

Being and Belonging: Stories of second-generation Serbian migrants in  
Germany and Australia

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## ABSTRACT

In the 1960s and 1970s people from rural and unindustrialised areas in Yugoslavia started leaving the country in search of a better life in Western Europe (Austria, Western Germany, France, Switzerland and Sweden), and other traditional migrant destinations of US, Canada and Australia. Regardless of the initial conditions of stay in those countries, many eventually settled, making their homes, and producing a new generation. This thesis examines the structural and cultural integration of second-generation Serbian migrants whose parents settled in Germany and Australia. It does this by addressing two research questions: first, what factors influence patterns of identification among second-generation migrants in Germany and Australia? And second, how is their sense of belonging shaped? The study is informed by 42 semi-structured interviews, with 20 interviews for the German case and 22 for the Australian. Interviews addressed themes of parental background, place of birth, citizenship, education, employment, identification, language, culture, tradition, religion, bridging and bonding capital, and belonging. The cases of Germany and Australia are compared because of their stark differences in immigration policies, integration contexts, and citizenship regimes.

The contribution of this thesis is threefold. First, it provides a comparative analysis of second-generation migrants growing up in two starkly opposing policy contexts. Second, it identifies factors which influence identification among second-generation Serbian migrants, and their sense of belonging. Finally, it contributes to our

understanding of second-generation migrants as groups altering the ethnic composition of the host society, especially in ‘super-diverse’ metropolises (Vertovec, 2007).

To develop a theoretical framework, this thesis critically evaluates existing approaches to identity and belonging in migrant communities. First, the thesis employs the term identification, rather than identity, in order to specify the agents of categorisation (e.g. self-identification, identification by others) (Bruebaker and Cooper 2000). Second, this thesis treats the notion of belonging as an independent category of analysis, drawing on Antonsich’s (2010) determination of belonging as a place belongingness and politics of belonging.

This research shows that although they come from similar socio-economic backgrounds, the two groups of second-generation migrants have significantly different patterns of identification and belonging. In the German case, respondents predominantly identify as being Serbian, and with their city of residence; while in the Australian case the respondents mostly identify as Australian-Serbs. These differences are influenced by the conditions of stay for their parents, immigration policies, and finally by the relative distance of Germany and Australia from the parental homeland. Findings also suggest that ideas of belonging differ between the two groups, predominantly because the German group has stronger bonds to the parental homeland, which influences their autobiographical and relational belonging, and their greater knowledge of Serbian language. On the other hand, the two groups show similar patterns of economic belonging, and of cultural maintenance in terms of tradition and religion. These groups also differ in terms of formal political belonging, because the German group predominantly holds parental country citizenship, while the Australian group are mostly Australian citizens by birth. Finally, these two groups demonstrate strong similarity in actively shaping the future of a place they live in.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Now that this beautiful and crazy journey is coming to an end I would like to honour people I met along the way, so as my family and friends, because without their encouragement, support and love I would not be where I am today.

I would like to start with giving my gratitude to Professor Michael Leach who was my Principal Supervisor and a great support throughout these years. Thank you for being there for me, thank you for letting me be myself (a drama queen) and for your guidance and kind words, whenever I needed them. I will always remember how much we laughed during our meetings, and how that made me feel accepted and settled.

My colleagues and friends I met along this journey are irreplaceable and invaluable, not just for the process/processes I was going through with my thesis, but most of all as a tremendous support. I am afraid that if I start naming all these beautiful people I might forget to mention someone and that would be a terrible injustice. You know who you are, and I also hope you know how much you all mean to me, and how much I am looking forward to all our future conversations, collaborations and our future stories.

This precious moment of my life would not be possible without enormous support of my parents, my brother and my aunty. Although, most of the times they did not understand what I am actually doing, or why do I have to go all the way to Australia to do it, they were always there for me. It melts my heart knowing how much they are proud of me, and I cannot wait for the moment when I will be able to kiss their lovely faces. I am grateful to all my friends and family back home who were comforting me in the moments when I did not feel settled in my new country. Thank you for being my safe place, and for reassuring me that I can always come home if things become

unbearable. I am also grateful for meeting new friends, and building new relationships that made me feel safe and loved in Australia too. All those people shared their homes and most of all their good hearts with me. I feel reach for having you in my life, and most of all empowered, because your presence changed me in ways I have never dreamed of. Finally, I want to praise my partner for being patient, loving and supporting. Actually I need a completely new set of words to describe how I feel, and it goes beyond the scope of this acknowledgement.

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I also acknowledge that this thesis was edited by a professional editor who had no previous knowledge of the topic or theories used in my research.

Lastly, I am very grateful to Swinburne University of Technology for giving me an opportunity to make my childhood dream come true, and also to the IMIS institute – University of Osnabrück for an opportunity to stay with them during my research in Germany.

## DEDICATION

I am dedicating this thesis to second-generation migrants, whoever and wherever they are. You matter!

## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis does not contain material accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma except where due reference is made in the text of the examinable outcome. To the best of my knowledge the thesis does not contain material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

*R. Ivana*

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## List of Acronyms

AA – Alcoholics Anonymous

ASOP - Australian Serbian Organisation of Professionals

CILS - Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey

CILS4EU - The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries

CILS4EU-DE - The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries - Deutschland

EFFNATIS - Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies towards Second-generation Migrant Youth in Comparative European Perspective

IIMMLA - Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles

IMIS – Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien

ISGMNY - Immigrant Second-generation in Metropolitan New York

SCIICS - Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey

SOYA - Serbian Orthodox Youth Association of Australia & New Zealand

TIES - The Integration of the European Second-generation

UNHCR - UN High Commissioner for Refugees

WASP – White Anglo Saxon Protestants

WW II - World War Two

## Chapter I Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the differences and similarities between second-generation migrants of Serbian background in Germany and Australia. It does this by comparing each case in relation to the prevailing migration policy settings and policies designed to manage a diverse migrant population. The thesis also examines how these specific policy settings influence the patterns of identification and sense of belonging of these two second-generation migrant groups.

### Research questions

Based on these aims, two research questions are addressed in this study: First, what factors influence patterns of identification among second-generation migrants in Germany and Australia? This research question was informed by the theoretical work in the area of identification, with the specific focus on understanding the concept proposed by Brubaker and Cooper (2000). In their paper 'Beyond Identity', Brubaker and Cooper suggest that identity as a category has become a useless term that aims to say too much but achieves too little (see also Anthias 2013, p. 4). This leads them to propose a new category, *identification*, which would not necessarily produce opposing notions of sameness and difference. As such, identification can be subdivided into five types – relational, categorical, self-identification and identification by others, identification by powerful institutions and identification through public discourse (pp. 14-19). These types involve the application of other notions such as nation, religion, tradition and language, distinguishing between a mother tongue and a speaker's first

language, and recognising culture as the by-product of multiple identifiers that may coexist simultaneously.

The second key research question, how is the sense of belonging shaped for these second-generation migrants? This research question was informed by academic theories of belonging, focusing on the categorisation developed by Antonsich (2010) who differentiates between place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. Place-belongingness is more personal, invoking the feeling of being ‘at home’, and is further examined through its autobiographical, relational, economic, legal and cultural dimensions (the last referring to components such as language, tradition and religion). On the other hand, politics of belonging refer to the institutional arrangements revolving around citizenship regimes.

## Background to the study

Second-generation migrants’ stories are never complete without the parents’ histories, the migration trajectories that drive people from one place to another and biographical facts that include everything from personal narratives to the effects a ‘host’ country has on children. In the cases elaborated in this research, it could be argued that the parental generation decided to migrate from Yugoslavia because there was no place for them in the rigidly planned socialist realist economy there (Baković 2012, Ivanović 2012, Antonijević 2013). They could not be absorbed by the planned industrialization that placed major factories in the cities and neglected to invest in the previously self-contained small households located in remote villages. The situation forced some parts of this population to become ‘economic’ migrants. Although this term has a broad meaning (see more in Castles 2000, pp. 26-45, 69-78) in this research it refers to people who left Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s due to the poor economic situation in the country at that time (Ivanović 2012, pp. 43-48).

It is estimated that around 671 000 people were forced to leave Yugoslavia in quest of jobs and a better life (p. 70). The rural, poorly educated population in un-industrialized areas of the country was particularly affected by the unemployment. That is why the communist government decided to liberalize the system governing the issuance of passports especially for this population, this allowing them to seek better opportunities abroad (Dobrivojević 2007, p. 89). In this period citizens of Yugoslavia were allowed to leave the country only in certain circumstances (e.g. for further education, or as political representatives) while a majority of Yugoslavians did not have passports. When authorities realized people were already leaving the country through illegal channels they liberalised the rules, allowing passports to be issued to the rural population, the group most affected by the country's economic situation (Dobrivojević 2007, Ivanović 2012, Pavlica 2005).

In her book about Serbian economic migrants from the 1960s and 1970s, Antonijević (2013) notes that part of this 'diaspora' migratory group is well known and researched in Serbian anthropology. For instance the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (*Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti - SANU*) conducted a research about Serbian ethnic identity in diaspora and neighbouring countries (*SANU "Etnicitet: savremeni procesi u Srbiji, su-sednim zemljama i dijaspori"* 2006-2010). Serbian diasporic communities are also well researched from the perspective of scholars who claim their descent from those communities. For instance, in the Australian context there are several academic publications discussing the changes that occur in Serbian language when coming in contact with English (Dimitrijević 2004 a; 2004 b; 2004 c; 2005; Dimitrijević-Savić 2008; and Medojević 2014).



On the other hand the group that went to West European countries, specifically people who were temporary workers in Germany, the *gastarbeiter*<sup>1</sup>, remained an under researched phenomenon in Serbian anthropology until fairly recently. However, several publications especially in recent years have given this group much deserved attention in Serbian academic research. Such as Ivanović's "*You Say Geburtstag Like a Local*" 2012 (*Geburtstag Pišeš Normalno 2012*), Antonijević's "*Gastarbeiter as a liminal being*" 2011 ("*Gastarbajter kao liminalno biće: konceptualizacija kulturnog identiteta*" 2011) and "Foreigner here, foreigner there" 2013 ("*Stranac Ovde, Stranac Tamo. Antropološko istraživanje kulturnog identiteta gastarbajtera*" 2013), Antonijević and Brujić's "*Gastarbeiter in their own perception*" 2011 ("*Gastarbajteri – iz svog ugla. Kazivanja o životu i socio-ekonomskom položaju gastarbajtera*") 2011, etc.

Looking at this migratory group the biggest wave flooded western and northern parts of Europe, where booming economies had unmet demand for a labour force that was cheap and not overqualified. Most of the migrants found their way to West Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland or France. Some others decided to try their luck in distant lands already known for making immigrants' dreams come true – and they travelled much further to find a better life in the USA, Canada and Australia. Official data for the year 1971 in the Federal Republic of Germany – West Germany's formal name – indicate the presence of 400 000 people from Yugoslavia, although the real number is

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<sup>1</sup> *Gastarbeiter* means guest worker in German language, and refers to the foreign or migrant workers especially the ones from the decades between 1950s-1970s. But the term is also used in Serbian discourse (it is used unassimilated i.e. unchanged) to refer not just the parent generation but the following generations too. The meaning is derogatory and refers to someone who is uneducated and uncultured, 'new rich' but without sophistication. In Serbian slang there are shorter versions *gastos* or *gastosi* in plural. Some of my interviewees would use it to refer to their parents, themselves or second-generation migrants from other ethnic communities. When used as an auto-identification it did not contain any derogatory meaning.

thought to have been higher due to illegal and unregistered migrants (Baković 2012, p. 8). Meanwhile, data for the period 1961-1971 in the Australian state of Victoria show that 49 755 people of Yugoslavian origin settled there (Jupp 2001, p. 747).

These two communities differed from the beginning as to visa status and the length of stay in their host countries. In Germany the community's members were present on a temporary basis; in Australia, their counterparts were admitted for permanent settlement. Nevertheless, from today's point of view these communities can be seen as similar because both made new lives in new countries. The key differences between the two groups concerned their legal status and rights, and thus the host societies' divergent opportunities. It was the different public policy orientations towards migrants by governments in the Federal Republic of Germany and Australia that would yield different experiences for both them and their children.

## Relevance of the second-generation

Second-generation migrants are significant for the host society because it is a cohort of the population that can be regarded as “a vehicle for integration into the host country”<sup>2</sup> (Baldassar 2011, p. 4). Being raised and socialised in the host country, they have agency to cross boundaries that were taken for granted in their parents' case (Alba 2005, p.21). Their integration or assimilation into the ‘host’ society is therefore of utmost importance for the stability of society because if unsuccessful it (Heckmann et al. 2000, p. 19)

... May lead to forms of deviant behaviour and to an ethnicisation of social problems involving a “balkanisation” of society along ethnic lines. It may also

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<sup>2</sup> Alba refers to the second-generation migrants as to the litmus test for assimilation – specifically focusing on intermarriage (1995 p. 13).

lead to ethnic mobilization and to ethnic conflict. A central question revolves around the extent to which ethnic differences are becoming solidified into ethnic stratification patterns or whether there is a process of mutual acculturation between existing groups of different ethnic origin.

This focus on the necessity for the second-generation migrants to integrate into a host society comes as a contrast to the idea that “they do not need to adapt to the society that is new to them” because they are not migrants (Crul and Schneider 2012, p. 26). Crul and Schneider further argue that in Europe they are predominantly citizens (as is the case in the U.S. and Australia as well) and, borrowing from Schinkel, assert that there is no place for them outside the society in which they grow up (Crul and Schneider 2012, p. 26 ). Therefore, in the theoretical sense, as members of society since the day they were born there should be no opposition between them and the ‘society’ or those widely considered native to that society, *ergo* we should not be talking about their need to integrate. Nonetheless, a discourse about the second-generation, in both theoretical and political senses, revolves around the poles of assimilation or integration, with these two terms construed as synonyms because at their core they apply equally to similar categories (Schneider and Crul 2010).

This antagonism can be resolved if we recognize that, although the second-generation in most cases have not migrated, or migrated at a very early age, they imbibe the migrant experience through their parents. This is because migration is not simply travelling from A to B but also refers to the emotional reactions caused by rootlessness and dislocation which the second-generation experience through their parents’ fears, hopes and homesickness. Describing her own experience, Tsolidis (2014) delivers a heart-warming recollection of growing up in a migrant household where she

... spent a childhood listening to stories told by nostalgic adults ... the stories ... [which] would begin slowly, reach a crescendo of excitement and invariably move to the point where the sadness of remembering times no longer lived overtook the joy (p. 1).

Furthermore, the second-generation are affected by the migrant experience through their parents' lack of new language skills whereby the normal generational roles were switched so now they were the ones who, even at a very early age, had to play the role of interpreter for their parents. This further meant their parents could not help them through their schooling with any understanding of the academic requirements being placed on them, and could not even help with their homework. Also, being unfamiliar with their new country's educational system, the parents were at a loss to navigate their children through the challenges it posed, which often meant the young had to find their way through on their own.

Second-generation also experiences migration-related disadvantage because, as Alba argues, the mainstream of society is predominantly in the hands of the majority, with the "certain culture and characteristics [being] valorised in the key institutions" (2005, p. 41). Tending to preserve their dominance, the majority impose boundaries between themselves and others and, depending on the integrative policies in different societies, those boundaries allow greater or lesser permeability (ibid.). Coupled with this is a public discourse narrative, which in periods of turbulence such as economic crisis or terrorist attacks such as those that happened in Europe and Australia in 2015-18<sup>3</sup>,

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<sup>3</sup> <https://storymaps.esri.com/stories/terrorist-attacks/> (last retrieved on 30/05/2018)

questions the loyalty of second-generation migrants, portraying them as ‘home-grown terrorists’ (Baldassar 2011 p. 5).

To understand the effect of institutionally reinforced boundaries between the majority population and second-generation migrants of Serbian descent – boundaries that reinforce inequalities between the two cohorts and reserve privileges for one and not the other, it would be useful to cite case studies arising from research for this thesis carried out in Germany and Australia. Due to an idiosyncrasy in West German, and post-reunification German, law the native-born children of migrants were treated as foreigners until quite recently (Constant, Nottmeyer and Zimmermann 2012, p. 6). This meant that, although born into the host society, the children of immigrants to Germany were not perceived as part of it, and were denied legal recognition as formally belonging to the country. Yet their level of participation in a plethora of societal organisations was both sought and valorised. Furthermore, this situation has been “frequently reflected in everyday discourse on the national belonging of groups and individuals” (Crul and Schneider 2007 p. 14), eventually leading to the second-generation being labelled as foreigners (Baumann and Sunier 2004, p. 78).

Australian society seems more inclusive, at least at first glance, because as it recognises the principle of *jus soli* this nation regards the second-generation migrants as citizens from birth or permits them to be ‘naturalised’ while young through their parents. Nonetheless, as Baldassar argues, hostility and prejudices seem to be directed at groups and individuals perceived as more foreign or recognizably different from the majority group in society (2011, p. 3). Under the social convention where the “superiority of those with lighter skins, fairer hair, and earlier debarkation dates” (Gordon 1964, p. 136) is taken for granted, anyone who dares to challenge the norm gets punished. A

solid example would be the last years<sup>4</sup> “Anzac Day controversy” involving Yassmin Abdel-Magied, a second-generation Sudanese-Australian activist whose Facebook post “LEST.WE.FORGET. (Manus, Nauru, Syria, Palestine ...)” (Ackland 2017) was followed by public outrage in which the 2007 Young Muslim of the Year (John Paul College<sup>5</sup>) and 2015 Queensland Young Australian of the Year<sup>6</sup> became “Australia’s most hated Muslim” (Fyfe, 2017). Daring to criticise something that constitutes a big part of ‘Australian identity’, Abdel-Magied provoked the rage of ‘the pure’ (Rushdie cited in Christou 2006, p. 123) who did not hesitate to send her death and rape threats. This saddening event showcases something that Hage called a “white multicultural fantasy” (2000, pp. 117-140), pointing out once again how far Australia is from having a shared view of national identity broad enough to accommodate its diverse communities (Parekh 2000, p. 231).

Returning to the relevance of the second-generation for immigrant societies, I would argue that their integration is extremely important. But the focus needs to be diverted from measuring how upward, stagnating or downward they move in their attempt to meet the expectations imposed by the dominant group in society. On the contrary, we need to take one step back and look at the social conventions and societal context into which they are expected to integrate. We need to ask why are institutions structurally and inherently placing obstacles in the way of their participation in, and equal ownership of, societies they live in (Crul and Schneider 2010).

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<sup>4</sup> 2017

<sup>5</sup> Yassmin Abdel-Magied at the 34th John Paul College Speech Night, <http://www.jpc.qld.edu.au/news-and-events/news-item/thank-you-to-yassmin-abdel-magied-our-keynote-speaker-at-the-34th-john-paul-college-speech-night/> (last retrieved on 18/01/2018)

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.australianoftheyear.org.au/alumni/connect/yassmin-abdel-magied/> (last retrieved on 18/01/2018)

## Defining the second-generation migrants

The very concept of second-generation seems to be an oxymoron *per se* because the apparent contradictory terms second-generation and migrants seem to be in conjunction. Yet the term ‘second-generation migrants’ is familiar enough, in its broadest sense referring to the immediate descendants of immigrants who do not necessarily themselves have migratory experience (Schneider 2016, p. 2). Baldassar goes further, arguing that a second-generation migrant status somehow puts into a question their belonging and identification as the first-generation nationals (2011 p.6). Although these statements are correct, as mentioned earlier the second-generation imbibe their parents’ experience vicariously. On this construction, the concept of the second-generation migrant in its vastest scope refers to children of people who migrated to the new country in which their offspring were born and/or raised (Schneider 2016, pp. 2-3).

Yet the exact definition of second-generation migrants depends on the type of research one is doing; and a particular definition can be classified as statistical, social or subjective (Skrbiš et al. 2007, pp. 262-63). The statistical definition is conceptually rigid because it refers solely to the people born in the host country to foreign-born parents and as such is most commonly used in surveys where respondents need to be from the clearly identified categories or when drawing data from official records (Schneider 2016, p. 3). The common problem stemming from such a definition issue is that people covered by it usually come from very different backgrounds and widely separated age cohorts, meaning that they have grown up under different societal circumstances. Inevitably, they will have grown up when different notions of settlement were government policy: some experienced assimilationist campaigns, others a multicultural or mainstreaming approach (Baldassar 2011, p. 7). Similarly in the

context of European research (Crul, Schneider and Lelie, 2012) where the second-generation migrants as defined in this strict context covers age cohorts ranging from teens to people in their early fifties, where for example the youngest were attending school in the 2000s and the eldest in the late 1960s (Schneider 2016, p. 5).

The remaining two definitions, social and subjective, are considered less rigid and are commonly used in qualitative studies. The social definition, besides referring to children born in the adoptive country includes those who migrated with their parents when very young (Skrbiš 2007, p. 263). This definition presupposes that those children usually will have very limited memories of the pre-migration period, having been educated in the host country, and will have been socialised in that country. Thus they are expected to “learn (...) the non-familial vernacular language without a particular accent” (Schneider 2016, p. 3). Finally, the subjective definition is valid in respect of people who self-identify as second-generation migrants, for example as Serbian-Australians or Australian Serbs. Baldassar contends that this type of definition is conducive to an understanding of belonging and identity, in particular because it recognizes that multiple identities may coexist (2011, p. 7).

It is worth mentioning that, when defining ‘second-generation migrants’, it is of the utmost relevance to understand the origin of a particular definition. For instance, in an American setting the term dates back to the 1920s when the first work on assimilation was done (Schneider 2016, p. 4) but the definition in its current usage draws from Gordon’s *Assimilation in American Life* (1964). Clearly the U.S. definition of ‘second-generation’ derives from the country’s experience in assimilating various immigrant groups. Under this definition, the second-generation is offered full membership of the nation from the moment of birth and are therefore expected to participate fully in society’s institutions (Schneider 2016, p. 3). As such, they are distinguished from the



‘one-and-a-half generation’, a term referring to children who came to the country with their parents in their mid-teens or at least at school age (Zhou 1997, p. 65; Rumbaut and Ima 1988).

In Europe, by contrast, the focus is on ‘having a migration background’, blurring all the distinctions on that broad spectrum and completely ignoring the fact that most of the second-generation were actually born in the host country (Schneider 2016, pp. 2-4). Even within this general notion, some idiosyncratic variations exist at national level when it comes to understanding who is, and who is not, second-generation migrant. For instance, in France any reference to the ethnic background of native-born children is considered politically problematic; in Netherlands the distinction is between ‘*autochtoon*’ and ‘*allochtoon*’<sup>7</sup>, while the term itself is rare in German public discourse. Migration sociology uses ‘*zweite Migrantengeneration*’ in referring to second-generation migrants (p. 4).

Given that one of the case studies presented in this thesis is of a second-generation migrants living in Australia, a context-based definition is called for. In their report on second-generation Australians, Khoo et al. (2002) use a statistical definition which, as we have seen, refers exclusively to those people born in the country. Some other researchers, such as Butcher and Thomas (2001) in *Generate: Youth Culture and Migration Heritage in Western Sydney*, use a broader definition that embraces both the Australian-born and those who arrived in the country at an early age.

Defining a second-generation migrants whom I worked with in this research proved a complex task for many reasons, one of which was the element of comparison. Not only do the second-generation migrants who were the participants in these case studies live

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<sup>7</sup> Native-born and foreign-born

in two different countries but those countries adopted starkly different approaches to migration. Starting with the expectations those countries placed on the parental generation, and showing further divergence in their relative preparedness to incorporate various migrant intakes within their overall population. Nor are the individuals homogenous but rather exceedingly diverse. In the German case, nineteen out of twenty participants were born in Germany (the exception being born in Serbia) but all held citizenship of their parents' home country, with some of them obtaining German citizenship only in adulthood. In addition, their parents' uncertain status caused some of them to be sent to live with grandparents and other relatives where part of their schooling took place. In the Australian case study, on the other hand, seven of the twenty-two participants came to the country as young children along with their parents. This group obtained citizenship at the same time as their parents via the naturalization process, while those born in Australia were automatically Australian citizens based on *jus soli*. The circumstances of one individual, whose parents arrived in Australia in two different migration waves and who personally identified as second-generation migrant, emerged as a signifier of that status.

Bearing in mind such nuances and anomalies, the definition of 'second-generation migrants' accepted for the purpose of this research is people with at least one parent migrating in the 1960s or 1970s from the former Yugoslavia, who were either born in, or came to, the country at a very young age in their parents' custody, and who were at least partially educated in the 'new' country. Given all the heterogeneity of participant's experiences, and following the categorisation given by Skrbiš et al (2007, p. 263) – the definition used for this research would be classified as a subjective definition of 'second-generation' migrants.

## Course of the research – fieldwork notes

From March-April 2015 to June 2016 I conducted forty-two open-ended, semi-structured interviews with second-generation migrants living in Melbourne (22) and Hamburg (20). The first three interviews were conducted in Melbourne and served as a pilot study, useful for testing out the questionnaire, and adding or removing details from it. These interviews were highly beneficial for me as a researcher working in a foreign language for the first time. Unfortunately, two of those interviews will not be a part of this thesis because the people interviewed have a Croatian background, and for reasons explained in the Methodology chapter I ended up working with just one of the groups proposed initially.

The next step for was fieldwork in Germany and I spent five months there as a guest researcher with the *Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien* (IMIS) at the University of Osnabrück (Lower Saxony). The reason for starting my research trip in Osnabrück was twofold: first I was keen to work with this institute which played such an important role in shaping the theoretical concept of the European second-generation. Furthermore, as I was coming from a non-European Union country I needed a letter of invitation from a German educational institution for my research visa to be granted, a prerequisite if I were to stay longer than three months (the maximum period granted under the Schengen Agreement).

Working at the institute was of great utility for my research in Germany because IMIS was part of TIES – The Integration of European Second-generation project that has carried out such extensive research on second-generation migrants in Europe (Crul and Schneider 2012). The time spent at IMIS, especially the many insightful conversations I had with the researchers there – became crucial in defining the trajectory of my fieldwork in Germany. Some of the people I talked to were involved in TIES while

others were working on follow-up projects such as Pathways to Success/ELITES-Consortium (Schneider 2016, p. 8), and their experience helped me clarify how integration is understood in the context of German migration studies, the notion of ‘second-generation migrants’ in Germany, and the position of different ethnic communities (predominantly Turkish and former Yugoslavian communities).

Another important stepping stone was the conversation I had with Dr Jens Schneider which definitely put the pieces of the puzzle together. As one of the main researchers working on the second-generation migrants, and also an editor and author of *The European Second-generation Compared – Does the Integration Context Matter?* (Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012) Jens suggested I should do the research in Hamburg, because the former Yugoslavian population is quite large there (in my own research I heavily lean on the research and articles produced by Schneider). He also recommended I talk to certain ethnic clubs and religious institutions, and provided contact details for a number of people who had participated in similar research. After discussing this new information with my supervisor, I decided to do the fieldwork in Hamburg while living in, and working from, Osnabrück. This fieldwork shaped the research I would later conduct in Melbourne and is addressed in the ‘Position of the Researcher’ section of the Methodology chapter.

## Positioning in the field

This thesis follows a multidisciplinary approach. As an anthropologist, I utilised semi-structured interviews as an anthropological method for data collection. This method is known for its in-depth approach to gathering information about participants and their life experience, and it is best used for descriptive and exploratory questions (Johnson and Rowlands 2012). Anthropologists have used this method to collect knowledge that goes beyond a superficial understanding of the topic of inquiry. In addition, the case

study method used in anthropology since Malinowsky (Hamel 1993, p. 2; Mills et al. 2010, p.xxxi) has been employed to better explain the differences between cohorts researched in Germany and Australia.

The field of second-generation migrants as a specific area of research in migration studies has been claimed by different disciplines. For instance, the research conducted in the United States predominantly comes from sociology (Portes and Zhou 1993; Alba and Nee 2003;), while in the European context the most important analyses of second-generation migrants (Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012) comes from anthropology; in Australia this research falls under a blended field of social sciences (references to the research). The research conducted for this thesis is grounded in anthropological methods which makes it intrinsically inductivist by nature.

Although grounded in anthropology, this research also uses theories from other fields of social sciences to give meaning to data derived from fieldwork. In explaining identification, a term that allows a person to go draw from different aspects of self, I draw from a work of Brubaker and Cooper (2000). This duo comprising a sociologist and historian refer to identification by looking at self-identification, identification by others, relational identification, identification by powerful authoritative institutions, and identification through discourse and public narrative. As people whose parents have migrated to countries which are ethnically and culturally different my interviewees have to negotiate their identifications on a daily basis, and have developed identifications that are meaningful in their migration setting.

Likewise, in explaining the concept of belonging, this research draws on the field of human geography and is based in Antonsich's (2010) work on place belongingness and politics of belonging. Antonsich's notion of place belongingness speaks volumes to my participants' experiences, as in a migration setting one always ask 'where do I belong?'

and ‘where is home?’ These narratives were examined through the lenses of the autobiographical, relational, cultural and economic belonging. The politics of belonging played a big role in comparing and contrasting experiences of people from Germany and Australia. The migrants in Germany were not granted citizenship although born in the country, while those in Australia were citizens by birth. This notion had impacts on their overall understanding of belonging and their agency to act politically was shaped accordingly.

## Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into two parts, separating methodology and theory from the research findings. It consists of nine chapters.

Chapter II refers to the theoretical framework used to explain the findings and it does so by evaluating the academic literature on identity and belonging. This chapter begins by reviewing various schools of thought that have emerged in respect of the highly debatable notion of ‘identity’. Two antagonistic ideas have come out of the prolific writing on this matter. The first comprehends identity, in its original Latin sense, as sameness. In its early use, drawing predominantly from psychology, identity meant being the same as (or in harmony with) oneself but also with a group. In its second meaning, identity reflects a retreat from all-encompassing narratives and starts embodying the notion of difference. This transformation Bauman understands as being from identity as a given to identity as a task, explaining the change as necessitating the abandonment of grand essentialist ideas (2001 p. 124). Similarly to Bauman, Hall argues that the deconstructive critique has put the essentialist term ‘identity’ “under erasure” to the point where the term could not be used anymore in its original sense (Hall 1996, p. 1).

This confusion about the meaning of the term 'identity' leads to the next big debate in the field in which the very use of the term is called in question. Arguing that it has become meaningless, some authors suggest alternative notions: for example, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and Malešević (2002) argue for 'identification'; Anthias for 'location' or 'translocation' (2013); and Probyn (1996) for 'belonging'. This thesis opts for the term 'identification' as defined by Brubaker and Cooper (2000).

Chapter II also discusses the concept of belonging. Here two lines of argument are presented. The first advocates employing the term as a substitute for 'identity' and many writings of this persuasion use the terms interchangeably. In this field, important work has been done by Probyn who defines belonging as "the study of desiring identities and of longing to become" (1996, p. 13). Then, Fortier's work on the migrants belonging amongst Italian community in London defines identity as threshold and as longing to belong (2000, p.2). The second line of argument in the debate on belonging introduces authors who were instrumental in developing study of 'belonging' as a separate category for analysis. In this realm the work of Yuval-Davis (2005, 2006, 2010), Crowley (1999), Anthias (2006, 2013) and Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011, 2013) plays a pivotal part in this field of study. After considering their contributions, this thesis adopts the definition by Antonsich (2010) which differentiates between place-belongingness and the politics of belonging.

Chapter III reviews the literature on second-generation migrants. As stated, research on second-generation migrants started in the United States back in the 1920s and concentrated on assimilation outcomes for early-20<sup>th</sup>- century immigrant groups (Schneider 2016, p. 3). Yet the most relevant research has been conducted on a 'new second-generation', the children of post-1965 migrants. Being predominantly from non-white and non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds, the members of these groups followed

different pathways to their eventual place in American society. Portes and Zhou have suggested three avenues of assimilation for these second-generation migrants – traditional straight-line assimilation, downward assimilation and assimilation through ethnic niche (1993). Years later, Stepick and Stepick (2010) showed that downward assimilation was more likely to look like stagnation when compared to their parents' generation. Yet, the 'three-line assimilation model' prevails as the most satisfactory attempt to understand the acculturation of this 'new second-generation'.

In the European sphere, research on second-generation migrants started only when the children of the 1960s and 1970s began entering the labour market. The first attempt to do collaborative cross-national research was the EFFNATIS project (Heckmann et al. 2000). The next important step in comparative research was the TIES project which used the same methodology to measure second-generation outcomes in different societal contexts and institutional settings (Crul, Schneider and Lelie, 2012). This research also showcased second-generation migrants who had the same ethnic background, and compared the extent of their integration across those countries surveyed for this purpose (Schneider 2010, p. 9). Ultimately, the most important outcome was the development of comparative integration context theory (Crul and Schneider 2010). Chapter III also examines the empirical research on second-generation migrants cohorts in the two countries used as case studies, Germany and Australia. Finally, the empirical research on second-generation Serbian migrants is discussed in both the German and Australian contexts.

Chapter IV explains and explores the research methodology, referring to the two qualitative methods used in the study. First, case-study method is used to recount immigration policies and integration measures in both countries. Second, semi-



structured and open-ended interviews are undertaken as a way of collecting data in the field.

The research findings are discussed in Chapters V to VIII. Chapter V looks into 'identification' of both groups studied for this research. The group from Germany, pursuing the categories of self-identification, identification by others and identification by public discourse. In the section on self-identification, participants reveal various markers they use to make sense of themselves. They distinguish between their Serbianness and identification as something else, be it a Hamburgian, *Ausländer* or Yugoslav. They also distinguish between being Serbian and being German, where their Germanness is perceived through their having certain personality traits such as punctuality. Finally, some of the interviewees are not identifiable according to some common denominator, given that their narratives disclose multiple identifications: they are therefore defined as something else.

In addition, identification by others and by public narrative is discussed. Given that this group is situated in the dual location Germany as the place they were born and parental homeland as their heritage, they get affected by the narratives and discourse in the both places. In Germany, they are undoubtedly perceived as foreigners, regardless of their birthplace, educational attainments or any level of integration. In Serbia, though, they are regarded as *gastarbeiter*, somewhat Serbian but very much German too. So they are often liable to be confronted by this image of them as not being true Serbs, an image sustained by those who consider themselves 'pure' (Rushdie, cited in Christou 2006, p. 123).

This chapter also presents the identification narratives of the group living in Australia. In their case some identifiers are relational, some are established by others, while identification by public discourse constitutes a third category. This group showed little

inclination to elaborate on the topic of self-identification, answering simply that they identified as Australian Serbs or Serbian-Australian. Some interviewees accentuated the relational identification over self-identification, and they emphasized their role of being mother (for two sisters I have interviewed), while the third person identifies with the Alcoholic Anonymous. Public discourse had an influence in one narrative where an interviewee identified herself as an Australian wog. From examining the responses to questions relating to identification by others, I conclude that there is no great difference between my interviewees and the (Anglo-Saxon) mainstream population.

Chapter VI explores place-belongingness and discusses autobiographical belonging as the feeling of being ‘at home’; relational belonging in terms of bridging and bonding capital; and, finally, economic belonging. In this chapter narratives from both German and Australian case studies are presented. It is argued that these two groups differ when it comes to autobiographical belonging and relational belonging. Namely, the German participants claim bi-local status whereby they think of both Hamburg and their parents’ old country as “home”. Similar ‘bi-locality’ occurs with relational belonging, because the participants have social connections in both countries. Moreover, their position in German society has made them more inclined to stay within their own ethnic group. Their closest social contacts are with other Serbians, and intermarriage rates are extremely low. Those in the Australian case study, by contrast, draw their social resources from a vast diversity of ethnic communities. Where there is an overlap is in economic belonging, because both groups are part of the economy in their respective countries.

Chapter VII discusses language, tradition, religion, culture and storytelling on the theme of a homeland. Here, too, as in the previous chapter, the narratives of both groups are discussed concurrently. It has been argued that the biggest point of departure

between the German and Australian groups lies in language. While both groups are fluent in their respective country languages (German and English), their knowledge of the Serbian language is disparate. Importantly, both groups learnt Serbian as their primary language because that was one way their parents used to sustain an affinity with their community. When it comes to the other markers – tradition, religion, culture and homeland stories – both groups exhibit the characteristics of a diasporic community. An exception to this rule was where four of the participants living in Australia expressed a higher level of religiosity and their cases are addressed separately.

Chapter VIII speaks to the concept of politics of belonging, and focuses on citizenship status in the country of residence, as well as the scope these participants have to shape the present and future of that country. In this second respect, the thesis looks at the rights to vote and to attain elective office. The community's political representation, and reaction to the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s, are also examined. The role of citizenship as a token of formal belonging to the nation remains a major difference between the groups. Albeit being born in Germany, most of the participants from that group still hold the parental country citizenship, while the ones who obtained German citizenship did that through naturalisation later in their life. On the other hand, those living in Australia are Australians by birth or, if born overseas, became Australian citizens by virtue of their parents' successful application to become citizens themselves.

When it comes to the right to shape the present and the future of one's country of residence, whether one is a citizen determines the issue. The cohort with German citizenship tend to vote for left-wing parties, while the Australian group were reluctant to discuss their voting habits. But when discussing community representation and their reaction to the Balkan tumults of the 1990s, the groups showed a significant overlap.

Chapter IX concludes the thesis by collating the studies' findings. In general, the thesis finds that the context in which second-generation migrants are placed significantly influences their integration, identification and sense of belonging. Pre-existing conditions experienced by the first generation, national integration policies and citizenship regimes have specific significance in shaping the perceptions of those groups whose opinions were sought for this research. This chapter also reaches certain recommendations relating to policy development, the evolution of a theoretical framework and, in the final analysis, offers suggestions on how to combat prejudice and shape a positive public discourse about migrant communities.

## Chapter II Literature review

### Second-generation migrants

#### U.S. schools of thought

The term ‘second-generation’ originates from an American academic debate on assimilation outcomes for various immigrant groups in the early 20th century (Schneider 2016, p. 3). The earliest research on second-generation migrants yielded the standard assimilation theory, developed by the founders of the Chicago School of Sociology in the early 1920s. The theory defines assimilation as a “... process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in common cultural life” (Park & Burgess, 1970 p. 360). Developing their model based on the study of first and second-generation European migrants, Park and Burgess believed that every succeeding generation would be assimilated into the American mainstream, attaining their status through upward social mobility, diminished ethnic distinctiveness and intermarriage with the dominant social group (Waters et al. 2010, p. 1169).

Two more studies are worth mentioning from this early period of American second-generation theory. The one goes back to the 1940s and the research on second-generation Italian-Americans conducted by Irvin Child (cited in Alba 2005, p. 24)<sup>8</sup>. Child finds his respondents to be in a dilemma, attempting to assimilate into the dominant WASP majority but at the risk of losing their ethnic ties because of perceived disloyalty. The other choice, of remaining within their Italian community, would curtail

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<sup>8</sup> The original reference was not available to the researcher

the chances of improving their socio-economic status and leave them within a marginalised ethnic world (ibid.). The second important study is Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life* (1964), where he discusses the integration of immigrants and their successor generations through structural, social, cultural and identification assimilation. According to Gordon, acculturation is the initial assimilation into the cultural mainstream experienced by all immigrants, although it does not necessarily lead to other forms of assimilation and can last indefinitely even if no other forms of assimilation occur (1964, p. 81). The following steps are predominantly expected to happen in the second and following generations where the expectations are that most will lose their distinctive traits as they pass through the assimilation process stage by stage, for example through intermarriage with individuals from the majority group. For Gordon, the last stage and most significant token of assimilation occurs at the structural level, when immigrants and their children are incorporated into core institutions of the host society, from golf clubs to government institutions (pp. 80-81).

Absorbing the earlier insights into second-generation assimilation and moving on to a definition relevant for present-day research, it is important to underline the major discrepancy between the two standpoints. Essentially, it is that pioneering research into 'second-generation migrants' referred primarily to those whose parents came from Europe in the early 20 century, whereas the term 'new second-generation' applies to the children of immigrants who went to America after World War II. More precisely, they arrived after 1965 when the Immigration and Nationality Act was introduced, removing the severe restrictions on immigration to the U.S. dating from the early 1920s (Stepick and Stepick 2010, p. 1150). These immigrants differed from the earlier great waves – predominantly from Europe – and by 2003 more than half of them were coming

from Latin America and fully one-quarter from Asia, with smaller percentages from Africa, the Middle East and Europe (p. 1151).

Compared with the initial second-generation, this new group was facing changed conditions and fresh challenges, such as slower-than-expected economic mobility, as they embarked on the road to social assimilation. This new second-generation was exposed to more blatant racial and ethnic discrimination, and just as its mobility was hindered by changes in the labour market (Crul and Schneider 2012, p.20). New economic restructuring created what became known as the hourglass economy, which meant this generation had to "...cross a narrow bottleneck to occupations requiring advanced training if their careers are to keep pace with their U.S.-acquired aspirations" (Portes and Zhou 1993, p. 83).

Although this new second-generation was obviously coming from a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds, the expectation remained that they would assimilate into the American mainstream in the 'straight-line' fashion, a term associated with Warner and Strole (Gans 1992, p. 174). This concept presupposes an ongoing process shaping several generations, with each successive one taking "a step further from ethnic 'ground zero', the community established by the immigrants" (Alba and Nee 2003, p. 27) and inching closer to complete assimilation. The idea is that second-generation assimilates out of the need to demonstrate they are no longer outsiders and that they belong to the society they have grown up in (ibid.). Later in his career, Gans suggested that the new second-generation, namely the descendants of the post-1965 immigrants, were at serious risk of downward mobility (1992, pp. 173-174). Changing his concept into a 'bumpy-line' assimilation, Gans argued that, for the dark-skinned children of immigrants with low social capital, delayed assimilation might be more likely scenario

(1979, p. 17) <sup>9</sup>. As well, he proposed three scenarios for the new second-generation – education-driven mobility, success-driven mobility and niche improvement (pp. 176-181). To appreciate Gans' theory, it is important to note the distinction he makes between assimilation and mobility, and the assumption that either one can occur independently of the other.

Soon afterwards, Portes and Zhou (1993) developed the concept of segmented assimilation as a reaction to the previously dominant model of straight-line assimilation. Their initial research reflects the experience of post-1965 migrants from Haitian, Mexican, Cuban and Punjabi Sikh communities. In their paper “The New Second-generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants”, Portes and Zhou proposed three models of this type of assimilation (1993, p.82). The first is a classic pattern of assimilation open to those migrants who arrive in their new country with higher-than-average social capital. They meet with a positive reception from the host society's institutions and the general population, and their children assimilate easily into the middle class (p. 82). The second model refers to migrants with low social capital and to their children, who settled in the inner precincts of big cities where they came into contact with a predominantly African-American population. These districts are characterized by lower-class populations, perpetual poverty and a substandard educational system, and settling in those conditions may lead an already deprived second-generation on a downward spiral to a ‘ghetto model’ (p. 92). In their research,

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<sup>9</sup> Gans also states that assimilation is constructed in response to environmental pressure and identifies as factors of influence schools, peers and the media championing youth culture and freedoms (ibid. p. 186). All these factors may raise certain expectations in immigrant children regarding their life and position in American society and “they will neither be willing to accept immigrant parental work norms nor work in ‘un-American’ conditions as many of their parents do” (1992, p. 173).



Portes and Zhou identified Mexicans (pp. 87-89) and Haitians (pp. 91-96) as the groups particularly affected by downward mobility (ibid.). Under the third model, upward assimilation can occur in spite of groups retaining their cultural heritage. Here the second-generation, staying within tight-knit communities, can achieve upward mobility with the resources and support of those communities. Its members' ascent is predicated on support for schooling (group solidarity in the form of scholarships or sharing acquired knowledge about the way different educational institutions operate), on encouragement to progress to higher education, to find better jobs and to adopt a middle or upper-class lifestyle (where such an expectation is prized as a community value). Sometimes this support translates into employment access, especially where a particular ethnic community has prospered in one or another line of business. Examples of this model are to be found among second-generation Cubans (pp. 91-96), Punjabi Sikhs (pp. 89-90) and Vietnamese communities.

Segmented assimilation theory breaks from its 'straight-line' forerunner in showcasing different opportunities for social incorporation open to the new second-generation. In postulating this variant, Portes and Zhou are "placing strong emphasis on the structural constraints imposed by racial hierarchies and economic restructuring, which limit immigrants' ability to succeed" (Bloemraad 2007, p. 329). Fundamentally, the authors challenge the previously dominant perception that those migrants who cling to their culture are damaging their prospects for assimilation, pointing to the cases of Punjabi Sikhs and Vietnamese communities<sup>10</sup> as evidence that ethnic solidarity can benefit the members of those communities. Despite providing a fresh perspective, and evidence to substantiate it, their theory was heavily criticised on several counts. According to

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<sup>10</sup> Later on, Zhou showed that, when it comes to education, ethnic solidarity plays an important role in the Chinese community as well. (1997, 2003, 2008)

Bloemraad (2007), segmented assimilation theory pays inadequate attention to such political considerations as the source of the problems confronting the second-generation and any possible solutions to them (p.329). In addition, Alba and Nee in their work on the 'new assimilation' theory argue that the American 'mainstream' is highly diverse (2003, p. 25).

Drawing on segmented assimilation and other contemporary accounts, they [Alba and Nee] understand the variation in immigrants' pre-migration backgrounds, [and] current positions within a highly stratified American society and emphasize the importance of historically contingent contexts of reception (Waters 2010, p. 1171).

For their part, Stepick and Stepick (2010) provide evidence for the more refined typology of segmented assimilation, emphasizing that downward mobility is not the crux of the problem that arises where cultural dissonance between the first and second-generations occurs. Studies show that about 10 per cent of respondents fall prey to downward mobility, with stagnant mobility being the prevailing pattern for second-generation migrants in low-income areas where they live amid clusters of minority populations attending poorly funded schools (p. 1159). Their typology highlights a greater variety of opportunities for the new second-generation, described as:

The highly educated second-generation that has its roots in either: a) parents who have high socio-economic status and/or b) a co-ethnic community that highly emphasizes education and has high cross-class solidarity; the working class that constitutes the majority of the second-generation; the approximately one-tenth who obtain relatively little education and experience incarceration or give birth while still adolescents and must

curtail their education; and the 1 per cent who defy the odds, who, in spite of having parents with low socio-economic status, living in poor neighbourhoods and attending poor schools, manage to succeed (p. 1161).

This overview of the American approach to the second-generation would be incomplete without mentioning a few major works from the academic research. Certainly among the foremost must be the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) begun in the 1990s by pioneers of research into the new second-generation Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut (Stepick and Stepick 2010, p. 1151). Two other large-scale studies focused on the second-generation in metropolitan areas of New York City – “Immigrant Second-generation in Metropolitan New York” or the ISGMNY survey (Waters 2010 p.1169); and Los Angeles – “Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles” or IIMMLA survey (Schneider and Crul, 2010 (a), p. 7).

## European school of thought

Unlike the United States, which has long been considered one of the classic immigrant destinations, Europe’s nations were not perceived in that light until fairly recently. So, while American social scientists were taking their first steps in understanding the children of those who had migrated in the 1920s, their European counterparts were latecomers to the second-generation migrant’s field. Only after the children of economic migrants from the 1960s and 1970s were completing their schooling, entering the labour market and starting their own families did the question begin to intrigue European researchers. Bearing in mind that Europe, by contrast with America, consists of multiple countries, it should not be surprising that research on that side of the Atlantic has suffered from “either a purely national focus in many data collections or the lack of comparability of available national data” (Schneider 2010, p. 9).

This multiplicity of countries harbours a formidably diverse range of ideas about nationhood and citizenship, and an equally broad array of attitudes and policies concerning migrants, ethnic groups, educational systems and labour markets. National contexts are therefore of the utmost importance for anyone seeking to understand the integration of second-generation migrants within Europe and at the same time to acknowledge properly the contribution of European social scientists in the field of migrant integration theory (Crul & Schneider 2010, p. 23).

Although there were several early studies (see more in Crul 2012, p. 66), one of the first major projects to collect results from multiple (eight) countries under the same analytical concept was the Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies towards Second-generation Migrant Youth in Comparative European Perspective (EFFNATIS<sup>11</sup>) inquiry. EFFNATIS was carried out from 1998-2000 with extensive surveys undertaken in Germany, France and the United Kingdom, by means of a common questionnaire, while data for the other five countries involved – Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Finland and Spain – were based on country reports (Heckmann et al. 2000, p. 20). This project addressed the relationship between national integration policies and second-generation integration outcomes (p. 8).

The project revealed that some countries were collecting data via significantly discrepant methods. One country would be seeking out initial data relevant for its purposes but missing specific information relevant for Europe-wide research – to give an instance, one of the participant countries made no distinction between the second-generation and the ‘1.5 generation’, or diverse groups were compared while

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/prineffe.htm> (last retrieved on 22/10/2017)

disregarding the structural factors that could explain the extent to which integration had taken place (Schneider 2010, p. 9). Similarly, Crul (2005, p. 966) noted that, since EFFNATIS focused on different groups in different countries, this made comparisons on how the same group fared in different settings a vexed issue: in other words, it was hard to establish a transnational perspective. Even so, the report came up with certain conclusions about integration and social mobility among the children of migrants. Probably its most important recommendation was the one deploring a growing backlash against multiculturalism in Europe (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2009). The report concluded that the second-generation migrants were not ‘time bombs’ as commonly portrayed by some leading politicians and the media, but that this cohort tended to express a generally high satisfaction with life in all the countries encompassed by the project (Heckmann et al. 2000, p. 16).

The next major project, The Integration of European Second-generation (TIES<sup>12</sup>), was planned as the first European attempt to collect data solely on the second-generation migrants (Schneider 2010, p. 9). Groups from a range of ethnicities living in different nations and with different sets of institutions were presented with the same questionnaire and sampling criteria (Schneider 2010, p. 9; Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012, pp. 39-57). The key difference compared to previous research was that a group from the same ethnicity could be compared across a span of nations and the entire range of institutional settings. TIES trained its investigative eye on economic, social, educational and identification aspects of integration among second-generation migrants in northern and western Europe. The objective was to found a systematic data set relevant to the better understanding of second-generation migrant’s lives and to serve

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.tiesproject.eu/> (last retrieved on 03/10/ 2017)

as a basis for the development of policies with members of that generation in mind (Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012, p. 14).

As Crul et al. note, national comparisons are easier to make between European countries, which may be structured very differently but are closely linked economically (p. 23). Success at integrating the second-generation migrants is influenced by different organizational arrangements in such spheres as education, the labour market, housing, religion and legislation, but also by social and political discourse (p. 29). The importance of organizational structures to integration is reflected at two levels. First is the societal level, featuring “institutional arrangements that facilitate or hamper participation and access, thus reducing or reproducing inequality” (p. 31). This perspective raises the question of institutional inclusivity rather than individuals’ reluctance to participate (ibid.) as portrayed in everyday discourse. The second is at the collective and individual level, where groups and individuals aim to expand their range of choices and challenge existing institutional settings (ibid.). Then, according to Crul et al., three other discourses exist that can assist or hinder integration: political discourse, social discourse (of everyday communication and interaction) and the media discourse (p. 32).

The key conclusion from TIES research is that second-generation cohorts from the same ethnic origin fare differently depending on the contextual conditions and organizational set-up in the country where they live (Schneider 2010, p. 9). The relevance of context is especially visible on the educational front where, for example, the Turkish second-generation migrants coming from families with low socio-economic capital go on to join higher-education ranks at the rate of 33 per cent in Sweden and France but just 5 per cent in Germany (Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012, pp.

