.

Just as in the literature on intra-EU mobility and identification as European, it is difficult if not impossible, to demonstrate a one-way relationship between transnational ways of being and belonging. The accounts of the respondents suggest at least that the two overlap most of the times, and increase or decrease in tandem.

What the respondents' accounts clearly support is the statement that transnational practices and identifications do not come at the expense of integration (Bauböck and Faist 2010). The positive relationship between identification with the home country and the CoR that Teney et al. (2016) have established for first generation immigrants seems to hold for the second generation as well.

While the transnational practices analysed in this paper focus on Germany and Turkey, there is a need to go beyond this bi-focal lens and to analyse second generations' transnational practices and identifications in an encompassing way. While research on transnationalism already goes beyond methodological nationalism, it still suffers from focussing predominantly on the (ancestral) home country and the CoR, at least when analysing transnationalism of immigrants and their descendants. The second generation is part of Europe, a considerable share have higher education and are mobile for their studies and jobs. They are thus likely to exhibit transnational practices that connect different countries than just Germany and Turkey, as in the current example. This would also mean connecting the transnationalism literature much more to research on mobilities that we find in the globalization and Europeanization literature (Andreotti, Le Galès, and Fuentes 2015; Boccagni 2012; Recchi 2015; Urry 2007). This would also include a closer look at the actual and concrete places of transnationalism. While I talked very broadly about Germany and Turkey, transnational practices are much more specific, as they connect concrete places, such as Berlin and Istanbul, or Berlin and small villages in Anatolia. Transnational belonging can likewise be much more specific, based not only on national societies, but also cities and even neighborhoods. These concrete links deserve more attention in future research on transnationalism.

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