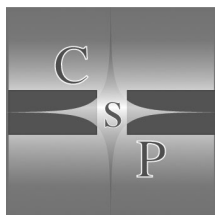


Ties to the Homeland

Ties to the Homeland: Second Generation Transnationalism

Edited by

Helen Lee



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PREFACE

HELEN LEE

The topic of transnationalism, a key element of globalisation, is emerging as significant field of study, bringing together a number of different disciplines to explore the kinds of connections people maintain across national borders. Population mobility is a key impetus for establishing and maintaining such ties and there is now a substantial literature on migrants' transnationalism. However, little research has investigated the intergenerational reproduction of such ties—the connections that migrants' children maintain with their parents' homelands. This volume draws together some of this research on second generation transnationalism and presents case studies from a number of migrant groups. These case studies, based on the authors' recent ethnographic research, reveal the considerable variation in the transnational practices of migrants' children and highlight the importance of a comparative perspective for understanding the complex phenomenon of second generation transnationalism.

Investigating the transnational engagements of migrants' children is crucial for understanding future trends in the global movement of people, money, goods and ideas. The chapters in this book show that members of the second generation often have much weaker transnational ties than their parents' generation, which has profound economic, social and political implications for nations that have long relied on migrants to send remittances and otherwise retain their involvement with the "homeland." Yet the transnational ties of migrants' children can also play a central role in the construction of their own cultural identity and shape their interactions with members of their own and other communities in the country to which their parents immigrated. As has been seen in recent history, in cases of what the global media has dubbed "home-grown terrorism," this does not always have positive outcomes. Indeed, the changing patterns of transnationalism can have serious implications for migrant nations, which can affect their relationships with the countries from which their migrant populations originated.

The sparse literature on second generation transnationalism has a strongly North American focus, and the chapters in this collection bring a new perspective by drawing on research with a number of migrant communities in Australia. They address the many issues associated with the transnational practices of the second generation in these communities, serving to give both a broad picture of second generation transnationalism and finely detailed studies of particular groups. The case studies presented are also timely contributions to transnational theory, which has tended to ignore second generation transnationalism. The book's contributors are academics established in the field of migration and ethnic studies, and postgraduate students engaged in cutting-edge research on transnationalism.

The book begins with my paper on second generation transnationalism, in which I interrogate the terms "second generation" and "transnationalism." The existing literature on each of these topics is surveyed, showing that as yet little attention has been paid to the ways in which they intersect. This limited work on second generation transnationalism is explored, showing that the transnational practices and attitudes of migrants' children can be significantly different in various ways from those of their parents. Particular issues associated with second generation transnationalism are addressed, including their material ties to their parents' homelands through remittances, the impact of transnationalism on identity formation, and the practice of "return migration." Given the Australian focus of the papers in this volume, the introductory chapter also provides a brief overview of the Australian context of migration and transnationalism.

Raelene Wilding's chapter on Irish-Australian migrants is the first of the case studies and immediately reminds us of the rapid and dramatic changes to the experience of migration in recent history. Wilding describes the many ways in which migrants and their children maintain ties with kin in Ireland today, focusing in particular on how parents in Australia and grandparents in Ireland employ various strategies to encourage the continuity of transnational ties in the second generation.

Greek and Greek Cypriot communities in Australia are the focus of the following three chapters, beginning with Dimitra Giorgas' chapter focusing primarily on identity formation. Giorgas explores the extent to which aspects of transnationalism from both "above" and "below" influence the identities of second generation Greek-Australians. Anne-Maree Dawson's chapter on Greek Cypriots also considers the relationship of identity and transnationalism, with a focus on the idea of "home" and belonging. Like Giorgas, Dawson moves beyond kinship to understand transnationalism, in this case teasing out some of the key elements influencing second generation Greek Cypriots' relationships with their

parents' homeland, such as the changing political and economic situation in Cyprus. A different approach is taken by Kipps Horn in his chapter on Greek *rebetika* music, in which he uses this particular cultural practice to discuss issues of identity and transnationalism for Greek-Australians.

While Horn's chapter addresses a "traditional" form of music that facilitates ongoing ties with the homeland, Mitchell examines a global musical phenomenon, hip hop, which emerged relatively recently yet also influences both identity and transnationalism. Local variants of hip hop, Mitchell argues, are vehicles for the expression of "in-between" identities as well as enabling reconnections with ancestral homelands. In his wide-ranging discussion of hip hop artists in Australia, Mitchell focuses in particular on performers of Pacific Islander, Latin American and Lebanese ancestry, revealing the significant diversity within this musical genre.

Cameron McAuliffe's chapter shifts the focus from music to religion, as he examines the experiences of second generation Iranians of Muslim and Baha'i faiths living in Sydney, London and Vancouver. McAuliffe uses this case study to question both the conceptualisation of "second generation" and the primacy of the "nation" in understandings of transnationalism. This chapter demonstrates the value of research that takes the second generation into account, as it unsettles many of the assumptions that underlie the work on migrants' transnationalism.