109-122). Comparable differences were found in labour market access, women's employment rates and segregation in schools and neighbourhoods (Schneider 2010, p. 10). Even when it is conceded that institutional settings are a vital ingredient in second-generation migrants' outcomes, background factors such as family structures, social class and culture should not be ignored. But the TIES study's significance lies in the specificity of the methodology used, and analysis that pays heed to a whole combination of factors (ibid.).

The importance of TIES, especially to my own research, lies in its introduction of fresh and relevant narratives into second-generation migrant's research. Europe's multinational character means it represents a kind of laboratory for integration and its outcomes (Crul and Schneider 2010, p. 1). The survey also finds that research on national integration policies needs to go hand in hand with research into their implementation. Integration is observable through the performance of a country's institutions (e.g. their schools, universities and employment sector); indeed, from one standpoint, progress towards integration can be gauged by the extent of "the national and local 'institutional arrangements' facilitating or hampering participation and access, reproducing or reducing inequality" (p. 12) A contrary perspective focuses on "the agency of individuals and groups, actively developing options and making choices, challenging given opportunities and structural configurations" (ibid.). A virtue of this approach is that, by inverting the dominant discourse on integration, researchers can entertain a different possibility where the stress is not on why individuals fail to integrate but rather "why institutions fail to be inclusive" (p. 13).

TIES research is significant in a second respect: its focus on the city as the locus of European second-generation life and its growth to adulthood, where this generation is

the dominant factor in remaking mainstream society (p. 2). Although most big European cities have been multi-ethnic since the dawn of modernity, today a huge turnover of population is one of their most salient features (p. 7). Some cities have witnessed a demographic revolution within a single generation, whereby a group previously considered as forming the majority of the population is now just one minority among several. As a consequence of Europe's migration trends from the end of World War II down to the present day, the majority of today's Europeans under age 12 are from an immigrant background (ibid.). Given this fact, Alba argues that such sweeping demographic change cannot avoid challenging the existing 'ethnic hierarchy' (2009, pp. 1-20). Yet forecasting the development of Europe's metropolises, their populations and how migration will continue to transform the 'mainstream' as we know it today requires careful research. Since novel circumstances call forth new terminology, Vertovec's coinage of super-diversity (2007) might be a good place to start.

American and European schools of thought and research into second-generation migrants show marked contrasts, stemming from their disparate experiences of immigration, but equally disparate conceptions of nationality and policy settings for the reception of immigrants. They even differ when defining what they mean by 'second-generation'. In the American case they mean native-born children of immigrants but also children who arrive in the States with their parents; whereas in Europe the term refers exclusively to those born in the host country (Crul, Schneider & Lelie 2012, p. 25). Secondly, as stated, through the U.S. lens different groups are viewed within a single national context, while in Europe individual national contexts provide plural reference points for researchers. Finally, American and European researchers differ in their perceptions of how the 'second-generation', however defined, fits in with, or sits



outside the mainstream of, the host society. The American approach postulates assimilation into certain segments of society or into the mainstream as a whole (p. 28) while Europe's second-generation "can claim different positions depending on specific contexts and circumstances" (p. 29)<sup>13</sup>.

## Second-generation migrants in Germany

Data on the second-generation migrants in Germany makes up a big part of the previously cited EFFNATIS (Heckmann et al. 2000) and TIES projects (Crul, Schneider & Lelie 2012). Additionally, in research based on the original CILS survey and conducted across several European countries, the CILS4EU survey<sup>14</sup> and CILS4EU-DE<sup>15</sup> targeted a cohort of students in Germany aged 14 in the period 2010-13 (Schneider 2010, p. 7) Besides the foregoing, there is the Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey (SCIICS), a national telephone survey of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants and their offspring, in which one of the six countries surveyed was Germany (ibid.). Another research project is Pathways to Success, which collected qualitative data on social mobility and professional success of second-generation (ibid.). The project deliberately focused on "being professionally successful in managerial jobs in the corporate business sector, the corporate law sector and the education sector" (Crul, Keskiner and Lelie, 2017) Alongside these research projects,

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<sup>13</sup> This approach draws on Vertovec's idea of super-diversity; see Vertovec, S. 2007, "Super-diversity and its implications", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 30, no. 6, pp. 1024-1054.

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.cils4.eu/> (last retrieved on 17/06/19)

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.cils4.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=72&Itemid=55](https://www.cils4.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=72&Itemid=55) (last retrieved on 17/06/19)

data can be found on the website of the Migration Policy Institute – Europe<sup>16</sup> as it can on TIES' website.<sup>17</sup>

In the case of Germany, research has predominantly focused on the children of the 1960s and 1970s economic migrants. The second-generation migrants, as statistically defined by TIES, states that they were born and raised in Germany, where their entire educational experience was gained, where they entered the labour market and eventually started their own families (in the case of those who did). Nevertheless, these people are still perceived as *Ausländer*, or foreigners, which consequently affects their identity and sense of belonging (Williams 2013). Bearing in mind that in Germany nationality and therefore citizenship were for a long time based on the principle of blood (Hailbronner 2010), many of the second-generation migrants were placed outside of national belonging. Only since the year 2000, when Germany imported the *jus soli* (right of the soil) principle into its nationality act (Nationality Act - *Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz, StAG 2000*, Germany),<sup>18</sup> have the children of immigrant parents been recognized as citizens (ibid., see: Section 4, Acquisition by Birth). Even now, citizenship is automatically conferred only on children born since the Act came into force, though the same law relaxed naturalization procedures for those second-generation migrants born before 2000 (ibid., see: Section 8, Discretionary Naturalization).

In the academic literature as in the research reports, the group that receives most attention are the children of Turkish immigrants, given that they are the most distinctive

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<sup>16</sup> <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/mpi-europe> (last retrieved on 15/10/2017)

<sup>17</sup> [http://www.tiesproject.eu/component/option%2ccom\\_docman/task%2ccat\\_view/gid%2c33/Itemid%2c142/lang%2cen/index.html](http://www.tiesproject.eu/component/option%2ccom_docman/task%2ccat_view/gid%2c33/Itemid%2c142/lang%2cen/index.html) (last retrieved on 15/10/2017)

<sup>18</sup> Nationality act passed by the Bundestag in 1999, and came into force on 1 January 2000. Full text available via <[www.goethe.de/in/download/dengl/staatsge-e.doc](http://www.goethe.de/in/download/dengl/staatsge-e.doc)>(last retrieved on 05/03/2015)  
Or via <https://germanlawarchive.iuscomp.org/?p=266> (last retrieved on 05/06/2018)

ethnicity when compared with the broader population (Crul & Schneider 2009; Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012; Kılıç and Menjivar 2013; Song 2011). TIES found that the Turkish migrants built up their communities with binding ties of ethnic solidarity manifest through language usage, media consumption, their mutual proximity in high residential concentrations and multiple ethnic associations (Phalet, Fleischmann and Stojčić 2012, p. 342). Research also found that Turkish families tend to enforce stronger parental control, maximising the likelihood of cultural values being transmitted from one generation to the next (ibid.). The distinctiveness of Germany's second-generation of Turks inspired a vast amount of research into their social mobility and identity (Schneider and Lang 2014), educational outcomes (Song 2011), education and connection with the labour market (Crul and Schneider 2009), peer influence (Ali and Fokkema 2011), immigrant associations (Yurdakul 2006) and inherited conflicts such as communal animosity between Turks and Kurds living in Germany (Baser 2012).

## Second-generation migrants in Australia

In the case of Australia researchers define second-generation as people born in the country with one or both parents born overseas (Siew-Ean Khoo 2002). Here the second-generation is seen as the link between their foreign-born parents and the broader Australian society. Being born in the country, these second-generation migrants are Australian citizens, all their education was in Australia and they grew up with other Australian children (ibid. viii). Before the 1980s research into second-generation Australians was scarce (for previous research, see Siew-Ean Khoo 2002, pp. 2-3) since the children of post-WWII migrants were still too young for any kind of study on their socio-economic outcomes (ibid. p. 2), but after 1981 researchers started using census data to study the second-generation from these waves of migration (ibid.).

One of the most important studies was “Second-generation Australians Report for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs” (Khoo et al. 2002). Khoo et al. examined three cohorts of second-generation migrants, tracing those groups in the context of the successive waves of migration to the continent (pp. 4-7). In the last decade research on the second-generation migrants in Australia has gathered pace, resulting in extensive academic writings, mostly on specific ethnic groups (see Baldassar 2011, Coates 2008, Markus 2011, Inglis 2011, Khoo, Birrell and Heard 2009, Skrbiš, Baldassar and Poynting 2007, Tsolidis 2009, 2014 and Woodlock 2011; but also note some earlier writings: Butcher and Thomas 2001, Khoo 1995, Roy and Hamilton 1997, and Zevallos 2004, 2005).

Researching second-generation migrants in the Australian context proved challenging from the theoretical point of view. As previously noted, the two leading schools of thought based their theoretical assumptions on the distinctive approaches to managing diversity. While the American approach idealizes assimilation, the European school discusses the second-generation in terms of various integration measures and institutional arrangements. Given these two models, I would like to advocate for an Australian-based theoretical approach to second-generation migrants. In light of the fact that the official Australian policy on managing diversity in this society has long been identified by the term ‘multiculturalism’, my own research has demonstrated as an observable reality that the second-generation here has taken different pathways towards incorporation in the host society compared with their U.S. and European peers.

There is a growing need to chart the idiosyncratic ways in which this process has developed in Australia. As an immigrant country, it has received numerous arrivals whose cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds clearly differ from those of the Anglo-

Saxon majority – and this further underscores the need for a home-grown understanding of what life is like for this unique second-generation. Furthermore, this approach is needed because terms such as assimilation, integration or settlement have distinctive meanings in this context.

In migration studies terms, Australia is defined as a “traditional settler immigration nation” (Collins 2013 p.134) suggesting that migrants were coming here to stay. As such migration settlement was a constitutive part of the Australian nation. So much so that Markus et al (2009 p.152) have argued that “Australia is one of the few nations to be built by planned immigration.” Data from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2012) positively supports this claim, as it shows that in 2011 5.3 million people, or 27% of the overall population residing in Australia were first generation migrants; while the numbers for the second-generation migrants show that this generation makes 20 % of the overall population or 4.1 million people in total.

Although an immigration nation, Australia had very restrictive migrant intake over many of its earliest decades. In 1901 the infamous ‘White Australia policy’ and dictation test were introduced to satisfy the desire of a newly formed nation “that we should be one people and remain one people without the admixture of other races” (Alfred Deakin as cited in Keith 2014-2015). However, in the aftermath of the World War II Australia had an influx of post-war migrants from continental Europe and with that the demographic picture of the nation started shifting from white and British. Assimilation as a new policy was introduced to ensure that nothing much would change, because “They – the non-British migrants would soon be indistinct from Us” (Collins 2013 p.136). Markus et al. argued that the process of assimilation would be complete when those new migrants could not be distinguished from the majority population

“typified by a ‘competition’ conducted at Good Neighbour Conferences: photos of selected children were displayed and delegates had to choose the ‘Australian’ ” (2009, p. 94).

Assimilationism was soon replaced by integration, although there was not much of a difference between these two approaches. This policy lasted only few years, as noted by Jupp “Integration was quietly buried, a victim of political necessity” (2011 p.47). In 1973 Australia introduced multiculturalism as policy, and to this day that is still the main principle for managing ever growing diverse Australian society. The idea itself has changed over time, with different governments redefining its scope along the way (Collins 2014; Van Krieken 2012). This topic is discussed in more detail in the section Germany and Australia as case studies.

Australian second-generation migrants should also be discussed in relation to ‘Australian national identity’. Researchers argue that as a fairly young nation, Australia struggles to define its national identity, constantly shifting between an ideal collective identity and celebration of multiple identities (Austin and Fozdar 2018; Healey 2010, Smith and Phillips 2006;). A range of influences have certainly shaped Australian national identity, especially in the post WW II era, such as growing diversity and multiculturalism and consumerism (Austin and Fozdar 2018) but also the exclusion of First Nations People (Moreton-Robinson, 2004), and negative attitudes and demonisation of each new migrant group as sort of a rite of passage. For my interviewees’ generation the term ‘wog’ was used as a racial slur showing the discrepancy between the dominant group and migrants arrived from the South Eastern Europe (Tsolidis & Pollard 2009, p. 429). Some of the latest examples of the same mechanism show that the idea of the nation is still narrow, white, Christian and Anglo-

Saxon (Hage 2000). Stigmatisation of African young people through the ‘African gangs’ narrative (Majavu 2018; McDonald 2017) are examples. All these influences have shaped the experiences of Australian second-generation migrants.

## Serbian second-generation in Germany

Turning first to TIES (Crul, Schneider & Lelie 2012) research mentioned earlier, Serbian second-generation is represented in the group collectively known as Yugoslavians. This denotation was used throughout the research except where particular attributes such as religious persuasion, ethnicity or vernacular language had to be addressed (Schneider et al. 2012, pp. 285-340). The downside of the TIES study is that, as it uses quantitatively based research, strict definitions impose a certain rigidity and limited understanding of the complex cases where these categories intersect. Nonetheless, the study still illuminates the lived experience of a considerable number of second-generation Serbian migrants, bringing valuable insights to understanding their levels of integration

Further resources can be discovered in the works of Serbian scholars, chiefly sociologists and anthropologists. This material is available exclusively in the Serbian language and, although in most cases it is traceable on the internet, via journals published by the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology within the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade – or on Academia.com – being an insider in the sense of knowing the language plays an important role in actually accessing the material. Regardless, I would first of all want to mention the book *Children of Foreign Workers, Second-generation of Yugoslav Economic Emigrants to Western Europe: A Sociological Analysis* (“Deca stranih radnika druga generacija jugoslovenskih

*ekonomskih emigranta u zemljama Zapadne Evrope : sociološka analiza*” Davidović 1999) which summarizes the earliest attempts to define and understand second-generation Yugoslavs in Germany (and other west European countries). The book further offers gloomy predictions about their prospects for integration into the society and, in particular, the German labour market, for the survival of bilingualism and of their ethnic identity. It is important to note that this work is based not on empirical research of the author but on previous writings and studies prior to the mid-1990s. Some references to the second and sometimes even the third-generation may be found in the work of Antonijević (2011, 2013) which is predominantly based on the *gestarbeiter* experience. Additionally, there is Ivanović’s 2012 book *You Say Geburtstag Like a Local* (“*Geburtstag pišeš normalno*”), which though again focusing on the experience of the first-generation includes their descendants as well.

Another important piece of research is presented in Jovanović’s 2017 article based on ethnographic work conducted in several German cities. While focusing on the third-generation, the author draws a useful distinction within the second-generation cohort by casting a light on the experiences of *gestarbeiter* children who initially stayed behind in Yugoslavia but later on joined their parents in Germany. With a nod to Antonijević’s argument (2013, p.68), the author states that those children cannot truly be called second-generation but are rather descendants of the primary *gestarbeiter* generation. In a further distinction, Jovanović points out that, unlike the second-generation, these descendants went to Germany out of pre-school or primary school so their lack of German-language skills – combined with other impediments associated with their living in the lower socio-economic strata – meant their pathway to higher education was blocked. In this, the *gestarbeiter* descendants are distinct from the second-



generation who embodied their parents' aspirations for integration, at least at the educational level, and in many cases did fulfil their ambitions (p. 150).

Unlike Jovanović's definition of the children who stayed in their parental homeland as descendants of the *gestarbeiter*, my research findings depart significantly from this understanding. Some of my participants were sent back to Serbia where they underwent some of their schooling, but after reuniting with their parents they attended German schools and, in many cases, went on to higher education, with one of them even obtaining a PhD. Keeping in mind these two very polarized understandings of the group that stayed behind and attended school in their parental homeland, I argue for clarification, and a more precise determination, based not just on the time spent in Serbia, but also on their birthplace and how old they were upon returning to Germany. Most of all, I would urge the necessity to outline which of the second-generation definitions is being used, be it statistical, social or subjective (Skrbiš et al. 2007, pp. 262-263), before we start categorizing participants.

For the sake of greater accuracy, a case can be made that the children who remained in, or were sent to, their ancestral homeland but then in early childhood or the junior grades of primary school joined their parents in Germany should be distinguished from those who did so as teenagers or even later. The former can be seen as second-generation migrants, as some of my participants self-identified. The later can be identified as 1.5 generation, emanating from the American school of thought and referring to the children of migrants who came to the country at the age of 13 or later. Linguists consider that a language learned by that stage will predominate, so that these migrant children will always be more articulate in their mother tongue (see Baldassar, 2011, p. 7). This factor alone make the 1.5-generation tag more appropriate than describing them

as descendants, a denotation more applicable to the children who stayed behind despite their parents living in Germany. My differentiation from Jovanović in this regard owes much to the people I met in Hamburg who were highly educated and occupied prominent positions as markers of career success (working for the Serbian Consulate, one a curator at the National Gallery, yet another working as a yoga instructor).

Also worth mentioning is the article “Lexical transfers in the speech of Serbs in Germany: on the example of the Serb community in Ingolstadt, Bavaria” (“Лексичке трансференције у говору Срба у Немачкој: на примеру српске заједнице у Инголитату, Баварска” Vuletić 2016). In her analysis of loanwords and the creation of a Serbian creole inflected with German words and suffixes, Vuletić points out how migration changes language. Her analysis was quite useful to my own research and I used it to explain the novelties in Serbian language usage one encounters mainly in the German case but on occasions in the Australian context too. Similarly, an article by Hansen, Romić and Kolaković (2013) offers further insights into the linguistic patterns of Serbian migrants in Germany, isolating language regression and transfers from German as the most prominent characteristics. Wasserscheidt (2014) explains such transfers as the process in which a bilingual German-Serbian speaker copies a linguistic construction from one language and applies it to the other, creating a lexeme that does not necessarily make sense to a native speaker of that language. For example, a German-Serbian speaker uses the word *baumkrone* which, translated to the Serbian language would be *drvokruna*, a word that does not exist as such but is a simple combination of two words. Serbian has a single word for this – krošnja = treetop (p. 327).

## Serbian second-generation in Australia

Data and research specifically on the Serbian second-generation are sparse. The Second-generation Australians Report mentioned earlier (Khoo et al. 2002), for example, does not distinguish Serbians from Yugoslavs collectively. So the report generalizes that many of the Yugoslav second-generation undertake tertiary education and as such attain a certain social momentum described as upward socio-economic mobility (p. 3). But sometimes the report refers to Macedonians, of whom it says they are the least likely to speak English at home (p. 50). Elsewhere the report says among women aged 25-34 the highest proportion come from Macedonian and Croat communities, among others (p. 76).

One of the rare studies conducted on the Serbian second-generation migrants is a published thesis from the University of Western Sydney by Medojević (2014). Her research explores the effect that early years of schooling have on their bilingual development and focuses on the second and third-generations of Serbian Australians at five years of age.

## Chapter III Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this research is drawn from theories of identification, a term stemming from ‘identity’ discourse; and belonging, an analytical category referring to both place belongingness and the politics of belonging. This chapter gives an overview of contesting approaches to the two key concepts in the field, before identifying the theoretical approaches adopted for the purpose of this thesis. Although there is a prolific literature on these concepts, the choice of authors and schools of thought in this research was based on their importance for understanding the concepts. It is important to note that notions of identification (Brubaker and Cooper 2000) and belonging (Antonsich 2010) are used as umbrella terms for a range of component sub-types, which are discussed further below.

### Identification

Before discussing the term identification that I chose for my research, it is important to understand what the roots of this term are. To do so I will discuss two dominant schools of thought in the field of ‘identity’ theory: one which understands it as sameness, and the other that emphasises the importance of difference. According to Brubaker and Cooper, the term ‘identity’ was introduced into the social sciences and public discourse in the U.S. in the 1960s (2000, p. 2). Before that, the term was a part of psychology discourse, having been “put into circulation” (Gleason, 1983, p. 927) by Erik H. Erikson who first coined the phrase “identity crisis” (1971). This phrase referred to the “confusion suffered by the adolescents of his time” (Bauman 2001, p. 126) and was a common but transient stage on the road to adulthood.

Asked what the healthy state of a person should be, ‘what identity feels like when you become aware of the fact that you do undoubtedly have one’, Erikson answered: it feels ‘as a subjective sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity’ (ibid.).

Erikson’s concept of identity refers to sameness not just with oneself but also to a certain degree of sameness with “the group to which a person belonged [because it] constituted an important part of the social environment in which and through which personal identity was formed” (Sökefeld 1999, p. 417). Later on the term ‘identity’ had a very important place in the work of social interactionist scholars C. H. Cooley and G. H. Mead, but it was popularized by E. Goffman and P. L. Berger whose work was well known not just in academia but also to the general public (Gleason 1983, pp. 917-18). Brubaker and Cooper argue that, with the emergence of a holy trinity of race, class and gender in the 1980s works on the subject of ‘identity’ started to proliferate and that this expansion of the literature just kept on growing (2000, p. 3).

Although the concept of ‘identity’ has been current in the social sciences for a few decades it still seems to provoke conflicting views. In his famous essay ‘Who Needs Identity?’ Hall writes that there has been a “discursive explosion” around ‘identity’ while at the same time the term has been gravely criticized (1996, p. 1). One potential solution to this puzzle Hall sees in an appreciation of how a deconstructive critique operates in such essentialist concepts as ‘identity’. The deconstructive critique, in putting the very concept “under erasure”, has led to a situation where ‘identity’ is no longer in use in its original unreconstructed form. At the same time, Hall goes on to explain:

...since [the concepts “under erasure”] have not been superseded dialectically, and there are no other entirely different concepts with which to replace them,

there is nothing to do but to continue to think with them – albeit now in their de-totalized or deconstructed forms, and no longer operating within the paradigm in which they were originally generated (1996, p. 1).

This idea draws on Derrida’s approach of “thinking at the limits” as thinking in the interval, where the interval is explained as a space between “reversal and emergence” (ibid.). For Hall ‘identity’ is that kind of interval, grounded in the idea of limits because it cannot be thought of in its essential meaning any more but there are also certain questions that cannot be answered without it. Brubaker and Cooper place their critique of Hall’s argument at this intersection, saying “What these questions are, and why they cannot be addressed without ‘identity’, remain obscure in Hall’s sophisticated but opaque discussion” (2000, p. 9). Following the intrinsic logic of their article where the concept ‘identity’ is explained as simultaneously too tight and too loose and therefore deserving to be discarded as a useful analytical tool, Brubaker and Cooper’s argument is understandable. But interpreting Hall’s writing as obscure sounds like unfair discrediting, because further down in the article Hall elaborates on his understanding of the contemporary meaning of ‘identity’. Siding with the so-called differentialists, Hall contends that his concept of identity is not essentialist as it does not

... [describe] that stable core of the self, unfolding from beginning to end through all the vicissitudes of history without change ... nor if we translate this essentialist conception to the stage of cultural identity – is it that collective or true self hiding inside many other more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’ which a people with a shared history and ancestry have in common (1996, p. 3).

Instead, what Hall advocates is the acceptance that identities are non-unified, fragmented, fractured, and always constructed in relation to intersecting and

antagonistic discourses, practices and positions (ibid). Going back to Brubaker and Cooper's critique, their argument regarding the 'identity' as "multiple, unstable, in flux, contingent, fragmented, constructed, negotiated and so on" is that this understanding is "clichéd constructivism" (2000, p. 11). In attempting to distance themselves from essentialism (in their terms a "hard" connotation) "soft" identity theorists made a term "so infinitely elastic as to be incapable of performing serious work" (ibid.). This point would have made a better grounded criticism of Hall's notion of 'identity', but simply calling it obscure does not constitute a viable argument.

Still, Brubaker and Cooper's "Beyond Identity" (2000) is one of the articles without which any discussion of 'identity' would be unthinkable, to use Hall's phrase. They argue that 'identity' as a term is asked to do too much, too little or even nothing at all, taking the stance that other, less freighted terms would perform the task better. Analysing usages of the term 'identity', Brubaker and Cooper put forward several models – as a basis for social and political action; as a specifically collective phenomenon denoting a fundamental and consequential sameness among members of a group or social category; as a core aspect of 'selfhood'; and as a product of multiple and competing discourses invoking unstable, multiple "selves" (2000, p. 7). Furthermore, they categorize these models as hard – highlighting sameness and conforming with the 'traditional' standpoint of 'identity', or as soft – stances that reject the notion of sameness and emphasize difference (ibid.). Bearing in mind the ambiguity of the term, Brubaker and Cooper focus on unbundling meanings accumulated around 'identity' in an attempt to distribute the load it is tasked with carrying to less freighted terms. These alternative concepts will be discussed later in the text.

The relevance of sameness and difference to our discussion of the concept of 'identity' cannot be overestimated. Malešević writes that 'identity', like many terms before it,

entered the social sciences from the disciplines of natural or technical science – in this case from mathematics (2002, pp. 196-98). Drawing on Goddard (1998), he argues that 'identity' is being used concurrently as an absolute-zero difference and a relative non-zero difference. The former reflects "internal self-similarity" (Goddard 1998) and entails the definition of an individual or a group from the inside out (ibid.) while the latter refers to the condition deriving from external differences and invokes the definition of 'identity' as coming from the outside in (ibid.). According to Malešević, introducing this dual application of 'identity' to the social sciences was problematic from the beginning because social sciences are resistant to absolute concepts (2002, p. 197). The inference here is that an absolute-zero difference or – in social-science terms absolute sameness – is an impossibility, which leaves us with the connotation of 'identity' as a relative non-zero difference. In addition, Malešević argues that 'identity' can be treated in a non-mathematical way as a metaphorical concept, but as such it is incapable of producing statistically reliable and testable hypotheses, and so should be abandoned in favour of some of the alternatives.

As mentioned before, some theorists trace the term 'identity' to psychology where it meant 'sameness' or 'selfsameness' and was defined as "a disposition of basic personality features acquired mostly during childhood and, once integrated, more or less fixed" (Sökefeld, 1999 p. 1). The sense in which social anthropologists use the term positions 'identity' within the broad spectrum of 'ethnic identity' and presumes sameness with others with whom an individual shares some characteristics such as language or culture. These two ideas come together in Erikson's definition of 'identity' which "expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness with oneself (selfsameness) and the continuous sharing of some essential characteristics with others (cited in Sökefeld 1999, p. 417). Although this would be the most common



understanding of ‘identity’ in its essential meaning, Bauman argues that Erikson’s comprehension of the term is outdated, and that sameness and continuity are “seldom experienced these days” (Bauman 2001, p. 126). Bauman is certainly right to assert this, because what was once defined through sameness is in present-day conversation about ‘identity’ “often discussed with reference to difference” (Sökefeld 1999, p. 418). Here difference can be understood as mutually exclusive forms of ‘identity’ such as the binaries of man/woman, homo/hetero, black/white (Lawler 2014, p. 11).<sup>19</sup> These pairs are seen as simultaneously opposite and relational because they depend on not being something else, the ‘other’ seen to be “haunting as a possibility, as what could be or might have been” (p. 12). According to Hall, when seen through the prism of difference ‘identity’ emerges within the dynamic of power relations and is always a product of exclusion (Hall, 1996 p. 2). Moreover, it can serve as a point of attachment precisely because of its capacity to eschew what it is not. In this light internal homogeneity lying at the core of ‘identity’ reveals itself as “a constructed form of closure [because] every identity naming as its necessary, even if silenced and unspoken other, that which it lacks” (p. 5).

This shift from sameness, which was the initial conception of identity – *idem* being the Latin for same (Gleason 1983, p. 911), to difference, which is how ‘identity’ is predominantly used in today’s discourse, needs a proper explanation. Hall argues that identities are constructed by, not apart from, discourses and are therefore the products of specific histories and milieux (1990, p. 223; 1996, p. 4). Similarly, Bauman argues that ‘identity’ has undergone the transformation from a ‘given’ to a ‘task’ “once the stiff frames of estates had been broken” (2001, p. 124). He is borrowing from both Hobsbawm (1994, p. 428) and Young (1999) to argue that the word ‘community’ was

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<sup>19</sup> Or, as a matter of fact, binary and non-binary itself

never used more indiscriminately than in the decades when the term fell out of favour with social scientists, leading to the birth of ‘identity’ as some kind of surrogate (Young 1999, p. 174). His words convey a rather morbid flavour as he intones that “‘identity sprouts on the graveyard of communities, but flourishes thanks to its promise to resurrect the dead” (Bauman 2001, p. 129). Unmasking further the new way of regarding ‘identity’, he states that we have exchanged the burdensome chains of fixed estates for more fluid and flexible choices. But a more thorough reading shows that new ‘identities’ look uncannily like the ones we just freed ourselves from ... “and a task left to most assertive individuals was to ‘fit in’ to the allocated niche through behaving as its established residents did” (ibid.).

A similar appreciation of this shift from sameness to difference can be found in Jenkins (2014) who avers that the emphasis on difference is part of postmodernists’ abandonment of grand narratives and universalism (Jenkins 2014, p. 19). Confronting the dominant discourse, Jenkins adds that reducing ‘identity’ to difference is simply inadequate (p. 22) because it means we define ourselves solely by what we are not (p. 21). Instead, he argues for the synthesis of the similarity and difference where ‘identity’ is seen as the outcome of agreement and disagreement (p. 18). “To say who I am is to say who or what I am not, but it is also to say with whom I have things in common” (p. 21). Martin (1995) agrees with this notion, arguing that ‘identity’ implies both uniqueness and sameness:

It gets its meaning from what it is not, from the Other: like the word in a cross-word puzzle, it is located in a place where uniqueness defined in a negative way (one’s ‘identity’ implies that one is different from the Others), [and it] meets a sameness which needs an ‘elseness’ to exist (p. 2).

The opposition of sameness versus difference is just one strand in the discussion about 'identity' because a completely different set of arguments revolves around the term's very usage. In their essay 'Beyond Identity' (2000) Brubaker and Cooper argue that the social sciences have surrendered to the term 'identity' at a cost that is paid both intellectually and politically. A decade before they debate the proliferation of this usage and meanings of 'identity', Gleason observed (1989, p. 914) that researchers tend to use the term casually, assuming that readers know what they meant, and readers were taking it for granted without asking for further clarification. He then argues that 'identity' as a term reached a level of generality and vagueness similar to the word 'romantic' years before literary critics suggested it had so many different senses that it actually meant nothing. Brubaker and Cooper are on the same track when they write about the different and sometimes contradictory usages of 'identity'. Additional confusion also comes from its usage both as a category of practice and category of analysis

'Identity', too, is both a category of practice and a category of analysis. As a category of practice, it is used by 'lay' actors in some (not all!) everyday settings to make sense of themselves, of their activities, of what they share with, and how they differ from, others. It is also used by political entrepreneurs to persuade people to understand themselves, their interests, and their predicaments in a certain way, to persuade certain people that they are (for certain purposes) 'identical' with one another and at the same time different from others, and to organize and justify collective action along certain lines. In these ways the term 'identity' is implicated both in everyday life and in 'identity politics' in its various forms (2000, pp. 4-5).

Malešević (2002) allies himself with Brubaker and Cooper (2000) in arguing against the continued relevance and usage of the term 'identity', saying it covers too much ground. Consequently the term has become no more than a common denominator for various different and distinct processes, actions, events and actors, and has only generated more misunderstanding. So, instead of using 'identity' any more, its opponents suggest we divide the mass of significances that have piled up in this one term and distribute it among several other concepts. Brubaker and Cooper (2000), like Malešević (2002), argue for 'identification', Anthias suggests 'location' or 'translocation' (2013) and Probyn (1996) prefers 'belonging'.

Brubaker and Cooper, concurring with Malešević, are right to deplore the confusing usage 'identity'. But rather than ruling it out we should probably opt for a more responsible employment of the term reflected in its grounded definition. Indeed, some authors argue that 'identity' is a useful concept if kept within the bounds of a very clear and specific definition. For instance, Yuval-Davis argues that coexistence of different 'identity' theories should be seen as complementary, not a source of confusion but rather adding to its value as long as a specified context and limits are clarified for the benefit of readers (Yuval-Davis 2010, p. 262). Jenkins also supports this stance while taking cognizance of the problems that surround the term:

... we need to find a compromise between a complete rejection of 'identity', in the style of Brubaker and Malešević, and an uncritical acceptance of its ontological status and axiomatic significance. Such a compromise calls for more care about what we say, and more modesty in how we say it (1996, p. 14).

As a passionate supporter of the concept he further states that identity can not be so easily discarded because "the genie is already out of the bottle" (p. 14). Gilroy's words also resonate with this sentiment when he writes, "We live in the world where 'identity'

matters, and it is important both as a theoretical concept and as a part of contemporary life” (1994, p. 301). As mentioned it is important to state that these two categories, the theoretical and the practical, are not mutually exclusive. Our job as researchers is to position ourselves with the discourse and be clear about what we argue for. Our responsibility indeed goes one step further, because it is also important not to impose rigid concepts since, as Jenkins argues<sup>20</sup>, “in that case we risk substituting the ‘reality of the model for the model of reality’ ” (1996, p. 10).

Complexity within the groups consulted in this research and apprehended through their lived experience goes beyond ‘identity’ and its conflicting meanings. Therefore I would like to avoid what Brubaker and Cooper identify as “tension between the constructivist language that is required by academic correctness, and the foundationalist or essentialist message that is required if appeals to ‘identity’ are to be effective in practice” (2000 p. 6). To this end, I will draw on one of the terms stemming from the ‘identity’ discourse – ‘identification’. Different official policies created different outcomes for two second-generation migrants groups addressed in this research, just as their family situation, background or lived migration experience, together with the attitudes of society more broadly, influenced their understanding of ‘self’. That understanding very much resembles Hall’s remarks on ‘identification’ as a construct and, as ever, a process:

The total merging it suggests is, in fact, a fantasy of incorporation. Identification is, then, a process of articulation, a suturing, an overdetermination not a subsumption ... (1996, p. 3)

The words “never a proper fit, a totality” find their echo in my respondents’ reflection on who they are, even though they themselves do not necessarily comprehend their

definition of identification in those actual words. What I may see as instability and constant shift between different cultures, languages or heritage, feels 'normal' to them as that is the norm as they know it. According to Hall 'identification' owes its legacy to a discursive and psychoanalytic repertoire but is not limited to either. The discursive approach recognizes that 'identification' is always a work in progress, conditional and contingent (1996, p. 3). Hall relies on Freud's work in singling out identity as "the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person" (cited in Hall 1996, p. 3). Within the context of the Oedipus complex it entails ambivalence because the father figure is represented simultaneously as the object of love and as a rival (ibid.). In Hall's words this is the inherent logic of 'identification'. Grounded in fantasy, it relies on projection and idealization and its object is likely to be hated and adored at the same time (ibid.).

Jenkins also writes about 'identification' but it is sometimes very hard to understand whether he makes any distinction between it and 'identity'. Especially when he himself admits to using both terms unapologetically (1996, p. 16), though it rather looks as if he is using them interchangeably. In making his argument for the retention of 'identity' as an operative term, Jenkins writes, "While replacing 'identity' with 'identification' is an alternative that has its attractions ... it isn't much of an improvement, because it is stylistically so cumbersome" (p. 14). Failing any elaboration on what deems 'stylistically ... cumbersome' somewhat devalues Jenkins' argument because ruling out a concept based on one's stylistic preference does not amount to a grounded critique. But, even if we must acknowledge that Jenkins makes no clear distinction between 'identity' and 'identification', his observations are an important part of the literature about 'identity'.

The notion of 'identification' that will be adopted from here on in this research work is based in part on Hall's previously cited reflections (1996), but more preponderantly on Brubaker and Cooper's (2000) understanding of this term. According to Brubaker and Cooper 'identification' calls for the agents that do the identifying to be specified, which does not necessarily culminate in sameness and/or difference. A person can identify or locate herself or himself in relation to others (known and unknown) or within a narrative in a number of formal or informal situations in everyday life. "How one identifies oneself and how one is identified by others may vary greatly from context to context; self- and other- identification are fundamentally situational and contextual" (2000, p.14). One of the basic delineations within identification is between relational and categorical modes. The relational mode places a person in a "relational web" and such identification can take the form of, for example, kinship, friendship, a patron-client, or a teacher-student association. Categorical identification relates to positioning in regard to certain fixed attributes such as race, ethnicity, language, nationality, citizenship, gender and so on (p. 15).

Brubaker and Cooper go on to distinguish between self-identification and identification by others. These two are in a dialectic relationship as we identify ourselves and others, and in return others do the same (ibid.). But there is an aspect of external identification that has no parallel in self-identification. It is a type of identification usually "developed by powerful, authoritative institutions" (ibid.). Such a powerful identifier can be found in a modern state which by monopolizing the use of powerful symbols possesses the right to name and categories, and to proclaim "what is what and who is who" (ibid.). That power can be read quite literally through physical identifiers such as a passport, fingerprints, photography and signature (ibid.), while it can also be understood as a classification of the population within categories such as gender, religion, property

ownership, ethnicity, literacy, criminality or sanity, and a census is certainly one piece of evidence for this form of identification (ibid.).

The state is an important agent in this sense because it has the power to decree who belongs and who doesn't. That power is exercised when formal belonging is conferred, as in citizenship. In this sense Okolie argues that citizenship is one of the ultimate weapons in the arsenal of the modern nation-state, where a denial of citizenship often results in denial of "the basic human rights to the other, rights that are often typically guaranteed by national laws and international conventions" (1999, pp. 2-3). For reasons previously stated, the modern state is a powerful identifier because "it has the material and symbolic resources to impose categories, classificatory schemes and modes of social counting and accounting with which bureaucrats, judges, teachers, and doctors must work; and to which non-state actors must refer" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, p. 16).

Finally, Brubaker and Cooper argue there is a kind of identification that is hard to pin down because it is anonymous and even faceless. To quote them, "... their force may depend not on any particular institution but on their anonymous unnoticed permeation of our ways of thinking and making sense of the social world" (ibid.). The identifier in question operates through discourse and public narrative, and as such does not have a tangible *explanandum* nor *explanans* (respectively, a thing to be explained and its explanation).

## Belonging

According to Lähdesmäki et al. (2016) studies and research in the social sciences concerning the concept of 'belonging' increased in the 2000s. This concept emerged parallel to that of 'identity' or, in some cases, by challenging and replacing that term



(2016, p. 2). Endeavouring to cast a light on how ‘belonging’ is understood in the social sciences, Antonsich writes that despite its continuous usage the term remains “vaguely defined and under-theorized” (2010, p. 4). In addition, ‘belonging’ is used not just as a replacement or interchangeably with ‘identity’ but in association with, or as part of, a national or ethnic identity and the notion of citizenship. So it is important to note that in this sense ‘belonging’ is “not necessarily free of those essentialising and totalising concerns found in identity” (Anthias 2013, p. 4). Anthias sees examples of this essentialisation in the notion of ‘belonging’ solely to one nation and associating that with citizenship exclusive to that nation (ibid.). A similar critique is present in Youkhana’s work where she argues that the study of ‘belonging’ still uses “naturalized concepts of belonging [due to] methodological essentialism in research designs” (2015, p. 11).

Although ‘belonging’ can be seen as “one of the softer social concepts” (Skrbiš, Baldassar & Poynting 2008, p. 261) it has been used across a range of social sciences (for more detailed analysis see Antonsich 2010; and Lähdesmäki et al. 2016). The systematic analysis offered by Lähdesmäki et al. places understanding of the term and its usage by the social sciences in different *topoi* – modes organized around theoretical and thematic foci. They locate and discuss five *topoi* – spatiality, intersectionality, multiplicity, materiality and non-belonging. Yet, taking into consideration the broader literature about belonging, two schools of thought can be discerned: one that regards ‘belonging’ as a replacement for ‘identity’, and interchangeable with it, the other seeing it as a self-sustainable concept (2016, p. 4).

In ‘Beyond Identity’ Brubaker and Cooper (2000) argued that ‘identity’ as an analytical concept was freighted with too many meanings. While they claimed the term was asked

to do too much, Anthias (2013) says too little is asked of it. Somewhere between these polarities, Probyn (1996) in writing about the time she spent living in Montreal says “identity has become a set of implacable statements that suppress at times what identity really is for” (p. 19). She favours ‘belonging’ as a term that captivates

... The desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places, or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process fuelled by yearning rather than the positing of identity as a stable state (p. 19).

Probyn is interested in “becoming and belonging ... the study of desiring identities and of longing to become” (p. 19). In this sense the “desire to belong” (p. 13) refers to that something which precedes, or foregrounds, identity (Suganuma 2012, p. 177).

Basing her contribution on Probyn’s narrative about “the quivery character of being and becoming”, Fortier (2000, p. 2) suggests we should understand ‘identity’ as a *threshold*. In this notion ‘identity’ is perceived as a “transition always producing itself through the combined process of being and becoming” (p. 2). In light of her research on the extent to which Italian migrants she studied in Britain felt they belonged there, Fortier understands identity as “part of the longing to belong, as constituted by the desire for an identity, rather than surfacing from already constituted identity” (p. 2). Although this research uses the notion of ‘belonging’ advanced by authors who theorized the concept as something separate from identity, some of Probyn’s and Fortier’s ideas are very useful for understanding the way migrants shape their sense of belonging. Probyn is also essential for her idea of ‘outside belonging’ (1996, pp. 8-9) where she makes the point that you must already be an outsider if you have to think about ‘belonging’. Referencing this research, Probyn’s idea explains why participants speak about their desire and need to belong. It also explains the differences in

experience between the two research groups, which were differently affected by government policies and the degree of societal acceptance.

Some scholars, contesting the impression that ‘belonging’ is a vaguely defined term or one used interchangeably with, or instead of, ‘identity’, have put significant effort into developing a theory of ‘belonging’. Yuval-Davis perceives ‘belonging’ as “emotional attachment, feeling at home” and about feeling safe<sup>21</sup> (2006, p. 197). To understand what the term stands for, she differentiates three analytical levels: social location – referring to a person’s position posited along different power axes and social categorisations (pp. 199-202); a person’s identifications and social attachments (pp. 202-203); and a shared ethical and political value system (pp. 203-04). Going further, Yuval-Davis introduces the notion of a politics of belonging comprising “specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities” (2010, p. 266). In her work, Yuval-Davis specifically refers to the notion of participatory citizenship as a measure of complete and legitimate belonging and, as such, the Holy Grail of political struggle for many excluded groups (Yuval-Davis 2006, p. 206).

When writing about ‘belonging’, Crowley states that the term means commitment, loyalty and common purpose but in academic discourse, especially when referring to migration and integration, it has a negative connotation (1999, p. 18). The reason for this, Crowley implies, is that some groups of migrants are regarded by politicians and certain segments of society as ‘non-belonging’, a viewpoint used to justify the curtailment of citizenship rights for those groups (ibid.). Crowley describes the politics of belonging as a “the dirty work of boundary maintenance” (p. 30) and this phrase

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<sup>21</sup> Drawing on Ignatieff 2001 (Michael Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2001).

been oft-quoted by scholars working in the area of citizenship and migration (Yuval-Davis 2006; Lähdesmäki et al. 2016).

Another important author is Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011, 2013) who by putting individuals at the heart of her research differentiates between belonging *to* and belonging *together*. She defines belonging as “emotionally charged social location – that is, a position in the social structure experienced through identification, embeddedness, connectedness and attachments” (2011, p. 2). By zooming in on individual actors, Pfaff-Czarnecka draws a distinction between the “individual’s relation to the collective ... and a collective belonging” (ibid.). This differentiation allows her to concentrate her research on a person’s embeddedness within a collective, along with those who seek access to those collectives and yet others anxious to quit their peer group (p. 8). In her view, ‘belonging to’ is an individual experience affected by group’s norms, while ‘belonging together’ is both the personal experience of relational belonging and partaking in a group’s practices and values (ibid.).

Pfaff-Czarnecka also makes a big contribution in disambiguating ‘belonging’ from ‘identity’, arguing that “identity is a categorical concept while belonging combines categorization with social relating” (2011, p. 4). Whereas ‘identity’ and identity politics rely on clear boundaries, particularism and social division, the politics of belonging – although “prone to effecting social exclusion” – also embraces newcomers (ibid.). She further argues that ‘belonging’ “provides us with a tool to inquire how horizons of togetherness are and can be widened in order to ... extend collective we-understanding by including former strangers” (2013, p. 18). In similar vein, Anthias writes “it would be wrong to argue that belonging does not involve boundary-making but it also involves ... boundary-breaking” (2006, p. 8), an allusion to the necessity of deviating from essentialized, or ethicized, notions of identity.

Although previously mentioned authors contributed substantially to the appreciation of 'belonging' as an analytical concept, the categories they proposed are not applicable to this research. The categorization that will be adopted in this thesis is that developed by Antonsich (2010). He draws from Yuval-Davis and her extensive work on the politics of belonging (2005, 2006, 2008), where politics of belonging are equated with citizenship. As well as on Fenster's (2005) study on women's and men's daily habits in London and Jerusalem, where she differentiates between belonging as a personal and intimate place-attachment, and belonging as public-oriented formal status or process, e.g. citizenship (Antonsich 2010, p. 11). Antonsich distinguishes between the personal and intimate feeling of being 'at home' which he refers to as 'place-belongingness' and 'belonging' as a "discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion and/or exclusion (the politics of belonging)" (ibid.)

Antonsich writes that different authors comprehend this feeling of being 'at home' as applying to various places, be it one's flat or a house, the local neighbourhood, island community or national homeland (2010, p. 6). Different authors have given various meanings to the notion of 'home'. Christou (2006, p. 123) invokes "the fundamentals of culture and identity"; Yuval-Davis (2010, p.276) argues that 'home' is where one feels safe; Fenster (2005, pp. 247-8) adds the connotation of childhood; and hooks (2009) writes about finding/being *herSelf*. Being from a migrant background and living, to a certain extent, the migrant experience amongst people for whom you represent an 'Other' somehow shatters this idealistically portrayed vision of 'home'. Yet on the other hand, why would one need to define 'home' if that concept were never questioned, never challenged or endangered?

His own understanding of the concept draws solidly on bell hooks' *Belonging: A Culture of Place* (2009) in which she traces her connection to Kentucky, where she was

born and spent her girlhood. This place she calls her fate, where she learned that she belonged in a definite culture rooted in place, which firmly embeds the link between humans and Nature, humans and the soil where they reside (hooks 2009, pp. 6-24). For hooks, home is a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment (p.126). Inspired by her ideas, Antonsich opines that place-belongingness is about finding a place where we can live a meaningful life (2010, p. 11). The opposite of that is not exclusion from the group, as it is commonly argued, but rather loneliness, isolation and alienation (p. 12), Even more, depression and displacement, as hooks described the emotional effects of years spent living outside Kentucky (2009, pp. 6-24).

Writing about the meaning of 'home', hooks (2009) delivers an intricate narrative of yearning to find her place in the world. She describes it as a need "to have a sense of homecoming, a sense of being wedded to a place" (p. 2). She even creates a list of needs that must be satisfied for her to feel connected to a place:

I need to live where I can walk. I need to be able to walk to work, to the store, to a place where I can sit and drink tea and fellowship. Walking, I will establish my presence, as one who is claiming the Earth, creating a sense of belonging, a culture of a place (ibid.).

In Antonsich's work place-belongingness is informed by five factors which generate the feeling of being 'at home': the autobiographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal (2010, pp. 5-12). The autobiographical factor connotes a place where someone was born and grew up and it plays a significant role in that person's feeling of place-belongingness, a central place throughout their life and the locus of their family with, in all likelihood, the lore of family deeds harking back to their ancestors forging a strong bond that only accentuates the sense of this place as home. Again borrowing from hooks

(2009), one could argue that this place holds such a key part of our life story that it defines our future ideas of what feeling ‘at home’ should look, feel or even smell like. The relational factors are personal and social ties: they can vary from emotionally powerful ties such as those we have with our family or friends, to weak bonds that we establish with mere acquaintances. Different ties carry different meanings but, to feel a sense of belonging, relationships between individuals have to be “long-lasting, positive, stable and significant, plus they should also ‘take place’ through frequent physical interaction and reach a minimum number, which varies from person to person” (Antosich 2010, p. 9).

When it comes to cultural belonging, Antosich argues that language is usually the most important cultural factor as it evokes not just merely the understanding of what one says but also those underlying meanings, symbols and other semiotic layers. The experience of second-generation migrants usually reflects multiple languages that are spoken, one conveyed by their parents and the other by a mainstream society. In that regard it is good to understand how these two work together, if there is ‘borrowing’ and how is it used, depending on the situation.

Work done by Vuletić (2016) on the language spoken by second-generation Serbians in Germany shows two types of contact change. The first involves transferring unassimilated verbs and nouns, in which case a person would simply replace a Serbian word or phrase with its German equivalent. Speakers would vary the translated word or phrase as demanded by the different syntax between the two languages (p. 615). The term ‘adapted word’ (p. 617) refers to the process whereby one uses a word in German but adds a suffix from Serbian.

The group interviewed in Australia goes through the process of language acquisition similar to that shown in research conducted in the United States. The argument is that

children growing up in a predominantly English-speaking society experience a more rapid loss of facility in their parents' language and convert more quickly to monolingualism (Portes & Schauffler 1994, p. 644). The language assimilation pattern shows that the first-generation learn enough of English language to get by, the second speaks the parental language at home but English in all other spheres of their lives, and by the third-generation English has become mother tongue (Portes & Schauffler 1994; Alba 2004).

Some other cultural forms such as tradition, habits and religion etc. can also generate belonging (Antonsich 2010.). In this sense both groups are textbook examples of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979, 1994; Waters 1996). As for symbolic ethnicity Gans argues that the descendants of immigrants get to choose which part of their ethnicity they want to perform (1979) meaning that cultural forms such as tradition, religion, diet and so on are not performed as a part of everyday life, but more likely in certain situations such as big celebrations or family gatherings. Gans makes a similar arguments for religion, and specifically, symbolic religiosity, or the "consumption of religious symbols apart from regular participation in a religious culture or in religious organizations, for the purpose of expressing feelings of religiosity and religious identification" (1994).

Economic factors foster a sense of material stability and of ontological security in the place where we live. This is important because it contributes to the creation of stable and safe material conditions for migrants and their children (Antonsich 2010, p.648). In defining economic belonging, Antonsich draws from a study conducted by Yuval-Davis and Kaptani (2008) on Kosovan, Somali, and Kurdish refugees in east London. The researchers concluded that being economically integrated seems one of the basic



preconditions for place-belongingness. Economic embeddedness is not only relevant from the material perspective, but also from a symbolic one, because it gives one a sense that they can make a future in the place where they live. Antonsich argues that though it is an insufficient condition to full integration, being economically independent is an important factor in generating place-belongingness (2010, p.648).

Finally, the legal component of the place-belongingness usually refers to resident permits and citizenship and as such is very similar to the politics of belonging and therefore in this thesis these two will be discussed together. The legal component is one of the crucial prerequisites for a sense of security and of place-belongingness especially for migrants and second-generation migrants. This is true not just in the sense of being safe from what Crowley defines as trespassing (1999, p. 17) with the risk of being evicted, but also in a more active sense. Formal belonging provides us with a springboard for shaping the present and future of whatever place we inhabit which also strengthens place-attachment and the feeling that we belong there. This form of belonging in its most narrow sense can be seen as the right to vote and stand for election. But also, in a broader meaning, it refers to various types of political participation and representation, community work and engagement.

