From First-Generation Guestworkers to Second-Generation Transnationalists: Greek-Germans Engage with the 'Homeland'

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Abstract

Few studies have been made of the 'return' of the second-generation children of migrants to their parental homeland. In this paper we examine this 'migration chronotope' for German-born children of the Greek labour migrants who moved to Germany in the early postwar decades, initially as 'guestworkers', later becoming more-or-less settled immigrant communities. We focus on two life-stages of return: as young children brought back to Greece for annual holidays or sent back for longer periods, usually to stay with grandparents; and as young adults exercising an independent return, usually leaving their parents (the first generation) behind in Germany. Our source material is twofold: a review of the limited German literature of the 1970s and 1980s on Greek migration to and from Germany; and our own recent field research in Berlin, Athens and Thessaloniki where we interviewed 50 first- and second-generation Greek-Germans, the majority of them second-generation. We find the practice of sending young children back to Greece to have been surprisingly widespread yet little documented. Often such family separations and transnational childhoods were disruptive, both for the family unit and for the individual child. Memories of holiday visits, on the other hand, were much more positive. Independent, adult return to the parental homeland takes place for five main reasons, according to our interview evidence: (i) a dream-like 'search for self' in the 'homeland'; (ii) the attraction of the Greek way of life over the German one; (iii) the actualisation of a 'family narrative of return' inculcated by the parents but carried out only by the adult children; (iv) life-stage triggers such as going to university in Greece, or marrying a Greek; and (v) return as 'escape' from a traumatic event or an oppressive family situation. Yet adapting to the Greek way of life, finding satisfactory employment and achieving a settled self-identity in the Greek homeland were, to a greater or lesser extent, challenging objectives for our research participants, some of whom had become quite disillusioned with Greece and re-identified with their 'German side'. Others, on the other hand, were comfortable with their decision to 'return' to Greece, and were able to manage and reconcile the two elements in their upbringing and residential history. Comparisons are made with other studies of second-generation 'return', notably in the Caribbean.

Introduction

Part of the mass labour migration from the Mediterranean Basin countries to North-West Europe in the early postwar decades, the specific case of Greek migration to (West) Germany has not been widely researched. The main focus in Germany has been on Turkish migrants who, it is true, are the largest national group, but this intense attention also reflects the fact that, as Muslims coming from a relatively underdeveloped country, they are seen as the most 'problematic' in terms of socio-cultural integration (Thränhardt 2004: 159). Relatively little attention, by contrast, has been paid to the other Southern European migrants who came to Germany during this period – Italians, Spaniards, Greeks and Yugoslavs. The Greeks, in particular, were seen as a group who 'kept to themselves'; this ethno-cultural self-sufficiency was interpreted by the host society as unproblematic (differently from the reaction to the Turks) and consistent with Germany's self-definition as a country not of immigrants but of 'guestworkers' (*Gastarbeiter*) who would soon return to their home countries.

Our objectives in this paper are the following. First, as background, we briefly recount the Greek experience of migration to Germany and set this within a double comparative perspective – of Greek emigration to other countries and of other immigrant nationalities in Germany. Second, we show how, despite the host society's continued insistence on the temporary status of Greek (and other) immigrants, and the belief of the migrants themselves that they would indeed return, a considerable share of Greek labour migrants in Germany stayed on and settled,

giving rise to the so-called 'second generation' of Greek-Germans. Thirdly, we use a transnational lens to focus more specifically on the second generation, who are now mostly young-to-middle-age adults. We explore their 'homeland' links using two main sources covering two different time periods. The first source consists of German sociological research from the 1970s and 1980s which sheds light on the then-young second generation's ambivalent positionality, especially with regard to schooling, language, and plans for their future. The second source is our own recently-collected field data from a study of 'return' migration of adult second-generation Greek-Germans to their parental homeland. This fieldwork took place in Berlin, Athens and northern Greece in 2007-08. Our main research instrument was the in-depth narrative interview, carried out with 20 first- and second-generation Greek-Germans in Berlin, and 30 second-generation 'returnees' in Greece. As well as describing their experiences of settlement in the parental homeland, second-generation participants also talked of their childhood transnational links when living in Germany, including being 'sent back' to Greece for part of their schooling.

The structure of the paper reflects this combination of methods and objectives. We first set the geographical and historical context of the Greek migration to Germany, emphasising its distinctive characteristics when compared to other Greek emigrants and to other immigrants in Germany. The second section details our methodological approach, especially the field research carried out in the two countries. The following sections describe second-generation transnational and return links drawn from the German empirical literature of the *Gastarbeiter* and immediate post-*Gastarbeiter* eras. Key issues explored here are the strength of the Greek ethnic community in Germany, and the problem of where and how to educate the second generation – in German mainstream schools, in Greek schools in Germany, or back in Greece. The final main part of the paper – the longest – presents results from

primary research on the experience of settling in Greece on the part of adult second-generation 'returnees'. This section is divided into a number of subsections according to the themes consistently expressed in the interview narratives: the reasons for what appears to be a somewhat counter-intuitive decision to 'return' in early adulthood; the challenges of finding employment, and other material aspects; issues of adaptation to the 'Greek way of life'; and finally deeper questions of 'home', 'identity' and 'belonging'.

Greek migration to Germany

The Greek migration to Germany should first be contextualised within the large-scale labour migration of the early postwar decades that fed mainly unskilled workers from Southern Europe to the booming industrial economies of North-West Europe.[1] West Germany's *Gastarbeiter* policy was the paradigmatic case of the temporary importation of foreign workers, with the assumption that their deployment would be a solution to labour shortages over the short and medium terms: a driving-force for industrially-based economic growth but also a hedge against cyclical downturns – as happened briefly in 1966-67 and more long-term after 1973. During those postwar decades, the prospect that labour migrants 'would become permanent members of German society was both unanticipated and unwelcome' (Bartram 2005: 33). Using the regulatory theoretic frame of Fordism, Fielding (1993: 13) drew an insightful parallel between the 'mass collective workers' recruited by Germany and other industrialised countries from Europe's labour periphery, and the 'mass production of standardised goods for mass markets' which these workers' labour sustained: both were short-term and expendable, to be replaced by new workers

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[1] This migration system was subject to a critical Marxist class analysis by Castles and Kosack in their classic text of 1973. For a more traditional geographic treatment see Salt and Clout (1976).

Table 1   West Germany: foreign population and workers, 1961-81 ('000)

Nationality	Workers				Total migrants			
	1961	1967	1973	1981	1961	1970	1973	1981
Greek	42	140	250	122	52	343	399	299
Italian	197	267	450	285	225	574	622	625
Spanish	44	118	190	81	62	246	286	177
Turkish		131	605	584	7	469	894	1,546
Yugoslav		97	535	336	16	515	673	637
All migrants	549	991	2,595	1,917	686	2,977	3,966	4,630

Source: after Esser and Korte (1985: 171)

and new products once their predecessors had become obsolete.

However, it soon became clear that a substantial proportion of the guestworkers in West Germany were turning themselves into more-or-less permanent immigrants (King 1998). True, many also returned, especially Greeks, whose number of labour migrants in Germany halved between 1972 and 1985 (King 1994: 223), but this was partially offset by a compensatory inflow of family members of the 'stayers', allowed in as Germany respected European legislation on the rights of migrant workers to family life and therefore to recruit their family members. A 1975 German ruling extending equal welfare rights to the children of migrants stimulated the bringing over of children who had been 'left behind' in Greece or sent back there to be cared for by relatives. Numbers of Greeks in Germany were further boosted by 'new' children born to Greek parents, who kept their Greek nationality and their diasporic identity according to the 'double ius sanguinis' of both the German and the Greek governmental policy toward their respective 'ethnic' populations.[2]

As Castles and Miller point out (2009: 101), the German 'guestworker system'

exemplified an economically logical model of flexible labour supply, but with human costs to the migrants that, quite rightly, could not be sustained. Thus, temporary sojourn, recruitment of single (mostly male) workers and restrictions of employment and civic rights gave way to inexorable pressures for family reunion, settlement and community formation. Hence we see, over time, an initial rapid rise in migrant workers living in Germany, later paralleled and overtaken by a faster rise in migrant populations (i.e. including non-workers). The number of foreign workers in West Germany rose from less than 100,000 in the mid-1950s to 1.3 million in 1966 and 2.6 million in 1973, falling back to 1.9 million in 1981. Total foreign population (workers plus dependants) continued to rise after the oil crisis: 686,000 in 1961, 3 million in 1970, 4.6 million in 1981 (Esser and Korte 1985: 171).

Next, some more specific facts and figures about Greek emigration to Germany. Much of this movement was concentrated in the dozen or so years between March 1960, when a bilateral agreement was made between the two countries for labour recruitment, and November 1973, the time of the 'recruitment-stop'. These also corresponded to West Germany's boom years, which took off somewhat later than other North European countries due to the scale of war devastation.[3] Table 1 sets out

[2] Migration between two 'ius sanguinis' countries, where both states privilege blood descendancy as the key criterion of belonging to the national community, inevitably implies (though not necessarily dictates) that Greeks in Germany will be likely to retain their Greek identity and preserve strong links to their country of origin, even into the second generation, as we shall see later in this paper.

[3] Germany started its economic recovery around 1955, based on labour supplies coming from refugees from the

selected data for Greek migrants (workers, and total residents) in Germany alongside those for other Southern European countries and all migrants. The Greek profile matches the general picture: the 'exceptional' case is Turkey where the inflow started later and where post-oil crisis return migration was far less evident.[4] Greeks made up 10 per cent of both worker and total migrants, some way behind the three main groups – Turks, Yugoslavs and Italians. Nevertheless, with 250,000 workers and 400,000 total migrants, the Greeks were a significant presence, especially considering the small size of Greece.

Like the other Southern European migrant workers, Greeks were hired to do jobs which were heavy, unpleasant and low-paid – mostly unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in factories, mining, transport and construction. In taking up this employment, they substituted for Germans who were able to remain longer in education and training and thereby occupy higher positions in the labour market. Compared to other migrant nationalities, Greeks were under-represented in mining, construction and transport, and over-represented in all the main branches of heavy and manufacturing industry – iron and steel, vehicles, textiles, electrical goods and chemicals (see the data in Salt 1976: 113).

