Transylvanian Saxons' migration from Romania to Germany: The formation of a 'return' diaspora?

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I dedicate this thesis to Alex

Thank you for being an unfailing source of support, guidance and encouragement

Abstract

Processes and patterns of migration on a global scale have changed in profound ways during the last two decades (Smith and King, 2012). In the European context, this is exemplified by transformations to the traditional mobility patterns from East to West Europe (Koser and Lutz, 1998), with migrants more likely to be involved in temporary circular and transnational mobility (Favell, 2008). Since the end of the Second World War, historical and political events in Europe have facilitated the mobility of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe to Germany. Subsequently, the fall of the Iron Curtain has permitted unrestrained East-West movements, which resulted in mass migrations towards the West and diaspora fragments in the East. However, after settlement in the West, ethnic Germans have also been absorbed within wider temporary and transnational movements (Koser, 2007). Within this context, this thesis examines the post-migratory lives of three generations of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany by exploring the cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of this community. This thesis aims to contribute to on-going academic debates about diasporas by explicitly responding to Hoerder's (2002) call for more studies on ethnic German diasporas. It shows that Transylvanian Saxons, who relocated to the ancestral homeland, do not disrupt identities and lives forged in diaspora, but rather, they negotiate complex identities and belongings in relation to both 'home' and 'homeland'. It reveals a double diaspora and the necessity to perceive identity and diaspora as dynamic processes and constantly evolving in relation to time, space and place. This double diasporic allegiance in the case of the Transylvanian Saxons suggests interrogating the formation of a 'return' diaspora and its importance for processes of international migration.

Key words: Transylvanian Saxons, Romania, migration, Germany, cultural identity, 'return' diaspora.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 <u>Research context</u>

International migration has diversified and increased in magnitude in recent years, both in Europe and globally (King, 2002). Statistics suggest that approximately 20.9 million foreigners live in European countries (Salt, 2002a), while globally around 170 million people live outside their country of origin (Salt, 2005). With this upsurge in population movements, geographers and scholars from other disciplines have become increasingly interested in issues of migration, and subsequently, in transnational movements and connections (King, 2012).

Within the context of this thesis, Ohliger and Münz (2002) disclose that the 'return' migration of ethnic Germans to Germany and Austria has begun in the aftermath of World War I, as a result of increasing tensions between the state and the ethnic populations. As discussed by Fassmann and Münz (1994), since the nineteenth century the trend in international migration in Europe has maintained the directional flow of East-West. Although some previous research has portrayed Germany as a 'reluctant land of immigration' (Martin, 1994: 223), significant numbers of ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe have migrated and settled in Germany based on the principle of *jus sanguinis.* Hoerder (2002) states that the 'German-language emigrants and ethnics have not usually been conceptualized as a diaspora' (p.7). In migration studies, ethnic German populations have been researched from the point of view of 'return' migration, yet they are under-researched from the point of view of 'return' diaspora.

This thesis aims to contribute to the fields of geographies of migration by investigating the post-migratory lives of ethnic Germans in Germany from a geographical perspective. From the array of ethnic Germans who lived in Central and Eastern Europe, this thesis focuses on the case of Transylvanian Saxons. An

exploration of their migration and post-migration has the potential to contribute towards a more complete understanding of the ethnic German diaspora.

1.2 <u>Research rationale</u>

Firstly, there is an affinity between the Transylvanian Saxon community and researcher, as they shared, within cultural limits, some of the aspects of their everyday life in ethnically mixed Transylvania.

Secondly, perhaps the strongest motivation in selecting this case study was correlated to the widely known migration episode when almost an entire community left the researchers' country, Romania, and moved in masses to Germany. In its initial stages, this project was seeking to answer the fundamental question 'What happened with an entire population that dislocated from one country which they shared for centuries as a strong community to another that they only knew from books or short trips?'.

Thirdly, the Transylvanian Saxons are scattered all over Germany. Naturally, some German states incorporate higher proportions of these populations than others. According to statistics, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg are the German states that incorporate the highest proportions of these populations, and therefore, it was essential to select them for this study. The existence of more ample communities in these states also provides significant social and cultural meanings.

Fourthly, there are currently several areas of research that focus on the general term of ethnic German or *Aussiedler*. There is research that has discussed the deportation of ethnic Germans after the Second World War to labour camps. Some research has explored the mass migrations of ethnic Germans from the East to the West. Also, there is research that has focused on the policies adopted by the German state in the welcoming of its repatriates. Then, there are some studies that have explored the ethnic Germans' settlement in Germany and their challenges in integrating and adapting economically, socially and in the labour market of the host country.

However, there is less scholarship that emphasises the particular case of the Transylvanian Saxons.

Finally, this research explores the Transylvanian Saxons' post-migratory lives with a focus on the cultural, social, economic and political dimensions. In doing so, this study discusses the possibilities of a 'return' diaspora formation.

1.3   Diaspora, transnationalism and cultural identity

This section outlines dominant theorisations of diaspora, transnationalism, and cultural identity; cross-cutting themes that have been widely studied by geographers.

Within geographic scholarship, diaspora is predominantly theorised in relation to homeland-oriented identities, or in relation to fluid, malleable identities (Mavroudi, 2007). With the recent upsurge in popularity of postmodernist approaches, an increasing number of scholars are concerned with conceptualising the fluidity of diaspora (Ni Laoire, 2003). This has deepened understandings of the negotiations of identity, belonging and community in relation to time, space and place, which can influence diasporas' ambiguous identities, multiple belongings and hybridity. Therefore, these notions are perceived in diaspora scholarship as complex and contested. For example, notions of community can become contested when those in diaspora negotiate identity and belonging, and therefore, community can act as a unifying space, but also as a space for constructing tension and difference (Mavroudi, 2010). Contestations of identity and community in diaspora emphasise the evolving and unstable character of these notions. Therefore, it is imperative to understand identities as unbound and in continual transformation (Huang et al., 2000), and to interrogate how those in diaspora are constructing identity and community. In the case of ethnic Germans, Hoerder (2002) has called for more conceptualisations of ethnic German diasporas. This can also be extended towards a more in-depth understanding of ethnic Germans' maintenance and construction of identity and community in diaspora. So, in this thesis, it will be examined how Transylvanian

Saxons performed as a group in Transylvania and how they constructed a distinct identity and a shared mentality.

As migration may include a return to the country of departure, geographers have also become concerned with understanding return migration and return diaspora. There are several typologies of return migration (King and Christou, 2011), but, for example, King and Christou (2010) make special reference to the case of ethnic Germans 'return' to the ancestral home, and consider it as a 'misnomer', as ethnic Germans have not returned to the homeland for centuries, but at the same time, as situated in the typology of return migrations. Geographers' approach on geographies of diasporic return is focused on how those who 'return' to the 'homeland' grapple with integration and identity negotiation. As in the case of diaspora studies, geographies of diasporic return also contest notions of identity, belonging and community. 'Returnees'' identities are often seen as a fluid process of 'becoming', in relation to space and place, to 'home' and 'homeland', the place of settlement and the place of origin, and therefore, they are seen as fluid and in-the-making (Hall, 1990). Such views emphasise the incomplete character of identities and/or collective identities in general, positioning them in boundaries of space and place. These connections between 'home' and 'homeland' not only create ambiguities and complexities in relation to identity, but also, it can be noted that migrants perceive themselves to belong simultaneously to more than one homeland, or multiple diasporic spaces formed by components to which 'returnees' feel they belong (Teerling, 2011). Comparisons between life at 'home' and in the 'homeland' are commonplace for 'returnees', with contestations of 'homeland' and community which often are perceived as stable. However, perceiving the 'other' is not a one-way road, but both 'returnees' and 'homeland' are seen as different (Sheffer, 2010). Heterogeneity perpetuates a dialogical relationship between 'returnees' and 'homeland'. As Koranyi and Wittlinger (2011) stress, Transylvanian Saxons perceived Germany in a romanticised way, 'in terms of Goethe and Schiller', and some of the realities encountered upon return produced disillusionment. This thesis will thus explore the complex relationships between Transylvanian Saxons and 'local

Germans', and will examine their negotiations of identity and belonging in relation to 'home' and 'homeland'.

Although diaspora and transnationalism are concepts with provenience in different ages, they have often been equated (Tölölyan, 1991). Migrants' simultaneous existence 'here' and 'there' under processes of globalisation (Bailey, 2001) can attribute them the name of 'transmigrants' (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). Some scholars stress the significance of connections between transnationalism and identity, through migrants' perceptions of homeland-oriented identities and the negotiations of these identities in more than one space (Vertovec, 2001). In addition, Yeoh et al. (2003), based on the notions of 'here' and 'there', suggest to focus on the 'edges' of transnationalism as it allows the possibility to concentrate simultaneously on the 'groundings' which locate people in particular places as opposed to 'unmoorings' which destabilise these locations. As Gowricharn (2009) stresses, transnational ties can also be maintained through processes of 'ethnification'. In alignment with this, Koranyi and Wittlinger (2011), by using the notion of 'moving from diaspora to diaspora' in relation to Transylvanian Saxons, imply transnational ties based on ethnicity. Therefore, this thesis will consider how Transylvanian Saxons maintain connections with Transylvania, and how they negotiate identity and belonging in relation to 'here' and 'there'.

Identity is considered as the trademark or the signature of individuals or groups (Hall, 1990). Identity shapes 'who we are' as human beings, but also 'who we become', and can reflect personal or collective features. The concept of identity has been widely discussed by scholars and attributed to different aspects of the global life, such as cultural identity, national identity, social identity or identity politics. The relationship between identity of self and identity of others or global identity is ruled by an endless metamorphosis and reciprocity. Therefore, there is the need to perceive the concept of identity not as a static element but as a heterogeneous one, which is in continuous transformation. As stressed by Hall (1996), identity needs to be placed in a third space, in the space of in-betweeness, of self-identity which is 'positioned', and the identity of others, local and global, which determine transformation, 'enunciation',

'becoming' and 'production'. In this context of understandings of identity, this thesis will look into how Transylvanian Saxons maintain and negotiate identity in relation to the 'new homeland' and 'old homeland'. It will explore how cultural identity is maintained and performed in Germany, with a focus on cultural representation and transmission across generations.

The wider positioning of this research within Europe has been briefly outlined in the first section of this chapter (see Section 1.1), with a focus on international migration patterns and their significance in the context of this study. In addition to this, historical aspects can also be discussed here, so that the relatively recent historical changes in Europe can complete the positioning of this research. At the beginning of the 20th century Europe has experienced major historical and political events, such as the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1918) and the treaty of Trianon (1920). As a result, changes materialised in a redistribution of state borders. Consequently, minorities from the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire found themselves in states with different ethnic majorities. This was, for example, the case of Hungary, which lost territories that were mostly populated by Romanians, Slovaks and Slavs, and which were distributed to Romania, Czechoslovakia and Kingdom of Serbia. With this loss of territory, these minorities found themselves outside the Hungarian borders, in a state with other ethnic majorities. Although ethnic Germans were part of Romania, the redistribution of borders produced tensions and a loss of the multi-ethnic character.

Transylvanian Saxons were a relatively privileged ethnicity in post-1945 Romania compared to other ethnic minorities in Europe. They had access to German language schools and were relatively free to live their German culture. In this wider European context, Transylvanian Saxons were able to leave for Germany before the fall of the Iron Curtain but large numbers left only after this transformation. This thesis therefore examines the Transylvanian Saxons' motivations for migration to and integration in Germany, but also focuses on their cultural identity and how it is maintained and performed. Germany also underwent transformations which materialised in ethnic relocation at the end of the Second World War, and, later on, in

division during the Cold War. Migrants who arrived in Germany in the aftermath of the Second World War were mainly German refugees from the lost territories of the German Reich and ethnic German expellees from Eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia or Poland (Jones and Wild, 1992). These migrants were considered as the first wave of migrants to Germany. The following waves consisted of economic migrants in the 1960s and 1970s from countries of Mediterranean Europe and Aussiedler (German repatriates), from Eastern European countries (including Transylvanian Saxons), and asylum seekers and migrants from East Germany (Münz, 2001). Transylvanian Saxons live now in a Germany which was not only transformed by the Nazi regime, by economic migration, and by ethnic German relocation, but also is affected by globalisation and contemporary population movements.

1.4 Aim and objectives

The main aim of this research is:

> To explore the cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of post-migratory lives of Transylvanian Saxons, and to examine how the meanings of these dimensions have changed across generations of migrants in Bavaria and Baden Württemberg.

In order to address this main aim, five objectives are explored in this research:

1. To examine the life circumstances of Transylvanian Saxons before their migration to Germany with a focus on education, work and German cultural traditions.

2. To analyse the motivations of Transylvanian Saxons to migrate to Germany and their experiences with migration.

3. To investigate the life experiences and integration of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany.

4. To consider the relationship of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany with their homeland in Romania.

5. To explore the preservation of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and cultural heritage in Germany.

1.5 <u>Outline of the thesis</u>

This chapter has introduced the rationale for the case study, and the aim and objectives of this research. The section that follows outlines the eight constituent chapters of the thesis.

Chapter 2 explores the conceptual and theoretical literature for this research. The chapter is divided into three sections. Firstly, the chapter reviews the literature surrounding the contested and paradoxical concept of diaspora. Secondly, a discussion on the notions of migration and transnationalism is provided. This chapter concludes with a discussion referring to the concepts of cultural identity and diaspora. Drawing on these widely employed concepts in the field of migration and diaspora provides a better understanding for this study and an opportunity to position the case of the Transylvanian Saxons within the existing conceptual framework and literature.

Chapter 3 sets up the historical background for the study of the Transylvanian Saxon community. Firstly, the chapter provides a historical account of the pre-WWII Transylvanian Saxon existence, from their arrival in Transylvania to their development as a strong German community. Secondly, the post-WWII existence in Transylvania is discussed from an historical point of view. Moreover, this chapter includes statistical data relating to the ethnic German migration from Romania to Germany. This chapter concludes with a discussion on the German state's policies surrounding the ethnic Germans' return.

Chapter 4 considers the methods that have been adopted throughout this research. Firstly, the chapter discusses the secondary data employed, with reference to statistical data and qualitative secondary data. Secondly, the discussion follows by providing accounts of the primary data utilised, namely semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Finally, this chapter offers explanations around the issues of ethics, risk and reflexivity encountered during the research process.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the empirical findings from the primary research. Chapter 5 explores the lives of Transylvanian Saxon migrants prior to their migration to Germany. It refers to their economic and educational situation and highlights the rich Transylvanian Saxon cultural life maintained in Transylvania. Moreover, this chapter discusses the reasons behind the exodus migration of this historical community, and their experiences with the process of migration.

Chapter 6 explores Transylvanian Saxons' lives post-migration. It discusses the distribution and settlement in Germany, the educational and labour situations, and the economic integration in the German society. Moreover, this chapter draws on the Transylvanian Saxon social networks and participation in local political life. The final part of this chapter discusses the Transylvanian Saxons' relationship with their 'old homeland' through exploring the contacts they maintain with people and cultural heritage in Transylvania.

Chapter 7 examines how the Transylvanian Saxons maintain their cultural heritage and cultural identity in Germany. Moreover, this chapter explores the relationship between their German cultural identity that had been shaped and practised in Transylvania and contemporary German culture.

Finally, Chapter 8 provides a summary of the main findings presented in the three empirical chapters. The chapter highlights the key contributions of the thesis to wider academic knowledge and research in the fields of migration studies.

Chapter 2: Exploring the connections between diaspora, transnational migration and cultural identity

2.1 <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter explores the salience of dominant conceptual and theoretical frameworks within the social sciences for a study of the migration of Transylvanian Saxons from Romania to Germany.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. Section 1 discusses the notion of diaspora as a contested and paradoxical concept, focussing on the complexities and ambivalences of understandings of diaspora. Within this context, the example of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany is used to exemplify the merits of a new definition of diaspora. It is argued that this paradoxical nature of diaspora is well attuned to the case of the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany, showing that the reflective and paradoxical nature of diaspora sustains the expression of a 'mirror-diaspora', or 'return diaspora'; the definition of diaspora which is employed within this thesis. Section 2 discusses recent work on transnationalism and transnational migration. This includes a critical discussion of some of the new concepts developed in the field of migration with reference to the phenomenon of globalisation, suggesting that there are some inter-connections between these contemporary forms of population movement and the formation of diasporas. With this in mind, the final section examines the overlaps between the production of cultural identity and diaspora, with a specific focus on sameness and difference, and how relationships between static and motion contribute to the construction of identity.

2.2   Diaspora – a contested and a paradoxical concept?

Travel and settlement across nation-state and other borders and continents is not a recent phenomenon (Castles and Miller, 2009). However, the increased globalisation of cultural processes, the development and modernisation of travel and communications have enabled and accelerated the movements of more and more populations across boundaries (ibid.).

Historically, the initial reference to a dispersion of populations was adopted in relation to the Jewish populations who were scattered from Israel to different lands. Etymologically, the word diaspora is a derivation of the Greek verb *diasperein*, *speirein* means to sow or to scatter about and the Greek preposition *dia*, means through or over (Reis, 2004; Shuval, 2000; Cohen, 2008). The etymological provenience of the word 'diaspora' can be explained by the scholars' affirmation in the field that the word 'diaspora' was employed through association to other populations dispersions, such as the Greeks and the Armenians. However, this 'stretch' of the word diaspora, as Brubaker (2005) refers, does not stop here, but on the contrary, the semantic usage of the term diaspora expands unlimitedly in the literature up to the point we could speak about a ''diaspora' diaspora' – a dispersion of the meanings of the term in semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space' (ibid.). Today, the concept of diaspora gains interest in scholarly academic debates more than ever before, changing from the status of under-conceptualised notion (Safran, 1991) in the last decades to a 'veritable explosion of interest since the late 1980's' (Brubaker, 2005). Indeed, this is also stressed by Tölölyan (1991), who explains:

> 'The term that once described Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile-community, overseas community, ethnic community' (p.4).

More recently, diaspora is widely considered as a complex process (Werbner, 2002), multifaceted and multi-layered. Diaspora not only includes different classes of

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populations characterised through particularity and uniqueness but also includes categories and sub-categories of these manifestations. It can be argued that many scholars carry a conceptual battle in the diasporic battle-field in their endeavours to catch up with the diasporic complexity due to globalisation, and consequently to particular diasporas and their divisions and sub-divisions. This is described by Prévélakis (1998) as 'the networks of diasporas'. Consequently, it can be asserted that the scholarship on diaspora uses different diasporic study cases in order to define the notion of diaspora and subsequently uses the concepts born as a result of analysis to study and conceptualise other diasporas and to add new layers in the multiplicity of conceptual meanings (see for example Vertovec, 1997).

In this 'conceptually untidy' academic field (Tölölyan, 2007) different scholars and different disciplines suggest differential approaches, usages, typologies and definition for the concept of diaspora. From the myriad of definitions of diaspora within academic scholarship, Vertovec's (1999) more general and encompassing definition can be used to illustrate this point:

> 'Diaspora is the term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialised' or 'transnational' -- that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe' (p.1).

Another definition which could be adopted to encompass the wide meaning of diaspora is Cohen's (1997) notion of 'global diasporas':

> 'Diasporas are positioned somewhere between nation-states and 'travelling cultures' in that they involve dwelling in a nation state in a physical sense, but travelling in an astral or spiritual sense that falls outside the nation-states space/time zone' (p.135-136).

It is important to stress, however, that there is a general consensus that 'no single definition of diaspora can be useful' (Shuval, 2000: 49), since as Pasura (2010) argues:

> 'This diversity of meanings demonstrates the difficulty of providing a universal diasporic experience upon which deductive reasoning could be applied; each migration phenomenon needs to be located within its own specificity' (p.1458).

There are opposing and similar views in scholarship with the attempt to conceptualize diaspora. For instance, Vertovec (1999) discusses the varied meanings of diaspora and he suggests three dominant meanings of diaspora: 1) diaspora as a social form; 2) diaspora as a type of consciousness, and; 3) diaspora as a mode of cultural production.

In an editorial on the 'geographies of diaspora', Ni Laoire (2003) focuses on a geographical approach to the notion of diaspora, stressing a need to contribute to understandings of diaspora processes and interdisciplinary connection. Sheffer (1986) comments about the 'triadic relationship' of the diaspora, referring to the inter-connections that are established between the homeland, the place of settlement, and other diaspora places.

Carter (2005) suggests a territorial analysis of a relationship between the nation and its territorialities, between the diaspora and its territorialities. He suggests transcending the hybrid and diaspora identities that capture the multiplicity, and argues about the geopolitics of diaspora which helps to understand the complex and ambiguous ways in which the territory is reconfigured through transnational practices. Reis (2004) proposes between 'classical', modern, and post-modern diaspora, and claims a theorisation and 'historicization' of the phenomenon under the above-mentioned three broad periods is needed 'for the recasting of diaspora to encompass much wider criteria' (p.53). Another theorist, Shuval (2000) refers to the concept of 'diaspora migration' and 'highlights the inherent dynamism of diaspora

theory by making clear the on-going, changing processes involved which cause certain types to shift their structural characteristics in a manner that is open to scrutiny through the overall schema. Furthermore, it underscores the intrinsic differentiation of diasporas into a large number of types while at the same time making it possible to focus on the similarities and differences among them' (p.53).

Pasura (2010), referring to the case of Zimbabweans in Britain, discusses different meanings that diaspora can encompass in relation to the migrants conditions and experiences in diaspora. So, diaspora is depicted as a reversed colonisation, a metaphoric reference to Babylon and Egypt or as a legal home. The particularity in Pasura's (2010) study case of Zimbabweans in Britain consists that the migrants perform the reverse colonisation to their former imperial power to study, work and settle which presents some tangential aspects with the case of the Transylvanian Saxons through their return to the homeland.

Sökefeld (2006) defines diasporas as 'imagined transnational communities'. His starting point is the assumption that people living dispersed in the transnational space share the same identity and, thereby, identity becomes the central defining feature of diasporas. Moreover, he argues that diaspora identity and the imagination of a diaspora community is also an outcome of mobilization processes. As he comments:

> 'The development of diaspora identity is not simply a natural and inevitable result of migration but a historical contingency that frequently develops out of mobilization in response to specific critical events. Diaspora is thus firmly historicized. It is not an issue of naturally felt roots but of specific political circumstances that suggest the mobilization of a transnational imagined community' (p.280).

Werbner (2002: 131) also refers to the diasporic communities, arguing that organisationally, diasporas are characterised by a chaordic structure and that the place of diaspora is 'both a non-place and a multiplicity of places; a place marked by

difference… this place emerges chaordically, without centralised command structures but in a highly predictable fashion' (p.131). Werbner (2002) suggests that in this chaordically order of a non-place and multiplicity of places the diasporic communities resort to 'co-responsibility', 'performance' and an 'anesthetization'; in order to re-inscribe collective memories and utopian visions.

Werbner (2004) also illuminates the contradictory character of the diaspora:

> 'Diasporic communities create arenas for debate and celebration. As mobilised groups, they are cultural, economic, political and social formations in process, responsive to global crises and multicultural or international human rights discourses. This means that diasporas are culturally and politically reflexive and experimental; they encompass internal arguments of identity about who 'we' are and where we are going. Diasporas are full of division and dissent. At the same time they recognise responsibilities, not only to the home country but to co-ethnics in far-flung spaces' (p.896).

Werbner is illustrative of scholars who articulate notions of diasporic duality through their studies. Likewise, Clifford (1997) discusses the duality of diaspora, emphasising: 'the empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling 'here' assumes a solidarity and connection 'there'. But 'there' is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation' (p.269). Tölölyan (2007) affirms that diasporicity manifests itself in relations of difference, iterating:

> 'The diasporic community sees it-self as linked to but different from those among whom it has settled; eventually, it also comes to see itself as powerfully linked to, but in some ways different from, the people in the home-land as well. In the countries of settlement, either such difference is sustained by persecution and the rejection of assimilation by the majority among whom the diasporic community settles or, when assimilation is permitted, even encouraged, the diasporic community chooses to do cultural and political work in order to sustain crucial kinds of difference' (p.650).

Mavroudi (2007) seeks to balance the conceptual tension between the traditional/bounded diaspora which refers to space, place and identity in terms of stable categories and the modern/unbounded/fluid one which refers to malleable, hybrid, ever-changing representations that may be in-between and always in-the-making. She proposes a more flexible understanding of diaspora that is able to take into account the provisional nature of diaspora as a process, in which time, space and place are not static but are continuously used, imagined and negotiated in the construction of politics of place, of 'sameness' and 'difference'.

In view of these declarations, Brubaker (2005) postulates the need to 'treat diaspora not as a bounded entity but as an idiom, stance and claim' (p.1), because surely, diaspora is extremely complex and consequently can be contested, conceptualised and over-conceptualised. The multi-faceted diaspora encompasses 'all in one' terms such as locality vs. multi-locality, uniqueness vs. complexity, 'sameness' vs. 'difference', back-and-forth, 'bound' vs. 'unbound', purist vs. hybrid, essentialist vs. anti-essentialist and so forth, proving its reinventing and at the same time confusing and paradoxical nature.

In summary, this section has considered the concept of diaspora through the lens of different scholars in the field of study, highlighting the paradoxical diaspora. With this in mind, and for pragmatic reasons, this thesis seeks to adopt a definition of diaspora which adheres to conceptualisations of the 'mirror-diaspora' or 'return diaspora'. Key here is the work of Koranyi and Wittlinger (2011) who noted that the Transylvanian Saxons had an idealised image of Germany, a romanticized image 'in terms of Goethe and Schiller' and their expectations rose in accordance with this image. The reality on the ground was different. The outcome was not an immediate seamless integration, but the creation of new clusters of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany, or how Koranyi and Wittlinger (2011) put it: 'the émigré community itself seems once again torn between two homelands and various strands of identity. In so doing, they have moved from diaspora to diaspora' (p.112).

Paradoxically, even if the Transylvanian Saxons from Romania moved to their 'fatherland' they found themselves looking back nostalgically to Transylvania and reflecting through these cultural clusters the old diasporic culture from Romania (Koranyi and Wittlinger, 2011). So, instead of moving from diaspora to the homeland the Transylvanian Saxons moved from 'diaspora-to-diaspora' reflecting also a non-purist, hybrid culture, with Balkan influences gained over a diasporic life of over 850 years.

In this way, the 'mirror' or 'return' diaspora is a new situation where by returning to the initial homeland the diaspora status does not disappear but reflecst the culture from the initial diasporic status. In this particular case it has been noticed that the reflected culture has faded over time, especially over the different generations. Arguably, this process can be defined as 'fading-mirror-diaspora' or 'fading-return-diaspora', which will be the definition of diaspora adopted in this thesis.

2.3   Migration and transnationalism

The process of migration is acknowledged and studied today more extensively than ever before (Castles and Miller, 2009). This phenomenon constitutes an in vogue discussion topic not only in popular culture (Canoy et al., 2006), but also in various circles of academic debates (Castles, 2008). Therefore, migration is part of everyday life, or is what scholars name a 'lived experience'. Consequently, as we reach a stage when migration is a significant segment of our life, we have the desire of understanding all its forms of manifestation and its complexities.

Until relatively recently, migration was simplistically perceived as the movement of populations from one place to another. This is illustrated by Boyle et al. (1998) description of migration: 'the movement of a person between two places for a certain period of time' (p.4). However, contemporarily, we live in a world characterised by rapidity and complexity, and migration cannot be discussed without reference to globalisation. King (2012) outlines the evolutionary statute between geography and

migration and discusses the 'canonical' or pioneering theories of geographers about migration; continues with the well-established population geography and with the 'cultural turn' that geography and migration took in the last years. King (2012) describes migration:

> 'Migration studies is the description, analysis, and theorisation of the movement of people from one place or country to another. These movements are for longer than visits or tourism and may involve either short-term/temporary or long-term/permanent relocations. Viewed in this light, migration is clearly a space–time phenomenon, defined by thresholds of distance and time; this makes it intrinsically geographical' (p.136).

Similarly to other concepts from the field of migration, globalisation is difficult to define. However, Held et al. (1999) characterise globalisation as 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life' (p.2). Bartelson (2000) attributes to the concept of globalisation connotations such as: 'transference', 'transformation' and 'transcendence'. These connotations confer a regenerating, on-going character, and consequently, the complexity of today's reality:

> 'Today few doubt the reality of globalisation, yet no one seems to know with any certainty what makes globalisation real. So while there is no agreement about *what* globalisation *is*, the entire discourse on globalisation is founded on a quite solid agreement *that* globalisation *is*' (p.180).

The result of globalisation was that 'at the beginning of the 1990s, migration suddenly took a prominent place on the inter-national political agenda' (Castles, 2000: 279) or, in other words, what Castles and Miller (2009) name a 'globalisation of migration' (p.10). Within academic debates of migration studies, there is a consensus that international migration has grown very complex and involves many more populations than ever before (Boyle et al., 1998). Some scholars, for example Koser and Lutz (1998) and King (2002), discuss about the rise of a 'new migration'. So, with

these arguments in mind, the contemporary scholastic views over the process of migration cannot conclude at a simplistic level. Rather, as Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) explain:

> 'Social scientists are looking for new ways to think about the connections between "here" and "there," as evidenced by the interest in the many things called transnational. Those studying international migration evince particular excitement. Observing that migration produces a plethora of connections spanning home and host societies, these scholars proclaim the emergence of transnational communities' (p.1177).

However, the complexities surrounding the process of migration determine an interest not only for social scientists but also for scholars from other fields of study. Migration gains conceptual significance by passing the multidisciplinary borders:

> 'The academic significance of migration is demonstrated further by the wide interest in the topic among people from various disciplines outside geography, including demographers, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, political scientists, psychiatrists and psychologists' (Boyle et al., 1998: 4).

Glick Schiller et al. (1995) claim that, contemporary, migrants are more likely to be named 'transmigrants' as they have simultaneous roots in the host country and in their homeland. Indeed, this is also stressed by Riccio (2001) who gives an explanation about the relatively new concept of 'transnationalism':

> 'Migrants, it is argued, now tend to live their lives simultaneously across different nation-states, being both 'here' and 'there', crossing geographical and political boundaries. 'Transnationalism' is the term commonly used to contextualise and define such migrants' cultural, economic, political and social experience' (p.583).

Bailey (2001) claims that the simultaneity of 'here' and 'there' under the processes of globalisation contributes to scholastic understanding of the transmigrants and of the

transnational communities they produces. Moreover, the concept of 'transnationalism' is perceived by Dunn (2008) as progressive knowledge, as leaving behind the traditional in order to embrace the newness:

> 'The concept of transnationalism allows a transcendence of traditional under-standings about immigration. One traditional understanding of immigration assumes a one-off unidirectional form of permanent mobility from a sending society to a reception society, and that settlement would be permanent or at least of a long duration. A second traditional expectation is that the immigrants' origin culture would dissipate as they take on the culture of the host national society' (p.2).

From etymological perspective, different studies of 'transnationalism' show that the term receives contradictive appellatives of 'new' and 'old' concept. On one hand, pioneers in the usage of the term such as Glick Schiller et al. (1992) explain that 'transnationalism' emerged as a result of conceptual necessity in the context of global development and complex migration processes:

> 'Our earlier conceptions of immigrants no longer suffice... now, a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field... a new conceptualisation is needed in order to come to terms with the experience and consciousness of this new migrant population. We call this new conceptualisation 'transnationalism'' (p.1).

Indeed, this correlation between the migration complexities and apparition of 'transnationalism' is stressed by Dunn (2008): 'during the 1990s the term 'transnationalism' gained extensive currency as a way of re-conceptualizing migration and the incorporation of immigrants' (p.1).

On the other hand, some scholars argue that 'transnationalism' is not a new concept, being previously utilised with reference to the (North) American migrations. For

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example, Kivisto (2001), with respect to the conceptual evolution of term, theorizes three versions of 'transnationalism': transnationalism from the perspective of cultural anthropology, transnationalism as middle-range theory and transnationalism as immigration and transnational social spaces.

If some scholars are concerned with the etymology and conceptual newness of 'transnationalism', other scholars observe its multi-disciplinary and connotative expansion. Consequently, Al-Ali et al. (2001) point out:

> 'The emergence of transnationalism as a key field of study in inter-national migration proceeded rapidly in the latter part of the 1990s. Across a range of disciplines, academics sought to define and trace the development of transnational communities and practices, and examine the ramifications for identity and citizenship in an increasingly globalised world' (p.578).

Indeed, the inter-disciplinary usage of 'transnationalism' is recognised by other scholars. Vertovec (1999) determines the multi-disciplinary usage of the term. He draws attention to a variety of 'meanings, processes, scales and methods' (p.447) when referring to 'transnationalism'. Therefore, he proposes the following themes for a best understanding of the notion: transnationalism as a social morphology, as a type of consciousness, as a mode of cultural reproduction, as an avenue of capital, as a site of political engagement, and as a reconstruction of 'place' or locality.

Contemporarily, the concept of 'transnationalism' gained such an extensive popularity of usage that many of the scholars in the migration field are 'turning transnational' (Bailey, 2001). Indeed, Yeoh et al. (2003) suggest that: 'Studies on 'transnationalism' have recently emerged as a response to the speed and density of border-crossings between nation-states in these spatially fluid times' (p.207).

This popularity in usage presents its disadvantages as 'the term 'transnationalism' is used to describe everything under the sun, which seriously diminishes its explanatory power' (Levitt, 2001: 196). Portes (2001) certifies the existence of issues surrounding the diversity of meanings and the contextual over-use of transnationalism, advising

new typologies. Moreover, Portes et al. (1999) sustain that 'transnationalism' is still 'a highly fragmented emergent field which also lacks both a well-defined theoretical framework and an analytical rigour' (p.218). Smith and Bailey (2004) argue that there is a need to re-conceptualise the links between transnational migrants and transnationalism through the prism of production and reproduction, and they suggest a continuous flexibility of meaning. Perhaps this conceptual depreciation of 'transnationalism' can be explained by both by its relatively newness as a conceptual term, and, as Kivisto (2001) argues, by the ambiguity that characterises the concepts in the field of migration:

> 'During the past decade, transnationalism has entered the lexicon of migration scholars. As with other terms used in the study of immigration and ethnicity, this concept suffers from ambiguity as a result of competing definitions that fail to specify the temporal and special parameters of the term such as assimilation and cultural pluralism' (p.549).

Despite this conceptual duality, some scholars endeavour to attribute definitions to this concept. Therefore, transnationalism is defined in the literature as 'the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders' (Basch et al., 1994: 6).

Vertovec (2001) focuses his study on the relationship between transnationalism and identity and stresses the existence of a fundamental connection between the two dimensions. He argues that connections between transnationalism and identity are constructed through migrants' perceptions of homeland-oriented identities, and the negotiations of these identities in more than one space.

However, other studies explore the conceptual limits of transnationalism. Al-Ali et al. (2001) for example, with reference to the Bosnian and Eritrean refugees in Europe, point to the limitations of the notion of transnationalism by stressing the significance

of historical context and political and cultural interconnections and the creation of irregular transnational activities. Also, Yeoh et al. (2003), based on the notions of 'here' and 'there', suggest to focus on the 'edges' of transnationalism as sites of analysis that allow for the possibility to concentrate simultaneously on the 'groundings' that locate people in particular places as opposed to 'unmoorings' which destabilise these locations. In alignment with this, Gowricharn (2009) in his study on the second-generation Hindustanis in the Netherlands claims that transnational ties can be maintained through processes of 'ethnification'. Connections are made between what Gowricharn (2009) names 'ethnification' of the transnational community and the case study of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. Although the remaining stock of Transylvanian Saxons in Transylvania has drastically decreased, it is argued that through 'ethnification' transnational practices developed between Germany and Transylvania. Based on empirical findings, the manifestations and practices of Transylvanian Saxons as a transnational community are examined in more detail within the chapters that follow. The thesis therefore seeks to adopt a definition of transnationalism that encompasses maintaining social fields in two different national spaces that transcend state boundaries.

2.4   Cultural identity

2.4.1 Interrogating cultural identity

In a seminal paper on 'transnationalization' within studies of international migration, Faist (2000) states:

> 'There is an elective affinity between the three broad concepts to explain and describe immigrant adaptation: assimilation, ethnic pluralism and border-crossing expansion of social space, on the one hand, and the concepts used to describe citizenship and culture, on the other hand' (p.189).

Following the discussion from the previous sub-sections of the chapter, and in view of Faist's statement, it is imperative to extend the discussion within this chapter to consider the concepts of cultural identity and diaspora.

Identity can be considered as the trademark or the signature of individuals or groups (Hall, 1990). Identity can shape who we are as human beings and can reflect personal or collective features. The concept of identity has been widely discussed by scholars and attributed to different aspects of the global life, such as cultural identity, national identity, social identity or identity politics. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) suggest five uses of the notion of identity:

> 1. Identity is used at individual and collective levels for 'particularistic self-understandings';
>
> 2. Identity is used to characterise group identity, and in this case, it is ruled by 'sameness';
>
> 3. The meaning of identity as 'selfhood', personal or communal, appeals to notions of 'deep, basic, abiding or foundational';
>
> 4. As a societal or political product identity supposes a 'processual, interactive development of collective self-understanding, solidarity or groupness' which facilitate the collective activity;
>
> 5. As a product of heterogeneous discourses, identity emphasises the 'unstable, multiple, fluctuating, and fragmented nature of the contemporary "self"' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 7-8).

Although, 'identity' with its Latin etymological roots - *identitas* or *idem*- suggests a sense of being identical (Oxford English Dictionary) and perhaps motionless, contemporary scholarship has the inclination to align the studies on identity with the contexts of globalisation and transnationalism. The relationship between static-state-within the boundaries of national state and mobility-global-outside national borders

is of actuality. In the face of global and transnational relations, Taylor (1994) suggests viewing national spaces as 'leaking containers' with overflowing movements of people and capital. Indeed, Blunt (2007) observes that the latest themes in cultural geography on migration are correlated with mobility, transnationalism and diaspora and revolve mainly around 'embodied politics of mobility and immobility, network and connections between emigration and immigration countries and shaping of migrant motilities and how the latter shape cultural politics, practices and representations' (p.691). In view of these statements, the concept of identity as a static form was too 'local' for the 'global' scholarship, and so, the last decades of researchers adopted a more heterogeneous, mobile form of the notion. The relationship between identity of self and identity of others or global identity is ruled by an endless metamorphosis and reciprocity. Woodward (1997) stresses:

> 'Changes are not only taking place on global and national scales and in the political arena. Identity formation also occurs at the 'local' and personal levels' (p.21).

In line with Woodward's (1997) statement, Hall (1990) supports the metamorphosis nature of identity, proposing the need to consider two positions when thinking about cultural identity:

> 'The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture , a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other , more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common…There is, however, a second, related but different view of cultural identity. This second position recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather – since history has intervened – 'what we have become'… Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories.

But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation' (p.223-225).

Referring to cultural identity through terms of 'being' and 'becoming', as illustrated above, or through notions of 'positioned enunciation' or 'production' Hall places identity in a third space, in the space of in-betweeness of self-identity which is 'positioned', 'being' and belonging and the identity of others, local and global, which determine transformation, 'enunciation', 'becoming' and 'production'. Hall (1996), referring to the productive character of identity, argues:

> 'Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fracture; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions' (p.4).

More recently, Erol (2012) reinforces Hall's (1990) statement by describing the changing, unfinished nature of cultural identity:

> 'Cultural identity is not a solid pattern that will give us a sense of belonging to a culture or a nation but is mobile configuration continuously formed and transformed in the different forms through which we are represented in the various social systems surrounding us. The fully unified, completed, secure and coherent identity is a fantasy' (p.837-838).