The politics of belonging is the second component in Antonsich's schema of belonging and drawing from the work of Yuval-Davis (2005, 2006, 2008) he equates it with citizenship. As such this form of belonging invokes the existence of two opposite poles. At one pole stands the person who claims to belong there; at the other, the person or institution that has the power to confer that status (2010, pp. 13-14). According to this scheme, the outcome of this dynamic – with its potential for belonging to be the subject of violation and transgression – is always the product of negotiation. Those who want

to belong claim the right to stay and work in a certain place, a right that takes different forms running the gamut of visa types, permanent residency or citizenship. But, at the opposite end of the scales lies the state, a powerful agent with authority to grant or deny legal belonging.

The literature that refers to migrants and their citizenship claims often equates citizenship with political belonging (Yuval-Davis 2004; 2005; 2006; 2010;). Yuval-Davis argues that “the boundaries that the politics of belonging is concerned with are the boundaries of the political community of belonging” (2006) and as such they separate population into an ‘us and them’ binary. As such politics of belonging are viewed as “specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities” (2010, p. 266). Yuval-Davis specifically refers to the notion of participatory citizenship as a measure of complete and legitimate belonging which is the Holy Grail of political struggle for many excluded groups (Yuval-Davis 2006, p. 206) including migrants and their descendants.

Going back to Antonsich’s work it can be said that he adduces three arguments supporting migrants’ demand for political belonging, calling most of them “fully part of the economy of the place (economic belonging) ... migrants are often participating in everyday social relations and exchanges (social belonging), and the appeal to human rights (universal belonging)” (2010). After making these points, Antonsich suggests that, even if political asylum is granted, that is an inadequate basis for the emergence of a personal element of belonging. Granting citizenship and accompanying rights cannot be enough if the wider society does not accept and accommodate diversity. In Antonsich’s words, empirical studies on multiculturalism confirm that people feel they belong in places where they can express their identity, are recognized as part of a community, are listened to and are valued (pp.14-15).

Antonsich's theory of 'belonging' and distinction between place-belongingness and the politics of belonging casts a light on the research I will present in this thesis. As second-generation migrants my participants often emphasize 'feeling at home' as an important part of who they are. But that feeling should not be mistaken for a unified category: for those in Germany it is inevitably associated with their parents' homeland where some of them were born and spent a few years. Close ties to the 'parent land' are also affected by the proximity of their adoptive terrain, as I will discuss further. On the other hand, the group interviewed in Australia feel the strongest bonds of belonging with their families and with the country that allows them to be who they are.

The politics of belonging is also different for these two groups. Those in Germany often do not officially belong in their host country, they are ignored and they in most cases play no part in shaping the country's future. But out of that mix of non-recognition and Probyn's view of them as outsiders something new emerged: the feeling that they belonged to the city they live in. The Australian cohort, on the other hand, ascribed their sense of full political inclusion to the country as a whole and, as some stated, they felt grateful that the Commonwealth of Australia and society as a whole recognized and integrated them.

## Chapter IV Methodology

The research undertaken for this thesis entailed a comparative analysis of two case studies – Germany and Australia. The fieldwork research was conducted through in-depth semi-structured interviews. Data were gleaned from forty-two interviews, with twenty-two respondents from Australia and twenty from Germany. This chapter addresses the relevance of the case study method, and gives an overview of the German and Australian contexts. I will proceed to discuss interviewing as a method, how interviewees in each country were recruited, demographic data deriving from the fieldwork, the use of data analytic-software, and the limitations of this research. Finally, my position as the researcher and how it may have influenced the study will be examined.

### Case study method

Case studies had their origins in the work of Malinowsky and, two generations before him, Le Play, so it was on the shoulders of these giants that researched converging on the Chicago School in the 1920s stood (Hamel 1993, p. 2; Mills et al. 2010, p.xxxi). Although it came out of anthropology, the method is widely used in general social science and in more practice-oriented fields as environmental studies, social work, education and business (Johansson 2003, p. 2). According to Johansson, a case study is expected to cast light on an individual case so as to bring out the viewpoint of the participants (Tellis 1997, p.1). The unit of study is a contemporary “case” which should be researched in its natural context through the use of multiple methods (Johansson 2003, p. 2). In addition, case studies are expected to focus on one or two issues deemed the most relevant in understanding the episode or matter being investigated (Tellis 1997, p. 2).

Although case studies have been conducted for the past ninety years, Mills et al. argue (2010, p.xxxii) that it is still in dispute whether they amount to a method, an approach or a strategy. French sociology ranks it as a variety of monograph that employs various methods such as interviews, participant observation, field studies or combinations of these (Hamel 1993, p. 2). On the other hand, the authors of the *Encyclopaedia of Case Study Research* (Mills et al. 2010) define the case study as a research strategy whose characteristics include:

A focus on the interrelationships that constitute the context of a specific entity (such as an organization, event, phenomenon, or person); analysis of the relationship between the contextual factors and the entity being studied; and the explicit purpose of using those insights (of the interactions between contextual relationships and the entity in question) to generate theory and/or contribute to extant theory (p.xxxii).

This research will draw on Merriam's (2009) understanding of the case study method as epistemologically based application of constructivist methodology. This approach assumes that reality is a construct created by mutually interacting individuals, with its meaning a matter of interpretation rather than an objective fact. The researcher aims to unearth meanings, symbols and the mechanism of a particular reality (Yazan 2015, p. 137). For Merriam "a case study is in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (2009, p. 40), a single unit with defined boundaries that "fence in" the research object in question. That object or case could be a phenomenon, a group, an institution, a community or a policy (ibid.). Merriam says the significance of a case study can be apprehended by reference to its special characteristics which she places in three categories: particular, descriptive and heuristic (p. 43). A case study is particular in the sense that it focuses on a particular situation, event or phenomenon, and its importance

lies in unfolding the meaning and interpretations of a specific case. In terms of their being descriptive, Merriam means that case studies deliver what is known in anthropology as a “thick description” (Geertz 1973), an extensive portrait of the entity under investigation (ibid). Being heuristic means that case study throws light on the matter under investigation, discovering facets of it that were previously not grounded in certainty. A specific case study can unearth new meaning, extend one’s experience or confirm what was already conjectured or thought to be true (Merriam 2009, pp. 43-46).

Merriam’s constructivist case study method (2009) was adopted for this research project because the experiences presented in the thesis are not a generic model of reality. Rather, these experiences reflect the real-life situations of certain members of two diverse and polymorphous diasporic communities, in Hamburg and Melbourne. The practicalities of recruiting participants certainly limited access to different informal circles and led to the interviews being with people who share similar lifestyles and experiences. A tight time-frame, especially in the German case, proved to be another constraint. Amid such circumstances, I gradually constructed my understanding of two geographically separated second-generation migrant’s lives and experiences. I freely acknowledge that the experiences of some other second-generation migrants would differ from theirs, and that their “realities” could only be constructed in the light of their own circumstances, with no assumption made that they must be equivalent.

## Germany and Australia as case studies

That I chose, as a researcher, to concentrate on Germany and Australia as the ‘test beds’ for my inquiry is due to several reasons. First, both are immigrant countries. Modern Australia originated as an immigrant country while Germany is regarded as a new

immigrant country. Next, Australia and Germany have starkly different policies regarding immigration. While Australia has taken a more multicultural approach, applying the *jus soli* principle of nationality, Germany adopted the principle as one measure of German nationality only at the turn of this century. Immigrants are also expected to conform to the 'leading culture' (Miera 2007, p. 2) as proposed by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). This concept has been criticised as an attempt to "invoke cultural and other ascriptive characteristics as a rationale in order to deny full and equal membership to minorities and other disadvantaged groups" (Klusmeyer 2001, p. 521). Finally, both Germany and Australia have large Serbian communities who migrated in the 1960s and 1970s. It was proposed to select a pair of national backgrounds that were closely similar with a view to securing more trustworthy data and enable me as a researcher to make logically convincing comparisons.

## Germany

Until recently Germany did not recognize the existence of migrant communities, an attitude reinforced by a 1973 West German recruitment ban on guest-workers under the slogan 'Germany is not an immigration country' (Joppke 2004, p. 1) which better described the prevailing political attitude of the time than social reality (Eckardt 2007, p. 235). Despite this claim, Germany has a long tradition of immigration dating way back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the quarter-century between 1890 and World War I, an era of rapid industrial growth, multitudes of seasonal workers came to Germany from Poland and the lands of both the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires. After the war, during the Weimar Republic and the devastating Great Depression that followed, fewer immigrants were recruited. In fact, the only foreign workers legally permitted to work in those years performed jobs that no Germans were available to fill. The situation changed again after World War II when the country started receiving migrants in large

numbers and, throughout this period, several waves of recruitment can be traced. The first wave, immediately after the defeat of Nazism, was monumental: from 1945-1949 about 12 million German refugees and expatriates descended on the war-ravaged land (Meer et al. 2015, p. 713).

The next big wave hit in the late 1950s when Germany started to register significant economic growth and was in a need of unskilled and cheap labour. Unlike the first period, when most workers hailed from what would become East Germany, the influx stopped abruptly this time, after the erection of the Berlin Wall. This forced West Germany to turn to less developed countries in Europe and North Africa. Bonn – which was the capital from 1949 until reunification in 1990 – signed bilateral agreements with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Constant, Nottmeyer and Zimmermann 2012, p. 70). According to Constant et al. (2012), West Germany's immigration system in those years was "demand-driven and project-tied", with employers determining the number of migrants in such a way that industry could easily absorb them. In the 1960s no European country recruited as many migrants as West Germany, and in none was the recruitment system as well organized and controlled. Immigrants were accepted within the structural and temporal limits of the enterprises that needed their services, and so they migrated as individuals without families, let alone their own communities. They were workers, not settlers; sojourners, not long-term residents (Moore 2001, p. 203). The discourse of temporariness gave politicians and state officials the scope to declare that Germany was not a country of immigrants (*ibid.*), and thereby allowed them to deprive those workers, and the generations who followed them, of certain basic political rights (e.g. citizenship and political representation).



The third wave consisted of ethnic Germans from Eastern and Central European countries who settled in Germany during the years following the fall of the Wall – 2.3 million of them between 1990 and 2002 (Eckardt 2007, p. 237). These ‘*Aussiedler*’ (Eastern settlers) claimed to have an ethnic link with Germany that qualified them for German citizenship together with all the civic, political and social rights that flow from that status. But this population is facing large integration issues due to its lack of German-language skills, attachment to certain cultural values and different experience of schooling (ibid.).

The next migration wave has brought workers from other EU countries: they now account for one-quarter of Germany’s annual migrant intake (Eckardt 2007, p. 237). These seasonal workers come from economically less advanced countries in the EU such as Ireland, Portugal, Poland and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Many are temporary migrants who do not stay long, but do return regularly. They work mainly in worse-paid sectors of the economy, as taxi drivers, cleaning ladies, male prostitutes, newspaper sellers, kitchen help etc. On the other hand, some have found places as skilled professionals, especially in the medical profession which could not function effectively without these contracted employees (Eckardt 2007, p. 237).

The latest migratory wave to Germany started in 2015 with the so called ‘European refugee crisis’ when political instabilities, armed conflicts and state repressions caused an exodus of people predominantly from the Middle East and Islamic World (Kürschner and Kvasnicka 2018). Some researchers argue that the media has played a crucial role in exacerbating ‘public concerns’ by calling this migratory wave a ‘refugee crisis’; (Phillimore 2019) and even “the world’s largest humanitarian crisis since World War II” (ECHO, 2015). European Union member states like Hungary and Croatia that were on the route of this exodus responded with harsh measures, for instance by building

fences, deterring people from crossing borders, and using military and police force against unarmed refugees. Faced with the large number of people who were persistently waiting “at the gates of Europe” (Kürschner and Kvasnicka 2018) European leaders were urged to make decisions. On a press conference on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2015 German Chancellor Angela Merkel made now a famous statement saying ”We can manage this!” (Wir schaffen das!) (Kürschner and Kvasnicka 2018) which signalled the opening of German borders to refugees stranded in Hungary and Croatia. Germany remains a country that has accepted a majority of refugees since 2015 when compared with other EU states. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees report published in February 2019, Germany has received 1,413,127 people, with this number including refugees, asylum-seekers and stateless people (UNHCR 2019).

By contrast, Germany’s long-time refusal to recognize itself as an immigrant destination resulted in the absence of policies and laws necessary to cope with a diverse population. Rights were denied not just to the immigrants but also to the second and the third generations born in the country. Rethinking of migration policy, and moves to change the governing legislation, began on the political Left, with the SPD (*Socialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) – Green (*Die Grünen*) coalition that came to power in 1998. Under Chancellor Gerhard Schröder this coalition pushed for new laws covering immigration, integration and citizenship, and established an Independent Commission on Migration to Germany, which recommended clearer application criteria, the active recruitment of skilled migrants, improved asylum procedures and a systematic integration program (Meer et al. 2015). The new nationality act (*Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz*) took effect on 1 January 2000 and, although in many

respects based upon provisions of the law introduced in 1913, it emulated some of the more recent European nationality laws (Hailbronner Jan. 2010, revised April 2010).

The key changes make the process of naturalization easier, display greater tolerance for dual nationality, replace discretionary regulations that had left many migrants in a limbo of uncertainty with individual rights and introduce new modes of acquiring German citizenship, in particular through the *jus soli* principle as already described (ibid., p. 1). As stated in the law itself, at its heart is a shift from the traditional principle of descent (*jus sanguinis* or birthright by blood) to nationality based on one's birthplace (*jus soli*). For children born in Germany of foreign parentage "this makes it easier (...) to identify with their home country of Germany. They are given the chance to grow up as Germans among Germans" (Nationality Act - *Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz, StAG* 2000, p. 1). In addition, Chancellor Schröder's government introduced the Immigration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) which came into effect in a modified version on 1 January 2005 (Constant, Nottmeyer and Zimmermann 2012, p. 3). This Act is a landmark in German history because for the first time it defined Germany as an 'immigration country' and because it also tackles the challenge of successful integration (ibid.).

Even though Germany never adopted a multicultural policy, Schröder's successor, Chancellor Angela Merkel, declared in 2010 that "multiculturalism [has] failed, completely failed" (Merkel, Oct. 2010). This claim coincides with the noticeable backlash against multiculturalism, with some observing that the word "has disappeared from political rhetoric" (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2009, p. 18). Yet, in its absence, the discourse has shifted towards civic integration as a way to "reconcile political unity with ethnic and religious difference" (Meer et al. 2015, p. 703). These changes are tracked in recent research by Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos (2015) who interviewed government officials, public servants and grassroots organizations working with

immigrant communities in Germany and the Netherlands. The general attitude to multiculturalism, they found, among the political elite and public servants was quite negative, the perception being that it was “an empty slogan – a soft-hearted and infantilizing paternalism that neglected social problems” (Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos 2015, p. 670). With unusual unanimity, politicians of the Left and the Right identified multiculturalism as the antithesis of integration and social cohesion (ibid.).

Contrary to that view, Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos found that this dichotomy disappeared at the local level where the prevailing policy was one of “multicultural governance ... aimed at integrating minority groups” (ibid.). Because most migrants settled in cities, local government needed to deal with the “consequences of immigration while the federal government maintained the fiction that Germany was not an immigration country” (ibid.). Hence local authorities worked closely with immigrant communities to develop initiatives and programs aimed at providing language and integration education. For instance, Hamburg’s *Regenbogen Plus* program endeavoured to reach women from Muslim and majority-Christian African countries whose families were religiously conservative, making it hard for them to access these courses and programs combating the practice of forced marriage (ibid.).

Despite this shift in discourses and the alleged failure of multiculturalism, it was Chancellor Merkel’s government that changed the regulations, allowing the children of immigrants to acquire dual citizenship. This law came into effect in late December 2014. (Meer et al. 2015, pp. 715-16). To acquire dual citizenship, children of foreign parents must have been raised in Germany. This means that by their twenty-first birthday they must have lived eight years in Germany, attended a German school for

six years or completed vocational training. A school diploma and training certificate, respectively, satisfy the requirement for proof of these last two claims (Conrad 2014).

## Australia

Modern Australia had its origins as an immigrant country. Although the number of foreign-born Australians has fluctuated over the years, a significant intake of migrants has been a constant for many decades now. In 1890, over 30 per cent of the Australian colonies' population was foreign-born, a proportion that declined to less than 10 per cent by 1945 but ever since it has been steadily climbing and by 2010 stood at 27 per cent (Van Krieken 2012, p. 504). Despite being an immigration country for a very long time, the concept of a migrant was confined to the British and the Irish, and though the latter were regarded as different they were generally seen as reliable enough to "settle in and appreciate what Australia was trying to do" (Murphy 1993, p. 1). As Australia was developing, early divisions between the British and the Irish eventually vanished and official statistics started using the term 'Anglo-Celtic' to denote Australia's foundation immigrants (ibid.). The governing principle of immigration for the first seven decades after the colonies federated as one nation was known as the 'White Australia policy', anchored in the Immigration Restriction Bill (1901), significantly the first legislation passed by the first parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia (Van Krieken 2012, p. 506). The goal of White Australia was to ban the entry of non-European, specifically Asian migrants, to keep the citizenry British, European and white (ibid.).

Although the White Australia policy was officially abandoned in 1973, its gradual decline was noticeable from the 1950s (ibid.). Several reasons had led to this – the decline of the British Empire, Britain's reorientation to Europe, Australia's consequent turning to Asia, increased recognition of the place of the country's own First Nation

People, but, most influential of all, the large intake of non-British migrants after the Second World War (Moran 2011, p. 2157). Nonetheless, a desire to preserve the idea of the nation as British and white played a major role even when post-war migrants were being recruited and resettled. A two-tiered system emerged: British and north-west Europeans were given assisted passage, allowing them to bring their families and all be accorded full citizenship, while East and Southern Europeans had to make the passage relying on their own resources, struggled to bring family with them and were treated as second-class citizens once they got to Australia (Van Krieken 2012, p. 507).

The post-war period was divided between the reign of assimilation (1947-66) and that of integration (1966-72) (ibid.). In 1966 the Australian Labor Party proclaimed a need to avert the social and economic problems it predicted would result from a large intake of migrants with different living standards, traditions and customs, so the most sensible policy to promote, argued the party, would be assimilation into Australian society (ibid). The underlying premise was that over time migrants would just forget their background and become part of their adoptive society (ibid.). This never happened, as the migrants were concentrated in low-paid unskilled jobs, their prior skills and experiences went unrecognized in Australia, their ethnic communities clustered together in certain cities and suburbs, they suffered high rates of poverty and their children performed badly at school (ibid). From 1966-72, assimilation made way for a new policy of integration as “it became obvious that ethnic variety was not about to disappear and that crude assimilationism was antagonizing many Europeans who were acquiring citizenship and the vote” (Jupp 2011, p. 46).

A milestone was reached in 1972 with the election of Labor to power when, as Joppke argues, Australia’s old identity as “white” and “British” had fallen into disrepute (2004, p. 244). This marked the beginning of multiculturalism with a decisive move towards

the civic notion of citizenship signifying the equality of all Australians regardless of their ethnic origin (ibid.). The notion of multiculturalism drafted by Zubrzycki and Martin stated that what "... Australia should be working towards *is not a oneness, but a unity*, not a similarity, but a composite, not a melting pot but a voluntary bond of dissimilar people sharing a common political and institutional structure" (cited in Jupp, 2002, p. 83). The foundation document of multiculturalism is the Galbally Report (1978) which articulated that "every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage" (cited in Van Krieken 2012, p. 509). The report was of key importance in recognizing that ethnic communities have a responsibility to advise government of immigrants' needs and priorities, ensuring that their culture and heritage are fostered and protected (Jupp 2002, p. 85).

More recent decades have witnessed a retreat from multiculturalism. In 1989, the Hawke Labor government (1983-91) released a National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia. This 'agenda' signalled a retreat from the idea that all identities would be treated as equivalent in their role as contributors to Australia's national identity (Moran 2011, p. 2160). Instead, the importance of Australia's British and Irish customs and institutions was emphasized, presenting these not as an ethnic heritage but a civic and institutional legacy sense (ibid.). The document marked another departure from previous policy with an explicit emphasis on the right of individuals to express their cultural heritage rather than the ethnic group being seen to possess such agency (ibid.).

The next retreat from multiculturalism took place under the Howard government (1996-2007) when the term "Australian multiculturalism' came to the fore with policies aiming at emphasizing Australian unity rather than celebrating differences (p. 2162).

This government was ambivalent about multiculturalism, its attitude one of vacillation. The government went from allowing its advisory Multicultural Council to expire, to

reaffirming the policy, and finally to denying the policy political support. In its first term (1996-98) funding for specific ethnic services and programs was cut and multicultural institutions such as the Bureau of Immigration, Population and Multicultural Research, as well as the Office of Multicultural Affairs, were dissolved. Within a year, the government reaffirmed its trust in multiculturalism and issued the New Agenda for a Multicultural Australia in 1999 (and again in 2003). Then in 2006 the Howard government announced it would no longer promote multiculturalism “because of its supposedly divisive connotations” (p. 2165). In the last year of its mandate, the government changed the name of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, and introduced a citizenship test for migrants (ibid.).

This symbolic retreat from multiculturalism was reversed by the incoming Rudd Labor government (2007-10) and that reversal was stepped up after Julia Gillard became prime minister in 2010 (Van Krieken 2012, pp. 510-11). Her government praised the achievements of multiculturalism, defining it as an evolving process that included new arrivals from Africa, India and the Middle East. The cause of multiculturalism has been stimulated by new debates on the importance of religious diversity, and by the fight against racism and discrimination, in everyday situations and among institutions (Moran 2011, p. 2167). In 2011 the Gillard government released a policy statement titled “The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy” which reaffirmed the importance of a culturally diverse and socially cohesive nation (Van Krieken 2012, p. 511). The second principle enunciated in this policy states that the Australian government is committed to a just, inclusive and socially cohesive society where everyone can participate in the opportunities that Australia offers and where government services are responsive to the needs of Australians from culturally and



linguistically diverse backgrounds (“The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy 2011”). The policy declares the government is “unwavering in its commitment to a multicultural Australia. Australia’s multicultural composition is at the heart of our national identity and is intrinsic to our history and character” (Van Krieken 2012, p. 511).

## Interviews

Interviews are a singular method of data collection that usually involve a researcher and participants engaging in a conversation focused on questions relevant to the case study (Merriam 2009, p. 87). Kvale (1996, p. 5) re-brands the ‘interview’ as an ‘inter-view’, an interchange of views on a common topic between people who become travelling companions on a conversational journey. Therefore, an interview is a conversation with the purpose of obtaining certain information (Merriam 2009, p. 88). This information broadens and deepens the knowledge base and incorporates the experiential truth of interviewees into the process of knowledge creation (Atkinson and Silverman 1997, p. 304).

The interview format, and the type of questions a researcher asks, depend on the information being sought through the case study method. With that in mind, Merriam (2009, pp. 89-90) distinguishes between three types of interview. A highly structured interview is commonly used in qualitative studies to obtain demographic data such as age, gender, language, culture etc. This type of interview can be understood as an oral survey. The next type is a semi-structured interview where there is no predetermined wording or question order, even though each question is more or less structure. Rather than having an inflexible set of questions, the interviewer in this setting will be guided by a list of topics or questions he or she wants, as a researcher, to explore. This flexibility allows for real-time responses to topics and ideas that emerge from the

conversation. Finally, there is the unstructured or informal interview. Often undertaken during exploratory research, it garners data through open-ended questions. It is used when a researcher does not know much about the topic being investigated. The primary goal of this type of interview is for a researcher to learn enough about a phenomenon, and then formulate further questions for later interviews.

This study used semi-structured interviews as a method of gathering data. This type is also known as in-depth interviewing, because it requires personal interaction where the researcher and respondent develop a certain level of trust and intimacy (Johnson and Rowlands 2012, pp. 99, 104). In these authors' view, such interviews resemble a conversation between friends but with an awareness that certain information will be gathered for the purpose of research and its outcomes, such as re-presenting that information in a publication (*ibid.*). Trust and building a 'safe space' form an integral part of the in-depth interview as information obtained this way usually concerns personal matters, be it an opinion, lived experience or values. For that reason, a researcher usually offers some kind of reciprocity, sharing his or her own personal experience and reflections<sup>22</sup> (p. 104).

As part of my research, in-depth interviews were used to glean information about the lives of the second-generation migrants in two different social settings. Just over half the forty-two interviews (twenty-two) were conducted in Melbourne, the other twenty in Hamburg. The first four Melbourne interviews were a 'test run': only one of these is being used in the subsequent analysis (two were with people of Croatian descent, and one did not sign the consent form). Such test runs, or 'pilot interviews', are an important

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<sup>22</sup> Reciprocating for the sake of developing the intimacy needed for an in-depth interview can be a slippery terrain. A researcher needs to be careful how much she (he) shares because it can affect the further course of an interview. By sharing too much, a researcher can influence a respondent to try conforming to the researcher's opinion. Accordingly, the respondent might modify statements in an attempt to "live up" to a perceived expectation, or in the worst case an overly 'confessional' interviewer can completely alienate them or even make them hostile.

part of every research project. Johnson and Rowlands (2012) agree with Merriam (2009, p. 95) that they are useful for trying out the interview protocol, to obtain interviewing practice, to re-word confusing questions and to learn about a topic. This phase is also referred to as the learning stage (where a researcher is new to a topic) and is followed by more confident interviews aimed at confirming, and further exploring, initial impressions (Johnson and Rowlands 2012, pp. 106-07).

## The meaning of 'in-depth'

According to Johnson and Rowlands (2012), semi-structured interviews as in-depth technique are best used on descriptive and exploratory questions. The term 'in-depth' has a specific reference in this regard to knowledge that goes beyond a superficial understanding of the topic of inquiry. A concern with 'in-depth' knowledge also derives from the recognition that everyday common utterances often reflect self-interest, and that to get at underlying meanings may require the interviewer to consider a respondent's inner motives. Finally, the researcher as 'in-depth interviewer' can uncover multiple views and perspectives on their subject matter (pp. 101-02).

It must be admitted, though, that the nature of semi-structured interviews as in-depth techniques do raise ethical concerns. As stated earlier, information obtained through this technique is highly personal, not just because it reflects someone's lived experience but because it might also include their reflections on other parties or the "expressions of private knowledge about some setting or occupation that goes against that setting or occupation's public front or public presentation" (p. 108). In that sense the question is how 'deep' a researcher should probe for an answer and what to do when certain information the interviewee has disclosed might be too personal or intimate, or might cause great damage if published or if the interviewee is recognized through publication

of such disclosures (for further reading on the ethics of in-depth interviewing see Johnson and Rowlands 2012, pp. 108-11).

Dwelling for a moment on the ethical considerations flowing from my interviews, this thesis will not disclose any personal data and the participants' real names will not be used instead every participant was given a pseudonym known only to the researcher. Although some participants held distinguished positions in the community when these interviews were conducted, they were aware of my interest in drawing research conclusions and gave consent for their testimonies to be used. Confidentiality and protecting sensitive information is a well-known and debated topic in social sciences (Citro et al. 2003). In the case of this research I decided to use pseudonyms and not to disclose sensitive information based on the fact that Serbian diasporic communities in both Hamburg and Melbourne are not numerous and participants would be easily recognisable. For this reason using participant's real names might affect them on a personal or professional level and as a responsible researcher I had a duty of care to protect them from such harm.

## Asking the right questions

The interviews covered two broad topics – structural and cultural integration – with each part containing further questions aimed at exploring and explaining participants' experiences. Asking good questions is key to getting a good story, and Patton (2002) suggests the following types of question to stimulate conversation – questions about experience and behaviour, opinion and values, feelings, knowledge, sensory questions and demographic-background questions (p. 350). A research agenda need not encapsulate all these question types and, for that matter, this research did not include them all because some were irrelevant to the topic being investigated. That said, demographic-background questions furnished key insights into structural integration.

Questioning participants about their parents' past in an effort to reveal the reasons behind their choices relating to migration, education, employment and political activity prompted the telling of stories more than the dissemination of random facts, which fed into their lived experience as second-generation migrants. Opinions and values spilled forth in response to questions about language usage, culture, tradition and religion, while remarks on identification and their sense of belonging brought "the affective dimension of human life" (ibid.) to the surface.

## Building trust

As Johnson and Rowlands (2012) argue, trust is slow to build and demands the involvement of a researcher's self. Quoting them, to "build the mutual sense of cooperative self-disclosure and trust the interviewer must offer some form of strict and complementary reciprocity" (p. 104). While conducting this research I found that the building of trust would sometimes start long before we got down to the interview. For instance, in Melbourne the very first participants were part of my own extended network of acquaintances so, in these cases, the trust was based on someone else's judgement, be it that of a supervisor, colleague or a friend. Even later, when my research reached a more advanced stage, trust remained crucial. Respondents' parents, family members, friends or associates acted as vital stepping stones by approving of, and vouching for me, not just in my capacity as researcher but also as a person. Usually, that contact person provided a good topic for the initial small talk to which Johnson and Rowlands (p. 104) refer as helpful to "keep the ball rolling". After that initial boundary had been crossed, participants would feel comfortable asking about my life, usually focusing on my own migration trajectory, the reasons behind it and the emotions associated with it. This would usually increase our sense of familiarity and pave the way for the official business of the interview.

Things were a little different in Germany, at least to start with, since the initial contact point for potential respondents was through community organizations. Those first meetings with community representatives simultaneously opened but also closed doors to the respondents. The first two interviews were scheduled after several long phone conversations in which both the respondent and I shared “bits and pieces” of our private lives. In later research stages, participants were located by use of a ‘snowballing’ technique<sup>23</sup>, and here, too, a partner, cousin, relative or friend was the initial brick in building a wall of trust. That trust would develop further through sharing their lived experience and personal stories.

It was my experience that building trust was a significant contributor to the length of interviews I conducted for this research. Although each interview approximately lasted between 45 minutes and one hour there was an obvious difference in the flow of different interviews. For instance, people that I had a chance to build trust with either through having a chat via telephone or having some time to talk with them prior the interview were more eager to share their life stories with me. Aside from responding to my questions they were more prepared to share intimate stories from their life, which was the case for instance with Lenka, Melanija, Dunja and several other interviewees. Some of them felt connected with me enough to speak Serbian, like Mašinka. This connection obviously impacted my perception of these interviewees and their stories make up a significant part of my thesis. On the other hand, people I did not have a chance to build trust with were more guarded in their interviews and more reluctant to share beyond what I asked. That also impacted my understanding of who they are, and my elaboration of their experience does not have that in-depth quality.

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<sup>23</sup> Snowballing technique refers to the process where people who were already recruited for interviews recruit their family members, partners, friends or acquaintances

## Place

Another topic emerged as relevant for this research – the location where the interviews were to be held. Hertzog (2012) points out that in social research little attention has been given to this point, with it earning mention, if at all, only as a footnote (pp. 207, 209). According to Gieryn (2000), the space in which an interview takes place can have multiple connotations: it can refer to physical location, the material format concerned and its perceived value. Places can be considered a cultural product and a producer at the same time, and as such play an important role in creating reality itself (Hertzog 2012, p.207). Thus it could be argued that the location of an interview is no mere technical matter but should be considered within the social context of the study, and form part of the overall interpretation of one's findings (p. 214). The choice of where to meet and speak is usually granted to the participant and may acquire signification in connection with the message s/he wishes to transmit to a researcher (ibid.).

Three types of interview locations were used during this research – public (cafés and restaurants); semi-public: (workplaces); and private: participants' homes. All these places played a role in shaping the social reality not just throughout an interview but also in getting to know the participant. Every location acquires its own semantics, and contributed to the developing portrait of the respondent. Also, meeting a participant at their chosen place turns a researcher into not just an interviewer but an observer. Public venues such as cafés and restaurants give an insight into how the respondent interacts socially with his or her guard down. Some participants like Stefan, Zora, Ilona and Jelena would indulge in casual talk with staff members, having a friendly chat – a social norm. Such behaviour showed to me as a researcher and obviously a foreigner that my respondents have a sense of belonging to the society in which they live. It also offered me a yardstick of how well these interviewees feel integrated as part of society.

Workplaces, on the other hand, afford me an opportunity to observe my respondents in a formal setting. This interview location helped me to see how grounded these participants were. During one such interview, a colleague of the respondent became an active interlocutor in the conversation - reflecting on her own experience and adding to my general appreciation of what life is like for the second-generation migrants in Australia. Finally, meeting the interviewee at home gave me an insight into someone's intimate space where everything I saw – be it an item of furniture, a painting on the wall or a social interaction between family members or others who happen to be present – is a detail added to the participant's story. This was the case with a couple, Dunja and Ognjen, I interviewed in Germany in their family home. This enabled me to collect their narration and also to witness the dynamic in their family. This was important because I had a chance to witness how they practice some parts of their identification that was important to them, especially the use of Serbian language.

Letting the interviewee decide where the interview is to be held somehow places the researcher in a privileged position where s/he can gain acute insight into the fine detail of a personality – what someone's taste is like, what kind of music they listen to, where they work, what their relations with co-workers are like, how they function within the family, what language they prefer to speak etc. In most cases the researcher will not even be aware of this dominant position they occupy, at least not until a participant decides to 'reverse the gaze'. One of the participants insisted on being interviewed at my favourite hangout and the meeting was set up for late in the evening at a funky old jazz bar in the heart of Brunswick, an inner Melbourne suburb. The change in the power-positions became obvious from the moment the participant walked into the bar. She was talking to someone on the phone and describing the place while inspecting it at the same time. Even her appearance was out of kilter, as she was dressed in a



corporate manner, wearing an immaculately creased trench coat and sporting a perfect coiffure. From this unpromising start, things just got worse: the waiter, who already knew me from previous visits, placed the participant's food order in front of me; during our conversation, people from the bar interrupted us, asking to light a cigarette or just commenting on the atmosphere in the bar. Against all the odds, the interview ended up being quite reflective and my interviewee provided help in establishing further contacts.

## Recruitment

Recruiting people for interviews is an essential part of the research process and, according to Merriam (2009), determining whom to interview depends on the topic a researcher chooses to explore, and from whose perspective the information is sought (p. 105). In addition, the logic of the qualitative research does not require a great number of participants but rather focuses on the potential of every individual to give an insight into the topic being investigated. That is why locating good participants requires adequate recruitment strategies. For the purpose of this research, people were contacted via community organizations, prominent connoisseurs of the community life or the distinguished people from the community, personal contacts, and finally through snowballing.

Recruitment in Melbourne happened at first through my unofficial extended network, and people such as my supervisor, other PhD students or acquaintances were the first contact point with the participants. Furthermore, I got in contact with community organizations and met representatives of the Serbian Community Association of Australia (Dandenong), Serbian Basketball Club White Eagles (Dandenong) and ASOP – an organization of Serbian white-collar professionals. At some point in the early stages of the research the team ASOP organized a social event to which I was invited and which put me in contact with two participants. In addition, I had meetings with two

Serbian Orthodox priests in Brunswick East and Greensborough. One of the priests was interviewed for this research and also provided further contacts. The important breakthrough was someone who had himself migrated in the 1970s gave me a firsthand insight into the waves of migration during that decade. He in turn provided further contacts, introducing me to his daughters and his sister's children and through them several more contacts have been established. From that point onwards, I owe the identification of other potential participants, more than anything else, to the snowballing technique.

Recruitment in Hamburg started through community organizations such as dance folklore groups *Mladost* (Youth) and *Dunav* (Danube), Serbian Soccer Club Nikola Tesla, the Serbian Consulate, and the oldest Yugoslav travel agency in Hamburg. Meetings with representatives from all these sources proved very insightful and gave me quite a good overview of the diasporic community in Hamburg. In addition, I also met two Serbian Orthodox priests in Hamburg who provided useful contacts. Once these were established, the participants themselves started playing a big role in the research period. More than just pointing out potential participants, they started spreading the news about the research. This not only helped locating new participants but played a major part in 'breaking the ice' because I found myself somehow "approved" in certain social circles of the community. This, it should be added, also led to a narrowing down of the chance to meet people outside of these informal circles.

## Demographics

When looking at gender balance, eleven men and nine women were interviewed for the German case study, while for the Australian case 'gender equality' was achieved – eleven interviews with women, eleven with men. The age/gender distributions for both case studies are presented in the Table 1 and 2.

Age	Total	Female	Male
	20	9	11
Less than 18	n/a	n/a	n/a
18 – 24	2	1	1
25 – 29	3	3	-
30 – 34	4	2	2
35 – 39	9	3	6
Over 40	2	-	2

Table 1: Age/gender distribution (Germany)

Age	Total	Female	Male
	20	11	9
Less than 18	n/a	n/a	n/a
18 – 24	2	1	1
25 – 29	-	-	-
30 – 34	-	-	-
35 – 39	14	8	6
Over 40	4	2	2

Table 2: Age/gender distribution (Australia)

Important markers in this research are the birthplace and citizenship of participants. Most of the participants from Germany were born in that country, with just born in Serbia, and that was because her parents were visiting there at the time. Although born in Germany, thirteen participants retain the nationality of their parents, one has Bosnian

citizenship, one Croatian, and the rest are citizens of Serbia. Of the thirteen who remain citizens of a Balkan country, three said they intended to apply for German citizenship, a decision they had reached after lengthy ethical consideration. Their idea was not to renounce their nationality but to acquire the right to a German passport which would allow them travel freely or and, hopefully, find a better job. People who have German citizenship may be divided into two groups, where members of the first group have dual citizenship and the other obtain German citizenship later in life again mostly for the pragmatic reason stated earlier (seven people in total).

Born in Germany	19
Born outside of Germany	1
German Citizenship	4
Other Citizenship	13
Dual Citizenship	3

Figure 3: Birth place and citizenship distribution (Germany)

In the Australian case, seven of the twenty-two participants were born outside of Australia and came to the country as a very young children, six were born in one or another republic of the former Yugoslavia (predominantly Croatia and Serbia) and one was born in the UK. All hold Australian citizenship: those who migrated with their parents acquired it through naturalization, for the rest it is literally their birthright. The UK-born participant is a dual citizen, of Australia and Great Britain.

Born in Australia	15
Born outside of Australia	7
Australian Citizenship	22
Other Citizenship	-
Dual Citizenship	1

Figure 4: Birth place and citizenship distribution (Australia)

Education is another point of difference between these two groups, not so much in the level of education reached but rather in where they went to school. In the German case the length of stay for the parents was quite limited which led some of them to think that educating their children in their homeland was the best option for them. So, nine of the twenty participants interviewed in Germany had spent some part of their lives in their parents' old homeland, living with grandparents and other close relatives, and getting their education there. People would usually spend the first part of primary school in Yugoslavia and then continue their education in Germany. One pair of siblings were sent back to Serbia twice, the first time when the sister was about to start primary school and her brother stayed with grandparents, and later when she was in the upper grades of high school and he in the upper grades of primary school. They both continued their education in Germany and have both now graduated from university.

When it comes to the level of education there are no big discrepancies between these two groups, since parents were pushing all their children to a good education and make a better life in their new country. In the German case, there are ten participants with a vocational education, eleven with a university degree, with one of them having a PhD. In the Australian case, seven have TAFE qualifications, fourteen university degrees and one person dropped out in year 11.

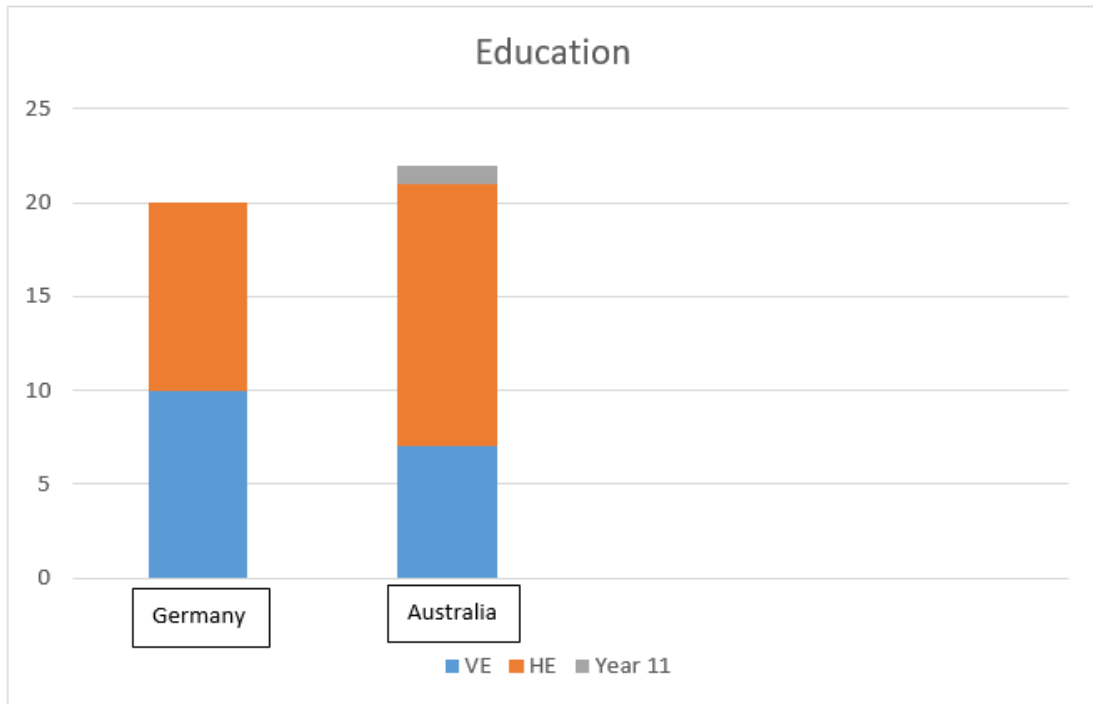


Figure 5: Levels of education (Germany and Australia)

Both groups are faring quite well in the employment market. In the German case there are two participants in each of the following sectors – the civil service, Serbian-German companies, multinational companies, hospitality, and mechanical services at Hamburg airport. One participant is still a student, one is on a professional placement (as an intern), there is a certificated technical engineer, a dentist, an HR assistant, a secretary, a solicitor, a stockbroker, a yoga instructor and construction-company owner. In Australia, eight participants are working in the managerial sector, there are two solicitors, one consultant, a Government employee, a community worker, a carpenter, a company owner, a bar owner/musician, a researcher, a priest, a student, and two stay-at-home mothers. One person did not disclose their present employment.

## Data

Merriam (2009) argues that not all information is producible as data and the distinctions between the two lie in the researcher's field of interest, techniques and theoretical perspective (pp. 169-178). In that sense data is not just out there waiting for a researcher to collect but rather requires different techniques and methods to be applied which in their own way will determine what constitutes data for particular research (ibid.). As previously mentioned, data for this case study was collected via in-depth semi-structured interviews and the general topics discussed were structural and cultural integration. The initial analysis followed the interview protocol (Gibbs 2012 pp 38-55), and the codes in NVivo software referred for structural integration to parents' background, citizenship, education and employment; and for cultural integration to language, tradition, culture, religion, identity, bridging and bonding capital, and belonging. During the transcription and preliminary analysis some other topics emerged as relevant – political activism, discrimination, Hamburg as a locus of identification and belonging, and liminality – with new codes added accordingly.

The perception of data changed once again when the theoretical framework underpinning the research changed from integration to identification and belonging, which led new classifications and different topic clusters. Instead of the previous division of codes, two big clusters containing sub-codes were created in NVivo. The identification cluster refers to the following topics for relational identification concerning the analysis (a participant gets placed in a “relational web”, for example kinship or friendship): self-identification and identification by others (how they perceive themselves and how the people known to them do); identification “developed by powerful, authoritative institutions” (this part refers to how the state perceives the participant, which is reflected in their status, i.e. citizenship); and identification by

discourse and public narrative (here considering discriminatory perception by broader society: an example would be calling the second-generation migrants *Ausländer* and *Ausländerin* in Germany or wogs in Australia). The second cluster, belonging, covers the topics of place-belongingness and politics of belonging. Finally, some topics already named hovered somewhere between these two greater clusters: the city of Hamburg as both a locus of place-belongingness and a signifier of self-identification is one of these.

## Limitations of the study

The principal limitation of this study is attached to qualitative research as commonly as it is to the case study method. It is the issue of generalization. Often, it is presumed that results are not transferable to real life or broader use (Tellis 1997). Nonetheless, Yin argues that there is a difference between statistical and analytic generalization, explaining that the case study method belongs to the latter type. Yin also said that “in analytic generalization, previously developed theory is used as a template against which to compare the empirical results of the case study” (cited in Tellis 1997, p. 2). In addition to these points it needs noting that as an anthropologist I never intended to work on representativeness and generalization. Rather, the approach and choice of methods used for this research were oriented towards highlighting the life of every person interviewed as part of the research and trying to understand how the forces out of their control, such as their parents’ decision to migrate to a certain country, that country’s policy on migrants or the attitudes of general society shaped them into the people they have become today.



## Position of the researcher

In his essay *Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight* (2005), Geertz describes how he was a complete outsider, “an invisible man”, (p. 412) when he came to a remote Balinese village to do his research. The entire community ignored his presence up until one day when the illegal cockfight was raided by the police. He decided to behave like the rest of the men and started running from the scene, ending up in some other fugitive’s backyard. When the police came, they both claimed to have been there all day engaged in a long conversation about Balinese culture. This episode made an insider of him and from then on the entire community recognized and accepted his presence among them.

This anecdote shows not only how one can go from being an outsider to an insider but also how power relations between a researcher and potential participants work. Although the literature usually suggests that a researcher holds a position of power (Acker 2001; Breen 2007; Mullings 1999), some authors (McDowell 1992; Gurney 1985; Thapar-Björkert & Henry 2004) argue that the situation is not that simple. The researcher does not always occupy the dominant position and can also be subjected to contestation, judging and even interrogation. Thapar-Björkert & Henry (2004) argue that a researcher’s social status and ‘positioning’ influence the research process and its outcomes. They add: “How we constructed ourselves did not correspond with how others perceived, located and positioned us” (p. 367). This last sentence resonates with my experience during this research and points to the fact that, no matter how I as a researcher thought I was presenting myself, the participants were evaluating me based on their idea of my ethnicity, gender, age, language, dialect, education and positioning on the rural-urban spectrum.

The first experience reflecting the power imbalance happened when I called the representative of a Croatian soccer club. After I told him who I was and what my research was about, he said, ‘OK but why don’t you go to your people?’ I asked ‘Who are my people?’ and he said ‘You sound like someone from Belgrade. Why don’t you call some of your organisations?’ Although he was reluctant to hear my reasons, I tried to explain why I would want to talk to other communities as well, not just Serbians and at some point we managed to paper over the initial ‘conflict’ and set up a meeting. The meeting went well, we had a long conversation about the former-Yugoslavia communities in Hamburg and how organisations and institutions work, about soccer teams and charity events. We had one more phone call after that, but nothing came of it. Those who answered the phone at other Croatian organisations I called told me they were busy, or going on holidays, they didn’t have fixed hours, they were run by volunteers and had nothing to offer me.

The next meeting I had was with the imam of the Bosniak religious and cultural club in Hamburg. I got his contact details via a researcher (at the Institut für Islamische Theologie) and the imam at Osnabrück, and they both recommended him to me. At first I sent an email, and the imam was very interested in the topic so we set up a meeting. I went to the mosque and we talked about my research, I explained what questions I was seeking answers to, and why I had chosen these particular communities. After hearing my reasons, the imam said I didn’t actually need to talk to anyone else and he would tell me everything about the second-generation migrants. When I asked if he belonged to the group he said, “No, I was born in Novi Pazar (a city in south-west Serbia) but it doesn’t matter, I know all about it ...” Sensing we were headed for an argument, I tried changing the tone of the conversation by saying I was obliged by the university ethics committee to work with a predefined group and wanted to get an ‘objective’ picture.

He picked up the outline for my research and said, “Yes, but you say here that the respondents’ names will be changed in order to protect their identity, so how will they know if you talked just with one person or with twenty different people?” Then he picked up the questionnaire and said, “Oh why do you want to know who are they marrying? That’s a political question. I don’t want you to ask my people political questions.” I replied that people could always decline to answer a question they felt uncomfortable with. At that point the imam said he could not promise me anything and we should go across to the other office and talk to the president of the cultural club to see what he had to say.

The president was a young man, himself second-generation migrant. He started reading the questionnaire and sounded pretty annoyed when he began talking. He also said I was asking political questions, which was not something I should be interested in, and he refused to let me speak with club members. While that was happening, other men who were a part of the organisation came into the office. Where they stood, and their body language, clearly indicated I was not welcome there. As an anthropologist that kind of behaviour, like the patriarchal structure in the mosque and club, was quite familiar to me but I could not help feeling they were displaying a dominant attitude towards me. Although I am quite sure none of those men would have harmed me, as a woman I’ve never been made to feel more uncomfortable and I cannot recall that encounter without being reminded of the negative emotions associated with it.

That meeting obviously came with consequences. I was supposed to meet a member of the Bosniak club *Hamdija Požderac*, but she did not show up at the agreed place and time. I later rang her several times later but she never answered or returned my calls. Also, I had been supposed to reconfirm an appointment with the president of the *Zavičajno udruženje Hajla* (Homeland Association Hajla) but that person also failed to

answer my calls. After a while, I received an email from the researcher who recommended the imam to me, saying that he had heard what happened at the mosque and felt sorry for the inconvenience I had been put through.

Eventually I ended up working just with members of the Serbian community and because of my position as some sort of insider access was not so fraught. Although even in this setting things were not always easy and I had some other unpleasant experiences as well. I got to meet some high-ranking people such as the ambassador and cultural attaché, had good exchanges with Serbian Orthodox priests, and the soccer club's president, one of the former presidents and board members. People were very accepting and interested to hear about not just my research but my life, how I ended up in Australia and how the Serbian community managed there. On the other hand, my meeting with members of a folkloric dance troupe was tinged with unpleasantness. I attended an end-of-season gathering and barbeque, which was a very informal and casual event. Former members of the troupe, and men who had founded it, were present along with new members, their families and friends. Once again this is a male-dominated organisation. Men who arrived in Hamburg as guest-workers established the troupe and today a son of one of those men is president. First I introduced myself to some of the women, told them about my research and the people I was hoping to find and ask about their experiences, when they'd come to Hamburg and all that small talk you indulge in when making first contact. Somehow it didn't work: they would talk to me for a while, and answer my questions a bit reluctantly, but the conversation didn't run smoothly and at some point we would all fall silent. Then one of them suggested I talk to the founders because they would "know better". She went over to ask one of the men whether they would talk to me and he said, "Tell her to come here." I went over and they made a

space for me to sit in the middle of the table. In this kind of setting, you don't get to sit where you want, you accept what is offered.

With research like this one has to accept that one will be made the object of a joke or a jest. It might not be designed to offend or humiliate but rather to overcome nervousness or to treat you as part of the group. So they made fun of me, saying things like 'Oh you're still not married? We'll find you one of our boys to marry you! Forget about education, you should have babies...' My accent was also remarked on and I also endured some gratuitous observations about the way of life 'we' in Belgrade have ... and so on. Things went on like this for quite a while and, although I'm familiar with the pattern, it was a bit unpleasant and stressful to be surrounded by elderly men who are strangers making sexist remarks on my account. After some time it stopped and they began telling me their life stories.

On that occasion I interviewed one man who wanted to answer all the questions in front of everyone and, what was most important, in the presence of his wife. In my view, he agreed to do the interview because of group pressure. It ended up a complete fiasco because other men were chipping in or his wife was answering for him, especially about events she did not witness or the period of time when she wasn't living in Germany (the man's wife is from Serbia went to live in Germany only after they were married).