The geographical distribution of Greeks in West Germany was linked to the main centres of industrial production; hence city-regions such as Stuttgart (vehicle manufacture) and Ruhr (Düsseldorf, Wuppertal, etc., centres of heavy manufacturing), as well as other large cities (Munich, Nuremberg, Berlin etc.), were

major foci for Greek settlement (Schlumm 1984a: 82). This industry-linked distribution has remained stable over time, despite the shrinking of industrial deployment. A 2001 report on 'The Situation of Foreign Workers and their Families in Germany'[5] found that 64 per cent of Greeks lived in cities of more than half a million inhabitants, a degree of concentration greater than that of the other main migratory groups (Turks 61 per cent, Yugoslavs and Italians 57 per cent) and of the German native populations (40 per cent).

Although Greek migration to Germany, like the other guestworker streams, was predominantly male in the early years, the proportion of women soon grew, both because of direct recruitment of women for employment in light industries such as electrical goods manufacturing, and through family reunion. Maria Kontos (2009) is at pains to dispel the myth of Greek male-dominated migration to Germany, pointing out that 38 per cent of Greek workers recruited to Germany during 1960-73 were women, a much higher proportion than for the other migrant nationalities. Indeed, much Greek migration to Germany was family return, with many married women recruited alongside their husbands.

This demographic background explains the early birth of the second generation, which closely parallels the temporal profile of Greek migration to Germany (Figure 1). The fall-off after 1972 reflects return migration and ageing, whilst the renewed slight growth since 1985 probably reflects two influences – new Greek migration to Germany following Greece's accession the EU, and the cohort effect of births of the

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east, and from the German countryside. The erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 cut off migration from eastern Germany. Migrant recruitment agreements were also made around this time with Italy, Spain, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Portugal. For details see Salt (1976: 84-93, 98-104).

[4] This can be largely attributed to the still-backward state of the Turkish economy, in contrast to the other Southern European countries, where industry, tourism and other economic sectors were beginning to gather speed in the 1970s, offering employment opportunities to returning migrants.

[5] This research was commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Work and Social Order to investigate the degree of integration of different migrant groups in Germany. Following on from studies carried out in 1980, 1985 and 1995, it considers the social transformations which took place over this time period and the wider implications for politics and economics.

Figure 1   Live births to Greek mothers in Germany, 1960-2007
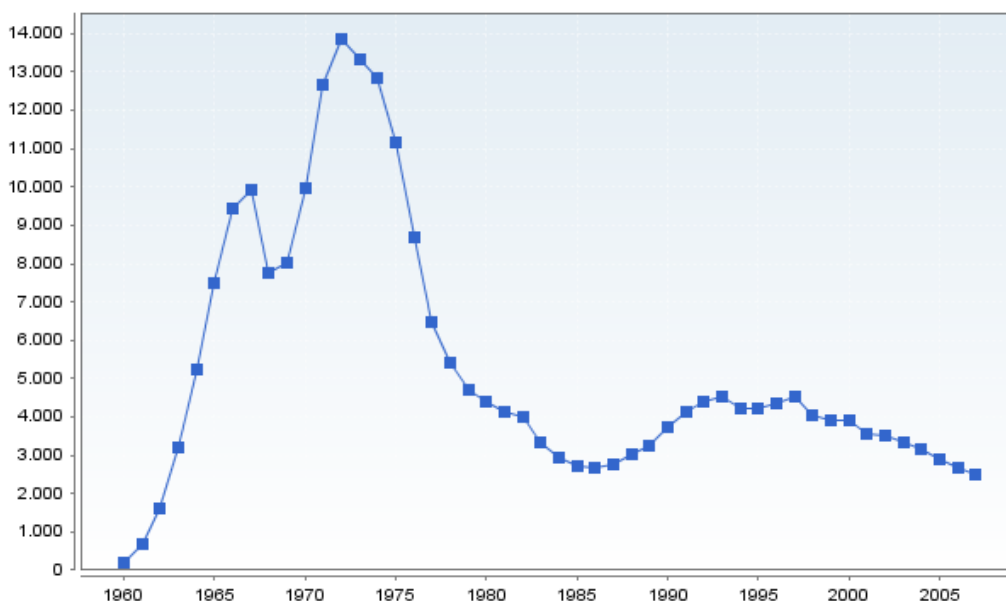
third generation, one generation after the peak in second-generation births in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Next, a brief word on the Greek migration to Germany from the sending-country perspective. Compared to Greek migrations to other countries, that to Germany is remarkably concentrated in a short period of time, yielding marked cohort effects, as noted above. The history of (modern) Greek migration falls into two major waves going to different destinations.[6] Between 1900 and 1924 an estimated 420,000 left for overseas, mainly the United States. Then, between 1945 and 1974, another 1.4 million departed, half to overseas countries (the US, Canada and Australia) and half to Western Europe, especially Germany after 1960. The 595,000 Greeks who emigrated to West Germany during 1960-73 represented more than 80 per cent of those migrating to Europe, the remainder going to Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Sweden (Papademetriou 1979: 188). The emigration of 1.4 million during 1945-74 represents an exodus of about one in six of the total Greek population (16.5 per cent of the 1961 population). All told about a

quarter of this postwar outflow returned, the rates of return being higher for Germany than for the overseas destinations (Fakiolas and King 1996: 172, 174).[7]

Recent figures from the General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad[8] give the following estimates for the main diaspora communities (i.e. those over 100,000): USA 3 million, Australia 700,000, Germany 354,000, Canada 350,000, Ukraine 250,000, UK 212,000, Russia 180,000, and South Africa 120,000. These figures, whilst accurate for Germany, are debatable for some other countries because of the flexibility over the definition of 'Greek' heritage or ethnicity. For instance, according to the 1990 US census only 900,000 Americans defined themselves as having some Greek ancestry and only 200,000 were Greek-born (Tastsoglou 2009: 9).

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[6] Here we deal only with the 'migration' diasporas of the last 120 years or so, not the so-called 'historical' diasporas through which Greek populations became established in various countries such as Russia, Georgia, Turkey, Bulgaria etc. (Tastsoglou 2009: 8).

[7] The statistical documentation on Greek migration and return becomes complicated by repeat migrants: for example, many returnees from Germany subsequently re-emigrated, either back to Germany or elsewhere. This leads to some double-counting of migrants in the statistics.

[8] See www.ggae.gr/gabroad/organise.en.asp (accessed 26 November 2009).

Methods

Two main methodological approaches underpin this paper. The first consists of an 'excavation' of mainly German-language sociological literature of the 1970s and 1980s. We looked in particular for qualitative material, such as interview quotes, relating to the characteristics and experiences of the Greek-German second generation at that time, when they were still quite young. This material is reinterpreted through a transnational optic and used as the basis for a historical comparison with our later analysis of second-generation transnational behaviour, including both visits and more definitive relocations to Greece.

The second method draws from a wider project on second-generation return to Greece.[9] We chose Berlin as our German base (we could have chosen any one of several large or industrial West German cities, as all have Greek communities dating from the guestworker era). There, 20 first- and second-generation Greek-Germans were interviewed in order to record their perspectives both on the nature of 'Greek ethnic life' in the city and their attitudes towards and experiences of return migration to Greece. Additionally, 30 life-narratives were collected from second-generation Greek-Germans who had relocated to Greece in early adulthood. Given the cohort effect of emigration to Germany and hence the concentration of second-generation births in the period between the late 1960s and the early 1980s (Figure 1), most of this latter group of participants were aged in their mid-20s to late 30s. We chose Athens and Thessaloniki as the main bases for the Greek fieldwork, for the following reasons. First, these were the two centres where the German Federal Labour Office recruited guestworkers in the 1960s and 1970s (Kontos 2009: 31). Second, we knew from the detailed research of Klaus Unger (1983, 1986) that Athens, largely for employment and investment opportunity reasons, was the key centre for first-generation returnees, including those who originated from other parts of Greece. The attraction of Athens would conceivably be even greater for second-generation 'returnees' whose links to other 'hometowns' in Greece would be more tenuous than those of their parents. Third, we used Thessaloniki as a base for carrying out interviews not only in the city (the second in Greece after Athens), but also across other locations in northern Greece, since it was known that emigrants to Germany were drawn preponderantly from the poorest regions of Greece, namely Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace (K. Unger 1981).

Our principal research instrument was the narrative interview, often lasting several hours and conducted across two or three sessions. In most cases, informal preliminary meetings were necessary in order to book a time and a place for the main 'narrative performance'. Subject to participants' consent, interviews were recorded, then transcribed and referred back to them for checking, which sometimes led to a further meeting and discussion. Interviewees were approached via a range of channels: personal contacts, community organisations, and snowball referral. Clearly, what resulted was not a random or representative sample, but we do believe it contains a fair cross-section of experience, not least because many consistent themes emerged from the narratives, as well as significant differences too. Given that we did not want to impose or give clues about our research questions (which in any case were very open), interviewees were encouraged to structure their narratives with minimal interviewer interference. In many cases, what amounted to a 'vow of silence' on the part of the interviewer worked; for others, prompts and generalised questions were necessary to stimulate participants to talk.

The life-narrative is a powerful tool for qualitative research on migration and transnationalism, giving acute insights into issues of mobility, place, identity and belonging. Indeed individuals make sense of their identities by creating and interpreting narrative scenarios in which the role of memory and nostalgia is often important (Deciu Ritivoi 2002). In our study we were particularly concerned with the ways in which participants construct narratives of their past in making sense of the present – i.e. their 'post-return' everyday life in the parental homeland. However, as we shall see, this 'sense-making' may bring together disjointed and conflictual elements of a relocation – to the place of their parents', not their own, birth – which is not only counter-diasporic but also counter-intuitive. The result may be a sense of ambivalence, even disillusionment, which reflects participants' attempt to reconcile the spatial and mental notion of 'home' with the territorial exemplification of the 'homeland' (Christou 2009; King and Christou 2010).

The 'young' second generation and its transnational links

The West German 'recruitment-stop' did not so much reduce the foreign population as change its character, as we noted above. The first generation (those who did not return) were no longer guestworkers but *de facto* immigrants with their families with them. But the economic climate had changed. Unemployment amongst foreign workers, prior to 1974 lower than the German average, went above the national mean. This was because foreigners had been employed in precisely those sectors – mining, manufacturing, construction etc – which had been worst hit by the economic crisis. Many Greek workers reacted to this harsh economic situation by moving into the self-employed catering sector, opening up snack bars and restaurants, run as small family businesses.

