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Transnational Social Spaces of Polish Migrants in Leipzig (Germany)

SUMMARY

One phenomenon of globalisation is the transnationalization of migrants and migrant communities, creating new social fields and new identities between country of origin and country of settlement. This paper presents the preliminary results of a research project on transnational migration between Poland and the German city of Leipzig. It aims to identify aspects of transnationality and wants to show the transnational social spaces inhabited by the migrants. The analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data is done along a model of transnationality, differentiating between three spheres which refer to physical, cultural and identity movements of the migrants. It provides some empirical evidence of the interdependency between migration motives, duration of migration and several socio-economic variables on the one hand and the variations of transnationality on the other. The paper also raises the question of the implications of transnationalization for the European nation building process and suggests that transnational identity formations might serve as a model for a future European citizenship.

KEY WORDS: transnational social spaces, Germany, migration, Poland, transnationalization, case study

1. Introduction

We are living in "the age of migration" – this title of a publication of Castles (1993) suggests that the rise of international migration is one of the most important phenomena of the latter 20th and early 21st century. During the last five decades, the amount of international migration has grown enormously, from 82 million in 1975 to 175 million in the year 2000 and nearly 200 million in 2005, which represents 3 % of the world's population (GCIM, 2005: 83).

As well as the rise in the total number of migrants we have seen changes in the types of migration. Currently, more and more migrants do not settle permanently in one country, rather they migrate on a temporary basis. In addition more migrants maintain multiple links to their countries of origin, supporting relatives, investing in their home communities or engaging in political work related to their home countries. All these activities have been facilitated by the improvement of global transportation and information systems over the last few decades (Pries, 1999: 3).

Through time, transnational social spaces develop, connecting the social fields in the countries of origin and the countries of settlement. This has consequences for the

social integration of migrants and for their sense of national belonging: Being integrated in two localities and feeling affiliated to two national settings may challenge the concept of the independent nation state throughout the world. But on the other hand, the migrant might also fail to integrate in two localities simultaneously and might rather end up disintegrating in both, and he might also feel disconnected from his place of origin and at the same time fail to develop a new sense of belonging to his new place of settlement. As both phenomena might concern a growing number of people and national settings, it is worth looking at the processes of transnationalization more deeply to identify different types of transnationalization and hence of social integration and identity development.

In this paper, we will present micro-level data on Polish migrants in the East-German city of Leipzig. In order to show their transnational social spaces, we will analyze the data with the help of a model of transnationalization. Finally we will summarise the variations of transnationalization over time and space. This paper represents the preliminary results of a research project on "Transnational Migration from Poland to Germany", financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). The data collection comprises a qualitative as well as a quantitative approach, conducted between 2003 and 2005.[1]

2. Transnational Migration: Theoretical background and empirical modelling

Transnational migration is usually defined as a migration process which is multi-directional instead of unidirectional and which includes a number of changes in residence from one country to the other. The term "transnational" indicates that the realities of migrants' daily lives span a number of different places or "geographical spaces" (Pries, 1999: 3).

The term "transnationalism" was introduced by the Cuban sociologist Ortiz. Regarding the modes of integration of these "new" migrants, he preferred the term "transculturation" rather than "acculturation", arguing that "the result of every union of cultures is similar to that of the reproductive process between individuals: the offspring always has something of both parents but is always different from each of them" (Ortiz, in Comitas, 1992: viii).

Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992: 1) define transnationalism as "a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders". They call these migrants "transmigrants" and describe their transnational activities as to "develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political – that span borders. (…) Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links to-

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[1] We carried out 12 qualitative interviews with migrants from Poland and 6 expert interviews with individuals in Leipzig who were either concerned with aspects of migration regulation and integration, or with services for the Polish community. A postal survey aimed at the Polish population of Leipzig produced 116 completed questionnaires.

gether their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement" (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992: 1).

Those border-spanning social fields are also called "transnational social spaces". They can be defined as deterritorialized social spaces, and they not only shape the daily life practices of migrants, but also serve them as a reference structure for social positioning and identity formation (Pries, 1996: 23). Pries (1997: 34) identifies four analytical dimensions of transnational social spaces: 1) the political framework that regulates transnational mobility, 2) the material infrastructure which facilitates the mobility of people, money, goods and information, 3) the development of transnational social institutions and ethnic networks and 4) hybrid identity construction and transnational biographical projects.

As already mentioned, one important consequence of transnational migration and the emergence of transnational social spaces is the role transnational migrants play in challenging the concept of independent nation states throughout the world. "By living lives across borders, transmigrants find themselves confronted with and engaged in the nation building process of two or more nation-states. Their identities and practices are configured by hegemonic categories, such as race and ethnicity, that are deeply embedded in the nation building process of these nation-states" (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994: 22).