I tried to talk with another man there, and to set up an interview with him, but actually ended up being interrogated by him. In an almost archetypal communist manner, he asked who had sent me there, who was I working for, who was paying for everything, and how come I was from Serbia from doing a PhD in Australia and was now in Germany. He had his friends as back-up and whenever he asked a question they would laugh and throw out a comment in support of his standpoint. At last he gave me some

contact detail, but again only when his friends were pressuring him to do so. After all that, I never got to interview him.

This overall experience reflects the dilemma of not knowing if one is an insider or an outsider or somewhere in between (Acker 2001). Although I was expecting to have difficulties with Croatian and Bosniak communities I did not consider myself a complete outsider. Yet even in the community where I was 'ethnically' an insider, I was an outsider on certain other levels such as my age, gender, lifestyle and educational status which hindered my access to some groups within the Serbian community.

## Chapter V Identification

### Germany

This chapter contains testimonies narrated by my German interviewees in relation to their patterns of identification, their own prevailing ideas of who they are. While doing the interviews, analysing the transcripts and re-reading the fieldwork notes, three topics emerged as significant in relation to their identification. First, their strong connectedness to identification as Serbians, and Serbian culture and tradition, conveyed to them by their parents but also during extended stays in their parental homeland, or through frequent visits and close bonds with the people there. Second, being estranged from Germany as their country of birth, my participants strongly identify with the city of Hamburg. The city's long multicultural history but also its present-day openness to diversity are reflected in their narratives. The final topic that emerged is their identification with the term 'foreigner' or *Ausländer*. This term was meant to be a marker of distinction between Germans and non-Germans but, when appropriated by those it meant to 'Other', the term became a part of their identification. In that sense it is hard to draw a clear line between discursive practice, enshrined in German policies for decades, and self-identification. By internalising the negation, they claimed the term and made it their own – being an *Ausländer* in the country where they were born and had spent their entire life transformed them into something new. They are not Germans and probably never will be. But they are not their parents either - lost in the country that welcomed them just for a limited time but where they stayed – alien to its customs, language and tradition but also undoubtedly estranged from everything they used to called their own (Antonijević 2013). Being something 'in-between', this second-generation migrants embody Hall's (1990, p. 226) notion of suture "made within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a positioning."

## Self-identification

Their idea of who they are, the self-identification, formed a big part of their narration because it was not encompassed solely as an answer to my question ‘Who are you?’ but was rather the leitmotif of the interviews. In that sense my entire research speaks about their understanding of who they are. Thus when confronted with that big question they undoubtedly had an answer: sometimes that answer was straightforward, sometimes it involved reflecting and reminiscing about how they felt before. Their stories correspond deeply with their parents’ insecure status in Germany, the limitation on their stay, and the anxiety about going back ‘home’ but not knowing when. Therefore their identification is multiple: it refers to several signifiers at once and they are all relevant and all matter. Sometimes one part of the identification would come up first, closely followed by something else they considered important. Three distinctive lines of self-identification could be traced in the answers my interviewees gave: being Serbian – very often followed by additional explanation (being a Hamburgian, emphasizing the importance of Serbian language, or being an *Ausländer*); being both Serbian and German; and finally there were people whose identification could not be grasped under one common signifier – so that, lacking the words to categorize them, yet wanting to avoid generic terms for the plethora of identifiers this group used, I decided simply to call them ‘something else’.

### Being Serbian and ...

I would like to start this part with Dušan, the only interviewee stating that he feels exclusively Serbian, which is the reason I decided to pay closer attention to his narrative. He was one of the youngest interviewees in the German group, only 21 when we met and studying aero engineering. I met Dušan at the folkloric dance club Mladost



of which he was president at the time, having been an active member since the age of 13. His father who went to Germany in the early 1970s was one of the people who established the club and was president for quite a long time. Dušan argues that he never even considered dancing in the folkloric troupe, but his parents blackmailed him by saying that if he wanted to play soccer he needed to do the dancing too. Then he says, “Now I am president of the club since last year and the way I feel about this club I would never want to lose that feeling: if it’s up to me I would stay here for thirty or forty years more until my kids start dancing.” Being part of the group made him feel more connected with his heritage to the extent that he predominantly listens to ‘our’ music, mostly of the traditional kind but new music too. For Dušan, those songs hold a special place in his heart and, so he argues, they can transpose him back ‘home’. Therefore when I asked “Who are you?” he replied without hesitation:

If someone asks me, “Who are you and where are you from?”, although I have a German passport and citizenship I would say I am Serbian. I speak German 100 times better than Serbian but I know I am not German ... I know that their way of life is not my way of life, and if someone asked me I would not even have to think about it because I know I am Serbian ...

Unlike Dušan, other people accentuating their identification with being Serbian would always add something else to that marker, which somehow made their sense of self more holistic and rounded. In that sense the city of Hamburg played an important role in terms of both identification and place-belongingness. Even people who did not single out their sense of connection with the city in this context never failed to mention its importance in other respects. Therefore these respondents used multiple *signifieds* (de Saussure, 2011) in identifying themselves, focusing on the intersection of their

ethnicity, location and what the city symbolizes for them. In relation to this, Mihajlo's story gives a good expression of the point just raised.

I am Serbian, from Republika Srpska<sup>24</sup>. Although I do have German characteristics, self-discipline and punctuality ... when I give my word, I keep it, and I do respect that outlook but that doesn't make me German. I see myself as a person from Hamburg. Meaning, there is part of my identity that relates to Hamburg but not to Germany. I'm so proud of this city, its infrastructure and the way it is. Also I support Hamburger SV [Sport-Verein, the soccer club] ... and I'm open to all cultures, differences and religions. They're all accepted here.

(Mihajlo)

Nemanja has also constructed his identification on a blend of being Serbian and being Hamburgian. His association with the homeland of his parents is extensive, he values his ethnic and cultural background and finds it important to pass all that on to the next generations. Equally important is his association with the city, and he is the first of my interviewees to declare himself a Hamburgian. Nemanja argues that Hamburg is his city, he was born there and grew up there. Talking about the importance of Hamburg to him, Nemanja even confides that his mother is buried there. This point is highly unusual, given that in most cases the *gestarbeiter* generation have insisted on being buried in their homeland.

If you ask my nationality I'm Serbian, but if you ask about this city I'm Hamburgian and I feel Hamburgian. We tried to bring part of our homeland here. I also identify with the Church and I'm trying to give that to my children too. We need to convey that to our people and to our children, they need to know

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<sup>24</sup> Republika Srpska is one of the entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian Federal State)

that, although they live in Germany, have German citizenship and are Hamburgians, it's only that they're not 100 per cent that because they have some other background.

Another element of the intersection came through as important, namely that for some participants ethnicity and language are common denominators of their identification. The testimonies of a couple I interviewed on two separate occasions provide a good illustration of this. Although the ethnic component of their identity is variable between them, with Ognjen declaring himself Serbian and Dunja more inclined to see herself above all as a European, they are both insistent on the value to them of retaining their Serbian language. Ognjen argues that the fact the diaspora is scattered far away from 'home' and has lost contact with its native culture is no excuse for the loss of language because that's a bit part of who one is. Furthermore, he feels that a community as a whole loses its sense of identification if it lets go of its language. Ognjen gives the example of Greek people, who speak only in Greek when they are together, unlike himself and his friends who struggle with Serbian because some of them prefer to speak German.

You know I'm not one of those radical Serbians<sup>25</sup>. This has nothing to do with being radical but you are taking away one part of your child's identity. Why don't you let them decide? I'll try to pass the language on to them and they can decide later about it. And something else I noticed: people who came here as

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<sup>25</sup> Being radical in the context of Serbian nationality is especially influenced by the 1990s wars and the revival of traditionalism that period signified. It is also associated with the Serbian Radical Party whose leader was one of the warlords but also with other rightist-style parties involved in warfare (the Serbian Socialist Party – Socijalistička Partija Srbije and Yugoslav Left – Jugoslovenska Levica; both should ironically be on the Left of the political spectrum but were actually the ruling elite at the time, prosecuting the wars).

refugees their children speak the worst Serbian of all: I think parents are pushing German on to them so that they can learn it too.

Ognjen admits he is a bit emotional when he speaks about the importance of language and its role in self-identification and the community preservation. Reflecting on it, he admits some hostility towards those who are passionate supporters of Novak Đoković but on the other hand do not speak the language or have never been to Serbia.

Why are you supporting Đoković? Because that's who your father was?! Or your grandfather?! But who are you? This infuriates me so much, you can see I'm getting really emotional now!

Ognjen's spouse, Dunja, argues that it is the parents' responsibility for what they pass on to their children, which is what she and her husband are trying to do. As a family they try to maintain the language, tradition and positive values without the xenophobic sentiment usually associated with migrant communities. Having said that, she says it saddens her to see how some Serbs in Hamburg retreat into their tight-knit community. Dunja understands that's the only way they feel safe but adds that the only times they're 'Serbian' is in their homes or, at the weekend, when they go to church. It is as if these people were trying to protect themselves from the influences of German society. On the other hand, there are people who are completely assimilated and Dunja believes that those who came to Germany as refugees were forced to adjust more quickly.

But do you know the most interesting thing? And pay close attention to this: there are so many of 'our' people who do not speak the language all that well. It's interesting that those who came here, like, ten to fifteen years ago, they speak German to their children. My children go to Serbian school<sup>26</sup> and they are

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<sup>26</sup> Language school

so frustrated [by the substandard Serbian spoken there] because they spend summer at my parents' place [in Serbia] and they have their friends there, and they speak Serbian really well. But do you know there are children who speak no Serbian at all! Their parents came here to escape war and the pressure was on them to assimilate more rapidly ... That I can understand that, but I don't understand why their children don't speak Serbian ...

A point often overlooked when it comes to understanding the identification of the second-generation migrants is the narratives of the societies they live in. In that sense the German group occupies another point of intersection between being an insider and an outsider, because for some participants Serbianness and foreignness have been the cause of intense self-reflection. Zora's case is a good illustration as she claimed to be Serbian followed by self-reference of being an *Ausländer-ka*<sup>27</sup>. This notion, according to Zora, combines references to both Germany and Serbia because, regardless of the location, she has been referred to as a foreigner. Something else about her response was interesting: when I asked if being German played any part in her self-identification she replied in the negative. But in the very next sentence she corrected herself, saying: "Well, we are meticulous, I mean Germans are meticulous and I'm meticulous too." Nonetheless, she differentiates between herself as an *Ausländer* and Germans, especially in the one environment where she notices the difference most – at her workplace.

I'm Serbian. But in my workplace they don't know a lot about me, and in my first workplace I was the only *Ausländerka* ... and in Serbia I'm also

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<sup>27</sup> *Ausländerka* means *Ausländerin* and Zora is using the combination of a German word *Ausländer* adding the suffix from Serbian language –ka (female) which changes the grammatical gender of the noun. This language transformation will be explained later in the thesis.

*Ausländerka*, or *Švabica* (*Schwaben*<sup>28</sup>), but that's not that terrible because in Negotin<sup>29</sup> 90 per cent of the population lives abroad. Then, when we all gather there in summer, we speak German or some other language.

Mateja also uses the term 'foreigner' in reference to himself in both the German and Serbian settings. Being a successful broker, with an excellent command of the German language, his colleagues see him as a foreigner but a well-integrated one. On the other hand, when he goes back to Serbia people also see him as a foreigner which usually leads to situations where they seek to take advantage. Mateja says people in Serbia think that because he lives in Germany he 'picks money from the tree'<sup>30</sup> and things that have one price for locals are usually several times more expensive for him.

There's nothing to think about, I'm definitely Serbian, and it just depends on how others see you. But I'm a proud Serbian and whatever happens I feel it in my guts. My stomach starts hurting straightaway. Doesn't matter if it's sport or politics, I always react. (Mateja)

Unfortunately, not everyone embraces the status of 'foreigner' and for some their alienation from both societies has brought on a personal struggle to understand who they are. Vesna argues that she feels like a foreigner in both places and has done ever since she was old enough to reflect on it.

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<sup>28</sup> Schwaben or in Serbian language Švabe was derogatory term for Germans probably dating from the World War II. Nowadays, this term does not have a negative meaning and is equally used to refer to Germans and to second-generation migrants from Germany. It has two forms Švabica (female) or Švaba (male).

<sup>29</sup> Negotin is a town in eastern Serbia. Because that area, near the border with Romania and Bulgaria, has been economically deprived for decades, the majority of its population actually lives and works in Western Europe.

<sup>30</sup> *Picking money from a tree* is a Serbian saying meaning that you do something without a big effort. The situation Mateja reflects on here is a common perception that people in Serbia, and indeed all ex-Yugoslav republics, have about *gastarbeiter* and the next generation. They are perceived as somehow mercenary, so people will sometimes charge them more for things than they cost, or if they go out with friends and family they are expected to pay for everyone.

When I was little, 8 or 9 years old, I thought nothing of it but later on, when I started thinking about it, it was like a twilight zone, like “Do I belong here or do I belong in Serbia?” When I go to Serbia they tell me I’m a foreigner, when I’m here they call me a foreigner too. I consider myself both [Serbian and German] but at the same time neither. (Vesna)

This dynamic and confusion of being a foreigner but also a local while trying to find your way in the society was a leitmotif of Stefan’s narration. Although he sometimes refers to himself as a Serbian, sometimes as Yugoslav, it appears that subconsciously he keeps telling himself that he and other second-generation migrants are foreigners. While growing up, he and his family used to live in a majority-German neighbourhood. Likewise, the school he attended was also predominantly German so all his friends were Germans. Stefan claims that when it comes to ‘being’ or living in Germany he does not feel like a foreigner because he knows society’s rules, norms, laws, and culture. Still, somehow, he is a foreigner.

But I also feel like a Serb and still like a foreigner. Since university I’ve preferred to hang out with foreigners or with people whose parents are foreigners or “ours” ... Now at the law firm where I work those people are receptive towards foreigners. In their youth, in the ’60s and ’70s they were leftists and they liked to hang out with foreigners ... so I never felt unwelcome there. But I don’t know about other Germans. I don’t know if they would feel safe being represented in court by a foreigner. Maybe that depends on the person. Let me repeat: I speak perfect German and I graduated from university the same as any German lawyer – or as any lawyer whose parents are German. Maybe at the beginning some people are a little distrustful of me, but on the

other hand I never had a situation where someone said, “Mr Ilić, I don’t want you to represent me. I want a German lawyer.”

## Being Serbian and German

This group has been extensively influenced both by the society they live in – because spending their lives in Germany and being structurally and culturally integrated into life there has certainly impacted on who they are – and by frequent contact with their parents’ homeland, either through spending much of their childhood there or during summer breaks, but also because they are regular visitors throughout the year. Coming to terms with both societies and their impact on self-identification, some of the participants were adamant that they felt they were both Serbian and German. I decided to distinguish between this group and the previous one because their narratives displayed a higher sense of feeling well settled in Germany as the country that is both their current home and shaped their sense of identification.

Melanija’s testimony offers a good example of this group’s outlook. At a very early age she was sent back by her parents to their hometown where she lived with her grandparents and other relatives, and even started school in Serbia. Later on, in the early years of primary school she returned to Germany, continued her schooling there, went to university and became a dentist. She is aware of how both societies have influenced her as a person, and she feels her identification is a mixture of both. But her self-image still differentiates her from what ‘real’ Serbians or Germans are like. I asked which category she would describe herself as being in:

I’m both, but first of all I am human ... I do have a temperament and habits that I picked up from Serbia and I have some traits I picked up from Germans so I’m an amalgam ... I cannot say I’m from Serbia although I lived there and go there



every year and I can see how those people are and how they behave and I'm not like them, but I'm also not 100 per cent like *Schwaben* are. So I cannot call myself Serbian but I'm also not German.

Novak's understanding of himself is along the same lines, as influences from both societies profoundly shaped his self-perception. Having a good balance of Serbian and German friends makes him part of both social circles. Furthermore, until recently he was married to a German and has three children from that relationship. His children, despite bearing Serbian names, speak only German and are more involved with German culture. In addition, Novak works at a Bavarian beer garden, and attributes that to his preference for Bavarian culture and ways of socializing.

Well, I see myself as a Serb first, and after that German. And I have a lot of contacts with Germans, and a lot of my friends are Germans and they all know I'm Serb. You can notice, when we talk about something or other, that I'm not a real German like 'real' Germans are ... because I have that Balkan temperament but I never had any problems because of that and everybody around me knew I was Yugoslavian and now I'm Serbian.

Novak pointed out something very important in this last sentence where he said how he had been Yugoslavian but was now a Serbian, and that is a confusion that arises in several of the German-based interview narratives. The way some of my interviewees negotiated the change from Yugoslavian identification as an umbrella term to a very specific ethnic one seemed to have been imposed by others. Novak's story confirms this judgement, as he clearly understood that at some point he should start referring to himself as a Serbian, a realisation that surfaced in a tense social situation. As he was very young when the conflicts in former Yugoslavia erupted, Novak and others in his situation did not fully grasp the shift from one identifier of nationality to another.

Sometimes that it was other people who forced that act of cognition on them, leaving them confused about who they were. Novak recollected an event that happened while he was still in primary school when a girl from his class confronted him about his Serb heritage.

You know before the wars started I didn't even know who I was. In high school there was a Dragana Grbavac and I'll never forget on the last day of school she came up to me and said, "Because of you Serbians we can't go on holidays [meaning to go to Croatia]." I had no idea what she was talking about. I mean I knew there was a war on but that's all. So I came home and asked my parents "Who am I?" and then they explained it to me. Before that I didn't know about these differences, I just knew about Yugoslavians but nothing about Serbians, Bosnians, Croatians, Montenegrins, so when she said that to me that was my first contact with the question of who I am.

### Being something else

Unlike the previous two participants who managed to reconcile the influences from both societies, there are others who have felt impelled to find some alternative form of identification. That is the case with Ognjen who accentuates the 'situatedness', or dependence on a context, of his self-perception. Like most others, he was a Yugoslavian before the armed clashes started, but from then on things became a bit more complicated. The fact that he is a Serbian from Republika Srpska and, moreover, from Pale<sup>31</sup> which is a part of Istočno Sarajevo<sup>32</sup>, just adds extra layers to his identification. Ognjen says his answer to the question of who he is mostly depends on who is asking,

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<sup>31</sup> During the war in Bosnia Pale became an administrative centre of Republika Srpska, which is a Serbian entity within Bosnia-Herzegovina

<sup>32</sup> Istočno Sarajevo (East Sarajevo) is the eastern part of Sarajevo. It consists of some pre-war suburbs and some newly built areas. This part of Sarajevo belongs to the Republika Srpska entity.

and most often he is trying not to rock the boat because he does not know how they will react.

People here, they don't understand those differences – Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian so I just say former Yugoslavia, or “I come from near Sarajevo”. Some people don't understand when you tell them Yugoslavia, so to some I say Serb, to some Bosnian Serb and to some I'm a Serbian from Republika Srpska.

While he is elaborating on these distinctions I get the impression that he is a bit tired of explaining himself, as if he perceives these questions as a venting of micro-aggressions. “If it were up to me I would say I'm a Serbian who lives in Germany, second-generation, and I see no difference between myself and Germans,” Ognjen says. His defensiveness is understandable: it must seem to hard to be constantly answering these questions, constantly needing to explain or justify yourself. It seems to me that his situation is complicated enough because he is a foreigner in his own country, but when one's personal identity is affected by warfare and things become even more complex. Ognjen's words somehow confirm the burden of multiplicity and he concludes his narrative about identification with these words: “The other day someone asked me, ‘Where are you from?’ and I said, ‘From Hamburg.’ ”

Dunja has found an alternative means of self-identification by regarding herself as a European with Serbian heritage. Her culture and tradition make her different from the others but she emphasizes that it does not mean she is better than anyone else. Dunja believes she was brought up in a very traditional manner because her parents were terrified of the influences German society might have on their children. “They were trying desperately to maintain that Serbianness” Dunja explains. On the other hand, now as a mother herself, she is trying to teach her children about the beauty of cultural diversity without pushing an exclusivist or xenophobic agenda.

I tried to explain them who we are and where our roots are, but I also said that it comes with a huge responsibility. They might find themselves in the situation of explaining themselves, and I've seen that happening with my son now. Not long ago, someone said to my son, 'You killed 6 million Yugoslavians!' then after that, 'You killed 6 million Muslims!' First of all, my kid doesn't even know what Yugoslavia is. I told him, "Son, you don't have to respond to that." I mean, we are who we are, we are not any better than other people. But the thing is he will find himself in the situation where some topics from recent history will come up. And I really wonder how he'll cope with that.

As a responsible parent, Dunja tries to teach her children not to succumb to a nationalistic agenda. "I said to my children we are not better, we are not 'Heavenly People' "<sup>33</sup>. The notion that they are of this exalted status needs to be dealt with, in Dunja's view, because the younger generation will encounter prejudices about Serbians originating mainly from the 1990s. Back in those days, Dunja says, people formed an image of Serbians as undemocratic and intolerant. Sadly, that image persists in German society and Dunja thinks that only by educating her children about the things that happened and giving them a positive understanding of their heritage can she inoculate them against the destructive virus of nationalism.

Equally important are those interviewees who, besides other identifiers, cite Yugoslavia as a cornerstone of their self-understanding. Keeping in mind the reason their parents had to live the country – because a planned economy actually could not absorb a certain

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<sup>33</sup> Serbians as 'Heavenly People' is part of Serbians' national myth, harking back to the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. According to that myth, when captured by Sultan Murat I, Knez Lazar was forced to choose between capitulation and decapitation. Lazar chose 'the Kingdom of Heaven rather than the Kingdom of Earth', equating his sacrifice with the defence of Christianity (represented as Europe). This became a founding myth of Serbia down the centuries, perpetuated in Serbia's national revival throughout the 1990s.

part of the population – the image of Yugoslavia that *gastarbeiter* conveyed to their children is quite positive. Time and again during the interviews, people would refer to their Yugoslavian identity, saying that before the wars they had no idea of how deep these inherent divisions went within the country. It was very common for an interviewee to state that it was only later on they appreciated that second-generation migrants from other Yugoslavian republics had a prominent national identity even before the conflicts broke out. As Novak said, referring to the incident at school when a girl told him that because of his people her family could not go to Croatia for holiday, “Before that we were all Yugoslavians. Maybe, I don’t know, maybe Croatians thought from the start that they were Croatians and not like the rest of us.” Nonetheless, the idea of being Yugoslav remains a vivid marker of identification for some of my interviewees. It remains part of their upbringing – a rosy memory of past times when things were better and people were proud of who they were, the mellow dream of an imaginary nation in a real country – at least one that was.

Stefan is one of those who spoke at length about his identification with being Yugoslavian. Elaborating what the term means to him, he reflects on three different themes to highlight how significant this status is for him. At first he explained that the term *Yugo-Schwaben* is probably the best way to explain himself and other second-generation migrants of this cohort. Stefan explains that they are different, they are not their parents and, although they live in Germany, they are somehow different from other Germans. Their personal histories and traditions are aligned as they all had the same upbringing somewhere between two worlds – Germany and the Yugoslavia.

We all have a similar history and tradition. Our parents all came here in the ’70s to work. My dad worked in the same company his entire life: I can tell you about twenty different families all working in that same company. We all know each

other, some of us even grew up in the same part of the city. Where I live now, it's a block where only 'our' people live.

That he was Yugoslavian was one of the first things Stefan learnt as a child and, looking back on it now, he recalls a story dating back to when he was 9 years of age. It was the late 1980s and Stefan and his father were in Bosnia, in the village where his parents came from. That village is predominantly Bosniak<sup>34</sup> and tensions between people were noticeable even then. Stefan's father had some shopping to do in a neighbouring village and left him at the barber's shop to have a haircut.

But before he did that he told me that if someone asked who I was I should say Yugoslav. That place was predominantly Muslim and I guess he did not want me to get in trouble. So when the barber asked who I was, I said Yugoslavian.

He was a bit puzzled but didn't say anything. And I really did feel Yugoslavian.

Stefan goes on to assert that he felt Yugoslavian in Germany too. That said, he repeated the attitude previously mentioned by some other interviewees. Namely, Stefan claims to have noticed that Croatians always insisted on being called Croatians, they never described themselves as Yugoslavians. But even today, Germans of an older generation still lump them together as 'Yugos', he notes: they don't differentiate Serbians and Croatians.

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<sup>34</sup> It would be relevant here to explain usage of different terms, Bosniak and Muslim, for the same population. Namely, Yugoslavia's 1974 constitution refers to Bosnians of an Islamic confession as Muslims. That was the first time that this population was referred to in terms of a distinct nationality, albeit defined in terms of their religion. Later on, in 1993 the term Bosniak was adopted by the Bosnian Muslim leadership. The historical reasons behind the term Muslim and Bosniak are beyond the scope of this thesis, therefore I will not further address them. On the other hand, the fact that diasporic communities such as the one from Hamburg still uses the old term might have its reasons in the period of time when their parents left the country. While in my case, as someone who grew up and lived in the modern post-war Serbian society and who was actively working on the reconciliation in the war affected region using the term Bosniak represents a political act.

They don't understand the differences, because everything is the same except our religion. We speak the same language [Serbo-Croatian]. When I try to explain someone that I'm a Serbian from Bosnia they can't grasp that.

Another participant exclaims that if it were up to him he would remove the present borders and make Yugoslavia whole again, because that country and those people were so proud. Being Yugoslavian in Germany was a good feeling, according to several interviewees because – in Konstantin's words – there is so much history between the two countries.

Naturally we used to make comparisons and we were looking out for things we are better in [than Germans]. Our seaside is prettier, we were superior as a military force. And back then our parents taught us that Germans are not that astute, I know that was a prejudice ... but they taught us that we are smart and astute and we *can make something out of nothing*<sup>35</sup> and, although there weren't as many of us as there were Germans we could always win. That idea is ingrained in me.

## Identification by others and by public discourse

Living in (if not between) two worlds – Germany as their country of residency and their parent's homeland from which they trace their heritage, this second-generation receives the influences of both places. In their case, identification by others refers to how they are perceived by people in both places that they are close to, or acquainted with, be it their cousins and childhood friends from the former Yugoslavia, or friends and colleagues from Germany. Similarly, public discourses from both places are mirrored

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<sup>35</sup> *Making something out of nothing* is a Serbian saying that refers to someone who is a hard worker and can achieve great things although she or he comes from a modest background

in their narratives, continually reminding them that they are different from the members of mainstream society. In their parent's homeland they are recognised as Serbians, but not as fully as 'real' Serbians; in Germany, in spite of their high level of integrations, they are foreigners.

How they are identified by others in the German context is inseparable from public discourse. In their situation this particular discourse was influenced by the political realm, where the non-recognition of full rights for the *gastarbeiter* generation passed on to their children. As Schneider argues, "Citizenship regimes ... are frequently reflected in everyday discourse on the national belonging of groups and individuals" (cited in Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012, p.32). Furthermore, the term *Ausländer* which is often used to refer to the second-generation migrants carries multiple meanings. It is part of a political agenda which for a long time claimed that Germany was not an immigrant state (Eckardt 2007, p. 235; Joppke 2004, p. 1). As such it entered public discourse where it has been used by politicians and the media, but also by ordinary citizens. The meaning of the word in German is a "foreigner" and linguistically it should apply to all non-nationals yet in everyday discourse it is reserved for migrants from the east and south (Baumann & Sunier 2004, p. 78; Schneider 2007, p.20, p.23) as it is to their children. That is why I make the assertion that, in this sense, identification by others and by public discourse are inseparable in the context of German society.

For Dušan it is obvious that although he was born in Germany and has German citizenship he will always be a foreigner. He contends that, just like himself, there are many people of different nationalities and from many who live in Germany for years, possessing a German passport and German citizenship, who will never be the same as Germans. Dušan says the chief difference between himself and Germans is obviously



their physical characteristics, because their eyes are of a different colour to Germans, as is their hair.

Germans look different. When people look at me they would never say I'm German. They would think I'm from former Yugoslavia or Turkey. (Dušan)

Similarly, Nemanja reveals that he is treated as a foreigner even though he has citizenship. Having a different last name, one that is not identifiably German like Mayer or Müller, will earn you different treatment. Discrimination is not overt in the sense that a person wouldn't get a job because of their background. It is rather an expectation that as a foreigner you have to prove yourself worthy of whatever chances you're given.

Wherever you work you'll always have to work harder to prove yourself. And it's always like that: people with foreign names will always have to prove themselves. A Stanković will never be a Mayer or Müller, at least not in this generation.

Borka also attests that people in Germany see her as a foreigner. She used to explain herself by telling people she was actually born in Germany but that didn't shift their perception of her very much. When people look at her or try to read her name she feels as if they are judging her, because she is not like them and never will be. On the other hand she says she feels integrated at a social level, in the sense that her German friends and acquaintances do not treat her as different or less valuable.

They don't treat me different ... well, maybe sometimes, but that mostly comes from people who used to live in East Germany. Maybe it's because they never had foreigners there, it was always just them, the Germans, and they'd never travelled and they do come across as backward ... but these West Germans, they accept me and embrace me.

Unlike the previous stories, Jelena's is a positive example of accepting diversity. She says her German friends enjoy Serbian cuisine and delicacies, especially the pies she makes. Jelena has also taught them some Serbian words which they often use in conversation.

I feel accepted. I respect them and they respect me, even though they think of me as a Serbian. For them I'm a kid from Serbia who grew up here and lives here, but I never had that impression that I'm something less than they are.

(Jelena)

Similarly, identification by others and via public discourse is visible when any of my participants "go back" to their parents' countries. These narratives are intermingled here as well, because this second-generation carries the burden of a stereotype associated with their parents. Marković (2009, p.21) argues that *gastarbeiter* were depicted in humiliating fashion in media, film and literature, their image being one of newly rich people who had no education or culture. The emphasis was often on their "material-symbolic manifestation of status" (Antonijević 2011, p. 1105) which led to the common perception of *gastarbeiter* as people who flaunt their possessions and money. This perception is a spin-off from the highbrow attitude of their former compatriots who stayed in the country. They, too, commonly look down on *gastarbeiter* as uneducated and uncultivated. As well as the perception of being uneducated, they were often thought of as naïve and gullible. Back in the day, they were expected to provide financial support for not only close kin but to their extended families and friends. Similarly the expectation, mentioned earlier, was that in a bar or restaurant they would pay for everyone's drinks and dinner. Back in the days, Yugoslavian government also had an expectation from *gastarbeiter*. They were offered special discounts for buying products made in Yugoslavia and thus supporting the country's

economy, or they were expected to invest in country's infrastructural projects or put their money into the Fond for revival of Serbia<sup>36</sup> (Antonijević 2013, p.204).

Unsurprisingly, the stereotype has stuck to the second-generation as well. The common perception in Serbia is that they must be just as uneducated as their parents were. This impression was reinforced by hearing that the first generation did not even know how to speak the language of their 'host country' and were bringing their children up in isolated tight-knit communities. The stock impression of their naivety and tendency to live beyond their means has also lingered. Talking about this, Miloš says people in Serbia think he is a stupid *Schwaben* or a naïve *gastarbeiter*.

They all think we are stupid. Or they think things come easy to us and everything is great and we don't have a single worry in our lives. It's a fact that we have more money, so when we go there we pay a round of drinks or something but some of them, they try to take advantage of us and they think we are dumb and can't see what they're doing ... (Miloš)

Borka argues that people in Bosnia where her parents are from see her as *Schwaben*, not as a Serbian, or at least not as much of a Serbian as they are. This might be explained by Rushdie's premise of 'the absolutism of the pure' (cited in Christou 2006, p. 123), reflecting the idea that those who leave the motherland for a life abroad lose the intrinsic characteristics that made them a member of the nation. Borka sees humour in this view but, on the other hand, knows there is some truth in it because she is not the same as those who stayed behind. In fact, she gets really frustrated with some ignorant customs and the fact they would impose these on her.

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<sup>36</sup> Fond for Revival of Serbia or *Zajam za preporod Srbije* was one of the nationalistic projects of Milošević's government. It is known as one of the big frauds of the regime because people who invested in the Fond could actually never profit from it.

They really get on my nerves! You know, my father died and it was his wish to be buried over there. And, you know, I went there and then his entire family came and they start practising some crazy customs. In Germany when someone dies everyone understands how hard it is for the family. And a funeral is simple, maybe they serve coffee and a cake. But over there “We need to do this and we need to do that!” They just want to eat and drink!

Borka also reflects on the expectation that she will pay for everything when she is in Bosnia. Being a student and an intern, she actually cannot afford to meet those expectations. It makes her angry that people put her in that bind, all because they presume she must be rich if she lives in Germany. “I consider that outlook so primitive,” she says, explaining that in Germany everyone pays for themselves because that’s only fair.

## Australia

In the Australian case study, by comparison with the German, modes of identification seem more stable, but what became evident as a common denominator was that all the interviewees’ stories were deeply influenced by their parents’ settlement experience. Being on their own, without the support of broader family<sup>37</sup> and far from their homeland, these parents insisted on maintaining their language, tradition and ethnic identity. Conflicting with this aim, Australian society through school, peers and the media were pressuring them to integrate. As such, they inhabited a sort of crossroads between tales from the old world and the demands of their own country. Their narratives

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<sup>37</sup> In Serbia, and other republics of former Yugoslavia, family is not a single unit, in the sense of a nuclear family, but rather refers to the larger family circle represented by grandparents, aunts and uncles, and other relatives. Solidarity and mutual help, especially in rearing children, is typical of these extended families.

testify to all the turbulence of growing up between these powerful, but contrary, influences and their stories stand as a testament of becoming (Probyn 1996, p. 19). For me personally, their stories carry some deeper emotion which cannot be described in words. It is a feeling that one can comprehend in only one way – through the personal experience of migration.

## Self-identification

Perhaps the most common personal identifier for this group is a modest punctuation mark, the hyphen. Members of this cohort variously identify themselves as Serbian-Australian, Australian-Serb and a few other cognates, tending to emphasize their ethnicity first, before qualifying that with a reference to themselves as Australian. At the outset, the way I understood these categories of Serbian-Australian and Australian-Serb was that they were referring to two distinctive groups. The former, it seemed to me, identified migrants who came to Australia as adults and who, in settling and participating in the wider society, came to associate part of their identity with their new country. An Australian-Serb, by contrast seemed to mean someone of Serbian heritage who was born in Australia. This distinction was based on my experience with the broader Serbian diaspora which comprised people who arrived in different waves of migration. When talking to people who came to Australia as economic migrants in the 1970s, and also to some who arrived as refugees during and after the wars of the 1990s, I got the impression they were more likely to call themselves Serbian-Australians. That was somehow understandable because their Serbian national identity would still be very strong, even though they had developed ties to Australia. So they could not just be called Serbians. While this may be true of the cases I am aware of, I have observed that during the interviews for this case study my participants used both terms interchangeably. Given these observations, I will use these terms as the interviewees

themselves used them while narrating their stories and will not assign them two distinct meanings.

In Evica's case, being asked a question of who she was prompted her to reflect on her upbringing and the influence her parents had on her understanding of self. She says that without thinking she would say she is Serbian but then she disagrees with so many things associated with Serbianness. Yet her self-image contains another complication: though identifying herself also an Australian, there are certain parts of Australian culture Evica strongly disapproves of. For her, growing up as a migrant created a lot of confusion and misunderstanding. That happened because her parents tried desperately to hold on to some parts of Serbian culture and tradition while dismissing as "the Australian way" some customs they thought were not right for their daughter. Now that Evica and her sisters are adults they get to joke about the traditional upbringing they had to endure, likening their father's unreasonable expectations with being in jail.

But we always knew that they had our best interest at heart so it wasn't abusive ... but for them it was always what they thought was best for us ... it was always putting us first ... I wasn't allowed to get a job and it was in my first year of university that I got it and my dad didn't want to speak with me for a week ... because in his mind if I start working when I'm 18 that little bit of money is a lot of money and I'll leave the university and I won't have a qualification. Or I wasn't allowed to have a boyfriend, because if you have a boyfriend then you'll be distracted and you won't study ...

Evica rightfully argues that her parents' behaviour and attempts to bring them all up according to Serbian 'norms' sprang from feelings of anxiety and unfamiliarity with the country they had settled in. In that regard, she goes on to explain, all migrant children have a fairly similar upbringing and there is always a lot of pressure for them

to succeed, work hard and be responsible. Evica remembers how as a 5-year-old she had to take care of her 18-month-old sister, and a newborn baby-sister. Her husband, who is Anglo-Australian, would not be able to comprehend that, and Evica says he would be horrified to know such things were a 'normal' part of her childhood.

That would just not happen now. My sister wouldn't do it to her children. But that wasn't unique to me. When I talked to other people who were migrants the same thing happened. But that was the struggle. My parents couldn't rely on anyone, they didn't know anybody. And things get different when you become more established. If I lose my job I can always go back and live with my parents but if they would've lost their jobs where would they go with three children? So there are a lot more pressures of being a first generation and not having any support.

Generational conflict between children and parents is a commonplace anywhere, but in migrant families the impact of this is even greater. For parents, constantly exposed to an unfamiliar culture, their default response is to be anxious. In the struggle to cope with their stress, parents tend to put irrational restrictions on their children while at the same time trying to enforce what are cultural norms from the old country. Under twice the usual pressure, facing the need to respond to their parents' expectations but also wanting to belong with their peer group and in society at large, the second-generation spend their adolescent years trying to survive in this sea of ambivalence. Meda (2013, p. 69) argues that these contrarities are amplified for the children of migrants because of the need to be part of two cultural structures at the same time. "They participate in the lifestyles of their indigenous peers and often have aspirations and consumption patterns typical of the destination context" while being socialized at home in the ways of their ancestral culture (ibid.).

Being different from their peer cohort, not because they wanted to be but because they were from an 'ethnic' background, forced some participants to ignore their parents and fully assimilate into Australian culture. While growing up, Isidora just wanted to be one of the Australians, to have a surname people could pronounce and for her father not to have such a heavy accent. She just wanted to be like everyone else, because being different made her feel uncomfortable. It was only in later years, when she was much older, that she became aware of how important her Serbian background was to her. She understands the Serbianness as belonging to her family and to all the traditions they have, so as the way they enact their ethnicity. In this excerpt from her interview, Isidora describes the event that prompted her to think more deeply about the emotional connection she has to her long-forgotten heritage.

I remember one Christmas I was travelling so I was away and I couldn't find the phone to call my family, and I got really upset and then I realized how important that is for me, and the rituals and that kind of connection to family ... I think not because they are Serbians but because they are Serbians in another country they put so much into maintaining those bonds that I don't see in other families ...

Isidora identifies as an Australian of Serbian background, emphasizing the strong ties of heritage, which in her case are chiefly focused on family and particular traditions. Having an Australian husband, she appreciates that it must have been hard for him to adjust to her family because they are "a bit full on and everyone is so noisy and [they all] speak at the same time." Isidora says her husband now likes all the different customs and traditions they get to celebrate with her family, and has even pushed for their son to have the middle name after her grandfather. Although she always feels more Australian than anything else, Isidora explains that the reason she decided to keep her



last name after getting married was the conviction she felt that she wouldn't be able to identify with a different one.

Jelisaveta, similarly, recalls feeling embarrassed at being treated as 'ethnic', saying that, in defiance of her parents' attempts to keep her closely linked to the Serbian community she just wanted to be an Aussie. "I was Australian, I played basketball, I surfed, you know I was a 'beach bum' who loved those things growing up." Her parents nonetheless wanted her to go to church and do folk dancing but Jelisaveta felt she was being forced to do these things: she just wanted to be the same as her peers. She got re-acquainted with her ethnic background in year 12 when doing a school assignment about Serbian history. She recalls talking to the class about the *četnik*<sup>38</sup> and *partizan*<sup>39</sup> armies from World War II. This assignment reminded her of her parents' personal histories. A few years later, the Balkan wars began. Not until then did Jelisaveta understand the importance of her heritage to her.

Mum and dad used to talk about it all the time, they used to talk about the war and they used to tell us stories about growing up in the village, about *četniks*<sup>40</sup> and, you know, some of those stories were obviously exaggerated but those things stuck with me. Mum did talk about her family and her family hardships, atrocities that were caused to her and her immediate family which was quite

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<sup>38</sup> Četnik army or četnici were one of the armies fighting in the Balkan theatre during World War II. Their role is still under scrutiny because the official Communist Government declared them traitors and collaborators although there is evidence showing their connection to the Allies, especially the British Army. Nonetheless, some of my interviewees have strong feelings about the Četniks, feelings imbibed mostly from their grandparents. Many grandfathers of the present generation fought in that army, which meant they were often maltreated by Tito's government after the war. Furthermore, Četniks were invoked during the wars in the 1990s, as a general term for Serbian paramilitary organizations, but also for Serbians in general, used derogatorily.

<sup>39</sup> Partisan army (*Partizanska vojska*) or *partizani* were the communist led resistance during the World War II. As official winners of the War they are portrayed in a very positive manner, unlike četnici who were considered to be traitors and therefore themselves and their families suffered under the communist regime

<sup>40</sup> The Australian group uses suffix -s, borrowing from English language, to make a grammatical plural. *Ergo*, četniks and not četnici as the plural form of the word would be in Serbian language.

brutal. So I think when the war started, those things started coming back to me, some of that passion and some of that determination and connection.

Unlike Isidora and Jelisaveta, some other interviewees adopted a starkly different manner in negotiating the duality of their lives. Maksim's story shows that it's possible to draw on both one's own ethnic and broader Australian influences at the same time but without the two overlapping, except perhaps in the sense that the person drawing on both sources becomes an embodiment of both. Maksim identifies as Serbian Australian. For both him and his wife, their social circles centred predominantly in the Serbian community, and also with second-generation migrants of that community, all over Australia. But he also keeps up with friends and acquaintances from outside the community – comprising a mix of work colleagues, old schoolmates and people from the neighbourhood he grew up in. Maksim explains that his social life was always compartmentalized in this fashion. He grew up in an Anglo-majority neighbourhood, and went to school with other Australians, overwhelmingly of British descent. On the other side, his parents were highly involved in Serbian community life where Maksim found his place playing soccer and joining the folk-dancing troupe.

I grew up with two very distinct groups of friends – Serbian friends through the community and Australian friends through school and through the suburb, geographically speaking ... And coming from [a] staunch Serbian upbringing we didn't have birthday parties, for my dad birthday parties were not celebrated but it was *Slava*<sup>41</sup>, and there were no Australians for *Slava*, that was for our

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<sup>41</sup> *Slava* is a religious event in Serbian Orthodoxy which celebrates a family's patron saint. It is a big event in the year, and the family (broader family) and close friends are invited to a celebration. Special type of food is prepared for the occasion. It is a three days celebration, with the central event *večera* (dinner) happening on the very day of *Slava*. The days before and after has lesser importance, and on those days not so close family members or friends would come to the house for a meal, or coffee and cake.

people. There were not many occasions when those two groups were coming together ... so I would say these were two clearly different identities. That didn't change much, it doesn't change much even today. I still don't have cross-pollinating between the two very different social circles and that's fine.

Maksim explores his allegiances to these seemingly contrary identifications through sport, which is one of his big passions. If Australia plays in the World Cup he will be a Socceroo fan, but when Serbia meets Australia in any sport he will always support Serbia. Also as someone passionate about his tennis, he's a big Novak Đoković fans and always goes to watch him play in the Australian Open.

Of the twenty-two interviews conducted in Melbourne, just two were conducted in Serbian. Both the people I interviewed are prominent members of the Australian-Serbian community; one of them a priest, the other president of the Serbian Orthodox Youth Association (SOYA). As such, their narratives are not just the stories of individuals but those of influential figures within – and connoisseurs of - this diasporic group. Despite that commonality, their narratives come across as very different but the two stories are equal in validity as each represents an authentic, albeit different, Serbian perspective.

Nenad welcomed me into his home not as a priest but as a civilian, dressed not in his black cassock but in everyday clothes. That was my first impression of him. He was someone stepping out of his role in the Church and community. I instantly felt I was not speaking to his office or that he was looking down on me from his high rank but that I was meeting an actual human being. After introductions, I got to meet his family – his wife, one of the second-generation herself, along with their children. Visiting their home and witnessing their usual activities made me an observer of his reality. All of a sudden his words were not just words but they gained significance in relation to his

actions. Finally, because he was a thoughtful and expressive user of the Serbian language, I was well placed to observe the patterns of natural, unguarded communication between Nenad and his family.

I see myself as a citizen of the world whose ancestors migrated in several directions looking for security ... my family decided to come to Australia to make things easier for themselves and for us too. So what do I want and how do I see myself? I would want my kids and grandkids to live wherever they think is best for them but not to forget where they come from. That's the thing: as long as they know how to fill in the census question about their ancestry. I would love them to maintain their religion ... but language ... that's a hard task. If they see that being of certain descent is not an obstacle for me, and if I manage to bring them up to be good people, then I hope they will appreciate who I was and who they are, and one day, who knows, they might say to themselves, 'I'd love to learn this [Serbian] language.' (Nenad)

Nenad's thoughts on identification and the importance of language came as a surprise to me. They went against all my expectations. In my prior experience, even progressive Serbian priests have attitudes that are still very traditional. Yet this was not the case here, and I found that Nenad had very realistic expectations not just of his family but of the community as well. With his wife and children he speaks sometimes in Serbian and sometimes in English, depending on the situation and what information he wants to convey. About the community, he is pragmatic in foreseeing that church services in the future will be held in English. Services for the Serbian diaspora in America and Canada are already in English, as most of the parishioners now are predominantly English-speakers (Dragović 2012).

The second interview in Serbian was with SOYA president Đorđe. The Serbian Orthodox Youth Association was created under the auspices of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Australia and New Zealand with a mission to bring young people of Serbian background together and foster a sense of community. Đorđe's position within this Church-based organization has grown out of his deep connection with Serbian Orthodox religion. His account of who he is deeply corresponds with the doctrines and values of Orthodoxy and, to Đorđe that is his primary identification. Đorđe states with great clarity that he is an Orthodox Serbian faithful to certain values, traditions and culture, and an abiding appreciation for the Cyrillic alphabet.

I have some friends who say, "But you're Australian. You were born here, you have a passport ..." but I feel they want to pigeon-hole me, because that's not the way I feel ... I would not say I'm Australian, that's now how I feel. We don't share the same values. I feel Serbian. I have my own identity and that does not conform with what they are. I mean, Australians are Aborigines: I'm referring here to Anglo-Saxons. They don't have *Slava*, they're not religious, and they simply don't understand me on that level ... I have nothing in common with them.

Đorđe argues that the events of the 1990s, especially the way the Australian media were reporting about the Balkan wars, influenced his understanding of Australianness. It was very a difficult time both for Đorđe personally, but also for the community in general. He recalls that people were depressed and anxious, not knowing what was happening to their families back in Yugoslavia. Their frustrations were amplified by the media who were reporting that Serbians were the only ones to blame for the wars so NATO was justified in bombing the country. "I don't know how to explain it but that's why I feel no connection to Australia," says Đorđe. Just before the bombing started in 1999,

he and his family came back from nine months in Serbia, where he got to meet his cousins and grew fond of them. “And then a few months later you see how they bomb everything that’s dear to you.”

For some of my respondents, emphasizing their ethnic identifier first delights them: it is something they treasure, part of the richness of living in such a diverse society as Australia. Their allegiance and love of country are indisputable, as well as their gratitude for the opportunity to be who they are. Their narratives are an eloquent expression of their complete communion with the multiculturalism they embrace in every aspect of their lives. This aspect of interconnectedness between personal heritage and Australianness is very prominent in Mašinka’s story.

Mašinka says that if someone asks who she is “I am Serbian” is always the first thing that comes out of her mouth because that is the most important thing to her. But she thinks in English, not Serbian, and admits to being relaxed about saying she is Serbian because that she is Australian goes without say.

I live here, I contribute to this country and this country gives back to me. But that's [a] given. I don't have to say I'm Australian because I am! It's given. And it's the identity and connectedness to the country, and I'm not coming from the Indigenous perspective but this country allowed me to succeed and flourish.

In a tearful voice, Mašinka turns to sport to explain her deep love for both her ethnicity and her country, saying that when Serbia and Australia play against each other she feels torn. On the other hand, when the Australian national anthem is played she will sing every word of it, says Mašinka with pride, and fighting back tears. “When it’s the Olympics and Australia wins something I’m, like, ‘Oh my God, that’s us!’ ”

Nastasija is also grateful to be living in Australia and raising her children in its multicultural environment. That gratitude is primarily due to her parents' selfless sacrifice in leaving their homeland to seek a better future for their children. This said, Nastasija will tell you she is definitely Serbian before she is Australian, not that this makes her any less proud of her country. For Nastasija, to be Australian means you are accepting of other cultures and traditions, and you embrace the different worlds of Melbourne. "I think that different cultures have exposed me to a lot of opportunities that I wouldn't possibly have [otherwise]," she adds. On the other hand, she also values her heritage a great deal and, although her experience of living in a Serbian community was a brief one, she finds it keeps her grounded in understanding who she is.

I feel very, very grateful for having a Serbian background because it really shapes me as a person. I think that provides me to be very opened to other people and other cultures. For example, in my marriage I know how to compromise as a result of being a Serbian Australian and because I've been exposed to many different cultures.

Her ethnic background also helped her understand other migrants' sufferings and troubles, because she remembers the difficulties her parents faced in the early years of settlement. Because of that she is very sensitive to other people's life histories and their reasons for coming to Australia.

## Relational identification

For some of my interviewees, identification transcends the ethnic/national dichotomy and takes a form of relational identification. According to Brubaker and Cooper this form of identification may be based on kinship, friendship, a teacher-student relationship or other, similar bonds (2000, p. 15). Without a doubt, one of the interview

stories that feature such an identification is Olga's narration about the importance of motherhood in her life, and how it became her primary identifier. A mother of three – and expecting a fourth at the time of our interview – she said that, when it came to telling who she was, she would always say she was first and foremost a mother because that should always be prized ahead of one's religion or nationality. Overseas-born and having migrated to Australia at the tender age of 2, she doesn't consider a person's ethnicity very important. Nonetheless, mentioning ethnicity spurred her to reminiscence about her own upbringing and what it was like growing up with a father who had very traditional ideas about women.

I met a Serbian boy and because my parents, especially my dad, he was, like, “Choose one of our own.” So we got married and I had our kids when I was very young and I was working less.

As being a mother was a full-time occupation, Olga didn't finish her education, something she has regretted for a long time. Seeing how important a good education is, she admires people of influence who run their own business or have earned a Master's or PhD. Now she would like to resume her education, saying that especially as a mother of daughters she wants to teach them to aim higher, get a proper education, find a good job and not have to rely on their partner so much. “I want my girls to aim a little bit higher than high school and push for a little bit more than that European mentality of ‘Just get married and look after your kids and husband.’”

Still speaking very much as a mother, Olga reveals the unease she feels about what the future holds for the baby to whom she will soon give birth. Since divorcing her Serbian husband, she explains, she now has a new partner, who is Italian. Olga accepts that her new child will have to be brought up as a Catholic because according to her understanding children inherit the fathers' traditions.



Although he was born here and is Australian and when he watches soccer he says 'I'm going for Australia, I'm Australian', when it comes to tradition he is Italian and the kid has to follow Dad's tradition. We are both Christians but which religion comes first, Catholics or Orthodox?