Despite the reality of family migration and the evolution of the second generation,

Germany's Federal Government continued to insist (only recently has this insistence been withdrawn) that Germany was *not* a country of immigration. This increasingly obvious contradiction posed a challenge to policy which somehow had to reconcile the two opposing forces: on the one hand the need to accommodate a now-settled migrant population and educate its German-born second generation (and the 1.5 generation brought in as young children); and on the other hand the desire to preserve the increasingly fictional notion of temporary migration and to prepare the migrants for a return to their home countries. These two contrasting viewpoints – one side demanding stronger measures to promote return migration, the other wanting integration leading ultimately to naturalisation – continued to bedevil German policy towards immigration for the next two to three decades. Only with difficulty could they be combined into a single policy of 'temporary integration' (Esser and Korte 1985).[10]

Migrant-origin children and the German school system

This ambivalence became especially apparent in the education field where the challenge of how to treat increasing numbers of 'foreign' children arose. Dependent children of the so-called guestworkers – either brought with their

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[10] With the benefit of theoretical hindsight, the transnational optic helps to resolve this apparent zero-sum dilemma of return vs. integration. Indeed the growing empirical evidence of transnationalist research in migration studies shows that successful integration does not preclude transnational links to the homeland – far from it. Moreover, these transnational links do not necessarily disappear with the successful incorporation of the second generation in the host society (see the discussion in King and Christou 2008: 9-10). Another gap in German official policy thinking on migration was the fact that programmes of preserving ethnic identity and autonomy – leading to principles of multiculturalism and pluralism – were not made very explicit, even though they could be linked closely to the aim of strengthening the propensity to return. As Esser and Korte (1985: 191) point out, the concept of an evolving 'multicultural' German society was not discussed officially, although it has been in academic and church circles, which, however, are not very influential.

parents through family migration and reunion or, increasingly as time went by, born in Germany – increased from less than 24,000 in 1965 to 836,000 by 1976. Starting in the mid-1960s, children of immigrants attended so-called preparatory classes, held in their mother tongue, prior to entering all-German 'regular' classes after two years. However, this policy, which at first glance appeared to satisfy the dual criteria of 'temporary integration' – incorporating children into the German education system whilst helping them to preserve the linguistic and cultural traits of their ethnic origins – proved difficult to sustain with appropriate personnel and curriculum resources. Many pupils remained in the preparatory classes for longer than two years. Later, foreign teachers were used to teach immigrant children in their mother tongue, either in the preparatory classes or in so-called 'special' or 'national' classes which took place in the afternoons and which the children of guestworkers attended in addition to classes at mainstream German schools. This latter system led to pupils being weighed down with two sets of curricula and homework to complete. Further problems arose because the integration of migrant-origin children into mainstream German schools – based on a recommendation that the proportion of foreigners per class should not exceed 20 per cent – ignored the reality that the migrant populations were heavily concentrated in certain areas. All these problems led Esser and Korte (1985: 194) to conclude that the state of educational provision for migrant-origin children was 'disastrous' and 'doomed to failure'.

Much of this negative judgement reflects the extreme rigidity of the German school system. It is, in Rist's words (1979: 244), a system 'which prides itself on its traditionalism, selectivity, severity, and hierarchical status [and] there are no apologies about the contribution it makes to the reinforcement of the current social arrangements of the broader society'. It is a system premised on a rigorous sorting mechanism. Thus, whilst only one in four or five of all students made it to the *Gymnasium* (the academic high school

necessary for university entrance), the proportion of foreigners in the mid-1970s was less than one in two hundred (Rist 1979: 244).[11] Critics saw this as 'the deliberate perpetuation from generation to generation of a prejudicial and discriminatory social system' (Rist 1979: 245). Others went further, seeing the 'non-education' of the guestworkers' children as a deliberate and cynical strategy of reproducing an 'underclass' of cheap, flexible workers who would be available to do the marginal and low-paid jobs in the labour market that native workers would reject (Skuttnabb-Kangas 1981: 60).

If this was the general picture for the country as a whole and for all migrant-origin children, then two further variations must be noted. First, in federal Germany the *Länder* are responsible for education and culture, leading to different policies and priorities from one region to another. These different emphases reflect the duality of policy noted repeatedly above, based in turn on different political and ideological stances towards migration. On the one hand, city-regions like Berlin and Hamburg, and *Länder* with social-democratic traditions like North Rhine-Westphalia and Hessen, have followed an educational policy of integration; whilst on the other hand *Länder* like Bavaria and Baden Würtemberg emphasised separation and 'national' instruction, in order to strengthen the ability and willingness to return (Esser and Korte 1985: 195; see Rist 1979 for an instructive comparison between 'integrationist' Berlin and 'separationist' Bavaria).

The second source of variation is the various national-origin perspectives, and the Greek one in particular. After 1981 migrant-origin countries were allowed to sponsor their own schools, and the Greek government, reflecting its strong nationalistic ideology and diaspora

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[11] Foreign-nationality pupils' access to the *Gymnasium* schools has improved since then, but still remains below the German average. For an update see Thränhardt (2004).

consciousness, was immediately active in the field. By 1986 there were around 1300 Greek teachers in West Germany, paid for by the Greek government on an ongoing basis. Greek parents in Germany, for their part, have high educational ambitions for their children (despite, or perhaps because of, their own very low educational level); yet this aspiration reflects, interestingly, the German policy ambivalence towards immigrants. Greek parents want their children to do well in the German system but they also consider mother-tongue teaching abroad as crucial for keeping their children rooted in Greek culture and for facilitating a possible return to the home country. Only about 30 percent of Greek pupils in Germany do not attend any type of mother-tongue teaching. That Greek parents have founded Greek kindergartens and 'national' (i.e. Greek) schools reflects a clear pattern of 'ethnic colony building', according to Thränhardt (2004: 173).

Despite the widespread general disadvantage that migrant-origin children from the guestworker era have suffered in the German school system, there are some remarkable variations in education outcomes for the various national groups. It seems that, on most indicators, the Greeks have done well, second only to the Spaniards, with the Turks and the Italians as the joint worst performers. The poor education results of the Italians – the earliest-arriving *Gastarbeiter* – is a bit of a mystery, but there is no space to go into possible explanations in this paper. The Spanish educational achievement is based on successful assimilation, whereas the Greeks have retained a community identity separate from the German population (Thränhardt 1989: 19-24; 2004: 171-173).[12] Thus a partial functional integration in the case of the Greeks is combined with a strong ethnic community identity and links to the country of origin. The Greek sense of ethno-national identity is reinforced by the

Griechische Gemeinden (locally-based Greek community associations) which have enjoyed a tradition of self-regulation without Greek or German state interference. The associations had their origins as leftist organisations against the Greek right, especially the military regime which ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974. Since then, they have continued to exist on a more diversified basis. Some relate to common regions or districts in Greece, such as Thessaly or Crete. This, in turn, reflects the group-based mode of Greek migration to Germany, so that the majority of the Greek population of any given German city is made up mainly of migrants from a single district.

From the above we have a clear idea of how the Greek second generation grew up and was socialised in Germany. They were part of an urban ethnic community often based on common village and district origins in Greece, which was very much structured around family and kinship ties and responsibilities, and in which social life was mainly within the family and with their second-generation Greek peers – cousins, neighbours, friends – reinforced through membership of the Greek Orthodox Church and attendance at Greek schools. The prevalence of intra-group social contact bound them both to the ethnic community which had been created by their parents, and to their villages and towns of origin, which were visited regularly for shorter and longer stays. Furthermore, at least for many years if not decades, and for some still today, the Greek migrant workers and their families were convinced that they would return home in due time: either in the short term, at the end of their work contract, or in the long term, upon retirement. As Kontos (2009: 32) put it, 'Greek migrants to Germany have been *return-* and *homeland-oriented* from the start' (original author's emphasis).

The scene is now set for some empirical data. This is drawn both from contemporary studies of children's experiences of schooling, both in Germany and in Greece,

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[12] Thränhardt (2004: 173) gives a highly revealing statistic in this regard: eight out of ten children of Spanish parentage come from mixed marriages, yet eight out of ten children of Greek parents come from Greek-Greek marriages.

and from the earlier childhood recollections of our own research participants.

Transnational children?

Many factors are relevant to the way in which schooling interacts with transnational behaviour, above all whether parents who migrated to Germany sent their children to German schools, to Greek schools in Germany, or to schools in Greece.[13] Sometimes choices were constrained by practical factors such as the caps put on the proportion of foreign nationals in German schools, distance to the Greek school etc. But an overwhelming influence, especially in the early years of schooling, was the economic strategy of both parents working. Kontos (2009: 35-37) quotes interesting data which show that Greek married women in Germany have consistently had the highest rates of employment of all national groups, including the Germans. In the 1960s and 1970s there was a high concentration of Greek female employment in electrical goods factories; three-quarters of economically active Greek women were employed in this sector in 1980 (Bender et al. 2000: 75). This specialisation still exists,

but with the post-1974 switch to self-employment, many Greek women are now involved in running catering and other family businesses. The economic imperative of both parents working led many Greek parents to send their children for periods of schooling to Greece, either to a boarding school or to be looked after by relatives. Here is the testimony (from Matzouranis 1985: 153) of an 18-year-old female interviewed in Munich in 1971 whose schooling had followed a shuttle-like existence back and forth between Greece and Germany:

> First my parents went to Germany. Then after a short while – about a year – my dad came [to Greece] to take us with him… I had attended primary school in Greece until the second year: after that we came to Germany in 1962. Then my dad sent us to a boarding school [in Greece] for two years […]. Since then – like at the moment – I have been in Germany, without interruption, since about 1965… apart from the times we went down to Greece on holidays. I attended a German school and completed my education until year 8. I also went to vocational school [*Berufsschule*], which took three years. I studied home economics and learnt to speak fluent German… We also learnt how to type and do shorthand […]. Then I started to work in a German office.