If Hall (1990) discusses 'positioned enunciation' in relation to identity, Anthias (2001), still inferring identity, belonging and place, advances the argument confronted by transnationalism and hybridity and speaks about 'translocational positionality' (p.619).

By positioning the individual or the collective self in the trans-locational of other individual and collective selves, or more precisely, how some scholarship refers to the diasporic identity in the host country identity, narratives on concepts of 'sameness' and 'difference' are advanced.

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2.4.2 Cultural identity in relation to integration and assimilation

Following the above discussion on cultural identity, it is valuable to acknowledge the affinity that is built up between 'sameness' and 'difference'; as Berking (2003) states: 'cultural identities and cultural difference are more and more experienced on an everyday level, as socially constructed, which means they become consciously accessible and extremely useful as power resources in the daily struggle for social advantages' (p.256). The accord between 'sameness' and 'difference' can determinate the immigrant relationship with the dominant culture, therefore, based on levels of 'sameness' and 'difference' the immigrant can experience adaptation or assimilation.

Schneider and Crul (2010) provide descriptions for both integration and assimilation. They claim that integration is more related to the educational and labour market side of absorption into the dominant culture. Assimilation, on the other hand, refers to the levels of similarity reached by first and, subsequent, generations of immigrants in relation to the dominant culture, and refers more to the economic and social dimensions.

Considered by some scholars as the recently revived concept in the field of migration (e.g. Lamphere, 2007), assimilation can be defined, as suggested by Brubaker (2001), in two ways:

> 'In the general and abstract sense, the core meaning is increasing similarity or likeness. Not identity, but similarity. To assimilate means to become similar (when the word is used intransitively) or to make similar or treat as similar (when it is used transitively). Assimilation is thus the process of becoming similar, or of making similar or treating as similar. In the specific and organic sense, the root meaning is transitive. To assimilate something is to convert {it} into a substance of its own nature, as the bodily organs convert food into blood, and thence into animal tissue… to absorb into the system, {to} incorporate. Assimilation in this sense implies complete absorption. In the general, abstract sense, the accent is on the process, not on some final state,

and assimilation is a matter of degree. Assimilation designates a direction of change, not a particular degree of similarity. In the specific, organic sense, by contrast, the accent is on the end state, and assimilation is a matter of either /or, not of degree' (p.534).

Some other scholars understand assimilation from the point of view of geographic space. Ellis and Wright (2005) describe assimilation from this perspective:

'Spatial assimilation theory provides a guide for how immigrant geography will change over generations. Initially, it suggests that immigrants concentrate in a few locations, funnelled there by networks of family and friends. Over time, they and their children's generation will disperse away from ethnic concentrations with acculturation and economic advancement. In logical progression, third-generation descendants' should move even farther afield as socioeconomic and cultural adaptations continue' (p.15327).

Nagel (2009) suggests to regard assimilation beyond the visible patterns of similarity and difference but rather to see it as a significant process in the producing of 'sameness'. Still Nagel (2002), argues in a different paper that assimilation can contribute at the construction of 'difference' by embedding ethnic identity in the dominant culture through different cultural practices and consequently establishing a reconfiguration of the dominant culture. This is stressed by Woodward (1997) who argues that 'identity' and 'difference' are not opposites but rather, identity depends on difference which manifests through symbolic systems of representation and through forms of social exclusion.

In alignment with this, it is noted that integration and assimilation are contested notions, with changing meanings, where both migrants and host countries negotiate levels of similarity and difference. For example, migrants as well as host countries can deny/accept levels of difference and similarity by invoking discourses of integration and assimilation. This can be exemplified, in the context of this research, by Transylvanian Saxon-German dialogical relationship. Transylvanian Saxons, resort to

similarity and integration, essentially in the early stages of migration, when economic integration is targeted. Cultural concessions and searches for similarity were implemented for example through a focus on the German language as a language for family conversations and a negligence of the Transylvanian Saxon dialect. This was applied for the benefit of community, and especially of children's integration. Some Transylvanian Saxons reinforce the historical German roots when a similarity with Germany is searched. Some others acknowledge their distinct Transylvanian Saxon identity when difference is emphasised. Germany recognises the similarity with its ethnic groups from Eastern Europe based on the constitutional law, but on the other hand, they perceive the Transylvanian Saxons as different.

An example of such a unifying cohesion between two entities is provided by Wang (2007) who highlights in his study of Hakka community in the multicultural Taiwan, the dynamic and dialogical relationship between immigrant and emigrant populations. He claims that multicultural Taiwan redefines the identity, culture and citizenship of the Hakkas and the latter confer diversity and complexity to the first. Ehrkamp (2005) also argues, by presenting the case study of Turkish immigrants in Germany, that local attachments and embedded material structures can create a relationship between immigrant-place-host society and so, a new place of belonging, a new identity of place is constructed.

As the case studies above serve to illustrate, immigrants have the inclination to embed ethnicity in host society, thereby influencing the appearance of hybrid identities. Yet, before reaching the stage of embedding the identity, the 'diasporics' have feelings of identification with the immigrant group. Rutherford (1990) defines identification as 'an interchange between self and structure, a transforming process. If the object remains static, ossified by tradition or isolated by a radically changing world, if its theoretical foundations cannot address that change, then its culture and politics lose their ability to innovate. Its symbolic language can only conjure up the past, freeing us in another moment' (p.14). After identification was established, diasporics reflect their identity, as Woodward (1997) suggests, through representation:

'Representation includes the signifying practices and symbolic systems through which meanings are produced and which position us as subjects. Representations produce meanings through which we can make sense of our experience and of who we are. We could go further and suggest that these symbolic systems create the possibilities of what we are and what we can become. Representation as a cultural process establishes individual and collective identities and symbolic systems provide possible answers to the questions: who am I? what could I be? who do I want to be?' (p.14).

Representation is reflected through the lenses of cultural practices of reproduction or transformation. It can be said that music is one of the most commonly cultural practices used in performing identity. Duffy (2005) explains: 'music is significant to the geographic inquiry of place and identity as it provides a means of examining the emotions and their role in understanding why individuals feel they belong or do not belong to particular communities and groups, and the significance of space at various and multiple levels in these sonic processes' (p.690). Duffy (2005), commencing from the statement that 'music may establish order in an individual's life' (p.677), argues that music can create a bond between identity and place. However, in a multicultural environment, and he suggests a multicultural festival, identity and place unveil their heterogeneous character. He discusses this heterogeneous character further and claims that the producing and performing of music aid the construction and prominence of identity in a multicultural setting. Leonard (2005), in her study referring to the British-born second and third generations of Irish observes the employment of cultural practices, such as music and dance, in the construction of cultural. She observes that the second and third generations of Irish in Britain by employing music and dance maintain and defining their ethnicity and the belonging to a space.

Music and dance are not the only cultural practices which supply means of performing and embedding identity. Kneafsey and Cox (2002) suggest that food consumption practices can aid at the creation of identity and home. Food consumption is linked to Irish identity in three ways: family networks exchanged

foods between Ireland and Britain; the first generation Irish gained knowledge about the food right from the source, by living in Ireland before migration; the use of Irish food in remembrance of the homeland. Therefore, performing identity between two places provides identity with a dual existence. Valentine (1999) similarly suggests that food helps at the construction of identity and home. In his view, the food practices and the construction of identity from an individual household influence and are influenced by other spaces. In a study on the evolution of cultural 'taste' of Ukrainian diaspora in Britain, Forero and Smith (2010) argue that food contributes to the transmission of values between generations in diaspora. The study reveals that factors such as history, new technologies, media and multiculturalism construct and transform identity from generational point of view. The scholars observe that all generations sustain at the core the homeland traditions of food practices but the older generations are more traditionalistic in nature and strive to transmit identities through food to younger generations. The latter although sustain the homeland identity they also receive food practices of other cultures or how the authors put it, they serve the interests of their new settling country.

Tourism can be another cultural practice used by immigrants in the formation of cultural identity. Iorio and Corsale (2012) refer to the case of Transylvanian Saxon returns in Transylvania for tourism and heritage conservation purposes. By doing so, the Transylvanian Saxons constructed ambivalent notions of home and homeland and therefore ambivalent notions of identity and belonging to Transylvania and Germany.

Language is another cultural practice that serves at the reproduction of identity. Referring to the German language diaspora, Hoerder (2002) argues: 'It may be argued that heterogeneity of German-language migrants was larger than that of other groups. Ascribed or self-defined diasporic culture had to gloss over or integrate spatial, regional differentiation and the temporal gaps created by the succession of immigrant cohorts from ever-changing German political systems or regimes. Internal homogenization of the migrants within the options offered by the receiving societies created a perceived but not a lived common hyphenated post-migration Germanness' (p.33). In view of the discussion presented above this thesis proposes to explore how

'Saxoness' identity is constructed, reproduced and transformed in relation to Germanness at this age of globalisation.

In summary, this section has considered concepts of cultural identity and diaspora and assimilation through the lens of different scholars in the field of study; highlighting the interrelationship between these concepts. With this is mind, it is imperative for this study to adopt a definition of cultural identity and diaspora. In the context of this thesis, cultural identity is the new situation where a cultural identity transgresses the old cultural identity by sustaining interrelationships between its current and transforming position of diaspora with its previous and static position of diaspora, and by manifesting through a new 'historical Saxoness' in a contemporary dominant culture based on Germanness, aligning so, to the global and transnational norms of 'sameness' and 'difference'.

2.5 <u>Diaspora and diasporic return</u>

Following discussions on diaspora as a contested and paradoxical concept (see Section 2.2), and also on cultural identity and diaspora (see Section 2.4), this section explores approaches and uses of the concepts of 'diaspora' and 'return diaspora' in geographical and general scholarship. In doing so, it is pursued to capture relationships between geographies of diaspora and diasporic return, and notions such as identity, belonging and community in relation to space and place.

2.5.1 Geographies of diaspora

There is a growth of interdisciplinary interest in diaspora studies (Ni Laoire, 2003). Dealing with notions of space and place, geography contributes considerably to the study of diaspora and 'diaspora spaces' (Brah, 1996). It can be argued that geographers have persisted in their approach to diaspora studies in two main ways. As Mavroudi (2007) asserts, the first approach theorises diaspora in relation to traditional homeland-oriented identities, while the second approach focuses on

diaspora in relation to fluid and multiple identities. The latter approach stresses the negotiation of dynamic but grounded identities in relation to space and place. This point is also emphasised by Yeh (2007), who argues that identity and community are strongly connected to national locations and transnational activities. In alignment with this, Huang et al. (2000) for example, discuss the need to understand identities as unbound and in continual transformation, exemplifying this by the case of women who migrate in a new homeland and create act as 'ethnomarkers' in their negotiation and maintenance of identity.

Mavroudi (2007), in her paper on Palestinian diaspora, contends that through active strategies of politicisation, Palestinians in Athens contest diasporic identities in relation to space and place through choosing belongingness or imagined belongingness, rather than perceiving identity as a 'given'. In a different paper, Mavroudi (2008) argues that homeland-oriented politics in relation to identity or community create informal or imagined political spaces which maintain or contest identities or community by acting as factors of empowerment or disillusionment.

Dwyer (1999) also discusses the contestation of notions of community and identity by exposing the case of British Muslim women. She argues that communities and identities are positioned between the local and global - where a new imagined community based on gender is created. This imagined and gendered community acts as constructors of ambivalent communities in relation to space. She explains that for the British Muslim women Muslim community can contribute to discourses belonging, but at the same time differences with other communities in the Muslim world act creators of contested identity based on discourses of difference. Indeed, as Mavroudi (2010) asserts, notions of community become contested when those in diaspora negotiate their identity and belonging, and therefore, community can act as a unifying space, but also as a space for tensions and constructions of difference.

2.5.2 Return diaspora: contested identities and communities

An interest in return migrations can be traced to the 1960s. However, they received, until recently, only intermittent attention in migration scholarship (King, 2000). This deficiency of studies in return migrations is explained in the literature through scholar's perception that the return of migrants supposes failed migrations or the end of migratory cycles (Cessarino, 2004).

However, the complexities introduced by globalisation and transnationalism have awakened an active interest in this topic. Some scholars equate diaspora with transnationalism (Tőlőlyan, 1991). Some other scholars stress that migration implies a returning to the country of depart. Brubaker (2005), for example, attributes three features to diaspora which position diaspora in the typology of return migrations. Firstly, he asserts the dispersion of population from the country of departure. Secondly, a real or an imagined attachment to the homeland is mentioned. And finally, he proposes the feature of 'boundary-maintenance' which stresses the importance of the homeland and the necessity of 'return'. King and Christou (2011), for example, claim that a 'return' diaspora is more likely to be established based on migrants' feelings and believes in relation to the 'return' and the 'homeland', rather than in relation to statistical records.

In a different paper, King and Christou (2010) make special reference to 'return' to the ancestral home, exemplifying by the case of ethnic German 'return' to Germany. On one hand, they argue that their 'return' to the 'homeland' is a 'misnomer' as these migrants have not been to their homeland for centuries. But on the other hand, they attribute to these 'returns' the concept of 'counter-diaspora' and stress that the ancestral return aligns with the typology of return migration. This point has resonance to this thesis, and for communities such as the Transylvanian Saxons who have 'returned' to their ancestral home.

Such approaches may also explain why the focus of some studies is on 'returnees'' constructions and contestations of identity and community in the 'homeland'.

'Returnees'' identities are often viewed as being constructed and contested in relation to space and place, between 'home' and 'homeland', and therefore, suppose multiple strands of identity and belonging. This aligns with Christou and King's (2010) argument: 'the ambiguous view of 'home' (Where is it? What does it mean?) signifies that 'homecoming' is not a static state of being but a fluid process of 'becoming', a journey into spaces of selfhood' (p.644-645).

One way of understanding negotiations of identity and belonging in diaspora and/or 'return' diaspora is, as Christou (2011) stresses, to focus on 'gender performativities' and 'emotional acts'. In doing so, she reveals that Greek migrants in Denmark and 'returnees' in Greece, in their search of identity and 'homeland' 'through place-based emotional attachments' (p.249), negotiate and contest 'being' and 'becoming' in diaspora with emotions for an imagined 'homeland'. As a result, identities and belongings are seen as fluid and in-the-making (Hall, 1990). Such views emphasise the incomplete character of identities and/or collective identities in general, positioning them in boundaries of space and place. These connections between 'home' and 'homeland' not only create ambiguities and complexities in relation to identity but also, it can be stated that migrants perceive themselves to belong simultaneously to more than one homeland, or even to two or three diasporic spaces. Teerling's (2011) study on British-born Cypriot 'returnees' to Cyprus is explanatory in this sense. He goes beyond disciplinary boundaries of identity and community, of 'home' and 'belonging' of 'them' and 'us' and argues that a 'third-cultural space of belonging' is formed by components to which 'returnees' feel they belong. He claims that this new 'third-cultural space of belonging' is hybridized through 'returnees'' time, place, unity and experience have with their 'homeland' societies but at the same time it is located in Cyprus.

Christou and King (2010) argue that returnees usually compare the life they left behind in diaspora with the life in the 'homeland', and this disrupts their imagined view of the 'homeland' and can make the realities on the ground difficult or, they can view themselves or be viewed as 'strangers in their ethnic homeland' (Tsuda, 2003). This accounts for the Transylvanian Saxon case study who before 'homecoming', as

Koranyi and Wittlinger (2011) put it, perceived Germany in a romanticised way 'in terms of Goethe and Schiller' and some of the realities encountered upon return produced disillusionment. Cohen (2009), for example, argues how 'homelands' promotions of ethno-national rationale for 'returnees' masked by economic rationalism and selection of 'quality migrants' can create tensions between the 'homeland' and its 'returnees'.

In scholarship, studies on 'homecomings' present relationships between 'homelands' and 'returnees' usually from the 'returnees'' perspective. However, there are some recent studies that analyse these relationships from the 'host' country's perspective. Therefore, Ben-Porat (2011) argues that 'return' diasporas can be a product of 'homeland's needs and policies, this determines fluid relations between diaspora and 'homeland'. Therefore 'homeland' also becomes fluid by 'claims, reclaims or renounces the status of certain groups as its diasporas according to its changing needs and goals, thereby indicating its own fluidity' (p.91). Moreover, Sheffer (2010) argues that the relationships between the 'homeland' and diaspora are heterogeneous, as both 'returnees' and 'hosts' perceive themselves as different. This heterogeneity is perpetuated diasporas' attitudes of preserving identity and continuity and the 'homeland' focus on the nation's centrality when positioning themselves in relation to their diaspora.

Chapter 3: Historical background

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide the historical background for this study by focusing on Transylvanian Saxons' life prior and post-World War Two. Also, it will illuminate the Transylvanian Saxons' migration to Germany. The chapter is based on the analysis of statistical data provided by the Federal Statistical Office in Germany.

The chapter is organised into three main parts. The following section discusses the Transylvanian Saxons' historical specificities before the Second World War, from their arrival in Transylvania to their becoming one of the strongest ethnic communities in Romania. Section 3.3 provides insights into the Transylvanian Saxons' situation after the Second World War. The final section focuses on the migration processes to Germany by highlighting the numbers involved in East-West mobility from Romania to Germany, and by emphasising the polices adopted by the German state.

3.2 Transylvanian Saxons pre-Second World War

According to Cohen (1995), the migration(s) of ethnic Germans from Germany to Central and Eastern Europe originate in the 12th century and are the consequence of factors such as 'colonization and conquest of the territories, politics or religion' (Münz 2001: 7799). The colonists who arrived in Transylvania came at the invitation of King Géza II of Hungary (1141–1162) for the purpose of power consolidation, the complementation of the Hungarian population and the defence of the Hungarian kingdom and newly conquered land against other tribes (Ingrao and Szabo, 2007). The ethnic Germans migrating to Transylvania originated mainly from the areas of the rivers Rhine and Moselle, but also from other regions of Germany or even

Luxembourg (Ciobanu, 2001). Originally, the colonists who arrived in Transylvania and served at the court of the Hungarian kings received the name of *Saxones*, and subsequently, later on in history the German colonists who arrived in Transylvania were collectively named Saxons (Deletant, 1984).

Deletant (1984) suggests that the primary location occupied by the 'Saxons' upon their arrival in Transylvania was the province of Sibiu (Hermannstadt) to where they were summoned by the Hungarians. Ulterior arrivals of new settlers colonised Central Transylvania, the south-west part in the district of Unterwald, and the city of Alba Iulia (Weissenberg). Later colonised territories were the areas of Mediasch, Schelken and between the Kokel Rivers (Târnava Mică and Târnava Mare). The territories of the Burzenland (Ţara Bârsei), around Kronstadt (Braşov), were probably settled around 1211-1225. These migrations from Western Europe persisted until the 18th century when the Germanic tribes settled in another region of Romania, Banat, where they received the name of Swabs (Vernicos-Papageorgiou, 1996).

Violent attacks of Tatars and Turks were very frequent at the beginning of the 13th century. As Schonheinz (2006) states, the great battles carried against the Tatars (1241) and against the Turks (1258) motivated the Saxons to build distinctive ethnic architectural structures in Transylvania, namely the fortified churches as illustrated in figure 3-1. Later, the seven fortified churches built by the Saxons developed to strong settlements and subsequently constituted the basis of seven important cities in Romania (figure 3-2). The history of Transylvanian Saxons in Transylvania is marked by alternating periods of gaining a privileged status as a free minority and losing this privilege, which is closely linked to Romanian history (Foisel, 1936).

In 1224 the Saxons received the "Gold Freedom Charter" and they received liberties and the right to self-ruling. This independency status helped the Saxons to preserve their language, their traditions, and their identity. The Saxons remained independent under the rule of Transylvanian princes until the 16th century (Komjathy and Stockwell, 1980; Schonheinz, 2006).

Figure 3-1: Transylvanian Saxon fortified church in Biertan (Birthälm), county of Sibiu, Romania

Data source: www.siebenbuerger.de

Figure 3-2: Sibiu (Hermannstadt), Romania

Data source: www.siebenbuerger.de

The Transylvanian Saxons remained under Hungarian protection until 1848. During this period they choose to ally the Austro-Hungarian Empire, hoping that because of the ethnic resemblances they will receive further independency and privileges. Also, in 1919, in order to oppose Magyarization, the Transylvanian Saxons choose to support the reintegration of Transylvania within the Greater Romania borders. Consequently, over the period 1919-1923 in Greater Romania, the Transylvanian Saxons were able to have a 'Saxon Parliament' as the basis of the Union of Germans in Romania (Castellan, 1971). Moreover, other liberties were granted to the ethnic Germans of Romania, such as the foundation of the German newspaper 'Southeast' in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) in 1926 (O'Donnell et al., 2005). In addition to these privileges, the young Germans from Transylvania had opportunities to study in German universities during the 1920s and 1930s and upon their returning to Transylvania they brought with them the ways of the mother country (Wolff, 2000). In the 1930s census, the Saxons from Transylvania 'were divided into three groups in the districts of Sibiu, Braşov, and Bistriţa, and numbered 237,000 people forming 8.2% of the population, after Romanians (58%) and Hungarians (29%)' (Castellan, 1971). The variety of names given to villages and towns in Transylvania stresses the existence of a large diversity of ethnic minorities. The German name for Transylvania is *Siebenbürgen* (seven cities), the Hungarian name for Transylvania is *Erdély*, but the Latin derivation of 'land beyond the forest' prevails (McArthur, 1981: 5).

This ethnic complexity existent in Transylvania manifests also at the level of ethnic Germans groups living in Romania. For instance, Komjathy and Stockwell (1980) argue:

> 'The official Romanian statistics (1930) referring to all German-speaking groups living in Romania as 'Germans' creates the impression that Germans were a united, homogeneous ethnic group. In reality the 'Germans' were made up of easily distinguishable groups whose land of origin, history, tradition, and geographic location created differences in lifestyle, occupation, religious affiliation, political views, culture, and sometimes even in language since different groups spoke different dialects' (p.105).

Consequently, the scholastic literature recognises various ethnic Germans groups in Romania. However, the Saxons settled in Transylvania and the Swabs settled in Banat are the most prominent groups. The Swabs received their name after colonization and settlement in Banat and parts of Hungary during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780). Other ethnic German groups which can be remembered are: the Germans settled in the regions of Bukovina and Moldavia, in Northern Romania, which arrived much later in the 18th century; the Zipsers which colonised the counties of Satu Mare and Maramureş in Northern Romania in the 13th century. Other groups included the Germans of Bessarabia, the Germans settled in Dobrugea, Sathmar Swabians in the county of Satu Mare and the Landler in Southern Transylvania (Koranyi, 2008; Komjathy and Stockwell, 1980).

During the Vienna agreement (1940) Transylvania was split and the northern part was annexed to Hungary and the southern part remained to Romania. Hence the lands occupied by the Transylvanian Saxons were divided and many of the Transylvanian Saxons become citizens of Hungary and they faced an intense process of Magyarization (Stola, 1992). Moreover, according to Münz (2001) during the period 1930-1940 the ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe were resettled in Germany or in the former Soviet Union as a consequence of Nazi and Stalinist regimes.

3.3 Transylvanian Saxons' 'return' to Germany

The number of international migrants increased significantly in the past decades. Andreescu and Alexandru (2007) assert that the number of international migrants who chose to live outside their own country for more than one year increased from 82 million to 200 million over the period 1970-2005. The significant numbers of migrants at the beginning of 21st century requires a varied typology of migrants and, as King (2002) suggests, 'the types of migration and movement observable today blur the distinction between the migratory dyads, turning them into continua and mixing

them up into new matrices and combinations rather than preserving them as readily identifiable polar types' (p.94).

In terms of the movement trajectory, it can be asserted that the international migration in Europe was characterized since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution through a very definite pattern East-West. If in the beginning these movements of people had mainly economic incentives, there were other ulterior motivations, such as ethnicity. Naturally, Central and Eastern Europe had the most important contribution to the East-West pattern (Okolski, 2000).

It is observed that the emigrational movement of Transylvanian Saxons in Europe had a two way trajectory, a historical one with the pattern West-East and a contemporary one with the pattern East-West (Koser, 2007). It is argued that the motivational aspects behind the historical stream are revolving mainly around the economic factors and the freedom status.

In the beginning of 1945 the emigrational stream had the opposite direction, East-West. This emigrational stream was to be firmly settled on the European emigrational scene for decades and also, the motivations behind this well-established pattern were very varied in nature. During this period the migration movements had forceful character and not a motivational one. Consequently, in the aftermath of the Second World War the Transylvanian Saxon movements from Eastern and Central Europe to Germany were formed by expellees and refugee.

Since 1949 with the introduction of the German Basic Law the emigrational movements had a character of unity, Germany gathering all the ethnic Germans remained between the borders of the 1937 Reich. These unity movements continued in 1959 with introduction of the German ethnic law which was applicable to all Germans citizens outside Western Germany. In this context, there is a continuation of East-West migration in Europe during this period and the most representatives typologies of migration are the family reunification and the 'ethnic affinity migration' (Brubaker, 1998).

The unity movements expanded until 1978 when a new influx East-West was developed from Romania to Western Germany. This influx of migration was the result of the agreement between the German Chancellor Schmidt and Ceausescu to resettle ethnic Germans from Romania to Western Germany. This agreement contributed to the maintenance and continuation of the East-West migration of ethnic Germans.

The pattern East-West migration of ethnic Germans in Europe continued also after the fall of the Iron Curtain through the opening of barriers between Eastern and Western Europe. The opening of the Iron Curtain borders permitted the intensification and the completeness of the ethnic German migration from the East to West. Indeed, as Salt (2003) states 'the lifting of the Iron Curtain heralded increases in migration flows both within and from the region. One estimate is that in the early 1990s the annual average number of officially recorded net migrations from Central and Eastern European countries to western countries was around 850,000' (p.13).

In Europe the 1990s migration was characterized through a new form of immigration, the transnational migration, described by Andreescu and Alexandru (2007) as migrations in which the 'migrants often interact and identify with multiple nation-states and/or communities, and that their practices contribute to the development of transnational communities or new types of social formations within a transnational social space' (p.4).

Since the 1990s the East-West pattern of migration acknowledge an interruption and a new form of circular and temporary movements developed. The most significant category of migrants in this period was the economic migrants. So, as Koser (2007) states 'the migration of ethnic Germans from Transylvania to Germany in the early 1990s has also become a circulatory movement with periods of work in Germany interspersed with living back in Romania' (p.9).

In 2000-2002, according to Salt (2003) Romania was still among the countries of Europe with loses of populations due to emigration and natural decrease and with

tendencies to migrate to the EU states. On the other hand, Germany was still among the European countries with gain of populations due to immigration.

The European Union enlargement in 2007 determined the openness of barriers between East and West and provoked a change in the fact that the citizens from Eastern Europe were allowed to enjoy a free movement as the West European migrants (Favell, 2008). Also Favell (2008) argues that 'East European migrants are in fact regional 'free movers'' not immigrants and, with the borders open they are more likely to engage temporary circular and transnational mobility' (p.703). Similarly, King (2002) states that in the actual EU migration 'migrants become *stagiaires*, interposing migrations and journeys with periods spent sojourning and working in a variety of destinations' (p.101).

The status of ethnically privileged migrants in post-war German constitution, the ethnic and cultural discrimination in Transylvania were on one hand strong push factors for migration. On the other hand, the ethnic affiliation to Germany was strong pull factor for the migration of ethnic Germans. Network theorists argue that immigration starts for different reasons, including ethnic discrimination and economic gains (Dietz, 1999). Also, the causes of immigration of ethnic Germans after the Second World War could be considered as a mix between political, social and economic factors (Jones, 1990a).

Dietz (1999) recognises the neoclassical migration theory of economic migrants in the recent immigration of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, but at the same time she sustains that the movement of ethnic Germans towards the homeland is because the ethnicity reasons are stronger. According to Dietz (1999) the migration networks facilitated and sustained the process of migration and integration of ethnic Germans. Similarly, Bauer and Zimmermann (1997) argue that the network migration constitute the decision factor in migration. Hence, using networks of migration the migrants are more likely to migrate because of the relatives or friends in the receiving country give help consisting financial support or accommodation. They state that the Transylvanian Germans seem to have a stronger attachment to family and friends

than ethnic Germans come from Eastern Germany, and consequently they are using the migrant networks intensively. The use of migrant networks also permits the successful integration of ethnic Germans in the labour markets (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1997). The network migrations are defined as 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and no migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. The network migrations increase the likelihood of international movements because they lower the costs and risk of movement and increase the expected net returns of migration' (Massey et al., 1993: 448).

Jones and Wild (1992) recognize that the movement of Romanian Saxons is directed into South Germany, particularly in Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg. The statistical data provided by the Federal Statistical Office allowed me to analyse the present spatial distribution of Romanians and Germans in the German Federal States.

As Connor (2007) states, after the First World War there were 7 million ethnic Germans who because of the redistribution of borders lived outside Germany. These 7 million constituted the stock for flight and expulsion since 1944. However, as Romania was an ally of Germany until 1944, the agreement between the Nazi regime and Antonescu facilitated the removal of some ethnic Germans from Romania and their recruitment in the Nazi army; half of them did not return after the end of the war. In 1945, the Soviet Red Army was advancing towards Romania and the well-known atrocities against ethnic Germans due to Nazi politics were recognized. So, 100,000 refugees of ethnic German ancestry from Romania fled to Germany (Connor, 2007). From those left behind it is estimated that 80,000 ethnic Germans from Transylvania and Banat were deported to the Soviet labour camps in Siberia (Connor, 2007; Wolff, 2000; O'Donnell et al., 2005; Ther and Siljak, 2001).

After the end of the Second World War the mobility of ethnic Germans from Romania to Germany was made in two significant stages. Münz (2001) differentiates the following stages in the migration of ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe

to the Federal Republic: the immediate post-war period (1945-1948) and the stage during 1950-1999.

The ethnic cleansing can be defined simply as forced displacement of populations from a country towards the country with the same ancestral heritage. In this case the ethnic cleansing of ethnic Germans was made in great majority from 'regions which had been part of the German Reich but also from who had never belonged to the Reich Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia' (Ahonen, 2003: 15).

The intense wave of migration which began at the end of 1944 and finished in the early 1950s was formed of ethnic Germans expellees and involved between 12 and 15 million persons. As a consequence of general hatred against the German populations due to the Nazi regime and atrocities made during the World War Two, The Allies, the USA, the former Soviet Union and the UK, agreed at the Potsdam Conference (1945) to remove the Germans from Central and Eastern Europe into the Allied Zones of Occupation. The ethnic German population were removed mainly from Poland and Check Republic. According to Münz and Ohliger (1998) 'Romania did not engage in any systematic expulsions of its remaining 400,000 of ethnic German citizens' (p.158).

The next stage in the migration of ethnic Germans extends during a larger period of time during 1950-1999. The first period of migration after 1950s was due to the Basic Law of immigration which the German state evoked in 1953. At the beginning of 1978, Ceausescu made an agreement with Chancellor Schmidt to allow a quota of 12,000 ethnic Germans annually for the amount of 8,000DM per ethnic German to leave Romania (Wolff, 2000).

After the fall of the Iron Curtain in Europe, the influx of ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe to Germany increased dramatically. The flow of ethnic Germans from Romania during this period was the most significant from the entire process of migration to Germany. In Romania, the great wave of emigration from 1989 to 1992 reduced drastically the number of ethnic Germans from Transylvania and Banat. In

1999, an approximate number of 60,000 ethnic Germans were still living in Romania, a great difference from 800, 000 in the 1930s and 400,000 in the immediate post-war period (Münz, 2001; Wolff, 2000). Although relatively insignificant in total numbers, the remaining ethnic Germans in Romania tried to organize themselves and formed groups with same interests like The Democratic Forum of Germans which functions until the present day. Equally, an article from The Economist (1999) states also the Transylvanian tragedy that occurred in the last decades. This states that this mass migration which occurred in the last half of century did not have as a result only the disappearance of the ethnic German population from Romania but had also repercussions on the ethnic heritage left behind.

The statistical data does not provide information referring to ethnic Germans from Transylvania in particular. For this reason it is not possible to differentiate between the ethnic Germans from Transylvania and those from Banat or other areas from Romania who migrated in Germany. However, the data shows that from the total of 6,744,879 foreign populations living in Germany in 2007, 5,376,612 were Europeans and 84,584 were Romanians. Comparing the data provided by Jones and Wild (1992) of ethnic German spatial concentration in Germany in the 1990s with those existing in 2007 some strong resemblances appear. The Romanian presence in Germany in 2007 still dominates the Federal States of Bayern with 24,728 Romanians, Baden-Wurttemberg with 19, 722, Nordrhein-Westfalen with a 13, 942 Romanians and Hessen with 8,598 Romanians . In addition, it can be observed that the Romanians represent 2% of local population in four Federal States, Bayern, Baden-Wurttemberg, Sachsen-Anhalt and Thüringen. The worst represented federal states concerning the Romanian presence are Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Bremen, Thüringen, Sachsen-Anhalt and Saarland.

The statistical data provided by the Federal Statistical Office allows me to analyse the entrance of ethnic Germans in Germany during the period 1954-2007 by sex. Also the statistical data allows me to do a distinction between the categories of migrants entered in Germany in the same period 1954-2007 by nationality (figure 3-3).

Figure 3-3: Migration among ethnic Germans and Romanians 1954-2007
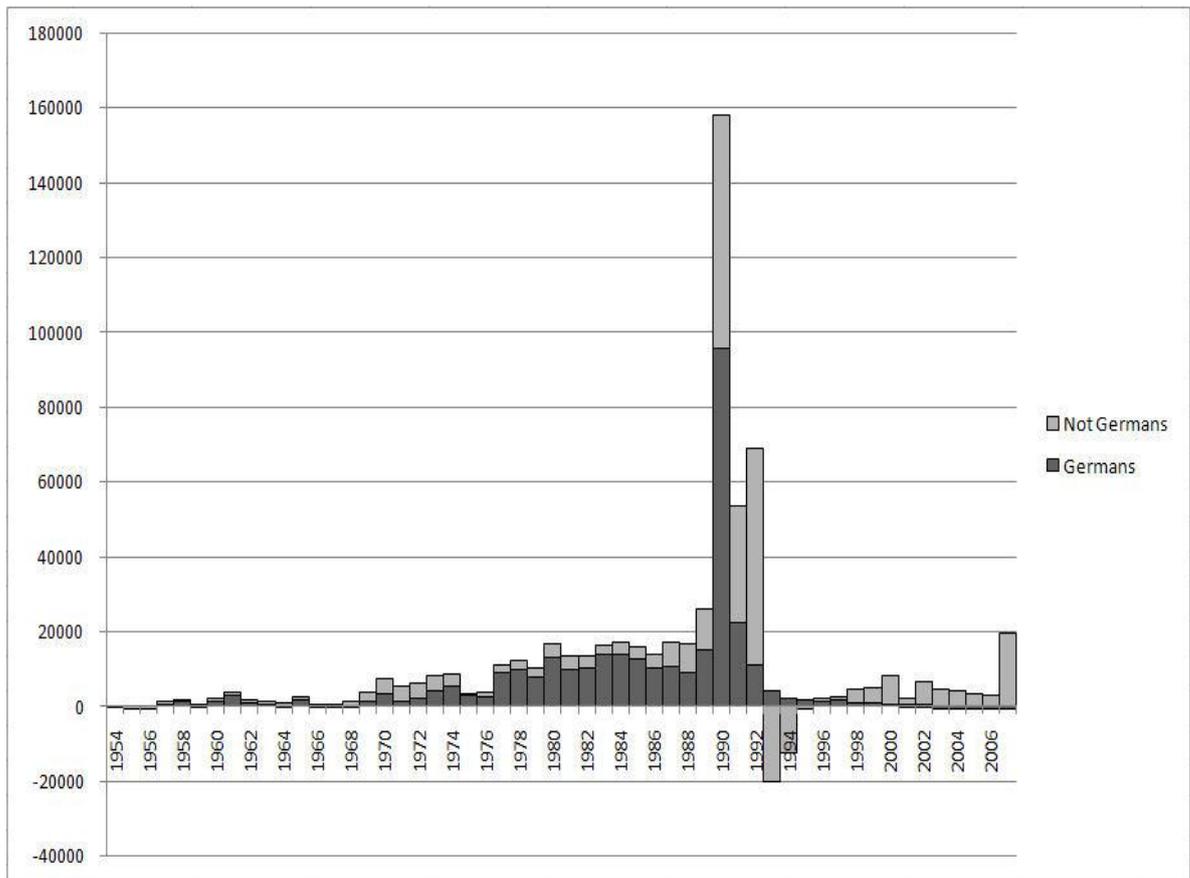
Data source: Federal Statistical Office, Germany

The data reveals that the migrants from Romania which move to Germany were in their great majority ethnic Germans until 1968. It is observed that during the period 1954-1968 the migration of ethnic Germans shows fluctuations. The inflow of ethnic Germans registered an increase in the period 1957-1962, excepting 1959, when the total ethnic Germans inflow decreases. Similarly, the influx of German immigrants from Romania to Germany remained low during the period 1963-1968. Since 1980 the influx of ethnic Germans increased up to more than 10,000 per year due to the Ceausescu-Schmidt agreement. The peak migration of ethnic Germans from Romania to the homeland is in 1990s when the inflow reaches an impressionable 95,843 after the fall of the communist regime and the opening of barriers to Western Europe. As Wolff (2000) argues the reason for this great wave of migration was that 'the common perception among minority members in 1990s was that a window of

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opportunity had been opened that should be used as quickly as possible (because no changes were foreseen in Romanian society and because of Romanian nationalism had erupted in Transylvania, strong tensions between the Hungarians and the Romanian nationalists' (p.138).

In the period 1993-1998 the ethnic German immigration from Romania to Germany registers a decrease but the values of inflow are still high up to 4,310 in 1993. Between 1998 until the year of provided data 2007 the inflow of ethnic Germans to Western Germany decreases dramatically up to a negative value of inflow in 2007. With respect to the migration of Romanians to Germany the situation presents quite the opposite. The values of inflows of Romanians to Germany were insignificant until 1968. Over the period 1969-1986 the inflow of migrants from Romania to Germany increased with annual values between 2,000 and 4,000 excepting 1975 when only 159 individuals choose to migrate. During the period 1989-1997 the inflows of migrants from Romania to Germany show a great diversification with significant values in the post-revolutionary years and with negative values to the middle of decade. Since 1998 until 2007 the inflow of Romanian migrants shows a progressive increase comparative with the flows of ethnic Germans for the same period. As Andreescu and Alexandru (2007) argues the high influx of Romanians to Western Europe and in particular to Germany is a consequence of a well-established transnational space in which the movement of economic migrants is as common as the movement of capital and information. Similarly, Bauer and Zimmermann (1997) states that the uses of migration networks had positive consequences over the integration of ethnic Germans from the point of view of wages gained. They observe that the ethnic Germans from Romania due to their good knowledge of German language had better chances to be employed comparatively with ethnic Germans from Poland or Soviet Union. They state that the occupational structures of the *Aussiedler* differ. The *Aussiedler* who migrated before 1989 had as main occupational structure the industrial and craft services, meanwhile those who migrated after 1989 where mainly farmers. Employment in farming saw a continuing increase from 1989, reaching from 4, 0% in 1988 to more than double the valour in 1996 8, 4% (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1997; Münz and Ohliger, 2000).

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Apparently, even after the EU enlargement, the east migrants still have problems in finding well-paid jobs and also in the low labour market although they are not unskilled or uneducated (Favell, 2008).