Dwelling further on the matter, Olga says that she never gave a thought before to the question of ethnic heritage and religion, and how it affected relationship. When she had been married to a Serbian, Olga did not have to ponder the matter because they both came from the same background so there was no need to 'negotiate'. But, ironically, at this stage in her life when she does not consider herself very closely attached to her ethno-religious heritage, she is feeling a twinge of sadness that her children will follow a different tradition. Olga's view is shifting: "We had a big discussion about it and I guess that tradition still plays a big part in relationships."

Olga's younger sister Ljuba also sees herself as a mother first. She illustrates how important this identification is to her by telling a story about the mothers' group in her neighbourhood. Although they all know each other, Ljuba had little contact with the other mothers, which made her feel a bit uncomfortable because she always got on well with people, especially if they were older than her. Despite Ljuba's fear that the other members of the group might be avoiding her company because she is a lot younger than them, recently she received a heart-warming compliment from one of the mothers. For Ljuba, it was a wonderful sign that she truly was accepted by this group she so much wanted to be part of, and that gave her a deep sense of satisfaction.

So she said I'm generous, I'm always quite upbeat and happy to help ... You know when you're the youngest one you don't feel like you have a lot to offer because others there ... tell you how to think and feel. So I think it's quite nice that I can identify as a wife and a mum but there's a lot more that people see in

me. It's also really nice when people come to you for advice. You think, 'Oh this is nice!' I just try to be a people person, a good person.

Relational identification can refer to the connection one has with an organisation, especially one with a powerful philosophy that can be life-changing. That was the case with Pavle, who in his twenties had a problem with alcohol and drug abuse which resulted in a terrible car accident, which left him bedridden in hospital for several months.

But Pavle came to see it as a wake-up call for him to change his way of life. As part of his therapy, Pavle began to attend Alcoholics Anonymous meetings where he developed a respect for the Buddhist belief in a humility and modesty as precepts of existence. Throughout our conversation, Pavle kept returning to that teaching, pointing to the books and writings that now govern his approach to life, himself and those around him.

I was thinking about Alcoholics Anonymous, because in AA we say, 'My name is Pavle and I'm an alcoholic.' That's how we identify. There are a lot of philosophies about using those words 'I am' ... and one of the big philosophies at AA is humility and the opposite of that is ego ... To answer your question I would say I feel equal to anyone else ...

Speaking of his previous experiences, Pavle tackled the importance of ethnic identity, saying how coming from a migrant family had helped him feeling more grounded in relation to both family and community. Of course, those associations were not always positive and there were times during the 1990s when things were very difficult. Pavle recalls being very patriotic back then, in the sense of being very proud of his ethnic

background. Now, so many years later, he struggles to understand why are some Serbians in Australia are so nationalistic about a country they don't even live in.

I watched tennis last night when Đoković was playing and the amount of people with Serbian flags was unbelievable. There were a lot of young people and I'm thinking to myself, how is this patriotism still coming about? Because all those people that are second-generation, well not all of the people but a majority, lose touch with the language, tradition ...

## Identification by Public Discourse

Personal identification through public discourse is present in this group, with some of my interviewees using the term 'wog' when differentiating between Anglo-Saxon Australians and themselves. This term is thought to derive "from the British concept of a 'Western oriental gentleman' first encountered by Australian troops during World War I" (Tsolidis & Pollard 2009, p. 430). Nonetheless, it came into public discourse with large-scale migration after World War II from not-so-white but deemed white-enough (p. 429) countries in Europe such as Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia. Years later, in the 1970s and 1980s, their children became the object of racist name-calling as wogs so "these young people who were born in Australia developed an acute awareness that, regardless of their birthplace and their ability to speak English, they remained vulnerable" (ibid.). One of the people I interviewed referred to herself as to a wog, pointing out that she has a different background to the majority in Australian society. In that sense, I did not get the feeling that her notion of self suffers from internalized racism or that she herself uses the term pejoratively. It was more that she was reclaiming the term and assigning a new meaning to it, not necessarily a value-laden one, positive or negative, but definitely marking the distinction between her being Australian but not Anglo-Saxon.

I identify myself as an Australian and I don't know if this is offensive to you but as a wog – but in a good way because I think I'm proud of my background and I'm proud of having that background and a different culture. (Margareta)

## Identification by others

This topic is not as “hot” for this group as it was for their peers in the German case because their place in Australian society is not under any scrutiny. They already belong within, as opposed to Probyn's idea of belonging outside (1996, pp. 8-9) as in the German case. Their understanding of how others see them is predominantly benign but as slightly different, a perception that could be summed up, a little simplistically, in Olga's words, as “not in a bad way: they see us in a good light”. Still they do differentiate between themselves as Australians and other (Anglo-Saxon) Australians. This is so even if the difference they point to is that Anglo-Saxon Australians have less sense of community or that being Australian is more than just being white and Anglo. Another point raised by a number of these interviewees when reflecting on the way other people see them was in their readiness to distinguish (on the topic of who Australians are) between the indigenous peoples – Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders – and the descendants of Anglo-Saxon settlers. As an illustration, Dorde refers to the First Nations people as the real Australians, whereas Nastasija, reflecting on differences with Anglo-Saxons, acknowledges the troubles faced by Aboriginal people and how Australian society treats them as ‘others’.

Most of the participants didn't find the differences between them and Anglo-Australians are a big problem in their lives, and were able to offer a few thoughts on why this was so. First, the second-generation are well integrated, having adopted behavioural and cultural patterns that place them in the mainstream of the Australian society. Next, they are well educated and usually occupy respectable positions in the

industries they work in, which gives them access to the resources needed for a comfortable lifestyle. Their social circles are quite open and reflect Australia's multicultural character. Finally, it needs to be noted – even though race was not a criterion for this research – that the fact they don't look much different from Anglo-Saxons should be recognized as an important fact. Once again, to illustrate the point, Isidora's brief reflection is relevant: "I think it only comes up when people ask where my last name comes from." A remark by Evica is also relevant: "Whereas I look like everybody else here, I have the same skin colour and all of that and there's no reason to ask that until they hear my name ..."

In Nastasija's understanding, what cushioned her experience of others' response to difference was that, while growing up and throughout her school years, they were all different. Different yet the same, because she was surrounded by other migrant children and although they were coming from various communities they got to share the same experience. In saying this, Nastasija is convinced her generation was better off than their parents because the opportunities for them were better and the political climate had changed significantly since the first generation settled in Australia.

In my generation, Serbian, Italian, or Greek, it was different. We are achievers in many ways because we were brought up by parents who struggled and were not lazy. I was always around other cultures and we always had a good understanding of each other. Particularly in high school but even in primary school, later years in primary school. Obviously there's a lot of Greeks they are so similar to Serbian, and I never felt that we were so different. There was never violence because of that. Everyone was getting along because we were all different but the same at the same time.

Asked what made her feel different from Australians, Nastasija understood 'Australians' to mean those from the Anglo-Saxon majority and said she never felt discriminated against. "I was very lucky in my experience, the school that I went to was such a variety, there were lots of Anglo-Saxon people in primary school but I really got along with everyone."

Nenad has a twofold perspective. As a Serbian Orthodox priest he is very involved in the community but he also has another job, with a city accountancy firm. He has an interesting 'take' on the view his parishioners and colleagues have of him. To members of his congregation he is a bit strange, because most of them came to Australia as refugees in the last migration wave so they expected him to be more like them. But having been born in Australia, with all his experience of migration coming from the absorption and observation of his parents' experience, he was not what they expected him to be. In one sense this can be perceived as just another case of Rushdie's "absolutism of the pure" (cited in Christou 2006, p.123) because, having come from the motherland, many of Nenad's parishioners feel themselves to be more Serbian than he is.

It also depends on the person. Someone will come up and judge me, saying something like "You didn't say that word correctly" and then I have to defend myself. I usually tell them to keep in mind that I was born here, as their grandchildren are, so let's wait and see if they are going to make the same mistakes. I think they actually see me as an Australian who also happens to be their priest.

Colleagues at the firm he works for see him as someone very much involved in Serbian community work. But, according to Nenad, they respect him anyway. "You know, they

are also of some [ethnic] descent but they're always more ready to be regular Australians than I am ...”

One of the most beautifully expressed narratives was Mašinka's. She described the way her husband, a Montenegrin Serb who came here in the 1990s, saw her, a descendant of Serbians from Croatia's Adriatic coast. Telling her story with a wry tone, she brings in those tiny details of life that evoke a sense of belonging and closeness to her family. I have left her narrative as she delivered it, with Serbian and English words all mixed in together. This part of her testimony was quite emotional for her, and she frequently resorted to Serbian to distinguish elements or objects that evoke tender feelings in her. To an outsider they would be just random words, but because we share the language and culture I could understand the symbolism and importance of saying those words in their original and untranslated form. After all, some words simply cannot be translated properly and some phrases lose their meaning when 'transported' into a foreign tongue. Mašinka relates her narrative always sticking to real-life stories to do with her family, one of them being a family meal. Coming from the Adriatic coast, her family still relishes those old ways from home, some of which are culinary, such as the communal principle of sharing “a *potić*<sup>42</sup> (a little pot) of *bevanda*<sup>43</sup>.” Before the meal, Mašinka's mother counts the number of people around the table to calculate how much *bevanda* she needs to make.

And we all sit there and share it. Cvetko [the husband] was always, like, “What are you doing?” I said, “We share, you just pass it around the table!” And he was, like, “No, no!” And there was always, like: “*Što ti je zete što si gadljiv?*”

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<sup>42</sup> She used the word in English 'pot' and added the suffix -ić which is used denominatively for most Serbian surnames, but which when added to a word refers to some small thing that we hold very dear.

<sup>43</sup> *Bevanda* is the term for an alcoholic drink served in the coastal parts of Croatia and made from red wine and water blended in different proportions.

[What is it with you, son-in-law, why are you so picky? – Final comment by Mašinka's father].

Family activities such as cookery are a big part of Mašinka's life, and she says these times can be both busy and funny in a way her Montenegrin husband does not understand. She told the story of a recent episode, when her parents were visiting and there were dozen people in the house "and everything was everywhere in the house and *spremaš*<sup>44</sup> [you are cooking]." The story again revolves around the sharing element in her family tradition and the way she tells it clearly shows the importance of tradition for Mašinka.

Dad got his *bevanda* and I'd bought these special glasses that go best with wine and I shared that [wine] with Dad. He's, like, "*Oš Mašo?*" [Do you want some Mašo<sup>45</sup>?] "Yeah, yeah," [she tells her dad] and even if they all got a glass each Dad and I shared. [Mašinka laughs]. And he doesn't understand because he [her husband] is *Crnogorac* [Montenegrin], I mean he is Serbian Orthodox but it's a different tradition.

Mašinka admits that she had her worries about her then fiancé coming from a different tradition. Her mother assured her that everything would be all right so long as he was "one of us". Now, some twenty years later, Mašinka says her husband has almost acclimatized, but he still would not share that glass of *bevanda* with her. Answering my question about the way he sees her, Mašinka says, "My husband would always say if

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<sup>44</sup> This is one place where being an insider counts. Mašinka said *spremaš* which in general can be translated as 'you are cooking'. But in translation it loses that intrinsic symbolic element, the very notion of excitement and rush, when everything is hectic but you still enjoy it very much because you are with your dear ones and family and friends are coming because there is a nice occasion to celebrate. And there is always laughter and everyone is exhausted but elated nonetheless.

<sup>45</sup> Mašo is short for Mašinka's name



someone asked him, “*Ona ti je Srpkinja iz Dalmacije*<sup>46</sup> [She is a Serbian from Dalmatia].”

Mašinka also had a very picturesque and comical narration about the difference between us and them, where Us are herself and her family and Them are the Anglo-Saxon Australians represented as a family that lives across the street. She describes Anglo-Saxons as less traditional, having less to do with extended-family members, and non-communal. That said, she adds that such values are simply not culturally embedded in them, which is why they all live like separate families with little if any contact with a broader circle of relatives. Unlike her neighbours, Mašinka’s family, as is traditional with Serbians, consists not just of her immediate family but radiates out, embracing parents, her brother’s family, their cousins and relatives in Australia as well as those living overseas. Again, she uses a family anecdote to highlight a difference between her Anglo-Saxon neighbours and her own family.

So we had *Slava*, it was during the day and my *brat od ujaka*<sup>47</sup> [a relative associated through her mother’s line] came over from Poljica<sup>48</sup>, because we had some wedding in Sydney so he came to Melbourne afterwards ... They all came during the day and stayed a bit longer, even when other people came for *večera*<sup>49</sup>. It was around 7-8 pm and as they were leaving we had to sing a song.

So my *kumovi*<sup>50</sup> who live around the corner from us were getting home and [my]

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<sup>46</sup> In saying this, Mašinka spoke the Montenegrin variety of Serbo-Croatian, just as her husband would.

<sup>47</sup> This is another example of a reference only an insider would have understood. Serbians have a descriptive notion of kinship. Mašinka is here referring to her male cousin of the same generation who is a son of her mother’s brother. The words *brat od ujaka* literally mean ‘son of my uncle’.

<sup>48</sup> Poljica is the region in Croatia, where she was born. It is near the Dalmatian coast, centred on Split.

<sup>49</sup> *Večera* means dinner and it is the centrepiece of the *Slava* feast. She is saying the word in Serbian because it has a symbolic significance that distinguishes it from an ordinary dinner.

<sup>50</sup> *Kum* (plural *kumovi*) is a word denoting symbolic kinship. Usually, that person would be someone who was a witness at your wedding (especially if the wedding ceremony was a religious one) and one who baptised your children. The symbolic association with someone who is not a blood relative makes this person like a ‘godparent’ in English. Agreeing to be *kum* or (for a female) *kuma* is taking a vow to be a godfather or godmother – to stand guardian – to your children.

*kum* was on the balcony and they could hear us singing. And he said the next day "Kumo jeste vi slučajno pevali ovu pesmu sinoć?" [Kumo, did you by any chance sing 'that' song last night?] I said actually we were "kad smo ispraćali Milovana!" [when we were saying goodbye to Milovan!] And then he said. "We could hear it!"

Mašinka was laughing as she finished her story and pointed out how loud "we" are but how much she loved it too. Her *kum*, knowing about their tense relations with the neighbours, asked her what the Johnsons would have said. "I said, they probably went, 'Oh those bloody wogs!' "

## Discussion

As discussed above, the narratives from both cases offer insights into the range of self-awareness articulated by these two groups of second-generation migrants. In the German case, for some interviewees identification is primarily associated with being Serbian first and then something else. Others would say they are a bit of both, a Serbian and a German too. Then there were people who claimed that being a Hamburgian had a very strong influence on their understanding of self because within the city they felt more accepted than did in Germany as a whole. Apart from these categories were people who identified as foreigners, using the term *Aüslander* and in some cases even adding a Serbian suffix to the description (such as when Zora refers to herself as an *Aüslander-ka*), used for themselves and other second-generation migrants from various ethnic backgrounds. In this regard, probably the most extreme case of Othering, and in that sense identification with being a foreigner, is found in Vesna's testimony where she states that she is a foreigner both in Germany and in her parents' country. In addition, there are participants who expressed the complexity of their identification caused by the internal divisions in their parents' homeland, divisions that were exacerbated in

Germany, forcing them into strategic choices about how to present themselves in different situations. For others, being a European of Serbian heritage comes with great responsibility. Finally, there were those who retained an affinity with the Yugoslavian identity in spite of their parents' misfortune of being 'surplus to requirements' within the socialist economy.

In comparison, the participants from Australia exhibit far less complexity in their identifications, and it would seem the gift of Australianness has provided a basis for self-awareness that allows them to freely embrace their difference. The acceptance of such identifiers as Serbian-Australian, Aussie Serb and Aussie wog highlights showcase their ease in being part of the country they live in but keeping close their ethnic heritage too. Even in situations where people were constructing their identity relationally, 'defining' themselves as mothers or reforming alcoholics, these markers turn out to have a strong connection to Australia and their unquestioned place within the Australian community. Yet even these Serbians, growing up as differently as they do, make a distinction between themselves and the Anglo-Saxon majority, and simultaneously feel a strong bond with migrant descendants from other communities.

Following Christou (2006, p. 107), I would argue that people rarely embark on the process of self-interrogation seeking to understand who they are except when they find themselves in some kind of borderline situation. That is certainly the context in which these people tried to answer the question "Who am I?" since all the interviewees mentioned in the foregoing chapters were second-generation migrants. Complexity of identification can be graphically represented as a position relative to two intersecting axes, where one axis stands for the person their parents wanted them to be; the other, what society expects of its members in return for their inclusion in it. With this in mind, analysis of the aforementioned narratives highlighted three important factors that

shaped my participants' identification. The first was the conditions of residency tailored for their parents' generation and their accompanying choices, fears and expectations. Second came the official policies aimed at managing diversity or the lack of it in a given country. Finally there was the question of how near or far the 'host country' was to the old Balkan homeland. The residence conditions and government policy could be regarded as institutional arrangements and in this regard Germany and Australia represent starkly different conditions. These institutional arrangements also influenced discourses and attitudes (Berry 2005, p. 266) which especially in the German case manifested itself as an important signifier of identification. The last factor is purely geographical and, as such, once again had a big influence on the participants from Germany. But the fairly close proximity of Germany to their parents' country was not the only reason this second-generation maintained close bonds.

## Residency conditions

In the German case, their 'temporary status' played a significant role for the parental generation. As previously stated, after World War II West European countries started recruiting provisional workers principally for unqualified, menial, repetitive and low-paid positions (Antonijević 2013, p. 53). The importance of these guest workers for the economies of the migrant-receiving countries is certainly beyond doubt but yet imposing restrictions on them such as giving them only 'temporary status' and overtly exploiting these migrants amounted to marginalization and discrimination (p. 55). Over and above this, Germany introduced a system of rotation which meant that workers would be employed for a few years, then go back to their country just so they could be re-hired later (ibid.). Uncertainties of this nature confronting the *gastarbeiter* actually stifled any attempt to ensure they could stay long-term in the country or even settle there, because Germany treated them as dispensable. Given that, the image conjured up

by the term ‘foreign worker’ was of someone who went to Germany for temporary work but retained their original citizenship. This notion was unchallenged in German political life for a long time, so that for years governments of various political persuasions could proclaim that Germany was not an immigrant country (Joppke 2004, p. 1).

This situation proved detrimental for the migrants as they found themselves greatly damaged by it. Workers were encouraged to view themselves as easily expendable, and in many ways this affected their life plans. Although at the outside mainly young men were recruited for these jobs, as time went by and their length of stay increased to more than just a few years, their spouses started joining them. With the next generation on the way, *gastarbeiter* still did not have their status sorted out, forcing them to always live ‘on the move’. So anxiety and rootlessness are often present in the narratives of my participants, as they were growing up with the idea that one day they would have to leave the life they knew and ‘go back’ to their parents’ country. Ognjen reflected on the situation, saying how Germany was never clear in what it wanted from his parents or what the rules for *gastarbeiter* were, convincing his parents that they would be there for just a couple of years. Aware that their days in Germany were numbered but already used to a comfortable Western lifestyle, members of that parental generation busied themselves buying up and stocking good they could not purchase in communist Yugoslavia. Modern appliances such as stove-top ovens, or video recorders and stereos were kept in their packages and ready to be taken back ‘home’. “But,” Ognjen lamented, “by the time we would eventually take it ‘home’ it would have already become old technology.”

Finally, Germany saw that this policy of restricted and temporary migration wasn’t well thought through and after that *gastarbeiter* were allowed to stay permanently in the country. Probably the most poignant word written on that transition are those by Max

Frisch where he stated, “We asked for workers and we got people instead” (cited in Gordon 2004, p. 182). The very fact that workers stayed has a transformative effect on terminology as *gastarbeiter* became *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer* (Foreign employees) or just *Ausländer* (Antonijević 2013, p. 57). At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the collective term transformed into *Ausländische Mitbürger* (Mitbürger = fellow citizens) which according to Klimt only pays lip-service to inclusion but in reality means those people are not welcome as citizens (2000, p. 264).

On the other hand, those who emigrated to Australia went there for good. This migration, as argued by Jupp (2001, p. 747), resulted from two converging factors: a change to Yugoslav emigration policy and the need for semi- and unskilled labour in an expanding Australian economy. Some of those who went to Australia in this wave of migration came from an urban background but more often they were from rural and mainly traditionalist areas of the country. Although a substantial number of tradies and professionals migrated in this wave, the majority from rural Yugoslavia were unskilled workers (ibid.). That was the case with Mašinka’s father, who came to Australia from a small village near the city of Zadar, in the then Yugoslav republic of Croatia, in 1968. Settling in a small town close to Ballarat where his brother lived, he worked hard for two years saving enough money for his wife and baby Mašinka to join him. During those couple of years he mostly worked with the mining companies in Western Australia and all over the Northern Territory. Mašinka and her mother came to Australia in 1970 and the family settled in Ballarat. Being from an ‘ethnic’ background was attended with difficulties, because as an Anglo-and-Irish town having someone with a name like hers attracted unwanted attention.

So it was different. My food for lunch was different, it was a salami and other things that were a bit strong to the nose ... So in order for me to fit in as a child

I asked my mum to stop making me these sandwiches and she said “*Ma šta oni znadu?*” (“Oh what do they know?”) so she kept packing them, I kept throwing them away because it was embarrassing and you have to fit in. She eventually started making Vegemite sandwiches.

Apart from those memories of the need to fit in, Mašinka remembers being the one who had to do all the necessary migrant-related paperwork for her parents. Being the only person in the family to speak English, although she was still only a child, it was her duty to fill in the documents and take them to authorities. “They [my parents] didn’t know the language and they would hand me out the papers so I would just go to a neighbour and ask.”

Residency conditions for her parents’ generation were sharply contrasting in the two countries: while immigrants in one of them were supposed to stay just temporarily, in the other they were expected to settle down to making a new life. The participants’ testimonies reflect the influence these conditions had on their childhood, understanding of their place and who they are. In the German case, people had to be always prepared to leave at short notice, quite often not knowing how long they would be permitted to stay, and all the while amassing consumer goods to be used in some other life in another place. The decisions they were forced to make for their children rational and pragmatic, in some cases sending them off to live with their grandparents because there was no need for them to be in Germany if parents were staying there no longer than a couple of years. All the confusion experienced by the parents and children alike was summed up in Ognjen’s pithy indictment: “They [German officialdom] never told us anything.” In contrast, the testimonies from participants in Australia encapsulate the process of settlement and newcomers’ struggles. The parents were hard workers, doing everything they could to provide for the family, buying a house and enabling their children to have

a good start in their new country; the children, for their part, were expected to study hard, learn the language and integrate. By all means their struggles were real and sometimes overwhelming but these narratives convey a sense of stability in terms of place while those from Germany are imbued with a constant sense of potential displacement and living almost ‘out of a suitcase’.

## Managing diversity

Identification by public discourse and by others (Brubaker and Cooper 2000) can be understood in the light of public policies aimed at managing diversity in one society. In which case, it can be argued that in the German governments ignored for decades the fact that the country had become increasingly diverse. This argument is sustainable not just because in the end the *gastarbeiter* managed to stay but because they now had children who were born, educated and also lived in the country. True, Chancellor Angela Merkel recently declared that Germany has become “country of immigration” (Deutsche Welle, 2015) <sup>51</sup> but before that the political elites “erroneously referred to a lack of effective integration of resident aliens and their offspring as the ‘foreigner problem’ (das *Ausländerproblem*)” (Mushaben 2010, p. 162). Mushaben (ibid.) further argues that the reality in this society was a refusal to adopt integration measures, calling the situation “a German problem” with its roots in politics, legislation and outdated notions of citizenship and nationhood. Then we come to the view that, by not introducing integration measures but instead passively tolerating the existence of various ethnic groups in society, governments have been guilty of a kind of benign neglect (Kymlicka 1997). Kymlicka explains that when a state does not forbid people to express their cultural diversity but also does nothing to nurture that expression either

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<sup>51</sup> This has been said in the light of the latest refugee crises



“it responds with benign neglect” (Kymlicka 1995, pp. 2-4). In such a case, the distance between the state and group or individual celebrations of ethnicity immobilizes “the distribution of rights, resources and duties” (ibid.) based on that diversity.

Therefore, the burden of integration was placed on migrants and their children and they were expected to conform to the ‘guiding culture’ (Miera 2007, p. 2) proposed by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). This measure was criticised as an attempt to use ascriptive characteristics such as culture to deny citizenship to various migrant groups (Klusmeyer 2001, p. 521). It is also true that the semantic shift from *gastarbeiter* to *Ausländer* in public discourse further influenced the opinion of German nationals. Results of the TIES project pointed out that in society’s perception second-generation was “considered part of ‘the immigrant community’, not German *sui generis*” (Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012, p. 295). It is not surprising that the *Ausländer* discourse, just like the ongoing perception of society at large, left its mark on my participants and they appropriate the term in reference to themselves and other non-Germans.

This situation further led to what Alba identifies as society’s boundaries, referring to the way “ethnic individuals, parts of ethnic groups, or even entire groups narrow down the social distance that separates them from the mainstream” (Alba 2005, p. 24). According to Alba, in Germany the boundary between the majority and people from other ethnic communities is bright, by which he means “there is no ambiguity in the location of individuals with respect to it” (ibid.). Making its boundaries ‘bright’ or watertight, Germany was making a clear statement that the second-generation, even if they acquired citizenship, were still outside of belonging (Probyn, 1996 p. 19) to the nation.

In contrast, as an immigrant country Australia developed policy measures for the management of its increasingly diverse population, especially in the years after World

War II. As a multicultural society Australia needed “strong forms of unity and cohesion in order to nurture diversity, and a powerful political structure that can demand allegiance from its diverse citizens” (Moran 2011, p. 2167). Beyond that, the idea of a shared Australian identity reinforced what Parekh construes “as a common sense of belonging” (2000 p. 231). The inclusiveness of the Australian national identity and its multicultural character are palpable in my interviewees’ testimonies about who they are. Whether they choose to be a hyphenated Australian-Serb or Serbian-Australian, a Serbian alone (because the fact they’re Australian is a given), a mother or a wog, they are invariably part of the society. As Mašinka said, “I contribute to this country and this this country gives back to me.” The boundaries between my participants and the society are not ‘bright’ but ‘blurred’ (Alba, 2005, p. 25) as they do not feel “the rupture between participation in mainstream institutions and familiar social and cultural practices and identities” (ibid.).

Yet, even if multiculturalism is official policy, the dominant group can still exercise power over subordinates one through labelling and discrimination. It was from this context that the term ‘wog’ surfaced several times during these interviews. Most often people would refer to it not with a degree of disdain but rather as a humorous way of pointing out the distinction between themselves and Anglo-Saxons. In Margareta’s case the term became part of her identity, not as a negative image but as a marker of her distance from the majority group in society. The epithet ‘wog’ has a problematic and racialized history tightly associated with migration and the nation’s self-image. Encouraging migration immediately after World War II, the Australian Government adopted a ‘populate or perish’ approach based on the necessity of a substantial population to meet the needs of industrialisation and also to protect the continent’s vast coastline (Tsolidis & Pollard 2009, p. 429). The incentives offered to British migrants

did not attract sufficient respondents, forcing the government to turn to southern Europeans as a population that was “non-preferred but [we] have to have” (ibid.). The children of those migrants become objects of racist stereotyping and in the 1970s and 1980s ‘wog’ was the label “used across schoolyards in inner-city and suburban schools as a war-cry in contra-distinction to ‘skips’, used to denote mainstream Australians” (p. 430).

## Distance

Distance as a factor influencing identity is undoubtedly relevant. Calculating by the legend on Google maps give an estimated distance between Serbia and Germany of roughly 1 500 km while the distance to Australia is 14 000 km. Yet, this is certainly not the only reason why people from Germany retain closer ties to their parents’ homeland. With uncertainty surrounding their continued residence in West Germany, and later Germany, some of their youngsters were schooled in Serbia, and all of them used to spend their summer holidays with grandparents and cousins. Today, when they themselves have children, the situation seems very similar. Their children spend the summer months back ‘home’ with grandparents who usually stay half of the year back in the homeland. The attachment to place (place-belongingness) will be discussed in detail subsequently but the importance of Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro or Kosovo as a home, or even annual holiday, as location is also important as an element of identification. As in the case of Germany here, too, my interviewees differentiate between people near and dear to them and society in general. To their families and friends they are loved ones, a little different because they grew up and live in Germany, and they sometimes treat them better because they do not see them so often. To society in general they are foreigners, perceived through an economic lens and often made fun of because they do not understand certain jokes or they dress differently. Inevitably,

these perceptions influence their understanding of self because they feel a tug of attraction to their parents' homeland and see it as their own.

In the Australian case, their parents' homeland is part of their ancestral imagination, and they mostly know about it through their parents' stories. Most have been there, once or twice in their lives, sometimes more often than that, but those lands in far-off south-eastern Europe do not hold the same symbolic value for them as for their peers in Germany. When they discussed how people over there regard them, the Australian cohort usually answered quite pithily- as Australians.

## Chapter VI Belonging: Autobiographical, relational and economic belonging

This chapter discusses the three above named components of belonging. First among these is rootedness, the feeling of being grounded in the place you live in, knowing how it feels to be a part of it. It inevitably invokes the need for security and that familiar sense of being at ‘home’. Autobiographical belonging examines the notion of ‘home’, and in looking at that there is a big difference between the German and Australian cases. The German group shows their dual links to both the parental homeland and the city of their birth – whereas, for the Australian cohort, the country is where they feel ‘at home’. Relational belonging is defined through one’s relations with family, relatives, friends and significant others. Here, too, groups differ, because the German group have close relationships with people from their parents’ homeland and in Hamburg, while the Australian group speak only about their connections in Australia. Finally, economic belonging refers to being part of the economy where one lives in (Antonsich 2010; Yuval-Davis and Kaptani 2008). Economic belonging is a point on which both groups are similar, because both are integrated into the economies of the societies they live in.

### Germany

#### Autobiographical belonging

For the group interviewed in Germany, place-belongingness has multiple meanings, bearing in mind their personal histories were deeply affected by the residency conditions imposed on their parents. Throughout their childhood they spent a

significant amount of time in their parental homelands, giving them a connection to those places.

They were also growing up in a big metropolis surrounded by other *gastarbeiter* families, some of them from other countries. At the same time, they were deeply immersed in German society, through school, television and simply by living in Germany. This dialectic of being present in two locations, “maintaining relationships and displaying loyalty and commitment” (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013, p. 22) was mirrored in their narratives about belonging. In their stories two motifs come up as important – dual belonging envisioned as belonging to Hamburg and their parents’ country; and on the other hand there were people who emphasised their belonging to the city they live in, as a contrast to Germany as a country.

The first motif refers to them “anchoring themselves to the ground” (Sinatti 2006, p. 31) in both homeland and host land. Their early childhood memories were formed in association with both their parents’ village and town, as they were with Hamburg. Having spent plenty of time in each locality, they formed strong bonds with the inhabitants of both – family and childhood friends in their parents’ place of origin; friends, colleagues, spouses and children in Hamburg.

From time to time during my conversation with Lenka, she would refer to her parents’ birthplace, the south-east Serbian city of Leskovac, as her home. She would talk about her favourite music, the places in Hamburg she hangs out in – saying she likes those that have Serbian music. Even though, she says, she knows the music’s not especially high-quality, she likes it because she cannot get ‘home’ that often. As someone who spent part of her childhood with her grandparents in Leskovac, Lenka feels she has two homes. When she mentions being in Serbia she feels conflicted: at one point she feels

infuriated by it, yet she also feels a deep love for the place and its people. Her fury is sparked by the bureaucratic hurdles she had had to jump every time she went there in the past, because as a foreigner she had to register with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But because she also feels she belongs there, in undergoing the procedure foreigners had to submit to deeply upset her. When talking about it she refers to herself as a *Schwaben* in the way people in Serbia would identify her. On the other hand, she has strong feelings for Serbia

... But I would never allow anyone to say anything especially *Schwaben*, in their news from there or whatever. I become incensed and I don't like it when they talk about us like that. And I'm not saying that *Schwaben* are bad or something, some of my friends are *Schwaben* ... But I don't have the same feeling of belonging [to Germany] as I have to Serbia. For me, home is both here and there. (Lenka)

It is fascinating to follow the dynamic of the term *Schwaben* in Lenka's testimony, especially how it shifts from forced self-identification to a term referring to the broader German society. She uses the term to refer to herself when talking about registering with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, saying: "I have to go and register ...as if I am *Schwaben*." Both the tag she uses and the context in which she uses it place her in the position of the Other within the locus of her sense of belonging. But, in the very next sentence, she is using the term to reference German society collectively, again invoking the Other. Saying that "they (*Schwaben*) talk about us like that", she is pointing to the social distance between her as a child of migrants and the greater German society.

Lenka's sister, Melanija, has a similar affinity to both Hamburg and Serbia. She distinguishes between Hamburg and Germany, saying she would not feel at home in

any other part of the country. Hamburg is her home, with all the components a ‘home’ should have, such as the physical space where she lives - her apartment, her friends and parents, and the city itself where she belongs. At the same time she will say “I am going home” when she travels to Serbia. In her words the thought of Serbia gives her “that” feeling – and by “that” feeling she means the warm sensation of being at home, safe, protected and carefree. Melanija associates Serbia with the joys of her childhood, so whenever she goes back she feels as if her heart is in the “right” place.

I don’t know why I feel like that ... I have the same feeling when I hear Serbian songs, I get goose bumps, or when we cross the border or when they sing our anthem. For example, I don’t support Germans when they are playing [sport]. I don’t hate them, I just don’t care. But if Germany plays against Serbia I always barrack for Serbia. That’s what I’m trying to explain: I am Serbian but in essence I am not ... it’s really difficult to explain. When I hear German songs I don’t mind them, I can listen to them but it’s not that they ... or when I see the German flag or the *Bundesadler* [the German eagle on the coat of arms] it’s not “that” [feeling]... (Melanija)

Melanija feels grateful to Germany for accepting her family, a feeling often expressed by migrants, because she knows she would not be able to achieve what she did if her parents had stayed in Serbia. Again the choice of words is very interesting: Melanija is not a migrant herself but thinks in the migrant terms. Instead of conceptualizing Germany in terms of the rights she should enjoy, bearing in mind that she was born there, she talks of her own achievements as if they were a privilege granted by the state. Novak also feels a sense of belonging in Hamburg and back in the Balkans. He loves the city because he was born there and grew up there, and calls Hamburg his “first



address”. Novak’s former wife is a German and they have three children, which makes his attachment to German society even stronger. Although very integrated and immersed in German society, he feels an affinity for Montenegro and Serbia. Something “draws” him to those places and he loves spending his holidays there. I found it intriguing that he did not use the phrase “going back home” but instead said he went there on holiday. As an amateur football player he uses the metaphor of sport to explain his double attachment:

Whenever Germans ask me if I’m German or Serbian, I always answer by referring to sport. If Serbia played Germany I would never support Germany, so I can’t be a real German because I’ll always barrack for Serbia. For me, that’s the best analogy for how I feel. It’s easy to say I’m German but if Germany plays soccer against Serbia I honestly doubt any of our people would support Germany. (Novak)

In Novak’s testimony the interplay of ethnic and civic elements of belonging may appear contradictory. But the two are not mutually exclusive: being Serbian by ethnicity does not clash with a loyalty to Hamburg or having a German citizenship. As stated above, place-belongingness has multiple meanings for members of this group, or in Novak’s words: “Having two sides – Hamburg and Montenegro – is great. If it were only one, of them, I would feel like something was missing.” (Novak)

One of the youngest participants, Dušan, shared a telling observation about ‘home’. According to his testimony, he has a strong sense of belonging for both the city he grew up in and the place where his roots are. Then he notes that most second-generation migrants only know their ‘homeland’ from having holidayed there. They go there for just a few weeks, mostly in summer when the weather was nice, people were cheerful

and life seemed carefree. Although there was a genuine feeling of being bound to the place and its people – often sensed as a warm feeling when he sees the first traffic sign in Cyrillic or starts paying in *dinar* or *konvertibilna marka*<sup>52</sup> – something was definitely missing.

... It's all jumbled up: if I am here I want to be there. And then after a month over there I get bored and want to come back here. So I can't say I belong anywhere 100 per cent ... Sometimes I think there's nothing better in the world than being in Hamburg and then when I'm down there I think I will never go back to Germany. (Dušan)

Dušan's story illustrates the different values he assigns to the places he calls 'home'. His attachment to his parents' country is powered by that ethnic connection, the awareness of one's roots, identities and the symbols that issue from that. It is enhanced by the presence of family members in that place, and the need to be among 'our' people where everyone speaks the same language. But he is also aware that the ideal image he has of that place is coloured by how long he stays there and the way he's passing his time, which is at leisure rather than living a 'real' life. While the 'real' life is awaiting him back in Hamburg with all its elements of the everyday – his university, his place in the folk-dancing troupe, his friends and his girlfriend.

The second motif in autobiographical references to 'home' reflects the experience of participants who have a strong civic pride rooted in Hamburg. Although their narratives different, they all have mention one thing – that Hamburg is an open, multicultural city. In this regard Dunja's testimony is a beautiful elegy to the city and its inhabitants. Dunja

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<sup>52</sup> Serbian and Bosnia & Herzegovinian currency

loves Hamburgians because they are not aloof, they might be a bit stand-offish and distant but they are great humanitarians. She looked back at the floods that affected Serbia and the region in 2014, explaining how the students from her children's school collected humanitarian aid for people in the affected areas. No matter what Germans think about them, they will always step in whenever the help is necessary, Dunja goes on to explain.

It's amazing! Humanity, tolerance, openness, you can dress the way you want and no one says a word, people might not pay each other much attention but if you need them they will be there. Hamburg raised me to be tolerant and open-minded and socially concerned: that's what I learned from this city and that's why I always come back to it.

Later on our conversation took an unexpected turn, unexpected for me at least, but Dunja considered it important to know where she would be buried. The links she cherished with her parents' country, Bosnia, and with Serbia where she spent part of her childhood and late teenage years were not so important any more. But she was contemplating a plot in a certain Hamburg park that had been a cemetery and was now a public space. An architect had designed the space to be both a burial ground and a park with lots of plants, trees and flowers. After thirty years bones are dug up, and the remains used either as compost or for a cinder path. The cyclical manner of the process, and back-to-nature philosophy that Dunja finds to be beautiful. She concluded that part of her narrative with a tribute to the city, saying: "I think it would be nice to be buried here, after all Hamburg is my city." This testimony struck me as intensely intimate, since it did not just tell the story of a person belonging to a place as an active, sentient

creature, but explored a deeper connection to place, extending to the level of absorption and indeed incorporation in its most basic literal sense.

Another participant, Vesna, also offered a beautiful reflection on the city and its people. She gave three reasons why Hamburg and its people were so deeply intertwined with her sense of self: this was where she was born, where she grew up, and she knew the city like the back of her hand:

Well, us Hamburgians, we are different from people in Berlin or Munich ... Some would say we are cold or that you cannot make friends with Hamburgians, but that's not how it is. Here in Germany they call us *Fischkopf* (Fish-head) because we are up north here, closer to the sea. But real Hamburgians are friendly and they like to have fun. They don't stand on ceremony<sup>53</sup>.

On the other hand Vesna said Serbia was in her heart but she would never be able to “go back there”. I found it interesting that she used the phrase “go back” and asked whether she had actually lived in Serbia before. That remark prompted her to discourse about the influence of her parents on the way she thought about certain aspects of her link with Serbia. Vesna has never actually lived in Serbia, but while growing up she would often hear her parents talk of “going back home” when they eventually retired. As a matter of fact, her parents never even suspected she might be interested in moving to Serbia as that was never a topic in their family. She also mentioned that, even if the economic situation in Serbia were way better than it was at the moment, she would never consider moving there. Like Lenka and Melanija, she

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<sup>53</sup> This part is difficult to translate. Vesna is referring to the difference between formal and informal modes of address. For example, in Serbian instead of using the more formal *Vi* one person might call another *Ti*. Likewise in German they will use *Du* instead of *Sie*, and in French *Vous* instead of *Tu*. Instead of using the plural personal pronoun, the singular form would be used.

does not get along with people and struggles with some of the attitudes people in Serbia have:

For example my cousin was here not long ago and she is OK and all that ... but she has this thing ... you know, like, if she says things are this way things have to be this way, there are no options or alternatives, that's all in her head and it can't be any different ... It was a big problem for me, because I know that things can also work in different ways. And that's the difference I think for us here, we are more open-minded. (Vesna)

Miloš was one interviewee who voiced his sentiment of belonging to a locality in connection with Germany's migration policies. He referred to the policies twice, saying how his experience of those policies shaped his love of the city but also his wariness of the German state. His latest experience was quite fresh and seems to have revealed some pent-up anger. Miloš met his wife in Serbia and, after being in a long-distance relationship for a while, they decided to get marry. Just then he was between jobs and had a residency permit, which automatically meant his wife could not join him in Germany. This situation left him alienated from Germany as a state because he felt his rights were violated. In bitter testimony he argues that nationalism is awakening in Germany:

I would never say Germany is my home because they [Germans] caused me that problem [the visa for his wife from Serbia] and I totally didn't expect that. While I was at university I always thought there's no difference [between him and Germans], but after that and this visa issue I figured that they definitely showed up a difference. And also in the past couple of years Germans have started to display that nationalism, that's something they've been concealing for years. Now they're starting to show their true face... And I will acquire German

citizenship because their passport is valuable and it can make my life easier but I'm not doing that because I feel German. (Miloš)

Miloš argues that the German system is false, that Germans like to present themselves to the world as open and accepting but in reality they place many obstacles in the way of ordinary people. After graduating from university he noticed that as a foreigner it took him a lot longer than some of his colleagues to find a job. That triggered his sense of alienation so he started to hate system that was rejecting him. He does feel integrated but integrated by people, especially in Hamburg, which is welcoming of diversity. Miloš illustrates his feelings by referring to his uncle's positive experience in becoming a British citizen, and contrasts Germany's attitude with the *jus soli* (birthright) policy prevailing in Australia.

But this generation and the next will never be German and I think that's a big mistake that Germany never admitted they are a multicultural country. They admitted it just now, after so many years, and I think they have slowly begun to understand they have to change their attitude. They saw us foreigners as if we were here for a certain period of time, our parents saw it like that too ... but that was a mistake ... They thought we would be here just for two, five, ten years but when you get used to something, when your children start going to school, there's no turning back. I think that was a huge mistake. (Miloš)

## Relational belonging

This kind of belonging refers to the social ties one has in one's immediate surroundings and with broader society which makes the place of residence a familiar location tinged with memories and emotions. In this sense, the group from Germany again claims to belong in the two places, the place where they were born and the parental homeland.

The part of their history that concerns social ties in their birthplace reflects the story of a big multicultural metropolis, where super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) is an everyday fact. However, it also echoes the distance between them and the German society, and the need for community, however loosely structured and elusive it may prove. The narrative about those who keep up their ties with people back in the parental homeland isn't strictly explored but some interviewees bring it up in response to other questions.

When my German interviewees focused on their bridging and bonding capital, several themes emerged in common. Their immediate social circle were mostly "our", as in Serbian, people and other foreigners. Furthermore, their parents and friends had considerable influence when it came to choosing a partner or a spouse. Finally, there was a common attitude of animosity towards those from a Muslim background, regardless of the country or cultural background. There was also hostility to Croats, predominantly influenced by the warfare in the 1990s and the rifts that opened up between the communal groupings that had made up the former Yugoslavia.

Serbians make up the majority of Melanija's friends and, according to her estimate, probably 90 per cent of her acquaintances. Most are people she has known since childhood and are the children of her parents' friends, so close-knit was their community. At the time her parents moved to Hamburg many people from their home town also migrated there looking for a better life. Being in a foreign country they formed a group of friends sharing solidarity and support, and spending their free time together.

Well, I think it's because the ones who are my true friends I've known them since I was a child ... because when my parents came here a lot of other people from Leskovac also came, so they all became friends ... and when our parents

were hanging out we were also hung out ... so those people remained my friends.

This relationship resembles an extended-family network which they would be familiar with from their homeland, with strong bonds and the sense of belonging to a collective. Growing up in that environment, Melanija developed a strong attachment to her childhood friends which remains even today and is portrayed in her reference that those people are her true friends. On the other hand she also has friends she met through school, university and work, among them Russians, Spaniards and Turks.

Melanija's sister, Lenka, has a slightly different story. While most of her friends are Serbians she has German friends too. They used to go travelling together when they were younger, and she loves spending time with them. But now they are married they all have less time to spend together and life somehow gets in the way. Lenka reflects knowingly about what's different between being friends with one of 'ours' and with a German:

It's different [from being friends with a Serbian] ... I think maybe because we have the same life story and we are all foreigners. I mean we are not foreigners but somehow ... I don't know how to put it ... Maybe we can identify better with each other through our stories and the experiences ... and they [Germans] didn't have to go through all that ... so that's how we are all connected.

Her extended social circle includes Albanians, Muslims and Croatians but she refers to them as to acquaintances – people she meets every now and then when some event is happening but she doesn't feel close to them, at least not close enough to devote her time to them.



Ognjen, on the other hand, has different groups of friends from different periods of his life. When he used to be very active in the soccer club Nikola Tesla, the only people around him were Serbians. At other times of his life, such as when he was at university, he mingled more with German friends. Ognjen's two closest friends are Martin, a German, and Orhan, who is half-Turkish-half-Albanian<sup>54</sup> and the three of them have been friends since high school. When they attended university they went on a long trip through Canada and America which Ognjen remembers vividly. But these days he does not have much time for friends, mostly because of work and children. Ognjen also reflected on some wise words his father taught him when he was younger:

My father once told me, "Son, accept someone else's religion and culture the same way you love and appreciate your own. But if someone regards their values in a way that it closes their eyes to others, just avoid them."

Ognjen agreed with his father's point of view and said that, when people one has in their life approach their faith, heritage or culture with an attitude of gentle benevolence, they could bring beautiful influences into your own life. He mentioned that some of his friends were Muslims from Iran and he loved their relaxed approach to religion and the diversity among people. But he held the opposite opinion on Croatians, whom he mentioned disparagingly several times during our conversation. He found them rigid and extreme, pointing to the recent public events<sup>55</sup> surrounding the supposed

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<sup>54</sup> Ognjen actually said Shqiptar, not Albanian. Shqiptar is an ethnonym for Albanian people – i.e. what they call themselves – but in the Serbian language it is a derogatory term for Albanians living in south-eastern Serbia and in Kosovo.

<sup>55</sup> He is referring to the events and media reports from Croatia in 2015 <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/most-rse-da-li-ce-stepinac-biti-proglasen-za-sveca/27423035.html> (last retrieved 18/01/2018)

canonization of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac<sup>56</sup>, so as the revival of Ustasha<sup>57</sup> symbols in Croatian public discourse.

I read an article just the other day saying two of their [Croatian] priests had filed a request for “*Za dom spremni!*”<sup>58</sup> to be made an official motto. In a way one can admire the determination to maintain their traditions but that’s so extreme ...

Ognjen’s worry about ‘extremist’ communities extends to his children’s future partners too, because he would not want them to bring someone like that “into the house”. His opinion is that marriage is already a very complicated matter involving a lot of compromises, and marrying a Croatian or a Muslim would be very complicated. Ognjen does not want that for his children, especially his daughters, and he feels impelled to save them from such trouble.

You know it might happen that they find a nice boy, but what if there’s some kind of a family celebration and some of their family say something against *četnik* or some of ours say something about the ustasha? You can’t guarantee something like that wouldn’t happen ... and I’m trying to save my kid from all that. They might not fare any better if they found a Serbian because you have idiots everywhere but at least there would be no additional issues.

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<sup>56</sup> Stepinac was the Archbishop of Zagreb whose work, especially under the Fascists in the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia) during World War II, remains intensely controversial today.

<sup>57</sup> The Ustasha was the army of the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia) aligned with Germany during the World War II.

<sup>58</sup> “*Za dom spremni!*” (“For the Homeland We Are Ready!”) was the Ustasha’s war cry during the Second World War which was evoked during the wars of the 1990s, and again more recently when Croatian war generals were convicted of crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court for Yugoslavia (ICCY).

Ognjen is not alone in his stand against people who do not ‘conform’ to the values of German society. The interviews I conducted in Germany coincided with the mass influx of refugees into Europe in 2015 which triggered a heated debate about the integration of Muslim people. Some of my interviewees argued that way too many Muslims had come to Germany which in their view was a problem because ‘they’ did not integrate into society.

I think it’s terrible, especially with these people coming from Syria ... I know there’s a war on there and everything but in a few years this won’t be Germany any more. The problem is that way too many Muslims came and you know how they are, they want to practise their own traditions and they want to make mosques here although they already have them over there [the countries where they came from]. They don’t want to let go of their own [customs], their women don’t work, they’re not allowed to speak the language [German language] and they wear the hijab. (Zora)

While Zora was talking, one of her friends was loudly protesting against mosques being built in Germany, saying how they as Christians would never be allowed to build churches in Turkey. This cross-referencing from Syrian refugees to Turks sounds confusing but it actually rests on a pan-Islamic identity perceived by the wider public, without any reference to the schisms between various sects who practise Islam. Furthermore, this attitude is reminiscent of the intolerance shown towards Bosniaks which escalated in the 1990s wars, and also the myth (forged in 1389) of Turks as Serbia’s arch-enemies<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> This goes back to the Battle of Kosovo (1389), which forged one of the founding myths of the Serbian nation

The question of marriage brought up some important issues, with one of them being the influence of parents on the choice of marital partner. The parents' wish was for their children to stay within their ethnic community as a way of preserving the identity but sometimes also out of a fear of unknown. What became obvious throughout the interviews I conducted was that the second-generation, in most cases, have adopted their parents' viewpoint. This puts extra pressure on the individual, reinforced both by their peers and by themselves. Confronted with the fact that Serbian community in Hamburg is not very big – an Orthodox priest there estimated it at about 10 000, some of the interviewees fall into what is known to logicians as *aporia*<sup>60</sup>. This internal logical conflict was at its most evident in the interviews I had with three friends – Zora, Ilona and Jelena.

Each interview was conducted separately but with other people present, which provoked interventions and intrusions. This situation is usually not the ideal setting for obtaining information because the common expectation is that an individual will succumb to peer pressure and not offer his or her own opinion. But sometimes a researcher just cannot control the setting of the interview, and that alone does not make the information gathered less valuable. On the contrary, in the situation I am referring to, interviewing the three young women together proved beneficial, especially when the interview was enlivened by the question asked of one of them, which then triggered other topics. What started as Zora's explanation of trouble often encountered in finding one of "ours" turned into bitter diatribes on the difficulties they are faced with because the community is so small.

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<sup>60</sup> An irresolvable internal contradiction

When Zora was younger, she had a boyfriend in Serbia but his parents disapproved of their relationship and were interfering with their plans. She said that the parents disliked the fact that she was from Negotin because that city is known for traditions that involve the use of magic rituals.<sup>61</sup> But she is more mature now and finds other traits to be important, not just someone's ethnicity or a background. For her, a man needs to be hard working and serious-minded, a good person.

Of course I wouldn't go for a Muslim but if he was a Russian or Spaniard or Greek ... I think that would fit in well ... and of course it would be perfect if he would speak my language but we can't actually be too choosy about that because there are not many of "our" people here...

Spurred on by Zora's remark about the size of the community, her friend Ilona jumped in to explain her own hardship and how she justified her decision to be in a relationship with a Russian man.