In her chapter on second generation Arab-Australians, Heba Batainah returns to the themes of "home" and "belonging" to explore how these young people negotiate their identities in the context of an often hostile host society. Like McAuliffe, Batainah highlights the role religion can play in influencing "transnational identity formation." She shows that young Arab-Australians can experience considerable ambivalence as they grapple with an "Australian" identity that does not mesh well with their stronger identification as "Arab."

The Arab identity discussed in Batainah's chapter is an example of the emergence of panethnic identities that can impact on the self-perceptions of members of the second generation. Max Quanchi's chapter also looks at the development of "pan-ethnic" identifications, in this case of the Pacific Islander population of Brisbane. He reveals that panethnicity can create new forms of transnationalism which go beyond simple host-home nation connections.

In the final chapter, Devleena Ghosh presents a case study of second generation South Asians living in Sydney, and two performance projects involving dance, rap, installations and story-telling. Drawing on interviews with the participants and messages on internet discussion forums, Ghosh shows how these young people experience shifting and contested identities

yet also assert their agency in defining these identities, particularly in their understandings of what it is to be “Australian.”

All of the case studies discussed in this book show how complex issues of identity can be for members of the second generation in the context of the transnationalism that increasingly characterises migrant populations today. There is still a great deal of research to be done to understand the full scope and impact of second generation transnationalism, a phenomenon that is constantly being transformed by the emergence of new communications technologies and growing global population mobility. The chapters in this book are contributions to a discussion that is only just beginning.

The discussions that planted the seeds for this book began in Melbourne in 2004, in a session I convened at the annual Australian Anthropological Society conference. The session was entitled “Losing Momentum? Second Generation Transnationalism” and three of the contributors to the book presented papers at that session: Kipps Horn, Cameron McAuliffe and Tony Mitchell. I thank all of them for their patience throughout the process of moving from that initial conference session to this book and developing their papers into their current form. The other authors were invited to contribute chapters at different times in the years following the AAS session, as I compiled a collection of papers representing a range of perspectives on second generation transnationalism and presenting diverse case studies. The result is the first collection of papers on second generation transnationalism in Australia—a richly detailed selection of studies of the multiple and complex ways in which migrants’ children maintain their ties to their “homelands.”

CHAPTER ONE

SECOND GENERATION TRANSNATIONALISM

HELEN LEE

The case studies presented in this book focus on the ways in which the children of migrants engage with their parents' homelands. This phenomenon of second generation transnationalism has only recently been addressed in the broader literature on migration, mobility and transnationalism but already it is clear that it is significantly different in many ways from the transnationalism of the first generation, the migrants themselves. The purpose of this chapter is to explore some of these differences by reviewing what we know thus far—and what we need to know—about second generation transnationalism. It is not intended to be an exhaustive survey of the literature but rather a discussion of the key themes that have emerged and some of the questions that have been raised thus far by research into second generation transnationalism. Many of the other chapters in the book discuss particular aspects of the relevant literature and I have avoided repeating those discussions here.

The first task is to examine the terms “transnationalism” and “second generation,” to establish just what it is we are discussing in this book. Both terms are somewhat problematic, so it is important to consider how they have been defined and what complexities are masked by these broad terms. After a brief discussion of previous work on the second generation, which focused primarily on experiences in receiving nations, the chapter addresses the literature on second generation transnationalism, drawing out some of the common areas of concern, such as the impact on the “home” country, the impact on identity formation in the overseas population, and practices such as “return migration.” Given that this book has an Australian focus, the chapter also provides a brief overview of the Australian situation, arguing that Australia's unique history of migration and multiculturalism has shaped the current transnational practices of its population.

Defining transnationalism

Transnationalism was originally a concern of international economists describing global flows of labour and capital, and of political scientists concerned with world politics. By the late 1980s the concept had been employed in studies of migration, mobility and diaspora, particularly within the social sciences. Broadly speaking, social scientists were largely interested in what became known as “transnationalism from below” (Smith and Guarnizo 1998), or people’s everyday experiences of transnational processes, rather than the macro-level structures such as governments, multinational corporations and the global media. As expressed by Levitt and Waters (2002b, 8), the focus in the social sciences has been on “how ordinary individuals live their everyday lives across borders and the consequences of their activities for sending—and receiving—country life.” Of course transnationalism from above is inextricably linked with transnationalism from below and they are mutually influencing phenomena (Pries 2001). As can be seen in the papers in this volume, an ethnographic focus on the everyday experiences of migrants and their children engaging in transnationalism does not preclude consideration of the wider contexts influencing these engagements, particularly the actions of governments concerned with regulating and controlling cross-national mobility.

Although social scientists had for many years described the connections retained between migrants and their homelands, towards the end of the 20th century, developments in transport and communications technologies had a profound impact on the forms and extent of ties migrants could maintain with their homelands. These changes influenced a shift in focus to “transnationalism” and key early contributions to this emergent literature include Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc (1994), Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1992), Smith and Guarnizo (1998) and Vertovec (1999). The literature on transnationalism is now vast, but there remains considerable conceptual confusion, even disagreement about the very definition of the term “transnationalism.” Mahler (1998, 66) noted in an early overview of the literature that transnationalism “is a very slippery concept” and this is still so a decade later. In part it is due to the multi-disciplinary nature of the field, with anthropologists, sociologists, cultural geographers, political scientists and others contributing and bringing different theoretical and methodological approaches (Vertovec 2003).