In this case, the respondent was seemingly able to cope and ended up in an office job. In this respect girls may have more options open to them in a post-industrial labour market than boys (cf. also Kontos 2009). The education and employment of second-generation (and 1.5 generation) boys seems more problematic, on the basis of the available research evidence. Two more quotes from Matzouranis' research (1985: 57-58): first, a German father, musing on the educational and job prospects of his 16-year-old son (date of the interview 1973; significantly, the onset of the recession):

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[13] In her detailed study of second-generation child returnees to Greece (children who had been brought back to Greece as part of family return migration), Liane Unger (1986) found that 23 per cent had attended the preparatory classes for 'immigrant kids' in Germany, some staying there for as long as six years. In addition, 72 per cent of 'remigrant' young people had attended the 'national' classes (i.e. those taught through the medium of Greek with German as a 'second language'), 76.4 per cent of girls and 66.7 per cent of boys. She also found that those who had attended the Greek school in Germany were more likely to return to Greece to complete their schooling. This means that the above figures are not representative of the educational attendance of all Greek-parented children in Germany, since those who attended mainstream German schools would be less likely to have been brought back to Greece. On the other hand, we have already noted, following Hatzichristou and Hopf (1995: 507), that only 30 per cent of Greek students in West Germany do not attend any type of mother-tongue teaching, which is consistent with Unger's survey data results. And for Berlin, Rist (1979: 255) quotes figures for the 1974-75 school year which show that 'nearly 100 per cent' of Greek children take the supplementary afternoon Greek classes, compared to much lower percentages of the other national groups attending their respective classes.

Where shall I send Alekos? He only completed the primary school in Greece; that isn't worth anything here. Should I send him back to school? But he would need to know German. He goes to these courses that supposedly are for learning German, with the priests, but he doesn't learn anything there. Now he is already 16 years old. If only he could go somewhere to learn a trade, but nobody wants to take him on. Our children have no luck. I don't want him to stay unskilled, like me; we want our children to learn something decent. But tell me, where should I go to enquire about what to do with him? Let's say learning German doesn't suit him. Does this therefore mean that he has to remain mute? They don't take him, not even as an apprentice. Nobody wants our children, neither the Greeks, nor the Germans.

Second, an 11-year-old boy (let's call him Zenon), brought over by his parents from Greece when he was small:

> I never went to school, but I know how to speak German and Turkish. When we arrived here they sent me to school, to the German one, because there wasn't a Greek one. But I couldn't stand it there. Nobody spoke to me, not the teacher nor the pupils. I got there in the mornings and sat down on my chair, until midday, when it was over, not a word. Then Achmet came, a boy from Turkey... We became friends; we were always together, he spoke a lot and that's how I learnt Turkish.

It is clear from the above two interview extracts that holding on to the Greek language and identity is a double-edged sword as far as future life and employment are concerned. For Alekos the future seems uncertain, even hopeless; for Zenon the future is not yet clear. For those, especially the linguistically adept, who are able to hold their Greek and German sides in more or less harmonious balance, the future is brighter, and opens up more creative

transnational alternatives, as we shall see later.

A 'third space' or an empty space of intra-family separation and tensions?

To some extent the predicament of some of the more disadvantaged second generation is not very different from that of their parents, many of whom never learnt much German because of, *inter alia*, their own lack of basic (Greek) education, their confinement within the 'ethnic colony', the kind of jobs they did (factory work), and their steadfast belief that they would return to Greece. The next two quotations exemplify this, but also show that, not only have the first generation remained detached from German society, they have also become 'disemplaced' from their home villages, where they no longer know anybody.

> We are nine families here [in this neighbourhood of Munich] from the same village [in northern Greece]. Nearly all of us work together and live close to each other. We do not have any 'give and take' with the Germans, nor with other foreigners. My son goes to the German school, now he is 15 years old. He helps us all with the German language. None of us speaks German (father interviewed 1972; Matzouranis 1985: 116).

> The children have good relations with the Germans; they now prefer the German cinema to the Greek one. They have many German friends and speak very good German... only that my son is forgetting all of his Greek. We old people have no relations with Germany, we haven't even learnt the language. Nearly our whole village is here now [in Stuttgart]; it doesn't seem like a foreign country here anymore [...] But everyone gets homesick. But I am in no hurry [to go back]. In the village I don't know anyone any more. The old people are dead and the young ones are here. What shall we do? (father, 1970; Matzouranis 1985: 113).

Like the second generation, but in different ways, the first generation have come to occupy a kind of 'third space' (cf. Bhabha 1994) which is neither 'here' nor 'there'. In fact, it is a kind of 'there', 'here': a remaking of a microcosm of Greek (village) society in their particular segment of urban Germany. The extent to which this micro-Greek space can be confining or liberating depends on the individual and his or her human and social capital. For most of the first generation the human capital is very limited, whilst their social capital is limited to the 'bonding' type which ties them in to the ethnic community, rather than 'bridging' social capital to the host society (cf. Iosifides et al. 2007).

Kontos (2009) gives examples of Greek migrant women achieving social mobility and a measure of empowerment through the transition from factory work to family entrepreneurship; others progressed to white-collar jobs, though these were more likely to be 1.5 or second-generation females. The same author also points out that any empowerment achieved by the first- and second-generation women in Germany generally encourages them to want to stay in Germany rather than return to Greece; the male perspective, on the other hand, is more oriented to a return, in order to recover some of the loss of male dominance that accompanied migration (Kontos 2000).

Another theme which emerges from the interview narratives collected by researchers such as Matzouranis (1985) and Liane Unger (1986) is the experience of separation and inter-generational alienation which can develop when children are kept in a different country from that of their parents for years at a time. This 'transnational parenting' and the often awkward experiences of 'transnational childhood' have been researched quite intensively in recent years, mainly in the context of female migrant domestic workers who leave their children behind in countries like the Philippines, Ecuador or other Latin American countries (see, for example, Asis 2006; Dreby 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Menjívar 2002; Parreñas 2003,

2005, 2008; Pribilsky 2004). What is interesting is the realisation that similar issues confronted Greek migrants in Germany back in the 1960s and 1970s. The physical distance separating the two generations at key points in their lives – at a time when travel and communication were more expensive and far slower – created a king of ontological void in which different meanings, values and lifestyles, not to mention different languages, got developed in isolation. This even affected siblings in the same family who were educated in different places at different ages. Once again, Matzouranis (1985) provides some telling examples from interviews carried out in the 1970s.

> [Our oldest child] is twelve years old. He completed primary school and now is attending secondary school. Close to our village [in Greece] there is a boarding school, and my mother-in-law visits him there every Saturday […] I haven't seen the child for three years, nearly four now […] When we brought the other children over here, we had lots of problems. And we don't know what will happen to them. We are thinking about bringing the eldest one over too, in order to see him, because we can't go to Greece (mother, 32, Munich 1972; Matzouranis 1985: 105).

The above case illustrates well the dilemmas and constraints facing young Greek adults who migrated as guestworkers in the 1960s. For those, like this interviewee, who already had a son, bringing him over was practically out of the question because of the problems of accommodation (most migrants were initially accommodated in spartan hostels) and the need to work; moreover the intention was to return. When other children were born to this interviewee, they were also sent for a while to Greece. But when they were brought back to Germany, problems arose.

On the other hand, when families do persevere with bringing up and schooling

their children in Germany, another king of separation occurs if the parents then decide to return to Greece. In the following excerpt the parents have returned from Nuremberg to Kastania, a town in central Macedonia, leaving their grown-up son, his German wife, and the interviewee's grandchild, in Germany. The speaker is the 53-year-old father: the interview was in 1980.

> The worst thing is, we lost our son, whom we brought to Germany when he was eight years old. He learnt German and attended the German school; he became a mechanic and has a good job. Now he even married a German woman. They have done well for themselves, but we have lost a son. They will never move to Greece, but we long for this day, to be with our grandchild who is now six months old. Let's see if this wish will ever come true (from Matzouranis 1985: 173).

Finally, a case which is even more complicated because it illustrates tensions between siblings: the interviewee is the father, a returnee interviewed in Volos.

> … the first child we left with my wife's parents in the village because we weren't fully prepared when he was born. We lived in a very small room and the landlady didn't allow us to have the child living with us. Then he got used to his grandparents and didn't want to come to Germany. Now he is 14 years old and his siblings are 10 and 8. But they can't get used to each other or like each other. The two who lived in Germany think differently and play other games together and are happier. Their older brother doesn't pay much attention to them, he is very serious. He has his own friends and he sometimes makes fun of them [his younger siblings]. I'm afraid they don't seem like siblings (father, 47, Volos 1980; Matzouranis 1985: 171).

These examples, and others coming in the next section, expose the fragility of the relationship between initial migration,

education, and subsequent migration outcomes across the generations. The 'rational choices' are when migrant parents and their German-educated children both stay in Germany (but they are estranged from their 'homeland', Greece); or when parents send their children to Greek schools (in Germany or in Greece) in anticipation of a fairly quick return which is realised (but German-raised children may still experience difficulties in Greece). Other outcomes may be more problematic. Parents who leave or send their children to Greece planning a later return and family reunion there may end up staying in Germany; difficult decisions ensue. Other parents who have their children educated in the German school system may 'lose' their children if the older generation retires back to Greece. Even if the parental generation does not return to Greece, the second generation might instead when they become adults. This outcome is the focus of the next section of the paper.

The second generation 'returns' as adults

In this part of the paper we present selected results from our recent research on the 'return' of the adult second generation to Greece. We put 'return' in scare quotes because, for those who are born and raised in Germany, this is not 'true' return migration, but a move to the birth country of their parents. It is, nevertheless, seen by many of the participants themselves as a kind of 'real' or emotional return to their ancestral home. For those who were born in Greece and taken to Germany as children (the 1.5 generation) and for those who were born in Germany but spent for part of their childhood in Greece, before then being brought back to Germany, the return perhaps has more immediate meaning, although this does not imply a straightforward resettlement with less emotional resonance.

We have discussed some of the results of

this 'second-generation return' research in other recent papers (Christou and King 2010; King and Christou 2010). What distinguishes our treatment in the present paper is the continuity and connection (but also rupture) between childhood and adult experiences of transnationalism. We do this both in terms of the cross-sectional diachronic comparison between the results discussed in the two main empirical sections of the paper (the last one and this one), and in terms of longitudinal connections made by interviewees between their earlier and subsequent lives. The account below follows a more-or-less chronological sequence, from decisions to return, through questions of employment and economic survival, to the challenges of adaptation and '(re)integration' and, finally, to deeper issues of belonging and identity.

Reasons for return

Our life-narrative methodology did not explicitly ask the question 'Why did you return?'. Rather, the circumstances surrounding return were embedded within the narratives, sometimes as an explicit question that the participants asked themselves and attempted to answer, but also, quite often, as a hidden element of their life histories, as if it were 'natural' or, perhaps, pre-ordained and therefore a 'given'. Accepting that our sample cannot be representative, the following five explanatory discourses emerged in the narratives, sometimes as a single overriding reason to move to Greece, more often as overlapping rationales.