Transnational migration can be observed in all parts of the world and has been researched thoroughly since the early 1990s. Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1997) or Portes and Guarnizo (1990), for example, have researched Caribbean migrants in the U.S., while Pries (1998), Massey (2000) and Goldring (1997), amongst others, have investigated Mexican migration to the U.S. They found strong evidence for transnational life projects and for the existence of transnational social spaces, such as the establishment of transnational enterprises (Portes and Guarnizo, 1990: 16–22), the existence of home-town associations in the host country, which support development in the community of origin financially and politically (Goldring, 1997: 190–192), or the emergence of transnational agencies specialized in the transport of people, finances or goods between home and host country (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1997: 130). They put the emergence of transnational migration down to the decline of the individual social and economic position in the home country as well as to changes in the international economic and geopolitical framework. The direction of migration flows resulted out of the historical, economical and political connections between home and host country (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1997; Pries, 1998). Social networks among migrants were identified as crucial elements for the stability of migration flows over time (Faist, 1997). Community studies suggest that transnational social networks often refer to spatially very narrow linkages between certain localities in the home and host country (Pries, 1998).

It took several years until the concept of transnational migration and transnational social spaces was also applied to the European migratory space. Faist (2000, 1999), Pütz (2004) and Jurgens (2001) have explored the phenomenon of transnationalism among Turkish migrants in Germany, and Müller-Mahn (2000) studied Algerian migrants in France while several groups of researchers worked on transnational retirement

migration to the European sunbelt (Gustafson, 2001; King, Warnes and Williams 2000; Warnes, 2004).

Faist (2000) detected two different stages of transnationalization among Turkish migrants in Germany. At first, transnational social spaces developed among the first migrant generation in the course of frequent contacts between regions of origin and regions of settlement. In a second step, transnational social spaces gathered their own momentum and became independent from the first migrants' activities. Jurgens (2001) narrowed the research focus down to Turkish immigrants in one specific Berlin neighbourhood. In opposition to the main theoretical discussions on transnationalism, he found out that the crucial element for transnationalization is not necessarily mobility, but transnational social networks and cognitive relationships. He also showed the importance of social status and generation for the internal differentiation of transnational social spaces, a fact that wasn't mentioned by most of the U.S.-based studies on transnational migration.

In our case study on Polish migrants in Leipzig, we are aiming to apply the U.S. based theoretical considerations on transnational migration and transnational social spaces to the European migration context and specifically to the migratory space between Poland and Germany. The main questions we like to elaborate in this context are: 1) whether mobility really is the basic element for the establishment and maintenance of transnational social spaces, 2) if it is possible to live in two social contexts simultaneously, which is what the theory of transnational social spaces suggests, and 3) how and under which circumstances national identities change towards hybridity. Our empirical approach started from the review of empirical case studies on the topic, which enabled us to identify several indicators that seem to be significant for transnational migration processes and the development of transnational social spaces (Figure 1). The following model aims to group the indicators with regard to physical movements (circularity) and non-physical movements, differentiating cultural and identity flows.

Figure 1: Indicators of transnationality

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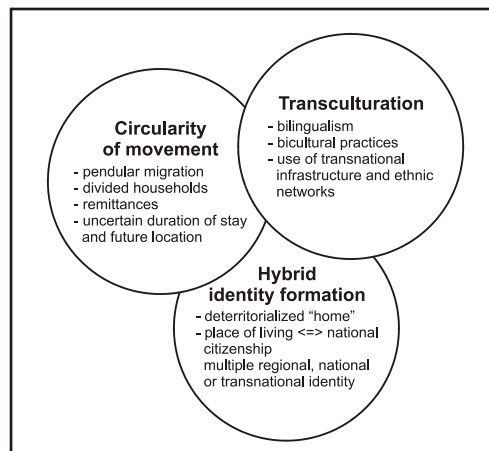
The first group of indicators concerns the *circularity of movements* in transnational migration processes, which can be observed in the form of frequent border-crossing residential changes within a person's life- and work-cycle. Other indicators for circularity are the existence of divided family households, the sending of remittances back home and hybrid plans regarding the future geographical location of the migrant. These plans can include return migration, retirement migration, or moving on to a third country. Above all, the migrant is uncertain about the duration of his stay in the immigration country.

The second group of indicators comprises the phenomenon of *transculturation*, resulting in the partial loss of the previous culture and the creation of a new culture composed of elements of both, the previous *and* the new culture. This can be expressed through bilingualism, bicultural practice and the use of media and institutions of the home country in the immigration country.

Transnational settings can generate numerous ways to re-imagine the relationship between identity and territory. Therefore transnational biographies are often characterized by a *hybrid identity formation*, which represents the third group of indicators in the transnationality model. For the transnational migrant, "home" means not only the sending or receiving country, rather more often the migrant feels accepted in certain localities in both countries both of which are called "home". Sometimes there is no concrete localisation of "home" and sometimes the migrant feels an imagined "home" which lies beyond his place of origin and his place of settlement. The same ambiguity can be found in the notion of national identity which often lies between both countries.

This model shows all the possible indicators for transnationality, but not all of them will necessarily be present in every process of transnational migration. In addition, the role of political, economic and infrastructural influences in shaping the transnational migration process between two countries needs to be taken into account; for example modes of immigration regulation, economic disparities or the quality and accessibility of modes of transport and communication.

## 3. Transnational social spaces of Polish migrants in Leipzig

We will now apply this conceptual background to a concrete case study with the purpose of exploring transnationality and transnational social spaces among Polish migrants in Leipzig.