One example of the confusion of concepts and terms is the variety of ways in which the social worlds of transnational migrants have been described, including “transnational social fields” (Glick Schiller, Basch

and Blanc 1992; Levitt and Waters 2002a); “transnational social spaces” (Faist 2000; Pries 2001); “transnational villages” (Levitt 2001); “translocality” (Appadurai 1995); and “multi-local life-world” (Vertovec 2001, 578). On a more fundamental level, there have never been single, shared definitions of the key terms, so that “transnational” and “transnationalism” remain open to multiple interpretations.

In an early contribution to the work on transnationalism, Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1992, ix) argue that “transnational” describes people who “take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links together their country of origin and their country or countries of settlement.” From this perspective, those who maintain transnational ties “organize their daily economic, familial, religious, and social relations within networks that extend across the borders of two nation-states” (Fouon and Glick Schiller, 2002: 171). Shifting from the perspective of individuals to that of communities, Portes (1997, 812) argues that transnational communities maintain

dense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition. Through these networks, an increasing number of people are able to lead dual lives. Participants are bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both.

As is clear in these descriptions, social scientists have largely concerned themselves with transnationalism in relation to migration and with those who are identified as “transmigrants,” and have developed their definitions accordingly (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995). Transnational migration is, of course, a subset of broader processes of transnationalism that can include international organisations, businesses, social movements and so on, which operate across national borders, even on a global scale. The work on transnational migration differs from much of the work on these other transnational processes in its focus on the practices and attitudes of individuals and families. Even within this work, however, there is slippage between discussion of transnational *migration* and transnational *practices* when referring to “transnationalism.” Focusing on transnational migration positions the migrants themselves at the centre of analysis, whereas discussions of transnational practices can usefully incorporate those who remain “at home” and yet engage in various ways with transnationalism. Keeping all of the participants in transnational practices in the picture is important because, as Vertovec (2001, 575) has argued:

transnational connections have considerable economic, socio-cultural and political impacts on migrants, their families and collective groups, and the dual (or more!) localities in which they variably dwell.

In the extensive literature on transnationalism as it affects migrant populations and their home countries, a number of key issues have emerged, including issues of citizenship, changing family and identity formations, migrant engagements in political movements and, more broadly, in processes of nation building in the homeland, particularly the role of remittances. Much of the early work had a North American perspective and tended to focus on immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia. The Canadian literature that soon contributed to this body of work was concerned with similar migrant groups; with the emergence of research from Britain and European nations, a broader range of immigrant populations was included, such as groups from Africa and the Middle East, and citizens of the European nations themselves, particularly migrants from the Mediterranean region. Some immigrant groups have received considerably more attention than others: for example, the literature on migrants from the Caribbean is substantial whereas little has been written of migrants from the South Pacific.

The limited literature on Pacific Islanders' transnationalism is an interesting case because it has been largely shaped by early work on so-called MIRAB economies (Bertram 1999; Bertram and Watters 1985; Poirine 1998). MIRAB economies are characterised by Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracies, but the central concern of much of this work has been the second of these elements. There are numerous studies on remittances to Pacific nations such as Samoa, Tonga and the Cook Islands, but little else has been written on the broader processes of transnationalism until recently. Assumptions in the MIRAB literature about the existence and roles of "transnational corporations of kin" are now being challenged (James 1993; Lee 2004a) and new understandings of Pacific Islanders' ties to their homelands are emerging (Lee and Francis forthcoming).

The literature on Pacific transnationalism is also limited because of the dominance of North American and European perspectives on transnationalism; Pacific Islanders are one of the smallest migrant populations in the United States and their numbers are almost insignificant in Europe. A more global picture of transnationalism is sorely needed and this collection of papers from an Australian perspective is one contribution to developing that picture and identifying the many factors influencing transnational practices and attitudes. Much more must be understood about the interrelationship of factors such as gender, class, citizenship, socio-

economic status, religion, and so on, in shaping particular individuals' and groups' experiences of transnationalism.

Given the slippery nature of the concept of transnationalism, considerable effort has been devoted to further refining it and challenging some of the assumptions embedded in the term. Some of the key collections of papers contributing to this process of rethinking include special journal issues such as "Transnational Communities" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999); "Transnationalism and identity" in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Vertovec 2001); and "International Perspectives on Transnational Migration" in the *International Migration Review* (Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec 2003).

With the wealth of ethnographic data now available on immigrant transnationalism, at least for some immigrant groups, the past few years have seen moves towards compiling more quantitative data, such as the Comparative Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project (CIEP) (Portes 2003) and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Although the focus of such quantitative studies is often immigrant engagement with the host society, they have included data on such transnational connections as visiting the homeland and sending remittances.