3.4   <u>The policies surrounding the migration of ethnic Germans</u>

A significant number of scholars in the field of migration presented interest along the years concerning the migration processes of ethnic German (Rock and Wolff, 2002; Zimmermann, 1995). It is observed that there is a recurrent pattern in the scholastic literature, when discussing research studies about ethnic German immigrants, to include the policy changes surrounding their migration. Thus, the literature in the field does not lack by any means a substantial material relating to the policy changes implemented by the German government.

In the aftermath of the Second World War Germany faced significant waves of migrants that arrived from Eastern and Central Europe. The most significant waves arrived as a consequence of ethnic cleansing (12,000,000 people) after the Potsdam Conference (1945).

The foundation of Federal Republic of Germany in 1949 determined the German state to gather the ethnic Germans existent in Eastern Europe on German territories with the boundaries established in 1937. Consequently, as Münz (2001) states 'in 1953 the Federal Law concerning Refugees and Expellees (*Bundesfluchtlings und Vertriebenengesetz*) was extended to the constitutional Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*)' (p.7801). This law permitted the extension of citizenship in order to include the ethnic Germans who remained on the territories of Central and Eastern Europe after the ethnic cleansing. The new law 'covered the forcibly displaced Germans (*Heimatvertriebenen*), the returning emigrants who had left Germany during the Nazi-regime, the refugees from the Soviet occupied zone and finally the *Aussiedler*' (Groenendijk, 1997). The ethnic Germans who migrated to the Federal Republic of

Germany from Central and Eastern Europe came mainly from countries like Romania (see figure 3-4), Poland, or the former Soviet Union.

Figure 3-4: Changing geographies of Transylvanian Saxons
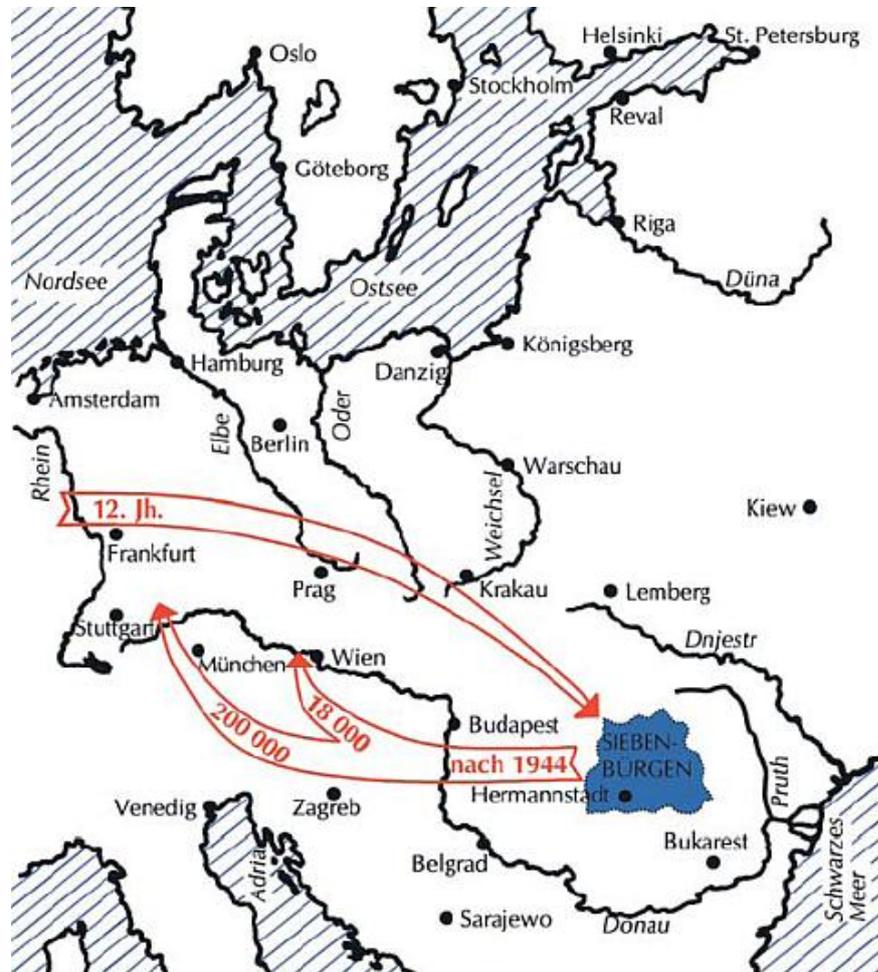
Data source: www.siebenbuerger.de

The term of '*Aussiedler*' (German re-settler) was initially attributed to the ethnic Germans in 1957 and described 'a member of the German nation, who has professed his (her) 'Germanness' in his (her) homeland' (Münz, 2001: 7801).

In the first stage of immigration to Germany the ethnic Germans received preferential treatment and support. The rights offered to ethnic Germans as new citizens by the Federal Republic of Germany included: housing, the reimbursing of amounts spent on

travel or passports, amounts of money for starting businesses, professional training and language courses, recognition of diplomas (Jones and Wild, 1992; Groenendijk, 1997).

The Basic Law remained unchanged and absorbed and integrated the ethnic German immigrants until 1980's. However, in the case of Romania the situation was different. The German government wanted to help the ethnic Germans to migrate from Socialist Romania to Germany. After the Schmidt-Ceausescu agreement (1978), over the period 1978-1988 the Federal Republic paid the Romanian Communist regime exorbitant amounts of money per ethnic German allowed to leave Romania and migrate to Germany (Ohliger and Turliuc, 2003).

Upon arrival in Germany, the German state controlled the quota of repatriates allocated to each Federal state which approximated to the Federal State share of the total population (Jones and Wild, 1992).

With the significant flows of ethnic German immigrants after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the German state confronted with complaints, hostile attitudes among the host populations and economic problems due to the fall of Berlin Wall. Indeed, as Zimmermann (1999) suggests, the German state had to tighten the acceptance policy of ethnic Germans. Consequently, after 1989 the more significant and numerous changes were made in the German policy. The German state effectuated reductions in the budget allocated to integration programmes and starting with 1990's some other measures were imposed in order to control the immigration of ethnic repatriates. The ethnic Germans were asked to fill in applications from the mother land in order to come to Germany. The methods of acceptance of German lineage were also restricted. Moreover, starting with 1992 an annual quota of ethnic Germans allowed to enter the country was imposed. The annual quota of ethnic German accepted was 200,000 per German State (Bauer and Burkner, 1998). In addition, individuals born after 1992 were restricted to apply for the status of German citizenship.

The introduction of the language test in 1993 was more appropriate for ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union who dominated the migration in Germany after 1990 and who had poor German skills. Usually the ethnic Germans from Romania were fluent in German and Romanian. Moreover, as Schupbach (2009) states the language test used in establishing knowledge of German language of migrants consisted in simple conversation on topics like work or family and the use of dialects was encouraged. Yet, the language test was not a professional test and reliability was often susceptible of criticism. The ethnic German immigrants from Romania possessed an acceptable level of German language. Thus, there is the possibility that their migration to the Federal republic was not very much affected by the introduction of the language testing. Furthermore, the migration of ethnic Germans from Romania was nearly completed process at this period of time due to a 'natural end of the influx' (Zimmermann, 1999).

In 1996, as Groenendijk (1997) states that the ethnic repatriates were offered housing in strategic places in order to spread their spatial distribution and to ease the burden of the German States because of having received too many repatriates. Moreover, in the same year the Residence Assignment Act (*Wohnortzuweisungsgesetz*) was released. This new law stipulates that the ethnic Germans have to live in the first two years in the Federal state where they were distributed in order to ease the burden of some federal states (Bauer and Burkner, 1998). In 1999, the German government decided to give up convincing ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe to migrate to Germany but instead provided money to their governmental institutions in their countries. For instance, in Romania the support was concentrated towards aid programs for the ethnic communities in the social work area (O'Donnell et al., 2005).

The measures mentioned above used to control the inflow of ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe had limited effect on the Romanian Saxons. As Groenendijk (1997) argues, 'the immigration of *Aussiedler* from Romania and the number of applications for registration certificates had already decreased considerably before the further restrictions in the *Aussiedler* legislation entered into

force in 1993. Almost all ethnic Germans that were able and willing to leave Romania had left before the new legislation could stop them' (p.474).

3.5 **Transylvanian Saxons' distinct identity**

The following section supports this thesis' argument that over 850 years of cultural influences in the Balkan attributed distinct cultural features to the Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity. Therefore, this thesis briefly outlines the historical reasons that contributed to the development of a distinct Transylvanian Saxon identity in Transylvania.

Historical sources mention the Transylvanian Saxons' elite standing in Transylvania until late 18th century. This began with their status of newcomers as colonisers in Transylvania and the receipt of the Golden Charter of Transylvanian Saxons (1224) and continued with their organization in *Königsboden (*Saxon Seats) in the 14th century and concluded with the political organization of the *Sächsische Nationsuniversität* (1486). The elite standing, along with the Hungarians and the Szeklers, conferred them autonomous organization, political power and the status of bourgeoisie. On one hand, this privileged status determined the maintenance and consolidation of the Transylvanian Saxon identity for centuries. On the other hand, contact with other privileged classes added the first different cultural attributes.

The loss of the elite standing began during the reign of Joseph II (1741-1790) who pursued political power in Transylvania and reduced the Transylvanian Saxon community to the status of minority. The status exposed them to vulnerability and predisposition to the influences of other political powers. Therefore, historical sources assert that during the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Hungary engaged in a strong politics of Magyarisation which manifested itself in an attempt of including Romanians and Germans in the Hungarian kingdom (Bucur and Costea, 2009).

Despite historical and political influences, Transylvanian Saxons endeavoured to maintain a homeland oriented identity in diaspora. This can be exemplified by scholarship's assertions that, in the beginning of the 20th century, Transylvanian Saxons sent their children to study or to be apprenticed in Germany (Livezeanu, 1995), bringing back to Transylvania the ways of the motherland. However, through history, relationships between diaspora and homeland have not always been in favour of Transylvanian Saxon identity preservation. For example, Cercel's (2011) study on the Transylvanian Saxons' relation to religion and national identity is representative. He claims that Transylvanian Saxons' links with Germany during the period 1933-1944 determined a social radicalization through processes of 'Nazification' which lessened the identification of the Transylvanian Saxon community with the church as the main German identity marker. Although, the place was taken by other identity markers, such as ethnicity or language, secularisation of religion as a primordial unifier agent was detrimental for the Transylvanian Saxon identity and community in Transylvania. Moreover, according to Korkut (2006), during the interwar period and later under the communist regime, Transylvanian Saxons together with other ethnics such as Hungarians and Jews were perceived as threatening for the concept of Romanian-ness. Therefore, Transylvanian Saxons confronted also ideas of Romanian nationalism. In his study about Romanian-Hungarian-German cultural interferences in Transylvania, Kroner (1974) asserts that characteristics of these cultures have become manifest in different areas, from architecture, to language or textile industry.

In conclusion, it is contended that the distinctness of Transylvanian Saxon identity in Romania developed in two main ways. Firstly, there was the diasporic relationship with the German culture and its endeavours in maintaining and constructing a homeland-oriented identity. Secondly, there were the local, historical and cultural interferences which inevitably have influenced the Transylvanian Saxons as an integral part of multi-ethnic Transylvania.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

4.1 <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter provides a discussion of the methodologies employed for this study. Prior to a discussion of the methodologies, it is valuable to outline the main aim and objectives of the thesis. As previously noted in Chapter 1, the overall aim of this research is:

- To explore the cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of post-migratory lives of Transylvanian Saxons, and to examine how the meanings of these dimensions have changed across generations of migrants in Bavaria and Baden Württemberg.

The aim is addressed through five objectives. The first objective is to examine the life circumstances of Transylvanian Saxons before migration to Germany with a focus on education, work and cultural traditions. The second objective analyses the Transylvanian Saxons' motivations of migrating to Germany and explores their experiences with the process of migration. The Transylvanian Saxons' life experience and integration in Germany after migration are considered as the third objective. The fourth objective explores the relationship of the Transylvanian Saxons living in Germany with their homeland in Romania. Finally, the fifth objective investigates the preservation of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and cultural heritage in Germany.

As Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) assert, the use of mixed-method research designs helps to overcome limitations which may arise when using one research method. Also, Hammersley (1996) proposes three approaches to mixed-methods research: triangulation, facilitation and complementarity. The triangulation approach implies the use of quantitative research to corroborate qualitative research findings (Bryman,

2008). This research utilised the triangulation approach and corroborated the qualitative research findings with the use of quantitative research.

Therefore, the objectives of this study were addressed through several research methods. Firstly, a scoping visit was effectuated in Germany at the beginning of this study for networking and for gaining primary understanding about the case study location. Secondly, statistical data was obtained from the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (Federal Statistical Office) in Germany. The aim of the statistical data was to gain insights of the Transylvanian Saxon migration flows from Romania to Germany, significant for addressing the second objective of this research. Thirdly, literature and other materials were collected as part of several research stays in Germany, and they were used to obtain contextual information referring to the Transylvanian Saxons' life circumstances in Transylvania, processes of migration to Germany, and their post-migration integration in Germany. Fourthly, semi-structured interviews were conducted in Germany. They constituted the main body of research, and therefore, they were employed to address all five research objectives. Finally, participant observation and visual methods were employed at the Transylvanian Saxon annual assembly in Dinkelsbühl. The participant observation and visual methods were adopted to explore the preservation of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and cultural heritage in Germany.

Firstly, the chapter discusses aspects concerning the collection and analysis of secondary data. The primarily research stage consisted in obtaining secondary data, namely statistical data from the Federal Statistical Office (*Statistisches Bundesamt*) in Germany. Secondly, the chapter focuses on the gathering of empirical data and describes the utilisation of semi-structured interviews and participant observation. An interview sample is also provided for illustration. Thirdly, the discussion considers ethical and risk issues encountered throughout the research. Finally, the chapter provides the researcher's reflections upon the research process in order to complete the image of this research project.

4.2 Research methods

4.2.1 Secondary data

This section specifies various secondary data sources used in this research and the advantages that arose as consequence. The first part of the section discusses one of the most popular forms of secondary data used in research, the statistical resources. The second part of the section explores various qualitative secondary data used in the project.

4.2.1.1 Statistical resources

Clark (2005) defines secondary data as information that has already been collected by others and is available for researchers to use. There is a variety of secondary data available to use in research, but it is known that the statistical resources are the most widely used. The reason behind this is that the secondary data, and implicitly statistical resources, are 'factual in nature', and they can be attributed at a simplistic and contextual level of utility, such as providing descriptive characteristics of place, space or people (White, 2010: 63). On the other hand, statistical resources, and secondary data in general, are socially constructed, shaped by 'the emphases and biases of their generation and the interests of powerful social groups' (Hoggart et al., 2002: 79). In the context of this thesis, this is, in part, exemplified via the construction of data by the German Federal Statistics, with the purpose of ethnicity concealment and integration, to offer only data about the people movements from Romanian to Germany without specific reference to Transylvanian Saxons or Banat Swabs.

In order to establish the magnitude of population movements between Romania and Germany, it was necessary to gain access to statistical material. A second purpose in gathering this data was to pin down the territorial distribution of the foreign population who migrated from Romania to Germany.

With this in mind, I contacted the Federal Statistical Office in Germany via email and I made enquiries about the possibility of obtaining statistical data related to the Transylvanian Saxons who migrated to Germany from Romania over the period 1945-2009. The rationale behind choosing this time span when enquiring after census data, emanated from same preliminary findings during the early stages of research. The Federal Statistical Office responded to my request and statistical data was provided via email. The statistical resources received from the Federal Statistical Office included the following:

> Tables referring to the migration of foreign population to Germany by citizenship which included also data about the Romanians who came in Germany from 1967 to 2008 (*Lange Reihe Auslaender nach Staatsangehoerigkeiten 1967-1980*; *Lange Reihe Auslaender nach Staatsangehoerigkeiten 1971-1984*; *Lange Reihe Auslaender nach Staatsangehoerigkeiten 1985-1999*; *Lange Reihe Auslaender nach Staatsangehoerigkeiten 1991-2005; Zeitreihe Stang Geschl 2000-2008*).

> Census data about the ethnic repatriates who came to Germany from 1950 to 2008 (*Spätaussiedler und deren Angehörige 1950-2008*)

> Tables referring to migration in Germany, and also a document containing explanations about the statistics realised by the Federal Statistical Office (*Lange Reihe ab 1954-2007 Staatsangehörigkeit-Insgesamt, Männlich, Weiblich; Lange Reihe ab 1962-2007 Rumänien; Erläuterungen zur Wanderungsstatistik*).

As mentioned above, the Federal Statistical Office in Germany was able to provide rich statistical data about the foreign population who entered in Germany, but, regrettably, there was no possibility of providing statistical data specifically referring to the Transylvanian Saxon movements. It was not possible to gather statistical data delimitations between the Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabs who moved in Germany during this period. Consequently, there were limitations in the statistical

data provided, and so, it was impossible for the researcher to establish clear delimitations among the exodus of people who left Romania to Germany after 1950.

The analysis of the statistical data allowed insights into movements between Romania and Germany. The delimitation between the ethnic Germans and Romanians who left Romania to Germany during this period was also an outcome of the analysis. Moreover, the analysis allowed delimitation by gender between the two categories of immigrants. Through the statistical data provided I was able to establish the spatial distribution of the foreign people coming from Romania and settled in different German Federal States.

Following the analysis of the statistical data it was revealed that the Federal States of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg have the highest concentrations of foreign population who came from Romania during the period 1954-2007, with proportions of 2% in both Federal States. This finding was also confirmed unofficially by the Transylvanian Saxon Association in Munich. The association was not able to provide a detailed statistical data about the migration of the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. However, this finding from the statistical data illuminated the spatial position of the foreign populations coming from Romania and the higher possibility of encountering strong ethnic German communities in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. Reaching this conclusion was beneficial for the next stage of the research process, the semi-structured interviews; identifying the appropriate case study locations for the interviews.

4.2.1.2 Qualitative secondary resources

As discussed in the previous sub-section, the statistical data was one form of secondary data used in this research. Along with the statistical data, I was able to collect other forms of secondary data, namely visual data and bibliographic material. The visual material consisted in photography, newspapers, film, flyers and booklets among others. The archival resources I have collected consisted mainly of photography. I also gathered bibliographic material in Romanian, English, and fewer

in German. The secondary data, noted above, was gathered during the period 2009-2010 when several visits to Germany were effectuated. Initially, I performed searches on the Internet in order to find key information about the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany, such as key organisations, institutions or locations.

The first visit was under the form of a scoping visit and was effectuated with the aim of networking with the Transylvanian Saxon community in Germany and familiarise with their institutions which I had considered significant in the early stages of research. During the scoping visit, I met representatives of this community in the following locations:

➢ Munich-I presented myself and my research project and I networked with key people at the Transylvanian Saxon Association (*Verband der Siebenbürger Sachsen in Deutschland*) and the Institute for German culture and history in South-Eastern Europe *(Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas*).

➢ Gundelsheim/Neckar-I visited the Transylvanian Saxon Museum (Siebenbürgisches Museum), Transylvanian Saxon Institute, which accommodates a library and a photo-archive (*Siebenbürgen Institute*), and the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home accommodated by the Horneck Castle (*Schloß Horneck-Heimathaus Siebenbürgen*).

➢ Frankfurt-I met two representatives of the Transylvanian Saxons in Frankfurt at 'Harvey's Café' in order to find information about the Transylvanian Saxon community in Frankfurt.

In terms of secondary analysis the following steps were undertaken. Statistical data obtained from the Statistical Office in Germany was introduced in Excel spread sheet under the following categories: foreign population in Germany by citizenship and German Federal state, migration in Germany among Romanians and Germans during the period 1954-2007 and migration of Romanians and Germans by sex and data was calculated. Also, from the array of material gathered during research stays in

Germany, the selection and use of this material was to capture the key points of concern expressed in the thesis.

4.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

This section discusses the use of semi-structured interview as the master method in gathering data for this research project. Firstly, the section begins with identifying the interview sample. Secondly, some of the benefits in utilising the semi-structured interview as a research method are considered. Finally, the interview practices and the challenges encountered in the field are discussed.

4.2.2.1Interview sample and access

The purposive sample approach is utilised when 'the researcher samples on the basis of wanting to interview people who are relevant to the research questions' (Bryman, 2008: 458). Consequently, it was natural for this research to adopt the purposive sample approach as the target population for the semi-structured interviews were to be the members of the Transylvanian Saxon community in Germany. Moreover, I aimed to conduct semi-structured interviews with three age groups: 20-40 years old, 40-60 years old and over 60 years old, with the intention to describe the change of the four dimensions from one generation to another. A variety of strategies were employed when selecting the interview participants. In theory, my initial intention was to recruit the participants by advertising in the Transylvanian Saxon newspaper which circulates in Germany. However, in practice I utilised ultimately different strategies.

The highest proportions of the interview participants were recruited through the 'snowball' sampling (Valentine, 2005). My initial contacts were in some instances members of the family, and in some others, contacts from the Transylvanian Saxon Association in Munich, which I made acquaintance with during my scoping visit. The first initial contact identified names of some potential participants and, in agreement with the participants, I arranged a time and convenient location for the interview. The

second initial contact assisted in organising some of the interviews and offered an interview room in the Transylvanian Saxon Association. This second initial contact, himself a member of the Transylvanian Saxon community, also helped to identify a network of contacts by providing some personal details of other potential participants, or by establishing links with the Transylvanian Saxons in the *Heimat Haus* in Nurnberg and Stuttgart. In some occasions, participants were recruited through following up e-mail addresses or phone numbers received from previous interview participants.

In some other occasions, participants were recruited using 'gatekeepers' and 'cold calling' techniques. These recruiting techniques were used to interview the elderly people from the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home in Gundelsheim or the Transylvanian Saxons at the annual assembly in Dinkelsbühl. Therefore, I approached an authorised person in the nursing home and gave information about myself and my research project and I asked permission to conduct interviews. Permission was granted, and in addition, the 'gatekeeper' provided the names and the room numbers of some of potential participants. Utilising the personal details provided by the 'gatekeeper', I contacted the elderly participants either by knocking at their room doors or by approaching them in other locations in the nursing home, such as the dining room or yard. It has to be mentioned, that my contact with the elderly people in the nursing home was almost on a daily basis, as I used to serve the lunch in the nursing home's canteen.

I found the use of the 'cold calling' technique very challenging, when approaching the elderly people by knocking at their doors or when 'cold calling' on people in Dinkelsbühl to ask if they agree to be interviewed. By using this technique I was confronted in some situations with refusal, or in others, with doors closed anxiously in my face, concurring with Valentine's (2005) assertion that 'cold calling is very intrusive and so interviewers often get a high refusal rate' (p.116). It was also observed when attempting to gain access to the elderly people that some potential participants were reluctant to be interviewed as the request of answering questions is associated with tests, and so, it provokes anxiety, as many older persons have only

a basic education (Wenger, 2002). The recruitment techniques mentioned above helped at conducting a total of 63 semi-structured interviews with participants from every age group (see Appendix B for a list of respondents). However, this variety of recruitment strategies did not provide equal numbers of interviews for each category of age.

4.2.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

There is a variety of studies in academic scholarship that suggest the interview as the most effective research method for conducting qualitative projects. As Silverman (2006) contends, we live in an 'interview society' where the data in research is progressively produced by interviewing.

The interview can be defined as 'a face to face verbal interchange in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinions or belief from another person or persons' (Maccoby and Maccoby, 1954: 499). However, the qualitative interview does not unfold as an examination where the interviewer asks the questions and the interviewee answers, but rather is a two-way channel of information. Holstein and Gubrium (2004) describe this interview relationship as 'active interview', which has the result of creating knowledge:

> 'Both parties to the interview are necessarily and unavoidably active. Meaning is not merely elicited by apt questioning, nor simply transported through respondent replies; it is actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter. Respondents are not so much repositories of knowledge-treasuring of information awaiting excavation-as they are constructors of knowledge in association with interviewers. Interviews are collaborative accomplishments involving participants in meaning-making work in the processes' (p.141-142).

There are three main types of research interviews: structured, unstructured and semi-structured (Dunn, 2005). The semi-structured interviews alongside with the unstructured interviews are used as research methods in qualitative research.

Comparatively with the structured interviews focused on objectivity, these forms of qualitative enquiry are characterized through flexibility for both parties involved, being 'conversational' and 'informal in tone' (Longhurst, 2010). This relaxed conversational-style is one of the benefits of the semi-structured interview; as Valentine (2005) states, this 'is sensitive and people-oriented, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words' (p.111). Using this conversational-style is recommended for reaching the result envisaged by the qualitative enquiry, namely, to create words and knowledge, to gain in-depth insights about feelings, opinions and experiences.

In the context of what was discussed above, it was natural for this thesis to adopt the semi-structured interview, allowing insights of the four dimensions (economic, politic, social and cultural) of the Transylvanian Saxon community in contemporary Germany.

4.2.2.3 Conducting semi-structured interviews in Germany

Conducting semi-structured interviews in Germany was a challenge in itself given the amount of travelling that was required to be effectuated in order to reach the potential participants and through the attempt of meeting schedules. The semi-structured interviews lasted between 20 and over 120 minutes and were conducted in different cities and towns from Bavaria and Baden Württemberg. In terms of location, I endeavoured to conduct the interviews in settings which could help the participant to feel at ease and could facilitate a relaxed conversation; as Longhurst (2010) states:

> 'It is not always possible to conduct interviews and focus groups in 'the perfect setting' but if at all possible aim to find a place that is neutral, informal (but not noisy) and easily accessible' (p.110).

According to participants' availability, or in some occasions, according to the interview rooms put at the researcher's availability, a variety of locations were used

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in undertaking the interviews, such as: Transylvanian Saxon associations, participants' offices, nursing home, people's homes, Transylvanian Saxon Institute, parks or quieter rooms in the case of the interviews conducted in the midst of the Dinkelsbühl annual assembly.

It was observed when conducting the interviews that some participants were intimidated by the interview formalities and anxiously anticipated the beginning of the interview. Some others, on the contrary, were at ease with the interview procedure and were able to engage in a small talk before the interview began. So, I found myself in the position of being in turn questioned with personal questions such as: 'Where are you coming from in Romania?', 'How come you study at an English University?', 'Do you live in England?', 'How come you are interested in the Transylvanian Saxons?', 'Are they interested about us in England?'. Some interviewees asked the researcher to provide the interview questions in advance via email or on the spot before the actual interview began. This requirement helped them to ponder over the questions, to deal with nerves and to provide good information for the research. All these pre-interview techniques were in alignment with McDowell (2010):

> 'It has been suggested that revealing something of yourself, your own circumstances and feelings is a way to persuade interviewees of good faith. However, getting personal should be more than just a way of squeezing more information out of people, but rather a way of creating both greater empathy and attempting to reduce the power differentials in the actual encounter, even if this is wishful thinking at the broader social scale. The idea that the interview exchange is more of a collaboration than an interrogation has now permeated geographical research and in common with anthropologists, geographers are now much more aware of the ways in which an interview is and should be an interactive and reflexive exchange wherever possible' (p.162).

Before the interview commenced, an information sheet translated in Romanian or English was given to the interviewee. Moreover, an explanation about the research project was provided. After the interviewee understood the contents of the information sheet, I provided the consent form in English and Romanian, and I explained to the interviewee about their right to confidentiality and their right to withdraw from the study at any time. With all this agreed, I asked the interviewee to sign the consent form that he agrees to give the interview. I explained to the interviewee how the interview would proceed and I asked if the interviewee agreed with the recording of the conversation.

All recruited interviewees were involved in face-to-face interviews. The majority of the interviews were carried out in Romanian, but some, mainly among the younger participants, were conducted in English. In some instances, there were some language stumbles due to lack of practice in talking Romanian. Occasionally, I was forced to help in finding the correct word for the respondents or to allow them to recollect themselves in order to express their thoughts. On one occasion, when interviewing an interviewee from the 20-40 years old age group, I had to use a translator, as the interviewee did not speak Romanian or English. One of the interviewee's parents agreed to mediate as a translator during the interview. In some cases, particularly for the age group 20-40 years old, I found that the interviewees had difficulties with the English language, and they were forced to express their thoughts in short sentences. Therefore, the data was not as comprehensive as in the case of the age groups 40-60 or over 60 years old where the two parts involved in the interview were able to discuss at ease in Romanian.

I adopted the relaxed talk approach when interviewing. This proved to be beneficial for the research as the discussion had an informal tone, conveying a relaxed atmosphere. When interviewing I did not use 'topic guides' (Seale, 1998) or 'interview guides'(Dunn, 2005; Bryman, 2008) because I was conscious of the social skills needed for conducting the interview in this manner, but rather I employed pre-composed research questions. However, I was not strict in following the question sequence, but as Denzin (1970) states, the interviewees were encouraged to raise

important issues not addressed in the schedule or even to summarize entire sections of the schedule in one long sequence of statements.

There are various methods of immortalising the conversation when conducting interviews, from taking notes, to audio/video recording or a combination of these methods. In the context of this research, I chose to take advantage of contemporary technology and to record digitally all the 63 semi-structured interviews conducted. This method of preserving the interview conversation allowed a focus on the interview rather than side-tracking my attention between taking notes and maintaining and an appropriate interview rapport (Valentine, 2005; Dunn, 2005). Moreover, recording digitally the semi-structured interviews allowed the choice between selective and verbatim transcription. The latter was utilised for this research because as Fielding and Thomas (2001) assert, this helped at the preservation of a complete data, which proved to be of help when analysing the interviews.

Conducting research in a cross-cultural environment can be challenging. Language, for example, can raise issues when conducting research in such a context. As it was certain that Transylvanian Saxons in Germany are fluent in Romanian, and also, as my German language skills were not at a conversational level, it was natural to carry out the interviews in Romanian or English, as preferred by the participants. However, this introduced some challenges in creating written data from audio recordings, in particular in relation to translation. I sought initially to transcribe the interviews in Romanian and then to translate them in English, but this idea was abandoned as it was considered time-consuming. Therefore, I translated and transcribed the interviews directly in English, as I considered it the language in which the study is undertaken.

When translating the interviews I used my English language skills and also my minimal German language skills. German-English and Romanian-English dictionaries were also employed during the translation process. In doing so, I sought to preserve the meaning through translation as much as possible. However, some ambiguous meanings raised by some words during the process of translation, made it practically

impossible to capture a plain English translation, and, consequently, the more appropriate translation was employed for the respective context. This ambiguity of meanings can be exemplified by the German notion of *Heimat*, which does not have a clear English translation, but rather, encompasses a multiplicity of meanings. Initially, this indefinite meaning raised by the translation of the notion *Heimat* was considered as a limitation for this research. However, the indefinite meanings of the notion *Heimat* are also stressed in the scholarship (Blickle, 2002; Müller, 2007). Therefore, it was considered that these indefinite meanings can contribute to the understanding and conceptualisation of home and homeland in relation to German diasporic spaces.

In terms of the interview analysis I utilised the Glaser and Strauss's (1967) guide. The processes of translation and transcription helped me also to engage with the data, and provided the main four themes of the research, such as life in Transylvania and migration to Germany, life and integration in Germany, contacts with Transylvania after settlement in Germany and Transylvanian Saxon culture in Germany. After translation and transcription, all the audio recordings and transcripts were stored on my personal computer and backups were effectuated for safely preserving the data. An additional electronic copy of the interview transcripts was made in order to be used for analysis. A second reading of the transcripts was effectuated. This second reading was accompanied by underlining with colours the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data; also, notes on some sections envisaged as possible quotations were taken. For example, colour yellow was used to highlight that the quote referred to material about Transylvanian Saxons' migration to Germany for family reasons.

The selection of quotes was not made to capture only the points of interest for this research, but rather, it was made to capture as much as possible all participants' views. As this study dealt with a rich empirical data, it was necessary to select the quotes based on eloquence and significance of information. For example, from the numerous quotations referring to Transylvanian Saxons' migration to Germany for family reasons, the most eloquent were employed when writing the findings into chapters. However, on the other hand, less recurrent themes, such as Transylvanian

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Saxons' migration to Germany for motives of illness were not overlooked, but they were also considered when writing the findings into chapters.

4.2.3 Participant observation

'Interviews do not alone constitute ethnography, because, in many cases, interviewees cannot report upon what they 'do' – for 'doings' are often unconscious or unarticulated practices' (Watson and Till, 2010: 129).

Cook (2005) states that participant observation involves two activities for the researcher: immersion among the members of the group taken under study and observation of the group. The scholarship suggests different typologies or roles when undertaking participant observation, from controlled and uncontrolled observation (Kearns, 2005) to complete participant, participant as observer or observer as participant (Kearns, 2005). In the context of this research, I utilised the latter, the observer as participant. This type of observation, as Hoggart et al. (2002) explain, favours the observation over the participation but it is also referred in literature as participant observation.

The participant observation was conducted over three days in Dinkelsbühl, from 21st May 2010 to 23rd May 2010. Consent or negotiation with gatekeepers over access to the annual meeting was not needed. The meeting was in open air and was accessible to anyone without restrictions, such as security for example. However, I did not have access 'backstage', for example in the Dinkelsbühl town hall, where some of the Transylvanian Saxon organisers were rushing in and out, in the spaces reserved for the most distinguished in the Transylvanian Saxon community, or in other rooms used by organisers. The fact that I only had access to the 'public face' of the community might have affected to some extent the picture I have developed of this community. If the period of participant observation would have being longer, I would have probably been able to access multiple locations, and, therefore, to obtain a deeper understanding of this community.

It can be argued that when conducting participant observation the researcher has a double status, participating and observing in both ways, overt and covert. My status when conducting participant observation can be considered as both, overt and covert. My overt status was obtained by informing some of the participants when conducting the interviews about my intention of attending the annual assembly in Dinkelsbühl with the purpose of conducting participant observation and interviews. Moreover, when in the field at the annual assembly my presence and my intention of studying the Transylvanian Saxon community were made known to a small audience during a speech. However, the rest of the participants at the annual assembly were not aware of being observed, so this constituted my covert status. It was not the researcher's intention to have the covert status or to deceive, but it was practically impossible to inform every participant from the nearly 15,000 that are attending the annual assembly, that observation was conducted. Therefore, due to the most predominant cover status when participant observation was conducted, it is probable that the participants' performances and actions were natural, at least in their relation to the known/unknown researcher. The agglomeration of people, mixed with participants' feelings of happiness, excitement and celebration give me the certainty that they were engaged with activities and community and they acted as natural as possible. Some of the Transylvanian Saxons, for example those who were part of an activity, it is more likely that they put some efforts for the public, which also included the researcher, and they performed as part of the celebration.

It has to be noted, that given the multitude of activities undergone and sometimes overlapped during the annual meeting, the opportunities to conduct a deep observation in the field were reduced. The Transylvanian Saxon annual meeting provided a programme of activities. From the array of activities offered the ones considered as the most relevant for the study were planned in advance to be attended. However, if time has permitted and other activities of interested besides the ones planned aroused, they were attended. My movements resumed of going from one activity to another, observe and take notes. Notes were also taken at the end of the day when the activities were reminded and notes supplemented. For example, if I observed the folk costumes parade, my place was in the public. I observed and take

notes. However, inevitably this sometimes attracted attention, and not once I have found myself in conversation with members of the public, also Transylvanian Saxons. Questions such as 'Where are you from?' and 'What are you doing?' were encountered. Of course, information was given but also a continuation of the observation was pursued. Also, some of the participants to interviewees recognised me in the field and short conversations had taken place.

The method of observation as a participant was possible to be implemented also while in Gundelsheim, at the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home. I had the possibility of dining almost on a daily basis with the elderly in the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home and inevitably discussions had taken place with some of them, and I was known as a student among them. The importance of space it has to be raised in this case as the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home was closely located to the Transylvanian Saxon library, Transylvanian Saxon Museum and Institute.

As mentioned before notes were taken during and after the end of activities. The participant observation analysis was carried out similarly with the one of interviews, although the data did have neither the complexity, nor the richness. Participant observation was used more as a corroborator of data gathered through other research methods, for example to get in-depth understanding of people's actual practices compared with what they claimed during the interviews. So the data presented from the participant observation had a more descriptive status. However, themes and sub-themes were underlined in the field diary. The cultural events that were written into the thesis were selected to meet the key points of interest, and to corroborate the data gathered through interviews.

4.3 Ethics

The section that follows discusses the ethical issues that were encountered during the research process. Some of the ethical issues associated with this research are

discussed in the first part of the section. The second part of the section focuses on a more particular ethical aspect, the work with people over 60 years old.

4.3.1 Ethical issues

Ethical thinking should be present in all the aspects of research, from the design stage to the collection, interpretation and writing of data. The collection of data usually occurs in a 'societal context' (Dowling, 2005) and the involvement of participants always raises ethical issues. Therefore, the researcher should adhere to common sense when conducting research and he should be 'ethically and morally responsible to her/his participants, the research sponsors, the general public and her/his own beliefs'(Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 35).

In this thesis, one of my primary concerns when conducting fieldwork was to respect people's freedom of choice and not coerce them to participate in the study. Israel and Hay (2006) suggest that the consent form implies two related activities: the participant's need to understand the research conducted and their role in it, and also, the participant's voluntarily agreement. Consequently, in the context of this research, the interviewees were provided with information sheet and consent form, giving as much detail as requested about the study undertaken. Moreover, I pointed out to interviewees that they were under no obligation to participate in the study and that withdrawal is possible at any time and without any explanation. However, in the case of the participant observation, the ethical principle of consent was more challenging to apply. I informed some of the interviewees about my intention to attend and to conduct observation at the Transylvanian Saxon assembly in Dinkelsbühl. Moreover, when in Dinkelsbühl, during a speech, one of the members of the community made the audience present aware at one cultural event about my presence at the assembly and about my interest in studying the Transylvanian Saxon community. For the rest of the participants present at the Transylvanian Saxon annual assembly I adopted Dowling's (2005) assertion: 'Simple observation of people in a place like a public shopping mall, for example, may not need explicit consent of those individuals.

Indeed, it may be physically impossible to secure the consent of everyone involved' (p.21).

A secondary ethical concern of this research was to ensure the interviewee's rights to confidentiality and privacy. When the inform consent was handed, I explained to the interviewee about his rights to confidentiality and privacy. The assurance of using pseudonyms and not using the interviewee's name anywhere in the research was reinforced. Furthermore, I was aware about the personal nature of some of the questions and I went prepared, if the case would have been, to accept and respect the interviewee's choice to refuse answering private questions referring, for example, to religion or income (Bryman, 2008).

Bryman (2008) also states that 'harm can entail a number of facets: physical harm; harm to participants' development; loss of self-esteem; stress' (p.118). Therefore, although the exposure to physical harm was low during the fieldwork, I was concerned at all times with my safety and the safety of those involved in this research. In addition, I took the moral commitment to avoid provoking verbal or emotional distress in the participants. I was aware of conducting the research in a cross-cultural environment, and consequently, the freedom of choice and respect towards the interviewees' system of beliefs and opinions were embraced.

4.3.2   Conducting interviews with people over 65 years old

In the context of this research, the collection of data implied working with a more vulnerable category of people, those over 60 years old. In order to be able to work with this category of age, I made sure to obtain the university's ethical committee approval before adventuring in the field.

When conducting the interviews with the elderly interviewees I acted in accordance with the ethical principles mentioned in the previous sub-section. However, in some situations, I encountered some challenges that come with old age, for example, impaired hearing or vision (Wenger 2002: 267). Furthermore, when interviewing the

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elderly interviewees, I was confronted in few occasions with what Hay (2010) names 'ethical dilemmas' which unavoidably arise in the field regardless of the researcher's decisions to act ethically or the respondent's helpful disposition. In agreement with this Marvasti (2004) states:

> 'In theory, researchers should take every reasonable measure to protect their subjects from harm, but in reality, it is impossible to anticipate every risk. One reason for this is that your study might affect respondents in different ways... Even if your respondents voluntarily take part in your study, they may not be in a position to fully appreciate the potential harm they could suffer from their participation' (p.136-137).