3.1. Migration from Poland to Leipzig

Leipzig is a city of about 500,000 in the East German *Bundesland* of Saxony, part of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) bordering Poland. Polish cities like Wrocław or Kraków can be reached from Leipzig within a couple of hours. For many years, Polish citizens made up the biggest share of the foreign population of Leipzig, leading to the establishment of a wide civil and cultural Poland-related infrastructure, such as the Polish consulate, the Polish Institute as official representative of the Polish culture, the Polish Church and a number of Polish associations which serve as meeting points and organize cultural events.

In order to understand the situation of Polish migrants in Leipzig, it is necessary to look at the way in which the political regulations regarding migration during the last few decades have changed. Whereas in the former Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) a significant number of the migrants from Poland were registered as political refugees (especially in the 1980s) or ethnic Germans (1.3 million between 1950 and 1990), migration from Poland to the GDR consisted mainly of contract workers, students and Polish partners of bi-national couples. After reunification, the political regulations changed dramatically. While the Polish border was opened to allow travel abroad and the visa regulations between Poland and Germany were liberated, the German government stopped accepting political refugees and restricted the acceptance of ethnic Germans from Poland. In 1989 and 1990 around 295,000 ethnic Germans and 35,000 political refugees from Poland migrated to Germany, but their number decreased to almost zero by the end of the 1990s. Instead, temporary forms of labour migration became important as the German government and the Republic of Poland established bilateral agreements for the recruitment of contract and seasonal workers. Since 1990 between 200,000 and 300,000 labour migrants have come to Germany each year, mostly seasonal workers who return after a maximum of 3 months stay (BBMFI, 2003). Additionally, there is an uncountable number of irregular migrants from Poland, finding unregistered, temporary work in household-related services. The migration system between Poland and Germany has changed from predominantly permanent to predominantly temporary migration (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Migration between Poland and Germany*, 1985–2002
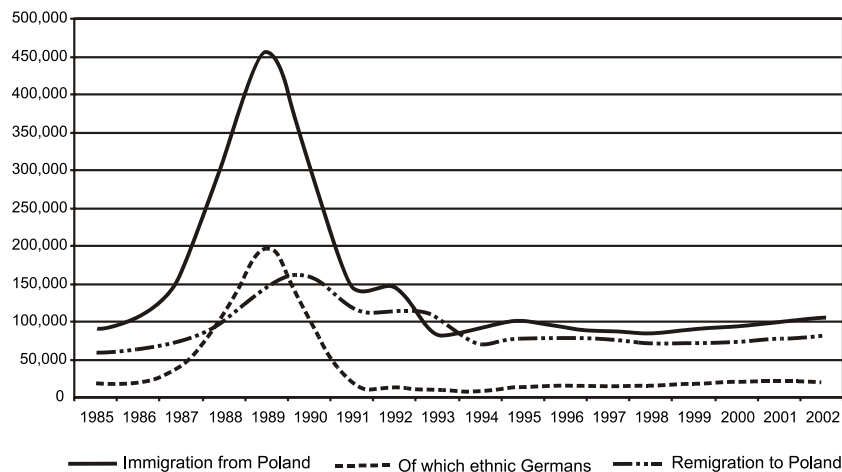
* Federal Republic of Germany, since 1991: reunited Germany; the data are compiled from the registration offices. As short-term labour migrants usually don't register, the immigration numbers shown above are much below the numbers of labour contracts issued each year.

Data source: Lederer, Rau and Rühl, 1999; BBMFI 2003

Mirroring the migration from Poland to the reunified Germany, the mobility flows between Poland and Leipzig consisted mainly of temporary migration during the 1990s.

Between 1991 and 2001, there were 9,312 immigrants and 8,581 emigrants recorded, meaning that over 90 % of the Polish migrants to Leipzig were temporary migrants. In 2004, there were about 2,350 Polish citizens living in Leipzig, 80 % of them are male (Stadt Leipzig, 2004). The Leipzig population of Polish descent can be separated into three groups:

1. Predominantly male labour migrants, who are, on the one hand, contract workers in the building and restructuring business, and highly qualified professionals on the other hand, with leading positions in Leipzig's cultural and business life. They are generally in Germany on a temporary basis. An unknown but growing number of labour migrants represent the group of ethnic Germans from Polish Silesia, who enter the German labour market due to their dual citizenship as Germans and are also mostly employed in construction and reconstruction business. They can be defined as pendular migrants, as they return to their families in Poland on a regular basis.

2. The second group consists of predominantly female migrants, who came to Leipzig because they got married to a German or GDR-citizen. Most of them migrated in the 1970s and 1980s. They are usually well integrated and can be defined as permanent migrants.

3. The third group are Polish students who attend classes at universities in Leipzig and – for the most part – see their further career in both countries, Poland and Germany, or plan to move on to other western countries after graduation.

3.2. Case studies

We will now present three typical examples of the above mentioned groups and will give a brief account of their migration biographies, referring to the different aspects of transnationality.