There also has been ongoing refinement of the concept of transnationalism and associated concepts such as transmigration, translocal, migrancy and mobility (Grillo 2007). This has entailed comparative overviews of the ethnographic material to draw out common themes and findings (e.g. Portes 2003) and considerations of "conceptual cross-fertilization" from different disciplines and studies of different forms of transnationalism (Vertovec 2003). For example, cultural geographers writing on transnationalism, particularly since 2000, have brought their own perspectives and approaches to this field of study. Blunt (2007, 691) provides a useful overview of recent work in cultural geography that addresses mobility, transnationalism and diaspora, noting that:

Key themes include an interest in the embodied politics of mobility and immobility, networks and other connections between and within the places of origin and settlement, and the ways in which migrant mobilities are shaped by, and themselves shape, cultural politics, practices and representations.

One of the issues that has arisen in the ongoing critical analysis of the concept of transnationalism is the primacy of the "nation" in our understanding of transnational mobility. In some of the early work on transnationalism it was argued that the processes involved in such mobility

challenge the idea of the nation-state (Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc 1994; Spoonley 2001). However, the role of nations in influencing transnational engagements and people's perceptions of transnational possibilities, remained central to many analyses of transnational practices. For example, some work has focused on migrants' continuing involvement with processes of nation building, through what has been called "long distance nationalism" (Fouon and Glick Schiller 2002; Skrbis 1999).

Yet there also have been critiques of this tendency to focus on the "nation" in discussions of transnationalism (Hannerz 1996; Fog Olwig 2003). As Harney and Baldassar (2007, 190) observe, "the focus on the 'national' obscures relations and processes that vary in scale, social location and form. As a result, the term both affirms and problematises 'the nation'." Rather than simply "belonging" to more than one nation, people engaging in transnationalism can also have modes of belonging that transcend the nation, such as religious identity (see McAuliffe, this volume).

While much progress has been made in moving toward more shared understandings of transnationalism and associated concepts, an issue that remains problematic is ascertaining the degree of connection with a "homeland" that is required to constitute "transnationalism." As has been shown, the earlier definitions specified a dense set of connections that affected people's everyday lives, and particular characteristics of the participants, such as bilingualism. As the literature on transnationalism expanded, so did the extent to which any connections to the sending nation, no matter how tenuous, came to be regarded as transnational. One attempt to be more specific about degrees of transnationalism is the distinction between "comprehensive" and "selective" transnationalism (Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec 2003, 570). This allows for differences between people who retain complex ties to people and institutions in the homeland, and those who participate in more attenuated transnational practices. In addition, Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec (2003, 570) refer to people who are "intensively transnational" in contrast to those whose transnational practices are "periodic or occasional."

In these revised understandings of transnationalism, the extent to which the term can be applied in cases in which the only ties are emotional and symbolic, is a thorny issue. While emotional attachments and imagined connections are undeniably important, are they enough, on their own, to constitute transnationalism? Wolf (2002) uses the term "emotional transnationalism" and Batainah (this volume) writes of "transnational identity," which leaves open the possibility of such identification occurring without any tangible or direct connections with people or

institutions in the homeland. Another way of approaching this question of emotional and symbolic ties may be to rethink the use of “transnationalism” when other terms may be more appropriate. Wilding (2007, 343), for example, argues that “[o]ne potential alternative approach is to focus instead on practices and understandings of mobility or lack of mobility” which could include “the role of the imagination in this mobility.” These questions about how to delineate what constitutes transnationalism are particularly important when we consider the second generation, who are more likely than members of their parents’ generation to have only emotional and symbolic ties to the homeland. In such cases, can we rightly identify them as “transnational”?

Defining the second generation

Before addressing the question of different degrees of transnationalism for the second generation, it is important to consider the term “second generation” and how it is defined in the broader literature on migration, diaspora and transnationalism. To some extent, the definition is simple: the second generation are the children of migrants.¹ However, the assumption that underlies this definition is that “migrants” are adults, or at least lived long enough in the home country to make them in some way culturally distinct from those in the host country. To account further for different ages of migration, the term one and a half generation (often written as 1.5 generation) was introduced for those who migrated before the age of 18, so that the second generation are those born in the host country after their parents’ migration (Rumbaut 2002, 49). Using these distinctions, people migrating aged 18 and over are regarded as the first generation, as migrants. Rumbaut also introduced another distinction: the two and half generation (or 2.5 generation) are those born to one migrant parent and one local-born parent (see also Skrbis, Baldassar and Poynting 2007 on 2a/2b categories).

These distinctions have some heuristic value, although many authors continue to use simply “second generation” to incorporate the 1.5 and 2.5 generation, partly because it is a convenient short-hand but also because such categories are always problematic. Where the different categories are used, it has become common to include children who arrive in the host country before school age in the second generation, because most of their socialisation takes place after immigration. This necessitates adjusting the definition of the “1.5 generation” to cover those migrating during what are typically the years of schooling; five to eighteen.

In any ethnographic research there will be cases that simply do not fit neatly into any of the categories of 1.5, second and 2.5 generations; for example, where do we fit a child who is born in the host country to a migrant father and local mother, then is taken to the father's country of origin at a young age and remains there throughout her schooling, only returning to the mother's home country—the site of the father's original migration—in her early teens? At different points in her life she could be identified as 2.5 generation, 1.5 generation or even second generation! The category of 2.5 generation is also tricky; what of a child born to parents from two different immigrant groups? Given the amount of ethnic “mixing” of populations today, is it possible to belong to the second generation of two or more immigrant groups? If so, how do we deal with this analytically? Clearly, increasingly complex possibilities for intermarriage and population mobility are going to make it more difficult to rely on straightforward categories, but until we find ways to take this complexity into account, the distinctions outlined above serve to alert us to the most common differences in the circumstances of migrants' children.