In the context of this research the 'ethical dilemma' with which I was confronted, though not entirely unexpected, was a low level of emotional distress. Some questions from the interview aroused memories about Transylvania and consequently brought tears to some of the respondents' eyes. In these situations, I took a common-sense approach. Firstly, I stopped the recording. Secondly, I sought to provide immediate verbal comfort and to sympathise with the interviewee. Also, short friendly chats on different subjects were attempted in order to distract the interviewee from his present distress. Finally, I provided the necessary break; I asked the participant if the continuation of the interview is desired. I considered that my research is not worth the tears and other interviewees will be found if the present interviewee is lost. But these elderly interviewees who confronted with low levels of emotional distress decided to complete the interview.

However, I attempted when humanly possible to take as a guide for ethical conduct in the field the consequentialist (non-maleficence, beneficence) and deontological (autonomy/self-determination and justice) approaches (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007), that is, I sought to establish a balance between my need for collecting data and the need to protect the participants.

4.4 Risk

The collection of empirical data in research implies fieldwork, and with this, potential hazards or risks might develop.

In the case of semi-structured interviews and participant observation I travelled to different sites in Germany and employed different public transport, from air plane to taxi. In these situations, I complied with the regulations of public transport and applied a normal vigilance during travel.

The majority of the semi-structured interviews were conducted in public places but in some circumstances I had to enter professionals' offices, and even in fewer occasions, people's homes in order to conduct the interview. In these settings, I carried out the interview during working hours and informed a family member about the interview schedule. Also, a mobile phone number was provided to friends and relatives. The participant observation was carried out in a public space, so the setting was advantageously convenient. I carried a mobile phone at all times during the fieldtrips.

4.5 Reflection

Positionality, reflection and empowering are aspects which need to be considered when conducting research. Madge (1993) argues that is significant for the researcher to consider the multi-faceted self and to show his positionality in terms of race, nationality, age, gender, social and economic status, sexuality, influences the data collection and the information that becomes knowledge. In alignment with this, I needed to consider my positionality, and also, to be reflexive about how my positionality influences relationships with the people under study and with the knowledge produced.

In terms of positionality, when conducting the research aspects of 'insider' and 'outsider' were encountered. As Mohammad (2001) explains 'insider/outsider refers

to the boundary marking an inside from an outside, a boundary that is seen to circumscribe identity, social position and belonging and as such marks those who do not belong and hence are excluded' (p.101). I considered myself as an 'insider' in terms of sharing the same provenience, Transylvania, with the population that I studied. On the other hand, I had the status of 'outsider' by not being member of the same culture.

According to Pelias (2011) reflexivity in research can be also employed in the process of writing:

> 'Reflexive writing strategies allow researchers to turn back on themselves, to examine how their presence or stance functions in relationship to their subject. Reflexive writers, ethically and politically self-aware, make themselves part of their own inquiry. Reflexive writing strategies include indicating how the researcher emerged as a contaminant, how the researcher's insider status was revelatory or blinding, and how he is implicated in the problem being addressed' (p.662).

Chapter 5: Transylvanian Saxons' life in Romania and their migration to Germany

5.1 <u>Introduction</u>

The chapter that follows presents findings from semi-structured interviews conducted with 63 Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. Overall, the discussion explores their pre-migratory lives in Transylvania and illuminates complexity and diversity of their migration from Romania to Germany.

The chapter is structured into four main sections. First, section 5.2 provides insights into the migrants' participation in the Romanian educational system and examines both their labour market integration and economic challenges before the move to Germany. Second, section 5.3 explores the significance of the Transylvanian Saxons' rich cultural activities sustained in Transylvania and the consequences that emerged from the gradual dissolution of their cultural heritage. Third, section 5.4 investigates the motives of Transylvanian Saxons for migrating to Germany, such as socio-cultural, economic and political motives. Finally, section 5.5 provides an insight into pre-1990 and post-1990 migrant stories about the move to Germany with a discussion of the migrants' experiences and the difficulties they encountered.

5.2 <u>Education and work</u>

The first part of this section discusses the educational situation of Transylvanian Saxons before their move to Germany. Based upon findings from the semi-structured interviews the discussion reveals that the educational provision was largely in the German language up to the high school level mainly due to their privileged position in Transylvania. The second part of this section examines the migrants' labour market situation and their financial challenges in Transylvania.

5.2.1 Transylvanian Saxons' education in Transylvania

Existing literature has highlighted a good accessibility of German language schools for Transylvanian Saxons in Romania (Wagner, 2000). Concerns of school loss, and consequently of culture loss, started to appear with processes of Romanianization and centralization of the Romanian regime in 1918, and continued with anti-minority policies in the late 1970s, during the communist regime (ibid.). This determined, for example, changes related to language policy and the schooling system, and materialised in a decrease in the number of German-language schools, in favour of the Romanian ones (Glajar, 2004). However, when asked about their educational and professional training in Romania the respondents largely revealed the provision of a good quality education by the Romanian educational system and also the privilege of attending a school in the German language up to high school level:

> 'I was at the vocational high school for teachers, and before that I made in German the secondary school in Sighişoara, and there were not many German high schools, there was only one in Sighişoara, Josef Altrich, and in some towns like Victoria or Mediaş, and also Sibiu and Braşov... so there were not many German schools and for me the vocational high school was good because I had good grades and then I remained in a German high school. After I finished the high school it was compulsory to go back in the county from where you were sent. At Sibiu there was the only German vocational high school from the all country...' (63).

> 'I was at the German primary school, the first four forms in the commune of Livezile. After 1950 the German schools were re-established or the German departments in high schools. From 1955 I was at the secondary school in Bistriţa, also in German, and I stayed there until I finished the high school in 1962, also in German, in the German high school from Bistriţa, the former German high school, the building will now be 100 years old and in September I will give a speech there with the theme: education is freedom, to learn means to be free. And after I finished the high school I studied, in Romanian of course,

History at the History and Philosophy Department at the Babes-Bolyai University from Cluj-Napoca. It has been named like this from 1968 onwards and after that I was a history teacher for 6 years at the high school where I studied, in Bistriţa' (60).

'I felt well in this entourage, in this homeland; even though I was a minority, I don't think I need to mention this to you, we could generously develop. We are among the few states beyond the so-called Iron Curtain who had this favour, this privilege, having schools in our language, having two state theatres, so many other mass media, the so-called press and so on' (61).

The Romanian educational system provides the opportunity to enrol in education starting with the age of 6 in primary schools, usually taught by a single teacher. Elementary schools (5th grade to 8th grade) and high schools (9th grade to 12th grade) follow, with different teachers allocated for different subjects, and usually, with more intensive educational schedules. However, the Romanian high school typology varies from colleges to standard high schools, with opportunities of studying science, humanities, technical or vocational programmes among others. Findings reveal that some participants were able to attend a school in the German language only up to elementary level. This disruption from attending a school in the German language up to high school level is perhaps due to the location of the respondent in a rural environment. The gradual nationalisation of schools during the communist era may also be suggested as another explanation:

'[I studied] in nursery school and primary school in German language in Măeruş and from the 5th form until the end of the university in the Romanian language, as it wasn't possible anymore to study in Măeruş the 5-8 forms in German language. I started... this was in '65, I entered the 5th form, I received all the books in German language and after about a month the director comes in our classroom and said: 'I am sorry, a note came from the Ministry, the classes need to be of maximum 20 students'; and we were only 18, 9 girls, 9 boys, and they made from the German and Romanian classes... they made 2

Romanian classes, so they divided us, and I was to the Romanian class, we received the books in Romanian language and those in the German language we had to give back. That was the politics back then. So I was forced to do the 5-8 forms in the Romanian language and then also the high school' (46).

Further education and future career options were also taken into consideration by some Transylvanian Saxon parents when recommending to their children to enter in Romanian language education:

'I didn't attend the German high school... even if I was able to do it, it was the first year when the German high school was based in Codlea but I went to the Romanian high school. Why? My parents told me then that if you go to the university everything is in Romanian language and it is best to be prepared, and so on' (39).

The following quotes suggest how some migrants who entered a university in the Romanian educational system reconciled their need to study in their mother tongue with attending a Romanian University by choosing a German language subject. Therefore, it can be said that desires for receiving education in the German language in diaspora are not related only to the relatively privileged circumstances in the Romanian educational system, but also, they are connected to collective desires for a homeland-oriented culture and identity (Yeh, 2007):

'I studied German-English at the Timişoara University' (43).

'I finished a university in the German language because I had studied in Sibiu German-English and our German literature and German language professors were Transylvanian Saxons' (35).

'So, I attended and finished the elementary school in Moşna and then I attended the high school in Mediaş and I attended the university in Cluj, I studied German-French, so German was anyway... not only a subject but it was also the language I studied a part of my subjects' (01).

The following quotes reflect how some migrants' education in Transylvania was interrupted by deportation to Russia or family moves to Germany:

'I only graduated the seventh form and then I left. Had I remained, I think I would have gone to Sibiu to get an education as a primary school teacher, because it is in my character. Even here I had done a professional training, I worked at a kindergarten, I mean not directly with the small ones, but with younger people from grade 5 to grade 13, I mean it was in the social direction. In Romania I would have gone also into a social based profession. If I had remained there, I would have gone to Sibiu to the vocational school for teachers' (62).

'I studied 6 grades of high school before I left the camp and afterwards when I came back the Transylvanian Saxons didn't accept me, I wasn't able to go to high school because I was a German citizen... I wanted to register at the part-time Romanian high school and they didn't accept me because I wasn't a worker. Then with the passing of time... in the 60s... they calmed down and I was able to register part-time and I did two grades and the Baccalaureate and after that I was employed as a translator and I took the translator exam in Bucharest' (58).

Other migrants, as the one quoted above, experienced difficulties in attending university in Transylvania as they were not involved with the Romanian Communist party. Findings also provide evidence for Communist invoked class marginalization:

'I attended the primary school and the secondary school in Codlea, the Honterus High School in Braşov, then I wanted to study the Law but my file wasn't taken in consideration because my father wasn't a party member, we didn't do any politics. There were then those... eliminatory percentages and if you were someone's son you had to be among those 10 % from the candidates. My father was a simple functionary, he worked in an office and I entered among those 10% but I wasn't good enough to go this university where I

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registered German-Romanian and then I attended the vocational high school for teachers and I was 44 years behind the teacher's desk. And I didn't regret it so much, just a little' (47).

'Yes, I have finished the high school, I took the Baccalaureate and then I was supposed to go to university... my father was telling me that I should be a jurist because I always interfere in discussions [laughter] and I have the justice sense. I wasn't [to university], firstly I wouldn't have been accepted because my parents weren't part of the exploiter class but I didn't probably have enough ambition. Of course I didn't have also the money for commuting... in Sibiu I went to the technical school for the measurement of the land, so topography. And I studied in Romanian language and I also gave an exam there' (59).

Finally, migrants experienced expulsion from school as a result of their application to leave the country for Germany:

'And then I attended the construction high school which I liked a lot because it involved topography and bridge construction but I still wasn't content and I wanted to study geography and geodesy at the university in Iaşi but from there I was expulsed because my parents wanted to go abroad' (25).

To conclude, although for some Transylvanian Saxons the educational process was disrupted by significant events, such as deportations to labour camps, communist pressures or processes of migration to Germany, it is acknowledged that the education received in Romania was reliable. However, despite these disruptions, the majority of Transylvanian Saxons had the privilege to study in their mother tongue up to high school level or University level, based on individual possibilities.

5.2.2 Transylvanian Saxons' job performance in Transylvania

In this sub-section, the migrants' employment history and their economic situation in Transylvania are examined. Semi-structured interviews reveal that both pre-1990

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and post-1990 migrants were largely employed in one full-time employment before moving. This shows that most migrants were employed in a conventional employment regime before moving:

'As a school teacher in the German department I had simultaneous classes... You have the 2nd and the 4th forms and the 1st and the 3rd [forms]... This was my only work place; I worked there for 6 years' (63).

'I graduated as a part-time student in political sciences and philosophy. The graduation exam was from... actually in sociology, so I am a sociologist [laughter]. But I taught with much pleasure the children from 1st to 4th grade [primary school] because I graduated from the vocational high school for teachers in Sighişoara. I am a schoolteacher from father to son, my ancestors were all schoolteachers or priests and I continued this tradition. I also gave it to my children, I have two girls and both are schoolteachers, so, I passed along the tradition' (61).

'I don't know if you know this but this wasn't a speciality of the Transylvanian Saxons. After school people were allocated a repartition and they received a place of work there where the country needed it. I received repartition in Târgu Mureş at a newly created topographic office and there I stayed until I left. I was for a while in the agrarian sector... um... but I didn't ask for this I was automatically transferred. Yes, so I didn't have many jobs' (59).

When some respondents were questioned about their job history in Transylvania they revealed several full-time employments as presented in the following quote:

'My first job was in a... box factory... I was... Nah... I was fastening the boxes, I mean with a hammer and nails. So this was my first job, then I went to another factory which produced sport items, then I was... at a machine... I don't remember to what I worked, this was for a very short while and then I went to another factory, of course I was still unmarried and I was a warehouseman in a pasta factory in Sibiu, and then I went to the army. After I finished the military

service, I was in Braşov in the investments services at a factory which contracted and purchased animals from the farmers and then those also had an investment service in which I also worked and from there I moved to Sibiu as I told you, in Sibiu I worked… of course, about 1 year and a half or almost two years I worked in the old tourism office and I dealt with tourists who came from Germany because I knew Romanian and German, then interceded also this… this complaint at the *Securitate* [Secret Service of Communist Romania] and after this 10 days detention I had to liquidate my job and I entered in agriculture and in agriculture I worked in the accountancy' (42).

There were no respondents that considered their status before moving as unemployed, but migrants who were under the age of 18 when moving to Germany did not have an employment history. There were also some exceptional cases when respondents mentioned loss of employment as a result of deportation to Russia:

'Personally, I was four years [in a Soviet labour camp], the rest were five years but I was lucky because I ran away… the rest were five years. I came home from the Soviet Union; I did another three years of military service, which means seven years without an income' (05).

Some respondents of the pre-1990 and post-1990 migration considered that their financial situation was good before moving. This finding is perhaps due to the respondents' unity and support in family households:

'I didn't lack almost anything, even in the crisis years; at the beginning of the 80s we didn't lack almost anything. I also had there in Măeruş a car and a house and… um… Because of the good situation my parents were in then. So, my father had a lot of acquaintances with his job and… besides the job he also had two tractors for cutting wood with which he earned very well, so also my brother had his car and I also had my own car, so the material situation was, let's say good' (46).

'Good. Of course we need money all the time because that's why there is money to need it, but... good, normal' (25).

However, the majority of the respondents found themselves in an average economic situation in Transylvania, which was 'neither well, nor poor':

'It wasn't good but it wasn't bad either, because we had luck to live in our own house... We lived in our own house, so we didn't have spending in that direction. Of course, it was very difficult because my mother was alone with two children and one salary and we didn't have the possibility to travel... so that is why the situation was that I spent all the time in Bistriţa and I was only two times at the sea. So, the situation was not extremely good but neither bad, I mean we had... my mother had a job, we were three women and we managed very well, I mean we did not have big problems' (62).

'Well, we were not rich but... we had everything we needed it but... um... I can remember that... for example that when you wanted to buy some bread you had to get this blue card and queue up and wait. So, maybe there were others who didn't have to do that because they had some connections. Um... well, we didn't so we were quite... um... quite average' (41).

Interestingly, some of those who initially stated that their economic situation was average slightly revised their view towards the end of their response, remarking that in comparison to others and in the given socio-economic context of Romania at the time, they were quite well off at the time:

'Our material situation was average and mediocre [laughs] but we were both, me and my husband, from poor families and we didn't have privileges and we didn't use these channels, so 'you give me something and I give you something'. And we lived... not bad but not well either. Some [people] got reach. Um... but we had... I mean my salary it was how it was but my husband had a good salary. We lived pretty well' (59).

'In any case then when I was at school and I earned my own money I can't say that I earned a lot. When I came to Germany in 1973, I was unemployed here for the first months and what I received as a social help it was numerically about 6 times more than what I earned before in Romania. But let's not forget that also the prices were different. In any case, I think that in Romania I was pretty well financially even though I didn't have a TV or hot water; it was like this in the village. Comparatively, with the majority of the village inhabitants where I lived I am sure that our family was from the material point of view very high, so not somewhere down. With the passing of the years we got quite well' (60).

Only few respondents, especially among those who were over 60 years old at the time of the interview, admitted a poor economic situation in Transylvania:

'It is known how it was. The schoolteachers were always... how I should I say... badly paid. But this wasn't important, this was the way in which our parents lived and so did we. We never craved for food. We had as a schoolteacher the garden, the allotment, there weren't problems of material subsistence. There were not' (61).

'It was very bad because I had a salary and it wasn't possible to live from one salary and because of that I did private work and it was very difficult. There were days when I bought a croissant and I took two croissants and it was everything that I ate and for the children I cooked separately and I divided them in two. Because of eating badly I had 56 kg, now I have 70kg, pretty bad [laughs] because I would like to be a bit slimmer, but I had then 56 kg and I had a height of 1.72m, so it was very little. And then because I ate little for many days, only what was left from the children, I had ulcer because if you don't eat the acid destroys your stomach' (58).

'Poorly, badly... but because I never had the opportunity to assert myself, to prove... the capacity which I possessed. I started with a small salary and I

didn't have the chance to advance because they fired me after a few months. In the end I said that I need to cut the contact with Bucharest, to erase the traces, yes and I left to Timişoara and there I stayed at the German Theatre in Timişoara. I stayed there for one year and a half but I received the departure approval and then I wasn't able to affirm there either. One year and a half of acting at the beginner level, you need there many years mostly because I didn't follow any institute' (28).

Some participants acknowledged the need of help of their relatives in Germany. This help often materialized in the form of parcels and was mainly due to the poor supply with food during the communist period:

> 'The economic situation in Romania was painful... in the sense that through the years the supply with food was very bad. I have three children and I was earning as a teacher comparatively to others relatively well not comparatively with an engineer but comparatively with other parts of the society but I wasn't able to buy the necessary things for the feeding of the children. For many years we had to accept, to receive, and to ask for those parcels from Germany' (23).

The conventional system of employment in communist Romania facilitated one full-time employment for the majority of the Transylvanian Saxons. Economically, some Transylvanian Saxons admit a good or an average economic situation before migration. However, some respondents, mostly from the first generation, describe a poor material situation and they acknowledge the help of relatives from Germany.

5.3 Transylvanian Saxons' culture in Transylvania

This section presents the Transylvanian Saxons' culture maintained in Transylvania. First, it explores the Transylvanian Saxons' cultural performances in diaspora and distinguishes between different forms of high and popular culture. Second, it

discusses the religious life of Transylvanian Saxons in Transylvania and seeks to demonstrate the significance of faith in the preservation of culture.

5.3.1 Transylvanian Saxons' cultural performances in Transylvania

Since the colonization in the XII century, the Transylvanian Saxons lived in Transylvania in close contact with the German culture and with the culture of the neighbouring populations, mostly Romanian and Hungarians. Hungarian, Romanian and German ethnic interferences could be exemplified not only by everyday life contacts but also by historical events. For example, scholars such as Glajar (2004) or Eberhardt (2003) state that during the 19th century intense processes of Magyarization affected the Romanians and Transylvanian Saxons in the Greater Romania. These multi-ethnic interferences attribute distinctiveness to the Transylvanian Saxon identity and enrich the wider German cultural diversity. However, imagined networks with the homeland help those in diaspora to feel a unity with Germany and with the idea of German identity, but at the same time feelings of difference and collective consciousness can be instigated. This is perhaps why notions such as 'chosen identity and belonging' (Mavroudi, 2007) or 'imagined community' (Dwyer, 1999) are connected with the notion of diaspora in relation to space and place. In relation to this, empirical findings suggest that some respondents, when referring to their community, use the appellative Transylvanian Saxon and not German. In the quotes below, however, it is evident that the respondents recognize the German cultural influence in their Transylvanian Saxon cultural development:

'I think everything or almost all what I... what happened around me was... of course was Transylvanian Saxon and of course our minority is influenced by Germany... or was influenced. So, it was no direct contact, perhaps through books, so I had... we had from the childhood of my grandmother and that generation's some children books and I read them all and my mother read it for me, for us children and... There was... I think that almost everything was German. Yes. Our language was... we, we talked almost all the time our dialect.

Yes, and it was normal even as we lived in a town, in a quite big town for Transylvania...' (04).

It can be stated that some respondents recognised also the cultural influence of the other cultures existent in Transylvania:

'Yes, we lived after the German tradition. From my baptism, I was baptized evangelic; I went to a German nursery. In Sighişoara there were two schools in the German language and the High School was German. I studied in the German language there in the Joseph Altrich High School until the 10th grade. Easter, for example was celebrated differently from Romanians. Our Easter... mm... Similarly somehow with the Romanians or the orthodox Easter but with eggs coloured in many colours not only red comparatively to the orthodox. Our church is different. As a child I was with friends in an orthodox church and I know there were many icons and we did not like these things. But the Easter was the same. It was beautiful at Easter time when the boys were coming to see the girls and to perfume them. This was the same. I think the dates of the Easter were different, only once at four years we had the Easter at the same date' (56).

'You know what the situation was, until the 40s we also were quite nationalists, we had our societies formed only from Transylvanian Saxons. After that it changed because a part of the Transylvanian Saxons were taken to war, there wasn't the same German society and of course we were young and we made friends also among Romanians and we become a mixed society. But I can't say that the Romanians... how can I say... that they didn't want to chat with us, they did chat with pleasure with us. With respect to our life, it changed through the Romanian influence and we didn't have any more our conservative societies [laughs]. Yes, after the war, after we returned from [Soviet labour] camps. Yes. But the church... however we took part in the evangelical church but we didn't have a society anymore. And then we got mixed. This was it' (58).

However, when questioned about the influence that the German culture had in their everyday life in Transylvania some respondents faced difficulties with defining a clear delimitation between the Transylvanian Saxon culture and the German culture:

'To a great extent or... totally... I mean I didn't feel that I was influenced by the German culture, I considered myself part of the... as you said, of the German minority in Romania or part of the European German population which lived in Romania. This phenomenon is interesting in Germany but in Romania the Transylvanian Saxons considered themselves Germans for hundreds of years. And also the Romanian population considered us Germans... Of course that there are also localities which have the German attachment or even more often there is the Transylvanian Saxon attachment... 'Noul Săsesc', 'Reghinul Săsesc'... in the old times. Now these attachments are not used anymore in Romania but... So, we the Germans from Romania and Banat we are, we consider ourselves as... from the cultural German circle. We speak the German language; we say 'Our Father in Heaven' in the German language... the language used at school or in the church is the German language not the Transylvanian Saxon dialect or... another language' (23).

'It is difficult to say to what extent it influenced me because I did not know another lifestyle. It was very normal for me to be in a German nursery, to study in a German school, to read German papers, to buy German books from bookshops. It was very normal for me and only today I realize that it was actually not at all normal. We had publishers with books only in the German language, like the Criterion Publisher, or so many newspapers, so many publications in the German language. It was very normal for me' (35).

'Um... I cannot qualify... I mean I cannot quantify this German heritage because I lived in a Transylvanian Saxon or German family... I went to German schools, the primary school, the gymnasium... then the university in Romanian... I cannot... I mean this German heritage influenced me all over the places and... Everywhere... In all the fields... in the family and outside the family and in

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school, in the sense... yes... I knew that I was German and I lived as a German. And the Romanians knew that we were Germans' (49).

It was noted throughout the semi-structured interviews that the cultural activities were an important factor for the respondents in the preservation of the Transylvanian Saxons. Cultural activities can be employed by those in diaspora to reflect identity through representation (Woodward, 1997), or to maintain and construct identity in relation to space and place (Leonard, 2005):

'It was clear, if you were of German nationality and on the Transylvanian territory this German minority developed also culturally distinct activities, you were influenced as an individual of what was built in these decades. You know when you live in a dictatorship and you have everyday problems with this political system, you need a spiritual dwelling and found this in the German culture and traditions from Transylvania. Of course that they were also transmitted to the children, at a bigger scale where it was more possible, less in other situations because the *Securitate* [Secret Service of communist Romania] wasn't the Germans' or German culture's friend and this thing influenced us positively and also spiritually and at the same time allowed us to prepare for going to Germany' (60).

When asked about the traditions that they intensely lived in Transylvania, typical nostalgic comments referred to religious holidays, cultural traditions of cooking and baking, and using the German language or the Transylvanian Saxon dialect:

'Yes, I often think to the *Rusalii* [Pentecost] which was not long ago. We had beautiful *Rusalii* [Pentecost], I don't know... I have a photo from there; I would have shown it to you but... I don't know where it is, I have so many. And so we celebrated. And during the childhood we started to do... the king and the queen were present and we... celebrated and then we made a nice party together with our parents in the forest, this was always the most beautiful memory on the

Rusalii [Pentecost] because it also was in the spring time and there were many flowers' (10).

'Yes for example in our case we celebrated a lot the name days, for example, there was Johann and Katharina and there were balls, the children were separated, the youngsters, then the parents were separated... For example on Christmas we baked cakes, no? We sacrificed pork and we made sausages, no? And we cooked good food. And at Easter we coloured eggs and we made a nest and the children had to look for it... Yes, in the second day after Easter the boys were going to perfume the girls, this was a tradition and they received red eggs, sponge cake, even money, it was beautiful and we were brought up in this tradition' (11).

'We spoke Transylvanian Saxon in our home, with our children... We celebrated all the events after old traditions... Mostly at Easter time when the boys came to perfume us [laughs]. This was always a very big event...' (13).

Alongside the popular traditions, some forms of high culture such as literature or theatre (Kroner, 2000; Schullerus, 2003) were identified by some respondents as being instrumental for keeping Transylvanian Saxons' German heritage alive:

'For me the Transylvanian Saxon culture so to speak was very beautiful, very well developed from the writing, art point of view; there was a German State Theatre in Sibiu, there was a German theatre in Timişoara, so there was a very developed cultural life, the cities of Sebeş, or Sibiu, or Braşov, Sighişoara, Mediaş, they had their high schools and so on' (28).

'In Sibiu there were so many Germans that you were able to be only in German circles without observing, without intention. We had German theatre, German newspapers, German schools... so... of course the church. I lived among Germans and the German heritage as you called it influenced me every day. Only later I went out from the Transylvanian Saxon circles' (44).

Many respondents associated the traditions with life in the countryside and acknowledged that once adjusted to the urban environment their attachment to tradition diminished significantly. The following quote illustrates the attachment to traditions of respondents living in a rural environment:

> 'Of course that the German traditions influenced me, especially during the years I lived in Măeruş, in my natal commune... they influenced me. So I took part in every event organized in Măeruş by the Transylvanian Saxons... [such as] a masked ball and... what else? The German community organized a lot of festivities at the community home...the Romanians kept together, they had their traditions, the Transylvanian Saxons theirs and there I took part... and also in primary school and also in nursery school I took part in dances, or we had a choir where we sang German songs and Transylvanian Saxon songs. So, I was influenced [by the German heritage]' (46).

Larger cities did not allow for such a closely knit German community and often restricted German cultural practices to religious holidays:

> 'We lived as Germans. The German traditions... well we were in the city, it was different in the countryside. We lived in the city, there weren't traditions... on our street was lived almost by Romanians, maybe there were about ten German families, the rest were Romanians. I mean the tradition was not lived in the city. Of course if we went to our grandmother it was different but also my parents didn't go in the city to the church, only at Christmas or Easter, or for the religious confirmation, wedding and so on' (26).

It is important to note, however, that not all Transylvanian Saxons embraced the German cultural practices with enthusiasm, particularly when they were young:

> 'Difficult to answer to this question. I lived in the village... So, during my childhood, I lived in that beautiful village and the education was not given only by the parents but by the whole village, they had a different mentality as today, I mean the neighbour got involved in my education if I was doing something

wrong, he didn't ask my mother or father, which is inexistent today. And the traditions as a child sometimes I hated them... embarrassing... I sang in an orchestra in the street and many times I felt embarrassed. Now, when I remember they were beautiful things but... Back then I didn't realise them and... Together with my friend we were in a dance group... I felt the same then, I hated to do it and now I regret that I didn't continue' (25).

Transylvanian Saxons maintained their culture and community in Transylvania through different forms of cultural practices. However, the ethnic local influences (Kürti, 2001) and the transnational influences from the West (Koranyi and Wittlinger, 2011), contributed to the formation and consolidation of a hybrid Transylvanian Saxon identity. This is in alignment with findings from the interviews which show that some Transylvanian Saxons refer to their community by the appellative 'Transylvanian Saxons' and not Germans.

5.3.2 Transylvanian Saxons' religious life in Transylvania

The religious dimensions of Transylvanian Saxons' life in Transylvania were also prominently mentioned in the migrants' recollections of their lives back in Romania. The discussion in this sub-section seeks to illustrate the importance of faith for the German individual and the German community in diaspora. It is argued that the ethnic religion provided a cultural framework and a basis for human existence.

The ethnic religion in Transylvania it is not identical with the one of the dominant society and belongs to different denominations. According to Wagner (2001), the 1992 census in Transylvania has revealed that the majority of the population (69.4%) pertained to Orthodox religion, while lower proportions were allocated to other religious denominations, such as Greek-Catholics (2.7%), Roman-Catholic (11.1%), Reformat (11.3%) and Evangelic (0.8%). Romanian Germans, and implicitly Transylvanian Saxons, are almost entirely of Protestant religion as a result of the Protestant Reformation, almost all being Lutheran Protestants (69.8%) and only few

Calvinists, with services held in the German language (Wagner, 2001). The following quotes acknowledge the belonging to the Protestant church:

> 'Yes, I was confirmed, I was there baptised, confirmed... we went to church... and also my family... we went' (06).

> 'Well, we were influenced by the Evangelical church where we were confirmed... in the 7th or 8th grade, and then we had to see the pastor every Saturday for one hour and he taught us from the Bible' (46).

The significance of the church in everyday life was stressed by the majority of respondents. It played a major role for the Transylvanian Saxon minority, which was not only related to the main religious holidays:

> 'Yes. I am very interested in religion… of course we had Christmas, Easter and I don't know about the others and I think that my grandmother went to church, I think every Sunday, my grandfather was old and I don't know if he went to church. My grandmother was praying with me... um... So, those were traditions' (04).

> 'We lived near the church and we went, not quite every Sunday to church, but we went very... let's say minimum once per month... we went to church and... Yes, one of my father's cousins was the evangelical priest and that's why we went a lot there and also in the parochial house and in the church and we played there, so the church was very close to us not only geographically but also emotionally, the church was very close for us, yes it had a very important role in our life' (52).

The identification with religious practices varied again among rural and urban contexts for similar reasons as discussed in the previous sub-section and it seem to have eroded between generations:

'In regard to the religious traditions especially I think that we the youth, we had a very close relationship within the village and indeed all the holidays existed we kept them all; they are pleasant memories. Yes, I can say that in the village, I mean comparatively with the town we were more religious in the sense that we went to church every Sunday, especially the youth... um... and... Somehow it was beautiful to go to the church every Sunday and for holidays, which is a habit that has faded away' (29).

The ethnic church provided unity for Transylvanian Saxons within the dominant Romanian society and culture. It was constructed to provide not only a space for religious expression but also as a place to nurture the culture and to experience a feeling of belonging. The following quotes demonstrate this unifying character:

'The church was important for the Transylvanian Saxons because the church was the institution that united us and gathered us... It gave some directions; the schools were sustained by the church or coordinated by the church and so it was the church which united the Transylvanian Saxon population' (09).

'The church was very important and the evangelical church wasn't interdicted, we were able to take part in any church festivity and the church kept us a bit... how shall I say it... The church got us a bit close' (15).

As illustrated in figures 5-1 and 5-2, religious activities were closely linked with cultural practices as Transylvanian Saxons often dressed in traditional costumes when attending church. The Protestant church was largely independent from institutions of the dominant society as one of the respondents put it:

'Yes, on those times the protestant church or how its more called, evangelical of Augustan confession, it was the only independent forum to which we were not only able to turn to but it was to some degree independent from the communist organisations' (22).

Figure 5-1: Transylvanian Saxon boys in Sunday traditional costumes

Data source: Transylvanian Saxon Institute, Germany

Figure 5-2: Transylvanian Saxons attending church in the traditional costume

Data source: Transylvanian Saxon Institute, Germany

However, according to Cercel (2011), during the period 1933-1944, the Lutheran church, and invariably the Transylvanian Saxon community have undergone processes of Nazification, which have lessened the social role of the former from a 'criterion of identity' to an 'indicium of identity'. This agrees with findings from the interviews which show that the habit of attending church on a regular basis had suffered over time, thus reflecting a wider secularisation trend within Europe in the post-war period (Von Stuckrad, 2010):

> 'It [church] was important but... for me not that much' (05).

> 'As a child I went to church every Sunday with my parents, it was compulsory... [Later] At holidays... [Laughs]' (13).

> 'I went to church until I was 14 I had to go, I didn't have to go but that was the tradition, you went to church and you were confirmed by the priest... but after 14 years when I went to Braşov and... In other places, the church wasn't that important for me anymore. Actually I finished with the church before that because I never was convinced that there is a God, I was different in thinking' (25).

Although faith suffered changes under the influences of secularisation, findings from the interview showed that generally, church and culture represented an everyday life basis for the Transylvanian Saxons in Romania.

5.4 Transylvanian Saxons' motives for migration

This section investigates the main social, cultural, economic and political motives that shaped Transylvanian Saxons' migration from Transylvania to Germany. The section that follows distinguishes between socio-cultural, economic and political motives for Transylvanian Saxons' migration during the period 1970-1990 and post-1990. Subsection 5.4.1 explores the socio-cultural motives for Transylvanian Saxon migration, including family reunification, marriage, illness, children's future and

community. Subsection 5.4.2 examines the economic motives and their significance in the migration decision-making process. The final subsection explores political motives of Transylvanian Saxons' migration and discusses the implications of the Romanian communist regime in the migration decision-making process.

5.4.1 Socio-cultural motives for Transylvanian Saxon migration

This subsection investigates the social and cultural motives that shaped the Transylvanian Saxons' migration to Germany. First, the subsection discusses family motives in the Transylvanian Saxons' decision–making process including family-ties and family reunification, marriage, illness, children's future, and friendship. Second, the subsection explores the significance of the community in the migration-decision process stressing motives such as the preservation of the German culture and belonging. It is argued that the family and the community are the prevalent motives in the Transylvanian Saxons' migration decision-making processes and are often shaped by the historical past as a diaspora and the desire of cultural survival.

5.4.1.1 Transylvanian Saxon migration: it runs in the family

Perhaps most significantly, the 63 semi-structured interviews reveal that the Transylvanian Saxon migration decision-making process was a very complex one, influenced by a multitude of factors in general, at family and community level, and in particular at individual level. The following quotes illustrate the existence of a multitude of factors in the migration-decision making process and perhaps reflect a blurred impression relating to the initial migration decision or an inexistent motive just as a well-settled pattern of east-west migration due to the hope for improved living conditions (Marshall, 1992):

> 'This is the most difficult question. I don't know. I had my parents here and my brother and my sister they were in Germany... so I was alone in Romania. Yes. Maybe... maybe, there were also the perspectives in Romania... and also the

economic [perspectives] even thou we will never know if we did the right thing or not' (25).

'The reasons were... practically, all left at least from my natal village, I can say that 100% went to Germany... um... My parents left a year before and my aunt 17 years before, my father's sister. Practically this was everyone's desire or goal for a better life and these were our motives for leaving. Yes. Well, yes, on the other had it can be the [family] reunification knowing that the level of living is higher in Germany' (29).

'It is difficult to say. Of course that they wouldn't have been the same if we would have left from Sibiu. Living in Homorod I observed during the last years, even before the Revolution the emphasized leave of the Transylvanian Saxon friends and of the acquaintances... and the truth is that my Romanian friends weren't in Homorod but in Sibiu. After the burst of the revolution... actually after Ceausescu's fall the first thought was not leaving the country but I immediately formed an opinion about the possibilities or on the time which would need to pass in order to reach a certain economical level in general and a certain wealth for me and my family. Um... my daughter was 2 and I thought that the following 40 years to leave her live with us in Romania... I even didn't know what the globalization possibilities were and we only knew of it after the '90s and then we decided to leave for Germany. It was quite a difficult decision... um... and also today meeting our Romanian friends we actually regret the fact that we had to or we took such a decision. I suppose that we wouldn't have been content with the decision of staying either... this is human nature' (14).

However, the semi-structured interviews also show that the most significant motive in the Transylvanian Saxon migration decision-making is the family with its different manifestations and that family reunification is the prime manifestation of family migration. . This is also stressed by Koch (1992) who claims that 62.2% of the ethnic Germans who migrated to Germany in 1991 named family reunification as a

significant pull-factor. As Jones and Wild (1992) acknowledged, the ethnic German migrants from Romania chose to migrate to locations where they had relatives or friends and that at the local scale the family reunification had a very strong influence particularly in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. The following quotes reveal the importance of existing family connections in Germany for the migration decision:

> 'Because I had my relatives here [Germany]. I had a brother here and we left all and I thought that if one leaves, better we all leave' (10).

> 'Well, I was the only one who was left from my family, my brother left 3 or 4 years ago, my sister left, my mother left and the grandchildren and the aunts and others and also from my group of friends half of them had left' (19).

> 'As I was telling you at the beginning that my father left in 1973 to come and visit... I don't know... two uncles and a sister, he stayed here and in 1975 me, my mother and my sister we also [left]... I think family reunification it was called the whole thing' (45).

> 'Yes, our father was there, we also went because... the families... I mean we left as I already told you for... Family reunification...' (54).

The above quotes also point out that the Transylvanian Saxons' migration process was characterised by compromise within the family and uncertainty in the decision-making process. The migration decision was experienced differently by the family members and the timespan between the migrations of the family members varied. On the one hand, some migrants chose to follow relatives who migrated long time ahead them, and on the other hand migrants chose to follow relatives who migrated recently only for the purpose of family unity:

> 'Already part of the family stayed in Germany after the war and then another part went to Germany in the 70s; it was possible then and also we had lots of visitors from Germany and it was important to get the family together again and so on. Everybody said: 'OK, you have to come.' But it was impossible so

they waited and I think that they... because the roots are German and because our family was in Germany and they hoped to have an easier life and better... and I think because after the war... Yeah, a big war between the Romanians who won the war and the German people and they have to leave their homes and I think it was not so easy. And then I think they wanted to go back where the roots were ... Yeah, I think this is the main thing' (40).

'The reason for emigration was also my wife's desire to be together with the parents and the grandparents' desire to have the grandchildren close' (23).

'Well, the motive was... the children, the children wanted to come. Maybe we were not that keen on coming but my husband knew what to wait for, he didn't know any German, a difficult life is waiting for him and he did had a hard life and I can say that also for me it wasn't easy but we came for the children' (21).

'I think I am among the few cases, in my case it was family reunification. We live here in Fürth, near Nurnberg, closer than we lived at home in Râşnov, near Braşov. So the family is compact and this was the reason to come not to create worries to the children knowing us alone at home at that age' (61).