Case 1: The ethnic German as a pendular migrant

Pan Leszek (born 1958), is an ethnic German and has German and Polish citizenship which allows him to work in Germany without a special residential or work permit. He was socialized in Poland and did not learn the German language until he came to Germany in 1992. The reason for his migration was the loss of his job in Poland, where he worked as an electrician. At first he found a job in the construction business in Frankfurt/Main but, as the distance to his hometown was too far, he moved to Leipzig. There he is working in the reconstruction business. He is married and has three children. His family lives in the Silesian *wojewodship* of Opole, where they own a house. Every other weekend Pan Leszek drives back home to visit his family for four days. During his stay in Leipzig, he works hard and does overtime every day in order to get two days off regularly for commuting home. Together with other Silesian colleagues he lives in a very simple apartment in the basement of a house, which is owned by his employer. Even though he has German citizenship he does not feel that he belongs to the German society: "Here I am Polish and in Poland I'm a German. I belong neither here, nor there, that's how it is". He has no contact with Germans in Leipzig, and his only "leisure activity" is attending the Polish mass. As he has been more or less away from home for over 10 years now, he has lost influence on his children – a fact that he regrets very much. However, he could not imagine moving to Germany with the whole family. His wife

and his children are well integrated in Poland and his earnings in Leipzig would not be enough to pay an equivalent living standard for the whole family in Germany. Pan Leszek stresses the fact that he came only for financial reasons. If the economic situation in Poland should improve he would like to return and work there. However, given the situation in the Polish job market and his age this is obviously not a reliable option for the future. So he will probably stay in Leipzig until retirement age.

Case 2: The Polish wife – a permanent migrant with strong ties to Poland

Pani Katarzyna (born 1948), is married to a German and has lived in Leipzig since 1972. She has four children and works as a nurse. She met her husband for the first time in Poland in the 1960s. They fell in love and got married in 1972. They planned to live in Poland but her husband was not allowed to emigrate from the GDR, so she followed him to Leipzig. Even though her language skills were poor she immediately got a job as a nurse in a hospital, where she works until today. She is very proud of her big family with four sons, whom she has tried to bring up bilingually and biculturally. Meanwhile her children have grown up and lead their own lives. She misses Poland and her relatives there and often feels like a stranger in Leipzig: "Today, I would prefer to live in Poland again. The mentality is so different there. Here, I will always be a foreigner". She is disappointed that her sons are neglecting their Polish roots. She also feels estranged from her husband, who used to support her expressing her Polish identity during the parental period but stopped doing this after their sons moved out. Pani Katarzyna today gets support from her Polish network in Leipzig, consisting mainly of the Polish church and the Polish home association. If she looks back at her life, she feels quite content – despite her homesickness. She has managed to bring up four children, she is fully integrated at work and earns her own money and she also feels that she has gained strength and developed her personality in a positive way through the migration process.

Case 3: The Polish student, who expects a future without frontiers

Pan Dariusz (born 1978): As a child he lived for two years in West Germany when his parents applied for political asylum in the 1980s. After the political change they returned to Poland but even then Pan Dariusz was sure that he would go back to Germany to live there. He graduated from high school and enrolled for German studies at a Polish university to increase his chance to get to Germany with a student exchange program. During his high school time in Poland he visited his German friends every year and started working in Germany during summer breaks. He always worked for the same construction company and when his employer offered him a position as a housekeeper and translator in one of his renovated houses in Leipzig, Pan Dariusz took his chance: "For me, it was clear: I've got a job, I've got a free apartment as housekeeper, I go to Leipzig". He has been living, working and studying there since 1999. His housekeeper-job offers him financial independence. He mostly has contact with Germans, he is fluent in Polish and German and he feels at home in both countries. He is interested in the political development of Poland and watches Polish television news, and he likes visiting Polish jazz sessions at the Polish Institute. In 2002 his sister joined him and also started studying in Leipzig. Unexpectedly, in the summer of 2003 his residence per-

mit was not renewed. Pan Dariusz did not want to give up his German life and undertook a marriage of convenience with a German colleague from university. For the future he has planned a career in economics, using his bilingualism and his bicultural background, for example, in a leading position for a German company in Poland.

The comparison of these three cases provides similarities as well as differences regarding the three spheres of transnationality introduced above. While in case 1 circularity is the dominating aspect, in case 2 aspects of transculturation are especially strong, and in case 3 hybrid identity development is dominant (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Variations of transnationality
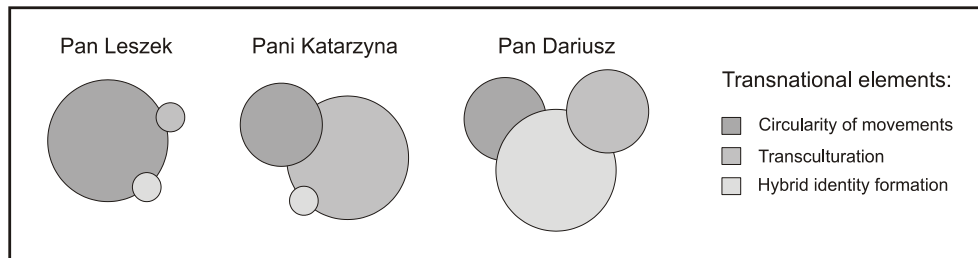
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The intensity and variation of transnationalization seems to depend mainly on the migration motive, the duration of stay and socio-economic variables like age, education, social status and status in life cycle of the migrants: In the first case, the migration motive was predominantly economical. Pan Leszek is a migrant worker; he has not integrated into the host society and he has no time and no reason to establish social networks in Germany. However, he has been continually driven out of his social network in Poland, due to his long absences, but wants to rejoin this network after retirement.