To further complicate the definition of the second generation, Fouron and Glick Schiller (2002, 193) have suggested that

it is time to redefine the second generation to include the entire generation in both homeland and new land who grow up within transnational social fields linked by familial, economic, religious, social, and political networks...However, much empirical research needs to be done to examine the degree to which network density, overlap, and the flow of various resources and personnel within these fields shape the identity and actions of this second generation.

This suggestion reflects two of the issues that have arisen in the broader literature on transnationalism discussed above: the need to include the transnational engagements of those who remain “at home” and the need to move beyond a focus on “the nation.” In relation to the latter, Fouron and Glick Schiller (2002, 196) argue:

Developing this definition of a transnational second generation, which is bounded not by the territorial limits of a state but by the boundaries of social fields that stretch across national borders and link emigrant populations to an ancestral homeland, will greatly enhance migration studies.

Not surprisingly, their suggestion has met with some resistance. Jones-Correa (2002, 223) questions the idea of including the equivalent generation in the homeland as part of the second generation because he

believes this makes the definition of transnationalism too “diffuse.” I would argue, however, that this is not a question of how to define transnationalism, but of how to define the second generation, given that the very term assumes a “first generation,” the members of which are migrants. In my own research on second generation Tongan transnationalism I have adapted the suggestion of Fouron and Glick Schiller to include those at home, however I do not regard them as part of the second generation (Lee 2007b).² Instead, I refer to them as the equivalent cohort in Tonga; those who are of the same age of those in my study (18–30) but who have remained in Tonga and have experienced and even participated in transnationalism from that position.

Second generation lives in the diaspora

Long before work on second generation transnationalism began to emerge, a substantial body of knowledge had been compiled on the experiences of the second generation within the receiving nations. Much of the early work was dominated by a preoccupation with assimilation: how well were migrants and their children integrating into the host society? Measuring their level of integration often entailed measuring their “success” in terms of education and employment (Gans, 1992; Jensen and Chitose 2006). A closely related concern was the extent to which migrants’ children identified and were involved with their parents’ ethnic group, with work focusing particularly on issues such as language retention, parents’ socialisation practices and institutional supports (ethno-specific churches, media, community organisations, etc.). Over time, researchers found there was considerable variation both within and between different migrant groups in the forms and extent of their integration into the wider society, and in order to conceptualise this difference the concept of “segmented assimilation” was developed (Portes 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2005; Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). Research into second generation integration initially focused primarily on the U.S. context but soon expanded to include other regions with histories of significant immigration, particularly Europe (Thomson and Crul 2007).

Given that the focus was on levels of “success” and how this related to degrees of integration, there has been an ongoing concern with issues of social mobility and inequality. It became apparent in many nations with multicultural populations that divisions tended to emerge between an upwardly mobile middle class and those experiencing what Portes and Zhou (1993) called “downward assimilation.” Much was written about the

“poverty cycle” within immigrant groups; the intergenerational pattern of disadvantage in which the children of parents reliant on government benefits, or on unskilled work with low wages, tended to be poorly educated and to have difficulty achieving any upward mobility. Some work focused on social problems emerging within the second generation, such as involvement with gangs, criminal activities and substance abuse, as well as the structural inequalities contributing to these problems and social issues such as racism and discrimination.

Research into issues of integration and identity continues, but since the mid-1990s there has been a shift away from a concern with assimilation towards a focus on how members of the second and subsequent generations negotiate their “in between” positions and multiple identities (Amit-Talai and Wulf 1995; Butcher and Thomas 2003). Work has emerged that analyses the position of migrants’ descendants in terms of hybridity, cultural creolisation and third spaces, showing how young people’s shifting identities can be positive and empowering at times but also the source of considerable confusion, ambivalence and even resentment. Much of this work acknowledges that many of these young people maintain at least some transnational connections, but there is less explicit focus on this aspect of their lives. The focus, as in most of the earlier literature, remains primarily on their experiences within the host nations.

Neglect of the second generation in transnational studies

Just as transnationalism has been largely neglected in studies of the second generation, until very recently, the second generation has been largely ignored in the literature on transnationalism or mentioned only in passing. Often, broad generalisations have been employed that ignore the diversity in second generation circumstances and experiences. In their introduction to *Transnationalism from below*, Michael Smith and Luis Guarnizo (1998) review the literature on transnationalism and briefly raise the question of whether transnational relations are confined to the first generation. Admitting the need for further research into this question, they argue:

More than 100 years after the arrival of their forebearers [sic], the enduring transnational linkages between the politics of the homeland and the culture of European diasporas still persist (1998, 17).