- A search for an understanding of 'self' in the quest for a place to be truly 'at home' in the 'homeland'. The return thus becomes the enactment of a life-fulfilling 'dream'. This is the overarching theme of previous research on the Greek-American second-generation experience (Christou 2006), and it proved to be relevant in our Greek-German material too.
- A preference for the Greek over the German 'way of life'. Respondents articulating this rationale often contrasted the warmth, friendliness and spontaneity of Greek society, characterised by solid and loyal family structures, with the coldness, predictability and regimented nature of life in Germany. Several subthemes were embedded in this discourse: experiences of exclusion and occasional racism in Germany, the dominance of work (in Germany) over leisure and relaxation (Greece), and the obvious climatic and scenic contrasts (Christou and King 2010).
- The actualisation, on the part of the second generation, of the 'family narrative' of return. Young Greek-Germans, like other diaspora Greeks, grow up and are socialised within this family narrative, and end up by themselves being the embodiment of return rather than their parents, who for various reasons (perhaps other children, and grandchildren, are in Germany), do no 'go back'. This notion of the second generation 'inheriting' the return orientation of their parents has been well described by Reynolds (2008) for second-generation return from Britain to the Caribbean.
- Return as a life-stage event. This is most often linked to the educational history of the individual, specifically their difficulty in accessing German higher education, because of their being in the 'wrong', i.e. non-academic, stream of the secondary school system, and the possibility, therefore, of entering university in Greece through the special admission quotas for 'children of the diaspora'. Hence a move to Greece at age 18 or 19 occurs.
- Return as 'escape' or a quest for personal freedom. This is mainly a rationale advanced by female participants, both in our own and in other research on the Greek diaspora (Panagakos 2003; Tsolodis 2009). In this explanation, the Greek 'homeland' offers a legitimate escape-route out of the oppressive and patriarchal family and community environment of the Greek 'ethnic colony' in Germany.

We now turn to the voices of our

participants to exemplify these rationales for return, and to tease out some of the nuances between different articulations of the same category of reason. We follow the sequence above.

For many, the 'return' to Greece is viewed as the *realisation of a dream* in which the true 'self' – the Greek self – can only be attained and expressed in the ethnic homeland. Following Giddens (1991), this type of 'grounding' in the territory of the homeland is a reworking of the self to fit the quest for personal meaning against the 'looming threat of personal meaninglessness' and the 'loss of historical continuity' that both parental migration and late modernity have produced. Hence 'return' satisfies the search for 'psychic security' and the elusive (and often illusive) sense of well-being.

Some interviewees were very up-front about this motive. Forty-year-old Vaios, born in Hannover and resident in Athens for the past year, made the following generalisation: 'Like all kids born to immigrant parents, I've always dreamt of returning to my homeland'. He went on to say how this dream was a 'mechanism… which started deep inside me that made me want to come'; but then ended on a much more pragmatic note: 'Moreover, the contract for the job I had in Berlin expired and that meant I had to move on…'.

Others wanted to live the dream because they thought it would be a continuation of the 'idyllic times and spaces' (King et al. 2009) of childhood holiday visits to see their extended family, with fond memories of generosity, freedom and happy times spent in the village or by the sea. In the words of Persephone (27, interviewed in Athens, 2008):

> Because everyone dreams of a different tomorrow, right? When I first came to Greece I also dreamed that things would somehow be like I was on vacation, right? Laughter and partying and all that.

Unsurprisingly (and this is echoed in many other testimonies – see also King et al. 2009), the holiday atmosphere disappears when 'real' returns takes place, as Persephone acknowledged:

> Do you know what? I had hard times… look at how life has turned out, because Greece is not what you believed it to be… You have to fight…

The 'dream turned sour' was a recurrent subtheme. In the words of Evanthia (27), who had gone to Thessaloniki to attend university but then 'returned' to Berlin,

> Basically I went to live in Greece because I had never lived there… I went to live the dream. I don't want to say the dream turned into a nightmare – I just saw the negative side of Greece and I decided to return to Germany because at that time it was better for me.

A second rationale for moving to Greece was the attraction of the *Greek way of life* – indeed for many this was the very stuff of the 'dream' described above. To be more specific, what second-generation returnees are looking for is captured in the following quote:

> …the Greeks… are more open, warmer people, they are more communicative, accommodating and helpful; in general it is the way they behave towards their fellow human beings (Evanthia, second-generation 'double returnee', Berlin 2007).

Of course, this to some extent plays into well-known stereotypes about Greeks' happy-go-lucky character which we will critically analyse through the voices of other participants later. In the following extract from the interview with Andreas (first-generation, Berlin, 2007) we hear a partial replaying of this stereotype but also a cynical tone about how the second generation have been rather taken in by the false attractions of the country and its people, based on fleeting visits.

Recently among the younger generation there is a tendency to beautify return and what Greece has to offer. What is bad is that it is not based on some logical, good, realistic evaluation. I would say that it is limited more to the way of life, in other words, the promise of a different environment, a rather more flexible way of life... and less to realistic considerations like work relations, social relations... Let's not forget that what these youngsters think is not the result of an intense experience with the Greek way of life but their fifteen-day, three, four week summer vacations with friends... Many of these young people who have tried going to Greece have ended up in Germany again.

The interconnectedness of the five main reasons for return listed at the head of this subsection is further illustrated by the next category – the *family narrative of return*. The orientation, indeed preoccupation, to return, was, as indicated earlier in the paper, the product both of the German guestworker policy and of the migrants' own intentions to go back after a few years. As we have seen, the guestworkers turned into long-term immigrants, and the German authorities hesitatingly shifted from a 'rotation' strategy for migrant workers to facilitating settlement and family reunification. Throughout this transition, the Greek migrants in Germany preserved their community characteristics, sustained by ties of kinship, common village or district origins, language, religion and customs. But, as time went by, the first generation's continuing pledge to return increasingly became a 'myth of return' (cf. Anwar 1979).

What we also notice, as did Reynolds (2008) in her research on Caribbean-origin migrants in Britain and Jamaica, is that the aspiration to return is often passed on to the second generation, who not only grow up surrounded by constant references to going back, but may, in actual fact, be in a better position to materialise that ambition than their parents, who have become older and more out of touch with their home county.

No longer in the 'underdeveloped' state it was in the 1960s, Greece has been part of the European Union for thirty years and is now more modernised, although not immune from severe economic crisis, as we have recently seen.

Most of our second-generation participants have 'returned' independent of their parents, which at first glance make the move seem more unexpected. In some cases the detachment may be purposeful – either because it is a life-stage event (see below) such as going to university in Greece, or because it is a form of escape from the claustrophobia of the Greek community in Germany (see below, later). Or it may be that the parents – the first generation – cannot return because they still work or own a business, or have other family in Germany they want to stay close to.

Here are some examples, starting with an expression of family and ethnic pride:

Yes, I feel very proud... of being Greek [...] I believe this notion that we must be proud of our country has been passed down to us by our parents, and that is why I have returned... When I was 23 I came back and I owe this to my parents who are still in Germany but who wanted me to come and stay here (Kyriaki, 25, second-generation, moved to Thessaloniki two years earlier).

Berlin-born Fani (22, returned four years earlier, interviewed in Thessaloniki) talked of her family's intention to return, but was worried that the Greece of today is very different from their memories of the country when they left:

In your mind you had a picture of your country and this happens to your parents too... Now that my parents are going to move here, in their minds they have kept the image of their country as it was when they left – they feel nostalgic. I don't know if things are going to be the way they expect them to be the way they are in their minds.

Typical of the perpetual postponement of the first generation's return, and of the fact that this may also be contested by different members of the family, is this account from Evanthia:

> My parents have been intending to return permanently to Greece 'next year' for decades [laughs], but this year never comes. They want to leave… but right now I can't say when […]. Basically, until recently, both of them worked; so there was this fear of the future about what they would do if they went to Greece… they were at an age when it wouldn't be easy for them to find jobs in Greece. But it's been two years now that my father has taken early retirement, so the decision has become easier, but I think my mother is not so keen to take this step, and I understand her completely.

Evanthia's parents have reached the stage in their lives – retirement – when a 'natural' decision to return might be expected. For the first generation we can identify two other natural 'moments' for return: first, when migrants are still young and single and they wish to return after a few years of work abroad to rejoin their families and perhaps find a marriage partner in the home country, or be 'introduced' to one by their relatives. A second return trigger occurs when the migrant family abroad has young children and they want to return in order for the latter to be educated in the home country's school system, culture, and language (L. Unger 1986).

For the second generation, still relatively young, the *life-stage triggers* for an autonomous return are as follows. Two are marriage- or partnership-related: the cementing of a relationship with a 'local' (i.e. a non-migrant Greek), often met on a holiday or family visit to Greece; or, conversely, the break-up of a marriage and relationship in Germany and the consequent wish to make a fresh start and create some distance from the former partner. From our data on the 30 second-generation returnees interviewed, instances of both occurred. But more common was the life-stage associated with

leaving school and going into higher education. This is what Evanthia had done, with her degree at a university in Thessaloniki (later, recall, she had gone back to Germany). This pathway is only open to those with a reasonable command of Greek, acquired through some mother-tongue programmes in Germany, so that they can take the special entrance exam for the children of Greek migrants. This exam, widely regarded as 'easier' than that sat by native Greeks, creates some tensions and divisions between students, as Evanthia relates.

> I felt this differentiation at the university because the other Greek students from abroad who had passed the exams were there too. Since the results for the Greeks from abroad came out later, they start attending the university a month or so after classes have started. By that time all the rest have already formed friendships, so the Greeks from abroad try to find one another and form this clique, so the differentiation starts. You can hear 'Ah, the Germans [have come]'.

Finally, there is *migration as 'escape'* – an increasingly common trope in gendered accounts of the migration of women from abusive or claustrophobic family or social situations where their agency is denied (for instance, Lisboa 2003; Mahler and Pessar 2001; Mushaben 2009; Phizacklea 2003; Sassen 2000). Recent research on Greek migrant women, including some on the second generation, also reflects this stance (see Kontos 2009; Panagakos 2003; Sakka et al. 1999: Tsolidis 2009). For instance, interviewees in Tsolidis' study describe how the Greek communities in North America maintained lifestyles and customs all but lost nowadays in Greece. In one particular case (2009: 184-185), a second-generation woman who had grown up in Canada argues that 'authentic Greeks' only existed in Toronto, where young people still learnt folkloric dances and attended community events with their parents and grandparents. This was no longer the case in Greece, she maintained (she had since relocated to

Athens), where this sense of tradition, community, and multi-generation socialising had been lost.