It is contended that the decision to follow family to Germany shaped the development of migration networks. As Dietz (1999) states, migration networks influence the individual migration decision and the absorption process is usually related to friendship and family reunification. Moreover, Dietz (1999) claims that the settlement behaviour of ethnic migrants' reveals that the *Aussiedler* [re-settlers] have the tendency to participate in migrant networks from the same country of origin and the Romanian Germans are those who use migrant networks intensively. The development of what Dietz (1999) called migration networks could be implied by the following quote which illustrates how the migrants chose to follow family and friends:

'My husband and I we were both working at this newspaper and after the events with revolutionary character from December 1989 and particularly in

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the first half of the 90s so many of our friends and acquaintances left to Germany that at some point we felt quite alone. We had better and better newspaper because we dared to be free, to write what really was of interest for us and for everybody, but our readers had left. So these problems arise, what are we doing? What will happen if we stay in Romania or not. Besides our family left, from our family we were the last to leave Romania. So we also left after our family and friends' (35).

The use of migration networks in the incipient phases of migration decision-making process did not necessarily imply that the migrants chose also to settle after migration near family or friends but this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6:

'Let's say because the majority of Transylvanian Saxons left and I thought that if my sisters are living in Germany we should go too to be together. I say together but we actually live here separately from one another' (37).

The empirical evidence also reveals that some migrants, possibly in the later stages of migration, when the acceptance policies were more rigorous, acknowledged the use of the family reunification motive as an 'official' tool in order to be accepted as an immigrant in Germany:

'Of course that family reunification was a motive, let's say... Um... officially of course that was the family reunification because as I said my mother-in-law was already in Germany... My older brother was also in Germany, my sister was in Germany' (42).

Findings from the semi-structured interviews exemplify cases when the migration decision-making was instigated by parents and consequently the children were followers of their parents:

'My reasons were inexistent because I was a child; I do what my parents do' (26).

'I lived there until my... um... until I was 6. And then it was 1990 all the [Transylvanian] Saxons moved to Germany, so I did, together with my family... Well, in the end I think it was... a large movement and not everybody really thought about what he was doing. Some just did what... everybody was doing, they just followed the others... um... and I think... especially young people or people at the age between 20 and... Well, say 60... Um... they had no other chance because all their relatives and neighbours and friends they just moved to Germany, so they would have remained lonely' (41).

'My parents came here and I had to go with them. My parents left because everyone was leaving and the rest of the family was in Germany so we had to come too' (55).

The Semi-structured interviews also reveal that some migrants choose to make compromises within the migration decision-making process that were less tangible, such as the migration as a family long-term investment. The following quotes exemplify how some migrants choose to move in order to invest in a better quality of life for them and for their family and to invest in the educational and economic future of their children:

'Yes, my grandparents after the war... they were not deported but their relatives were deported to Russia so they didn't feel so comfortable anymore and they wanted to live as soon as possible so the whole family, my father they migrated to Germany already in the 70s, in the 80s and then when the communism disappeared my parents wanted to come as well because the economic situation was better... And my sister and I were already born and they thought that for us it would be better to grow up here' (27).

'My mother said that: 'I want to achieve for my children... to have better possibilities than she had'. Because my mother was very little when she left Romania in [the late] 40s... she had only 5 grades when she left Romania. And when she went back she did not have any more the possibility to go to school,

so she anyway worked as she could… She always said that she wants her children to have an easier situation' (62).

'I had two children who had to have a future, they had to come here and finish their school preparations… the older boy had already the Baccalaureate but the younger one was still in high school and this was… to create a future for the children' (42).

'A better future for us and for our children, this was the main reason' (57).

The existence of family-ties in the place of destination influenced the migration decision-making process specifically at particular times in the migrants' life, for example when they were at the stage of forming a family. The presence of a partner in the place of destination and the desire of marriage were strong incentives for some migrants to move to Germany:

'I knew a man from here [laughs] and… I fell in love and so this was the decision' (51).

'My husband… I waited for three years until I received the approval to get married, almost three years' (44).

'My reason was the marriage… My wife who at the time was my girlfriend left with her parents in 1973, I mean she came with the whole family to her grandmother… We as lovers you can imagine… We were lovers until 1975… [Laughs]… and afterwards I wanted… I didn't think and I didn't hope that I will come to Germany. I said the girlfriend left, that's it, the relationship is over… But she cared about me and after that I waited for two years until I received the approval and in 1975 I came to Germany' (39).

Findings from the interviews also highlight some exceptional motives in the migration decision-making process. For some migrants illness determined the move to the place of destination. For some migrants attendance to an ill child was a strong

incentive for migration. It can be argued that the migration would not necessarily have happened if there had not been a necessity to move due to illness. The following quotes illustrate the poor quality of the Romanian health system and therefore the necessity rather than the choice to leave the country in order to offer the appropriate medical support to a child. It can also be seen that for some migrants the initial necessity of migration transformed in a choice to stay:

> 'In 1999 I emigrated with one of our daughters… A dramatic health situation of one of our daughters' (01).

> 'A child on his dying bed… Actually I came to visit for treatment with the child and afterwards I decided to stay' (12).

> 'Yes, I have to say that in the first years we were the ones from the family which said that we will stay, so not us because we were children but the parents and the grandparents didn't want to leave. But when the situation worsened that much in the 80s there were different arguments. Firstly, we were almost the last from the family which stayed there, so my father's family left in the 40s, 50s, 60s, and in the 70s everybody left. And from the 80s we were almost the last in the family which stayed there. The second argument, my parents' friends almost all left from '78 to '82 and again we were the last ones [Laughs]. Well, I also had an illness and complications and that's why… it was clear that I will not find treatment in Romania which would be sufficient and of course that with all the arguments we decided to leave in '84 and '85' (52).

This subsection has revealed some of the most significant factors in the Transylvanian Saxons' migration decision making. It has been shown that the Transylvanian Saxons' motives for migration are very complex. Findings revealed that socio-cultural motives are closely related to the economic motives up to the point that the Transylvania Saxon movement to Germany developed into a pattern of community mentality (see section 5.4.1.2).

5.4.1.2 Transylvanian Saxons' community migration: 'If everyone leaves, I will also leave'

Empirical evidence suggests that for some migrants the ethnicity grounded in the past steered the processes of community migration: 'Primarily, my motive for migration was the fact the German population from Romania was migrating, so actually I followed my German co-ethnics leaving also to Germany' (43).

For some migrants, Germany represents home, and even if the majority of migrants had not visited the country before migration, there is a feeling of belonging and a distorted reality developed due to ethnic and historical roots. As Koranyi and Wittlinger (2011) state: 'The classical works of Goethe, Lessing, or Kleist, combined with Western consumerism, helped construct a rather skewed view of Germany and German society. Although German books were available in Romania, friends and relatives often brought literature with them as gifts. This then added to a heavily romantic image of Germany, one that led *Siebenbürger Sachsen* to imagine Germany in terms of Goethe and Schiller' (p.104).

The image of a 'Germany in terms of Goethe and Schiller' contrasted strongly with the culturally fragmented community in Transylvania. The following quotes illustrate the cultural fragmentation of a community living in the socialist system and that the loss of cultural institutions or privileges were strong push-factors in the migration decision-process:

> 'It was this fact that in '63, '64, I don't know exactly when it was... the directors of the schools teaching in German started to be changed, some subjects were only taught in Romanian, the Romanian history, the Romanian geography, I don't remember what other subjects... I don't know if I use the word correctly... [this was] an affront for us, we were guaranteed to be taught in German in our schools to learn now from one day to another the Romanian language. Our pen nights opened in our pockets because of the spite... This also was a fact. And many Transylvanian Saxons started only from that

moment to develop the idea of leaving. My mother submitted the first request to leave in '58 and since then the papers were constantly rejected until '65 after so many rejections an approval arrived and we... happily and quickly left in order to leave the misery behind us' (24).

'That is a big problem; I cannot say that I had problems in *Siebenbürgen* [Transylvania]... Why all the Transylvanian Saxons left Romania and moved to Germany? If you think realistically there was Hitler and the Transylvanian Saxons weren't in [the same situation in] Romania anymore as they were in the beginning. In the beginning the Transylvanian Saxons were there and they had... how do you say *Freiheit* [freedom]? They had... how is it called? Very many... they were able to do whatever they wanted and... Yes, many liberties, very many liberties. And after that the times changed and the situation changed and of course that this was a very strong reason to go to Germany from where the Transylvanian Saxons came because the Transylvanian Saxons thought themselves Germans and some went back from where they came' (32).

The quote above shows that the anxiety of a German culture loss and the presence of the ethnic roots in Germany instigated the migration decision-making process. For some migrants the existence of family-ties generated a trend of family migration which consequently was helped by historical events resulting in community migration:

'The situation of the Germans or... the persons of German nationality left in big numbers. It is said that in Banat there were nights when hundreds of persons crossed the border illegally, I don't know if it is true. Entire streets were emptied at that occasion, I don't know if it is true' (23).

The development of a community migration resulted in a drastic decrease in the number of Transylvanian Saxons which subsequently contributed to an alteration of the remaining cultural community and infrastructure and instigated new desires of

migration (see interview quote 35 in section 5.4.1.1). The following quote reflects how some migrants developed feelings of nostalgia and how they tried to reconcile the decision to move for community reasons with feelings of detachment, sometimes giving up promising professional careers:

> 'In September 1990 after the so called revolution when the minority left… Personally, I detached myself harder… until then I was a lecturer at the University of Sibiu and I had the chance to receive the position of professor but all my family left, all the village left, the community in which I felt very well so I felt a detachment from this point of view' (48).

5.4.2 Economic motives for Transylvanian Saxons' migration

This subsection discusses the economic motives for Transylvanian Saxon migration and distinguishes between traditional economic motives and contemporary economic motives and aspirations. Despite the poor quality of life in the countries of the Eastern bloc affected by communism the empirical evidence suggest a less prevalence in nominating economic motives as significant in the migration decision-making processes. This may be explained by the fact that the economic situation varied among migrants and their economic situation seemed often good. The following quote illustrates the poor quality of life endured by some of the migrants during the communist period.

> 'It was misery… many times I didn't know from where to obtain it… every day in the morning after 1L of milk from the Romanian farmers… we could not find milk… and we drank milk because we grew up like this. It was hard. If you didn't receive the ratio, sugar, oil, what else… if you weren't quick enough you didn't receive any anymore for that month… It was hard. It wasn't easy, that's why we left. What we were supposed to do' (02).

> 'There were two motives. One which weight a lot on the scale, it was the material situation' (24).

The economic motives were present (Jones, 1990) as the previous discussions have shown, shaped aspirations for a better future but Transylvanian Saxon migrants often had a more 'official' motive for migration linked to the policy practiced by the German government of reunifying the ethnic Germans in Germany under the notion of family reunification. The following quotes illustrate the poor economic situation in socialist Romania and the tendency to present officially the motive of family reunification rather than the economic ones:

> 'The family reasons because... of course officially we always talked about this family requirement to... because... if those from Germany would have come back, the Romanian state would not have paid anything for the years that we weren't [working] in Romania but... the German state... for example I have a pension as if I would have worked those years in Germany. And this is a thing which counts at an old age' (50).

> 'We came, we came... and we said farewell and it was with a lot of tears. Painful! Most of all because we left our daughter there. Um... family reunification but again the family was broken. We asked to leave for Germany and it took so long also because we didn't have parents or children, so blood relatives. We had brothers and cousins and nephews and aunts, and so on but we didn't have parents or children. Because this was family reunification, under scheme we asked [to leave]. We didn't ask because we haven't eaten butter for three months, no? For this you don't ask for emigration. You could ask but you won't receive it at all' (59).

The above quote suggests the option of sacrificing family relationships and friendships for a better quality of life. The migration process is thus not necessarily seen as a long-term economic gain but rather, as the following quote illustrates, as a secure long-term investment in quality of life:

> 'Mostly the economic situation... towards the '80s... '77, '78, '79... it was so disastrous that... the tendency was... the tendency of every Transylvanian

Saxon was to leave Romania... as quickly as possible and... there wasn't any perspective that something will change in good, it was worse and worse' (31).

It can be concluded that, although some respondents cited a poor quality of life, overall Transylvanian Saxons had a relatively good economic situation in the Romanian economically deprived system.

5.4.3 Political motives for Transylvanian Saxons' migration

This subsection discusses the Transylvanian Saxons' political motives in the migration decision-making process in the context of the Romanian communist regime. The empirical evidence suggests that for some migrants the saturation of the Romanian communist system represented a strong incentive for migration:

'Firstly because of the political system... I realised that this system cannot bring a good end. Of course that there are also today here in Germany many which think that it was a better system but it wasn't for me and for the majority... we weren't able to live with this system' (08).

'It's needed to be said that... the main reason was... the 100% saturation of the communism... because... well, my ancestors they lived in Romania after 1918 and they knew to strive... they still had some rights and their work was partially for self-interest. Meanwhile here you worked and you received as much as the regime considered and you were put in some situation also considered by it. Without being a [communist] party member you didn't have any chances to get a leadership position but we need to emphasise that we are not economic defector and however for conscience and we wanted to have a future. It wasn't possible to expect a future during the communist time but unfortunately immediately after the revolution, administrative and leadership defects, the corruption and speculation, there also blooming today in Romania... mostly in Bucharest, let's say that the exception is Sibiu' (22).

The above quote also shows that these feelings of saturation developed against the Romanian political system had not only historical connotations but also referred to present and future adversities. Consequently, the feelings of 'no hope' for the future and for a good quality of life constituted for some migrants strong incentives for migration. The quotes below reveal that some Transylvanian Saxon migrants often struggled to reconcile with the communist idealistic propagandas, the politics of Romanisation and different losses such as schools, cultural institutions and land:

> 'This cannot be explained in just one proposition. In 1969 we received the passport in order to come and visit. My husband came in September, I... didn't come in September because I was a teacher and the school was starting, I only came for two weeks in the winter holiday, so we didn't have the intention to leave. But meanwhile some... how do I say... lines in the Romanian politics changed. Ceauşescu wanted a national state. He started in some places to demolish some buildings, some houses, and some institutions and then... in some schools... there were introduced some classes which were kept in Romanian language, they weren't kept in German anymore even in the German department' (30).

For some Transylvanian Saxon migrants involved in political activities, other than those of the communist party, the situation deteriorated because of persecutions by the *Securitate* [Secret service of communist Romania] and consequently they developed the desire to flee:

> 'Actually my father was arrested two times, he was also fired, he worked as... not a redactor but a stylist at *Neuer Weg*, the German communist newspaper and then at the German show for the Romanian radio but also there was always... he had the sister abroad, the father-in-law abroad, [there were] some job positions where you weren't allowed to have relationships abroad, I mean familial relationships. But they in fact didn't exist because the communications were concealed... But all was found out and then I realised that we don't have any sort of opportunity here, no? We submitted [the papers], so, we waited for

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10 years for this approval. Of course, the emigration claim was two times rejected... under the so-called family reunification until one of my uncles interceded... he left Romania in '47 and he escaped all the communist misery and he made a nice fortune in the occident and he was able to get us out of there for a handsome amount. And this was our luck' (28).

The disastrous situation in communist Romania was a strong contrast with the democratic political system in the welfare state of West Germany. Moreover, Germany offered privileged admissions to ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe which constituted strong pull-factors of migration (Dietz, 1999; Groenendijk, 1997; Münz, 2001):

'The main reason for me was the following. During the time when I was a student and after that a professor I realised that if I want to stay German and also those who are coming after me, I don't have perspectives in the socialist Romania for this thing. The second reason or again the first reason, they are equal, I wanted to be a free man as those who were before us and how were at the time the Germans in the West Germany, not in RDG. These were the main reasons. I tell you sincerely I didn't think that I will earn better there and I will have this and that, I didn't know how the life here is, but I knew that here the people are free, they live in a democracy and this thing is many times more important than to be very reach or poor, so, this two things, the freedom and to remain of German nationality. Maybe there wouldn't have been any problem if the regime wouldn't have a Romanisation politics, then... if I want... or if no one nags me, then it would have been simpler but if I feel that all the established institutions for Germans by the communist dictatorship are actually an instrument to have also the power over the German minority then I said, in this country, under these political conditions we don't have a future' (60).

In conclusion, the motives of Transylvanian Saxons to migrate to Germany were complex. They were linked to socio-cultural, economic and political incentives for a

better future and driven by migration networks based on family and community relationships of Transylvanian Saxons.

5.5 <u>Transylvanian Saxons' experiences with the migration process</u>

This section provides an insight into the Transylvanian Saxons' experiences with the migration process to Germany. The section distinguishes between pre-1990 migrant experiences and post-1990 migrant experiences. First, the discussion presents the migrants' memories about Transylvania. Second, the discussion examines how the migrants experienced the migration process itself and investigates the forms of migration used by the migrants. Third, the validity of the migration-decision process as seen by the migrants at the time of the interview is discussed.

5.5.1 Pre-1990 migration experiences

5.5.1.1Pre-1990 migrant memories about Transylvania

Amongst the sample of 63 semi-structured interviews, memories about Transylvania are divided between pleasant memories and unpleasant memories and often migrants acknowledge mixed memories about Transylvania. However, some migrants, especially those who spent only their youth in Transylvania have the tendency to remember only beautiful memories about Transylvania:

> 'I had a beautiful childhood, the school in German; I had... how I shall say... very good schoolmasters and teachers, they gave us a lot of life knowledge... I made a professional school, needlework but I never or I worked a bit in this area. Yes... I have very nice memories from Mediaş, from my childhood and my youth, and then I married in Sighişoara, where I felt very well. It is a beautiful city with a fortress. I lived for a short while with my husband in Rupea where our first daughter was born and there I have very good memories; I had good friends and I have done very many trips' (18).

'Well the entire youth was pleasant with the entire hard situation after the war... the youth is beautiful, the friendship in school, in the high school which last until today' (22).

Findings from the interviews show that some of the migrants who lived extended periods of time in Transylvania and who experienced the hardship of the post-Second World War period, personal or indirect deportation to Russia, the terror and the fanatic ideology of a communist regime tended to remember more the negative aspects about Transylvania:

'Well, I grew up with this terror of the deportations in the Soviet Union, people which disappeared over night, some returned, some others didn't but this wasn't only among the Germans but they were hit in a more special way because these organised deportations... Yes, they were made also from Bessarabia but even the Romanian historians don't speak about it but the majority of the deported were also Germans and not only Transylvanian Saxons and so this was my childhood and my first youth. I lived fearfully and the reasons were so absurd, for example, the possession of a typing machine or of a... hat which was declared by I don't know who a Nazi cap and every child who wore such a cap was... um... stopped, the parents were arrested, these are my memories' (53).

'I remember there was the contradiction or the inner conflict that every teacher had to fight with being constraint to propagate the party ideology which was in an enormous contradiction with the reality. Very unpleasant! I remember a political class or political information class where I had to persuade the high school students that every Romanian citizen ate last year 67 kg of pork... And the students didn't even know the pork meat... So a four member's family should have eaten theoretically almost 250kg but the pork wasn't on the market... So this conflict between the ideology and the reality I remember it very unpleasantly. A pleasant thing I remember was the cultural and the social activity also in the German schools and also in the communes.

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This activity was somehow liberal or libertine, it wasn't permanently under the state control or of the security. Even though, personally, I also met these kinds of situations... a ball with over 350 persons was observed for the entire night by the *Securitate* [Secret Service of Communist Romania]... in the 80s. So I remember this thing as an unpleasant thing' (23).

5.5.1.2 Pre-1990 migrant stories

The semi-structured interviews provide different insights into the Transylvanian Saxons' migration experiences. It appears that some of the pre-1990 migrants were confronted with extended periods of time waiting before receiving a passport - sometimes of ten years or more - and had to deal with a lot of bureaucracy, corruption and tensions from the *Securitate* [Secret Service of Communist Romania]:

'Firstly, on the one hand in the first weeks I knew I was allowed to leave... there were so many things to resolve that you were not sure on what would you do... but I felt a huge happiness that finally I was allowed to live. On the other hand I was sorry to leave family and friends alone and my parents were old, my father was ill and my two sisters and my brother with their children were remaining there. Why? I didn't know but in Romania it wasn't known why you left, why you were allowed to do this, it was like this. So on the one hand happiness and on the other a bit of distress. The departure... and when I left by plain from Bucharest and with the *Securitate* [Secret Service of Communist Romania] after me... they wanted me to work for them, I realised later. In the next months I realised why they allowed me to leave. And in any case when I arrived here my best friend from school who lived in Wiesbaden waited for me in Frankfurt and he brought me to Nurnberg and I want to say that everything impressed me, everything I saw' (60).

'We had already the German citizenship because it was enough that someone gave our data in Bonn and automatically we were German citizen. But we weren't able to use it... There was also money paid for everyone and anyway

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the communist authorities tried in every possible way to... exploit this migration, for example asking in my case, security and espionage services... Informer... And only in that case I would have deserved to leave. And because of this I was cited weekly to the interrogatory. And then when my mother insisted all the time and her sister predicted this thing and I wasn't that happy but anyway we consented to do this petition. Um... The people were sacked from their jobs... without receiving the passport in many cases and only because they made this traitor act against the loved homeland. Yes, it was a lugubrious situation. Another extraordinary chicanery was with the things that you were able to take with you, or better say you weren't able to take with you. There was an entire ridiculous list... what was possible and what wasn't possible, interdicted' (53).

'After trying for 14 years... um... my uncle did the forms for entering Germany in 1964 and since then it was distributed in Germany a number 'RU' from Romanian... I had the number RU5000 but with all these I waited until the 1980s, when I was able to leave, mostly as a consequence of the pressures... how shall I say... the events occurred after signing of the peace conference from Helsinki' (22).

As the following quotes reveal, some migrants were aware and others not about the sums of money paid for them by the West German state at the moment of leave:

'I heard about these things but... I never knew where to present myself and... I mean from what I know, and from what we know, for us wasn't paid any Deutschmark. If we entered in this contingent for which they paid... It's quite possible but... I was about 15 times to the governmental committee because I saw... [Whispers] I also was a party member... And in Copșa we had to, we were made [party members] ad-hoc and I was the great specialist at the governmental committee and the substitute teacher in Mediaș' (50).

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'Yes... at that moment I didn't have another solution and in the end the Romanian authorities gave passports for the money they received... and only ulterior we realised that 100 teachers missed from today to tomorrow... Yes... the pact between Ceausescu and Helmut Schmidt... For the academics with a diploma they paid 11,000 Deutschmarks. The author writes [Shows a book]... that the money was asked from Deutsche Bank and they were transported in some suitcases somewhere... in Ceausescu's account... it is what he writes' (38).

Although the personal migration process was perceived generally as negative, some migrants claimed a very easy migration process, 'just as a travel with no return ticket'. These migrants considered the move to Germany as easy because of the help and family-ties existent at the receiving end:

'Well, I had... I didn't have big problems or not at all... why? Because my parents-in-law were already there for two years, they already settled a bit and they knew where everything is and I came as a prince... [Laughter]... Nearly everything done... I received immediately an accommodation, I mean I didn't have great difficulties, I mean everything went very, very well in my case, I received a big accommodation, and then was still a camp, a sort of camp, which was a sort of block of flats divided for two families... And I stayed there 6 months and then we received an entire flat. I received immediately a job... after a relatively short time, 2 months or so' (39).

'The migration was a travel of about 28-30 hours on the train... an ordeal with two small children, one of 6 months and the other of 3 years old. We arrived in Nurnberg. My parents waited for us at the train station. It was wonderful. I had big eyes like a child. Of course coming from an area where you were happy if you had a bit of bread and you found a chicken to buy... here candies, chocolate. And being new arrivals all the family helped us. Great! We received also some money' (36).

Empirical evidence suggests that some migrants encountered difficulties with the migration experience in some instances due to a temporary separation from family and friends or due to feelings of uncertainty resulting from leaving a safe environment and move to a new environment:

> 'I stayed for one year and a half without the family. It was the hardest situation from what I lived because I was forced to… because in Romania I was… how shall I say? I was settled with the family and the children, everything was all right meanwhile here I was like the leaf on the water. I didn't have a job for a while and for a while I had a job but my children and my wife weren't here… It was a very difficult situation' (31).

> 'It was not beautiful. I and my sister did not want to leave and we cried all the way here. We came by train and it was difficult because all our friends came with us to the train station... and we did not want to leave because we had good times in Romania' (56).

> 'And when I left Apoldu de Sus, my sister came with me to Bucharest and I came by plane and I also had a beautiful day in Bucharest but for her it was… I will tell you afterwards… she had problems with the *Securitate* [Secret Service of Communist Romania] because she came with me... I arrived in Frankfurt and it was supposed that a coach will wait for us to take us to Nurnberg. And when I arrived in Frankfurt there wasn't any coach, so nobody waited for us. We were quite a small group, about 30 persons and we had to wait about 4 hours in Frankfurt until they sent a coach from Nurnberg. And my husband knew that I will arrive in Nurnberg and he waited for me, and waited... They didn't receive any information here in Nurnberg when we would arrive... how it's called? Camp?' (51).

In contrast to this, the following quotes suggest that the necessity to escape the misery and poverty of a communist country pushed the migrants to extreme

solutions, such as illegal migration. However, the findings show that few respondents have chosen the illegal migration for return to homeland:

'From the moment we decided definitively to leave then and not just in a few years... the moment was more established on information which we received. One of our friends had a phone number which I called. A gentleman presented himself with a number which was not true, of course, that afterwards I checked in the phone book and no name was compatible with the number he gave me. And we met in Bucharest and we discussed that... my husband and my children back then of 14 and 15 and me, we can leave if we put 20,000 Deutschmarks on the table. And we were not allowed to have any, not 20,000... But with some information change and with our friends here which collected for us... Yes, my brother-in-law came and he brought the money and I have to say about this gentleman that he was... in all this illegality, he was absolutely honest' (47).

'Sadly, I left a 3 years old child in Romania. Otherwise we would have not received the passports that were only touristic [passports], I didn't emigrate, let's say legally, and I emigrated with a touristic passport and... Without a return ticket... [Laughs]. And because the [Romanian] authorities wanted to revenge as much as possible and for as long as possible, they restrain my child for two years. Normally, on that time, the little children came to their parents in about a year. So, I emigrated together with my wife' (49).

'We had luck and we succeeded to run away leaving the daughter at home, but just then Romania obtained this status of the most advantaged partner of the United States and of the West because they committed to respect the human rights and so on, and the thing was that everyone who wanted to leave the country could leave and received the papers not later than three months. But the problem was if you wanted to ask to leave the country you needed to have forms and we didn't receive those forms and the West didn't look because they didn't have any interest to do it because they didn't even have the interest to

receive many of them or so. In any case we then thought like this that if we leave the little one at home and we had to leave her, if we manage to run away we can request her from the West without any trickery and indeed it worked very well. When we were here everything went quickly and after a relatively short time we were separated from the little one in total only 8 months... we had her here. This was then the hardest thing for us' (20).

When questioned about the first impressions they had when they arrived at the place of destination, migrants often compared the old life with the new life and they vividly described and emphasised the Western well-being:

'The first impression when we came by bus to Nurnberg - I asked my mother what these people in Nurnberg are like, look how ugly it is here. I didn't like it at all. But I also have to say that we passed through the city and Nurnberg was then...now it is beautiful, renovated... but then it was dark, grey houses and that was a negative impression. This was the first day which I will never forget that I asked what people are like here in Germany. Afterwards, I had my friends who had left a few months before me and they were also in Nurnberg and we went the second day in the city and I was impressed by the smell. Even now when I sense this smell I think back to the first days here in Germany. This smell... and then they came with me and they showed me the big shops and I was very impressed. Many lights, so many clothes and we stayed there surprised [laughter]. We didn't know where to look, I was really very impressed. The first day was as I said... I don't know... it was dark, it rained and I didn't like it at all but then the second day... It was in October and there were already oranges and during that time there weren't many in Romania and I received a bag of oranges and that smell... That's why for me the first memories I associate with the smell. Yes. And then I was very impressed when I saw... one of my friends came with her family a few months earlier, they came in February and we came in October... and she took me to their house. My friend had a stereo, she had her room, they had a TV, they had so many that we

could not imagine they can be achieved in seven-eight months and that was very impressionable for me' (62).

'Well the first impression was this superb richness in the shops... I entered in a shop and I thought that it will strike me down, this was the first impression and the cleanliness impressed me then and also my wife. We were used to in Romania at the beginning of 80s that you were able to find only tins or jam, and nothing else and we came here and we entered a shop we thought that we will be strike us down. And we were very well received here, so I can't say that I felt then somehow rejected by the... this German mentality or... No. We were very well received and we had the luck to meet only good people. So... You need to understand that... somehow the Transylvanian Saxons from here compare with the local Germans in the sense of conservatism. Also there the Transylvanian Saxons are somehow conservatives, they are together, they don't leave much the foreigners to enter the German community and it is pretty much the same with the Germans, I refer to the local Germans. So, somehow these mentalities fitted here and the Transylvanian Saxons were able to integrate easier' (46).

The findings show that some migrants also have memories about the cleanliness of the German streets and the incomparable good and organised German society:

'Yes, we were overwhelmed by the cleanliness on the streets which now changed in the last 20 years. So the world is globalized. This doesn't mean that only the foreigners make mess... everyone. Yes. And the regularity of the local traffic, how it is organized? So you can put your watch after the underground schedule or of the buses' (59).

'I was impressed by the cleanliness. We also were clean, the Transylvanian Saxons, but here the cleanliness was bigger and it was better than it is now; now it is not the same. The cleanliness... I read all over the name of the firm in the German language, something new for me, although I also read a lot at home

but everything was in German and I also was very impressed by the way I was treated at different... there where I had to go to different state or town offices, the people were very friendly and they spoke with you, I also was very impressed by the fact that no one told me comrade. It was an absolutely new experience and I sincerely tell you I was aware from the beginning that it was the best step I made in this situation, that I left. I also can say, because you will ask me, that I never had a moment of regret, although I have very intense relationships in the last years with the natal village, with Bistriţa, with Transylvania, with many Romanians, and now also with the Romanians that are living here and they are a few thousands. For me it is very clear that not them, not this country I didn't like but this regime, this regime... the dictatorship was probably the most difficult thing to bear... I would probably bear it like others but to be and to feel free is totally different than to live in that dictatorship' (60).

'Well, firstly, here there is an order and in parenthesis discipline, less than in the past but you can rely on a train, you can rely a bus programme, it's put up there and it comes, you can rely on the post, on all your accounts, all the payments are done rightly, nothing is lost or extremely rarely a letter gets lost... The desk workers are at your service... Yes, there is indeed a lot of bureaucracy but it is ordered and you learn what you need to do and you know what you receive and you know what you have to do' (22).

As the academic literature shows the majority of the Transylvanian Saxons migrants had to register upon arrival in Germany (Dietz, 1999). This process was usually considered as long and tedious but some migrants 'had the luck' to experience a shortened registration process due to help from relatives and friends:

'Yes we only stayed there some days because my father came to Germany already in February and stayed here and then we came half a year later and so we already had a flat and something for us, so we only had to stay so long as

the papers were made and then we could leave. Other people stayed more years but we only stayed some days in Nurnberg' (40).

When asked about their first impression of the German land some migrants proudly affirmed that Germany was not known only from the German books they had in Romania but rather they had experienced the country first-hand before:

'So, I need to say that I was for the first time in Germany in '84 for a medical treatment. Um... I stayed in Germany for two months, in hospitals and also had time to go between the treatments, so in the days which weren't busy with the treatment through the entire Germany, so where we had the relatives and the friends and so on. And I saw Germany, I was 10 at the time and was very touched... a beautiful country, order everywhere and you were able to find everything, toys for children and so on, this touched me very much and I was glad to see the relatives which left in the '80- '83 and we came back. And when we went for the second time for treatment, in January '88 we didn't go back anymore because of the arguments I already mentioned' (52).

Interestingly, the semi-structured interviews show that many young migrants draw on discourses of nostalgia to describe a difficult period of settling down in the new location. Many respondents cite childhood memories or difficulties in school that determined a slow accommodation in the new environment:

'Yes. It was a very hard year after the arrival. At school I had big problems, not because I did not know but because we were not ok here. We wrote letters all the time and we were thinking of our friends. I do not have good memories from that time. But afterwards we started to go out and since then we have many friends' (56).

'When I left I was pretty sad because... well, I was 17 and it was the period when I was spending a lot of time with the friends and it was... I have done a lot of sport, I had parties... it was a very beautiful period and I am sure I was a bit afraid of the incoming, what is going to happen, how is it going to happen,

how will I succeed... um... and... Anyway I left with very mixed [feelings], I wasn't able to enjoy this because it went very well for me and my dream was to do there the Baccalaureate and to study sport because I was playing handball and... It was clear and this was my dream and I was afraid that this dream would not become reality. Indeed when I arrived it wasn't easy, I was in the 11th form at the Codlea high school and because I arrived in December I went back to 10th form because I also had a bit of a problem with English, in the high school I have studied more French and Latin, anyway, and I had problems with English and I admit that also the way of teaching wasn't so easy. Because we were at a German high school I didn't have problems with German, there weren't such problems. There were more adaptation problems... um... and of course I admit that it wasn't so easy in a new world' (45).

5.5.1.3 Coming to Germany: the right step? Pre-1990 migrant reflections

Findings show that the loss of the Transylvanian home and community was easily accepted especially by the migrants from the 20-40 age group, who were more likely to settle easier in the new community:

'Yes. Now I feel here at home because I was young. I was born there, I grew up there until that age but youngsters can be still formed and I spent the time here and I have here the whole of my family and for me in any case it was a good decision' (62).

'I had luck in many aspects. For me it was very good. I had luck that I arrived here with a profession. I found here a job as an engineer. Now after 22 years it is very good. I would have never succeeded in Romania to buy myself a house' (36).

'The Transylvanian Saxons had the advantage of knowing the language from the first day and they were also organised here... you can see that through the fact that we can give you here this interview, it is the site of the Transylvanian Saxons in the Baden-Württemberg state, with organised [events], with

meetings and with games and dances and... We don't feel rootless. Of course it was a big pain to leave the natal places where our ancestors stayed for hundreds of years but in the conditions which we were in then and which unfortunately are still unresolved today; certainly it was a good decision' (22).

'Yes, yes of course. Of course life here is much easier in the economic way, all infrastructure is better, and of course it's... I am very happy that we have a rather good democratic system and I used it, I had... when I was young I engaged myself in social movements, in political movements. And... yes, you feel it that this society has... I don't know 50 years more experiences with the democracy, more free society and with less... 'You mustn't' and 'don't' (04).

Semi-structured interviews show that for many migrants Transylvania represents the emotional home, a lost community and culture. Although the appeal of the Western well-being was strongly felt by the pre-1990 migrants, feelings of nostalgia and regret were expressed as well:

'Um... of course, yes, I think that you also know how it was in Romania in the 80s, so; we don't even need to discuss it... In some way, we regret it very much... about Transylvania... but also in general, how it was there and how the people were living there, and so on. If the history wouldn't have been as it was... but there we can't do anything. There are 800 years when they lived there and they created something and now... [Puffs]... And mostly because of this I think that not tomorrow and not the day after, and not in 10 years or 20 years but the day will come in which the Transylvanian Saxons will not be so united as they are now. I hope that I am wrong but...' (26).

'Yes, yes, yes. We never regretted leaving Romania but don't mean that sometimes we didn't miss the homeland. So, one is the emotional homeland... even now if I tell the lady that in June or in July I go to Sibiu, she is happy and I am happy' (23).

'Thinking at the fact that most of the Transylvanian Saxons left the country I say today that it was good what we did. Thinking to my ancestors I think it would have been better to stay there. I think that they would not forgive us the fact that we... deserted the entire... how shall I say? The entire country' (15).

The desire to go back to the past seems to be rather strong but migrants acknowledge that compromises were necessary:

'Last summer I had a discussion with a Romanian which was in the same year with me at the professional school. We had 50 years since we graduated the professional school and I discussed with him and I told him right at this question that of course... I don't regret it at all but I didn't know what big price I would pay and this price is that I don't have a homeland. I left the homeland which I had and here... I do the difference... I am at home but I think that my homeland is however Transylvania' (24).

5.5.2 Post-1990 migration experiences

5.5.2.1 Transylvania: good or bad memories?

Empirical evidence suggests that there is no large difference between the post-1990 migrants' memories about Transylvania and those who moved pre-1990. The respondents of the post-1990 migrant category also have mixed feelings about their motherland. The following quotes show that some participants remember with pleasure the multi-ethnic environment experienced in Transylvania:

'As I said, I lived in Bod where the great majority of my friends were of Transylvanian Saxon descent and I took part without being a contributor to the cultural and social life of Transylvanian Saxons from Bod. Studying the high school in Romanian language I also had Romanian colleagues and Hungarians, so I had the experience of the multi-ethnic friendships and I can say the same of the time when I studied in Timişoara and I had Romanian and Transylvanian Saxon friends. Generally I can say that it was a positive

experience. Comparative with my father who told me that immediately after the war the Transylvanian Saxons were considered by the population Nazis and also told me that he had many traumatized experiences, he was chased on the street by the Romanians as if he was a Nazi. This experience marked him. I can say that my father did not have the same positive image about Romanians as I did. He was affected by these experiences' (43).

'I lived there in society with all the neighbours, with Romanians and Transylvanian Saxons and we felt really well, we were at home' (37).

'My experience as a minority group was actually always that I was part of an elite, so not a minority of oppression, as Gypsies for example or even Hungarians, but the elite. What I observed is that in some points the Hungarians for example could not even dream to have certain rights of privileges, for the Transylvanian Saxons these were given unconditionally. For example in schools, in the villages where the majority Transylvanian Saxons already left, these were still working with very few children, with simultaneous educational classes, but in the Hungarian villages with 7 or 8 children for two classrooms these would have been already stopped. When I was an intern at Gârbova I had classrooms as teacher with 3 or 4 children' (35).

Some migrants reproduced with pleasure the memories about Transylvania largely because they connected to their personal community and traditions, to their emotional home:

'Yes, the pleasant memories are many, especially... the traditions that we had living in the village we were somehow more organised... In terms of the religious traditions, I think that we the youth, we had a very close relationship within the village and indeed all the holidays existed we kept them all; they are pleasant memories' (29).

'It was very beautiful. There was the Transylvanian Saxon tradition, there was help among each other when they built houses or weddings or so, they were always together, and they helped one another. Yes. They kept the tradition with balls and the church and so on. This was tradition and it was always beautiful' (11).

5.5.2.2 Post-1990 migrant stories

Findings reveal that also among the post-1990 migrants there were respondents who found the move to Germany an easy and smooth process:

'I can't say I had too much time to think back because I was busy with all the documents, with my mother; I was so busy that I didn't have time to regret that I left. After we settled we thought sometimes how it was there because there I lived 60 years and it was normal to feel at home. But on the other hand we were very well received here, we didn't have any problems, everybody was very kind. I cannot complain' (37).

'I remember it pleasantly, it wasn't hard for me. The thing that was hard for me was the farewell to the neighbours... before us people would have packed big luggage but we only came with little, two pieces of luggage. But we were well received they immediately gave us 100 Deutschmarks then when we arrived in Germany and where I lived it was very well, I was loved even from the beginning and also with the Germans, so I felt well' (11).

In contrast some participants encountered difficulties with the German authorities after their arrival as a consequence of their political activity before the move. The following quote exemplifies such an experience:

'The first impressions were not very pleasant because here in Nurnberg in the main camp where the German representative of the Home Office was present who asked me some quite nasty questions, threatening me that I will not receive the necessary papers in order to become a German citizen because I

was a party member. If I wouldn't have been a party member I wouldn't have been high school director, director of the cultural home and for a very short time also a mayor in the locality with 24,000 inhabitants. I never made a secret that I had to be member of the party' (61).