The “linkages” they describe for immigrant groups in the U.S. include Jewish support for Israel, demonstrations supporting the Polish solidarity

movement, even the Irish celebrating St Patrick's Day, yet they do not elaborate on the actual ties maintained with people and institutions in the original homelands. Each of the links they describe can be maintained without any direct ties, so they imply that emotional and symbolic ties to an imagined homeland can constitute transnationalism, without any tangible connections necessary—an issue raised above in relation to the broader literature on transnationalism. Furthermore, when Smith and Guarnizo outline “future directions for transnational studies” they neglect the second generation entirely (1998, 24–29).

Other work on transnationalism has included children almost by default, whereby the focus is ostensibly the “transnational family” but discussion centres on the adult migrants. Their children remain in the background as passively transnational in the wake of their parents' movements, rather than as actively engaging in transnational practices themselves. The collection edited by Bryceson and Vuorela (2002a) on transnational families in Europe is primarily concerned with the experiences of the second generation as shaped by their parents' transnational mobility and by their engagements with host societies. In their introduction Bryceson and Vuorela (2002b, 18) note that “[s]everal authors stress that points of contact weaken substantially in the transition from the first to second generation of immigrant populations,” however none of those authors discusses second generation transnationalism in any depth.

In the wider literature on transnationalism this is a common and usually very brief observation: that transnational connections are far weaker for migrants' children. Such observations are often based on anecdotal evidence, as few researchers have investigated the forms and extent of second generation transnationalism. Even those scholars who are more open to the possibility of second generation transnationalism do not necessarily direct their research to exploring it. For example, Levitt (2001, 20) argues that “for some children of immigrants the picture is more complex than it first seems.” She suggests that the extent to which members of the second generation engage in transnational practices varies,

according to the characteristics of the transnational social field in which individual actors are embedded and its level of institutional completeness. Children born to parents who are members of tight-knit transnational villages or who participate in transnational organizations that keep them firmly connected to their ancestral homelands are more likely to remain active in the countries their parents come from (2001, 20).

However, in Levitt's (2001) ethnography of transnational migrants from the Dominican Republic living in the U.S. there is no detailed account of second generation transnationalism. This is the case in many other ethnographies of transnationalism, such as Brettell's study of the Portuguese diaspora (2001); Espiritu's account of Filipinos in the U.S. (2003); Hirsch's work on Mexican families in the U.S. (2003); Leung's on the Chinese in Germany (2004), and Ong's on the global Chinese diaspora (1999). It is also the case in collections of papers on transnational populations such as West Indians in New York (Foner 2001); Africans in Europe (Grillo and Mazzucato 2008); and the Chinese diaspora (Ong and Nonini 1997).

The lack of attention to the second generation in transnational studies means little is known of the ways in which they engage in transnational activities, or of their attitudes towards such activities. As Vertovec (2001, 577) points out, "processes and patterns conditioning the intergenerational succession and reproduction of transnational ties remain largely under-researched and under-theorised." The publication of *The changing face of home: the transnational lives of the second generation* (Levitt and Waters 2002a) was an important step towards opening up this field of research. The collection of papers has a North American focus and draws on examples primarily from Asian and Caribbean countries, and as the editors explain, it is the "first round of research on the transnational practices of the second generation" (2002b, 3). As an early foray into the topic, the book raises more questions than it answers, revealing how much more there is to know of this phenomenon. One of the contributors asks:

Where is home – or perhaps homes – for the *second* generation? Do they imagine themselves in multiple sites of belonging? Are they able to lead dual lives or to maintain dual frames of reference?...After all, no matter how cheap and fast the travel or how advanced the communications technologies, motivated and resourceful actors are still required to avail themselves of those means of attachment and to pursue a meaningful transnational project of "dual lives" (Rumbaut 2002, 47).

Avoiding generalisations

Given how many questions remain to be answered in relation to second generation transnationalism, it is impossible to make any definitive statements beyond the obvious fact that the term "second generation" conceals the enormous diversity of experiences and attitudes of the people who can be thus categorised. Haller and Landolt (2005, 1204) have even argued that

any attempts to specify the conditions under which transnational practices or attitudes will be embraced by the second generation should be offered only in a highly circumspect manner or confined to the obvious.

In recognition of how difficult it is to generalise about second generation transnationalism, there has been widespread acknowledgement that it is important to consider “differential access to transnational processes, and diverse levels of interest in engaging in transnational practices” (Wilding 2007, 339). Every form of social differentiation—class, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and so on—can affect people’s ability and inclination to maintain transnational connections, as can factors such as the socio-economic and political situation in both home and host nations, and ease of access to travel and communications technologies.

One of the key questions to be answered is the extent to which active strategies are in place to encourage second generation transnational ties. What do parents and other kin in the country of settlement do to encourage the second generation to maintain contact with the homeland, and to what extent is this supported by those in the homeland? In addition, what agendas underlie these efforts? These may extend beyond attempts to maintain links with the homeland; for example, Wilding (this volume) argues that Irish parents in Australia encourage their children’s ties to Ireland as part of a broader strategy to foster a “cosmopolitan” rather than narrowly Irish orientation. Looking beyond the efforts of family members, some work is emerging that looks at attempts to retain second generation links with the homeland by both home and host governments. Giorgas (this volume) describes the prime minister of Greece visiting Australia in 2007 and announcing “his government’s objective of strengthening social, economic and trade ties between Australia and Greece by securing links with its expatriates *and their children*” [emphasis added].