In the second case, personal reasons initiated the migration process, and political regulations directed it. Pani Katarzyna is well integrated in the labour market and established a family in Germany, which has helped her to adjust to the German society. However, she has a strong need to express her Polish identity. As visits to Poland are often restricted by her work schedule in Leipzig, she compensates the decrease of social contacts by participating in the transnational institutions and networks for Poles in Leipzig.

The migration motivation in the third case is rooted in the status in life cycle. As a student in Poland Pan Dariusz would not have been able to attain economical independence and that was a main reason for his migration. His decision was facilitated by his former experience living in Germany and the social networks he could establish there. In Germany, he can make full use of his personal resources and is much more strongly integrated in German society than the migrants in the other two cases. Due to the early migratory experience of his childhood, he established strong links to both societies and developed a hybrid national identity. He wants to use this dual cultural integration for his future career, a phenomenon that is called "strategic cultural capital" (cf. Pütz, 2004).

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However, he experienced an insight into the limitations of his transnational life project when his residence permit was not renewed.

The three selected case studies offer insights into some general phenomena found in the analysis of the qualitative data: Case 1 shows that transnational mobility may exist on a high level, but that this doesn't necessarily mean that the other two spheres of transnationality may be highly developed as well. These findings also apply to the other labour migrants in the study. They usually practice high mobility to connect their place of work and their social life, which remains in Poland. Case 2 shows that a high level of transculturation may not go together with a high mobility level or the deterritorialization of identity. In the qualitative data, it is especially the group of permanent immigrants, mostly married to a German spouse, who are expressing the highest degree of transculturation at their place of residence. This might serve as a compensation for the weakening or loss of social ties to Poland. Case 3 shows that the phenomenon of hybrid identity formation may be rooted in the migration experiences made in early childhood, the period where the greatest part of identity formation takes place (cf. Weichhart, 1990: 43f). In fact, cases of hybridity were very rare in the study, and were either expressed in the sense of a universal identity or in form of neglecting the role of national belonging in identity formation. Furthermore, there rather existed forms of multiple *local* belonging than forms of multiple *national* belonging.

This short summary of the qualitative data analysis should give insights into the complexity of transnational life experiences. It helps to identify types of transnationalization and to imagine the impact of migration motives and socio-economic variables like education, position in lifecycle or generation on the forms of transnational behaviour. It also shows the impact of political regulations in shaping migration processes. The quantitative approach will enable us to take a closer look on the intensity of those connections.

3.3. Quantitative approach

We will now apply the indicator model of transnationality on a more quantitative basis. We will present selected, preliminary results with regard to issues of circular mobility, transculturation and hybrid identity formation. The quantitative data presented here are drawn from a postal survey among all adult Polish citizens who were registered in Leipzig at the end of 2003. However, the representativity of the data was reduced for two reasons: Firstly, because of address failures, which applied for a great part of the sample.[2] Secondly, only officially registered migrants with Polish citizenship are included in the sample. Other people with a Polish migration background, like ethnic Germans, naturalized former Polish citizens and irregular migrants without registration were certainly not reached by the survey. In spite of these restrictions the data still serve as a useful complement to the biographical interviews and enable to quantify some of the results drawn out of the qualitative research.

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[2] After the address sample was updated, only 442 valid cases remained. Out of those, 166 completed questionnaires were collected, which means a response rate of 38 %.

Circularity of movements between Poland and Germany

The frequency of exchange with Poland is high; almost all migrants have regular contact by phone or e-mail with relatives or friends in Poland and travel there several times a year. However, the intensity of both types of contact develops in a different way in relation to the duration of migration (Table 1). Whereas the intensity of physical contacts clearly decreases with the duration of stay in Germany, with complete immobility found in every fifth of the earliest migrants, almost all of the migrants keep telephone or e-mail contacts with Poland on a regular basis. Following on from this, virtual contacts may enable migrants to keep social links to Poland, even when they don't visit their country of origin personally. On the other hand, the absence of virtual contacts seems to be a clear indicator for the cessation of social links to Poland.

*Table 1: Intensity of personal and virtual contacts with Poland by length of stay in Germany*

Migration to Germany	*Frequency of visits to Poland in 2002 (in %)*					*Intensity of monthly phone/mail-contacts (in %)*				
	zero	low	medium	high	total	zero	low	medium	high	total
before 1990	18	70	10	2	100	4	58	36	2	100
1990–1990	3	74	15	8	100	3	46	32	19	100
2000 or later	3	67	20	10	100	3	26	43	28	100

Number of valid cases: visits – 156, contacts – 161
Data source: own survey 2003/2004

Physical contacts with Poland are often directed to a secondary residence in Poland, which two thirds of the Polish migrants still hold. This is especially the case for the group of labour migrants (69 %) and students (95 %), but also for 51 % of the marriage migrants. Two thirds of those residence holders stay there up to one month a year, the rest even longer. Not surprisingly, the frequency of holding a Polish residence decreases with the planned length of stay in Germany, but even 37 % of those who intend to stay in Germany forever keep a secondary residence in Poland (Figure 4).