Findings show that post-1990 migrants felt the same agitation after arrival due to the necessary registration formalities:

'The first impressions when I came here were pleasant, a civilised country, an organized country. The first experiences were tense, at different offices to do this process of personal integration. All sorts of registration centres and a lot of running here and there but these were necessary stages in order to issue your papers' (43).

'The last days in Romania were like a storm. It passed very quickly. We gave as a gift everything we had in the house, furniture, clothes, blankets, pans [laughs], everything we had. It was strange to see how your things are leaving the house and there are fewer and fewer. If somebody came to me and admired a carpet and said could you give it to me, I gave it away. I had a sort of tapestry on one of my walls and when I gave it to someone I had funny feeling, like a part goes from me. But it passed. Afterwards in Germany we were overwhelmed by some small things in fact but which for us was jutting. For example the first days we needed to spend them in a receiving camp. This camp consisted of two big buildings and they were near train lines and we were absolutely astonished because we were not able to hear the noise in the house the train was passing. In the first camp we stayed about 10 days until the first formalities were done (registration for health insurance, for example). Afterwards we were sent to another camp about 25 km away in a small industrial town. There was also a tall building with very beautiful apartments and many families were sharing one apartment. We shared our flat with a family from the former Soviet Union and we got along very well' (35).

Some participants acknowledged that the help of relatives or friends and the provision of accommodation shortened their stay in the registration camps:

'Because we already had an accommodation we didn't stay, we just went there and made the registration and we left for our new home' (25).

'It was quick, only for the documents, I didn't stay there because then my wife was in this area, respectively in Stuttgart and... I then I also came to Stuttgart' (09).

It appears that only few Transylvanian Saxons of the post-1990 migrants did not pass through a registration centre upon arrival in Germany:

'She didn't pass through a registration centre. She didn't because I took her and I said that I won't let her alone in Nurnberg... so she didn't have problems with registration' (33).

'No, no, no. We didn't arrive like that. We came directly. I was expected by my brother and I left with my brother until I found an accommodation to live alone because I already had a pension and for me it was very good. This furniture I bought for example because my brother helped me' (10).

The loss of the well-known environment, associated with the feelings surrounding the move made for some migrants the journey to a new life a difficult one:

'We were already aware what to expect or I was aware what to expect. During the migration, I tried for one year to pass the border, from February until the autumn when I succeeded; it was hard because I needed to stay in Yugoslavia for about 20 days for border passing which in the end did not affect me negatively. The German state did a lot of things for us, not only to obtain us, but I think the state does this also for others which are migrating today, and it has a lot of projects to help the young people which I have also known, for example when I built my house' (57).

When questioned about their first impressions when arriving in Germany, the post-1990 migrants, not before long liberated from the communist regime, also encountered the Western opulence with 'big eyes':

'Everything was new, everything was interesting... we had big eyes because we didn't know that something like this exists... like a little child who comes to a city and sees something new, what he didn't see in the village, he is in a city, from a village you come to another country, it's like going on a trip and then you see the town from another perspective, so you are not confronted with the negative side. I came to a city, to Nurnberg, and to Furth where there is a lot to see and everything seems beautiful' (63).

'The first impressions were very positive. You came from a world spoiled by communism, there was mess in 1989, you know this and everything was in penury and you go in a world which was sparkling, however it was another world. And the first impressions were very, very positive. Afterwards, and I think that you also lived this experience, you learned that in time there are also people and problems, positive aspects and less good aspects. One learns to differentiate the things a bit, to see and then bit by bit you have a more realistic view of the world, from here and from there' (48).

Semi-structured interviews also reveal that some post-1990 migrants had known Germany before the move through regular visits to relatives or friends:

'I had to say that we knew Germany because starting from February 1990 we kept coming to Germany. My parents were living here, one of my sisters was living here, and I had very many friends who left a few years before or a few months before or so... we had many political contacts being politically active during that time in Romania. So have to say that I knew Germany quite well' (01).

5.5.2.3 Coming to Germany: the right step? Post-1990 migrant insights

When questioned about the validity of their migration decision the comments included feelings of certainty and practical responses of personal well-being and in regard to the future of their children:

> 'Yes, because there wasn't a future for my generation in Romania. Also the Romanian generation leaves the country now... Think how many finished their school, finished their universities, where can everyone work? So they would have left anyway to other countries even if the borders would have been opened because... in Romania there aren't means to maintain the younger generation, to give them a future there' (63).

> 'Yes, yes, of course. Definitely. I realised in this in these 12 years so much as I never realised in 40 years there. We don't have a house but we have a small factory, the children are settled with everything they need, so...' (13).

For the majority of migrants Germany provided the salvation from poverty and a confined life. However, some migrants were divided between mixed feelings of well-being and frustration and nostalgia due to the loss of an ethnic community and of a beloved home:

> 'I regret that this community nearly doesn't exist anymore which existed in Transylvania for over 800 years and created a culture and learnt from the Hungarians and the Romanians and they taught the Romanians and the Hungarians this culture, these cultural interferences, which created this specific space which is Transylvania, of course from this point of view it is a distress that this culture doesn't exist anymore and only that there are only some remains, that there are only a few persons left but it isn't what it was once, I regret of course that history evolved in this direction' (48).

Other migrants cited uncertainty relating to the validity of the migration decision:

'If I follow all this development and how was the integration of the majority of the population of German origin in Germany, then I feel included in the movement. The rest... Some questions are best not to be asked but to leave them you only distress yourself' (09).

The detachment from a previous lifestyle and sometimes the disappointments of their new location shaped especially the perceptions of respondents at retiring age, sometimes leading to feelings of regret relating to the migration decision:

'We regret to have left our homes... they were very beautiful. If I would have known what we find here and what disaster there is now I would not have come here and I would have been able to live with that money, we had a house, we had a garden but if one leaves then the other also wants to come. You know, we regret it and it's not only me but there are many who say this' (10).

To conclude, it was demonstrated that the Transylvanian Saxons' motivations in migration decision were complex. The pre-1990 and post-1990 migrants' movements were instigated by socio-cultural, economic and political motives. It can be contended that the migration to Germany was strongly influenced on one hand by family and community mentality in the sending country, and on the other hand, by the policies surrounding ethnic German migration in the receiving country.

Chapter 6: Transylvanian Saxons in Germany

6.1 <u>Introduction</u>

The first chapter of the empirical analysis has established that the Transylvanian Saxons were mostly a relatively privileged minority in Romania that nevertheless faced some economic hardship and assimilation strategies by the communist regime, for example, through the gradual erosion of German-speaking schools since the 1970s, which was partly accomplished by the reduction of German-speaking in favour of Romanian-speaking classes and an agreement with West Germany that teachers could emigrate to Germany in return for a fee paid to Romania. The migration to Germany was motivated by hope for a better future based on economic prosperity, the desire to freely express oneself in the context of a German culture and thus to live and to preserve Transylvanian Saxons' cultural heritage, and, in later decades, the wish to reconnect with family and friends who had already migrated to Germany. The migration process itself was often perceived as unproblematic and the later the migration, the more networks Transylvanian Saxons had to build upon, which contributed to a relatively smooth process of transition from Germany to Transylvania.

This chapter will draw upon the semi-structured interviews and secondary data to trace the settlement of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany and analyse the economic, political and social dimensions of their acceptance and integration in German society. The starting point is provided by an examination of where the Transylvanian Saxons settled in Germany and why they did this.

6.2 <u>Settlement in Germany</u>

Kurthen and Minkenberg (1995) recognise that the German society has changed from a relatively homogenous population in the aftermath of the Second World War to a more culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse society through immigration. Indeed, according to Jones and Wild (1992) West Germany experienced 'three major waves' of population influxes since 1945. The first wave included mainly expellees and refugees from the lost territories of the German Reich, who arrived immediately after the Second World War. The second wave occurred during the industrialisation period in the 1950s and 1960s and included essentially foreign workers from the countries of Mediterranean Europe. Finally, the third wave has a more diverse composition and includes German repatriates *(Aussiedler)*, asylum-seekers and migrants from East Germany *(Übersiedler)*.

Consequently, it can be said that the arrival of the German repatriates, which also includes the Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabs from Romania, constitutes another chapter in the history of newcomers joining already those living in Germany (Jones and Wild, 1992). The arrival and integration of ethnic German immigrants was traumatic on both sides, with intense use of resources on the German government side, with feelings of threat for jobs, wages and housing on the locals' side and high expectations of the ethnic Germans on the other side (Zimmermann, 1995). Thus, the historical pattern of migration and integration in Germany shaped the collective mentality of the migrants and their receiving society.

Findings from the semi-structured interviews offer an insight into the Transylvanian Saxon migrants' views with respect to their welcome and support in Germany. Largely, respondents acknowledge that their first stop in Germany was in a registration camp and the majority of respondents recognise the help offered by the German state. The following quotes illustrate how migrants appreciate the 'housing' and the small amount of money received from the German state upon arrival under often unstable and anxious circumstances:

'Some registration centres... it wasn't visible from outside or inside, they were absolutely normal buildings and for me were not a particular thing, it was... very friendly, humanely. The questions asked were asked normally' (49).

'We all passed through a camp, it was called like this and the camp where we went was called Rastatt and from there we left... we were assigned to the North-Rhine Westphalia [federal] state... I don't know it starts like this... Düsseldorf is the capital of this state, so we were assigned there and there we stayed in another camp and then we were assigned to the city of Bielefeld' (01).

In order to understand the integration process of Transylvanian Saxon migrants in Germany it is important to discuss the spatial distribution of migrants in Germany. At the beginnings of the ethnic German exodus from Eastern Europe, the German state assigned the distribution of the Transylvanian Saxon migrants in order to facilitate the distribution of resources and support among the eleven German federal states and to attenuate the burden of receiving so many migrants. Subsequently, in the later stages of migration to Germany the migrants were able to choose their location of settlement. This agrees with Ellis and Wright's (2005) understanding of migrants' assimilation in relation to geographical space.

The movements of the Transylvanian Saxon migrants on the German territory are very complex and the absence of specific statistical data makes it difficult to interpret. However, the statistical data offered by the Federal Statistical Office sheds some light upon the distribution of foreign migrants in Germany and respectively upon the migrants who arrived from Romania.

Based on the statistical data for the year 2007 it can be said that the migrants who come from Romania (84,584 migrants) choose to settle mainly in southern Germany, in Bavaria (24,728 migrants; 29%) and respectively in Baden-Württemberg (19,722 migrants; 23%). This agrees with Jones and Wild (1992), who argue, that 'the geographical vector of movement of Romanian 'Saxons' is directed into South

Germany, particularly the 'Far South' of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg' (p.7). The states of Nordrhein-Westfalen and Hessen occupy the third and fourth positions in terms of settlement choices with 13,942 migrants (17%) and 8,594 migrants (10%) respectively. The states of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (406 migrants; 0.5%) and Brandenburg (494 migrants; 0.6%) were among the states where the fewest migrants from Romania settled as these regions had been part of East Germany before reunification in 1990 and thus were not allocated any Transylvanian Saxon migrants in the pre-1990 migration process.

Findings from the interviews show that the majority of Transylvanian Saxons who were able to choose were to settle in Germany, decided to do so around relatives or job opportunities. The following quote illustrated in particular that the Transylvanian Saxons preferred to settle near family when they chose their location. This is also mentioned by Dietz (1999), who stresses that the networks employed by ethnic Germans in the process of migration ranged from family ties to friends:

> 'In the first period of my arrival I lived in Heidelberg. One of my uncles helped me to find accommodation. Then I lived in the area of Stuttgart and from 1994 when I became a *Redakteur* for the Transylvanian Saxon newspaper I settled in Munich, consequently I live near Munich. Practically, the attachment to my relatives and the professional motives were the reasons why I moved from one city to another' (43).

6.3 Education and work

This section seeks to examine the educational situation and employability of Transylvanian Saxon migrants after settlement in Germany. Migrants' educational achievements after the move are discussed in the first part of this section. Migrants' occupational situation in the place of destination is explored in detail in the second part of the section.

6.3.1 Educational situation in Germany

Many Transylvanian Saxon migrants in Germany recognise the good educational system and consequently the good education they had received in Transylvania. However, they also acknowledge the higher standards and improved educational opportunities in Germany in contrast with Romania as a result of development differences between these two countries.

Findings from the interviews indicate that many Transylvanian Saxon migrants received some form of education after moving to Germany. The interviews also show that some of migrants declared their status as being retired at the time of migration so that they had no need to undertake further education after their move.

It can be stated that the Transylvanian Saxons emerged from a centrally planned socialist system and thus were not familiar with the 'new' educational system and job searches in the western market. Some new-comers acknowledged that the German state had an important role in terms of guidance or financial support in the migrants' struggle for educational re-orientation:

> 'Because I was not educated since 1976 until 1992 I did a Mathematics course to brush up my Mathematics and to learn new things, although the Romanian education was good. Even if I was not the best of students... [Laughs]... I was mediocre... but the education was good and I had some advantages comparatively with people from here. In 1992 I studied the foreman school with the thought of opening a firm which I actually did. Besides the service I worked within the police... I did this course in Mathematics, then I did the foreman school for a year and I worked for different firms as a foreman and then at the age of 39 I decided to study Economics which I did for 2 years. For this study I received some material support which I needed... and this was a good thing coming from the German state. At the age of almost 41 I changed my job to work as a boss within the police mechanical garage' (57).

The semi-structured interviews illuminate that from the proportion of migrants who undertook some form of education after their move to Germany, many (48%) declared that they participated in professional courses. Also Bauer and Zimmermann (1997) in their study of migrants' participation in further vocational training, claim a high participation of ethnic Germans in vocational training, with the highest proportion of 52.40%, in 1991:

> 'I have done some courses and once again a sort of... I don't remember now how it's called in Romanian... So also here in Germany I have done some courses and exams and I passed an exam which here is called secretary certificate, and then I had two children and I stayed home for nearly ten years and then after ten years I tried again to find a job and after ten years I had the possibility to do... how it's called... *Ausbildung*... Um... Not secretary but... I am *Angestellte* [employee], so I went to school for another two years and I made courses and exams, right here there is an exam [she points to the building] and it is quite difficult and I succeeded there and with these exams I had a better possibility to find a job' (51).

For many migrants who undertook professional training courses in Germany, IT courses were more important than other professional courses. For some migrants who undertook IT courses it was a matter of preference in their career re-orientation and for others it was a matter of necessity in terms of employment requirements:

> 'When I arrived in Germany, after I received the papers, the first question was 'What do I want to do? Do I want to continue teaching?' I said 'I would like more to be an IT worker.' A professor needs to have here at least two subjects and only with Mathematics you cannot be a teacher here. And then they proposed to... the employment office, because I had to go there, to submit a request for unemployment benefits and then they proposed to study physics in Saarbrücken and I said that I would not study at another University. I would rather like to re-orientate myself as an IT worker and to give up the education' (46).

'So, in my profession, in architecture, I learnt... I have done three design courses, so different programmes... but I have to say that during these 15 years I worked in an office where I had the occasion to learn intensively this design software together with the architect, I used it, I improved it, it was very good but after 15 years I took a break because the firm was dissolved. I had to re-orientate myself and to get in another architecture office was difficult... every office has a different programme, there is so much diversity, I have done this thanks to *Arbeitsamt* [job centre], where I asked for help, I have done another three courses of different software and in this way I found a job in a different office where I stayed...' (21).

Findings from the interviews also show that younger migrants who moved to Germany had the advantage of a better quality of education. From the young migrants who had access to the German educational system many respondents chose to undertake a university degree. The proportions of migrants who undertook a postgraduate degree or university courses are both in proportion of 3%:

'I was a student, then I worked for three years and then I attended again the university, in electro-mechanics and during the period I studied in the university I started with the music, the professional music...' (32).

'After kindergarten... Well, I started here the first class, so four year grammar school I think it's called, then I went to the... um... high school, gymnasium, *liceu* [Romanian word for high school]... 13 classes, then I studied mechanical engineering, just now in January I finished that study, so I am a mechanical engineer now and yes, in April I started what you are doing now a doctoral degree' (41).

For some migrants the entry into a reputable job in the German job market was often facilitated through the education they had received in Transylvania. The German state's policy on ethnic Germans' entrance to the German job market included recognition of some of the education received in the place of origin (Wingens et al.,

2011). The following quotes reflect how some of the migrants' beneficiated from educational recognition in Germany and how they had the possibility to work in the same professional field as in Transylvania:

'Neither... in the sense that I didn't need to study because the diploma was recognized and I directly entered another job, still in the pharmaceutical field in Germany' (44).

'No, no. I didn't. Let's say that a short while after arriving in Munich I had the luck to find a work place here at the Transylvanian Saxon Association in Germany. I was immediately employed... how it's called today? *Geschäftsführer,* that is an administrative director of the Transylvanian Saxon Association for the whole of Germany' (42).

6.3.2 Occupational situation in Germany

In this sub-section changes in the migrants' employment situation after migration are examined. Categories of employment activities were provided and respondents were asked to consider their employment history and their active employment status in Germany. Studies confirm that migrants use personal networks when seeking integration in the German labour market (Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008). Although Transylvanian Saxons usually arrived with a relatively high level of education from Transylvania, in the German labour market, they tend to have worked in position below their educational level (Kreyenfled and Konietzka, 2002).

In this study, Transylvanian Saxon migrants were primarily employed in full-time work, with 48% of respondents presenting their status as employed. Also many interview participants declared their status as retired (33%), whilst the respondents with student status account for 3%. There were no participants who considered themselves unemployed after migration. It can be said that the low proportion of unemployment status among Transylvanian Saxon migrants is the consequence of the community mentality that 'Transylvanian Saxons are hard workers'.

Respondents were also asked to name the category of their employment. Interestingly, many of the respondents who declared their status as actively employed became employed after migration in the office sector (19%) or professional sector (19%). Respondents in the basic labour employment account for 8%, whilst those in senior/managerial positions account for 3%. This confirms Kreyenfled and Konietzka's (2002) finding that 45% of the Aussiedler in Germany have low positions in the German labour market, comparatively with 56% of the Aussiedler occupying medium or upper positions.

It can be stated that the proportion of migrants who continued to work in full-time positions after moving decreased substantially over the years. This may coincide with some migrants reaching a stage in their life in which they thought about retiring from active employment but some of them choose to remain active through reduced activity such as honorary positions for maintaining the Transylvanian Saxon community in Germany.

6.4 Economic situation in Germany

Findings from the semi-structured interviews reveal overall positive changes in the migrants' economic situation after the move. The respondents were asked to consider their post-migratory economic situation and to provide their own assessment of their economic status. The sample of 63 semi-structured interviews reveals that relatively few Transylvanian Saxons in Germany considered their economic situation to be very good, mostly when they were still in full-time employment:

> 'Um... I will say if we will have the same [money] as we have now we are content. I mean we are very content. My husband works at Siemens. It very good for us, we built a house, my husband works at Siemens as I said, I work there at the IT firm and we are very well economically' (62).

The proportion of the respondents who assessed their economic status as 'good' is also relatively low (11%). This status can be related to those respondents who were in full-time employment in Romania, entered the German labour market upon arrival and may have been retired at the time of the interview:

> 'I consider myself in a good economic situation, I am retired, I worked in Romania 10 years, afterwards I worked here 35 years, I retired at 65 years of age, at the age limit and I have quite a good pension, so, from the economic point of view I am satisfied' (49).

> 'A good situation, a good situation... how shall I say... the children studied, we bought a house and everyone has his car, so we can go on trips and... Yes, we live well' (18).

> 'It's good... Evidently, it always can be better, because we have our two daughters which we need to support and... We can't say we will buy you now a TV and then you need to wait a bit more... so, we have firstly to give them and afterwards to think to ourselves, so this is it but I don't have any reason of complaint. The generations... so, my sister for example, which left [Romania] in the spring of 1990 has a better economic situation although she has an education... she doesn't have an academic training and maybe she didn't work in a very well paid job but she had the luck that the years worked in Romania were recognized better than it happens today. And she is retired and she and also her husband have quite good pensions, so they have a better income than us, with me working, yes? So, comparatively with this generation which... left early so to speak, our situation is less good but now is very good comparatively with what we are going to have when I will be retired. Then... our pensions are extraordinarily low, not comparatively with those from Romania but comparatively with the necessities we have here. And then we will have to... so, we will descend again... the social ladder' (01).

The majority of Transylvanian Saxon respondents declared that their present economic situation would be an average one:

'Um... I would say in German 'Mittelklasse', that is average' (20).

'Average... I am not very rich but also not very poor, I feel well, I have what I need' (26).

'I think it is ok, we are not rich, but we are not poor and I think we have a good or higher standard to live... My parents have their own flat, they bought it, it is already... I think it's not paid but in five to ten years it will be paid, everyone has a car, everyone has a job and we were never in a situation where someone had no job, so it's ok, and we can go to holidays two times a year and so I think it's ok, yeah' (40).

'The economic situation... We have pensions... also my wife has a pension and... After we had to give back our job accommodation, we bought an apartment where we still pay for the rate. I had quite a good salary here as a director but I helped the children... we have two children... Our daughter has done a nursery school teacher education and we helped them also with money and then our son did his studies at Karlsruhe which was very expensive, he didn't receive a scholarship so we had to pay also the accommodation and the clothes and the pocket money... we paid almost 1,000 Deutschmarks per month' (08).

Some of the respondents claimed a modest income (8%), particularly among the elderly generation. The low income may be associated with their retired status upon arrival and small pensions in Romania and Germany. Also, interviews reveal that some experienced a partial recognition of pension upon arrival in accordance with the German policy of 70% pension recognition (Sainsbury, 2006):

'I cannot say we are in a good material situation, we always needed to divide our money... Me personally I have 154 Deutschmarks... Euros. My husband had only 700 and we received help... *Sozialhilfe* [social support]... because the rent

was very high. When I left [previous rented house] I paid the last rent at 475 and there were only two rooms and a kitchen and the hall; after I left it raised to 500 or something' (02).

'Like for everyone who stays here in the nursing home for a long time... We are... how I shall say... we are supported by the *Sozialhilfe* in Germany. Now, it depends for everyone. I don't have anyone which could help me, so I receive every moth 120 € and this is my situation. I had 50,000 in savings but in a few years they finished here... because it is quite expensive, even though it is one of the cheapest nursing homes in the country' (03).

For some of the respondents the modest economic situation may also be associated with the status of student and the material support offered by family:

'Yes, I am still a student. I still stay with my... parents... um... Well, it's... as... same kind in Romania. We have everything we need but in Germany if you work and you are not lazy then you can really afford everything you need and it's not... There are no handicaps... You're not... kind of... the system gives you the chance. The political system and the economic system give you the chance to achieve what you want. Um... and I think we are... um... if... how can I say? A little bit higher than the average of the [Transylvanian] Saxons. But still the [Transylvanian] Saxons have... um... compare with other immigrating groups to Germany, they have, I think a quite high economic status' (41).

Some participants claimed that there were no changes in their economic situation after the move to Germany and mentioned that they had not noticed positive or negative effects on their economic situation after the move:

'I would say the same, average. Neither reach nor poor' (43).

Some other participants were reluctant in sharing the assessment of their own economic situation. This may be connected either to the local cultural beliefs that

discussing money is considered a taboo in the German culture or because of the sensitivity of the question:

'I am retired. That's all' (42).

'I cannot complain' (06).

It can be summarised that the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany have overall an average economic situation. Transylvanian Saxons who claimed a modest material situation are from the first the third generations of migrants.

6.5 <u>Participation in political life</u>

This section discusses the Transylvanian Saxons' participation in the political life after migration to Germany. First, the section explores the participation in the political life at a personal level and offers information about the respondents' involvement in national and local politics. Second, the Transylvanian Saxons' participation in German elections is discussed; and third, the section offers insights about the respondents' acknowledgment of the Transylvanian Saxons' collective presence in German politics.

6.5.1 Involvement in political life

The degree to which immigrants participate in the political and social life of the host country reflects how much 'at home' they really feel (Werner, 2007). Integrated migrants relate to the local political life and share local political views. On the other hand, migrants who associate more or exclusively with their ethnic social life may reach only limited acceptance in the host society (Werner, 2007). It is contended that participation in the political life beyond voting is not an important factor for the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. The majority of the Transylvanian Saxon respondents (89%) declared themselves as uninvolved actively in the local political life:

'No, I am not an active member... I am a sympathizer of the right parties' (22).

However, findings from the interviews show that some Transylvanian Saxons declared themselves involved, directly or indirectly, in German politics:

'I am a member of the Verdi syndicate [Inaudible]... so, the communes... I don't know how it's called... in hospitals and they are employed by the state. They have a syndicate and there I am a member. Not from the beginning, from when I started to work because I said I was in vain for a long time about being a syndicate member... until I saw how much it counts, I mean it makes sense. It makes sense. So from then onwards I have been a member of the syndicate... Even now that I am retired' (59).

'Not directly. Actually, with my president position I have a lot of contact with political parties, I am all over the places, I mean I represent our association outside, in Nurnberg at different parties and I mean I represent our group, our association and so I have a lot of contact with politicians' (62).

When questioned about their personal involvement in politics, some participants mentioned their previous political activity in Romania or Germany but others stated that they retreated from political life because of factors such as age or disappointment regarding their political career:

'I was active; I also registered on the list to be chosen as a counsellor here in Geretsried but then I said, no, not with these people... The politics is not nice' (39).

'We involve... in the way that we go to vote. That is all. We were very involved politically in Romania but... here it's only this' (01).

For some respondents the political life was of 'no interest' and they perceived themselves as apolitical:

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'No, not very much, I am not very interested. Of course that the events are interesting, the elections and so on but... I am not that much into politics' (15).

'No, I never was involved in the political life. No, I am not. I was not interested in it even in Romania and here also I am not' (46).

Moreover, some of the respondents not only expressed their lack of interest in the political life but also suggested feelings of aversion towards politics. The following quotes illustrate how some migrants drew on discourses of general disappointment with politics or on discourses of political aversion in terms of their communist past:

'No, no. There is also a reason for that and I think you heard this reason before... because... my opinion is that the politics... has so much guilt... the people endured, the people suffered... and only their politics is guilty for these... one hundred years ago, three hundred years ago and today and tomorrow... And I have told myself, better I go to... *Gesellschaft* [Association]... How did you translated it before?... The cultural associations than to the political ones because the politics for me always lied and will never change and I don't want to be [involved] there. I don't want to belong to those; I go to the cultural communities' (26).

'Yes and no. I am not part of any political party... The communist party was enough for me...' (09).

'No. I don't want to hear anything about politics' (02).

However, findings from the semi-structured interviews suggest that many of the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany claim an active interest in national politics. This active interest usually became manifest by following local and national politics in the press:

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'I cannot follow it passively because we are affected by what happens in politics, so... I read with interest and with attention... what... I consider being... of importance' (01).

'Yes, yes, for example the news. I like to listen to the daily the news because you are dead without news' (11).

'A little. I follow politics through television, through the newspapers, through the radio I follow politics very much but this is all... to know what is happening. Yes. But I don't have any political activity. I also didn't have it in Romania' (18).

In terms of election attendance, findings from the semi-structured interviews suggest that the majority (87%) of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany attend the elections on a regular basis:

'Yes, I always vote' (43).

However, few respondents acknowledged that their attendance to election is not constant and 2% declared that they did not attend any election. Largely, the Transylvanian Saxons who attend elections in Germany on a regular basis justified this with reference to 'national commitment' or 'democratic right':

'Yes, always. If we are not here we send... we can vote by letter. The fact that I am not a member of a political party doesn't mean that I am not interested in politics but I didn't... and I will not involve myself in a political group... I have my ideas, I know what I want and it is very important to go always to vote but I try to help that party whom I am interested in' (62).

'Yes. This is... not a right... it is the obligation of every citizen to go and vote and it is of no matter who you vote anyway nobody can see' (58).

Findings from the interviews do not show the political orientations of the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. Whilst the large majority of Transylvanian Saxons

acknowledged their involvement in the political life through voting they also pointed out that for cultural reasons it would not be common to reveal political favourites:

'In Germany, yes... of course I do, I don't do any... Ah, I tell what I vote; you will never meet a German which will tell you about this, they are so secretive. Of course that I vote the Christians... that also there it is... but they are smaller I believe and anyway if you look at the German history after the war, it is marked by the Christian Democratic Party...' (53).

6.5.2 Political awareness

Respondents were also questioned about their knowledge relating to the Transylvanian Saxon collective involvement in German politics. In order to explore the migrants' political awareness, questions relating to their generations' involvement in local politics were asked. Semi-structured interviews reveal that the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany are indeed active in the political life as an ethnic cultural group. Some participants mentioned Transylvanian Saxon representatives in politics and related benefits for the Transylvanian Saxons as community:

'Mm... I know that there are Saxons which are involved in politics even here in Geretsried... and I think it's good and we have also... this gentleman... who is involved in politics and he is our chief [Laughs] and I think it's good...' (40).

'Yes, I think is more involved now in politics because also, as I said, due to... the gentleman... who leads the Transylvanian Saxon Association, he is also involved in politics and I observed that in the last years many Transylvanian Saxons have entered local councils and are active in the political life, and this wasn't before. If I remember correctly, when I came here I didn't hear of any Transylvanian Saxons in politics... Well, the young Transylvanian Saxon generation is on its way to integration in the German community, this is my opinion. Um... As I said they don't want very much anymore to take part in our meetings, I observe this also at the Transylvanian Saxon meetings from

Măeruş... there are more older persons and up to my age, 40 years old, but the youngsters don't so much take part anymore' (46).

Other participants drew on discourses of community dispersion or numerical insignificancy in order to explain the reduced political activity of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany:

'Less, because... some of them want to get noticed but they don't succeed very much, we are very few' (22).

To conclude, the older generation of Transylvanian Saxons are less involved in the German national politics due to frustrations from the Nazi period and the communist regime. However, findings showed that the younger generation is more involved in politics, perhaps due to a better integration in German society, but less visible as Transylvanian Saxons. Some of the members of the Transylvanian Saxon Association are involved actively in politics and they represent the Transylvanian Saxon Association and the Transylvanian Saxon community in the local politics.

6.6 Social networks and integration in Germany

This section explores the social networks and the extent of integration of the Transylvanian Saxon community in Germany. Experiences of migrants' ties with family, friends and neighbours are captured by the semi-structured interviews and offer an insight into the nature of migrants' personal social networks in the place of destination. Notions of belonging, identity, self-perception and integration in the context of the 'new home' are also discussed in the second part of this section.

6.6.1 Social networks

The following sub-section explores the social experiences of Transylvanian Saxon migrants' after settling in Germany. The semi-structured interviews reveal that community and social life have been of great significant for the Transylvanian Saxons

both in the place of origin and in the place of destination. It was consistently noted throughout the semi-structured interviews that migrants have maintained relationships and friendships from the 'old home' after migrating to Germany. Consequently, it can be stated that Transylvanian Saxons often benefitted from their old social networks after the move.

Whilst the highest proportion of the respondents declared their social networks as being formed mainly among Transylvanian Saxons (90%), every third of the interviewed Transylvanian Saxons (35%) acknowledged that their social networks were mainly based on established social contacts, stressed the complexity of their personal communities. Interestingly, only every tenth of the respondents had social networks that were mainly constituted from 'local Germans', which highlights how important Transylvanian origin and networks were for integration in Germany:

> 'The contacts which we maintain here are in their majority with old Transylvanian Saxons acquaintances or even with new acquaintances but in general with Transylvanian Saxons which we often meet' (15).

Whilst for some migrants the established social networks have been fulfilling in terms of friendship and personal communities as consequence of their choice, for others the advanced age, the confinement to a spatial location or the emotional difficulties in detaching from a prior life-style may have contributed to the preservation of their social networks. However, the quote below also shows migrants' persistency over time in maintaining the old social networks in previous locations since moving to Germany:

> 'I still have friends in Aachen which are there and they built a house there... Transylvanian Saxons... I like it here [the Transylvanian Saxon elders' homecare], you can speak in your language, the Transylvanian Saxon [dialect]...' (02).

> 'I don't have German [acquaintances]. Maybe some neighbour or so but I don't have, no, only Transylvanian Saxons... and also where I lived in Nurnberg. We

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hang about only the Transylvanian Saxons, there weren't Germans there among us and we always gathered like this only the Transylvanian Saxons' (10).

For some respondents, the construction of social networks was indeed determined by professional work involving Transylvanian Saxon heritage such as honorary positions for maintaining the Transylvanian Saxon community and culture:

'Because of my job they are... very Transylvanian, so to speak, so many contacts or the majority or my contacts... um... are in this domain of the Transylvanians. But I also have very many contacts in Romania... because we still have there a place so to speak, we have a house where we live during our holidays... not in the present... but we also have very many friends there...' (01).

'Primarily with Transylvanian Saxons because I also have...I had and I also have some honorary positions in the matter of the Transylvanian Saxon community, so, firstly with Transylvanian Saxons, with Germans... with Romanians in Germany less... but with Romanians from Romania [laughs]... with Romanians from Romania' (49).

Some participants acknowledged that their choices of social contacts were shaped by the wish to maintain relationships with people like them, which have 'the same mentality'. The following quote shows how maintaining social contacts with people of the same mentality was significant for the migrants' social life:

'We here in Geretsried, we have a lot of contact with Transylvanian Saxons. If I look to our group [of friends] is made 80% of Transylvanian Saxons and there are 2-3 couples from Germany. If we go somewhere related with the firm, with the German colleagues there is no problem, we also go with them... I don't have any problems with the girls or the boys but... however we look... we don't get close to the Germans... we get along better if we are among us [the Transylvanian Saxons]. This is my opinion' (39).

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The involvement in cultural and social activities or groups significantly contributed to the preponderance of Transylvanian Saxons in the migrants' social networks. The meanings that the Transylvanian Saxons associate with diaspora agree with Vertovec's (1999) description of diaspora as a social form, as a type of consciousness and as a way of producing culture:

> 'Most of my friends… well, they are Transylvanian Saxons but that's maybe because I am very engaged in the [Transylvanian] Saxon community here. So I am the leader of the dance group and even of our youth group from the community, it's called… I don't know if this gentleman told you something about that. So my… engagement is… um… in my free time, I do quite a lot for the Transylvanian Saxons so, it's normal that my social life… It's quite related… there is a strong relationship' (41).

It can be stated that many migrants expressed that the old friendships and relationships have not diminished over time. Often the migrants declared that they maintained 'their life-time' friendships such as friendships from youth, fellow townsmen or former school colleagues:

> 'The majority are Transylvanian Saxons or school mates. Coming from the city of Braşov, the relationship between the Transylvanian Saxons from Braşov were not that strong. Many Transylvanian Saxons from Râşnov, a town near Braşov, from where is my wife. Again her school mates or our friends from our youth with whom we meat quite often' (36).

> 'No… but the contacts we have here are acquaintances from Mediaş, that is from the youth… um… maybe one or another through marriage… you didn't know him from Germany or one of your acquaintances or friends brings someone and you know him… but all the contacts are from Mediaş and from the youth. And my work colleagues with whom I had good contacts and intense contacts in Mediaş none of them are in Germany or in the nearby. It is the colleague which I already mentioned to you two times from Sweden with

whom I speak on the phone and whom I visited in Sweden when I went on holiday in Norway or Sweden, I always went to see her but we… don't have [contacts] with Romanians, not because we don't want to but there wasn't the occasion…' (54).

In some other instances, migrants recognised that their choices of preponderantly Transylvanian Saxon social networks were determined by their close relationship with their families or by their communities and towns being populated by a high concentration of Transylvanian Saxons:

'Yes, I have from every category because here in Geretsried are living many [Transylvanian] Saxons, 2,000 people, and so, I am leader of the dancing group of the [Transylvanian] Saxon dance group here and we have a big cultural life and there are also Romanian people in these groups, yeah, and also Germans. The German people living here know something about this culture and it's ok, everyone is ok with that because I think we have our own culture… so I think it's a very good climate and we are respected and also from the state… from the state of Bavaria and from Germany, they know about us and they know about the culture and it's ok' (40).

It can be stated that although for the majority of migrants the move into the 'new home' was not seen as an opportunity of breaking the old relationships and friendships, for some of the migrants there is a necessity to broaden their social networks in order to feel integrated. Hence, some of the migrants have a desire to mention also the local Germans among their social contacts in Germany:

'Firstly are the fellow townsmen… they are many even in the area I live in. When we meet in the morning on the street we speak in our dialect but, I was telling you that I am involved in some social and cultural activities, I don't want and I fight with all my force to live a ghetto life as the citizens of the former Soviet Union. To be precise, my 60 person choir wants to do his duty towards the church we are involved in. At the holidays we do choir music,

Easter, Christmas and so on. We sing as choir members in the German choirs from here just for not doing any separatism. We want to integrate ourselves. We want to be known that we appreciate the fact that we are received well by those around us, I speak about the locals from Germany. I have not only friends but I have three Romanians in my family. My son-in-law is from Moldavia, around Vaslui. He met my daughter in a factory from Râşnov, so... he is a very nice guy, we are proud of him. We always say with my wife how good that we have this Moldavian here by us in Germany. One of my sisters is married with a Romanian and also a granddaughter' (28).

For many of the respondents experiences of social contacts with local Germans were generally positive and it appears that some relationships developed up to 'good relationships' or 'beautiful friendships':

'My best friend is a neighbour who was born and grew up here. On the street where we are living we have... how I shall say it... very cordial relationships with all the neighbours... Every year we do a festivity on the street which I initiated... but from 8 families, I mean 7 families and from these 7 only with 2 families we have more close relationships, we meet, we have a drink, we chat, we go for dinner... no, with three of them, with 3 families from 7. In rest the social contacts refer to the contacts with the brothers, I have another three brothers, two brothers and a sister who live here...' (23).

In contrast, some other respondents suggested that their choices of 'Transylvanian' social contacts were determined by the local Germans' 'reserved nature', difference in mentality or unstable friendships. This is in agreement with King and Christou's (2010) findings referring to the Greek 'returnees' in Greece and their negative preconceptions about the 'local' Greeks:

'[They are] as before, as in Mediaş. We meet. There are many from Mediaş here, many in Stuttgart and many around Stuttgart... former school colleagues... very many... those of my husband. But we also are sometimes

invited by the locals, we also invite them; we also have these contacts... but [the contacts] are not that intense because we didn't grew up with them, they have a bit different mentality, and they grew up in a different environment than we did' (13).

'So, not taking into consideration my job here which ruins a bit the statistics... um... I could divide a bit... During the first ten years I had very many contacts with local people, I mean with Bavarians and these acquaintances developed up to some nice friendships... well durable... they are not as ours, friendships for a lifetime' (14).

'Very few local Germans, very few... I can count them on one hand's fingers... It can be estimated that themselves are not that... open... even among themselves... Well, in some ways they consider us... there are some harsh words... we wouldn't have been of their own kinship but in the end they know us but they are more... I say this that everyone has everything they need; it doesn't help to the straightening of the relationships... of friendship, of co-existence. Mostly everyone stays in his family or in their associations... I didn't strive to find contacts. As I mentioned the Transylvanian Saxons from my youth which indeed are very concentrated here; if I tell you that being in a classroom of 45 boys at that time, about 10 are concentrated here on a 20km perimeter around Stuttgart... Well, I don't have Romanian friends in Germany just Romanian women married with my [Transylvanian Saxon] friends and contacts with Romanians I have or in Romania or in America and Canada and abroad... there are many Romanians I know there' (22).