Apart from these active attempts to encourage transnationalism, what else motivates members of the second generation to establish and maintain ties with their parents’ homelands? Horn (this volume) gives the example of Greek *rebetika* music as a cultural practice through which transnational connections develop for members of second and subsequent generations of Greeks in Australia. Similar examples can be found in many other immigrant groups worldwide, where particular forms of music, art, craft, or other elements of “culture” help cultivate young people’s interest in their heritage and facilitate links to the homeland through shared interests. As discussed below, religion can also be a factor encouraging transnational engagements; the same could be said of membership in political groups, participation in social movements, or involvement in other forms of transnational activity.

The impact on individuals of the factors encouraging transnationalism varies, with some embracing their connections with a “homeland” and others resisting such ties. There are certainly members of the second generation of most immigrant groups who enthusiastically engage in transnational practices and perceive themselves as having two (or more) homes and dual (or multiple) identities. The research thus far does seem to indicate they are the minority, however. My own research with second generation Tongans in Australia has shown that only about ten per cent of the 18–30 year olds interviewed have active transnational connections (Lee 2007b). A further 60 per cent have weak connections while around 30 per cent have no direct connection at all. However, even for those in the latter group there were many cases of what I have called *indirect transnationalism* (Lee 2004b). That is, they are part of the transnational networks established by their parents and extended kin, but only through activities such as contributing money at fundraising events or handing over money to others, usually their parents, to be sent to the homeland.

Many of the young Tongans who participated in my research were in a similar situation to the Guatemalan migrants’ children discussed by Menjivar (2002). Her research in Los Angeles in 1995 showed that even for members of the 1.5 generation, transnationalism was “marginal at best, and sometimes seemingly forced” (2002, 14). Although their lives are “guided and orchestrated within a transnational field” (2002, 13), Menjivar speculates that most are unlikely to sustain long term ties with homeland. These young people may currently live in transnational spaces but not by choice, and as Jones-Correa (2002, 238) has noted, it is important to acknowledge that transnational practices, travelling or remitting, may have different meanings for different people; for example, they may be a chore for one person and a political statement for another.

It is also important to recognise that people’s transnational practices and attitudes can change across the life cycle. This fluctuation of transnational involvement has been observed by Jones-Correa (2002), who points out the difficulty of predicting future decisions and life trajectories of migrants’ children. Life changes such as marriage, having children, completing education, changing jobs and becoming involved in political causes can affect the ways in which people engage in transnational activities. Jones-Correa argues that we also need to take into account power relations between immigrants and the home country, between immigrants of different generations, and between male and female immigrants. In each case, these power relations can be subject to shifts which could also alter the transnational engagements of individuals and groups.

Dawson (this volume) shows how second generation identity can be shaped by the first generation's experiences in the homeland—in this case the different ideas about the homeland held by the children of migrants from Cyprus in the 1950–60s compared to those whose parents migrated in the 1970s. Changes within the home country can also have an impact, whether it is a close relative dying and thus ending an obligation to send remittances, or a political conflict that spurs a new involvement in “home” politics. For example, Dawson describes how the political events in Cyprus in the 1970s created a surge in transnational ties between the “diaspora born” and Cyprus. At the same time, as Dawson's paper argues, the situation in the host country is a crucial influence, particularly the extent of racism and ethnic exclusion that migrants and their children experience. Many other aspects of the host country can affect opportunities and motivations for transnational engagements; particularly structural inequalities and state restrictions on mobility.

Second generation remittances

Transnationalism can instigate and support social, economic and political changes in the home nation, through the ongoing flow of people, ideas, money and goods. Often, remittances of money and goods have the most obvious effects, as summed up by Vertovec (2001, 575):

The money migrants send not only critically supports families, but may progressively rework gender relations, support education and the acquisition of professional skills and facilitate local community development through new health clinics, water systems, places of worship and sports facilities. Remittances may also undermine local labour markets, fuel price increases, create new status hierarchies and generate patterns of economic dependence.

There is now a substantial literature on remittances as an element of transnationalism, although little of it deals with the second generation. This is perhaps the most neglected aspect of second generation transnationalism, perhaps because the widespread assumption that migrants' children have significantly weaker ties to the homeland than their parents has led to a corollary assumption that they do not tend to send remittances.

In the groundbreaking volume edited by Levitt and Waters (2002a) few authors even mention remittances. Rumbaut is the only author to have collected any statistics on remittances; in his longitudinal study of second generation Asians, Mexicans and Latin Americans in the U.S. he found

that overall only three out of four had ever sent remittances (2002, 75). Unfortunately Rumbaut does not quantify the remittances sent so it is impossible to know the level of contribution from those who remitted. He does identify the key factors encouraging these migrants' children to remit: fluency in the parents' language, higher family income and frequency of attendance at religious services (2002, 88).