Our interviewees, who had mostly been brought up within the village-oriented Greek communities in German cities, expressed the same syndrome, sometimes in a positive light, but also as a negative constraint on their childhood and their freedom as teenagers and young adults. Evanthia's parents tried to preserve their relations with their home country and keep their Greek identity. But in doing this,

> They lived a life without knowing or seeing how things were in Greece, so they didn't see there was evolution and progress there, and unfortunately they were left behind. This is shown in their customs and traditions... and raising their children in a certain way... Maybe because they wanted to protect them from the foreign environment, the children were more disciplined... checking on children was so intense.

Kyriaki (25, interviewed in Thessaloniki where she moved two years) described her upbringing in Berlin as her 'lost childhood'. She compares life in the two cities:

> I like life here very much; it is not how I lived my life in Berlin... [My life] has changed in the sense that I live alone without my parents... I can go out more easily now because... my father was too strict with these things, he didn't let us [my sisters and I] go out... whereas here, Greek girls go out when they are 14... I believe I am freer here – I mean I can go out, and I won't be looking at my watch thinking dad will be awake waiting for me. [We grew up] very religiously... we all definitely had to go to church on Sunday... and to Sunday school. We didn't experience childhood: we finished [the German] school, we went to the Greek school in the afternoon, we came home, we studied, and we slept. This is why, when we came down to Greece in the summers, we went crazy!

Economic aspects of return

Unlike their parents, who moved to Germany specifically for employment reasons, no second-generation 'returnees' came to Greece attracted by the better jobs and wages there. As we have seen, the return was motivated by one or more reason to do with 'finding themselves', cultural aspects, life-stage or 'escape'. Nevertheless, apart from those who were, for the time being, students or stay-at-home mothers married to male breadwinners, finding employment and generating an income were important priorities in order to sustain the stay. For many 'returnees', this was the biggest challenge, and stories abound of disappointment and frustration at the way jobs are accessed and allocated in Greece – largely, it seems, through corruption and nepotism.

Most of those who have returned are well-educated, many to university and even postgraduate level. As noted above, several came to Greece via the university access route, staying on after graduation. Others had acquired their higher education and professional specialisation in Germany. For those who successfully found work, typical fields of professional activity include medicine, teaching, translation, and working in companies where knowledge of languages such as German and English was an asset or a requirement.

Given that long-term involuntary unemployment is not an option in Greece, virtually all participants who needed to work were in employment of some kind, although not always, in fact rarely, with total satisfaction. Two types of critical discourse were applied to the work situation. First, the way in which jobs were acquired: through 'friends' and personal contacts, often relatives. Vaios (40), who had relocated from Berlin at the end of his work contract there, had been in Athens a year. He had found a short-term job, but only as a stop-gap and not in his field of expertise. He mused:

I see it will be harder to find a proper job because the job market is not as big as in Germany, especially in Berlin where I used to live. Or else, there is the Greek way of having people you know pull some strings in order to get access [laughs].

Second, there was a litany of complaints about working conditions, professional standards, and exploitation, both in general in Greece, and more specifically in terms of prejudice and suspicion towards 'outsiders'. Two examples from our interview material. The first is from Zoe (28, interviewed in Thessaloniki):

What can I say? I was used to the strict German system according to which you do your job, you have working hours, you stay put in your office, you work and that's it. Here the mentality is that we go to work to sit around for six hours and drink coffee, but of course they do finally work, and they don't get paid on top of it! What is tiring for me is that you have to beg just to be given what you're entitled to; there is no system or structure. Everyone tries to live on the sly. Also, Greece is not the hospitable country that it is supposed to be, not for me personally, because the only thing they are interested in is profit... everyone is self-interested; what can I say?

The second case is more specific in its detail and describes the professional frustration of Natalia (36, born in Cologne, now in Thessaloniki with her two children) in her quest to find a position as a dental assistant, the job she had been trained for in Germany:

Well, when I came and after I had given birth to my son, after two years, I started to look for some kind of job. I wanted to exploit what I had done, what I had learnt, the usual thing. So, I started looking for a job at a dentist's, in a hospital... and since that time the difficulties started. They said to me that here they don't have assistants and they

didn't actually know what a dental assistant is – they said they work by themselves so they couldn't use me anywhere. I went to my ex-husband's friends and acquaintances who were doctors, but they told they needed a cleaner! I didn't mind that I would clean their offices instead of being their assistant, but then another kind of exploitation started. Let me not go into detail and mention names. After I left this behind me, I started looking for whatever else I could find. For one and a half years I worked for a notary, running errands and things like that. Then I worked at a fast-food restaurant, because I was into cooking... I promoted new recipes... Then I saw it was successful [and] I decided not to do it for others any more. So I thought about it and opened a store here. For seven years I had a store of my own with gift items.... As the children were growing up and when they were 16 and 13 I made the decision to open a more serious store, more professional, a franchise... it requires many hours of work, it is tiring... but I believe it will be of benefit to me as well as to the children in the future. They support me, and possibly they will take it over in the future.

This story is interesting because it shows how an initial disappointment over a professional mismatch (it appears that there is no demand for dental assistants in Greece) led to a protracted series of events resulting in self-employment. The lesson is that patience and perseverance may eventually bring success. But finding an economic basis to stay in Greece is only one of the difficulties faced by second-generation 'hyphenated Greeks' when they relocate to their 'homeland'. Other difficulties were of a more social or cultural kind.

Adapting to the 'Greek way of life'

For second-generation Greek-Germans who have spent all or most of their early lives in Germany, the long-term relocation to

Greece brings challenges, often unanticipated. Even though most participants had been brought up within the socio-familial environment of a Greek 'community', contact with Germans, in school, the workplace and elsewhere, was unavoidable, and as a result certain aspects of the German 'way of life' had been experienced and internalised. These 'German aspects' may have been, consciously or unconsciously, suppressed as a result of the dominant Greek identity narrative of the family and community, yet they surfaced strongly once the 'returnee' settled in Greece. Participants thus constantly made comparisons between the 'Greek way' and the 'German way', both with positive and negative aspects. Of course, in many cases the positive aspects of the Greek setting outweighed the negative aspects, when compared to life in Germany, and the interviewee was content to stay in Greece, vindicated by the 'rational choice' of their move there. Bur there were many cases where a more difficult balance was drawn, and a discourse of disappointment, disillusionment and frustration about life in Greece came to the fore, along with a resurrected appreciation, if not fondness, for the German side.[14] Sometimes this had led to a return to Germany (like the case of Evanthia, mentioned earlier), but in other cases respondents were either trapped (like Natalia, by her children's needs to have contact with her divorced husband), or there was a self-imposed desire to stick it out and a reluctance to admit failure – a kind of 'burnt bridges' syndrome.

Whilst Greeks are widely acknowledged by our participants to be, in the words of Iakovos (58, first-generation, Berlin), 'easy-going' and 'characterised by spontaneity, warmth, generosity...', they are also 'superficial and unreliable in many things'. According to second-generation Ourania, interviewed in Volos, 'this mentality in Greece annoys me a bit – this off-handedness, this unprofessionalism in some

things, services, and things like that which I still compare after so many years'. Here are two specific examples, one from the medical field and one about university study.

Pelagia (37, second-generation) had trained in medicine in Germany before relocating to Greece eight years ago. She now works as a doctor in Athens.

> The attitude of the average doctor in Greece towards the patient is one of rudeness. When seeing their older patients they say 'Hey granddad, what's wrong with you?' I would never say that to a patient, no matter how old they are [...]. Same goes when they [the patients] call me 'my girl'. I'm not your girl; right now I'm your doctor. I need there to be respect between patient and doctor.

Zoe, meanwhile, described her experience of studying at university in Thessaloniki, in comparison with her brother, at university in Germany.

> ... we were told that the class would start at 9 o'clock, so of course 9 o'clock I was there. Neither the lecturer nor the students were there... The professor comes three-quarters of an hour late and he teaches half an hour instead of the two timetabled... I gradually realised that punctuality does not exist here [...]. There is utter lack of organisation and I'm not used to it. My brother told me he communicated with his professor through email and he gave him ideas about topics and there was direct contact. Here there isn't any communication, nothing, it was sheer disappointment.

Three other elements of Greek society and behaviour resonated through the second-generation relocation narratives. First, there is the Greek reaction to immigration, not so

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[14] In other papers we have produced on this topic, we call this 'return as rupture and disillusionment' (King and Christou 2008: 18-20; 2010: 111-113).

much to the diaspora Greeks who return,[15] but to the 'new' immigrants who, since 1990, have arrived in large numbers from Albania and elsewhere. Although Greeks' own migratory experience in Germany was hardly one of complete integration and equality – Castles (1995) described it as a case of 'differential exclusion' – they were clearly surprised and shocked at Greece's racist treatment of immigrants. Fani (24, relocated to Thessaloniki in 2002) put it this way:

> We [Greek-Germans] don't have the racist element that Greeks here have… In Germany because we were foreigners amongst foreigners it was natural for us to accept them and for them to accept us. Here… there is too much racism and that annoys me a lot. I mean, I don't care if foreigners are from Albania, or Africa, whatever: I just think it is too much. They [Greeks] prefer to avoid them rather than discuss with them and learn something different… The more they isolate these people, the worse it is.

Second, there is the issue of gender relations in Greek society. Despite the veneer of social modernity and an increasingly 'European' way of life, relations between the sexes and ideas about relationships and marriage were perceived as still very traditional compared to Germany. Fani again.

> There are still differences [in how men and women are treated]. It's not exactly the phallocentric society, but women are more traditional [than in Germany], they are not independent […] Here is inconceivable for a women to have a child without being married. In Germany it's more natural… people won't say to you, you cannot do it; it's your choice.

Sophia (41), who came to Greece in 1997, was 'shocked by the attitudes to whatever involves the opposite sex'. She continued:

> It made a big impression on me that men live with their parents until they are quite old. It shouldn't be this way – they are not independent, even their thinking is not independent. It seems that they are very dependent. The same is true for the women […]. In the beginning it was difficult to understand the way couples think here – the way they constructed friendships between the sexes, relationships, and later even families.