There's only a handful of "our" people! And then they say, "Choose one of ours!" But how?! There are 10 to 20 per cent of them who use drugs, 20 to 30 per cent of them are already dating some of your friends and you have to be loyal – or at least I want to be loyal ... and then you're left with just 50 per cent and try to go and find someone then ... And I'm not like that, I can't choose one out of a handful, I would rather choose one in a million ... that's how I explained to my parents why I'm with Sergei.

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<sup>61</sup> This is a good example of how place-belongingness can be coloured by the dictate of others. Zora was born in Negotin - she being the only person in this group born outside of Germany – only because her parents were there on holiday. She on the other hand grew up in Hamburg and only visits Negotin during summer holidays.

The third member of the trio, Jelena, has a Serbian boyfriend but said that his friends, and even his brother, had been single for years. She explained the situation by evoking a sexist mentality very common in Serbia, saying that all the good girls were already taken and the ones who were not were soiled goods. 'To be soiled goods' is a derogatory Serbian saying that refers to the perception of some women as second-, third- or fourth-hand chattels. Her remark offended Zora, who is the only single woman out the three of them, compelling Jelena to correct her statement:

No, no, I didn't mean it like that, it's more like one of your friends have already been with that girl ... I don't know but there are so many of his friends [Jelena's boyfriend] who are nice, smart men and then you ask them, "What's with you, why don't you have a girlfriend?" and they answer "Where would I find her?"

Their argument is that the community is too small, and it is irrelevant that they live in the big city when people all know each other. It is as if they were living in a village, where people are gossiping and everyone knows everyone else's business. Zora added: "Also when you know someone that long he becomes a friend and I can't see myself [in a relationship] with that person."

Where the prospects of marriage within your own ethnic group are limited, desirable partners might be found outside their ranks. In this regard, it seems as if there is some kind of unofficial hierarchy where the second best 'catches' would be those from other Orthodox groups such as Russians or Greeks. Some other Europeans also come into play, such as Spaniards, French and Germans, with the last of these regarded with particular ambivalence. Zora shared the experiences of some of her friends who married Germans and said how they made great husbands. They never argue, they respect women, help in the household, and are very tolerant. She said a typical German husband

was eager to learn all about his wife's culture and tradition, happy to celebrate religious holidays, and willing to christen their children in the Orthodox Church. Germans and, in particular, the people of Hamburg are not perceived as very traditional, which makes them more adaptable to their wife's cultural norms. But Zora said there would be difficulties anyway.

You know when my parents would meet him ... and they are typical Balkans, right? ... I think I would be slightly embarrassed...and his parents are *Schwaben* especially if they are educated people ... they wouldn't fit with my parents at all.

In Zora's perception Germans are a cut above herself and her parents. Coming from a small town and lacking an education, her parents would not make a good fit for German parents who might be well educated and classy. In this hypothetical example, the social distance between Germans and this group comes into the spotlight, because the Zora's self-worth in such a case is thought not to derive from who she is and what she has accomplished but from the social class of her parents. In that sense, an imaginary German husband is ranked in an unattainable upper class while in her own perception Zora remains hitched to the migrant working class of her parents.

Another concern was emphasized as important in connection with marrying outside of your own ethnic group – the need to translate everyday speech. These friends travel to their parents' homeland quite regularly, and having a non-Serbian-speaking partner would make things very complicated. Zora said she would have to hover around that person and constantly translate for him because he would be lost when it came to communicating. Someone else pointed out the same issue but coming at it from the opposite angle. Lenka never wanted to marry a Serbian man, regarding them as

*Balkanesen* who boss their wives around and treat them as of little worth. But then she met someone who had grown up in Germany as she had, someone very well integrated into German society. When they travelled to Serbia together for the first time she found it a relief not having to arrange accommodation for him.

A few months after we started dating we went to Leskovac together and it was so easy for me, because he could speak to everyone ... and I told him I couldn't imagine myself being with a *Schwaben* because I would have to translate everything and he wouldn't be able to take part in any conversations ...

As mentioned before, my participants felt themselves closely bound to their parental homeland also. Granted that, they sustained social circles that consisted chiefly of close family members, more distant relatives and friends they'd known since childhood. Although their affection for one another was obvious, my participants would stress the differences in their mentality, attitudes and way of life.

Stefan has family in Bosnia and Montenegro, so his diverse group of friends gathered in childhood explains his frequent visits there today. He is very fond of those people and keeps in touch with them when he is in Germany. But he has noticed that they perceive him as different.

To them I'm *Schwaben*. I'm different, I dress differently and I don't get some of their jokes ...

Melanija, on the other hand, has a more testy relationship with some people she is associated with back in Serbia. Most of her network consists of immediate family, relatives and childhood friends and, although she is fond of them, she knows she is different. Her supportive stance towards the LGBT population is not always welcome in Serbia and she often clashes with people over there:



When I hear their opinion about LGBT people I get so angry. At those moments I wish I hadn't even gone back there. I don't even know how to describe them. That's why I can't say I feel a belonging with those people or that I'm one of them.

Other topics arose as sources of difference between my interviewees and the family and friends they know still living in their parents' homeland. Growing up in German society has taught them that time is money and the importance of being punctual – a useful perspective from an economic point of view but to make everyday life go more smoothly also. This sets them up for incredible frustrations in Serbia where the concept of time as a precious resource is absent and people keep on showing up late or just unannounced:

I feel nice when we go back but because we grew up here we got used to some kind of a structure ... I think we don't have the skills for that life there [in Serbia]... When people go through a crisis they learn different strategies and behaviours ... but some things are just, like, when we say we're meeting at 8 and they show up at 8.30 ... (Ognjen)

Apart from these socio-cultural points is the fact that countries once joined together in Yugoslavia are not transitioning out of the command economy but are facing sluggish economic development and low GDP rates. Amid such uncertainty people evolve certain survival strategies. With monthly pay low and often delayed, people use bank cheques to postpone payments even for basic goods such as food. But for someone who has grown up in a sturdy economy, this situation is tantamount to a nightmare. So Vesna insisted she would not be able to survive in such circumstances:

I think I wouldn't be able to manage over there, at least not as those people can ... The prices are the same as in Germany and they have less money. I think there would be no chance for me to fit in there because it'd be weird for me to live on *ček* or *kredit*<sup>62</sup>: I wouldn't be able to sleep at night.

On the same topic, Jelena said she felt upset when she thought of her family and relatives living in those conditions. But at the same time she did not understand how they could look so carefree and be enjoying their lives when everything was falling apart. Very often people were jobless or worked for a pittance, yet seemed to spend all their money on frivolities:

Over there people live from hand to mouth<sup>63</sup> but they are so relaxed, they look like they don't even care: at least that's how it looks to me ... Everyone's whingeing about money but all the cafes are full... They don't give a thought to what's going to happen in the next two or three weeks, so if they have 50 euro they will spend it all in a day!

## Economic belonging

The overriding motive for *gastarbeiter* to remain in Germany even after attaining their short-term goal of buying a car or building a house back in their homeland has to their ambition for that better future they crave for their children. They insist on their children getting an education good enough to lift them out of the working-class rut they themselves got stuck in. My case study participants are all migrant success stories. Born into migrant families where the parents were not educated enough even to help with their homework, they became high achievers. Most have been in the labour market for

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<sup>62</sup> *Ček* is a bank cheque while *kredit* means a bank loan.

<sup>63</sup> In Serbian *od danas do sutra* in literal translation from today till tomorrow which is more like living like there's no tomorrow

ten or fifteen years, while some are entrants to that world. Their stories differ from person to person but most of them share a common thread, the memory of discrimination often based on their foreignness, and sometimes also on their gender.

When I interviewed Borka she has just finished the *Berufsschule*, a vocational school that students attend part-time in combination with on-the-job training. This training can be an apprenticeship or some other type training that teaches a student a skill or a trade oriented to the demands of the job market (Elkins et al. 2018). Borka reflected on the discrimination she had encountered while looking for the training (*praktikum*), explaining that she had to submit many applications before she got a placement. Her experience was very different from that of a school friend with the same qualifications but is German: that friend was offered an apprenticeship on her second application:

She has a lot of privileges just because of her name, that's a fact ... And in the company where I work now, there are only *Schwaben*. I am the only one with some other background, it's like that in this country ... A foreigner needs to fight harder to get a good job, much harder than a German with the same qualifications.

Borka is encouraged by an initiative in which applications would be reviewed with the applicants' names sight unseen. Her prior experience of looking for a job taught her that there was a difference in the way she and someone of German descent was treated. Several times she was one of the leading candidates for a position but the job went to someone with a German surname. "When I ask them to tell me where did I go wrong they don't want to answer, I think it's because someone's a Müller and I'm a Latinović." Being the sole foreign-named person doing a *praktikum* in the company where she had been taken on, she felt as if she stood out. That visibility made her feel she had to justify

the trust placed in her, as if she had been privileged rather than through her achievements earning her right to work like an ethnic-German citizen. For that reason, Borka would try to keep a low profile. If someone called her on the phone at work she would speak German even though the caller might be her mother or father or someone else she would usually speak to in Serbian.

On the other hand, Ilona had a very positive experience when it came to finding work. She finished *Realschule*, a German technical school, earning her intermediate-level certificate which equipped her for a career in the middle levels of the civil service (Elkins et al. 2018). Ilona got an internship with the Federal Government's Department of Migration, Refugees and Integration where she stayed for three years. After that she received a bursary from the City of Hamburg allowing her to continue her schooling, and now she works for the city's Ministry of Social Affairs, Family Affairs, Health and Consumer Protection. To further advance her career she will need a BA degree, otherwise her salary will not rise. Ilona said she had never felt discriminated against on the basis of her foreignness: on the contrary, her department finds it an advantage that she can speak to clients from the former Yugoslavia in their own language. But she did stress another difficulty:

I still haven't made a decision about it but I think I'll do it [study for the BA] for the sake of my career ... also because if you are single you have a better chance of getting a scholarship. That's because they expect that later on you won't pay so much attention to your career because you'll have family obligations as well. It's always harder for women, and you can see it even here in Germany.

Second-generation migrants working for big multinationals argue that their positions, along with their career prospects, are unaffected by their ethnic heritage. Ognjen works for the General Electric as a sales manager in charge of medical equipment and argues that the higher up the ladder you are, the fewer questions people will ask. In the most senior positions no one asks who you are or where you came from: the quality of your work is what counts most. He also said how being well integrated would also help. Stressing the importance of good language skills, Ognjen said he spoke German with a Hamburg accent, and no one could detect a difference between him and an ethnic German by his voice. But he was also aware that working for a foreign-owned company was an advantage: “I didn’t encounter discrimination,” he said, “but on the other hand I work for an American corporation and they don’t ask where you came from.”

Nemanja believes that things are changing with more and more international companies entering the field he works in. He used to be employed by a German company, and later on was working for a Dutch firm. In such a position, he felt that as a foreigner he was under more pressure than other colleagues to prove himself. For a couple of years prior to his interview for this case study he had run his own business, and it was an episode that occurred at the very beginning of his search for an independent job that he was keen to relate:

At the very beginning I heard some people saying I would be lucky to be accepted as a foreigner in that branch. That happened quite a few times. But these days, with the big multinationals entering the market, no one asks who you are any more. In my area there’s no exclusivity of German companies any more, only big internationals with a lot of expatriate professionals in the game now, so I don’t have those problems any more ...

## Australia

### Autobiographical belonging

Interviews with the second-generation migrants in Australia confirmed for me the value of being settled in a place you call home. Being already part of Australian society, in the sense which Probyn (1996) calls being on the inside of belonging, their idea of 'home' reflects the serenity of people who are content with where they are. That was a common situation most of my participants found themselves in as they reflected on their sense of belonging in Australia's multicultural society, and cherished all the possibilities this gave them. For some, autobiographical belonging refers to close family ties but also their feeling of safety where they now are. Finally, there was one of my participants who expressed a very strong connection with his ancestral homeland.

Throughout the entire interview I had with Evica it was impossible to overestimate how important were her feelings for Australia, and the influence that feeling had on where she sensed she belonged. The account of her childhood, and later on her schooling, revealed someone deeply involved with Australian society and its most positive characteristics. Evica's interview showed the benefit of having a safe place you can call 'home' and of accepting what that place has to offer you:

I definitely belong here ... here I can be what I want. We can, because Australia allows you to do whatever you want: provided you're not violent and not doing anything illegal, you're allowed to be different. You're allowed to work, vote, believe in anything – whatever religious or cultural group that might be ... I couldn't live anywhere else ... (Evica)

Nastasija emphasized the importance of belonging, telling me it took her a very long time to realize that knowing where she belonged was what gave her direction in life. Without belonging, Nastasija thought she would be completely lost, but knowing who she was kept her grounded. In that sense, family played a big part in her belonging, her sense of security, and her optimism about the future. Having those bonds being so important for Nastasija, maintaining her family as a haven of harmony as with her parents and brothers gave her a sense of security. But, equally, she recognized that living in a multicultural society also played a big part in her sense of belonging. She treasured the fact that Australia gave her the opportunity to live among so many different kinds of people. Her love for the place where she lives was obvious when she spoke of her children's upbringing and how glad she was that they would grow up in a multicultural society.

I've been brought up in a multicultural society, and I love my husband not because of his background but because of everything else he offers me. Fortunately we are able to be amongst other people and bring our kids up with all these cultures.

Maksim's story, by contrast, is affected by his having mixed with different but separate groups of people, making him feel a bit like a chameleon because of his ability to adapt fast. In early adulthood he lived in several different regions of Australia seeking good job opportunities, and this made his sense of belonging not confined to one location in particular. Maksim told me his sense of domestic belonging in plural terms, because wherever he went he adjusted fairly rapidly. He even recalls being quite 'at home' in Belgrade too, although he was there just twice in his entire life.

I don't remember much from our first visit [to Belgrade] because I was 12 or 13 years old, but when we were there last time I quite liked it and I met so many people from there, my wife's family ... It's a completely different mentality over there, people don't give a shit where you're from, if you're a Bosnian, Croatian, Albanian: people really don't give a shit which you can hear here quite much ... but politically they don't give a shit.

Being involved in the Serbian community through the folk arts and having a lot of Serbian friends, Maksim noted that people in the Serbian diaspora tended to be right-wing. Pondering the matter, he suggested the political divide between diasporic communities from the former Yugoslavia was wider than it was in the countries that achieved nationhood upon the federation's collapse. In his opinion that was because the migrants after the 1990s wars were refugees who, besides having undergone traumatic experiences, had to flee their country and uproot their families in a dangerous and uncertain environment.

The interview I had with sisters Olga and Ljuba was accompanied by an interesting dynamic, with the perspectives of the elder and younger sibling constantly competing and colliding. But their accounts of their sense of home-belonging brought out the intimacy of two women being raised in a migrant milieu where the strongest bond of all was the family. Both Olga and Ljuba regarded 'home' not as a place but as people – their children, the two sisters and their mother. The age difference between the two of them is quite pronounced, which added a different dynamic to the years when they were growing up. As the eldest,<sup>64</sup> Olga left home in her early twenties to marry a Serbian man. But Ljuba was a teenager when their parents divorced and she left to live

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<sup>64</sup> They have another sister, Margareta, who was also interviewed for this research



with her mother. Despite all these obstacles they feel a strong bond with each other, which is even more emphatic now that both are mothers. Ljuba said her Australian husband did not understand how close she was with her sisters.

We are all very close and he, he's, like, you can't ask your sisters to do that ... but he's an Australian and they don't do that ... They wouldn't give you a lift to the train station or something like that. I find that so weird ... Home is where we all are ... I would never feel awkward about going to my sister's place and being there in my pyjamas.

Olga ended that part of our conversation with the thought that a sense of belonging with family rather than in a particular place had something to do with their feeling settled in Australia. This groundedness was something taken for granted, she added, "but if I would live overseas I would think that home is here ... because my family is here ..."

My conversation with Đorđe was not like the other interviews, as his personal history was very much coloured by the wars of the 1990s, along with the bombardment of Serbia in 1999 and the Australian media's coverage of those events. His alienation from Australia just reinforced the links with his Serbian ancestry, and Đorđe was adamant he belonged to the land his ancestors were from. Like other participants, Đorđe grew up in a migrant household – just his brother and he without any extended family. But when he was visiting Serbia in his early teens he realized that families there were different. There are a lot more people in your life than just parents and a brother: there were grandparents and cousins, and his cousins' children, who were his age. While in Serbia, Đorđe attended school there, and his memories of that period are still quite vivid. He remembers the pupils all speaking 'our' language and playing together after

school, which was not his experience in Australia. For those reasons Đorđe even now longs to be in Serbia, not just for a holiday:

I have that big need and a great wish to go to Serbia not just for a few months but to live there ... although I know the situation is quite bad and a lot of people want to migrate ... But I have that feeling when I go there, I feel like I belong there, that other people understand me, I have cousins and relatives there. I feel that's my home although I was born here. And here ... I think it's just my friends' who hold me here. They are the only ones I would miss if I moved to Serbia.

## Relational belonging

The stories of this Australian second-generation make a beautiful tapestry of a people prospering and gaining satisfaction from living in a multicultural society. Just as with their German peers, these Australians' first social ties with others of Balkan lineage – the ones they forged via their parents – were mainly with other Serb families. But when it came to forming their own social circles they chose people who were like-minded and to whom they could relate. So the contacts they made in their youth or adulthood were usually based on a range of premises, not just ethnicity.

Evica recounted that, while attending their under-privileged community school her fellow students were behaving in a way her parents would not allow or would have disapproved of. She recalled her parents trying to keep her and her sisters out of the way of bad influences and close to other people from the Serbian community. Her friendships today are more values-based.

Once I was at the university I could choose my own circle of friends and then they became more values-based. So my friends are very different and we

appreciate each other based on our values and loyalty rather than on the basis of what we do ... None of my closest friends are psychologists [Evica is.] ... I have a couple of close friends who are Serbians but then I have close friends who are Italian and Maltese and Greek and Australian ... I think it's more values-based rather than [based on] any concrete physical characteristic.

One of the interviewees had a history of alcohol and drugs abuse and during that turbulent period lost contact with most of his friends. Before, his friends had been very much like himself, a second-generation of former-Yugoslavian, Maltese and Italian backgrounds. Nowadays, according to Pavle, his life was marked by diversity: he had a small circle of friends and a host of acquaintances. After he sobered up he had to forge new contacts, which he found hard but managed to do, following the philosophy of humility that underpins Alcoholics Anonymous.

We wouldn't normally mix ... they are [of] different religious background, race, skin colour etc. ... but even within AA I think that different cultures handle issues differently ... there are not so many Asians, not so many Muslims ... so predominantly AA is Anglo-Saxon ... I would say 90 per cent are Anglo-Saxon, 8 per cent are white from the rest of the world – Germans or Russians, Greek or whatever, maybe just 1 per cent are Asian... (Pavle)

Olga was born in Novi Sad and came to Australia with her parents when she was only 2. Growing up in a household where Serbian – known back then as Serbo-Croat – was the only language spoken, she didn't know a word of English when she started primary school. Olga recalls being called a wog and ostracised by Anglo-Saxon children for being different. Back in the 1980s, with a lot of migrants coming to the country, there

was a prevalent mentality where ‘wog’ was used as a hurtful insult. Being exposed to explicit racism she felt closer to other migrant children:

I remember having Asian friends, so I had a lot of Asian influence. There were European people but I don’t think I was meeting just ‘our’ people, there was variety of people and I think we were lucky because my mum is Croatian and my dad is Serbian. There wasn’t just an influence from Serbia, it was always Yugoslavia.

The parental influence in regard to marrying within the community was present in this group as well, and most visible in the experiences of people who got married really young. Olga said her father had pressured her to marry a Serbian man, because she was always intended to choose one of ‘our’ own. Her father had very sexist and restrictive expectations of her: basically that she would marry, have children and look after her family, which is a very common trajectory in rural parts of the former Yugoslavia. Getting married very young and having three children out of that relationship precluded her from working or getting a better education. Feeling that she lacked vital skills, Olga went back to school to complete her education. As she feels that move empowered her, Olga wants to encourage her daughters to pursue an education, and aim to excel what she has achieved:

I think ‘our’ people teach girls a different way, and our dad sees that Aussie people teach their kids another way and it’s not too bad for females to go out and work and support themselves and not rely so much on their partners. I think that’s why the first boy I met I ended up marrying him, and it didn’t last of course and, you know, three kids later we got divorced ... I think the European way, to meet someone and stick to ‘our’ own, I think it’s really wrong and they stay

together no matter what ... Get your education first and then go after whoever  
... I think I should've stay in school and got an education.

Nastasija's experience was quite different although she knew of women her age who had been pressured to marry Serbs. That she would marry one of 'ours' was implied throughout her adolescence, too, and it was made unmistakably clear that it would be her parents' preference for her to take a Serbian husband. But living in this diverse society cushioned those demands and expectations from both her brothers and herself. Nastasija said her parents had eventually accepted her decision to marry an Australian man, although it took them a while. Her parents, she said, like every other one, have a "distorted image of their children as perfect" but their intentions were always for her to land 'Mr Right'. Nastasija recalled the kerfuffle about getting married in a Serbian Orthodox church, saying her parents were not fundamentalists but they were into keep up their culture and tradition:

They did ask if my husband and I would marry in a Serbian church ... I said no and I still feel that was not the right thing to do because I wouldn't change my religion for someone else and I know that it's not actually changing his religion but I know that it can be difficult for someone who's not Serbian to get married in Serbian church. So I felt it's a fairer option to be married in a civil service...

Interviewees who, unlike Nastasija, wed one of 'ours' were not spared internal family conflicts. Mašinka rightly pointed out that, even if one married a Serbian, that didn't meant tradition would be maintained, especially bearing in mind the regional differences in former Yugoslavia. She got married to a Montenegrin Serb and their traditions differed radically. Every conversation between the first and second-generations about marriage would usually end up with something along the line of

“*Mora biti naš* (‘He has to be ‘ours’!) and if a non-Serb was in prospect it would be “*Ajme meni odreknuću te se!*”<sup>65</sup> (“Oh my, I’ll denounce you!”). Nonetheless, Mašinka maintained that things would settle down after a while and a new member of the family would eventually be accepted and room made for them. Referring to her children’s future partners, Mašinka said they were not expected to follow in her footsteps. This prompted a humorous story about her own mother talking to Mašinka’s children.

She says to the kids, “If you’re not marrying a Serb, *Baba* (Granny) will not come to your wedding!” And they are, like, “Oh *Baba!*” It’s not a must-do agenda for my children. And I think the fact that that the first generation needed that was for them, so that they can communicate and they can have their *običaje* (customs and traditions) and everything else.

Among the Australian interviewees, marrying exogamously comes with restrictions and, just as in Germany, Croatians and Muslims are not seen as suitable partners. Evica was in no doubt her parents would have been absolutely horrified by her marrying a Croatian or Muslim, an attitude that she traced back to their experience in World War II. Both her parents were born at the end of the war, with her mother losing her father (Evica’s grandfather) in the conflict with Croats in Bosnia. Evica also mentioned that, her parents being from Bosnia, she had ‘inherited’ that state of mind where Serbians, Croatians and Bosniaks had to be enemies. Like World War II, like the 1990s wars in Bosnia and Croatia. Evica blamed the catastrophe on the media and their misleading depiction of just who were the real ‘enemies’.

The media was very negative, Serbian people were awful according to media they were the ones that did all the bad things; and I would just remind people

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<sup>65</sup> This is a widespread saying in the former Yugoslav countries and it means that a person will be excluded from their parents’ or grandparents’ will and left without an inheritance.

that it was a war so there's good and bad people and people do all sorts of things when it's a war. And I think we are all influenced by media. Look what they are doing with Muslim people, they are extremists! And there are extremists in every culture but that doesn't matter ... but the majority is the same as everybody else but we forget the majority because the extremists are into our face the whole time and the media portrays it from a particular angle...

Mašinka also admitted her parents would struggle if she were to marry a Muslim because that would be introducing into the family a completely different tradition and culture. Her understanding was that the implied ban did not refer to Bosniaks, and she found this hypocritical but also notes that, with a Bosniak husband, at least the spouses' language and culture would be the same.

In our culture and religion there are people who are extremists as well. But as my father would say "*Ma pusti to*" (literally "That's going too far" or "Disregard that") and my father is 73 now. But when he was younger I think he would have been more judgemental. And this experience [of living in multicultural society] changed them...

Besides animosities towards Croatians and Muslims, living in a multicultural society made her parents' generation anxious about groups they had not had frequent contact with, such as Asians or Africans, broadly defined. Mašinka argued that her parents would not be happy to see her with an Asian or African person.

... "*To kad mi počneš mešati I žuto I crno I Bož' sačuvaj to nije naše!*" ("Don't mix with yellow and black, for God's sake, they're not 'ours')," [Mašinka 's mother] ... So they don't understand it, and if they don't understand it their first instinct is fear.

When it came to religion, she was equally certain that, so long as the proposed spouse was of the same confession, her parents would accept him. As an example, she said a Greek man would pass must because he'd be Orthodox but an Italian, not that much. "I think we could go Greek cause it's Orthodox, if I would go for a Catholic it would be "Ajme meni!" [Oh my!] but it's still OK because it's Christian!"

Nastasija's experience was similar to Mašinka's. Although she once said that her parents had been the targets of racism she also admitted, "In many ways they can be racist too ..." She was slightly embarrassed when adding the following "Look, I think they would find it very difficult with an African person ... unfortunately ..."

In contrast to Nastasija and Mašinka's opinion, Pavle had a thought-provoking observation to make about religious correctness and the notion of the outsider. Acknowledging that for a Serbian man to marry a Muslim woman would be regarded as a problem, he said: "I think that would be a bigger issue than if I was with a black Orthodox or black Christian girl ... it would be a less of an issue than a Syrian Muslim ..." This observation becomes even more interesting if his sister's Nastasija remark about a family taboo on marrying an African is recalled. It is reasonable to infer from this that 'rules' do not apply equally to male and female children of first-generation parentage.

It is notable in my participants' narratives that their parents' attitudes gradually changed over time. As they became more settled and began forging social ties outside of their ethnic connections, they became more accepting of their children's choices. This is evident in the testimonies of participants born sometimes even a decade or two after their parents had settled in Australia. The youngest child in the family would escape the strictest rules because their parents had already 'successfully' brought up their first



or even second child. A specimen of this would be the testimony of one of my roughly two decades after his parents had arrived in Australia. His answers were delivered in a casual tone reflecting the more relaxed atmosphere of his upbringing but also the different social set-up in those years. As such, his answers were radically different from those of his elder brother and sister. The pair were born just after their parents settled in Australia, and had clear recollections of those first years of struggle, the accommodation anxieties they suffered as a family, of being surrounded by other Serbian migrants and the need to be close to 'our' people. On the other hand, Petar came into the picture much later and his notions about tradition, religion or even the hostile attitudes among distinct ethnic groups from the former Yugoslavia were totally unencumbered by old prejudices. He sounded very tightly integrated into the cultural mainstream in all aspects of his life, with his friends being mostly Australians and his fiancée Greco-Scottish.

No, no, I don't think there is a stigma attached to Croatians, I do not believe in that whatsoever ... In my understanding, when Yugoslavia broke up, the Croatians are Roman Catholic and for some reason Serbians and Croatians don't like each other and vice versa, and that's, you know, nor here nor there [to me] ... But, no, I don't think there would be any problem associating with any race or religion...

Ljuba's experience was similar. She was also born after her parents had been in Australia more than a decade and, unlike her two elder sisters, her social contacts are remarkably diverse. She has a mixture of Australian, Ukrainian, Sri Lankan and (East) Asian friends, and her husband is an Australian of Ukrainian and Malay descent. Unlike her eldest sister, she betrayed not a skerrick of opposition to Muslim people in her testimony:

Aydan's family is partly Muslim ... and if I would have a daughter I would not want her to marry a Serbian guy ... and I never wanted to marry a Serbian man.

## Economic Belonging

Given that they are the children of predominantly rural folk from all over the former Yugoslavia who ended up doing manual work in factories, my interviewees' stories are unmistakably ones of upward social mobility. After all, one of the reasons their parents migrated to Australia was to create better life opportunities for their children, as one of the interviewees, Kaja, indicated. Her father, who came from a small village on the Dalmatian coast of Croatia, was worried about his daughter's future and that was his main motive in migrating so many thousands of kilometres from home. Being educated, learning English and succeeding were the prerogatives of the second-generation.

Comparing herself to her husband – an upper-middle-class Australian – Evica said he could not believe she had been to a state school in an under-privileged area. Explaining her attainment, she cited her parents' insistence she graduate from university and make a career for herself. "I think that's all due to the boundaries that have been set by my parents in education and you've probably also realized that a lot of people in our generation actually are professionals ..."

Nenad identified his family's lack of social capital and connections, along with the absence of any role models, for the fact that his first steps into the job market were faltering ones. Any drawback flowing from the fact he was from a Serbian background not blatant or obvious. "Maybe the biggest problem was that as a second-generation, with my parents and my parents' friends all coming from a working-class background, there was no one to prepare us for the employment market", Nenad said

## Discussion

### Autobiographical belonging

The notion of 'home' speaks of a personal history, of a place one grew up in, with all those people, memories and stories that correspond with who we are, and who we came to be. The empirical evidence presented for the German second-generation speaks to their dual position in regard to certain aspects of belonging which may be seen in their understanding of 'home', exposure to both cultures, and language usage, as in the social ties they have with both places.

This dualism could be explained by the uncertain status of their parents in the early stages of their settlement in Germany, their parents' reactive response to that instability with an intention to protect their children, and finally the insistent image of being an *Ausländer*. These reasons cannot be regarded independently of one another, because they caused the adaptive response of the second-generation, their own way of adjusting. Granted this, my respondents developed specific feelings of place-belongingness in reference to both their parents' home country and the city where they lived. These results are quite similar to the one presented by the TIES research (Crul, Schneider & Lelie 2012) which pointed out two important factors that quickened the sentiment of belonging for the European second-generation. One such is the city or neighbourhood where an individual grew up, which engenders the sense of having a 'home' in the country of their birth (p. 291). The other is defined as an ethno-national reference, and this factor inspires a sense of belonging to their parents', indeed their ancestral, homeland (p. 297, p. 324).

To a certain extent, my respondents' narratives align with the TIES results for both local and ethno-national references. What variation there is stems from the fact that,

while both references are present in all participants' stories, each chose to emphasize one over another. One of the narratives gives priority to the ethno-national component which has strong roots in their childhood and the time they used to spend in their ancestral homelands. As was mentioned earlier, some respondents were brought up by their grandparents and relatives back in the former Yugoslavia, and some of them even did part of their schooling there. All of them used to spend their summer holidays back there too. This period left a significant influence on their place-belongingness in that pure, unburdened sense one has as a child, that heady combination of being carefree and safe. Besides an attachment to their ancestral homeland, these participants also felt a strong affinity with Hamburg, the city they were living in as adults, when these interviews took place.

The second narrative marks the city as a primary reference point of 'home' belonging. This is where my research and the TIES study differ, because for my participants the civic pride they felt in Hamburg did not make them feel German. Although this idea did not come up in Antonsic's work a useful reference could be the idea of *denizenship* introduced by Rosbrook-Thomson who defines it as "a sense of belonging based on the feeling of being alien (...) to mainstream discourses of nationhood" (2015, p. 1619). This idea was not meant to be some kind of quasi-status intended to belittle the notion of national citizenship. Rather, it transcends legal status in an attempt to envision "the attitudes and modes of belonging of the resident non-citizen" (p. 1629). Although some participants who claim their belonging to the city have German citizenship, the fact they are still considered foreigners in the national realm has affected their alienation from the country.

Although this group expressed their primarily local belonging to the city they live in, their testimonies also refer to the ethno-national component of belonging. In most cases, even under the influence of that emotional attachment, they found the economic situation in the former Yugoslavia confronting and felt they lacked the skills they would need to survive in that situation. Besides economic instability, they also understand there are other differences between themselves and family members or friends over there. Those differences might be referred to as mentality traits, where for example living from hand to mouth is unacceptable for my interviewees. Similarly, some of them feel to be different than their relatives and friends in Serbia in regards to certain freedoms which they cherish as part of a democratic society but which are still not accepted in the land their parents came from (LGBT rights).

By contrast, life stories of the Australian second-generation reflects the notion of being grounded in a place where one lives. As citizens accorded their full rights, they do not question their place in society but rather claim it as something self-evident. The notion of belonging given by Yuval-Davis (2006) may help to elaborate this part of the research. She argues that belongings are not fixed certainties but rather “naturalized construction(s) of a particular hegemonic form of power relations” (p. 199). As such they are constructed on the intersection of the three analytical premises – social location; identification with, and emotional attachment to collectivities; and ethical as well as political value systems (ibid.). Each of these components makes a valuable contribution to one’s sense of belonging, and as such they are both inseparable and irreducible.

When unpacked, the sense of belonging possessed by the Australian group of participants can be understood as follows. Social location represents the positions one

occupies at a specific time and place which “have particular implications *vis-à-vis* the grids of power relations in society” (ibid.). Perceived as white (although at first not white enough), well settled, educated and overall upwardly mobile, they do not represent an overtly visible minority. As stated by Evica and Isidora, people only question them when their name or last name comes up. In most other aspects they do not invoke negative perceptions, at least not these days. Things were different back when they were younger, when a wog-‘skip’ duality was invoked to show up a ‘racial’ distinction between themselves and the Anglo-Saxon majority.

The other two parts of belonging as argued by Yuval-Davis (2006) are being identified as belonging to a multiplicity of groups or collectivities; and sharing the values of the system one lives in. It was argued earlier in this thesis that most in this cohort identified themselves as Australians of Serbian heritage. Being able to feel belonging to the country comes out of the political system they live in. In that sense, their feelings are deeply associated with the political and value system of Australian society. As Evica argues, she would not be able to live anywhere else because she would not be able to be who she is. In this sense this group holds in high esteem the values of multiculturalism and the opportunity to live among all the diverse groups in Australian society.

Going back to the initial premise of belonging where social location, identification and value systems intersect, the testimonies of this Australian group mark them as ‘insiders’, as Probyn (1996) masterfully defines it. Already being Australians, without a fear of trespassing (Crowley 1999, p. 17), for some of them belonging has evolved into something less place-centred. Instead of location, their families have become their sources of stability, of feeling grounded. Knowing where they belong has given them a kind of orientation in life, as Nastasija argues. Having someone with whom you can re-

create that warm home-like feeling of nonchalance provides security in a world that can sometimes be too hectic and overwhelming.

## Relational belonging

Relational belonging is certainly a point of departure for these two groups. This type of belonging refers to one's social capital which is represented as connections between people in the form of networks built upon trust and reciprocity (Antonsich 2010). Understanding how social capital relates community-building and this sense of ownership, highlighted clear gaps between the groups involved in this research. For the German second-generation, belonging to, the Serbian community in Hamburg – however loose-knit it might be – was of greater relevance than any patrimonial tie. This aspect of belonging is discernible in the way they form important interpersonal relationships. Discussing their friendships, the participants emphasize that their closest friends are, in almost all cases, Serbians. Mostly, they are people met through their parents' connections, or through other members of Hamburg's Serbian community. Being among 'our' people where everyone is culturally and linguistically bonded gives them a sense of collectivity and connectedness to something familiar.

Their circles also extend to other migrant groups who like themselves had the same experience of being foreigners in the country where they were born. Sharing the experience of alienation is what directed them towards one another as it became a common ground of solidarity for those who were different. By way of contrast, having German friends is quite uncommon for this second-generation group. This can be appreciated by observing the social distance between German society and my respondents, bearing in mind the discursive practice which positions them as *Ausländer*. Even where an interviewee has German friends, some situations show up

differences in their relative positions of power. While recounting the last time she caught up with German friends, Zora gets riled up with a comment by one of them about asylum seekers from Kosovo and Serbia cheating the system. Although Zora holds the same opinion as her friends, it riled her that her friend lumped her in with ‘those’ people. It was as if she herself was being held accountable because Serbia was not doing much to stop those migrants from going to Germany. This situation points up the process of Othering exercised by the dominant group in society, where the deeds of individuals (in this case members of the Serbian government) are misattributed to the whole community and each of its members.

Another point that clearly shows the social distance between this group and German society is the choice of a marital partner. The interview narratives point out the social norm of marrying one of ‘our’ own, a desideratum not just for the parental generation but also for the peers of those of the next generation in the ‘marriage market’. These two factors are intrinsically intertwined, bearing in mind that their peers are other Serbs who grew up under the same parentally imposed pressure. But responding to this demand seems more difficult than it sounds, and sometimes leaves people at an impasse. As mentioned by Zora, Ilona and Jelena, Hamburg’s community of Serbs is quite small and everyone knows each other. Combine that with the patriarchal viewpoints inherited from their parents’ generation when a woman could be labelled “soiled goods” and things become even more complicated. Some respondents dealt with the situation by finding a partner in Serbia, like Miloš and his friends who all married women from the ancestral homeland. Then again, some – such as Ilona – have a partner who is not from the community but as a Russian or as Orthodox still falls under the ‘desirable’ category.



Marrying outside of the community tests unwritten rules that places people from certain communities into a 'desirable' category and others into an 'undesirable' one. These rules function according to the inherited antagonisms between Serbians and Croatians, or Serbians and Muslims. Although these antitheses are less visible in Serbia itself, or at least do not surface unless triggered by some major event, they persist in diasporic communities. This ban needs to be understood in the broader perspective of being part of a diaspora. As a remnant separated from the homeland, a diaspora strives for essentialist identification practised over and over again for the sake of reconfirming its Serbianness. That idea can come with a positive praxis but also with a negative one – and in this case it has produced an oral taboo, passed down from generation to generation, on marrying an 'enemy' of the nation.

To compound matters, members of this cohort have developed social capital in their ancestral homeland. Chiefly, those connections consist of their families and a vast network of relatives, as is very common in Serbia. Beyond that, they are connected to friends whom they have become close to because they spent part of their lives there, during summer holidays on frequent visits. These links seem to have a large emotional component as participants often speak of the strong bonds they enjoy with people over there.

It is worth going back to the initial premise of social capital which operates as a network-generating reciprocal cycle where by participating one develops a sense of community and even of ownership. Given that, the testimonies of participants in my German case study keep coming back to their exclusion from society. Equally, they point out many times that the fact they are well integrated is evident – most obviously in matters of language, education, employment and respect for the laws of the country – but not when it comes to achieving a feeling of togetherness with ethnic-German

nationals or having acquired any sense of ‘ownership’. The social distance between themselves and Germans, with the latter often marking them out as foreigners in public discourse, shatters or at least impairs the sense that Germany is their country too, the place where they belong.

In contrast to that experience, their ‘cousins’ in Australia exhibit more interconnectedness with their host society overall – that is, with the Anglo-Saxon majority. Growing up within the migrant paradigm, far away from what their parents understood as home, their first social connections were with ‘our’ people. Just as in Germany, the first-generation migrants in Australia tried to re-create familiar social bonds. So, for starters, all the socialization occurred in the circles of ex-Yugoslavian or sometimes just Serbian people. Given that, the respondents’ first social links were imposed by their parents. They served the purpose of maintaining Serbianness and transferring its components – language, religion and tradition – to the second-generation.

Nonetheless, the strong influence of Australian society was evident after they entered the educational system. For some, those first years were not easy as they were exposed to overt racism, being called wog and yelled at to go back where they came from. The need to integrate primarily with their peers amounted to both a push and a pull factor, and the manner and extent to which they became Australianised most likely were precisely the opposite to what their parents would have wanted. Rebellious against the ‘old’ ways imposed by their parents, they now got to choose their friends and social connections in general. For those who came to Australia with their parents or were born in the early years after their parents migrated, that process was slightly delayed. They were kept close to the parental home, connections and traditions for a long time, sometimes up until they started university, and for some it took a failed marriage to set

them free. Those born decades after their parents migrated, after the parents themselves had become more settled and adjusted to Australian life, had a different experience. The influences on them were not as coercive and they had more room to manoeuvre, making it a less bumpy ride for them from the parental to the Australian cultural space.

Notably, parental influence on the choice of the marital partner does not appear to be so prevalent in this group. Their parents did have an opinion about it and tried to impose their own preferences as a means of preserving the tradition, religion and overall Serbian culture. Where a participant had a more traditional upbringing, as Olga did, or had close community ties, as Mašinka and Maksim did, they often found their partner or spouse within the Serbian community. In other cases, participants were more likely to intermarry with Anglo-Saxons. Even then, participants argued that their parents would rather they'd married one of 'ours'. But living in a diverse society tempered the demands and expectations imposed on this group. Their parents' attitudes changed over a course of time as they themselves became more grounded and forged social bonds outside of their own ethnicity. This is again evident in the testimonies of participants who born a decade or two after their parents settled in Australia.

Although the parental generation loosened its grip enough to endorse their children's marriage choices, some bans remained active. As with the German experience, Croatians and Muslims are still widely regarded as unsuitable daughters-in-law and sons-in-law. The reasons are familiar enough, with a family's personal history going back generations featuring tales of enemy deeds. Unlike their German peers, the Australian second-generation does not seem to hold a grudge against these groups. In their personal narratives there is no trace of prejudice against Croats, and when talking about the Muslim population they often refer to the unjust treatment this community suffers in the media or public discourse. Their parents, although living in a multicultural

society, seem nervous around groups they have not had much to do with – such as Asians or Africans (broadly defined though both terms are). Discussing her parents' attitudes, one of my interviewees, Nastasija, put it very simply: "... they were the subjects of racism [but] in many ways they can be racist too ...” Unlike them, the second-generation has been exposed to diverse cultures and people, and fully belonging to Australia's multicultural society.

In summary, when measured against the previously stated parameters this Australian cohort is well integrated into the host society. Their social connections extend way beyond the initial ethnic network of their parents. Taking part in multiple networks of their own, they have forged their social ties based on like-mindedness and affinities rather than on ethnic identities. The high level of intermarriage is a sign of their embeddedness in Australian society and, at the same time, signals that the social distance between themselves and the majority group is very short.

## Economic belonging

Economic stability refers directly to ontological security, defined by Giddens (1995) as providing “answers to fundamental existential questions” (p. 47). One of those questions Giddens defines as existence and being elaborating further that “in ‘doing’ everyday life, all human beings ‘answer’ the question of being, they do it by the nature of the activities they carry out” (p.48). In that sense, being materially stable and able to provide for yourself and your family provides a direct, even blatant answer to the question of being. Thus Yuval-Davis and Kaptani (2008) rightfully conclude that being integrated into the economy of the place one lives in engenders a basic form of belonging to that place. Generally speaking, the research conducted for the purpose of this thesis has dealt with the economic factor only briefly but nonetheless it yielded

enough material to draw conclusions about the participants' socio-economic status. Socio-economic status, attainment (Coates et al. 2011, p. 3) and social mobility are the most important factors when it comes to integration of the second-generation. According to my interviews, their parents decided to undertake the life-changing journey so as to secure a better future for their children. In such circumstances it is not surprising that participants should relate the strict demands their parents placed on them. Receiving an education was a big part of their upbringing, and without exception their parents gave of their best to help their children improve themselves.

Focusing on the economy of that place where they live, my respondents obviously benefit from living in prosperous Germany, but are more specifically attached to the bustling city of Hamburg. At the beginning of Chapter V this dissertation pointed out that the 'German' element in the self-image of that respondent cohort was perceived in the form of social traits acquired throughout life, such as punctuality and being organized. It is because they see these traits as part of who they are that they cannot envision themselves living in their parental homelands where the work ethic is starkly different. Despite not having citizenship in many cases, they have an unrestricted right to stay and work in Germany, and their high degree of integration with the economy is proved by the fact that they occupy positions ranging from civil servant to being employed by multinational corporations, from being self-employed to working in hospitality.

Employability certainly raises the matter of discrimination, which some respondents reported. This discrimination is according to their own words related to the fact that they are not German nationals, in the sense of not being ethnic German. Although their qualifications, command of language and work ethic are fully commensurate with their German peers, they feel they have to put in more effort in whatever they are doing. It

is as if, because they are *Ausländer*, they need to prove themselves worthy of the chance that has been given them. This situation speaks to an underlying level of discrimination, where people who were born and have spent their entire lives in Germany are made to feel that the right to work which other Germans claim for themselves is a privilege for them. Germany grants those privileges which, like all privileges, are arbitrary and can be withheld at someone's whim. Obligating this group to feel grateful rather than share the expectation that as part of society they have an equal right to a job, German society extends the social distance between them and ethnic Germans, for all to see.

In the Australian case, respondents also enjoy a higher socio-economic status than their parents had. Upward mobility was supported by their parents' insistence on getting a good education and attaining a higher status. Although schooled mostly in the state system – and sometimes in the worst-resourced parts of that system – these interviewees occupy respected positions in the workforce: they have 'succeeded' in life. They report no discrimination but their conditions to start off with were not enviable. Typically, their parents were manual workers who could do little to assist their children's integration in the community at large. No one could prepare them for work outside of a factory context, yet their longing to become part of Australian society helped them overcome all obstacles and successfully navigate their careers.

## Chapter VII Language, tradition, religion, culture, and stories from the homeland as belonging

This chapter analyses language, tradition, religion, culture, and stories from the homeland as components of belonging. The language component creates the starkest distinction between these two groups, as the German interviewees fall under the category of bilinguals while the Australian second-generation has a weaker command of the parental language (see Portes and Schauffler 1994; Portes and Hao 2002). Also, when it comes to culture, tradition and (in most cases), religion both groups are textbook examples of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979, 1994; Waters 1996). It is relevant here to explain that religion in the Serbian context is frequently understood as a tradition rather than a Church-related practice. In spite of this fact, four of the interviewees from the Australian cohort consider themselves religious, which is why their cases are addressed separately. Finally, the stories that their parents told them of the homeland, or of certain personal events, also contributed to their sense of belonging.

### Germany

#### Language

The participants interviewed in Germany are fluent in both Serbian and German, and possess an intelligible understanding of the accompanying characteristics of a language such as its use of contemporary symbolism and metaphors. Their frequent journeys back to the ancestral homeland affords them to maintain their fluency in speaking Serbian as well as to pick up the latest usages. They would usually pick up slang and then clumsily combined it with their variant of Serbian. One aspect where they cannot keep up is with special idioms such as jokes. Being in constant flux, humour feeds off

the everyday life of a community, so most of the survey participants would be at a loss in that regard.

That apart, their knowledge of Serbian is quite admirable, and – together with their absorption of traditional and religious lore – an important part of their identification. Growing up, they would speak Serbian at home, and Miloš says his father would be very angry if he and his sister spoke German in the house. Miloš and Dunja spend a portion of their youth with relatives in Serbia and even went to school there for a time, which helped with the language. Yet, their parents made attendance at what was then called the ‘Yugoslav language school’<sup>66</sup> mandatory, which wasn’t very effective but bolstered their links with the Serbian community in Hamburg.

I went to the Yugoslav supplementary school up until the ’90s and then again when we got back from Serbia ... but that was ridiculous because the assignment was to write a sentence from the Latin alphabet in Cyrillic alphabet<sup>67</sup> and I used to do it in two minutes.

Nowadays he uses Serbian in multiple situations – at work, catching up with Serbian friends or conversing with his wife, who is from Serbia. Miloš argues that his Serbian is not that great, he knows maybe 70 per cent of the terms he needs and that this lack of perfection was particularly noticeable when he worked for a German-Serbian export-import firm. Work-related terms gave him particular trouble, and he would often rely on a Google translator. On the other hand, he is proud of his German: again speaking as an economist, he estimates his fluency at 95 per cent. Miloš cannot remember when

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<sup>66</sup> Language schools are quite common in diasporic communities.

<sup>67</sup> The Serbian language uses both alphabets.



he did not understand German, he thinks he picked it up while playing with the children on the street or via the TV.

Miloš's sister Dunja starts her story about the language by talking about her personal history of living in two countries and in two languages. Born in Hamburg while her parents were working there, she was taken to Serbia when just a year old to live with her grandparents and other relatives. She stayed there until age 6 and spoke only Serbian in that time. Her parents then took her back to Hamburg where she finished primary school but Dunja says she was longing to go back. She did so in her late teens, attending high school in Pančevo for a year and a half. Educated in both languages, Dunja has an excellent command of each, only occasionally encountering a word she has not heard before. Now as a mother, she tries to pass Serbian on to her children

In a sense there's a deal that we speak Serbian in the house but sometimes the German word comes out first, then a Serbian one ... I guess because I have more contact with it ... but it's important to us to speak in Serbian because of the kids ...

For most of their everyday life my interviewees use German to communicate, even though they are trying to keep up their Serbian at the same time. Zora says she speaks better German because that's what she has most practice in, but she also uses her Serbian. Since most of her friends are Serbian, they try speaking it whenever they meet but sometimes the conversation will inevitably drift into German. With friends, they make small talk in Serbian, use it to comment on someone's hairstyle or outfit (she confesses this in a mock-conspiratorial tone.) In such a situation, language virtually becomes a secret code, in which Zora and her friends can create a 'secure zone' where they have the freedom to speak confidentially without being understood by others

outside the group. Zora says she is keeping up her Serbian skills by watching Serbian-language movies or TV channels:

We always had Serbian TV channels like Pink, RTS, DM [SAT] ... I also watch our movies: I think I saw *Žikina dinastija*, like, five times ...

It was mentioned earlier that the interviews with this group were conducted in Serbian. In that regard something that caught my attention was the borrowing of German words but with the relevant Serbian suffixes added. In my interview with Zora and her friends these types of borrowing were quite frequent. For instance, Zora would often refer to herself as an *Ausländer* (foreigner). But instead of the gendered noun in German, which would be *Ausländerin*, she would use the hybrid word *Ausländer-ka* which contains a Serbian suffix used to form the grammatical female gender.

The notion of a mother tongue is quite elusive in this group and does not seem to follow any particular pattern. It is more of an individual feeling than some idea ingrained in a generic definition where a mother tongue would literally be the language your parents spoke. People sharing a similar experience of growing up and being schooled in both places do not necessarily give the same answer to this query: sometimes the mother tongue is Serbian, sometimes German, and in some cases people claim both languages as their mother tongues. The situation is the same with the people who have spent their entire lives, and were schooled, in Germany. Jelena argues her German is far better than her Serbian even though she spent part of her childhood in Kosovo and still goes there quite often. She finds that sometimes a word escapes her so instead of using a Serbian substitute she will fill in with a German one that comes more readily to her or she uses some basic vowel exercise – going *eee, aaa, eee* – in a bid to recall a word that ‘just on the tip of her tongue’. When she is back in Kosovo she reverts to speaking exclusively

in Serbia, but in Germany with her Serbian friends it is very much half and half, combining the language and grammar of both languages as Zora did.

... there would be a situation where the three of us would get together and then we would say some words in Serbian and some words in German that's very common ... I think that happens to everyone who lives here. Because some words are easier to understand in Serbian and some in German and so on ...

Jelena is the interviewee who claims both Serbian and German as her mother tongues. As she explains it, both languages have had a big influence on her everyday life. Some things are easier to explain in German and others in Serbian, and the words come naturally to her.

I would say both, but maybe a little bit more Serbian. And in which language does "I love you" mean more? In Serbian! So 'What would be your mother tongue' then? Both! (Jelena)

Jelena's last point there applies across the board. No matter which language they perceive as their mother tongue, words of endearment have greater symbolic power if expressed in Serbian. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that they learnt those words in Serbian from their parents who would speak to them in that tone and language among their earliest memories. In this connection Dunja had a very expressive reaction to my question about her emotional attachment to the Serbian language, saying: "Oh I swear better in Serbian, but then I also coo-chee-coo-chee-coo <sup>68</sup> better in Serbian!"