The quote above also suggests that in some instances the weakness of the social networks between the 'locals' and the new-comers can be the result of the migrants' reservation or lack of interest in broadening their personal social network:

'I am more introvert, more... how shall I say it? More timid and I don't like it very much. We have some relationships with the Transylvanian Saxons but not

very much with the Germans... with the neighbours there isn't any problem, there is understanding, with the work colleagues... [It is said that in general they are not seen at the same level, we are not seen as the locals but this depends, it cannot be generalised]... We, for example, accommodated quite easily if I do a comparison with those who came from Russia, those somehow don't want to integrate and especially there is a problem... well, I understand about this older generation but there is also the youth which are only among themselves and they don't want to... Meanwhile we tried that our daughters have contact with the Germans and they had only German colleagues and it was very well for them from this point of view' (29).

It appears that in the place of destination the in-comers establish personal communities and social relations with the 'locals' through neighbourhood community, school, job or church:

'[I have social contacts] with the local Germans only at job so to speak and with our neighbours, but otherwise less. The rest are our acquaintances from Romania or new acquaintances, but also from Romania... also Germans and Romanians' (34).

'Fewer Romanians because... I don't have a lot of tangency [with them]. I am more together around the Transylvanian Saxons because of the children, because of this children's group where we meet. Here because of the work I am again together with... so I am more together with those who came from the country, so not only Transylvanian Saxons but also from Banat and Satmar and so on. With Germans... I have contacts because I live in the same neighbourhood with them; I have contact with institutions... For example if I do this dance group in a church, so I have contact with the priest and the secretary there, I speak with them. In the nursery school where the children are the teacher called me yesterday and she asked me... they want to do at the nursery school a festivity, *Mayfest*, so to have a festivity in the month of May... and they want to do a dance with the children and if they can come to my

group to see how I am preparing [the children] then to do the same. So I thought, wow, it is something special that the nursery teacher from my neighbourhood will come and ask me how you do this because we also want to do it' (63).

For some Transylvanian Saxons, in particular for the young ones, who inherited the label 'different', the local German social networks were significantly more important than the Transylvanian Saxon ones. The young Transylvanian Saxons were generally aware of their Transylvanian Saxon roots but they considered the local German community their natural environment and consequently had fewer Transylvanian Saxon social contacts:

'More German people and few Transylvanian Saxons but... no Romanians' (33).

In contrast for some young Transylvanian Saxons there is a predominance of Transylvanian Saxon social contacts in their social connections as a result of their upbringing in the Transylvanian Saxon culture by culturally committed parents, which illustrated how the return diaspora is still being reproduced within Germany:

'Romanians not so many, but Germans and Transylvanian Saxons. I have many friends among Transylvanian Saxons' (55).

'The majority of my friends are Transylvanian Saxons and also my children's (56).

Throughout the semi-structured interviews, it was also notable that the Transylvanian Saxon community desires to be 'multicultural' in the context of the contemporary globalization. Hence, more than one third of the interview participants (35%) recognised that their social networks in Germany were constituted by 'all sorts of social contacts' including Transylvanian Saxons, 'local' Germans, Romanians, Hungarians or Swabs from Banat:

'All sorts [laughs]. Um... of course that I have my school friends, which are all in Germany but they are scattered... Karlsruhe, Munich, Ravensburg... and we only meet once a year. I have a beautiful garden with a cherry tree and if the cherries are ripe then I gather everyone and we stay one night outdoors... I get along quite well with colleagues, but this is more because of the job, but we get along very well, we are friends somehow. Then I found contacts trough the church. I am not a very religious [person] but anyway the church... I mean we knew the church as a crystallization point there [in Transylvania]; we also remained here somehow attached to the church. And here there is also a kind of social circle even if you are not really religious. And we sing in the church choir and we do some big and beautiful concerts which we like, I mean I like symphonic music and if you sing something by Brahms, then it is something beautiful. And through this I knew also people from Untertürkheim where we live. It's a quite an interesting group of schoolmasters, of former priests, um... of engineers. Here many [people] work... *Selbstständig* [freelance]... Of course you can earn more money like this but I didn't have it in Romania, I mean this initiative, or this courage, or this knowledge to start something and to take the responsibility... not only the technology... I was interested in technology. There is the need that money also function and we have friends who have a firm and of course that they have a better material [situation] than ourselves. But it's not a problem; I mean we get along pretty well. In the autumn I want to organize a trip with eight of them, to go in Sibiu, Braşov, to show them a bit Transylvania. And of course Transylvanian Saxons that I knew here, even with this organization...' (20).

'I have contacts with Romanians, with Hungarians, with Transylvanian Saxons. I have contacts with the Transylvanian Saxons from Munich because I also organize the meetings here in Germany for the Transylvanian Saxons from Măeruş, we have every two years a meeting of the Transylvanian Saxons from Măeruş and I organised it. And I have... well every commune from the 'Country of Bârsa' we have a brochure which we send periodically to the Transylvanian Saxons. I have done this for the Transylvanian Saxons from Măeruş for 22

years now. Before Christmas, I produce a brochure with information from the country [Romania], from Transylvania and from here, so I have contacts. Besides the Transylvanian Saxons I have a family, actually our neighbours, very good friends, with whom we sometimes meet. And I also have contact with many Hungarians because my wife is Hungarian but also with Romanians' (46).

'Personally, I have relationships with everybody, with Romanians, with Transylvanian Saxons, and with Germans. This happens because of my work and also because of the group dance, we go everywhere. We went even to Luxembourg with the dance group. Doing so many things we have brought a good fame not only to Transylvanian Saxons because we were never ashamed to say that we come from Romania. I have very good Romanian friends in Munich with whom we talk over the phone often; I still have friends in Romania, next week we have some acquaintances coming from Romania, and here in the area... my brother-in-law is also Romanian' (57).

The quote above also shows that some migrants expanded their social contacts also in Romania. There is a trend among some migrants to preserve their former houses in Transylvania. Often, preserving the old houses in Transylvania is an incentive for the migrants to visit the country for holiday purposes. This enables them to maintain old friendships with Romanians in Romania.

In terms of neighbourhood awareness, many respondents (56%) acknowledged the presence in their neighbourhood of one or in some cases of numerous Transylvanian Saxon families. It appears that in most cases the potential for interaction with other Transylvanian Saxon families is very appealing because of common cultural habits and experiences. But in some other cases there is only an awareness of the presence of some Transylvanian Saxon families in the neighbourhood, while social contacts are either not existing or not surpass the small talk stage:

'In Heilbronn I had... Well, above me lived a Transylvanian Saxon from Sibiu but I don't know if I spoke 20 words in a week with him because he was at his job, I was at my job, when he left I was asleep, when I left he was away for a long time... No, we didn't see each other much' (06).

Some respondents considered their neighbourhood to be entirely 'indigenous' or were unaware of other Transylvanian Saxon families in the neighbourhood (41%):

'We live in indigenous surroundings [Laughs]... so we don't have Transylvanian Saxons as neighbours. We live in a house where there are only indigenous [people]' (01).

It can be said that about half of the Transylvanian Saxon respondents live in an 'unfamiliar' environment and do not have their family in the neighbourhood (52%):

'It was a flat where we lived with 20 families. But the majority were elderly people... a man or woman [living] alone. But you needed to cook there for yourself; I had two rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom... You had to cook for yourself and to buy everything, and so on... It was a block of flats mostly for the elderly people but which were able to live by themselves. But now for me the cooking was more... [Difficult] and that's why I came here. There where I lived there were only two Transylvanian Saxon women... the rest were locals. But I got along very well with my neighbours... there were only Germans there as neighbours... I got along well [with them]' (05).

6.6.2 Integration in Germany

6.6.2.1 'I feel integrated in Germany'

Important themes that emerge from the semi-structured interviews are those of 'home' and 'integration'. For many Transylvanian Saxon migrants the notion of integration is very well known from Romania and therefore they sought integration actively. Semi-structured interviews reveal that the large majority of respondents

(81%) considered themselves integrated in Germany. This may be the result of the German state's conception of citizenship and national identity which facilitated the integration of migrants (Koopmans, 1999). Only very few participants considered themselves partly integrated (5%) or not at all integrated (6%) in the 'new home'.

The respondents who considered themselves integrated had the tendency to compare their life 'before' and 'after' migration in order to justify their decision. When questioned about their view on integration in the 'new home' some of the respondents drew on discourses of social and cultural acceptance and very good language skills (Schupbach, 2009; Gundel and Peters, 2008). The following quote shows that shared interest in the German culture and language skills provided a significant link between the individuals in the community regardless of their 'born' status:

> 'We are not yet 100% integrated but as I said we… want to be integrated, but it is difficult to convince people that we have the same blood as they have. It is difficult and we need a lot of patience. They admire the fact that we know the German language, that we know more than they do about the German culture and especially the history, the politics, the way of thinking in general' (61).

For some respondents the possibility of having families and old friends close or the possibility to reproduce the culture and the community up to some level as it was in the 'old home' contributed to feelings of integration:

> 'Integration for me is to be here, to keep your roots but at the same time to be part of the Germans who live here, I mean being part of the community and this is for me... don't forget from where you left and to maintain your culture, your music, our songs, our dances from the childhood or the Transylvanian Saxon dances, all this and the costumes. Mm... I feel very proud when I dress in the costume but on the other hand I am also a German and I live here. I feel so integrated... I don't feel... I mean even at the beginning I didn't feel that my place is not here' (62).

For some of the respondents their work place and the good quality of life were significant reasons for feeling integrated:

> 'Integration means that I have everything I want to have, I have everything I can afford materially...' (42).

> 'Yes, I feel integrated in Germany... Even from the first moments, I didn't have integration problems maybe because I received a job quite quickly and I knew the everyday life here' (44).

The quote above also suggests that for some respondents the problem of integration was unimportant as they had been familiar with the cultural context. According to their some of the migrants' perception, they had moved from 'home to home'.

Some respondents who consider themselves not integrated in Germany vividly remembered the past, the values and traditions associated with it. The desire to go back in time may be a response to the anxieties of the modern society or the inability to detach emotionally from the 'old home' and the 'old community':

> 'I don't feel integrated in Germany but I don't think that this is because of Germany... it is... because I opened the eyes in Germany when I was 30, well I also was in the [labour] camp for a year, so let's say 31 years... and I am quite a sentimental man, Romania is stronger in me than Germany... but I say this without any resentment' (53).

6.6.2.2 The identity paradox

The following sub-section explores notions of belonging and identity in the Transylvanian Saxons' perception and in local media discourses. The analysis reveals that the Transylvanian Saxon identity is a paradox considering their German provenience. This paradox nature of the Transylvanian Saxon identity is the effect of return migration. The change of location from German territories to Transylvania and back to Germany, separated by a long period of residence in Transylvania, shaped the

development of an identity with historical character. In recent decades, temporary movements between Germany and Transylvania with returns to Germany further contributed to the development of the Transylvanian Saxon identity paradox.

Accordingly, migrants showed surprise or disproof when asked to assess their situation as a minority in Germany. Interestingly, the proportions of those respondents who considered themselves a minority in Germany (43%) and those who did not consider (41%) themselves a minority in Germany were very close. The other participants either thought that they were only 'in some ways' a minority (8%) or stated that the minority aspect would be 'a very difficult question to answer' (3%). The following quotes illustrate the migrants' perceptions about being a minority in Germany:

> 'The auto-consideration is yes... maybe not a minority because it's not a political minority... This term of minority is a political term. Yes, it's a group... is an ethnic group which has specific characteristics and specific traditions and lives them, so he manifest as a group' (01).

> 'No, no, I could not say [this]. I mean we were a minority in Romania but... I mean comparatively with other minorities in other countries it worked quite well but here... I mean my opinion is that we the Transylvanian Saxons felt like a sort of German nation. And we also spoke the German language, in the bigger cities we spoke German and as it is here in Germany with all sorts of German populations and everyone speaks differently and they don't understand each other, we the Transylvanians are the same after 850 years there, they formed a unity which now is scattered and of course that they still meet but in my opinion this will not last for long because none of my children speaks the Transylvanian Saxon dialect and also they don't have a big interest, I mean I think that with this generation... These are my children but others have a lot of interest in it and they do folk dance groups, and so on. Even Germans are coming... they have interest in the folk costumes. But we are not at all a minority, we are integrated' (20).

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Some of the respondents considered themselves as Germans in Germany and they did not perceive themselves as a minority. In spite this they are aware that they are considered as a minority by local Germans and local media. The following quotes illustrate examples of how the Transylvanian Saxons think they are perceived by the 'German-Germans':

> 'We don't consider ourselves; we are sometimes considered like this by others. You can see the press; you can see what happens, from this point of view I am not at peace with the way the world thinks and interprets things, not only of the natives but also of the politicians' (61).

> 'Because... the German media puts in the same bucket the German immigrants or *Aussiedler* how they are called in German with the asylum seekers, so... Arabs, or Turks, yes... Anyway in the last year the situation improved I think because the Transylvanian Saxon Association from Germany opened towards outside. We were between ourselves. And I think that since the gentleman is the president of the Association, I don't know if you...You heard about him... [The association] started to open to the outside. So, with his relations and with his politics... and I also observe this because when we have a meeting people whom I haven't seen so far are coming. Some people who have something to say here in the German politics, for example...' (46).

Some respondents considered their move to Germany 'disappointing' in terms of nationality and identity. Although the interviewed respondents felt the need to strongly reinforce their nationality through statements such as 'we are still Germans', they also recognised their status as 'different' among 'local' Germans. However, the return to Germany changed their sense of identity when they were called Romanians instead of Germans. As Tsuda (2003) acknowledges, referring to Japanese Brazilian 'returns' to the ancestral home, migrants can receive the label of 'strangers' upon return to their ethnic homeland. This may have encouraged the respondents to adjust their sense of identity. The following quotes illustrate how some of the Transylvanian Saxon migrants encountered difficulties with expressing their identity:

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'In general they consider us Romanians even if we were considered in Romania... Hitler's [people] and Germans... Here we are considered Romanians... I asked someone once, my boss at the job... My colleagues said that they could speak anything because I don't understand German, she is Romanian... I didn't say a word... Of course I understood everything what they spoke because they spoke German and not another language and... They only said this, that I don't understand anything. And then I asked my boss to tell me what I am... 46 years in Romania I was considered a German and Hitler's, for this I was expelled from many places and now I came here between the Germans and I am considered Romanian... Could you please tell me what am I?' (06).

On the other hand some migrants were very clear when asked about their minority status in Germany. Acknowledging their special status they chose not to declare themselves as Germans but 'proudly' to declare themselves as Transylvanian Saxons or Transylvanian Saxons from Romania:

'I don't consider myself a minority here in Germany because the Bavarian is a German, the Swab is German, like this I am Transylvanian Saxon but I am a German... I am a Transylvanian Saxon but at the same time I am German...' (26).

In summary, this section has shown that questions of identity and belonging are highly complex and perceived very differently amongst Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. In line with recent attempts by geographers to problematize essentializing notions of diaspora (Mavroudi, 2007; Ho, 2012), this research suggests that there is evidence for speaking of a return diaspora when addressing the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany, as this allows for considering them as both one group of Germans among many others and Germans with biographical connections to Romania.

6.7 <u>Maintaining contacts in Transylvania</u>

Findings from the semi-structured interviews reveal that the Transylvanian Saxons maintained contacts with Transylvania after settling in Germany. Consequently, the east-west pattern of traditional permanent migration was replaced by temporary west-east circulations. The Transylvanian Saxon migration pattern has become a circulatory movement in which periods of work and settlement in Germany are combined with return visits to Transylvania (Koser, 2007). In this section, the main reasons for these circulations and the frequency of returns to Transylvania are examined.

The Transylvanian Saxons' motives for returning to their place of origin are very complex. One main reason is to keep the heritage alive by showing the younger generation where they were born and raised. This is in line with Iorio and Corsale's (2012) argument that Transylvanian Saxons return to the 'old homeland' for tourism and heritage conservation purposes:

> 'We went to Romania 3 years ago with my cousins, they were little, I mean 4 and 7 years old when they had migrated to Germany, and they had never been in Romania before and they wanted to go to see where they were born and where their parents are coming from and we travelled to Romania and showed them. They necessarily came with us because we still know the language, also my husband is from Romania, so we went together and we showed them the most interesting places we know and where they grew up and where they went to school. This was three years ago and last year we were the last time in Romania in Bistriţa, I don't know if you know that in Bistriţa the [church] tower burnt down … in 2008 and then last year in September they put new bells in and rebuilt the tower and we went with the thought that now I make a trip to the past. And it was a new feeling for me' (62).

Many of the Transylvanian Saxons who returned to Transylvania cited a desire to return to their 'other home', to rediscover familiar places and culture in Transylvania.

This need to 'return' to the 'other homeland' stresses their identity negotiation in relation to space and place and their belonging to two homelands:

'Yes. I was back two years ago with my sons and we made the tour, Sighişoara, Mediaş, Rupea, Braşov with the Poiana, Bâlea, of course Sibiu, Ocna Sibiului, Păltiniş, Cisnădioara, everything' (19).

'Last time I was... I don't know, five years ago or six years ago because our children who are big now, they wanted to see where the big ones were born and the little ones where not born there but... The middle one at least was baptised there but the little one not at all. And they wanted to see what is there and it was interesting. We arrived in Timişoara and we had many friends from university which were there. And they invited us and... It was nice. When we were in Braşov, I had again some friends which whom I worked in Sibiu, where I was born and where I lived for the majority of time, I didn't have anyone because all the Transylvanian Saxons left and there in Sibiu I was only with Transylvanian Saxons' (20).

'The last time I was with my son, I went to show him from where we are coming from, how we lived, how it looks like there, to show him the communes from where the grandparents are coming from... When I entered in our house I started to cry... For me that yard was home for me. When I entered in Mediaş... It's the same if I lived in Augsburg because I also lived there for 16 years or if I go to Mediaş for me is the same, I feel the same. But the grounds where I grew up, that is my homeland' (26).

In addition, the semi-structured interviews show that some participants enjoy spending their summer holidays in Transylvania. The presence of private households enhances connections and social ties to both people and place and is linked to the phenomenon of the 'summer Saxon' when extended periods during the summer are spent in Transylvania:

'Well, we still have the house which is not deserted and so, the house is furnished and perfect when we go back we are again *Sibieni* [people from the town of Sibiu]... but evidently we can only be *Sibieni* during our holidays and we are glad to go every year and to be there again... We are going home, so from home to home' (01).

'Um... and I think the main reason is just because we have two houses there and my father is... he takes care of them and... Um... if we go there we go together with others there so we are not... um... alone there we go with other [Transylvanian] Saxons, so we can feel kind of at home. Um... at the moment yes but I think my father can... he can... um... I think in the future when he has finished work here, he is ... retired, I think likes to go there for let's say half of year and then in the winter come back, so there is this expression 'summer Saxons'' (41).

In some instances, the summer holiday spent with relatives is a significant motive for some migrants and offers beautiful memories and feelings of happiness:

'As I've lived here nearly my whole life, it is my homeland, but Romania for me was always a sacred place because we went there for the holidays and we always had fun at my grandparents place and the nature was so untouched and everything was for me so happy there and without any worries' (27).

Semi-structured interviews reveal that some migrants did not return only for nostalgic tourism but also regarded Transylvania as a tourist destination in its own right:

'I was three years ago... I was told if you are in this 'The Carpathians' association you could organise something. There are people in our association who never saw the Carpathians. And I organised a trip in the Carpathians three years ago and I said that I will not do only the Carpathians but... we do also Sibiu, because it was then the European cultural capital, and the

monasteries in Moldova. And I had 17 people, three gave up, so we were 14 people and we were in the mountains and to the monasteries' (25).

Few Transylvanian Saxons have remained in Transylvania after the post-1990 exodus. However, as discussed previously in Chapter 4, the Transylvanian Saxons usually placed the family at the centre of their migration decisions and the semi-structured interviews reveal that some of the temporary migrants, who frequently return to Transylvania, are still drawn there for family reasons:

'My parents-in-law are Romanians, they live in Romania and we went there every year and I can say that we went also with great pleasure because we have friends there from the university...' (29).

'We have family... My uncle is still living in Transylvania and also I have friends, school friends... whom I visit when I am there and I like it to be there because I remember the childhood... So I go there every two to three years and I think it's important to see how the country is... [Evolving] and what's going on and... Yes, I like the atmosphere. Last time I was there we rented a car and we did a tour through Transylvania because it was not enough time but I am also interested to go to the Danube delta sometimes or to see some parts like the Bucovina... Yes, I will do this [Laughs]' (40).

'Yes, of course, to see my three brothers which I still have there. In Râşnov from where my wife comes from we don't have any relatives left but this doesn't mean that every time we spend two weeks also in Râşnov because from the mayor to the one who sweeps the streets they all were my pupils as a school teacher and school director. And together with my wife who is older than me with three years, 81 years old, we feel very well and I can't wait the summer to drive, I drive with much pleasure to Romania. I need to say that I was 15 times there as a touristic guide and I organized trips from here with the inhabitants around Nurnberg, not only from Transylvania, to Romania. We visit as a priority the north of Moldavia, Bucovina, the monasteries,

Maramureş and sometimes we went in the footsteps of Albrecht Dürer whose parents lived in Aitoşul Mare, near Baia Mare and his father sculpted because he was a sculptor... As I also taught History for a few years, I could give tourists on the bus much information about Romanian history' (61).

It can be said that maintaining ties with the place of origin is partially shaped by friendship. For some temporary returnees in Transylvania the mobility decision was tied to the preservation of closely friendships in Transylvania:

'Every year. We still have our houses there and my in-laws as well. We renovate them and we have friends, so we go every year. I don't have family there. In relation to my job I go only for our organization but I do not go to open a firm' (57).

For others a desire or need to be in the companionship of Transylvanian Saxon friends from Germany in the Transylvanian physical environment has been an incentive for temporary mobility:

'I was there three weeks ago and I was at my grandmother's place that was the only reason. Last summer I went there to meet friends from here in Romania. I go every summer to see my grandmother' (55).

Some respondents expressed a desire to be 'like before' when the community lived in Transylvania. This desire motivated group returns of Transylvanian Saxons who maintain friendship relationships in Germany. Some respondents expressed feelings of nostalgia about Transylvania. When questioned whether they would be missing Transylvania some respondents acknowledged that they missed 'Transylvania, not Romania' because they cannot 'swipe with the sponge a lifetime spent in Transylvania':

'I can't wait to go. Now my son will come in June and he wants to take me home. I wasn't able to go because of my husband. My husband was very ill and I wasn't able to go because of that. But I was in 2000... I don't know when it

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was… I think I went in 2004 for the last time but because my boys came and when we moved our boy brought all the furniture and he helped me. And when they are here it seems like they are taking away my homesickness' (11).

Some other respondents acknowledged that their nostalgia does not relate to Transylvania as a physical space but to the community and way of life they had in Transylvania, quoting for example a Romanian proverb 'the man blesses the place'. Therefore, it can be noted that these nostalgic feelings perpetuate transnational movements between Germany and Transylvania. Moreover, it can be argued that the need to re-live the old community in Transylvania acts as a unifying space for this community, and also, as a space where distinctiveness is nurtured (Mavroudi, 2010). Some of the migrants associated their return to Transylvania with a certain point in their lives. The following quote illustrates how some of the migrants chose to return to Transylvania for school reunions:

> 'Since '84 when I left I was three times in… Transylvania for different occasions. One was once in '91 when we celebrated 50 years with the former… colleagues. But then their number decreased so much that it's not worth anymore to go' (15).

The migrants also cited the traditional Transylvanian Saxon culture as a motive for their return visits. The opportunity for formal or informal cultural encounters in Transylvania is also valued by migrants, for example, through town meetings:

> 'I was [back]… two years ago. One bus left from here with a theatre group and a dance group and I went by bus from Geretsried to Sibiu when… Sibiu was the European cultural capital. And we took part there at many events' (38).

> 'Some time ago there was a meeting in Mediaş for all the people from Mediaş and also from Germany, we met there. Yes, we also had some relatives whom I visited; now I don't have any more. Yes, and… We plan to go this summer to see how it's changed, what was done there…' (18).

'For example, those from Mediaş have also the so-called meetings held every three years, so I had two meetings in Mediaş… together with the evangelical church, together with the town's mayor, with [the German] forum… and we were around 500-600 people from Mediaş who live in Germany, respectively from other countries, they came especially for these meetings to Mediaş. Before this… indeed it was before 1990 when … I was there 5 or 6 times, I don't remember exactly, to visit our friends because it was more difficult for them to visit us…I met them in Romania and they visited us in Romania, they were able to come… I was already on the black list and I wasn't able to come but we were able to visit them from here and they weren't able to visit us. You see, there are political conditions or social conditions whatever you want to call them… when they came to Romania they were mighty, when we went from here… even if we were at the beginning we were mighty… and I am the same person' (50).

Some respondents cited a desire to visit Transylvania in order to 'not forget the homeland':

'In order to not forget my homeland. I was five years ago with the fanfare in a tour with everyone… I used to go to the market and I didn't walk for long and I met a lot of people' (09).

Findings from semi-structured interviews illustrate also some specific motives for returning to Transylvania temporarily. The need to return to Transylvania for health reasons was cited by one of the participants:

'The last time I was in 2003 for health reasons. I am too old now to travel, maybe by plane it would be easier but in the last years I didn't go anymore' (37).

It can be said that other particular motives are economic benefits. Although a singular case, this participant acknowledged that the potential of eventual profit shaped his return mobility to Transylvania:

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'I forgot this... in 2006 and 2007 I was for my job because I was with 2-3 software houses from Munich and Köln, they were interested to invest there; and with my family I was in 2003 and 2004 because the children were interested and we visited Codlea... to see what happened, I mean it was a holiday. Yes, I mean it's like this; we don't have any relatives from our German side. And here a small parenthesis, my mother belongs to the Hungarian minority, so my mother's family is still living in Sfântu Gheorghe and Odorhei, and we visited them, these were the motives why we went there' (45).

Transylvanian Saxons' return visits to Transylvania were sometimes associated with honorary work, which is then connected with visiting family and friends and clearly helps to maintain Transylvanian heritage in Transylvania:

'No, in my case work. Actually, in general for work... my youngest brother went back to Sibiu. He also emigrated after I did but he went back. His wife is Romanian and he inherited a house from her parents and they went back although they are German citizens and they have the primary domicile here in Germany but they live in Sibiu. And they also have a boy who lives here, so if I go I have also a bit of family but this is secondary. Normally if I go, I go for work' (42).

'After the 90's [I visited] especially with the occasion of some visits in the natal village where still lives a small group of Transylvanian Saxons which we support materially but especially we [support] the cultural objects, we try... I mean we don't try, we maintain them through donations, through all sorts of help, we try as much as possible to maintain these cultural objects, fortresses, churches, parishes, graveyards, so... I have close relationships. Even this year we want to do a... how it's called? DVD, a disc, referring to Unterwald, it is a part of Transylvania where is also my natal village and it will be a work of the amateur film-makers or students from Sibiu who will do this work. They already did [works] about towns surrounding Sibiu, around Braşov and around... northern Transylvania, and now this documentation will follow' (49).

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Other arranged school exchange visits between Transylvania and Germany, which benefitted the maintenance of German heritage in Romania as well:

'Well, I told you that I feel... I mean my heart beats Transylvanian... But I don't do tourism because of this and also I am not able to because I work all the time in order to maintain this school. We have a lot of courses in Romania; I mean we do all the time a sort of exchange. Young talented people from here... and now we spread also in Italy are coming in Romania and I also invite even talented children and Romanian young people in Germany. And... then in order to settle these things firstly I need to be convinced of course of their professional level and we also do courses there, and also here and in Italy. And there is an exchange which needs to be taken care of also through my presence because being also bilingual... but these two are now important... and with studies in Romania... I think I am the right person to mobilise. And here these children are much opened and I even had some unexpected events. For example I invited a class almost the entire class from Sebeş-Alba... um... for a week to Germany and... in Sebeş there are very few Transylvanian Saxons now and they are mostly old... so this school, this beautiful high school where I also learnt it is Romanian but also with German classes and... These children were very, very offended if I would speak Romanian with them; I thought that I don't hear very well because they weren't Transylvanian Saxons. They spoke a perfect German and you see... this was something very beautiful. And... I offered them everything I was able to, what we didn't manage to offer them because we weren't in Romania or Italy, the friendship, and this was a deception for them, that these colleagues with whom they stayed in the school at the same desk they didn't invite them or so... You see now we arrive at the German negative points... This lack of sociability...' (53).

If the parents did not want to go back for visits, study tours became an option to reconnect with Transylvania, which sometimes stimulated a deeper interest in the area and was thus followed by professional reasons for return visits such as periods of research and conferences:

'I wanted to visit Transylvania after the revolution but I didn't have the possibility, my parents didn't want to go to visit for many years... I think they went for the first time after 10 years... and I only had the opportunity to go after the high school because the holidays were so different in Rheinland-Pfalz comparatively to Bavaria because those who organised some trips in Transylvania from Bavaria... they were from Bavaria and they were only in September or in August and then I had school. So, I was for the first time in September 1996 in Transylvania and I was very excited when I went to Romania. And from 1996 onwards I went nearly every year to Romania. During the first years I went with Studium Transylvanicum, especially with Transylvania Tours... it was a society for student travel in Transylvania and with them I went to Romania nearly every year and afterwards I went privately with... the wife and the friends and of course not only for private matters but also from the professional point of view because I studied the East-European history. And when I went there I also made... research in the archives, in the libraries and so on, for my doctorate thesis. So from 1999 onwards I was firstly for professional reasons in Romania. Well, now is also the same. I go to conferences, I organize conferences in Romania and it is different' (52).

In some cases, a range of motives for return visits to Transylvania came together, including family, friends, school reunions or tourism:

'Yes, quite often. I wasn't in the last 2 years but we want to go this year. The reason is that we have my husband's relatives and my son there who went back and settled again in Sibiu. He has family there and a firm and this is the reason why we go. And we meet our friends; there are different occasions when they invite us. We cannot go to all the events... Ah, I said a lie that I wasn't [in Romania] for two years. Last year I was in Dumbrăveni for 5 days, I had the meeting for the high school graduation and it was a great event. We went three [persons] from Germany by plane' (21).

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'From 1993 until the present I have been 43 times in Transylvania, in Romania, every year 3, 4 or 5 times. Not because of an exaggerated homesickness but you cannot wipe from your subconscious the years, in my case almost 70 years, somewhere you felt well ' (28).

The frequency of return visits to Transylvania varied between none and several visits per year, depending on the type of connections and economic situation of the Transylvanian Saxons. Some return at least once a year:

'Annually. Annually I am for a few days in Sibiu, many more days I am in Bucharest and with my Romanian friends I have there. A reason which remained until today it was to look after my ancestors' graves which... are buried in Sibiu and Cisnădioara' (22).

'And I know that Transylvania is very important for me. And I go there, of course to my town, I start with the graveyard and I go to the elders, because there aren't any youngsters anymore to see how are they doing and eventually if I can help them... these are big words... to help them but not me personally, now more this organisation. I hope that I will continue to go as long as I can. During 27 years in Germany I was 25 times in Romania...' (47).

Mostly, however, the Transylvanian Saxons' return visits to Transylvania have a discontinuous character, with visits in Transylvania once or twice over the years:

'In Romania I was very rarely. I left in 1988. I was once in 1989 with my family, my wife and children. I was once in 1995 and I was again in 2008. The first time it was to see how everybody was doing. We came to Germany and after one year we went back visiting. After we were quite often invited by some friends to visit, we went again in 1995. And in 2008 we went with our two boys and their girlfriends to show them from where we came and from where they came, even if they were very young when they left. It did not succeed because my younger boy had other plans, so in the end we went only with our

oldest boy and his girlfriend. We showed them beautiful places from Romania. It was beautiful' (36).

Some participants rarely visited Transylvania due to the loss of family and other personal reasons:

'Very rarely, very rarely. Um... for a while, so until '97, I went to my parents, to my sister. Now my uncle and his wife still live in Sibiu. And as I said some friends which I regret that there are so many kilometres between us but we meet here and there' (14).

'Rarely. We have no family there... We don't have anything left in Transylvania, we don't have a house, and we don't have anything. If you go there we go as tourists' (33).

'Very rarely because the trip is expensive and I have my parents buried there and I ask somebody to take care of the graves... No I don't have anyone. My sister came here, my brother is here, all the nephews, all' (58).

Some participants said they went back more often in earlier decades but now factors such as age or lack of opportunity prevented frequent return visits:

'It's not nice but at the moment, no, I wanted but I didn't have the opportunity' (04).

'I cannot do it now anymore, I am 83 years old' (05).

Few respondents declared that they did not return to Transylvania after migration to Germany. Some of the Transylvanian Saxons who denied returning to the 'old homeland' accompanied their discourses by feelings of regret:

'No. I never was' (02).

'I never was. I didn't go back. Never. In the first two years I would have been, I didn't have the occasion, I didn't have the possibility and it stayed like this... and it stayed like this' (03).

'I haven't been to Transylvania since '85' (12).

Some participants considered Transylvania as their 'dreamland' in terms of an old perfect community and they cited feelings of anxiety upon return visits which might spoil their perception about Transylvania:

'I never was there. And I miss it a lot. I want when my children will be older to go with them there and show them my high school. My husband left when he was 2 years old. He does not know the language or anything about the life there, but he is interested to discover. We still have friends there in the village and they visit us. I want to do a nostalgic holiday and to show my children where I was where I was born. But I am also afraid to go back because I had such a nice childhood there that I am afraid to go back to see the changes and to spoil everything' (56).

By analysing the Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and their contacts with Transylvania, findings from the interviews have demonstrated that the Transylvanian Saxons engage in transnational processes and practices of cultural reproduction in Germany. It is contended that the maintenance of family ties, friendships and community cultural practices from the 'old home' in the 'new home' support the idea of the formation of a new 'return' diaspora.

Chapter 7: Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage and contemporary German culture

7.1 <u>Introduction</u>

Following the discussion in Chapter 6 that analysed the social, economic and political dimensions of Transylvanian Saxons' integration in Germany, Chapter 7 focuses mainly on the cultural dimension of settling in Germany. Based upon findings from 63 semi-structured interviews and participant observation conducted in several locations in Germany, this chapter investigates migrants' efforts in the realms of cultural preservation and cultural integration in Germany. It is argued that over 850 years of cultural influences in the Balkan added distinct cultural features to the Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity that differentiates it from contemporary German culture and thus supports the argument that Transylvanian Saxons in Germany constitute a 'return' diaspora.

The chapter that follows is structured into four sections. Section 7.2 examines the meanings of the German concept *Heimat* and offers an insight into the migrants' views when referring to the term *Heimat*. Section 7.3 discusses the migrants' efforts in maintaining Transylvanian Saxons' culture in Germany and also offers an insight into associational and individual commitments in the preservation of the Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage in Transylvania. Section 7.4 provides an account of the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons from Germany held in Dinkelsbühl. The final section focuses on discussions about cultural conservation and transmission, and outlines the connections and clashes between Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and 'local' German culture.

7.2 'Old Heimat' and 'New Heimat'

Important themes that emerged from semi-structured interviews are those of the 'home' and 'homeland'. There is no simple and encompassing English translation for the German concept of *Heimat[1]* , but it is often expressed through terms such as 'home', 'homeland', 'motherland', 'nation', 'nation-state', even if for the Germans, Austrians and other German-language speakers the term encompasses a greater variety of meanings and connotations. Due to the multiplicity of meanings of the term *Heimat*, there have been diverse academic debates and many attempts to define the term in English and other languages (von Moltke, 2005).

Initially, the term *Heimat* referred to the connections of people to their country of birth, childhood or mother tongue (Demshuk, 2012). The recent strengthening of the relevance of the concept *Heimat* was a reaction to modernity and globalisation, which went hand in hand with the loss of identity and community (Wenger, 1998). The term *Heimat* is an integral aspect of German identity and developed in relation to the German concept of place, if an ethnic group holds a deep cultural association with a place or country that has contributed to its cultural and national identity.

Definitions of *Heimat* therefore encompass spatial and temporal dimensions:

> 'Heimat refers to a relation between human beings and space. Though some have emphasised the temporal dimensions of Heimat – whether as memory, as invented tradition, or as an ideal to be realised in the future – an understanding of the particular spatiality of Heimat is necessary to any definition of the term and its attendant practices. Whether one thinks of it as the place of one's childhood, as an elective place of belonging (as suggested by

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[1] Heimat is the notion employed by people of German descent scattered in states other than Germany, and which feel connected to their country through particular elements, such as language, culture or nostalgia.

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the notion of a *zweite Heimat*), whether it is taken to signify a local, regional or national territory, or whether it serves to evoke to future or past as a different country, Heimat aims at a special relation' (von Moltke, 2005: 10).

Migrants often used particular language to explain the difference between the two homelands, labelling Transylvania the 'old home' or the 'old Heimat' in contrast to the 'new home' or the 'new Heimat' in Germany. The interviewed Transylvanian Saxons in Germany had very different associations when asked about the concept of *Heimat*. The migrants often used particular language to explain their connection with the countries they feel connected to and often used labels such as 'old home', 'old Heimat' [*Alte Heimat*], and 'Fatherland' [*Vaterland*] when referring to Transylvania in contrast with 'new home', 'new Heimat' [*Neue Heimat*] and 'Motherland' [*Mutterland*] when referring to Germany. By exploring the connection between people, community, space and temporality, this section attempts to understand what Transylvanian Saxon migrants consider to be their present home and homeland.

Amongst the sample of 63 semi-structured interviewees, the highest proportion of participants (35%) considered Germany their homeland. Half as many of the respondents (17%) believed that Transylvania was still their homeland whilst a similar share (19%) identified with 'two homelands'. As Schulze et al (2008) stress, the majority of ethnic Germans, which includes those from Romania, show feelings of pride of being both Germans and Romanians. On one hand, these percentages may be the result of ambiguous meaning of the concept of *Heimat*, but on the other hand, as Christou and King (2010) assert, 'returnees'' ambiguous views of 'home' and 'homeland' imply that 'homecomings' are seen as fluid rather than static processes of 'becoming', and the ambiguity and fluidity of identity or 'becoming' extends also over the notions of 'home' and 'homeland'. For those respondents, who believed that Transylvania was still their homeland, it appears that the notion of homeland was founded upon their 'birthplace', 'childhood' and 'roots':

> 'Now the homeland... I don't know what to say... The homeland... We still feel that Romania... I would say that our homeland is Romania, it is not Germany.

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There you were born, there you spent your youth, so Germany is less the homeland. It is said here in Germany that... there is an expression that they use... 'You are a newcomer; your homeland is still from where you came'. We are thinking like this. I think that your *Heimat* is there where you were born and where you lived' (08).

'I wouldn't say that [Germany] is my homeland... For me the homeland was Transylvania, I grew up there, I got old there so... I need to adjust [to Germany] and... I have to fit in the everyday life... I wouldn't call it homeland, no, the homeland was there' (09).

Whilst for some Transylvanian Saxon migrants it is difficult to declare Germany as their homeland and as it is only 'the country where I live' (06), others found it very natural to consider Germany their homeland because 'our ancestors left from here when they moved to Romania. We came back to our roots' (37). Similarly, some Transylvanian Saxons who were born in Transylvania and younger respondents who were born in Germany or grew up in Germany referred to their 'roots' and 'birthplace' when they declared Germany their homeland:

'I grew up here [Germany] so that's in some way my own land' (55).

'It is... how I shall say... for me this is my home. I was born in Bistriţa and there is the homeland, I mean *Heimat* how it is called in German, but I always say that the homeland is there where you grow up, where you feel well, where you live and if you feel well there where you live. Many colleagues, friends from... I mean Transylvanian Saxons who live here they are saying when they go to Romania, 'I go home', I never said it. This is my home and here is my homeland' (62).