*Figure 4: Frequency of Polish residence by intended length of stay in Germany*
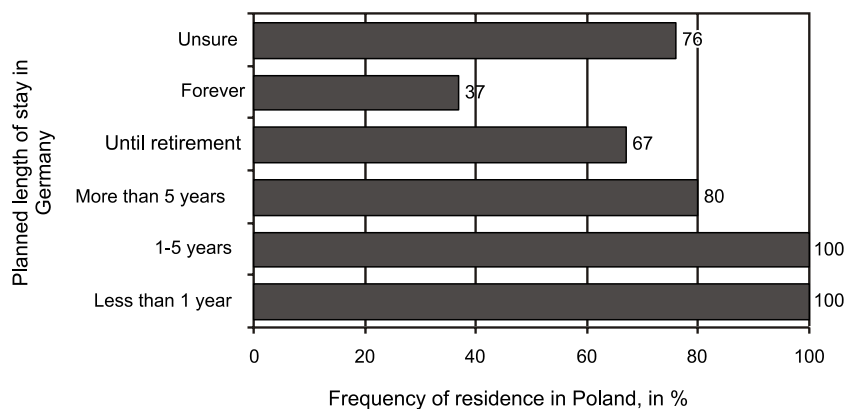
Number of valid cases: 109
Data source: own survey 2003/2004

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Transculturation

Language is an important instrument of integration. The Polish migrants in Leipzig mainly have good German language skills. The level of language proficiency is linked to the length of stay. Those migrants, who have lived in Leipzig for 10 years or more, have predominantly perfect or very good language skills. Those who have come to Leipzig more recently are less proficient in German. Their knowledge tends to improve after a couple of years. However, it remains difficult to master a foreign language in addition to the mother tongue. Most of the migrants feel that they cannot express their emotions properly in a foreign language. Therefore, they hang on to their native language and try to use it whenever possible. The continuing importance of the mother tongue is especially apparent regarding the practices of the Polish citizens in Leipzig who are living with a German spouse. Most of them use not only German in the private communication, but also their native language (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Language use in private communication at home, by nationality of the spouse
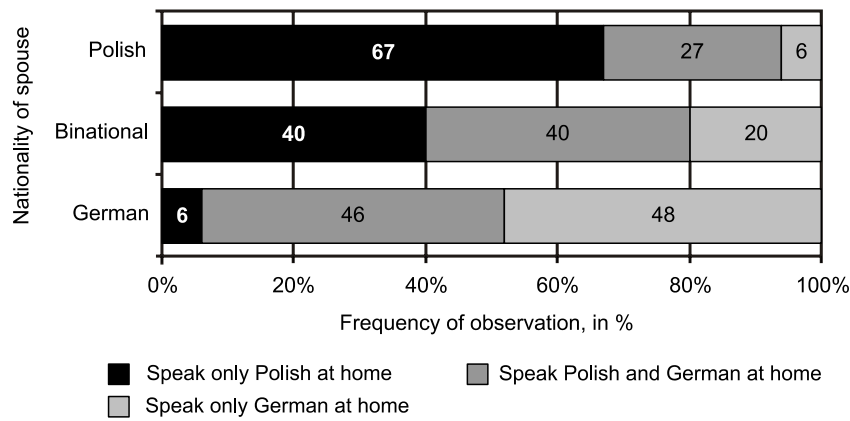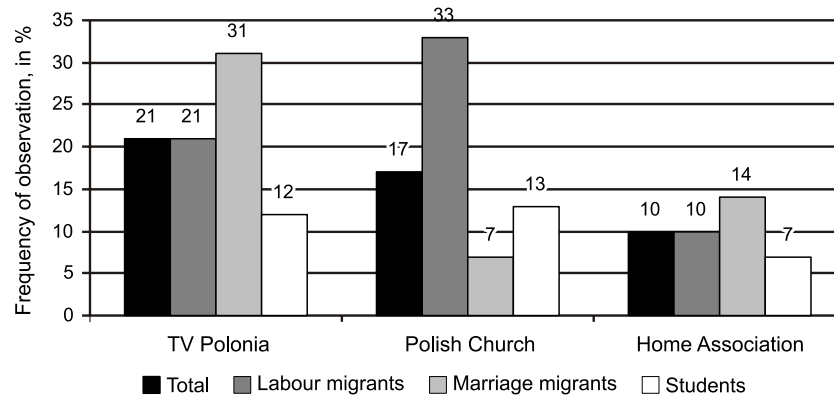

Number of valid cases: 92

Data source: own survey 2003/2004

They also do this for emotional reasons, as language is an important part of their Polish identity. The qualitative interviews give good examples of this behaviour: One Polish woman speaks exclusively Polish with her German husband, despite having lived in Germany for over 20 years now. Others insisted that their spouses studied the Polish language as a precondition for moving to Germany. The children of binational couples were mostly raised in both languages. Many of the interviewees said that the main reason for joining the Polish home association is that they have a place where they can express themselves in their native language.