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<sup>68</sup> She actually used the verb *tepati*, used for voicing endearments to a newborn baby and very young children.

## Culture

The second-generation were raised by parents desperate to preserve their Serbian shell within the distinctly German society beyond their domestic walls – a German society often regarded as Western and without “traditional” values. Growing up within these newly formed but close-knit groups clinging to their Serbian heritage influenced my participants to imbibe some of those cultural forms. Entities such as Yugoslavian clubs, language schools and folk-dance troupes served to keep their culture alive. Ognjen maintains that such institutions were commonplace in the first generation’s heyday but these days there are fewer places for people to gather. Events are still organized by the Church or the consulate but not as many as before.

These days there are just some things organized by the Church ... but it’s less and less as the time passes. If you went south from Hamburg you would find a lot of organizations and community events. But here we don’t have *kafana*<sup>69</sup> or a club. I’m not sure why that is.

One of the places where community gathers is the folk-dance club *Mladost* where Dušan is the president. Dancing is not the only thing Dušan associates with Serbian culture, he also loves Serbian folk music, be it modern or more traditional. He says his mobile phone is packed with Serbian music and that is what he and his friends mostly listen to when they hang out together. Dušan says those songs are different from R&B or any other pop music of the present day because “those songs have a special place in my heart. They have the power to take me all the way back home.”

Serbian popular music has a significant place in the lives of all my participants not only because it transports them back ‘home’, as Dušan says, but because for them it is a

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<sup>69</sup> *Kafana* would be a type of restaurant with ethnic cuisine – similar, for example, to a Greek *taverna*.

token of their belonging to the Serbian community. Ilona describes “the feeling” she has when listening to Ceca <sup>70</sup> or other Serbian musical artists. The emotions in these songs speak directly to her just because they are couched in the Serbian language. Having a non-Serbian partner makes it hard for her to share those emotions, especially because he places no value on her relationship with that music.

When I play my music, Sergei always says, “You’re playing your Gypsy music again!” At times like that I just want to kill him!

Because there are not many places where one can go and listen to Serbian music, a few years ago Stefan and a couple of friends started organizing a party at which Serbian pop music was played. Those parties are now quite popular amongst my participants and every time there is one on it is perceived as something special and draws a substantial crowd from the ranks of ‘our’ people.

Some of us decided we should organize a party and it was a success ... ‘our’ people come there, I mean all people from the former Yugoslavia but also a lot of Greeks, Russian, Germans ... there’s sometimes around 1,000 people at those parties and we do it five times a year.

Yet for most of the community if they are not engaged in some sort of club or organization their association with Serbian culture is only sporadic. As members of German society they are consumers of German and global culture as presented in movies, the theatre or galleries. Dunja and her husband are museum and theatre members and go out whenever they can. She wants to instil that love of culture in her children as well. She also loves attending peace rallies – which are a staple of German

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<sup>70</sup> Ceca is one of Serbia’s favourite folk singers.

culture themselves – and aims to teach her children about the necessity of civic engagement.

Germany has a special tradition, the so-called Easter peace march, we went along last year to protest against the war in Afghanistan ... I want to show them [her children] how to be involved and how people rally for the cause ...

## Tradition and religion as cultural factors - Being Serbian in Germany

Tradition and religion, as with language, are seen as part of one's identification but also as components of belonging and all three possess important symbolic capital for this group. Talking about her parents' influence, Dunja homed in on tradition and religion: "My parents wanted to keep that for us ... they wanted us to remain Serbians in Germany." (Dunja). As in any diaspora, the parents were afraid their children would get assimilated into a culture that was foreign to them, and lose their sense of who they were. Dunja's brother Miloš also reflected on their parents' faith but saw their religiosity as more to do with their 'intrinsic' Serbian ways.

My parents are religious but I wouldn't claim they do everything according to the right [doctrine] <sup>71</sup> or they would know a lot of things [on the finer points of theology] but they are Orthodox so that's what they gave me and from the things that I have seen so far they are OK. I don't think it's some nasty religion, it's not essentially evil.

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<sup>71</sup> Here the confusion between religion and tradition comes into play, because traditions are very localized and every village or part of the Serbia has different rituals. But as tradition is intertwined with religion which should be more centralized and uniform, people quite often get confused about it. For example, Christmas is both a religious and a traditional celebration – its uniqueness lying in the date and seasonal fasting but how it is celebrated is strictly traditional and subject to local customs.

Tradition is taught in the form of keeping *Slava*, Orthodoxy, celebrating Serbian Christmas and Easter, and speaking Serbian. Miloš wants to preserve all that. Although he understands himself as religious, he does not read the Bible or go to church but rather keeps what he received from his parents, about good and bad deeds and the “red letter in the calendar”<sup>72</sup>.

Being Orthodox is an important signifier of Serbianness and Nemanja argues that it is a big part of who he is. He was christened in Kosovo, as were his wife and children. Nemanja and his wife even got married in the church in Serbia although they were both born and grew up in Hamburg. He also ensures observance of the family’s *Slava*, and of Orthodox religious holidays as a part of tradition they practise, which again differentiates them from Germans.

We have a different tradition around Christmas, there’s not that part about the *konsum*<sup>73</sup>. There is no extravagant giving. I still love that part [the simplicity of a Serbian Christmas] and that’s what I want to transfer to my sons and we’re trying to give them the most beautiful parts of our tradition ... like when a priest comes to bless the house – and if he comes for *Slava*, that’s something special in our tradition.

Nemanja learnt about the Serbian tradition from his parents but also through the clubs where *gastarbeiter* were socializing. Those clubs were used as casual meeting haunts where this diasporic group would spend their free time, evoking the sounds, scents and tastes of ‘home’.

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<sup>72</sup> The “red letter in the calendar” refers to the days of the year that are big religious holidays and as such are marked in bold red font in the Orthodox Church calendar. As a matter of fact, it is not a letter but a number. In English vernacular, this sense is conveyed by the term “a red-letter day” for a special day worth celebrating.

<sup>73</sup> *Konsum* in German means consumption but he is referring to the excessive buying of gifts that has become part of the Western Christmas tradition.

Well, we basically grew up in those Yugoslav clubs where our *gastarbeiter* would hang out. We would go there for the music, singers came, there was a lot of food, and people would have weddings, celebrate birthdays ...

People often get conflicted when talking about religion and tradition, because what was accepted without question by their parents' generation 'raises an eyebrow' for my participants. Melanija argues that she is religious but not 'fundamentalist', referring to some Serbian Orthodox rites she finds confusing, like, for example, *zadušnice* (the Serbian variation of All Souls' Day). *Zadušnice* are observances routinely associated with certain religious dates in the Serbian Orthodox calendar devoted to remembrance for deceased members of a family. In the Orthodox faith these observances take place several times a year, and the custom consists of bringing an offering and lighting candles at the tombs of close family members, relatives and friends.

I don't believe in that, I mean it's ridiculous. People think that's religion but I would rather say it is tradition ... the same as *Slava* ... We argue about that with Dad quite often.

Melanija learnt about tradition while living in Serbia in her early childhood, and says she just picked it up because she was immersed in the experience. She also refers to as tradition the music they used to listen with their parents or the stories they used to tell them when they were children. One of those stories about some mischief her father got into as a young boy traced an educational arc in Melanija's memory.

There's one beautiful story about Dad and our granddad, who was a really strict man. So our dad and his friends were out somewhere, in the meadows taking care of the pigs and they decided to make a cigarette out of some hay that they found. They wrapped it in newspapers and smoked it ... And then some man



from the village saw, and because the village is small he went to our granddad and told him. So when our dad came back home his father took a rooster, put his head on a stump, took an axe and told him that if he ever heard again that he was smoking he would do the same to him ... I mean it's a bit funny but Dad says won't go near a cigarette even today.

Food is an important part of the tradition and, like other migrant children, my respondents grew up eating home-cooked meals their mothers had made. On hearing my question about food, Melanija excitedly exclaimed: "We always ate home-cooked food, stuffed capsicums, *sarma*, *pljeskavice*<sup>74</sup> ... everything. We grew up eating that!" The food evokes a deep sense of belonging for my survey participants, as evidenced by Dušan: "I love eating *ćevapi*<sup>75</sup>, it may mean nothing much to 'our' people down there but for us that's somehow ... like, when we 'come back' from diaspora<sup>76</sup>, the very next day I go and buy *ćevapi* and for me that's like coming back home."

Nemanja also identifies food as an important part of his tradition, saying you can understand a lot about the differences between Serbians and Germans just by looking at their preferred cuisine. Although both cuisines favour spicy food, to Nemanja there's

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<sup>74</sup> *Sarma* is an equivalent to *dolma*. It is made of fermented cabbage leaves and the mix of minced meat, rice, onions and spices. Alternatively, during periods of religious fasting minced meat is replaced with soy flakes and mushrooms. This is mostly winter dish.

While *pljeskavica* is "a grilled dish of spiced meat patty mixture of pork, beef and lamb, is a national dish of Serbia, also popular in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. It is a main course served with onions, *kajmak* (milk cream), *ajvar* (relish), and *urnebes* (spicy cheese salad), either on plate with side dishes, or with *lepinja* (flatbread, as a type of hamburger)." <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pljeskavica> (last retrieved on 11/02/2018).

<sup>75</sup> "Ćevapi or *ćevapčići* is a grilled dish of minced meat, a type of skinless sausage, found traditionally in the countries of south eastern Europe (the Balkans). They are considered a national dish in Bosnia and Herzegovina[1] and Serbia[2][3][4] and are also common in Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Albania, Slovenia, as well as in Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria. Ćevapi has its origins in the Balkans during the Ottoman period, and represents a regional speciality similar to the *köfte kebab*." <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86evapi> (retrieved on 11/02/2018).

Important notice: as a vegetarian, the author of this thesis is not an expert on meat based dishes hence some explanation are based on Wikipedia entries

<sup>76</sup> Here again, being based in dual location comes into a play. Dušan says "when we come back from diaspora" referring to Hamburg where he is born and lives as 'diaspora' while in that case Bosnia where his parents came from becomes 'home'.

spicy and then there's really spicy, and he prefers the Serbian way because it was 'put in his cradle'.<sup>77</sup> Eating *ćevapi*, *sarma* and other Serbian dishes takes him back to his childhood, and even though his wife prepares the same food it is not the same as his mother used to make. Nemanja's affection for Serbian food goes so far that he even brings *zimnica* back from Serbia. *Zimnica* is 'home bottling' the traditional way of preserving vegetables, fruit and the like in winter.

We still make *zimnica*, we actually bring *zimnica* from Serbia, we can't live without *ajvar*<sup>78</sup> ... I mean you can buy it here but it's not the same as home-made. My aunty makes *ajvar* for me! But quite a lot of times we are there ourselves [in Serbia] on the occasions when it's made.

No conversation about traditional Serbian food would be complete without mentioning *rakija*, the traditional firewater made mostly from plums, but also from other fruits such as apricots, quinces and pears. Nemanja says *rakija* is an unavoidable topic if we're going to talk about food and every Serbian house in Hamburg will have some.

## Australia

### Language

Akin to their peers in Germany, Australia's second-generation mostly grew up in a household where Serbian was the only language spoken. Their exposure to Serbian was further enhanced by social connections with other Serbians, or of former Yugoslavians from all parts. Sofia says she started learning English when she started kindergarten: being three or four years old, she recalls, she not having any difficulties picking up the language. Nenad has a similar story: in their house Serbian was the only language so

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<sup>77</sup> Meaning he was fed on it since his earliest years.

<sup>78</sup> *Ajvar* is a capsicum-based condiment.

he started learning English only at primary school. He recalls familiarizing himself with it quite quickly, even being better in spelling than other kids as early as Grade 2. Nenad's father was an educated man: being a priest in the Serbian Orthodox Church impelled him to give Serbian-language classes to the children of his parishioners.

My father was an educated man and he held classes at home as well as in church ... Later on in years 11 and 12 I would spend my Saturdays in the Serbian-language school which was a part of Victoria University in Footscray. I did it mostly because I wanted to be with my friends, but my parents noticed my Serbian got better.

Evica's experience was different: her parents came from a village in Bosnia and being uneducated manual workers they were not much of a help to their children. She remembers struggling through school because she had to figure everything out by herself. Evica started learning English in school, and she remembers having issues with reading and with translating things literally from Serbian to English.

But there was nobody! We had to self-educate and particularly me, I am the eldest. There was nobody helping me through, it was just me and my sisters. I would sit with them and ... read to them and they would read to me. I helped them navigate the university system whereas there was nobody there to navigate it for me ...

Evica self-assessed her knowledge of Serbian as very good, and still uses the language to speak to her parents. The language her parents conveyed to Evica and her sisters was rather archaic, reflecting their rural background. That said, she finds it slightly awkward speaking with her cousins from overseas or Serbians who came to Australia in the refugee exodus of the 1990s. Still, there are quite a few situations when she speaks

Serbian – for example, when she is with her parents or cousins, and also when she provides counselling services to members of the Serbian community. Bearing in mind that her parents hardly speak any English at all and she is married to an Australian, communication is something a thorny problem. But they manage it anyway. As Evica said, they communicate “with their hands, very broken English and myself”.

For Nastasija, transiting from Serbian to English happened spontaneously and the more she got involved with the broader society the more English became her dominant mode of communication. Although Serbian was still spoken at home, that started fading after her grandparents passed away and her parents become more integrated into Australian society. She noticed, while growing up, that she started using English exclusively when speaking to her parents, and today she rarely addresses them in Serbian. On the other hand she sometimes speaks Serbian with other people from the community, hence her impression that her conversational level is quite good. Nastasija also reflected on an experience she had while back in Serbia she decided to take a tour bus around Belgrade. In spite of her own judgement that she speaks Serbian well, she had trouble understanding the tour guide.

So we were in Serbia about six months ago with friends and I actually went on a tour in Belgrade and the man from Belgrade, when he was speaking, I found quite difficult to understand ... I believe he was talking quite fast and, that said, I'm an average speaker but there was a lot that I didn't understand ... I don't know if that's something to do with the fact that that my parents are from Vojvodina and they apparently tend to speak slower ... so I'm used to slower-spoken Serbian ... But now that I reflect on it again I'd say my Serbian is poor to middling.

In contrast, participants whose marital partner is from Serbian community tend to speak the language more often than others. Maksim's wife is Serbian and, although both his and her parents speak English quite well, they all converse in Serbian. He said that as a couple, they also strove to pass the language on to their children, with varying success depending on the child. "Our eldest daughter speaks Serbian and the youngest hardly at all. I tried to push it but, for whatever reason, she doesn't want to." That is Mašinka's experience too. She speaks Serbian to her parents and with her husband, a Serbian from Montenegro. Throughout the interview she used a lot of Serbian words or expressions to point up her emotional attachment to certain situations or practices. I found that to be priceless as she could convey the emotion to me, and for that reason I decided to leave those parts in their original form. Although I am aware that those parts of the interview would have no effect on someone who does not speak Serbian and is not familiar with the culture and its customs, simply translating those words into English would ruin the beauty of Mašinka's narrative.

So my parents are from *Dalmacija* [Dalmatia], then we moved to Geelong where there were a lot of *Hrvati* [Croatians] who speak *ijekavica*<sup>79</sup> then I moved to *ekavica*<sup>80</sup> really quick ... but my husband is Crnogorac [Montenegreen], and my language and grammar are all over the place ... And my children don't speak Serbian as well as I would like them to ... My husband came here in the 1990s so he speaks fluently, and my mother ... I'm, like, "I really don't understand why don't you speak Serbian to the children. They understand everything. Speak to them in *Srpski* [Serbian]."

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<sup>79</sup> *Ijekavica* or *jekavica* is a set of pronunciations in Serbian language, mainly for Serbian groups in Croatia and Bosnia.

<sup>80</sup> *Ekavica* is a form of pronunciation spoken in Serbia

Language, similar to other ethnic traits, was imposed differently on the first, second and third child. An anecdote from my fieldwork illustrates this last statement very well. One of the contacts I found through a community organisation gave me his daughter's phone number, telling me I should text her in Serbian because she speaks the language well. Later on, after we exchanged messages in English I finally got to interview her. During our conversation she commented on my text message: "I tried to read your message for twenty minutes ... then I had to get help to convert it ..." (Ljuba). She later explained that as the youngest child in the family the language was not forced on her, she did not have to attend Serbian-language classes as her two elder sisters did. Then, after her parents got divorced she went to live with her mother who was quite fluent in English and did not force her to speak Serbian.

Ljuba said that, although she was born in Australia, English was her second language because they only used to speak Serbo-Croatian at home. She remembers going to kindergarten and not being able to spell her name for a long time. Wanting to conform to her peer group, she was embarrassed by her ethnic background and wanted to be Australian. Spending time with her father was the only opportunity to speak Serbo-Croatian, but even then because she was not as fluent as her sisters were they would often make fun of her.

I would speak 'Yugoslav' to my dad ... I would go to *zabave* [parties] and all the dances too, even when I was living with Mum I went there for Christmas and Easter and I would speak Yugoslav with him. But then I really started to lose it, because with Mum I speak English and with other cousins we speak English as well ...

Petar had a similar story to tell because as the youngest child he did not spend a lot of time around his grandparents, who were the main Serbian-speakers. By the time they passed away, Petar's parents became more integrated in Australia and spoke English with their children most of the time.

I used to avoid speaking it at home. I didn't need to, I was in Australia. I was young and rebellious and ignorant of it. I was really rejecting my culture.

But in 2004 Petar decided to spend some time in his parents' home town, unaware that the language rift would be an obstacle. He had to learn fast, otherwise he would have had no one he could speak to. Petar estimates he has about 10 per cent utility in the language, enough to get him by for simple conversations. He often mixes grammatical genders because he does not understand the difference, and will add a masculine suffix to a feminine noun. Also, Petar refers to the Serbian Cyrillic as to the Russian alphabet and the Serbian Latin alphabet as English Serbian style.

The testimonies of most participants show that in later adolescence they started losing contact with the Serbian language, with English becoming their primary mode of communication. Growing up in Australia and the need to belong to one's peer group were push factors in gaining English the upper hand. But now, more mature and with children of their own, they would love to teach them about the culture and language they once denounced. With this in mind, Ljuba – who while growing up wanted to be “only” Australian – now wants her newborn son to know about her culture and traditions.

Now that I have a kid I have found that I want to learn it again and to be able to speak it. I asked Dad to speak to Taylor in Yugoslav because I know kids can easily pick it up ...

Interviewees who had married non-Serbian spouses found it hard to convey the language to their children. Nastasija accepts that being married to an Australian it would be unfair to her husband if she were to speak to their children in a tongue he couldn't understand. Reflecting on it from this juncture in her life, she thinks her husband wouldn't see it as particularly wrong, especially since he is well integrated into her family and enjoys its cultural traditions. The children themselves had indicated they expected to be taught Serbian, and wanted to, especially after visiting the country which they were keen to do again in future:

Certainly now that we've all gone over there as a family, the kids have indicated they expected to be taught Serbian, and have even said, "Why didn't you teach us? It would've been easy." So we decided it wasn't too late for them to start learning the language now, because they do want to go again and also, I suppose, just to teach them a bit about my culture – well, at least a part of it.

Given all that was previously said about the language, it is worth discussing the significance of a mother tongue. Although their first impressions of the world are inevitably articulated in their parents' language that does not necessarily qualify as a mother tongue. The meaning is quite elusive and, similar to their peers in Germany, members of the Australian cohort who had been through similar – even identical – experiences does not necessarily give the same answers. For instance, Margarita would argue that she understands her mother tongue in relation to where you came from; most probably an allusion to her family. Elaborating on that, she says they as a family have spoke Serbian at home and that is why she considers it her mother tongue. Yet she uses English in most situations that crop up in everyday life and rates that language as her 'natural' one. Nastasija and Margarita are first cousins, who grew up in very similar circumstances and spent the weekends and holidays together. Despite that, Nastasija's



viewpoint on what her principal language is differs, as she says: “I do have to say English, I think it’s a very simplistic opinion, though, only because I know it better and was born here.”

Regardless of such answers, most of the interviewees use some words in Serbian that have stayed with them. Given how common this was across the cohort, I was intrigued to know which words those might be, for example if ‘I love you’ in Serbian might mean more than ‘I love you’ does in English. Olga and Ljuba maintain that ‘I love you’ means more in English because that is their mother tongue, but there are some other words they use as well, such as *mazi* (to cuddle) and *pile* (chook). Both are terms of endearment, often used as a form of address by parents to young children.

My husband knows that word: he would say, “Do you want me to *mazi* you?” I use *mazi mene* <sup>81</sup> and my husband calls thongs *japanke* and some words have never left me, I guess, like, I would say, “It’s in the *frižider* [fridge].” ... (Ljuba)

Evica says she thinks that Serbian does not have an expression for ‘I love you’ so she always uses the English phrase even when talking to her parents. But some other words she likes better said in Serbian and she feels that in translation they would not have the same impact. “There are certainly some words that can’t be translated: *inat* <sup>82</sup> or *smotan* <sup>83</sup>,” she said. There is a Serbian saying, ‘*Smotan kao sarma*’ <sup>84</sup> which refers to someone’s extreme clumsiness, and I asked Evica if she knew it. That made her laugh because she knew what it meant so she assented: “There are some terms and it particularly comes out if I try to translate them: they are beyond translation ...”

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<sup>81</sup> Ljuba uses a variant that is irregular in Serbian: *mazi mene* should be *mazi me*, but she makes this mistake because she knows the basics rather than being a fluent speaker. The phrase translates to ‘Cuddle me’ in English.

<sup>82</sup> Spite

<sup>83</sup> Clumsy

<sup>84</sup> This is a play-on-words and cannot be translated to English

In Nastasija's case 'I love you' means more in Serbian, even though she claims English is her mother tongue. This makes her feel conflicted because when she says *Volim te* she's not sure if her children or husband can feel the emotion behind those words.

I've often thought about that ... I think a lot in Serbian but I can't translate that into English, and you're right in the sense that it's a mother tongue because that's how I've been spoken to, and I know how endearing it is to be spoken to like that. So when I say *pile moje*<sup>85</sup> to my kids they can't understand how much that means to me but it's absolutely very much an emotional thing ...

Nastasija made an additional point here: whenever she feels angry she swears in Serbian and it feels different to swearing in English. She says Australian Serbians consider swearing in English to be very offensive, which strikes her as odd. Considering social mores back in the 1970s it might be that as migrants the first generation were the target of a racist outburst usually followed by a few swearwords. When people, new to a country, feel conscious of being foreigners, those words are raw, affecting them more harshly, and have a long-lasting effect. But, within the Serbian community, when tensions escalate between friends or family members, and even when curses are involved, things quickly settle down. Mašinka said as much when speaking of disagreements between her father and uncle. "Whenever they would have a fight, my uncle would come to our place the next day and say, '*Hajde da popijemo po jednu*' ('Come on, let's have a drink')."

Another observation flowed from this question, the very common opinion that Serbian language lacks a word for love. Basically the same train of thought was repeated in several cases. After I would say there was a word for 'love' – *ljubav* as a noun and

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<sup>85</sup> My chook

*volim te* as a verb form, the respondents would translate that to ‘like’. Confronted with the fact that in Serbian ‘to like’ is *svidja mi se* they would get a little confused, saying those words did not have quite that meaning for them. The conversation with Evica was particularly interesting because she tried to figure out how that would work in Serbian.

No, you see I've heard of *svidja mi se* but that wasn't a term my parents regularly used. If they liked something, they would say *volim*. Whereas you can *be in love*, you can't *love* ... I don't think we have a word for ‘love’. But *biti zaljubljen ili u ljubav* (to be in love), that for me is love. But I love you? *Ja ljubav tebe?*<sup>86</sup>

Here Evica got caught up in the complex grammar of Serbian where the noun cannot be transformed into a verb or vice versa. To make things more complicated, her parents had conveyed these terms wrongly to her. For instance, Evica knows *Volim te* (a verb meaning ‘to love’ someone or something) as if it really meant ‘to like’, and *biti zaljubljen* (a verb meaning ‘to fall in love’) as if it really meant ‘to love’ (which, strictly speaking, is *voleti* in Serbian). Her explanation is that her parents came from a small village where they probably did not use the word for ‘love’ and spoke in very basic parlance. Another interviewee, Pavle, also struggled with the difference between the verbs for ‘love’ and ‘like’, summing the problem up by saying lots of “the meaning got lost in migration”.

## Tradition and culture

Being a part of a diaspora, members of this group reflect concepts of unrooted-ness as well as uprootedness. In their everyday lives they are immersed in Australian society, but special family or community occasions link them to something that could be

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<sup>86</sup> Evica uses the noun *ljubav* instead of the verb *volim*, applying a standard English-language rule where a noun can often be used alternatively as a verb.

recognized as pan-Serbianness. Celebrating certain religious events such as Christmas and Easter which are maintained according to the Old Calendar in Serbian Orthodoxy, and especially doing it the way it is done in the old country, give them a strong sense of belonging to a collectivity. Another special occasion is *Slava*, a religious tradition specific to Serbian Orthodoxy which, as previously explained, is rooted deep in the sense of family and within the cult of ancestor-worship. Being outside the motherland the observance of such traditions or cultural practices is considered of a symbolic character. On this matter, Nastasija poignantly says, “It will always be with me, although I don't have many opportunities to experience those traditions with my family. It I only brief, because I was brought up in a multicultural society.”

For Evica, tradition comes from her heritage, her ethnic roots, and forms a big part of who she is, so keeping aspects of that heritage alive taps deep emotions within her. For her, the most prominent occasions would be Christmas, Easter and *Slava*, especially in the way her parents do it. Every occasion has its preparation rituals when special food is made, which brings the family together. For Christmas, the tradition is to have a *Badnje večer* – Christmas Eve when the whole family goes to church and brings home *badnjak*<sup>87</sup>. Next morning they break their fast with a big family meal at her parents' place. In the Old Country, the ritual would be to eat before sunrise but, bearing in mind that in Australia Christmas falls in summer, the family gathers here in the early morning.

And again going to church for Christmas we don't eat with spoons or knives, and Mum makes a special meal we have only at Christmastime. It's this rice dish, because you can't eat with a spoon, so it's rice and fish and she makes

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<sup>87</sup> *Badnjak* is the sacred oak tree used in Christmas rituals.

some bread with a coin in it and then you eat the pork but you don't eat the whole pig, you just eat a part and then another part for New Year<sup>88</sup> and another for *Sveti Jovan*, which is our *Slava*.

Easter is another tradition Evica likes, and it is all about getting together on Good Friday, colouring eggs and having family time. She also talked about *Slava*, a day on which Evica takes time off from work and enjoys being surrounded by kith and kin. As she is married to an Australian (in the sense that he's descended from the Anglo-Saxon majority), she reflected on how vital it was to have his support and understanding in these matters. Evica is convinced her husband cannot feel the way she does on these occasions, but his support is a must for her, non-negotiable. She leaves him to pick and choose those parts of the festivities he wants to take part in, be a lunch at her parents' after church at Easter or joining them on *Slava* day after he has finished work.

Mašinka finds tradition to be a very important part of who she is, and wherever she works she announces upfront that she will be taking the days off for her *Slava* and Orthodox Christmas. After each of these feasts Mašinka brings cakes and food to her workplace and shares them with her colleagues. In her view, sharing is a key part of living in a multicultural society because there is so much you can learn, and there always are some similarities between cultures.

I always bring food and cakes afterwards, I like to share ... And I like to know about other cultures. At another workplace there were many Jewish people so we would sit and share, talk about our cultures, and how many similarities there are ...

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<sup>88</sup> Evica is referring to Serbian New Year: celebrated according to the Old Calendar, it falls on January 13<sup>th</sup>

By way of contrast, for Margarita who grew up in the mixed marriage – her father Serbian, her mother Croatian – tradition revolves more around the Sunday meal. To her it is a pleasant memory, as she recalls the food they would usually have, such as chicken soup, and chicken with potatoes, tomato sauce and rice. Margarita also remembers parties for the family and other relatives who would visit, when women would make traditional cakes, *sarma* and bread. The way religious holidays such as Christmas and Easter were celebrated was changing even as she was growing up. While her parents were still married, they would celebrate only the Orthodox holy days because her father was very conservative and everything had to be “his way or no way”. As it is, Margarita’s mother and grandmother did not have a say in these matters, and she feels looking back from the present day that it must have been really hard on them. Now that the parents are divorced she celebrates both Orthodox and Catholic religious occasions.

It’s still a part of me, it will always be a part of me ... so I don’t go to the church any more [but] when I was a lot younger I went with my dad. But now obviously growing up and work gets in the way, or life ... but I obviously do like a normal Christmas and Easter for my mum because she is Croatian [Catholic tradition], and then Serbian Easter and Serbian Christmas ...

Margarita’s elder sister Olga got married very young to a Serbian man, and she thinks that had a big impact on her idea of tradition. Arguing that tradition and religion had a greater importance for that first generation, she feels she was pushed by her father, and later her mother-in-law, into maintaining certain rituals. Olga gives the example of a priest coming to bless the house before every major religious event was observed by her father and mother-in-law. Unlike them, she sees no relevance in such rituals and recalls them being the occasion of strife, especially with her in-laws. Now that she is divorced and has an Australian-Italian partner, she still seeks to maintain a few small-

scale traditions such as colouring Easter eggs, or chopping down an oak to serve a Christmas tree:

I don't know if it influenced our generation but we kind of want to know about the Old Calendar customs. I want to keep up those traditions because it's fun for the kids ... I'm not gonna do *Slava* because my partner is Catholic ... And I don't know if I'm gonna be sad that my kids won't grow up with it but I guess they'll have it from their dad's side ...

Olga insists that for them as a family, referring here to her sisters, it is very important to get together and make their own traditions. It feels as if those push factors from her own father as well as from the previous marriage estranged her from the traditions she grew up with. On the other hand, being married to a Catholic and brought up in a patriarchal manner, she understands that from now on her partner's religion and tradition will be dominant in their home. Her children from the first marriage still go to Orthodox Church but they understand it as "fun and *ćevapi*" while her newborn baby will be raised a Catholic. This leaves her feeling torn because she would like all her children to be brought up in the same tradition.

My new partner, he is Italian and he is Catholic and we are having a baby, and I want my baby to be Orthodox because that's the only thing that I've ever known and that's what my other kids are, but because he is Catholic and usually the child takes the father's religion I am finding it really difficult. I don't know why because it hasn't really bothered me before and it's not like I go to church regularly – maybe Christmas and Easter when our dad wanted us to go – ... and it's really weird because I still feel Serbian Orthodox tradition tugging at me because I was brought up in it.

It would be fair to sum Olga's view up by saying she wants her children to learn about some parts of the Serbian heritage she was taught but does not want them pressured to do it. Her youngest sister Ljuba has similar feelings now that she is a mother. While growing up, she remembers her father being very insistent when it came to practising the Serbian tradition exclusively. But after their parents got divorced, Ljuba ended up living with their mother who was not forcing religion or tradition on her. The one thing she remembers with joy is having two Christmases and bragging about it to her school friends.

Now that I have a baby and am maturing a little bit more I find I want to get more of my heritage back. And I want to teach him things like traditional cooking and some words, I don't know much but I would like to...

Mašinka is also very concerned to keep her children connected to their Serbian heritage, to give them an insight into their ancestry and tradition. She is aware of the societal factor as an external force that will eventually pull them closer to mainstream Australian society but Mašinka also wants them to know about their background. Folk dancing is what she feels will keep them connected, and she told her children that they can do whatever sport they want if they also dance in the folk ensemble. Being 13 and 11 years old, her children have been dancing since they were 5 and both enjoy it.

There is a social connection with other kids, my friends' kids. So we get to catch up, the kids get to know each other and it's a normal part of their life ... and it builds their confidence having danced in front of thousands of people ... and it shows they are on a good track: they have a sense of connection ...

Mašinka feels really proud when she is talking about how her children preserve an interest in their grandparents' and parents' background. For instance, she notes that



whenever they have a school project to do they will always choose to write about something related to Serbian culture, be it “about *nošnja*, *opanke* <sup>89</sup>, their family tree ... they are proud of that ...”

Besides these family celebrations were *zabave* community-oriented events where certain traditions and cultural demonstrations from the Old Country were presented. Olga, Margarita and Ljuba all looked back on *zabave* as a part of their childhood, given that their father is community-oriented and gregarious. *Zabave* were community events with traditional food and folk-dancing troupes from various Melbourne suburbs who would compete against one another. Music was a big part of *zabave*, and sometimes famous musicians from Yugoslavia would sing at those functions. If there was a special occasion, people would pay extra money for those singers to play their selection. Margarita remembers meeting some famous singers such as Lepa Brena and Mitar Mirić, and they were wonderfully happy moments for her from which she has souvenired photos.

Until their late teens, Olga and Margarita used to dance in the folkloric troupes themselves, at the behest of their father who saw it as a way of keeping them close to other Serbs. Although Margarita used to love it, Olga says she had to do it because her father forced her to. They used to dance all around Melbourne, giving their parents an opportunity to meet other Yugoslavians. But when armed clashes began back in the Balkans, that all changed and Olga recalls what happened one dance night in St Albans:

That stopped it. I remember once there was that strife in Yugoslavia and we were in a hall somewhere in St Albans and people lobbed a petrol bomb into the

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<sup>89</sup> Traditional costume now used only by folk-dance troupes.

hall ...Those things affected people here as well ... and once those things started happening my parents pretty well stopped going.

Ljuba is much younger than her sisters but remembers going to *zabave* as a child and even later on after her parents were divorced. Not being as involved as her elder sisters were, Ljuba recalls Serbian music as the element that remains her outstanding memory of those times. “We were listening to it at parties ... and when I got married, we had a big party here in Melbourne and I remember Mom put some on ...”

Although it is true, as mentioned earlier, that these participants are deeply immersed in the Australian way of life, that does not mean they are uncritical of it. In like manner, Isidora argued that, although in everyday life she was an Australian, she did not support every aspect of it, proclaiming: “I would never do Australia Day!” While claiming they participate in everyday Australian life, the participants agree tradition is what distinguishes them from the majority Anglo-Saxon population. Evica ventures to say there is no real tradition in Australian culture, and gives the example of Christmas lunch with her husband’s family.

Christmas with Brendan’s family is a Sunday lunch for me ... and his brother is married to this lady from Tasmania so a lot of time they are in Tasmania and will say, “Oh let's do Christmas on the 15th of December” and I'm like but that's no Christmas, that's a Sunday lunch.

Ljuba has a similar perception: her husband’s family is half Australian, half Malay but “very Australian” in their manners. She finds them not as communally minded as she is used to being. Christmas with her in-laws is not as ‘warm’ as one spent with her own family. There may be a host of people and a lot of food, but it seems something is missing:

They are not as affectionate as we are, they don't hug and kiss ... Everybody helps out somehow, you bring the food or wash dishes ... But Australians when they go out, everyone pays for their own dinner or when you go to a barbeque everyone brings their own meat, and when we invite someone to our house we provide everything ...

Nastasija's perception of Australians is accords with Ljuba's as she found they lacked any sense of belonging or purpose unless they were brought up very strictly. "They do not associate with anything in particular and I think that second-generation Europeans and Asians take their pride in their heritage." Nastasija argues this is unfortunate because she feels as if they do not know who they are and feel lost, which is why so many Australian youth are going down the wrong path.

## Stories of a homeland

Second-generation are usually not migrants themselves but by living with migrant parents they soaked up some of the migration experience as their own. The stories of a homeland told by their parents with unmistakable nostalgia inevitably exaggerate the drama of a voyage from one far-off shore to a southern port. Their stories about how things were back then – and most of all back *there* – make up a big part of their childhood memories. Sometimes these would be narratives of loss, of a community affected by a terrible war. Petar remembers one such story from a recent trip to his parents' home town Čurug, a place in Vojvodina which experienced a great tragedy in World War II when soon after the outbreak of war the Hungarian army occupied the town and initiated a merciless slaughter.

We were in the church where I was christened and it was Christmas, and my mum was explaining how it was a very sad day because it was the fiftieth

anniversary of when Hungarians came to Čurug and massacred everybody [4-9 January 1942] ... They first massacred the intelligentsia who could lead an uprising against them, then they entered every home and killed the father and son.

Margarita recollects her mother's tales of hardship while living in the village. Back in the days when there were outside toilets, her mother had an accident one time when she had to get up in the middle of the night and walk through a dark backyard. On her way back she tripped over a plank of wood and injured herself. This story must have been very powerful because it left its trace in Margarita's vision of Serbia all these decades afterwards. Because later on while talking about her father's intention to go back when he retires, she said she would struggle to visit him there because they still do not have indoor toilets there. She also reminisced about the traditional upbringing recalled in her father's stories and how that affected their childhood.

With my dad probably being brought up very strict ... everything had to be a certain way. It had to be that way or no way ... I think that's how he tried to bring us up as well. He said recently: "I think that might have been wrong" ... because he said now everyone should be equal.

On the other hand, Mašinka's stories are a beautiful portrait of a distant place that feels like 'home'. She mentions a particular custom people from her parents' village have, of them all sitting around a well and enjoying their mutual company. Similarly, she spoke of the willingness to lend a neighbour a hand, very typical of village life, where people would gather to mow someone else's meadow and, after they had done that, do so for every other resident of the village as well. Whenever she goes back, Mašinka likes to take part in such rites of everyday life of the village herself.

They still have their Saturday get-togethers and go to *kosama*<sup>90</sup> and *livade* [the meadows] and you know I heard so much about these stories so I do it all ... and when we go back there soon hopefully I want to take them [her children] to the *bunar* [well] and drive a *traktor* [tractor] down to the sea just as we used to ...

## Religion

It was mentioned earlier that in Serbian Orthodoxy religion and tradition are inseparably intertwined. Given that, religion can be seen as practising the traditions and customs related to certain religious dates, some sort of a traditional religiosity rather than religion as a belief. Therefore, it came as no surprise the second-generation gave answers along the lines previously covered. This is epitomized with a direct answer one of the interviewees gave when asked if she kept up any religious devotions. “No, I used to go to church twice a year to make my grandparents happy, but then I stopped doing that,” said Isidora. Another interviewee, Nastasija, explained her relationship to religion as a form of respect for her parents: “No, no, I’m not religious ... Religion is more about tradition to me and that’s the best way to describe it ... and my association with the Serbian Church and being Orthodox is more to be respectful to my family.”

However, I would like to share the stories of that minority within this cohort who stand out from the rest of the group. Mašinka is one of those people whose piety goes beyond tradition. As she says, people go to church “more for *običaji* (more out of habit) or because it’s *petak*<sup>91</sup> *je so treba da se ide u church* (“It’s Friday so we have to go to church”). Being a very inquisitive child, she used to spend hours talking to priests about the Orthodox religion, indeed she saw them as her spiritual guides. But later on, she

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<sup>90</sup> Mašinka is referring to the communal help I described previously. The name derives from a word for an agricultural tool for reaping crops, *kosa*, or, in English, a scythe.

<sup>91</sup> In Serbian Orthodox Church Wednesday and Friday are fasting days. Some people would go to church at the end of the day to take a Holy Communion

says, she found certain loopholes in their preaching and all of a sudden they became, in her eyes, the same as ordinary mortals.

When I was 30 they became humans: like my father, they were men ... they couldn't give me spiritual guidance any more ... what they were giving me was a religion one on one and I'd surpassed that stage when I was 10.

What Mašinka was looking for was an added dimension to faith, going beyond just what was written in religious texts. Today she feels priests are incapable of being adequate interlocutors in her quest for truths. She still participates in some rituals and supports the Church's mission but the Church stopped being a destination where she would come for guidance.

Evica's experience with the Church and religion is similar to Mašinka's. She believes in the basic religious creeds and considers the main principles of Orthodoxy are no different from those of any other religion. Being brought up Serbian Orthodox, she argues that if she goes to any church it would be one from the denomination in which she was raised. But she chooses which parts of tradition she will observe and this means she usually fasts every Wednesday and Friday. She is more dubious when it comes to other parts of Serbian Orthodoxy. Like Mašinka, Evica has her doubts and has found loopholes in the answers priests have given her. One of the clearest aspects of her departure from strict Church teaching is her decision to volunteer as an organ donor, which according to her mother is against their religion. Evica decided to ask a priest, but his answer was unconvincing.

I did ask the priest. No one had asked him that before and he said "Oh yeah, I understand where your mother is coming from because we believe in the Resurrection and if you don't have your organs how are you going to be

resurrected in the next life? ... But it's also somehow supporting our beliefs because you're giving life to someone" ... and even if it wasn't I wouldn't care!

At this point, it is worth discussing the narratives of two interviewees who are directly involved in community work as their ideas of religion also differ from the majority. Đorđe has been a part of SOYA (the Serbian Orthodox Youth Association) since 2009, which as explained previously is associated with the Serbian Orthodox Church. A board member for almost a decade, Đorđe said it was high time that youth had a say in Church circles: "I would say I am religious and that is a big part of my identity because I am trying to apply those principles in all spheres of my life – publicly, privately, in business ..."

Nenad is himself an Orthodox priest and as such has a great responsibility towards the community to which he is trying to bring religion in such a way that people see it as a binding principle. As one of a newer generation of priests, Nenad is aware of all the difficulties that attend the effort to maintain the identity of this diasporic community. His attitudes are less doctrinaire than those of other priests I have met in Melbourne. What gives him an advantage is being second-generation and knowing the difficulties of growing up within an ethnic minority in Australian society. But also, being much younger than other priests, he stands ready to accept the challenges and opportunities of the times we live in.

I would say I am religious but not in a classic way ... I just explained to the new deacon that I don't like to recruit religious fanatics. I like it when people are realistic and hard-working. I don't want them just to maintain tradition for the

sake of it, but also to also have a relation with the Creator. As a priest you have to offer them [the community] that, otherwise they will become alienated<sup>92</sup>.

## Discussion

The narratives presented in the preceding section demonstrated my participants' ability to draw simultaneous capital from two cultural frameworks. Their stories show marked differences when it comes to language, as one group is bilingual and its members get the opportunity to upgrade their language skills through frequent visits to their ancestral homeland, while members of the other group display a significant loss of their Serbian language capacity. Other proofs of belonging as tradition and religion reflect their position as diasporic groups, where those traits become symbolic. Storytelling was present in both groups, and is a common practice in migrant communities, serving to acquaint children with the history of their family and of the place they migrated from. Finally, narratives about a general cultural framework 'locate' those participants from Germany as bicultural, while the ones from Australia are deeply immersed in the cultural narratives of their families' new country.

## Language

The question of language is an interesting one in this research, because when it comes to retaining the parental language it marks a point of difference between our two cohorts but, if we talk about the language of the respective countries they live in, both groups are native speakers<sup>93</sup>. When it comes to retaining capacity in the parents' language, a general comparison shows that the German group is bilingual, with both languages

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<sup>92</sup> He actually said *poturčiti se* – meaning to accept Islam. This term derives from the period when Serbia was under Ottoman rule and certain parts of the population became Muslim for various reasons. In that sense *poturčiti se* comes from accepting the Turkish (Ottoman) religion. But, idiomatically, it means to become alienated or estranged.

<sup>93</sup> Their command of German and English will not be discussed further as it was not a topic of this study.



actively spoken and refreshed with new words and slang, while the Australian group is English-speaking with different levels of Serbian language retention but a considerable reservoir of passive vocabulary. In this research passive vocabulary refers to the knowledge of a lexeme passed on by one's parents – often words the child knows but doesn't use in daily conversation – and with the limited entry of new words, phrases and idioms. The only two fully fluent participants were Đorđe and Nenad, and those were the only interviews conducted in Serbian. The difference between them was that Đorđe's speech is very formal and grammatically correct but rather old-fashioned, while Nenad's is inflected with the Church-Slavic deriving from his ecclesiastical calling<sup>94</sup>.

The first group self-assessed their knowledge of German as being on par with that of ethno-Germans, with some of them claiming academic-level proficiency. When it comes to knowledge of Serbian, their self-assessment fluctuates from 3 to 4.5, where 1 is bad and 5 excellent. Accounting for the range is the varying level of exposure during childhood. It was mentioned before that some participants spent part of their childhood with grandparents and other relatives, especially during those early, formative years. Some had also done part of their schooling in the Balkans, which further enhanced their knowledge of language. Regardless of circumstance, most had attended Yugoslav or Serbian language school. Of course, their vocabulary was refreshed on frequent visits to Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro or Kosovo. In addition, they occasionally visited Serbian news portals and listened to Serbian music.

While conducting the interviews I noticed that in some situations participants were speaking in a Serbian creole. In that regard, Vuletić (2016) argues that the Serbian

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<sup>94</sup> *Crkvenoslovenski* or Church-Slavic is the language used in liturgies and worships in Serbian Orthodox Church

spoken by second-generation Serbians in Germany shows two types of contact change. The first involves transferring unassimilated verbs and nouns, in which case a person would simply replace a Serbian word or phrase with its German equivalent. Speakers would vary the translated word or phrase as demanded by the different syntax between the two languages (p. 615). Both of these transfers are audible in the speech of my interviewees, with one additional type of change represented in the adapted words<sup>95</sup> (p. 617). The term ‘adapted word’ refers to the process whereby one uses a word in German but adds a suffix from Serbian. Mentioned earlier was the term *Ausländer* which through this variety of transformation emerged in Serbian as *Ausländer-ka* (for *Ausländerin*). There was another interesting adaptation when one respondent uttered the word *frühstück-ujemo* where *frühtück* is breakfast in German where she then added the suffix that changes the Serbian noun *doručak* (‘breakfast’) into a verb (‘to have breakfast’) is *ujemo* (*doručk-ujemo*).

The notion of a mother tongue is quite elusive for this group and does not seem to follow any particular pattern. It is more of an individual feeling than some idea ingrained in a generic definition where the mother tongue would simply be the language one’s parents speak. Vuletić’s (2016) findings seem to confirm this as she writes that a mother tongue in the migrant situation is a problematic issue and migrant children can have more than one mother tongue depending on their descent, level of language competence, function, and identity (p. 605).

The experience of the Australian group mostly corresponds with the literature on the second-generation emanating from research conducted in the United States. This argues

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<sup>95</sup> I am using Vuletić’s term here although in a slightly changed sense, which is a consequence of the translation from Serbian to English. Also, I’m using it because it refers to my interviewees although Vuletić herself actually did not deem it relevant for the second-generation she worked with but rather to the children born in Germany after the refugee wave of migration in the 1990s.

that children growing up in a predominantly English-speaking society experience more rapid loss of faculty in using their parents' language and converting to monolingualism (Portes & Schauffler 1994, p. 644). The language assimilation pattern shows that the first-generation learn enough of English language to get by, the second speaks the parental language at home but English in all other spheres of their lives, and by the third-generation English has become mother tongue (Portes & Schauffler 1994, p. 643; Alba 2004). My participants' testimonies only confirm this observation, with some noticeable variations in parental-language retention. They can be explained as down to the influence of parental pressure to keep speaking the old tongue, marrying within or outside of the community, being the first or last child in the family, and the level of involvement in the community.

Knowledge of the parental language shows a direct correlation to the fact that some parents still do not speak English or do not speak it very well. Where a participant has relatives who settled in the later migration or refugee wave, the participant is likely to speak Serbian more often. Again, if the second-generation married outside of Serbian community, in most cases the parents tend to shift to English even when speaking with their grandchildren. Where children marry within the community the language is better preserved because they will speak it in the household, and with the parents too.

Like their German peers, the Australian group grew up in a household where only Serbian, or Serbo-Croatian, was spoken. Their first impressions of the world were therefore coloured by their parents' efforts to preserve any shred of contact with the world they physically left behind in search of a better life. As per their testimonies, the participants recall learning English after beginning their education, which in most cases meant going to kindergarten. Therefore, technically, Serbian should be their mother tongue but, as mentioned before, broad agreement on what constitutes a mother tongue

is quite elusive. Paradoxically, it is not always the language inherited from a parent but sometimes the language in which they speak and think most naturally – which in such cases can be English. To avoid confusion and explain their perspective on this topic, some participants reached for alternative terminology such as first language or dominant language.

Hereof we come to that other characteristic of the Australian cohort explained earlier – their passive vocabulary. Their latent knowledge of Serbian is sometimes impressive, given that their parents were mostly uneducated folk from rural areas or small towns in Serbia, Bosnia or coastal Croatia. So the language they passed on to their children sounds very basic, with some words even conveying the wrong meaning. The biggest challenge – as explained above – was persuading some interviewees that Serbian had a word for ‘love’.

## Culture, tradition and religion

As in every other part of the diaspora, these two groups (in Germany and Australia) within the broader diasporic community have restricted their cultural expressions to the most prominent occurrences such as Christmas, Easter and *Slava*. The variations applied in these cases refer to different traditions their parents brought from that particular part of the former Yugoslavia that was home to them. Therefore, those coming from southern Serbia would have different customs from their counterparts who hail from rural Bosnia, the Croatian coast or Montenegro.

Nevertheless the perceived degree of belonging does differ between the two groups, subject to certain identifiable factors. Once again, the proximity of the ancestral homeland plays a significant role. Most of the German group reported that they had chosen to wed where they could celebrate their nuptials with the broadest spectrum of

their extended family possible. As Nemanja attested, all his friends – and he himself – had gone back to Serbia to get married. Although born and bred in Germany, their extended families had stayed in Serbia and they wanted to share such a happy event with their loved ones. Another point came up as important, and that was the sense of belonging conveyed through the sharing of food. Nemanja’s testimony again highlights the emotional attachment binding him and his family in members still in Serbia. Talking of food, Nemanja mentioned that they bring *zimnica* from Serbia and mentioned that it is his aunty who is usually making it for him. Making *zimnica* requires hard, often repetitive manual work that family members invest in order to make food supplies to last the whole winter. In that respect, *zimnica* is what anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1979, p.169) terms endo-cuisine, food prepared for domestic consumption by a small, closed group.

Another common denominator is the ‘us-and-them’ dichotomy pertaining to Serbian descendants living in both Germany and Australia. Participants in both countries claim the majority group in the national population is secularised and preserve no symbolic link with their religious tradition. In contrast to them, the participants saw themselves as possessing the right level of sacral observance in respect to their tradition. To understand this question more deeply would require further exploration of how German nationals or Anglo-Saxon Australians understand their own traditions – a quest that lies beyond the scope of this research. Given that this research have not include people from these two groups any claim in that regard would be ungrounded. But, as an anthropologist myself, my understanding is that tradition, culture or identity differ from group to group and how we understand these concepts hinges on how we locate ourselves along the us-and-them spectrum. So I would contend that both groups in this juxtaposition would take a different perspective on tradition.