Rumbaut drew on research known as the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), which commenced in 1992, in which 1.5 and second generation youth from 77 immigrant groups were interviewed in San Diego and Miami (see Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Later, Haller and Landolt (2005) used CILS to look at the frequency of sending remittances amongst the children of migrants to Miami from the Caribbean Basin. They confirm that knowledge of the language of the homeland is a significant predictor; however they also identify other factors, such as family cohesion and, rather puzzlingly, unemployment and having been sentenced for a crime. They argue that these latter two predictors reveal that "transnationalism and indicators of downward assimilation are positively correlated" (2005, 1199). Another predictor they discuss is gender, with males in their sample being more prone to engaging in transnational activities. This contrasts with my own research findings, which show that among second generation Tongans in Australia, females are significantly more likely to maintain transnational ties, including remittances (2006a, 2007a). My findings also differ from those of Rumbaut, in that family income and religious attendance are not reliable predictors.

Clearly, much is still to be learnt about second generation remittance practices. One might expect that where the home country is remittance-dependent there would be expectations placed on the second generation to remit, but do they meet those expectations? What sense of obligation do members of the second generation have to their kin and others in the homeland? These questions are complicated by the expectations of their behaviour within the host nation; after all, one of the most common motivations for migration is to open up opportunities for education and employment for migrants' children. The second generation is therefore expected to demonstrate that these opportunities have been grasped, through their achievements in education and careers and in the outward signs of success: buying homes, cars, and consumer goods. Yet this focus on "success" as defined by the host nation, along with the individualistic, consumerist values they may have adopted, can also serve to limit the involvement of the second generation with their parents' homelands. While they may retain emotional connections, their time, energy and

money are less likely to be directed towards to a “homeland” that many have not even visited. Does this, perhaps, begin to explain the findings of Haller and Landolt (2005), above, in relation to “downward assimilation”?

Having a sense of obligation appears to be a motivating factor in remittance practices and other forms of support for the homeland. Kane (2002) discusses how immigrants to France from three West African countries bordering the Senegal River Valley have maintained links with their countries of origin through community development work. Drawing on a case study of the Thilogne Association Developpement (TAD), he states that:

Second-generation youth do not feel obliged to take part in the village association. Unlike their parents, who incurred a social debt towards their families based in Thilogne village, the migrants’ children do not feel they owe anything to the village. The strong emotional ties between the migrant and his native land—made all the more manifest by the desire for repatriation after death—is not replicated in the second generation of young people (2002, 261).

Kane’s study reminds us that the motivations of the first and second generations can be quite different. Migrants often send remittances partly out of a sense of obligation to help their family or the nation but also for their own ends; for example, to maintain land rights, for personal investment, to support their plans for retirement, or for status building for themselves and their families in the homeland. Members of the second generation are far less likely to share these motivations and my own research suggests that they are more likely to send remittances when they feel a sense of obligation combined with a sense of “belonging” to both home and host nations (Lee 2004b, 2007b).

Transnationalism and second generation identity formation

The issue of “belonging” and the question of where members of the second generation identify as “home” have been central to the work discussed earlier, which focuses on second generation assimilation and integration. Recently, this work has begun to investigate the impact of transnationalism. Vertovec (2001, 575) has discussed this in relation to the collective identities of immigrant groups, and suggests transnationalism “has significant bearing on the culture and identity of the so-called second generation, or children born to migrants.” He points out that one view is that “transnational ties weaken immigrants’ integration in the receiving

country.” However, he leaves open the question of whether second generation integration is also weakened, by either their parents’ or their own transnationalism.

Some of the papers in Levitt and Waters (2002a) utilise the concept of segmented assimilation, looking at the complex interrelationship between transnationalism, identity and structural inequality and other obstacles to social mobility in the host nation. Overall, they show that transnationalism does not necessarily weaken integration and that some in the second generation are able to maintain a sense of belonging to two “homes” and to negotiate fluid, contextualised identities. It is also possible to take an opposite perspective: how do different degrees of integration impact on transnationalism? Haller and Landolt have argued that within different forms of segmented assimilation, “selective acculturation,” in which a blend of home and host society “cultures” is developed, leads to higher levels of second generation interest in the parents’ homeland (Haller and Landolt 2005).

This blending as it influences identity formation is addressed in a recent collection of papers in a special issue of the *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (Skrbis, Baldassar and Poynting 2007), which focuses on “negotiating belonging.” The papers draw on ideas of “multiple identities” and “hybridity,” and explore the ways in which members of the second generation move between identities in different contexts, even blending elements of different identities at times.

The life-cycle shifts in transnational engagements discussed above can be closely related to shifts in identity, so that, for example, an individual’s interest in the homeland increases along with a broader interest in cultural identity. Kipps Horn (this volume) describes how second generation Greek-Australians typically did not want to identify as Greek in their childhood but at some point during young adulthood desire to reconnect with their “Greekness.” Batainah (this volume) describes a similar process occurring among Arab-Australians.

One element of identity that has been largely neglected in studies of second generation transnationalism is religion. In their study of the children of migrants from the Caribbean Basin, Haller and Landolt (2005, 1204) found religiousness was a significant predictor of transnational practices:

That religiousness is positively related to travel back to sending countries, positively related to sending remittances, and not related to “feeling equally at home” in both countries perhaps suggests a different type of stance towards one’s parents’ country of origin depending on whether