Another aspect of transculturation is the use of transnational infrastructure, such as the Polish church, the Polish home association or Polish TV and radio programmes. Most of the Polish migrants do use transnational infrastructure, but to a varying extent

(Figure 6). The Polish spouses in Leipzig who mostly intend to remain in Germany for life are particularly attached to the Polish media, and they are also the strongest group in the Polish home association. The labour migrants, who in most cases do not properly settle in Leipzig and who have very little free time, mainly use the Polish church to get support. The Polish students are the most independent migrant group. They use transnational infrastructure in addition to the German cultural infrastructure, but not to any great extent.

Figure 6: Regular use of transnational infrastructure in Leipzig by migrant types

Number of valid cases: total – 164, labour migrants – 42, marriage migrants – 53, students – 41
Data source: own survey 2003/2004

Hybrid identity construction and national belonging

Where do the migrants feel at home and to which nation state do they feel affiliated? Most of the interviewees make a difference between the locality they feel attached to and their feeling of national belonging. Many feel at home in the local area where they live but at the same time they feel strong ties to their former hometown.

One migrant says, after 16 years in Leipzig: "I already feel a little bit like a Leipzig citizen. In the beginning, I was very homesick and I travelled home to Poland a lot. Now, my home is Leipzig. I also express it now with my language and my thinking: In the beginning, when I talked of 'home' I always meant Poland, now I mean Leipzig" (*Pani Joanna*).

Another migrant living in Leipzig with her German spouse since 1972 stated: "Many people say to me: You are already here for such a long time, you are like a German indeed. But I don't feel like that. Of course, I understand the people and I live together with them, but that doesn't make me a German and I don't want to become a German. Of course I am now a local here, and I spent more of my life in Germany than in Poland, but Poland still is my home" (*Pani Regina*).

The survey data support these statements (Figure 7). Most of the migrants have very strong feelings towards their home town in Poland and a strong sense of connection to Poland itself. They also identify with their actual place of residence: Leipzig.

Their identification with Germany, however, is very low (much lower than their identification with Europe for example).

Figure 7: Intensity of identification with...
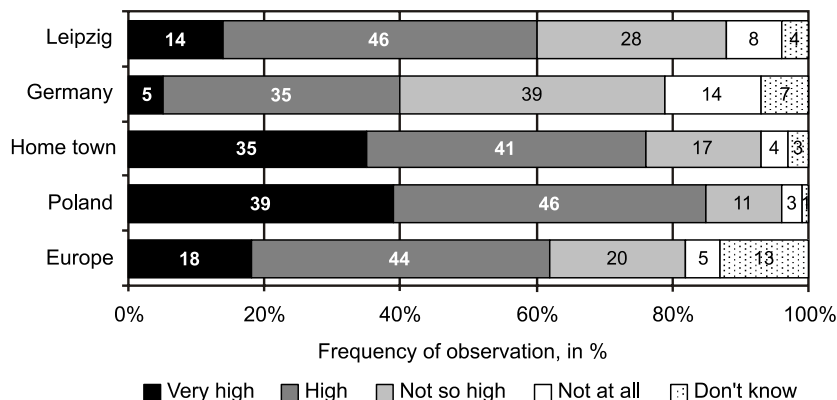
Number of valid cases: Leipzig – 160, Germany – 153, home town – 150, Poland – 151, Europe – 148
Data source: own survey 2003/2004

If they talk to others about "home", the migrants mostly mean their birthplace or country of birth (Table 2). Only a very small minority identifies their "home" in Leipzig or Germany.

Table 2: The migrants' notion of "home"

"Home" means for me…			
my birthplace in Poland	45 %	Poland	40 %
Leipzig	6 %	Germany	1 %
other	2 %	don't know	6 %

Number of valid cases: 165
Data source: own survey 2003/2004

Consequently, the majority of the migrants don't wish to receive German national citizenship, especially as they would have to give up their Polish citizenship to do so.

4. Conclusion

The phenomenon of transnationality and the emergence of transnational social spaces is a consequence of transnational migration processes, which are observed in growing numbers throughout the world. Transnationality exists in many variations, depending on the individual resources and experiences of the migrants, on the one hand, and on the regulations imposed by nation-states and various other opportunities and constraints on the other.

The biographies and data of our survey indicate that there exist many variations of transnationality over time and space. These variations seem to depend mainly on the migration motive, the duration of stay in the host country and socio-economic variables like age, education, social status and the migrants' position in life cycle. Using migrant biographies, we attempted to model the different types of transnationality, differentiating between three spheres which refer to physical, cultural and identity movements of the migrants. The application of the transnationality model to the quantitative data provided some empirical evidence of the interdependencies mentioned above. In the further course of the research project this quantitative analysis will be continued, including multivariate methods of analysis.