## Chapter VIII Politics of belonging

The findings presented in this chapter discuss aspects of the interviewee's narratives concerning the politics of belonging. At first I examine the politics of belonging considered as the status one has in a country, be it residency status or citizenship. When seen like this, the politics of belonging represents a space contested by those who claim the right to that status, and the state that has the power to grant it. Citizenship status is the biggest difference between these two groups of respondents. As noted in earlier chapters, this aspect has profoundly influenced respondents' lives. The second part of politics of belonging encompasses active participation in a political community, including the right to shape the present and future of the place one lives in. This aspect of the politics of belonging corresponds with the understanding of each human as a political being. In this research, active participation in the host societies was evident through voting, community representation, and community reactions to the events that convulsed the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

### Germany

#### Citizenship

Formal belonging in the sense of citizenship, along with its accompanying rights, was a stumbling block between the West German, and later unified German, state and 'foreigners' for decades. Although in the year 2000 Germany (Citizenship law Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz) changed the law to make naturalization easier and confer German citizenship as a birthright, this long dispute had sparked a fractious response among people who grew up under the 'ban'. Regardless of their status or citizenship,

the second-generation do not see themselves as Germans, which emerges with crystal clarity during discussions on the matter of their official belonging. Some are very categorical about it, like Vesna who has a cutting answer to my question about citizenship. She says she will obtain German citizenship just in case they accepted dual-citizenship status, otherwise it's out of the question. Similarly, Miloš says he holds Serbian citizenship and also has permanent residency in Germany, which allows him an unlimited stay and working rights. He expects that Germany will emulate certain other "strong" European countries by recognising dual citizenship but in his case, if he wants to apply for German citizenship he has to "hand over the Serbian passport".

Miloš argues that some of the discriminatory acts he suffered from in the past were definitely due to the fact he was not a German citizen. First of all, he was referring to the job market where German friends of his could find positions far easier than he could. He adds that employers routinely differentiate between ethnic Germans and foreigners with German citizenship. Still, Miloš thinks Germans see foreigners who have obtained citizenship as more integrated:

The majority of foreigners are integrated, some even have dual citizenship because some states allow that. But a lot of people had to renounce their [foreign] citizenship, so many Turks did that. But this generation and the next, they will never be Germans. Of course there are some people who have completely renounced who they are. But I think the Germans are making a big mistake with this.

Miloš also talked about the problems he had endured because his wife could not join him in Germany. She is from Serbia and when they got married Miloš was between jobs, so the German authorities did not grant her a partnership visa. Miloš says he felt as if his state was betraying him, and how he started hating Germany because the way

he was being treated was unfair. “I don’t hate people, people are not to blame, I hate the system and its hypocrisy.” He admits he is thinking of applying for citizenship because it gives him some privileges: “If the situation had lasted a bit longer I would have ‘handed over’ our passport to get German citizenship, but I wouldn’t be doing that because I felt German.”

Unlike Miloš, Mihajlo is not even thinking of becoming a German citizen because his permanent residency provides him with everything he needs. The fact that he cannot vote in Germany does not bother him much because, he says, he is an economist and not interested in politics. On the issue of his enfranchisement, he sees no inconsistency in having been born and brought up in Germany yet voting in Bosnia. Mihajlo is an example of how volatility in the parental homeland can impact on people throughout the diaspora. Mihajlo’s family roots are in Montenegro and his family still has some land and property there, although they migrated to Bosnia generations ago. After the collapse of Yugoslavia, and especially after Serbia and Montenegro became independent states, the status of that property was in jeopardy.

Well, we are tracing back our origins from Montenegro, but my great-grandfather migrated to Bosnia. So when the situation became critical and Serbia and Montenegro split apart we needed to find a way to keep our property. So I applied for citizenship in case they started expropriating our land, house and assets.

People who retain citizenship of their parents’ homeland usually say they do not feel too burdened because obstacles arise only when they want to travel to one of those countries that require a visa. They also cannot vote in Germany if they are not citizens but, like Mihajlo, others do not seem to see this as a big problem. It is true, as well, that the procedure for gaining citizenship is lengthy and expensive. Ironically, the biggest



bureaucratic hurdle to a successful application is usually that posed by the Serbian authorities, with a small mountain of documents needing to be submitted, as well as the steep sum that needs to be paid, serving to put off many would-be applicants. Dunja explained that both her husband and her children were Germans, in the sense that they held German citizenship. But she had Serbian citizenship: “When I wanted to apply for dual citizenship there was a war back there ... and later on it just became too expensive to do it.”

Another interviewee spoke of the complications she encountered with Serbian authorities. Zora decided to apply for German citizenship and even made an attempt at doing so. At first she thought she would not need it and was reluctant even to start the procedure, explaining this by saying, “You know how ‘our’ authorities are so I really did not have any enthusiasm to go around collecting all those documents ... and it costs so much.” Despite that, there was an emotional aspect to it all. Nonetheless, Zora decided to apply for German citizenship a second time in but felt sad because she had to “hand over” her Serbian citizenship.

I tried to do it two years ago, but I felt so upset and couldn’t do it. It was somehow emotional and it made me feel sad ... But now I figured “I will stay here forever so it doesn’t matter anymore” ...

Melanija also prevaricated over her decision to obtain German citizenship. She attributed her inertia to negative experiences she had endured while in high school. Melanija began her story by lamenting the fact that she used to be a political radical as a teenager. Clarifying the point, she explained how Serbians were portrayed in a very negative light during the 1990s and that at times this led to open hatred within the school setting. In particular, Melanija said, a history teacher targeted her and her friend Miloš because of their Serbian ethnicity. In class, this teacher openly labelled Serbians as bad

people because of the things ‘their’ people did. Being a teenager, Melanija could not understand why she was being targeted, especially since before that she had felt herself to be equal to her German peers. The teacher’s conduct encouraged other students in Melanija’s class to harass her. One of those episodes haunts Melanija to this day: it was when one of the students exposed her to public shaming by branding her as some lowlife from the *Ostblockstaaten* (a person from the Eastern Bloc state).

After incidents like that in her formative years, Melanija developed a kind of aversion to Germany and for many years did not feel she belonged there. In that light she did not want to have anything to do with Germany and that extended to citizenship too. But, all these years later, after graduating from university she had to obtain it because otherwise she would be ineligible to work there. “There’s a so-called paragraph 18 which stops my potential employer giving me a job because I’m not a national,” she said. As a qualified dentist Melanija had problems finding a job as a non-citizen, being ruled out automatically as an unsuitable candidate.

Like Melanija, Ilona needed German citizenship for work purposes – in her case, to work for the City of Hamburg. While she was still at *Berufsschule*, Ilona chose to do her internship with the City, which further on led to her winning a scholarship from Hamburg to continue her education. Had she not been a citizen, she would not have had any of these opportunities. “I work for the City of Hamburg, and even before I did my internship with them I needed to obtain German citizenship,” she said. Although the only member of her family with German citizenship, Ilona said her sister was also thinking about it. The reason being a privileges that German passport gives to its holders, easier travelling around the world especially to the countries which ask for a visa such as the United States or some Arabic countries.

Lenka's case shows the complexity of being a non-national in the country you were born and grew up in. She wanted to apply for German citizenship while waiting for the examiners to provide their comments on her PhD thesis. Unemployed at the time as she was technically not a student any more, she was rejected by the authorities who justified themselves by saying applications from unemployed people were unacceptable because, in that case, the state would have to provide them welfare. So, after receiving her doctorate, she decided to try again:

When I got my degree I decided to try again and then their response was 'Oh well, we'll give you the citizenship without any delay.' Honestly I have no idea what their reasons were, but I applied anyway. After two years I got my citizenship.

According to Lenka, Belgrade was mostly behind the delay because the authorities there always stalled things. She said the German side had its paperwork completed in six months, and then she had to wait for the Serbians to do their job. Lenka said she even had to "pull some strings" to speed up the process. In her experience the most difficult part of the whole procedure was in relinquishing her Serbian citizenship. Just when all its requirements had been satisfied, the Serbian side would come up with another request: "I got an invitation to show up at the consulate where I had to hand over my passport in order to get an exemption. After that I could go to the *Schwaben* and apply for the citizenship."

So some interviewees retain the citizenship of their parents' homeland, while others have opted to be official Germans. Four are dual citizens. Although such a status is highly unusual for people in this group, the exemption was allowed in the cases of these four because they couldn't renounce the official nationality they already had. Ognjen used economic hardship to claim dual citizenship. While he was still a student in 1999,

the Bosnian consulate asked him to pay 2600 Deutsche Marks to grant him exemption from his citizenship obligations. As a student, Ognjen could not afford to pay that, a fact the German authorities accept so they accepted him as a dual citizen anyway.

Years later, in 2006, Stefan's case was the same. The Bosnian consulate demanded a small fortune to exempt him from citizenship. As a student intern with a law firm, he could not afford to pay that much:

There is a paragraph in German law stating that if the renunciation process is too difficult or expensive you do not need to accomplish it and you can still get German citizenship. In my case it was the financial aspect: they [Bosnian consulate] were asking about 1,300-1,400 euro for the exemption certificate. At that time I was on my internship, I mean I had some salary but my monthly pay was way below the sum they were asking for.

Stefan argues that this situation proved lucky for him, because it let him keep his Bosnian citizenship and still obtain the German one. He shed some light on his sentiments by saying that, had his situation been different, he would rather not have faced the apparent necessity of giving up his Bosnian citizenship.

Novak too, has been a dual citizen since 2006. Before then he had been a Yugoslav citizen – the remnant Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprising just Serbia and Montenegro, existed as a sovereign state until 2003 – but with Montenegrin independence in 2006 he was a citizen of Montenegro, where his parents had come from. While he was preparing the documents to apply for German citizenship he promised himself he would never 'hand in' his citizenship. Novak felt he would not actually need German citizenship, except maybe if he wanted to travel to the United States.

I went to the consulate and they told me I could not get a discharge from Montenegrin citizenship because I did not serve in the army. And because I had to prove that, they gave me a document stating I couldn't renounce my citizenship. With that document I went to the German authorities where they concluded that I'd done my best to obtain the discharge paper but it hadn't worked. Anyway they gave me my citizenship, along with an indication that I am a *mehr stadler*<sup>96</sup>.

Novak elaborated on what it meant for this statement of dual citizenship to be in his passport. In case he got into trouble abroad, he could contact the German embassy in that country and ask for help. But this protection would not apply if his rights were abridged in Montenegro, because as a citizen of that country he would not be allowed to seek the German embassy's protection.

Nemanja explained that, although he was born in Hamburg and received his entire education there, he had to obtain the residency at the age of 16. Before that, his only identification document was a Yugoslavian passport which he obtained via his parents' citizenship. But in 1999 Nemanja applied for German citizenship as well. Back then, Yugoslavia had no diplomatic relations with Germany as a result of NATO's bombardment of the country. Nemanja also needed to obtain an exemption certificate but was clearly in an impossible position

So, after the bombing, Yugoslavia had no diplomatic relations with Germany and in that gap there was an opportunity to gain a dual citizenship. They didn't ask me to renounce my previous citizenship, they just gave me a dual one. And

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<sup>96</sup> Citizen of more than one state

they never said that when the situation with Serbia was normalized I would have to get an exemption certificate. So there you go, I still have dual citizenship.

## Shaping the present and the future

Trying to determine this group's general political orientation is quite difficult, bearing in mind that most of them were not German citizens when the interviews were conducted. Of those who were, several obtained citizenship quite recently and so had no chance of expressing their political will at the ballot box. Of those who had had citizenship since their early twenties, most supported a party of the Left. One of them, Stefan said he had learnt, from his own experience that foreigners mostly voted for parties on the Left of the political spectrum. He voted PDS – the *Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus* which was dissolved in 2007 – because back in 1999 it was the only German party to oppose the bombing of Serbia, but its members – now having joined The Left (*Die Linke*) coalition – have political views closely aligned with his:

They have a different vision from other political parties. For example, when it comes to the war in Syria we have similar opinions. On the other hand, I disagree with some of their foreign-policy positions.

Apart from participation in the electoral process, politics can be understood more broadly as any kind of public engagement. In this secondary sense it is not associated with the government line or involvement with a party but as personal engagement. And so our conversation turned to participants' political involvement in Hamburg's Serbian community, which kept it in the public eye. Although the activities I am referring to are sports- or entertainment-based, there is a communal dimension to the activities of those

organizing events and shaping these clubs: they are seen as community leaders in their own right.

Nemanja is the president of the Nikola Tesla soccer club, formed in 1995 after the collapse of Yugoslavia, when many parts of the diaspora also split into the communities along the same fault lines as the homeland itself. Since Serbia's image among the German public was tarnished, the club's founders avoided a highly visible marker of ethnic identification and named the club after a famous scientist. These days it is one of the most active Serbian associations, fulfilling a twofold role as sports club and cultural centre. Serbian people gather there and keep up many of their traditions.

I am involved in the club because I really love soccer and I love 'our' people. I want my sons to have a sense of that comradeship so that they can go there as say "OK, I was born in Hamburg and I live here but I'm a bit different. I'm not *Schwaben* like the rest of the people'.

Club membership is not confined to Serbs: it embraces people from various backgrounds such as Russians, Turks and Germans. Once a year, the management organizes a trip to the former Yugoslavia for players to get acquainted with Serbian culture and traditions. Nemanja says that people who are outsiders to the community are not just teammates but people the club seeks to integrate into the community and make welcome. The club also organizes tournaments for all the teams in its league, bringing together ethnic-sport clubs and German clubs alike. The tournament provides another opportunity to present Serbian culture and tradition to the wider community through folk dancing and food.

Stefan used to be a member of Hamburg's Serbian Academic Society whose mission was to bring together Serbian academics including professors, students, PhD students

and people coming from Serbia to study in Hamburg. The idea was to provide a venue where students could meet 'our' people, ask for help if they needed it and in general create a friendly and productive atmosphere for young people in academia. The association also worked to gain political representation for the Serbian community, especially in the aftermath of the internecine 1990s clashes.

That was back in 2001-02 after all those wars and all, so we wanted to give politically conscious Germans a nicer picture of us Serbians. I remember there would be an Open Day at the university so we would have our stall there: we wanted to show people our customs, our traditional costumes, food... We had various activities but were focusing on the universities. Or when there was a talk show on TV we would send someone along to represent us.

Nowadays, Stefan is more engaged with the soccer club and its special efforts such as the humanitarian fundraiser it staged after floods ravaged Serbia and Bosnia in May 2014. He was the club spokesperson on that occasion, representing the community in local newspapers and on television. The event target not just members of the diaspora but also the broader community, mostly people interested in soccer and other sports events.

The Balkan wars of the 1990s impacted diasporic communities worldwide. The media portrayed Serbians in a very negative light which then affected public discourse. Serbians everywhere were put on the defensive, feeling they needed to explain the situation not just to colleagues and acquaintances but to the public at large. Because many had close family and other relatives caught up in the wars they felt aggrieved that their side of the story had been neglected. When the wars erupted, said one participant, everything changed:



Of course it all came up [discrimination against Serbs] when the wars started. At least that's how I experienced it ... People would say to me, 'Well there's no Yugoslavia anymore, so where are you from? There are Bosnia, Croatia and Montenegro now.'" So then I would say I'm Serbian. You know that came up especially during the bombing so all those topics were on the table and people knew about the war crimes and The Hague so they would come up and tell you that you were a killer. But I didn't want to be a part of those conversations, that's politics and I'm not interested in that! Because there were dead people on all sides and it's not fair to single out Serbians as if they were the worst nation on the planet. But unfortunately a lot of people [German public] considered that to be the truth ..." (Jelena)

Feeling personally that society and the media had turned against them, some of my interviewees took part in protests back in 1999 aimed at conveying their viewpoint to the German public. Those protests also created the chance for members of the community to rally together and share their fears. Nemanja was one of the organizers of the protests which centred on the *Gänsemarkt*, one Hamburg's public squares.

The media were aggressively against us and whatever we said they saw as propaganda. To be honest there were differences between people [German public], and that mostly depends on the education... So some of them were there, watching and listening and trying to be objective, to hear the information from both sides and find a middle ground... of course there were others who said that was a propaganda and they didn't want to listen at all...

Nemanja said the German public was under the influence of the media who depicted the protesters as mouthpieces for Serbian propaganda. Ordinary people would get

frustrated when they saw these demonstrators blocking their streets trying to sell a story they considered a lie.

Lenka was another protest organizer during the bombing: she joined because she could not understand why Germans hated her so much, why all of a sudden media such as *Bild Zeit* and people all over the internet were campaigning so aggressively against Serbians. Lenka took their hatred very personally, because she felt she has not done anything to provoke such malevolence. She vividly remembers two occasions when she felt threatened by the situation or by particular people:

The first thing that happened was that people from the American embassy were giving us the Nazi salute ... it's such a shame we didn't have mobile phones with cameras back then ... Another time, an one old man came up to me, he was smoking a cigarette and he pointed it at my eyes and said, "You Serbians need to be executed in concentration camps, same as the Jews were." I was beside myself with rage!

From the interviewee's tone and choice of words it was clear to me that I should not probe this question any further. Her distress was understandable in the context of European and German ban on denial of the Holocaust. Further, this can be related to the fact that ethnic Serbs were victims under the Nazi regime in what was back then known as Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*), of which memories were evoked during the 1990s civil war.

## Australia

### Citizenship

Unlike the German group, their Australian peers are in a much more straightforward position when it comes to citizenship. The regime their parents migrated under presupposed they would settle in Australia which meant they would automatically become citizens after a certain period of time in the country. Given that, this second-generation had two pathways to citizenship. If they had migrated with their parents they were naturalized courtesy of their parents' application for Australian citizenship. Otherwise they were citizens by birth. In that sense their stories are not as complex as those of the German second-generation, therefore that part of the interview did not take up too much of their time.

Olga's story is the one of taking the naturalization route since she came to Australia with her parents when she was just 2. She does not remember much about the naturalization process because it was all sorted out by her parents. Olga thinks she did not have to go through a ceremony or utter any claim of allegiance, and she feels lucky about that.

I don't even know which year it was when they got the citizenship, but I think they got it in 1987. So I would've been in a primary school. As a child, when your parents apply you're automatically given citizenship: that's how the law works.

Things were different for her youngest sister, born almost a decade after their parents had settled in Australia. Ljuba, was a citizen by birth, and says: "I was born here, so I didn't have any problems with citizenship."

Although most of the interviewees' stories match the experiences of Olga and Ljuba, one of them contains a fascinating anecdote. Maksim's personal history connects him with Serbia, the United Kingdom and Australia. His grandparents lost touch during World War II and each believed the other had been killed in the fighting. Being part of the *Četnik* army, Maksim's grandfather decided not to go back to Yugoslavia because of possible persecution, but instead settled in the UK. It was only some ten years after the war that his grandparents found out that each other was still alive. Although his grandfather was remarried in England, their families kept in touch. In the early 1960s Maksim's father quit Yugoslavia to avoid conscription and went to live with the father he had never met. Maksim was born in England, where his parents – both Serbs from Serbia – had met and got married. Not long afterwards, in 1975, the family migrated to Australia.

Maksim's story is remarkable from the viewpoint of a bureaucratic quirk. Having been born in the UK makes Maksim British by birth. But, having resided a given period of time in Australia, his parents became Australian citizens in 1981 and, as a minor and their dependant, Maksim was presumed an Australian by virtue of his parents' citizenship application. But when he was 21 he decided to obtain a passport so as to travel abroad. In making that application, Maksim learnt a most puzzling fact: he did not exist as an Australian citizen, even though he had a tax file number and a social security number. Maksim takes up the story:

Because I was travelling overseas I had to go to Canberra and I had three days to organize a British passport, which I did and then I was on a visa. So the Department of Immigration back then wanted to charge me a \$450 fee to do a search. And being a stubborn European I didn't want to pay. I said, "This is your

mistake, not mine!” So it took sixteen years for the Department of Immigration to fix that problem. In the meantime I was on a visa.

## Shaping the present and the future

Their part in shaping the present and future of Australian society has several facets to it. First and foremost – and this is a leitmotif of this entire thesis – as citizens they are also voters, which endows them with an enlarged sense of belonging in the broader community of their compatriots. Given that voting in Australia is compulsory, I will not dwell on this any further but instead proceed to cite other examples of political participation.

Like their peers in Germany, quite a few of these participants are active in raising the Serbian profile within the country at large. Their work, which is community-oriented and initially takes the form of events organized by the Church or other organizations has come to attract participants from beyond the community. This applies across a range of activities that takes in film festivals, musical events, charitable or humanitarian work, even Church *vašar* (fairs). Unsurprisingly – given previous mentions of Đorđe, the president of youth organization SOYA (working under the auspices of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Australia and New Zealand), he is one of those activists.

Movie screenings and community support events are among the initiatives with which Đorđe is associated. SOYA also collaborates with humanitarian bodies working in Kosovo. He also aims to show young people that Serbian entertainment is more than just folk music, so he’s trying to establish a more urban culture.

We have humanitarian actions: one was when there were [the 2014] flood; we work closely with the Ana and Vlade Divac Foundation<sup>97</sup>, they were here a

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<sup>97</sup> A non-profit created to help refugees and other displaced people, particularly young people

couple of times ... We also help out with the Serbian Film Festival ... There are things for our youth here like Serbian language school, folk dancing and so on ... I get the impression that there are more musical options now and I think we should show young people that there's not just one way, not just *turbofolk*<sup>98</sup> and *diskoteka*<sup>99</sup>. There's also theatre such as Pilipenda and the Serbian Australian Theatre ... (Đorđe)

As a Serbian Orthodox priest, Nenad is perceived as a community leader and in that role has extensive contacts with people throughout the community, as well as with outsiders. Working with the community Nenad goes beyond the delivery of pastoral care expected of him as a priest, but takes seriously the task of maintaining traditions and the Serbian language. In that sense his work is not oriented towards the needs of present-day parishioners but towards those of Australian Serbians yet to be born. On the other hand, being a priest he is perceived as a community leader by the political representatives. Being in this position he argues that he does not want to get involved in the party politics, but he finds it important for the Serbian community to be recognized.

I'm not allowed to be directly involved in politics because I cannot be seen as biased. But whenever we have our festivities or *vašar* we invite government representatives to join us ... so we had a visit from the Leader of the Opposition and the shadow Minister for Multiculturalism, who came on Good Friday. And I felt really good because of that, because the visit was not made to score political points but out of respect for our community, that is to acknowledge that we exist as a community ... (Nenad)

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<sup>98</sup> *Turbofolk* is a music genre that originated in the 1990s.

<sup>99</sup> *Diskoteka* is an old-fashioned word for a nightclub, a direct translation of discotheque. The word itself is not in use in Serbia any longer but has remained in diasporic communities as a relic or survival.

Again very similar to their peer group in Germany, this second-generation was affected by the wars in the former Yugoslavia – and not only because their families over there were directly affected, displaced or even seeking refuge in Australia. But also because of the public outrage that turned so many Australian citizens against them so violently. This change of public attitude towards the Serbian community caused some of my interviewees to be more outspoken in their identification (e.g. Pavle) or alienated them from a sense that Australia was their country (Đorđe).

But, for some of my participants, that period marked the renaissance of their ethnic identity, Jelisaveta argued. She went on to say that when you are a Serbian in Australia everything is political, starting from your own family and spreading out to the community or even in a work context. She looks upon herself as very politically active even to the point of campaigning. Jelisaveta most definitely is one of the most active individuals I have interviewed for this research, and the stories she related absolutely swept me off my feet. Although I am aware that it is impossible to transfer all the information I gathered about her, a bit of her spirit can be conveyed in a few well-chosen extracts from our conversation.

Jelisaveta argues that while growing up all she wanted was to be Australian, which she pretty much was in that generalized sense of peer-identification. Wanting to be same as all her friends, she stuck to the habitual activities beloved of her generation, such as going to the beach, surfing or playing basketball rather than something that would tie her to her parents' ethnicity. Not until the wars in the former Yugoslavia broke out did all those stories and narratives of ethnic identity come to the surface. Her revolt became even bigger when the Australian public, under the media's influence, started turning against the Serbian community.

I mean, hang on a minute, we were really good citizens, people didn't even know who we were. They would be, like, "Ah, you're Siberian." So we were in Australia and I was pretty much Australian and then your community is seeing the hatred and those horrible, horrible hatreds ... and I thought, "Wait a minute, this is not OK ..."

When the war broke out Jelisaveta became supportive of Serbian people who were affected by it, helping some of the families to find their way to Australia and settle there. Besides all the community work, where she acted as a translator and a support for the refugees, she was also a part of the campaign protesting Croatian President Franjo Tuđman's visit to Australia.

My husband and I, we drove our car and we covered up our number plate which we were allowed to do. We got very close to him and my husband almost got arrested. So he [Tuđman] had this huge presentation or seminar gathering and there was police everywhere, there was a lot of protection. We walked this close to him [she points at a couple of metres' distance] and my husband reached into his pocket to pull out the cigarette and they all jumped on him [on Tuđman and her husband] so police started jumping in. It was hilarious. I mean then it was [because] we were young, I was 22.

Jelisaveta remained active later on, being one of the protest organizers during NATO's 1999 bombing of Serbia. The idea was to rally people together and harness community support in an attempt to change the negative image of Serbians circulating in the Australian media. Demonstrations in Melbourne were held in front of the American consulate, so as the TV stations ABC and Channel 7. The biggest protest happened in Canberra where people from the community came from all over the country to show



their support. In Jelisaveta's words those demonstrations may not have stopped the bombing but they did unite the community and had some influence on public opinion.

## Discussion

### Citizenship

Citizenship as formal evidence of national belonging emerged as a point of difference between the two groups who were the subjects of this case study. This was so not only in the sense of whether one was a citizen of either Germany or Australia but with respect to the manner in which the mechanism whereby either country recognizes one of its inhabitants as a citizen, or withholds such recognition, impacts on the second-generation's identification and sense of belonging. In many ways, this chapter rounds off the entire study as it shows the importance of being accepted and recognized as part of society in whatever country you live in. This is evident in the length of time and depth of exploration given to citizenship, a topic on which the replies of these two cohorts are starkly unbalanced. Whereas the German group had individual stories to tell, their Australian peers mostly answered with a short "Yes, I am an Australian citizen." These differences were reflected in all their answers to other questions I asked as well, with the German group trying to distance themselves from Germans while the Australians were just that, Australians.

When analysing the relevance of formal belonging to the nation, it is relevant to reconsider the policies that affected this second-generation. In Germany, they grew up impacted by a regime created for their parents' circumstances, where the only constants were the temporariness of their stay and the uncertainty of their status. Later on, even though they all stayed in Germany, the second-generation's status continued to be liminal beginning with the fact that they were born in the country but retained the

citizenship of their parents' homeland. Coupled with this is a portrait of this group as *Ausländer*, as part of a political agenda aimed at excluding them from the nation. Hence it is not a surprise that they feel an attachment for the citizenship they already have as their yearning for tangible evidence that they belong as individuals to a large collective. This emotional attachment is demonstrated in their general unwillingness to renounce their pre-existing citizenship in order to obtain a German imprimatur. Their reluctance can be observed in the kinds of language they use when talking about the citizenship. Somehow, the phrase 'to hand over' refers not only to the passport as a document or to citizenship, but it evokes an atmosphere of alienation from their background and who they are. The very act of erasing this symbol that they formally belong somewhere, the loss of this passport, appears to make them less Serbian, as if the strings that were connecting them to the nation were officially being severed. It was as if, by being pushed across that line, they were being expelled from the collective body of the Serbian nation. Moreover, as a diasporic community anchored in a *jus sanguinis* understanding of nationhood, they cannot transgress the essentialized idea of belonging. This essentialisation remains even if they intend to, or have already obtained German citizenship, and they will not miss to exclaim that they do not feel as, or not claim, to be Germans.

Theirs is not the only reluctance in this equation: it seems that the countries whose citizens they already are do not want to let them go either. Given that Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro are small nations in terms of population, the authorities seem eager to retain the estimated levels. So the need to obtain and present an excessive number of documents, the expensive procedure and the stalling can all be understood as a 'pull factor' the authorities use to prevent people from asking for exemption from citizenship. It feels as if they are enforcing a sense of belonging over people who do not actually

live in the country. The situation is reminiscent of men being refused a discharge because they did not perform their army service and the state stakes its claim that the benefits of belonging to a collective require members to show themselves ready to sacrifice their lives and kill others in order to protect it (Yuval-Davis 2006 p.208). The situation where a person who is getting a discharge from citizenship is required to 'hand over' their passport in person then becomes, in this analogy, equivalent to a disgraced soldier being stripped of his insignia as part of his dishonourable discharge.

Unlike the German group, the Australian second-generation does not suffer from these push and pull factors of formal belonging to the nation. As indicated before, their parents went to Australia with the intention of settling, and as such their naturalization was supported by the government. Either being naturalized in early childhood or being a citizen from birth, with the right to vote, gives this group a sense of ownership about being an Australian. Besides that, growing up in a society where your nationhood and belonging are based on the principle that this is 'your soil', and diversity is managed within a multicultural society, maximizes your sense of connection with the country you make your home in. In many ways this cohort's idea of nationhood is unburdened by doubts about belonging.

## Shaping the present and future - Reactions to the 1990s

It was in considering the legal aspect of belonging that this case study explored participants' responses to the disastrous events that overtook their ancestral homeland in the 1990s. As I stated previously, the political belonging refers not only to someone's status but also to their capacity to shape the present and future of the place where they live. The two groups' reactions relate not so much to events in the former Yugoslavia as they do to the atmosphere in their respective countries. Here the narratives are stunningly similar, with the media's negative portrayal of Serbians saturating their

reportage in a tone of sensationalism. Once the public was influenced by the media, the Serbian diaspora started experiencing the backlash. This created discomfort at both community and individual levels since no one could understand how, even though they were good citizens and indeed model residents, they were being pilloried.

Society's backlash spurred a Serbian reaction, and people started organizing in an attempt to convey their own version of the 'truth'. In both Germany and Australia as the century drew to a close, protests and marches were displayed to show the community's disagreement with what had become the dominant public narrative. Although it may appear that these actions were aimed at the Establishment, they can be best evaluated from the viewpoint of respect for the principles of a democratic society. The freedom to disagree with a dominant public discourse through peaceful public action in a bid to change an established narrative is one of the noblest attainments of a democracy. Considered in this light, these protests actually signify a deep belonging to the society one lives in, because they aimed to shape its present and future as active citizens and residents in a democracy have every right to do.

## Chapter IX Conclusion

This study has examined the lives of offspring born to parents who emigrated from the former Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s in quest of a better life abroad. During those decades, Yugoslavia's economic plight created a generation of unskilled manual workers from the country's rural and un-industrialized areas who faced a bleak future of endless unemployment. Their first migratory routes led them north and west across the Continent – to such countries as West Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and France whose booming economies all had an insatiable demand for manual labour. Later on, they headed further afield to the classic immigrant countries of Canada, the United States and Australia.

In this context the thesis is set to examine second-generation migrants in two case studies – one in Germany, the other in Australia. My research centred on the factors shaping this generation's identification, together with their sense of belonging. Questions were asked of the two cohorts on the following topics – parental background, birthplace, status in the country where they live, education, employment, culture, language, religion, tradition, identification, bridging and bonding capital, and their overall sense of belonging. The definition of second-generation migrant used in this thesis came out of the living experiences of those individuals involved in the research and their personal idiosyncrasies. For the purposes of this research, therefore, 'second-generation' stands for people with at least one parent emigrating from Yugoslavia in the 1960s or 1970s who were either born in the adoptive country or arrived in it at a very early age, and whose education took place, at least in part, there.

To develop a sound theoretical framework, the thesis critically evaluated approaches to be found in the literature on identification and belonging. First, by examining theories on identity, I argue for the necessity of transcending the similarity-difference

dichotomy. In doing so, this thesis adopts the notion of identification developed by Brubaker and Cooper (2000). Secondly, this thesis treats the notion of belonging as an independent category of analysis, drawing on Antonsic's (2010) division of belonging into place-belongingness and the politics of belonging.

In arriving at this stance, the thesis mapped the field of research into the lives of second-generation migrants. It elaborated on different schools of thought, starting with research dating from the 1920s in the United States. From the era when this field yielded pioneering insights, I found two studies in particular were influential: from the 1940s, Irvin Child's research on Italian-Americans; and from 1964, Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life*. More serious research was done after the post-1965 second-generation started entering the labour market. In Europe, by contrast, such research awaited the early 2000s when the children of those economic migrants from the 1960s and 1970s colonized the workforce themselves. On the particular cohorts chosen for this dissertation, there is very little prior academic literature. Some of it can be traced to the Serbian anthropological community, referring to the experiences of second-generation in Germany. The Australian cohort has been previously considered in reports under the collective designation of Yugoslavians.

In its methodology this study used qualitative methods. First, the case study method was used to introduce a context for investigating second-generation migrants of Serbian ancestry in Germany and Australia. With that intention, I investigated each country's (and, in the former instance, dating back to West Germany's) immigration policies, residency conditions, policies for managing social diversity and citizenship regimes. Eventually, I collected data from forty-two semi-structured and open-ended interviews, of which twenty were conducted in Hamburg, Germany and twenty-two in Melbourne, Australia.

After the introduction, followed by an explanation of the theoretical framework, a literature review and a chapter on methodology, Chapter V discusses the patterns of identification prevalent within the second-generation cohort interviewed in Germany. The study shows that self-identification as being Serbian is usually followed by some other identifier, such as being Hamburgian; and that there was also a group of people whose identification could not be bracketed with a single aspect. Therefore some mentioned a geographical or cultural construct, identifying themselves as Europeans of Serbian descent, or as being partly Yugoslavian. Turning to identification as defined by others or by public discourse brought forth testimonies depicting interviewees as alienated from both Germany and their ancestral homeland. These participants found themselves labelled *Ausländer* in Germany, but as *gastarbeiter* or *Schwaben* – with both terms used pejoratively – in Serbia.

Chapter V also discusses identification with the cohort interviewed in Melbourne. There are stories of becoming, of growing up in a new world surrounded by Old World narratives delivered by their parents, alongside those of their own country permeating through school, peers, the media and society. Participants elaborated on their parents' desperate need to keep them aware and approving of the old ethnic bonds, even as they strove to be a part of their peer group. In adulthood, they came to terms with both their Australianness and the pan-Serbian component of their identification. At this point, most participants would identify as Australian Serb or Serbian Australian; or sometimes as Australians of Serbian descent. These terms, for the purpose of this research, are used interchangeably. Outside the mainstream of an Australian-Serb common denominator sit two participants, one of whom identifies as a citizen of the world while the other identifies purely with the land of his ancestors.

This chapter proceeded to discuss relational identification, an aspect not of importance for the German cohort. Within this paradigm, two interviewees identified themselves as mothers, and one as a member of Alcoholics Anonymous. In the Australian study identification through public discourse and by others are separate categories, indicative of the fact that the social distance between them and the broader Australian society was irrelevant. In considering the bearing of public discourse on their identity, two participants reflected on the term 'wog'. One recalled other children labelling her as a wog in her early years, and this constituting a vivid memory of discrimination. The other interviewee 'reclaimed' the term, using it as a badge of identification, so to speak, which she pinned on herself. Speaking of the way others identify them, their impression was that they are no different to the average Australian (in the perception of others). On the whole, they considered themselves good Australians, some of them pointing out that Anglo-Saxon Aussies often have less of a sense of shared community and have little time for tradition.

In the Chapter VI I discuss place-belongingness, subdivided into home-belonging – the feeling of security you get when you are 'at home' somewhere; relational belonging, where you derive contentment from establishing meaningful relationships; and, finally, economic belonging as a contributor to the economy of your country (or state or city) of residence. The two cohorts exhibited divergent responses in the first two of these sub-categories but they concurred when it came to economic belonging. Most of those in the German cohort displayed the remarkable attribute of translocality, situating their belonging simultaneously in Hamburg and their parental homeland. As mentioned beforehand, some had been sent back to live with grandparents or other relatives, and even started their education in the Balkans. Significantly, all of them as children spent summer holidays in their parents' home town, which is a tradition they continue to



practise in adulthood. They visit quite often, have their weddings there, and some of them even have business connections, or have found their partners for life from the parental homeland.

Being situated in two places influences their relations with residents in both places and makes them truly bi-local. In telling of the social contacts they have in Hamburg most respondents said they mainly mixed with Serbians or other children of *gastarbeiter*. When discussing their contacts with Germans, they argued that those friendships were different. Similarly, when marrying they would overwhelmingly prefer to wed one of 'ours', a task that is complicated by the modest size of Hamburg's Serbian community. On an unwritten scale, potential partners from other Orthodox countries rate very highly, while Croats and Muslims are considered unacceptable. Social contacts with people from their parents' homeland have a strong sentimental value, but reinforce the second-generation's awareness of wide gaps in attitude, politics and life goals.

This chapter also discusses the experience of second-generation Australians in terms of 'home' belonging and relational belonging. In every sense their narratives portray Australia as a land in which they are well settled and where they truly belong. Time and again their testimonies reference their satisfaction at living in a multicultural society and, as some of them say, Australia is the one place they could feel accepted for who they are. Đorđe's narrative is worth mentioning as the only one that stands out against this generality. His sense of belonging was impaired by the wars of the 1990s and Australian media coverage of those events. Feeling that Australian society and media both demonized the Serbian community unjustly, Đorđe feels alienated from the country and can only feel he belongs in the land of his ancestors.

Accounts of relational belonging are helpful in understanding this cohort's embeddedness in Australian society. Similar to their German counterparts, Australian

cohort developed their earliest social contacts through their parents, so their primary social circle was predominantly Serbian, or at least from the Yugoslav diaspora. Nonetheless, once they became adults their social network began to be based on shared values rather than shared ethnicity. Another indicator of the relatively small social distance between these participants and mainstream Australian society is the high rate of intermarriage. Indeed, most of the interviewees from this group are married to an Anglo-Saxon Australian if not to another second-generation migrant.

Finally, Chapter VI also discusses economic belonging as a part of being grounded in the place where you live. This type of belonging also responds to Giddens' concept of having answers to existential questions (1995), amounting to the preconditions for existential security. In this sense, both groups whose views were investigated in this thesis belong to the economy as part of their overall habitat. Their narrations emphasize their parents' insistence on their acquiring a good education as the basis of their prospects for success in life. After all, the parental generation undertook their life-changing journey to ensure a better future for their children, and the second-generation appear cognizant of this. Both cohorts have attained a higher educational level than their parents and, linked in with that, a higher socio-economic status. The big difference between them is the incidence of discrimination suffered by the German group. Several participants recounted negative experiences in the labour market, tracing their difficulties in finding a job to their ethnically apparent surname and assumptions about their background.

Chapter VII deals with cultural belonging, covering such characteristics as language, tradition, religion and culture, including stories about their parents' homeland that have been passed down for generations. The main part of this chapter is dedicated to language, given that it is here where the groups most diverge. Both grew up in migrant

households where the parental language was spoken to them until they were old enough to enter their first educational institution. Yet their language profile, now they are all adults, differs significantly. Those participants interviewed in Germany are fluent speakers of German and also of their parents' language. Being bilingual, they sometimes combine lexemes from both languages to craft new words or apply the rules of grammar appropriate to one of the languages when speaking the other, or vice versa. According to Vuletić (2016), the most common language transformations are effected by transferring unassimilated verbs and nouns, translating German words or phrases literally into Serbian, and adapting words from one language by making them conform to the grammatical rules of the other. As a rule, the participants from Australia do not speak Serbian as fluently, and some recall only a few words they learnt as children. Those who are married within Serbian community have a noticeably superior command of the language. It is similar case with the community leaders, whose command of Serbian language is quite good and both Nenad and Đorđe were interviewed in that language. An interesting remark about their level of facility with the language was that their parents had on occasion conveyed a mistaken meaning for some words they had taught their children, thus sowing the seeds of later confusion.

Other components of cultural belonging – the aforementioned tradition, religion, culture and stories of the Old Country – put participants from both group within the theoretical frame known as symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979, 1994; Waters 1996). Living far away from the ancestral homeland and exposed to the influences of the broader society that they encounter in their daily lives, the second-generation adopts fragments of those cultural components rather than imbibing them in their entirety. For example, they will celebrate only the most prominent feasts on their calendar – Christmas, Easter and *Slava* – dismissing other elements as backward and old-fashioned. As to culture

itself, it has been conveyed to them in basic forms such as folk dancing which may have no great relevance in the homeland but in diasporic circumstances serves as a glue binding the community together. In both parts of the diaspora, tales from the Old Country are used to trigger an emotional attachment to those long-forgotten places where their parents spent their childhood and youth. Finally, although religion and tradition are intertwined in Serbian culture, four participants from the Australian group professed themselves to be religious and their narratives are recounted separately.

Chapter VIII brings the narratives about political belonging, which for the purpose of this research refers to the status my participants have in their countries, so as to the right to shape present and the future of that country. Their status in society *vis-à-vis* the majority demographic emerged as the most important difference between the cohorts relative to this theme. While most of those in Germany retain the nationality inherited from their parents, every one of the antipodean participants is an Australian. The citizenship issue has historically been a stumbling block between the German state and the second-generation and, though the state has moved to normalize their legal status, the scars of that conflict are still evident in my participants' testimony. Although all of them (with the exception of one participant who was born in Serbia) were born in Germany, they are not necessarily German citizens. None of those participants who have German citizenship received it at birth: they obtained it later in life, mostly because they needed it for job purposes or to make overseas travel easier. Four participants hold dual citizenship, obtained not without difficulty and due to exceptional circumstances. Some are still coming to terms with the fact that to become German citizens they had to renounce their Serbian nationality, even though for them officially becoming German citizen did not diminish their feelings for Serbians and Serbia.

Having to ‘hand over’ their Serbian passport and give up Serbian citizenship was an emotionally charged decision for every one of them.

Unlike the German group, their Australian peers have, with a single exception, never had problems with their citizenship status. They arrived in the country when very young – and were naturalized when their parents applied for citizenship – or they themselves were born there and automatically (through the operation of *jus soli*) became Australian citizens. Either way, they have no memory of becoming Australian. In just one case, a participant had a problem with his status but that was due to a bureaucratic mistake. In general, they speak in a breezy fashion about their status and do not linger over the question of their belonging to the nation. As their anecdotes and reflections show, their status as Australians is uncontroversial and unquestioned.

Political belonging can also be perceived as a precondition for shaping the present and future condition of the country one inhabits. With that in mind, my research has unearthed two applications of political belonging – first, in the form of voting, and second in terms of (non-electoral) political activity within the community. The two groups that fielded my research inquiries show significant dissimilarity in the matter of voting. Most members of the German case study cohort do not have a right to vote or stand for election; their Australian counterparts did not have much to say on this topic. But, non-electorally, both groups were similarly active in a political sense, by working with community organizations but also in mobilizing as a response to the media and social backlash against Serbians collectively that they experienced during the 1990s.

Few of the German cohort have voting rights because few are German citizens. Necessarily, the data on voting is very limited yet those participants who elaborated on this topic clearly favoured the political forces of the Left. Members of this cohort were more interested in speaking about their political engagement in the community. The

Nikola Tesla soccer club attracted several of them not just in its sporting aspect but as a representative of the Serbian community and, frequently, a venue for cultural or charitable functions. Likewise, one interviewee was active in a Serbian academic organisation in Hamburg which, besides other goals, served as a focal point for the Serbian community especially in the aftermath of the 1990s wars. Finally, some participants from this group took part in civic protests in 1999 which aimed to influence media-fuelled public perceptions about people of their ethnicity during and after NATO's bombing campaign in Serbia.

People interviewed in Australia are participating in the electoral process in greater numbers than in Germany, an act that in itself fosters the sense of belonging to a broader community of compatriots. Like citizenship, electoral participation was not a topic that inspired much interest among this cohort. Given that Australia has compulsory voting, their answers did not go much further than a statement of their political-party preferences. Several participants talked about their work on community bodies such as SOYA, Pilipenda theatre and the Serbian Film Festival organizing committee, but also through events organized by the Serbian Orthodox Church. Warfare in the 1990s spurred Melburnians, like their peers in Hamburg, to become activists, not just in helping refugees with the resettlement process but in organizing protests, again aimed at reversing the negative perception of Serbians in broader society and the media.

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## Appendix 1: Letter of Ethics Approval

From: Astrid Nordmann

Sent: Monday, 22 December 2014 11:35 AM

To: Michael Leach

Cc: RES Ethics; Ivana Randjelovic

Subject: SHR Project 2014/292 - Ethics clearance

To: Assoc Prof Michael Leach, FHAD/ Ms Ivana Randjelovic

Dear Prof Leach,

SHR Project 2014/292 The integration of second-generation ex-Yugoslav migrants in Germany and Australia: opportunities and constraints

Approved Duration: 22/12/2014 to 31/01/2017 [adjusted]

I refer to the ethical review of the above project protocol by a Subcommittee (SHESC3) of Swinburne's Human Research Ethics Committee (SUHREC). Your responses to the review, as per the emails sent on 17 and 22 December 2014 (with attachment), were put to the Subcommittee delegate for consideration. I am pleased to advise that, as submitted to date, the project may proceed in line with standard on-going ethics clearance conditions here outlined.

-All human research activity undertaken under Swinburne auspices must conform to Swinburne and external regulatory standards, including the current National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and with respect to secure data use, retention and disposal.

-The named Swinburne Chief Investigator/Supervisor remains responsible for any personnel appointed to or associated with the project being made aware of ethics clearance conditions, including research and consent procedures or instruments approved. Any change in chief investigator/supervisor requires timely notification and SUHREC endorsement.

-The above project has been approved as submitted for ethical review by or on behalf of SUHREC. Amendments to approved procedures or instruments ordinarily require prior ethical appraisal/clearance. SUHREC must be notified immediately or as soon as possible thereafter of (a) any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants any redress measures; (b) proposed changes in protocols; and (c) unforeseen events which might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.

-At a minimum, an annual report on the progress of the project is required as well as at the conclusion (or abandonment) of the project. Information on project monitoring, self-audits and progress reports can be found at:  
<http://www.research.swinburne.edu.au/ethics/human/monitoringReportingChanges/>

-A duly authorised external or internal audit of the project may be undertaken at any time.

Please contact the Research Ethics Office if you have any queries about on-going ethics clearance. The SHR project number should be quoted in communication. Researchers should retain a copy of this email as part of project recordkeeping.

Best wishes for the project.

Yours sincerely,

Astrid Nordmann

SHESC3 Secretary

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Dr Astrid Nordmann

Research Ethics Executive Officer

Swinburne Research (H68)

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## Appendix 2: Research Poster



Dear Madam/Sir,

We invite you to take part in the research about second-generation migrants i.e. children of 1960-70s' economic migrants from former Yugoslavian countries. The research investigates opportunities and constraints for integration of second-generation in Germany and Australia. Topics that will be investigated in this research include citizenship, education, job market, housing, rights, voting, language, culture, moral, religion, and feelings of belonging.

The research will be conducted in a form of interviews, lasting approximately one hour. Your interviews will be used in PhD thesis so as in publications, which will include books, academic journal articles and conference papers. Confidentiality regarding your participation will be our foremost priority; you will not be referred to by name or another personal reference. No information that could identify any participant will be made public unless you request that we use your real name. In addition, you may withdraw at any time, in such a case your interview will not be used in the research. If you, your family or friends are interested to be part of this research please do not hesitate to contact me

Ivana Randjelovic, PhD candidate

Swinburne University of Technology

Faculty of Health, Art and Design,

Melbourne, Australia

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[irandjelovic@swin.edu.au](mailto:irandjelovic@swin.edu.au)

In addition, if you have any further questions regarding this project or your participation, rights, anonymity, etc. please contact: Ivana Randjelovic (+61466909685, [irandjelovic@swin.edu.au](mailto:irandjelovic@swin.edu.au)), Michael Leach (+61417067817, [mleach@swin.edu.au](mailto:mleach@swin.edu.au)) or Dean Lusher (+61 3 9214 5934, [dlusher@swin.edu.au](mailto:dlusher@swin.edu.au))

This project has been approved by or on behalf of Swinburne's Human Research Ethics Committee (SUHREC) in line with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this project, you can contact:

Research Ethics Officer, Swinburne Research (H68),

Swinburne University of Technology, P O Box 218, HAWTHORN VIC 3122.

Tel (03) 9214 5218 or +61 3 9214 5218 or [resethics@swin.edu.au](mailto:resethics@swin.edu.au)



## Appendix 3: Research Poster (Version in Serbian language)



Poštovana/Poštovani,

Pozivamo vas da učestvujete u istraživanju koje se bavi drugom generacijom, odnosno decom ekonomskih migranata iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije (period 1960-1970). Istraživanje ispituje mogućnosti i ograničenja za integraciju druge generacije u Nemačkoj i Australiji. Teme koje će biti obrađivane uključuju državljanstvo, obrazovanje, zapošljavanje, stanovanje, prava, glasanje, upotrebu jezika, kulturu, moral, religiju, osećaj pripadnosti, itd.

Istraživanje će biti sprovedeno u formi intervjua, koji će trajati prosečno oko sat vremena. Intervjui će biti korišćeni u izradi doktorske teze, kao i u publikacijama koje mogu uključivati knjige, akademske časopise i konferencijske zbornike. Poverljivost vaših ličnih podataka predstavlja prioritet, te vaše ime ili bilo koja lična referenca neće biti objavljene. Svaka druga informacija koja vas može identifikovati, takođe neće biti objavljena sem ukoliko ne insistirate na tome. Pored toga, u bilo kom trenutku možete odustati od učestvovanja, a u tom slučaju intervju neće biti korišćen u daljem istraživanju.

Ukoliko vi, članovi vaše porodice, prijatelji i poznanici želite da budete deo istraživanja o drugoj generaciji migranata iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije molim vas da me kontaktirate:

Ivana Randjelovic

Swinburne University of Technology

Faculty of Health, Art and Design, Melbourne, Australia

**+61466909685**

**irandjelovic@swin.edu.au**

Za sva dodatna pitanja u vezi ovog projekta, učestvovanje, prava, anonimnost, itd.

molimo vas da kontaktirate navedene osobe: : **Ivana Randjelovic (+61466909685,**

**irandjelovic@swin.edu.au), Michael Leach (+61417067817,**

**mleach@swin.edu.au) or Dean Lusher (+61 3 9214 5934, dlusher@swin.edu.au)**

Projekat je odobren od strane Komiteta za istraživačku etiku Svinburn univerziteta u

Melburnu, u skladu sa Nacionalnim kodeksom o etici u istraživanjima Australije.

Ukoliko imate bilo kakva pitanja o etičkom kodeksu istraživanja možete kontaktirati:

Odeljenje za istraživačku etiku Svinburn univerziteta (H68), Swinburne University

of Technology, P O Box 218, HAWTHORN VIC 3122. Tel **(03) 9214 5218** ili

**resethics@swin.edu.au**

## Appendix 3: Consent Form



**Project title:**

*The integration of second-generation ex-Yugoslav migrants in Germany and Australia:  
opportunities and constraints*

**Researchers** **Ivana Randjelovic**, PhD candidate at Swinburne University of  
Technology,

Faculty of Health, Art and Design, Melbourne, Australia

**Michael Leach**, Associate Professor Swinburne University of  
Technology, Faculty of Health, Art and Design, Melbourne, Australia

**Dr Dean Lusher** ARC Future Fellow Faculty of Business and Enterprise Swinburne Business School, Centre for Transformative Innovation, Melbourne, Australia

1. I consent to participate in the project named above. I have been provided a copy of the information statement to which this consent form relates and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. **In relation to this project, please circle your response to the following:**

▪ I agree to be interviewed by the researcher **Yes**

**No**

▪ I agree to allow the interview to be recorded by electronic device **Yes**

**No**

▪ I agree to make myself available for further information if required **Yes**

**No**

3. I acknowledge that:

(a) My participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation;

(b) The Swinburne project is for the purpose of research and not for profit;

(c) My anonymity is preserved and I will not be identified in publications or otherwise without my express written consent.

By signing this document I agree to participate in this project.

**Name of Participant:**

.....

**Signature & Date:** .....