The final theme was the environment. As we have documented this aspect in some detail in other papers (see Christou and King 2006, 2010), just one example, from Rebecca (41, returned to Greece in 2004, interviewed in Athens), who, whilst commenting on the way people throw rubbish in the street and dump it on waste ground, was sceptical about the potential for change:

> It's dirty here, what they do with the rubbish, with everything… This whole country works this way. You're not going to change it, you know [laughs], just because you've spent 25 or 35 or how many years in Germany… and you come back. You're not going to change things.

Home and belonging: Greece, Germany, or somewhere in-between?

In this final subsection on the second generation in the Greek 'homeland' we look at the more subtle and complex questions of home, identity and belonging. We use the question – either direct or rhetorical – 'Where is home?' to enter into the more personal space of identity and belonging. To what extent do participants feel 'Greek', or 'German', or some hybrid, in-between identity? And following on from this, is the identity which is articulated, and its spatial corollary of where 'home' is, one that is innately imbued in the individual because of his/her ancestral background and mobility history (including childhood periods

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[15] Although there are negative reactions, which some regard as racism towards ethnic Greeks who return from the diaspora (Christou and King 2006; Popov 2010).

in Greece); or is it an identity which is, following Stuart Hall's formulation (1993, 1996), one which is developed situationally and relationally, as a result of experiences, and reactions to those experiences, since the 'return' to Greece?

As we have pointed out elsewhere as justification for our research project on 'second generation return' (King and Christou 2010), people who move 'counter-diasporically' enable us (and others, cf. especially Tsolidis 2009) to ask interesting questions about the relationships between ethnicity, identity and generation on the one hand, and migration, diaspora and globalisation on the other. For Tsolidis (2009: 182), 'bringing the hyphen home' is about the blurring of hyphenated identities (in her case Greek-Canadians and Greek-Australians) in the context of a 'new' (but also, ancestrally, 'old') home, Greece. This section, then, uses the trope of home to explore the mobility of the hyphen – both its mobility in space and, for individuals and groups who share a common experience, its mobility and plasticity in relating the 'Greek' and the 'German' together (or apart) in new ways.

The question of home and belonging, and the allegiance to different homelands, is especially nuanced when we consider people, such as many of our participants, who have experienced complex lifetime mobilities between Greece and Germany. In actual fact, only about half of our quota-sample of 30 participants interviewed in Greece had been born in Germany and then simply relocated to Greece as adults, i.e. post-18, prior to which their only physical contact with the homeland had been holiday visits. Of the rest, some had been born in Greece and then taken either with, or to join, their parents in Germany at ages ranging from a few months to 12 years, so they were 1.5 generation. Some of these therefore had childhood memories of living in Greece prior to the move to Germany. Other participants, including a few of those born in Greece, had been sent back to Greece as children, to be cared for by relatives, usually grandparents, and perhaps sent to low-cost boarding schools. These participants had experienced a form of transnational childhood, but in a way that is rather different from the transnational childhoods studied in various parts of the world since the 1990s (see, for example, Asis 2006 and Parreñas 2003, 2008 for the Filipino context, and Pribilsky 2004 for Ecuador). Despite the relative geographical closeness of Greece and Germany, the degree of separation was often nearly absolute, with few visits or telephone calls, just the occasional letter or parcel.

In order to bring the two historical phases of the paper together, we focus here on two participants, Petros and Pelagia, whose experiences of second-generation transnationalism and 'return' had been multi-phase, encompassing both childhood and adult relocations to the homeland, and therefore a variety of encounters with memory and place.

Interviewed in Thessaoloniki in 2008, 38-year-old Petros had experienced a life divided between two countries and two languages, both in childhood and later on. He was born in Stuttgart where he lived and went to school until the age of 14, at which point his parents (actually, he said, 'my father') decided to bring the family back to their home town in northern Greece, appropriately named Drama. Petros finished his education, including an engineering diploma, in Greece, did his national service in the army and then, unable to find employment, 'returned' to Germany, this time to Berlin, for further study and a job. Finally, he 'returned' to Greece in 2004, when his father became seriously ill.

Our presentation of Petros' narrative is in several parts. First, his memories of childhood visits to Greece from Germany:

> Every summer I was in Greece for my summer holidays... I was lucky to be coming over here every summer... I would see my friends, we would fool around and I would leave... I would play with my cousins in the fields... and we

would go to the seaside… all these memories stay with you.

But when he was taken back to live there long-term, things began to change:

> Now I was returning, I was returning to things as they had been… and as you grow up you believe your cousins still love you… [but] people move on in relation to you. They move on but they never have this dilemma.

The dilemma which Petros refers to is about his fundamental identity – 'the *who I am* in relation to the *where I am*' (Christou 2006: 16, author's emphasis). For Petros, this is defined as a 'curse' formed by a double nostalgia for the 'other place':

> All of this is the title of my life – 'nostalgia'. I tell you it is a curse… it is a curse to have to face this dilemma…. People who grow up with two languages… it's like growing up without knowing who your parents are, in a way.

Then, in this next extract, Petros changes the argument – from 'curse' to 'blessing'. He compares the way of life in Germany and Greece:

> In the same way that it is a curse it is a blessing because I was lucky enough to experience both cultures: the urban, the harsh, the everything planned, the German system; and the Greek which is all confusion, the 'come on, so what?' Granny, grandpa, and all that […] This enriches you as an individual… but this is, as we say, a knife that cuts both ways.

Scattered throughout Petros' lengthy narrative are extensive references to his dreams and to crying. Although we do not want to psychologise his account (which we are not qualified to do anyway), this would seem to be indicative of his repeated uprooting and displacement, and his double nostalgia for the 'other' place. For instance, during the first period that he lived in Greece, he had vivid dreams of his early childhood in Germany:

> I would have dreams… that I was back in Germany… with my friends in school, my German friends, and that they were playing with me. These memories were so strong that I looked for these people when I went back. I had had no contact with them [in the meantime]. I found one or two of them but eventually I realised that they did not really remember me.

Remembering the pain of being uprooted and alone, he went on to say:

> I have cried many times – first when I returned [to Greece] in 1984. I was a child then, OK? It was quite a shock, I felt like a ghost… I was wandering around the town… like a ghost – for two years. Others of my age had their groups of friends, just like I had in Germany. Eventually you get used to it, the compromise begins […] When I first went back [to Germany] in 1995 I remember things were in the same mode… I would wander around the city where I had been born… alone again… You are at a point where you don't know who you are… Why, how, where? … And then you break down and cry for no reason [except for] nostalgia.

Petros' double nostalgia is further complicated by the fact that, in both cases, his memories are of places and friendships which no longer exist in the way they were, 'because people move on in relation to you… and you move on in relation to them'. It is a nostalgia which, in a sense, is literally 'mis-placed'. Petros reacted to this by distancing himself both from the Greek friends of his adolescence in Drama, and from the Greek labour migrant community in Stuttgart. Referring first to his small-town friends from his later childhood in Greece, when he returned from Berlin,

> I found them… with the same thoughts and ideas, faults in their character and taboos that they had since back then…

they were still thinking in the same manner... And then I came back from Berlin with a thousand experiences which I could no longer share with them because whatever I would say was considered as something... too exotic for them, or they were not interested in listening to me...

And about the Greek migrants in Stuttgart:

I was ashamed of the kind of people the Greeks living in Stuttgart were... They had become a stereotype... all of them knew each other... they disliked the Germans... and I did not want to be like them... They were an island... even the kids of the second and third generation... I had nothing in common with them... I felt a kind of boredom... I am speaking very harshly but these are the impressions I have.

In contrast to Petros' inner conflict about who he was and where he belonged, 37-year-old Pelagia had experienced a smoother multiple passage between the two countries. Her narrative was much less angst-ridden. She had been able to build on her double educational profile to good effect, creating career options in medicine in both countries. First, she describes the basic facts of her biography, interleaved with periodic returns to Greece and uncertainties about exactly when the 'final return' could take place.

I was born in Germany to Greek parents who had already been living in Germany for many years. When I was six, my parents decided that we should return to Greece... I started to go to Greek school, but my father's job was not going well and so, after some years, they decided to take us all back to Germany. Neither me nor my brother wanted that; nobody asked us. So when I was 10, we returned to Germany, I was in the fifth grade. I graduated from the German school and started going to university in another city... not too far away from my parents. Like most second-generation kids, we grew up with the idea that one

day we will return [to our homeland]. I finished my studies and then spent a few semesters in Greece in order to make some contacts and have something I could go to later [...] Then, I started working [in Germany], I found a proper job and still couldn't leave. As I was becoming a doctor, I had another idea, to return after I finished my internship. When that too was completed and my parents wouldn't leave, even though my father had already retired, all I could think about was leaving. My friends from Greece, returned migrants, told me there's never a perfect time for it: you just do it one day. So I decided that I would. In 2000, I was 29 years old, there were some things I didn't like at work so I left. I came here [to Greece], offered my availability to work as a doctor on [names small island]; I had a lovely time there and now I work in Athens.

Unlike Petros, perpetually torn between the two sides of his identity and two countries (and currently wishing he was back in Germany), Pelagias is more settled in Greece.

I am content here. I miss a few elements that I was used to in Germany, but generally speaking I am happy, I don't want to go back there.

Probed to be more precise about her identity and her sense of belonging, Pelagia continued:

I think that having grown up in both countries, I miss elements of the country I do not live in. Of course, I realised that coming to Greece means that the elements of Germany I now miss are much less than the elements of Greece I used to miss when I was living in Germany. I feel personal integrity being in Greece. I love going to Germany for a week or so once a year, but I don't miss Germany. I have friends in Germany who prefer to come to visit me rather than me going there. What I miss is seeing my parents, who

are still living in Germany. And I kind of miss the order in everyday life, like the bus that arrives right at the scheduled time... but I feel more Greek, and better in Greece, than when I was in Germany.