This case study aimed to test the applicability of the U.S. based concept of transnationalism to a different cultural, political and geographical setting. Some of the results support the findings of the U.S. based transnationality studies, some are very different. They rather meet findings of Europe-based transnationality studies, i.e. the study of transnational social spaces of Turks in Germany. Similarly to the findings of Jurgens (2001), physical mobility was not the prerequisite for the maintenance of transnational social spaces between Poland and Germany. The decrease of personal mobility we traced in our study was compensated either by communication or by the intensification of migrants' networks at the place of settlement. Furthermore, our study didn't find those impressive examples of transnational economic or social activities as in the studies of Portes and Guarnizo (1990), Goldring (1997) or Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1997). The main reason for the fact that this kind of ties did not develop between Leipzig and Poland might be found in the different migration motives: Whereas migration in the U.S.-Mexican and U.S.-Carribean case was mostly due to social and economic decline in the home country (see Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1997; Pries, 1998), in our case this motive only applied for the group of ethnic German labour migrants. In the other groups, individual personal reasons (for the marriage migrants), or the pure choice of a temporary improvement and the desire to gain new experiences (in the case of the students) were dominant. Those differences are also induced by the political and economic framework. Even though the gap between Poland and Germany regarding income and life quality is sometimes compared with the U.S.-Mexican case (see Okólski, 1991), in reality the standards of living are much closer and also the entry regulations are easier than in the U.S.-Mexican case.

Our results suggest that in the future the transnational social field between Poland and Germany could change its character in the future. As Poland and Germany are stepping closer to one another in the wake of the European integration process, new chances might develop, especially for those young Poles with a German university degree and excellent knowledge of both the Polish and the German language and culture. They might use their strategic social capital for transnational economic activities. Also among the group of marriage migrants, changes of the transnational activities are possible. Changes in transnational activities are also possible among the group of marriage migrants. Becoming of age, they might intensify the use of their secondary residence and re-establish their social contacts in Poland, which could eventually lead to a significant flow of retirement migration.

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Can the application of the transnationality model give us new insights into the phenomenon of transnationalism? Our study shows, that a differentiated look on transnational activities and transnational social fields can provide valid information on the variations of transnationality and the factors underlying those variations, making it easier to obtain results for specific groups of migrants. This is especially important for the analysis of social integration, as the use of the model is able to produce results regarding possible stratifications among the groups of migrants.

For further geographical research on the phenomenon of transnational migration and transnational social spaces, the question of national belonging seems to be particularly challenging. The first results of our study suggest that our former conceptions of "nation" as the notion of belonging to a certain ethnic group and geographical space are outdated. In the wake of the European nation building process, the experiences of transnational migrants regarding their feeling of national belonging, might serve as a model for the future European citizenship.

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TRANSNACIONALNI DRUŠTVENI PROSTORI POLJSKIH MIGRANATA U LEIPZIGU (NJEMAČKA)

SAŽETAK

Transnacionalizacija migranata i migrantskih zajednica, koja pritom stvara nova društvena polja i nove identitete između zemalja podrijetla i zemalja naseljavanja, fenomen je svojstven globalizaciji. U radu su predstavljeni preliminarni rezultati istraživačkoga projekta o transnacionalnoj migraciji između Poljske i njemačkoga grada Leipziga. Namjera je identificirati aspekte transnacionalnosti i prikazati transnacionalne društvene prostore nastanjene migrantima. Analiza kvalitativnih i kvantitativnih podataka slijedi model transnacionalnosti, te razlučuje tri sfere koje se odnose na fizička, kulturna i identitetska kretanja među migrantima. Izloženi su neki empirijski dokazi međuovisnosti migracijskih motiva, trajanja migracije i nekoliko društveno-ekonomskih varijabli s jedne strane, te varijacije transnacionalnosti s druge. Postavlja se i pitanje implikacija transnacionalizacije na proces izgradnje europske nacije te se sugerira da bi oblici transnacionalnoga identiteta mogli poslužiti kao model za buduće europsko državljanstvo.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: transnacionalni društveni prostori, Njemačka, migracija, Poljska, transnacionalizacija, studija slučaja

Birgit Glorius, Klaus Friedrich

LES ESPACES SOCIAUX TRANSNATIONAUX DES MIGRANTS POLONAIS À LEIPZIG (ALLEMAGNE)

RÉSUMÉ

Une des facettes de la mondialisation est la transnationalisation des migrations et des communautés de migrants, phénomène qui génère de nouveaux espaces sociaux et de nouvelles identités entre le pays d'origine et le pays d'installation. Cet article présente les résultats préliminaires d'un projet de recherche sur les migrations transnationales entre la Pologne et la ville allemande de Leipzig. L'objectif est d'identifier les caractéristiques du transnational, et de montrer comment des espaces sociaux transnationaux se forment et sont utilisés par les migrants. L'analyse de données qualitatives et quantitatives suit un modèle construit autour d'un indicateur de transnationalisme, lequel distingue les trois sphères que représentent les mouvements physiques, culturels et identitaires des migrants. Les résultats démontrent l'existence d'interdépendances entre les motivations, la durée de migration et des variables socio-économiques d'une part, et les variations du transnationalisme d'autre part. L'article questionne également les implications de la transnationalisation dans la construction européenne et suggère que les dynamiques identitaires transnationales pourraient servir de modèle à une future citoyenneté européenne.

MOTS CLÉS : espaces sociaux transnationaux, Allemagne, migration, Pologne, transnationalisation, étude de cas