Both Petros and Pelagia had experienced childhoods divided between Germany and Greece, yet their reactions and outcomes were quite different. Part of the difference might have been due to the age at which the moves took place: perhaps it was more traumatic for Petros, taken back to small-town Greece at 6 and then to Germany at 10. Other factors which might have played a role (also in differentiating other cases) were the different social and educational environments of the two participants. Petros had been brought up in the labour-migrant Greek community in Stuttgart with its strong traditional values and expectations (his uncles had pressured him to join them in the Mercedes car factory rather than pursue his studies), and when he went to school and college in Greece he was effectively estranged from Germany. Pelgia's upbringing appears to have been more 'integrated' in both places. Like Petros, but with different age boundaries, her life is divided into four segments: in Germany up to the age of six, then four years in Greece, then 'post-Greece', and finally, as an adult, in Greece again as a trained physician. Talking of the early years:

> There were not many Greeks in the town where we lived so I have no memory of going to Greek parties, etc. At home we spoke Greek, we had Greek friends, but otherwise we communicated only with Germans, I mean in the kindergarten or out in the fields where we used to play, there were only German children. Then, during our stay in Greece, in Athens, I went to a Greek-German school and this preserved my German elements. After our return to Greece, we went to the Greek church to preserve our Greek elements. We've never attended the Greek school, my brother and I, because there was no Greek school in our town... apart from me and my brother, there was only one other Greek kid at school,

a girl who was older than us, so we didn't become friends.

Of course, too much should not be read into these two cases. They are illustrative only insofar as they indicate different outcomes from broadly similar biographical backgrounds. If there is a generalisation to be made, based not on these two cases but on those who had a simpler life-course trajectory (born in Germany, now relocated to Greece), it is that the hybrid or hyphenated identity tends to get preserved, even reinforced after the second generation 'returns'. Here are three examples from many that would be quoted. They have been selected partly because they all acknowledge the initially unrecognised strength of the 'German' side of participants' identity, and because they come from three individuals from different backgrounds who relocated to Greece at different times: 17 years ago, four years ago, and the year prior to the interview. First, Natalia, parts of whose story we (as a dental assistant) have already heard:

> All my friends are of Greek descent from Germany. OK, I have a few authentic Greek friends but they are not my close friends. They [the Greeks] see you differently, I would say; you strike Greeks as different [...] I try hard not to forget German, which I never thought would be so easy to forget... I try to preserve German elements just like my parents did with the Greek elements when they went to Germany... I would say that I identify more with the German character than with the Greek one, except that I am told that I have a temperament that is very close to the Greek one, but I feel closest to Germany.

Next, Fani, who relocated to Thessaloniki four years ago to go to university:

> I feel like a foreigner in my own country, but in Germany I am a foreigner as well. I don't know exactly what, like, makes you feel in your own country [...] I haven't accepted completely that I am

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in my own country, so my conclusion is that generally, I don't know [where my home is]. For me the biggest fear is to forget where I came from. I am so infused with the Greek mentality and this is why I think I can resist a bit; maybe this is why I haven't adjusted completely. I try to read the language – my biggest fear is to forget... One year I went to Germany four times [laughs]; I think this is revealing. What I am afraid of now that my parents are going to come [to Greece] is that I won't have contact [with Germany]. This is the reason I make friendships more easily with Greeks who have been to Germany, with friends from the past... Let's face it, you take everything with you; it's as if take your home to Greece.

Let us leave the final word to Vaios who appears to have 'got it sorted' better than most of our participants. Like Petros and Pelagia, Vaios had been back and forth as a child. He had been born in Hanover, then taken to Greece for four years between the ages of 9 and 13, before returning to Germany. And like Pelagia, he had then gone on to higher education in Germany, first in Braunschweig then in Berlin. He had only recently moved to Athens, in his late 30s. Here are some snippets from his interview:

> I realise, especially now that I am here, that there are German elements in me – how could there not be? I mean I grew up in that country, I was a member of that society, I was never in a Greek ghetto or something like that, so I have elements of Germany in me. My fundamental characteristic [is that] my identity is Greek with small German influences [...] When I left Germany I didn't leave a foreign country to return to Greece, I left something of my own for something else of my own too [...]. I see both countries as my homeland... maybe I could say that Greece is my A-class home and Germany is my B-class home, something like that.

Concluding discussion

As its title implies, this paper had tried to take the 'long view' of the transnational experience of the second generation, based on the Greek-German case. We have done this in order to understand the second generation's decision to move to the Greek homeland in terms of both their earlier childhood experiences and of their parents' position as initially temporary migrants to Germany. We have seen now, even after the guestworkers became de facto immigrants, the 'return narrative' was generally preserved, and passed on to the second generation. The strength of this family narrative of return, and of the Greek ethnic colony in various German towns and cities, helps to explain the rather surprising 'migration chronotope' (King and Christou 2010: 104) whereby the second generation returns to their parents' homeland. Even more surprising is the fact that – in nearly all cases examined – the second generation relocated to Greece without their parents or siblings, who remain in Germany. And their emotional attachment to Greece generally remains despite the objective difficulties of living there – chaos, corruption, lower incomes etc. Participants do not abandon the battle of adjustment in Greece for an easier and more prosperous life in Germany.[16]

A second objective – and achievement – of this paper has been to uncover the 'hidden story' of the transnational childhoods of many second-generation Greeks. We were genuinely surprised at how many of our participants had been sent to Germany for part of their childhood, and this led us to flesh out this hidden history by exploring the early literature on Greek migration to Germany, where some important

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[16] Of course some do go back to Germany, like Evanthia who returned after university in Greece, or Petros, who moved back and forth both as a child and as an adult. And, given the age of our participants in Greece, some may well relocate back to Germany in the future.

Matzouranis 1985; L. Unger 1986), elements of which have been woven into our cross-generational, longitudinal analysis.

In terms of a typology of 'return' mobility for the second generation, we find four kinds of return:

- Greek-German children 'sent' back to Greece for part of their childhood, including some of their schooling, then 'imported' back to Germany as older children;
- children taken back by their parents on regular visits and holidays, usually to the town or village of origin;
- children taken back 'for good' when their parents decide to return, often for the sake of the children's education; but if the 'return project' fails (e.g. for economic reasons), the family relocates to Germany;
- independent migration to Greece, as adults aged 18+ years.

Our analysis in this paper has been mainly based on the first and fourth of these return mobility types, but we have acknowledged, with some of our data, the existence of the other two. We have also sought to create linkages between the various types of movement, particularly in terms of how the adult return is influenced by prior return mobilities. This has proved difficult to do with our qualitative methodology and relatively small sample size, not least because individual biographies are so varied, and adult returns take place for a variety of complexly interlinked reasons (see also King et al. 2009: 12-19).

A relevant question to ask at this concluding juncture might be: what distinguishes the second-generationers who return from those who do not? Our qualitative data enable us to give an intuitive rather than a statistically robust answer to this question (there are no secondary data on second-generation migration to fall back on). We suggest that there are three main 'drivers' of the phenomenon. First, there is the 'emotional' attachment, often built up continuously over the individual's prior life-course. This derives from family and community socialisation practices in Germany, which have inculcated a strong Greek identity, supported by language, religion, regular visits to Greece, and a general family narrative of return. Set alongside this affective bond with Greece and the homeland, there next come certain time-specific triggers or opportunities for return, such as entry to a Greek university, meeting a future life-partner; or, conversely, the Greek option is used as an 'escape' from some condition or event that has occurred in Germany – a relationship break-up, or the wish to break free from an oppressive family situation.

The third driver is more of a selective filter, and has to do with the personal 'human capital' that is needed to turn the return dream into reality, and to cope with the consequences. In contrast to the general picture of the underperformance and exclusion of foreign children from academically selective German schools (although the Greeks have done better than average for migrant-origin pupils), most of our participants had further or higher education, either in Germany or Greece. This, we surmise, gave them the qualifications, contacts, linguistic fluency and confidence to make the move, even though there was still a price to pay – low wages, difficulty of getting a secure job, discrimination against 'outsiders' etc.

Finally, how do our research results compare with the few other studies on second-generation return? The literature suggests three geographical spheres of comparison: other studies of hyphenated Greeks, mostly from North America (Christou 2006; Kontis 2009; Panagakos 2003, 2004; Tsolidis 2009); Wessendorf's research on the Swiss-Italian second generation, the so-called *secondos* (2007, 2009); and the more extensive research on the British-Caribbean second-generation migration system (Potter 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; Potter and Phillips 2006, 2008, 2009; Reynolds 2008).

Briefly, our results certainly match those

from studies on other parts of the Greek diaspora, although there are also some differences. For second-generation returnees from North America and Australia, childhood links to the homeland were less intense and frequent, given the distance, and there is little evidence of the sending back of children to be cared for by relatives in Greece. Especially for the United States, the history of Greek migration stretches back much further, with the result that returns, too, started at an earlier stage, both of the first generation (Saloutos 1956) and of the second (Christou 2006). Hence, second-generation returnees can be much older, up to 70 years of age in Christou's sample of 40 in-depth narratives (2006: 242-244). Otherwise, the general picture of the Greek case from these other studies cited above is that second-generation returnees are, indeed, an educationally selected group; that there is a general idea that return constitutes some kind of dream with existential rather than practical meaning; but that the reality of life in Greece is very different from the dream, leading many to struggle.

Disillusionment and tension also feature strongly in the narratives of Swiss-Italian young adults who have moved back to southern Italy. Here the return – driven by positive memories of holiday visits, closeness of kin networks, and a sense of 'roots' – is mostly to villages and small towns, not to big cities. Returning *secondos* find the social environment of their hometowns socially conservative, especially as regards gender relations. Hence, particularly for single women, finding a job is next to impossible and their behaviour is closely monitored by the local community. These constraints lead to a 'reverse nostalgia' for Switzerland (Wessendorf 2009: 20).

Potter et al. generally paint a more positive picture of second generation return to the Caribbean, especially to Barbados, where most of their research is located. Although there are some low-level social tensions with the locals, the labour market is weighted to their advantage: they are able to use their British qualifications (like the Greek-Germans, many have higher education) to enter various professional, administrative and business employment sectors. Racial and post-colonial perspectives play a role here. According to Potter and Phillips (2006), British-born returnees are 'post-colonial hybrids' who are 'symbolically white' through their British upbringing and English accents. This enables them to position themselves favourably in local class and race hierarchies which, in many respects, have not changed much since the days of Empire (Potter and Phillips 2008). Environmentally, they find Barbados a more conducive place to live and to work, both from the point of view of climate and as regards the social context, when compared to the tough inner-city neighbourhoods where most of them grew up in the UK. Although the Caribbean is by no means devoid of crime, returnees raising children or planning to do so, generally think that this is a safer place for kids, with a more 'traditional' and 'academic' school system for the education of the 'next' generation.

One can only wonder how this next generation will see themselves in terms of their identity, and whether their own transnational behaviour will link them back to the diaspora context where their parents came from. Will the Greek-born children of Greek-German returnee parents look to Germany to rediscover part of their ancestral heritage?

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