Even some of those respondents who lived for the majority of their adult life in Transylvania declared Germany their homeland when they had a feeling of total integration and adjustment to the new life up to the point of feeling 'at home':

'Yes, yes. It is the homeland... there are two types of homeland... the homeland where I was born and the homeland [that I chose]... the *Wahlheimat* [adopted country] which I looked for and this is for me *Wahlheimat* [adopted country]. I am not a German, I am not a Bavarian, no... I consider myself a Transylvanian Saxon who came from Transylvania and is now here at home' (54).

The quote bellow also suggests that for some migrants there is a clear delineation between life before and after migration, life in the old home and life in the new one. It can be argued that this delineation of life before and after migration also supports the idea of diaspora as an evolving process in relation to time, space and place. On the one hand, Transylvanian Saxon diaspora can be perceived, before migration, as a bounded diaspora, with a predominantly homeland-oriented identity. On the other hand, transnational activities after migration have unfolded an unbounded diaspora, with fluid and dynamic processes, but also, with fluctuating positioning, permanently positioned in Germany, but also temporarily positioned in Transylvania:

'Of course this is a very difficult question. Of course I feel Germany is my homeland because... during my life... I had two lives, one until 1979 and one after that. In my second life I am here at home even though I wasn't born here but I am here at home' (42).

It appears that the migrants who considered Germany to be the homeland 'in the present' acknowledged Transylvania as being their old homeland, but they also had the desire of living 'in the present' and identifying the 'homeland' as a space in which routines of work, leisure, family and relationships are performed. This can be explained through Mavroudi's (2007) assertion that identity construction is dynamic and positioned, and that heterogeneous identity is sometimes denied in favour of a more stable and politicised version of identity in relation to time, space and place:

'Germany is my homeland. In the same way Romania is also my homeland. We use in German the terms *Alte Heimat* which is the former homeland, which is Transylvania, and *Neue Heimat*, the new homeland, which is Germany. At the

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moment Germany is the most important homeland because I live here and I have here all my activities' (43).

In the quote above, it is evident that some respondents were undecided when asked about their homeland and thus declared that they would have 'two homelands'. Consequently, it appears that some Transylvanian Saxon migrants negotiate their space of 'home' and 'homeland' and seek a compromise of 'two homelands'. This double identity or 'dual allegiance' to place, as referred to by Christou and King (2010), explains that identities can be constructed or contested in relation to time, space and place. Clearly, Transylvanian Saxons create imaginary transnational spaces between the two homelands which they call 'home'. These diasporic space, in which experiences of everyday life in the new *Heimat* are combined with memories and nostalgia of the old *Heimat*, may be both, empowering and disillusioning (Mavroudi, 2008) for the Transylvanian Saxon community:

'It is difficult for me. I don't know where I am at home. *Heimat*... how do you call it...? I don't know... I think that my *Heimat* is Romania, so Transylvania. In Transylvania I was born, I grew up; I go back, so that is *Heimat*. And Germany is... It is still *Heimat* but I don't feel it like this. If I go back to Romania I feel something different as if I am here at home. I am at home here but... what I feel is in Romania' (32).

Among some of those migrants who found it 'difficult' to decide which country would be their 'homeland' there was a tendency to associate their 'home' and 'homeland' with the 'place', or the 'town', of their everyday life:

'I am already attached a lot to Fürth. I found many parallels between Fürth and the Transylvanian cities where a church is always in the centre of the town and in the surroundings are big beautiful buildings. It is the same with Fürth and Fürth is my new homeland' (35).

However, it can be observed that some migrants' attachment did not refer only to the country or the natal place but to the people living there and to the community. This is

in alignment with Mavroudi's (2010) argument that community is fluid, dynamic and positioned, and also, it can act as a unifying space:

> 'This word 'homeland' is difficult to define. Actually the homeland would be where I was born and where I grew up but the homeland is not for me Sibiu or Codlea for my wife because if you have homesickness it is not the house you miss, you miss the people who are there... When we went back home to my parents and my wife's parents, we were home, it was homeland. Now since they are dead or came here, if we go now to Sibiu other people are living there in our house... but what is homeland? If you don't know anyone, it's not homeland anymore. For me the homeland is where you feel home and we don't have a homeland, we don't have at all a homeland, I mean it's not there because they are all dead and here, of course we have our friends here and of course we feel at home in Stuttgart. If I was on holiday for three weeks and I come back, I am home' (20).

Conceptually, these diverse perceptions and definitions of homeland among the Transylvanian Saxons and their tendency to share feelings of belonging with two homelands can be regarded as a distinct feature of their transnationalism. The notion of the 'return' diaspora in particular seems to capture these complexities by accounting for different homelands and their changes over time.

7.3 Maintaining Transylvanian Saxon heritage

As many Transylvanian Saxons in Germany feel connected to Transylvania as their homeland, they have an interest in maintaining their cultural heritage in Romania. The following section therefore discusses their efforts to maintain Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage. The desires to preserve and protect Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage in Transylvania as well as in Germany are explored in the first part of the section. The role of religion in this process is investigated in the second part of the section.

7.3.1 Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage

In an article in 'The Guardian' entitled 'The forgotten Saxon world that is part of Europe's modern heritage', Jenkins (2009) mentions that 'the Transylvanian Saxons are ranked with the Mennonite Amish, the Patagonia Welsh and the Volga Germans among the dislocated tribes of Europe which lasted 800 years and left intact monuments of culture distinct and yet integral to European history' (p.1). After the exodus of Transylvanian Saxons from Transylvania to Germany, a deserted architectural landscape remained behind. Entire villages with houses, schools and churches were abandoned. In some villages the houses were voluntarily occupied by the local Roma population. This Roma 'siege' together with the building degradation due to time and negligence have been identified as the worst enemies of the Transylvanian Saxon heritage in Transylvania.

This situation created the desire of Transylvanian Saxons who migrated to Germany to protect their Transylvanian Saxon heritage in Transylvania. Their efforts proceeded not merely at the level of the Transylvanian Saxon community or at the level of dedicated Transylvanian Saxon individuals but also gained the attention of various organisations. Stubbs and Makas (2011) mention that the Saxon village of Biertan was inscribed on the UNESCO's World Heritage list due the maintenance of its medieval layout, of its sixteenth-century buildings and many of its historical buildings. In the same paper (2011: 406) the authors argue that 'the plight of Romania's Saxon heritage has also been a catalyst for the receipt of significant help from abroad, including from the British-Romanian Mihai Eminescu Trust, whose "Whole village project" has revitalised communities with support from the World Bank'. In its 25th anniversary booklet of the Transylvanian Saxon Foundation in Germany, the foundations' authors present the realities of the Transylvanian Saxon heritage in Transylvania. The association, set up by Ernst Habermann in 1979, acknowledges that progress has been made in the restoration work of some of the over 140 fortified churches that exist in Transylvania. Some of them received help through being included in the UNESCO World Heritage programme but they also recognise that many are in need of restoration and they launched the appeal 'If you

love Transylvania, please give!'. Other efforts of the Transylvanian Saxon Association to maintain the Transylvanian Saxon heritage in Transylvania and Germany is the publishing of cultural material such as flyers, booklets, anniversary books and DVDs (figures 7-1, 7-2 and 7-6).

Figure 7-1: DVD produced on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Association of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany

Data source: own purchase from the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly, Dinkelsbühl

International support for the protection of Transylvanian Saxon heritage in Transylvania came especially from Germany. Since 1979, the Transylvanian Saxon Association in Germany, supported by the Habermann family, has restored fortified churches and other sites in Prejmer, Biertan and other towns. Despite these significant efforts, the Transylvanian Saxon heritage in Romania is far from saved and the threats continue to be a challenge.

One of the institutions for promoting and maintaining the Transylvanian Saxon community in Germany is the Transylvanian Saxon Institute in Gundelsheim (figure

7-4). Part of this institution is the Transylvanian Saxon Archives, the Transylvanian Saxon Library and the Transylvanian Saxon elderly care home. The institute publishes books, special publications and periodicals such as the *Semester Blaetter*. Situated in the Horneck castle (figure 7-3) that resides above the Neckar River, this building also accommodates the Transylvanian Saxon Museum where curators gather and preserve Transylvanian Saxon objects.

Findings from the semi-structured interviews show that many of the Transylvanian Saxons living in Germany engage in cultural activities that aim to preserve their community in Germany. This agrees with Sheffer's (2010) argument that diasporas function after the principle of autonomy which can be mutually and informally accepted by both 'returnees' and 'hosts':

> 'There are choirs, there are groups that present theatre, there are groups that dance traditional dances, there are meetings every year in Dinkelsbühl... um... of all Transylvanian Saxons in Germany or from other places, Austria, Canada, recently they are coming also from Romania... the few who are left there or some of the few who are left there. And there are meetings for towns, for example, next month those from Mediaş will meet, again in Dinkelsbühl, so... I would say that there are some forms which anyway I don't know how long they will last... because... the groups which formed here for every *Kreis* [district] at this level suffer from youth affluence... but I can see that in the other groups, for example in Dinkelsbühl... last Sunday, there were many youngsters, many children but I don't know to what extent this work will continue... after our generation' (12).

Some interview participants stated that the information relating to their community life in Germany is offered by their newspaper *Siebenbürgische Zeitung*. Consequently, even though some of the respondents suggested that they did not involve themselves in cultural activities at present or were never involved due to a lack of interest in cultural or artistic traditions, they were still aware of the cultural activities of their

community in Germany. Some interview participants mentioned that age constituted an impediment in taking part in the community's cultural representations.

Figure 7-2: Flyer – 'Who are the Transylvanian Saxons?'
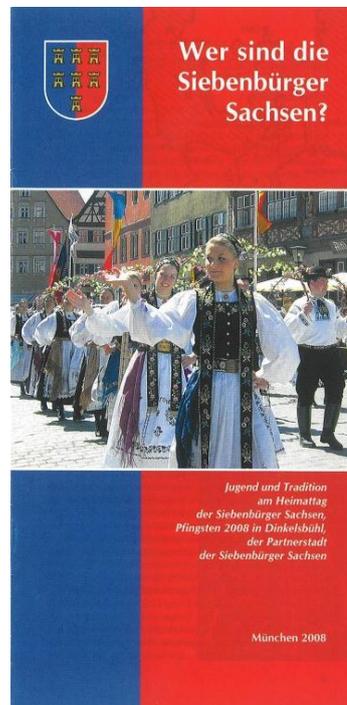
Data source: Transylvanian Saxon Association, Munich

Figure 7-3: Horneck Castle, Gundelsheim

Data source: Transylvanian Saxon Institute

Figure 7-4: Transylvanian Saxon Institute, Gundelsheim

Data source: Transylvanian Saxon Institute

Figure 7-5: Flyers – Transylvanian Saxon Museum and Transylvanian Saxon Institute
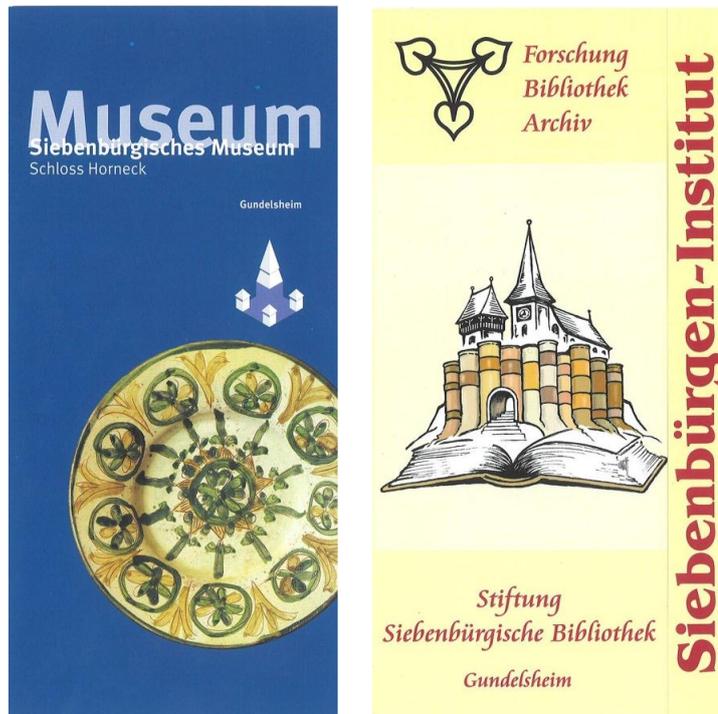
Data source: Transylvanian Saxon Museum and Transylvanian Saxon Institute

Some Transylvanian Saxons have undertaken courageous financial efforts in writing up collective or individual, funded or independent booklets that may be connected to an anniversary event in the Transylvanian Saxon community or promote Transylvanian Saxon cultural traditions. Figure 7-6 provides an example for such booklets, one of them was printed for the 50 years anniversary of the support society 'Johannes Honterus' that has been located in the Horneck castle since 1960.

Figure 7-6: Booklets printed by Transylvanian Saxons in Germany
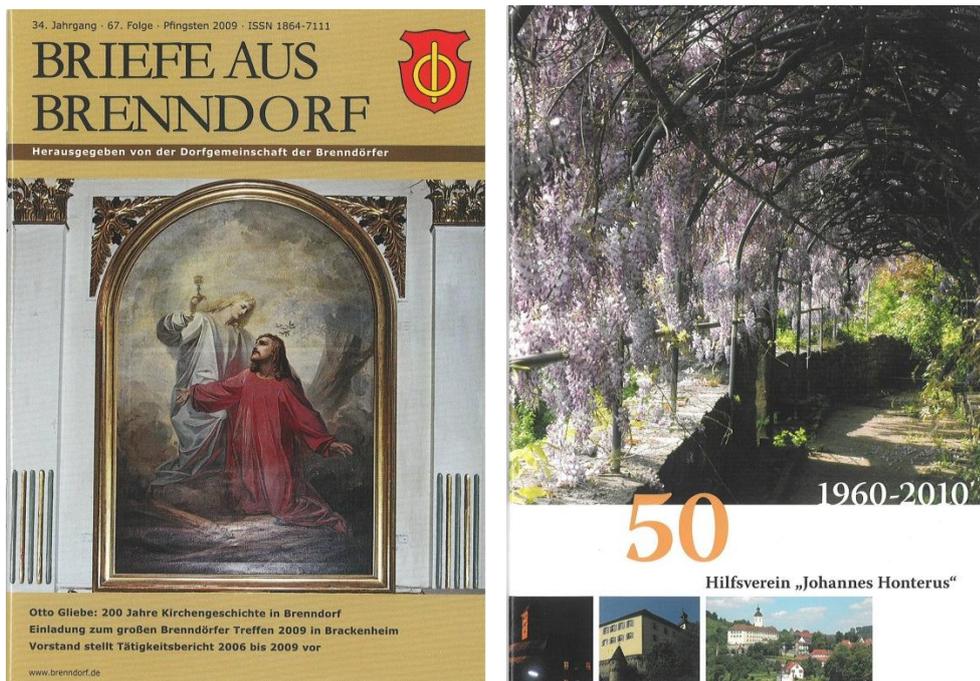
Data source: Interviewees

Another form of reproducing and preserving Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage is individual participation in local Transylvanian Saxon groups, the so called *Landmanschaften*. Transylvanian Saxons in Germany often mentioned their dedication for the community culture. *Landsmannschaften* invest time, money, and skills to promote Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage through a wide range of cultural events:

> 'In Geretsried, we are the biggest *Landsmannschaft*... Yes... for example not far from here, we have at the *Rathaus*... at the town hall, a museum in the attic for

over 30 years, where many communities present their folk costumes... and we the Transylvanian Saxons have there a small museum... and for this small museum we need to create conditions... This museum is about to move to another building... we have worked hand in hand to renovate that building which is very old... and these manifestations are complemented by community activities, for example, an evening... organised for different natal languages... the Transylvanian Saxons had in every area and... I in every commune, some specific language articulations... The evening was very beautiful and we presented our folk costumes... and the youngsters made... how do we translate this? *kürtős kalács* in Hungarian [Hungarian pastry]... We do on a regular basis the 'autumn ball' for our folk costumes... and in the spring and winter we made... *Fasching*... carnival, organised by us... for 350 guests. And we also have some other activities... For this year we try for the first time to organise... the folk costume festivity around a... tree... We think that for the costs we will need a lot of public good will and we also need to have good weather' (38).

Findings from the semi-structured interviews suggest that the Transylvanian Saxon membership and involvement in associational activities has decreased over time. This may be that Transylvanian Saxons are more and more integrated and associated with cultural activities in their new home and thus do not need these ethnic associations in order to have a fulfilled social life. Illustrative in this sense is one respondent's statement about Transylvanian Saxon membership in the local association. The ideal scenario for Transylvanian Saxons would have been a balance of successful integration in German society with participation in cultural events and associations. This would have helped them to be integrated in the host society and at the same time to preserve their Transylvanian Saxon culture and tradition. It can be said that the Transylvanian Saxons were in a difficult position when they decided to leave their closely knit Transylvanian world. Even though they received recognition by the German state due to the law defined as *jus sanguinis*, the situation was not so straightforward with the everyday 'native' German. Because they came from Romania they were called Romanians, although they expected to be recognised as Germans. This unexpected situation pushed them to promote their culture and make

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themselves noticed by the 'native' Germans. This only contributed to the reinforcement of their identity as Transylvanian Saxons and deepened the gap between the two identities. The older generations of Transylvanian Saxons are still committed to the preservation of their culture, which is based on beautiful and often idealised memories of what cultural life was like back in Transylvania (see also Christou, 2011), but as these generations are diminishing for historical reasons, Transylvanian Saxon culture in Germany can be regarded as being in danger. This is confirmed in interview statements when participants stated that they used to take part in associational activities, a choir or a fanfare, but due to advanced age and tiredness that comes with it this would not be possible anymore:

> 'Well, I was too old and I was too distressed and I wasn't involved in anything... When I came I was already retired and I had my mother, she lived for another 15 years... she became 99 years old... and after she died I came here [to the nursing home] and that was it' (03).

> 'No. I had a society... there were all Transylvanian Saxons there but lately I didn't go anymore because nobody was coming anymore just 2 or 3 people and it was dissolved. They moved to other towns or villages and they were not able to come anymore and it was difficult to go home in the evenings and we were old...' (02).

Some respondents claimed that their deficiency of talent for cultural activities was responsible for them not being involved in associational activities:

> 'No, I didn't get involved because I don't understand anything from music...' (05).

Some respondents revealed that even if they were not involved directly in associational activities, they have taken part indirectly, through organising activities or by holding a leading position in the association:

'I am the president... circumscription... or how it's called... Bad Tölz-Wolfratshausen. We have... about over 700 members in Geretsried and about 200 are active which are in group dances, in choirs... in *Hand Arbeitskraft*... Yes... in theatre. We have four dance groups, the small children, starting from 3 years old and a half until they go to school, the school children, the youngsters, and the... the adults. *Fußball Gruppe*... So, sport... There are also... *Bergsteiger*... who go into the mountains... Uh-huh... *Alpin Gruppe.* Genau! Yes, I mean we are very active. I am the president. I have a group of students... Uh-huh... together with someone else... We have a meeting every month where all from those groups are coming and we talk about what we do and how we will do it' (26).

Despite the existence of some very active Transylvanian Saxon groups in places such as Geretsried, some respondents regrettably revealed that they did not transmit Transylvanian Saxon tradition to their children:

'If I refer to my family, to my grandsons I can say that they don't have anything from the Transylvanian Saxon tradition or very little. They don't take part in the Transylvanian Saxon gatherings, they meet with their school colleagues with family but from traditions I don't know what to transmit because they live in another society' (37).

Mavroudi (2007) acknowledges the importance of actively teaching Palestinian children in diaspora on how to be Palestinians, for practical purposes of identity continuation and survival. However, in the context of this research, findings show that Transylvanian Saxons transmit from generation to generation only some aspects of their Transylvanian Saxon culture, such as, the Transylvanian Saxon dialect, the mentality, the way of cooking, and the Transylvanian Saxon songs. This is in line with other studies that acknowledge the use of food, music and dance in maintaining and defining their identity and belonging in relation to space (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002; Duffy, 2005; Leonard, 2005):

'The Transylvanian Saxon dialect, the pleasure of singing... we have beautiful traditional songs...' (32).

The interviews also showed that religion has played an important role for both integration in Germany and transmission of Transylvanian Saxon heritage.

7.3.2 The changing role of religion

Findings from the interviews suggest that almost all Transylvanian Saxons were affiliated with the Evangelical religion. Only 2% of the migrants were affiliated with other religious denominations. More than every third participant (36%) belonged to the Evangelical Protestant denomination but admitted that religion did not matter in their everyday life in Germany:

> 'Yes, I am Evangelical. [The religion] lost its importance... I go very rarely to church or only at Christmas and when there is... how it was now for my nephews the baptism or other events that were in church when my grandsons took part I also was there but the religion doesn't represent great importance' (21).

> '[Religion] it doesn't matter. Yes, yes, I am Evangelical' (09).

Less than one third of the interviewees (30%) practiced the Evangelical religion but had a relatively loose relationship to their church, focussing religious practices mainly on Christmas and Easter holidays:

> 'The religion... matters but I have to say that I am religious on one hand if I tell you that I pray every evening before I go to bed but I don't go to church. I go [to church] for Christmas, Christmas Eve and for the time we lived in Dinkelsbühl we also went for Easter, it was very beautiful here at Easter time and I observed that the problem here in the church is similar to Romania, well I said that we were in the countryside, we went all to the church from children to adults... In general here the older generation goes to church. And when I was

a child and I was in Romania, the father was something important in the village' (29).

'I am Evangelical. I am a... common believer as you are or... like 99% of my countrymen. So I am not a believer... how shall I say it... excessive believer but I go with content to church... I go for sure on Christmas time and at Easter time' (23).

It can be observed from the quotes above that religion has predominantly a traditional meaning for the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. Besides practicing religion in the traditional way for Christmas and Easter, some migrants mentioned some other traditions as an incentive to attend church. Some participants acknowledged that traditions such as baptism, religious confirmation, marriage and cultural activities could interest them in attending church:

'I can say that we go to church sometimes so to speak... [Laughs]... By all means on Christmas. We also go to church for different events as marriages or baptism and so on, in the rest of the year we distanced ourselves of the church but not more than in Romania, I mean we were religious there in the same way' (15).

'I want to be very open. Even though I am the grandson of a priest I am not going every Sunday to church only when we have cultural activities. So the church, the sermon it's not a priority for me and my family. We can believe in God. The way that it is structured here, it's rigid, cold, and we are not very well received. I don't feel connected with the social present. For us in Romania the church was also a political edifice until today. Our bishop from Sibiu is a member of the Democratic Forum of Germans and he collaborates with the political representative' (28).

For every sixth respondent (18%), the Evangelical religion was important in everyday life in Germany, while no information was available for the remaining 8% of

respondents. The following quotes exemplify that some of the migrants, besides the fact that they are Evangelical by name, also practiced their religion:

'Yes, we have every month [service] here at the ground floor near the kitchen... Yes, I always go because that's why there is a Sunday to go and pray, we meet someone and you chat. It was very nice in Nurnberg and I lived near the church... it was very beautiful... Here I go only in this house; I don't go to the city. The priest comes every month once or twice, I don't even remember... I went recently one day, on Thursday... yesterday was Thursday... I was on Tuesday. The priest was here and then our young priest was here and he held [a sermon] on the *Rusalii* [Pentecost] and it was very beautiful' (10).

'It is important. I am Evangelical and it is alright, I go every Sunday to the service, I am very happy, the music, the sermons... My daughter studied evangelical theology, she had as I told you a religion [exam] today and she received a 1 [the best mark]. Nice' (60).

On one hand, some respondents stated that their faith mattered in a similar way in Germany as it mattered in Romania, acknowledging that their faith was as significant or insignificant as in Romania. On the other hand, others explained that religion had been a focal point of the community in Transylvania and helped them keep united there but lost its traditional meaning in Germany:

'In Romania we went to church every Sunday and it was very good, you didn't know something else, you didn't know... you wore the traditional costume in the church, from 10 to 11. You came home, you cooked and so on. And that rhythm I cannot keep here... so, for me the Sunday is a family day and to say that we will go all to church... I need to take the children by force because there is an hour when they don't want to get up. So again there is also a... it is not the same thing, that road to church, to sit in the church as we knew it as children. Otherwise, there is the Christian thought... it is again something where we are very close to the church. I mean our children are studying religion in school as

a subject and they know what they teach them... Many study religion until they are in the 12th form but is not the same road to church, to sit there... it is the Christian life the one that remains. That's something where we also start to live after it, don't harm the other, so this is the only religion which I could say... I am not interested if he is Catholic, Evangelic, or Orthodox... the Christian life is important' (63).

It can be said that the significance of religion for Transylvanian Saxons changed over time. For some participants of the older generation who experienced compulsory attendance at church, this establishment and faith still plays an important part in their everyday life. However, some of the elderly respondents also mentioned the difference and the modernity they encountered in the contemporary German church and they acknowledged their difficulty to integrate:

'Well... let's say that also religion in Germany is... more modern than we had it in Transylvania. Um... I remember that when I came to Germany and I was at an Evangelical church for the first time... there at the front was an orchestra and they started to play the guitar and to hit the drums, I was afraid and I asked myself 'What's happening here, what sort of religion is this?' And I needed years until I got use to it, I think that otherwise it's not possible to bring the youngsters in the church only with activities of this kind. In Romania the religion was interdicted for us as professors, let's say that we weren't allowed to go to church as a professor but we went anyway. There was a programme that started with... when we entered the church we knew that we are at the Transylvanian Saxons; the men had their places, the women here, the youngsters upstairs. Everything was better organized. When I came here... everybody sat where they wanted, no order, nothing, in front near the priest and orchestra with guitars, and so on, keyboards. I was surprised in the beginning but I got used to it now and I think that... as I said, otherwise we cannot bring the youngsters to church if we stay conservative' (46).

However, in contrast to the quote above, some of the elderly respondents declared themselves as integrated in today's church:

'I am also integrated here in the church and I am active for example at the Evangelical church in different groups... [So the religion matters a lot for you...?] Yes, it does' (12).

For the younger generations who lived in an atheist Romania under the communist rule the religion lost some of its significance. As one of the respondent put it: 'the whole theme is important to me but I do it in a very different way as my ancestors do. I always was interested in religion and I asked questions and I agreed to be confirmed... but I was always on the outside skirts of the church...' (04).

It can be argued that although the Transylvanian Saxons have strived to maintain their traditions and culture in Germany, the traditional aspect of religion lost its significance, as one respondents put it: '[Religion] doesn't count very much; I would say that it is a traditional element' (01). Therefore, the cultural aspect of maintaining traditional folk costume of Transylvanian Saxons and their traditional activities have received greater attention in Germany than religious life that was so important for the Transylvanian Saxon community in Romania (see chapter 5). Maybe this can be explained by the increasing secularism of contemporary society and a related erosion of religious beliefs among the younger generations:

'Personally it doesn't matter for me because I am a freethinker, so I never had problems of this kind; the religious problem never existed in my case... I don't have problems of this kind. I respect everyone's right to have these sorts of problems no matter how profound as long as they don't proselytise but personally I don't have problems like this' (16).

7.4   The Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons

This section discusses the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany as a prominent yearly event for celebrating Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage in Germany. Based on participant observation and supported by semi-structured interviews and visual material, the discussion attempts to offer a detailed description of this popular event. The section begins by exploring the physical environment that accommodates the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly. The event's programme from 2010 Annual Assembly is discussed in the second part of the section.

7.4.1 Dinkelsbühl: the setting of the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly

It appears that the town of Dinkelsbühl, located in the Bavarian State, is offering the perfect setting for hosting the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. Perfectly preserved, the medieval town is considered one of Europe's most important cultural monuments (www.dinkelsbuehl.de). Dinkelsbühl is famous for the *Romantische Straße* [Romantic Road], a medieval trade route between central and southern Germany that has been designed as a themed touristic route by travel agents in the 1950s. The *Romantische Straße* extends from Würzburg to Füssen, connecting picturesque touristic places such as Dinkelsbühl and Rothenburg ob der Tauber and being characterised by beautiful countryside views, castles, town walls and gothic churches. In this medieval setting of Dinkelsbühl, the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons has taken place since 1951. In 1985, a cooperation agreement was set up between the Transylvanian Saxon Association and Dinkelsbühl. This little town accommodates on average 15,000 people every year during the religious holiday that the Transylvanian Saxons (and Romanians) call *Rusalii* [Pentecost]. In figure 7-7 Transylvanian Saxon assemblies of 1951 and 2010 are compared.

The Transylvanian Saxons' Annual Assembly is 'the biggest coming together of all the Saxons' (41). Walking down the streets filled with medieval buildings, it is noticeable

that some local shops support the Transylvanian Saxon festivity by displaying typical food and objects (figure 7-8).

Transylvanian Saxons who attend the event come from countries such as Germany, Austria, Canada, U.S.A. and as one respondent stated more recently also from Romania. The quotes below suggest that the German population is also aware of the event and may also participate, particularly from Dinkelsbühl and partners of Transylvanian Saxons. It can be said that one purpose of the event is to provide the German population with insights about the Transylvanian Saxons' presence and culture in Germany:

> 'Maybe there are a few but... um... it's mainly... there are mainly [Transylvanian] Saxons. I think there is one group from Dinkelsbühl, from the city, from the town... um... well, they also take part in the parade... um... but just because they are the... um... it's their town' (41).

About 15,000 members of the Transylvanian Saxon community attend the event, even though over 200,000 are located in Germany. Most participants perceived the Annual Assembly as a positive event, Annual Assembly acknowledging their frequent or even annual attendance and describing it as a 'beautiful' and 'fun' event:

> 'Yes, I try to, I try to... um... but, yeah... last year I was in a tournament in Iceland so... but, but if I am here in Germany and I have time I always try to go there. So, it's really fun' (41).

> 'I take part once a year in the biggest meeting of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl. I always went there with pleasure. There all sorts of parades with Transylvanian Saxon costumes, it is very beautiful. Sincerely I tell you that there are too many people and I won't go anymore and I get very tired and I can't find a place to sit and eat' (58).

For some participants attendance at the event is mainly for job purposes:

'I have to go because we have a book stall there and we present the books which we edit during the year... and it my job's obligation. If I wouldn't have the obligation to go, I don't know... I think I wouldn't go' (01).

'I've been to Dinkelsbühl, I think two times when I was in my youth and... some weeks ago I went after 25 years or so I went for the first time to Dinkelsbühl, but because of my profession' (04).

'I came to Dinkelsbühl only because I have an exhibition... For me Dinkelsbühl is something which belongs to the past' (25).

Figure 7-7: Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly, Dinkelsbühl 1951 and 2010

Data source: Transylvanian Saxon Institute, Gundelsheim and own photograph

Figure 7-8: Transylvanian Saxon delicatessen on display in Dinkelsbühl

Data source: Own photograph

An important motive for attending the event is the commitment to the Transylvanian Saxon community, as expressed in support or organising roles:

'I will also be in Dinkelsbühl. I never had in all my life a folk costume in Romania... only when I was confirmed and I borrowed one and I went to church because those were the times. Since I am here I have a folk costume, I received it from an old couple who don't wear it anymore... I never took part dressed like that, now I have [a costume] and now I take part. I go to Dinkelsbühl and I take part with our group from Nürtingen, we are a group of 30 people who will take part. In general people from the countryside have these folk costumes, we consider ourselves city people and we don't have a relationship with the costumes and the traditions and the folk dances but now things changed' (08).

'[I participate] as a spectator and as a helper' (47).

'We are present there nearly every year… Personally, not directly involved, I mean only as an organizer' (49).

Some respondents view Dinkelsbühl's Annual Assembly in a more negative light, having attended the event rarely or very rarely. Findings from the interviews show that the absence of transport, advanced age, less acquaintances, an overcrowded atmosphere and 'loss of interest' have been the main reasons for not taking part at the Dinkelsbühl event:

'I do not take part in the annual meeting and this is because of personal reasons, because I do not like such a big mass of people' (35).

'No, I think I was 2 or 3 times in Dinkelsbühl… I didn't have a good time because there were very many Transylvanian Saxons but at the same time you don't know anyone, I wasn't really interested in it. I mean quite at the beginning when I came it was [said] that everyone has to go to Dinkelsbühl, I also went and since then I wasn't for 20 years, I wasn't interested in it. I went two years ago for the first time after a long time, it was more interesting because I knew more people and there were also people from Sibiu and from Apoldu or from Miercurea Sibiului, I mean from the surroundings but I think it is not that important to go to Dinkelsbühl to meet people and I also think that it is very interesting what is presented there but I am not attracted by it' (51).

Some respondents had no connection with this event and consequently, as the following quotes show, they never attended the Annual Assembly, either because they feel integrated or they do not like to join the masses. All these positive and negative discourses referring to participation at the annual meeting of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany support also migrants' complex and contested identities in relation to time, space and place:

'I never was there on Karlstraße, I don't have an intensive contact with the Transylvanian Saxon Association, of course I have the newspaper and I pay what it is needed to be paid but… not even in Dinkelsbühl when it is kept in

May I don't go because I am integrated so I don't need these relationships' (54).

'I never was, I never was. I attended 2 or 3 meetings of the Transylvanian Saxons from Râşnov, I went there but the bigger one, no. It's too much chaos' (34).

7.4.2 The programme of the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly

The Dinkelsbühl event takes place every year during the religious holiday of *Rusalii* [Pentecost]. In 2010, the celebration started late on the evening of Friday 21st May and finished midday on Monday 24th May (Appendix C). Participant observation was used to study this event by attending as many activities as possible. However, it was difficult to identify the most significant or representative activities and therefore it was necessary to get the opinion of some of the community members in order to choose from some of the parallel activities. Consequently, the group activities selected for analysis in this section represent only a small proportion of the activities offered in Dinkelsbühl.

The framework of conducting participant observation has the following aspects (Hay, 2010): to observe the interactions between the actors that are part of the community, to elaborate on the information referring to a rich cultural life in the semi-structured interviews, to participate in the cultural activities and to evaluate the present dimensions of the Transylvanian Saxon culture in Germany and the efforts to preserve it.

Some cultural activities were held outdoors, such as the parade or the sports competition, whilst others were held indoors, in the Catholic or Evangelical parish halls or festivity rooms. Some activities were attended mainly by those from the younger generations of Transylvanian Saxons, whilst others attracted participants of various age groups. There was a spectrum of motives for the Transylvanian Saxons attending the celebration; from social to cultural but most events bridged both.

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As soon as the researcher stepped in the middle of the assembly it was possible to observe that the interactions between the members of the community were warm and friendly and the words 'strong unity' came in the researcher's mind when referring to this community. The use of the greeting *Servus* followed by smiles, embraces and small talk were quite frequent and spontaneously occurred between the participants. This finding coincides with findings from the semi-structured interviews that the Transylvanian Saxons feel at ease among the members of their community and like to stick together due to the same mentality, memories, and jokes they shared in Transylvania. In terms of attendance, it was found from observation, and previously from the semi-structured interviews, that some Transylvanian Saxons attended the assembly for job purposes, officially or voluntarily, such as in the case of some of the Transylvanian Saxon Institute's employees previously interviewed by the researcher.

The event coordinated by the Transylvanian Saxon Institute was held in the Catholic parish hall. The opening speech, given by the president of the Transylvanian Saxons Association in Germany, was in German. The event proceeded with a speech given by the president of the Transylvanian Saxon Institute in Gundelsheim. Some of the highlights of the speech included the presentation of some of the Institute's publications and the need to maintain joint efforts for the preservation of Transylvanian Saxon culture. The researcher was presented by the Institute's president to the audience as a young student researcher who came in Dinkelsbühl to conduct participant observation.

The third speech was given by another of the Institute's employees, and referred to the new Genealogy project started by the Institute. The speaker launched an appeal to help with the identification of some of the unknown faces presented in the photos that rested on the panels marked with numbers (figure 7-9). The audience participated enthusiastically, not only with attention but also with applause. Among the audience, the researcher was able to recognize members of the Transylvanian Saxon community who were previously encountered in the newspaper or interviews.

Afterwards, the researcher stepped into a different room of the same building, where music, traditional pottery and different traditional objects were presented. The traditional embroidery work was preciously displayed by Transylvanian Saxon elderly ladies who still master the skill. Among the embroidery or needle work diplayed were a range of traditional Transylvanian Saxon folk costumes (figure 7-10).

A gathering held in St. Paul's Evangelical church was intended for the celebration of a Transylvanian Saxon writer, Joachim Wittstock. The researcher was informed that the writer still lives in Sibiu, Transylvania, and that he came to Dinkelsbühl especially to receive the *Kulturpreis* [cultural award]. At the meeting, a documentary-film about the life and writings of this decorated Transylvanian Saxon writer. The film and moderation of the event were realised by Christel Ungar Topescu, the well-known presenter of the 'Show in the German language' broadcasted on Romanian television.

Figure 7-9: Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010

Data source: Own photographs

Figure 7-10: Presentation of objects representing Transylvanian Saxon culture on display at the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010

Data source: Own photographs

Kirchen und Kirchenburgen in Siebenbürgen was a painting exhibition especially displayed to present the churches and typical fortified churches in Transylvania. The exhibition was also accommodated by St. Paul's Evangelical church. Among the exhibits were Friedrich Eberle's aquarelle of Transylvanian Saxon churches, representations of traditional folk costumes and of landscape sceneries or floral themes painted by Sigrid Jakob and Brunhilde Martin. The exhibition also incorporated marquetry pieces by Richard Gober representing usually but not solely Transylvanian Saxon churches (figure 7-13).

During the celebration days, traditional Transylvanian Saxon food was served at some of the stalls. It was noticed by the researcher that some participants were using Romanian words for some of the dishes when they ordered them at the stand: *Zwei mici* [traditional Romanian dish] *bitte!* It was found through observation that even some of the food display panels presented the Transylvanian Saxon specialities written in Romanian (figure 7-12). This coincides with findings from the interviews when respondents acknowledged their use of some culinary dishes borrowed from Romanians and Hungarians.

Some of the young Transylvanian Saxons made efforts to preserve the Transylvanian Saxon dialect. This coincides with findings from the interviews that some Transylvanian Saxons transmitted the dialect to the next generation. One of the professional musicians present at the assembly acknowledged the initiation of a new project called *Jürgen aus Siebenbürgen* (figure 7-11) where he sings in the Transylvanian Saxon dialect with the purpose 'to preserve the Transylvanian Saxon dialect'.

Figure 7-11: Music recorded in Transylvanian Saxon on offer at the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010
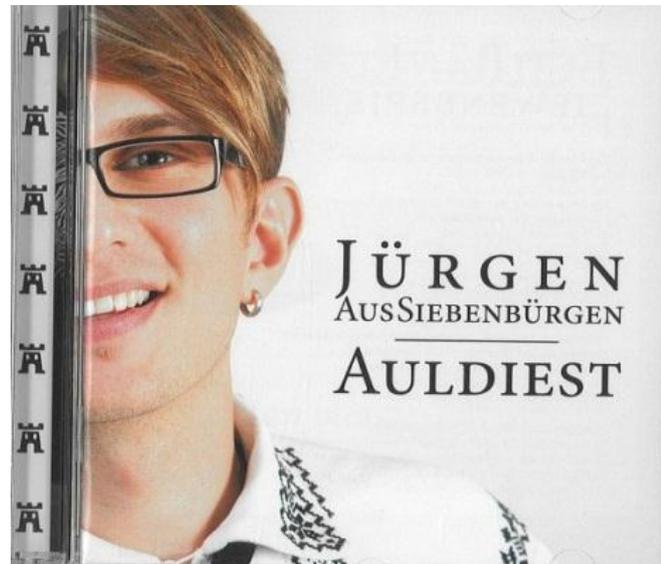
Data source: Own photograph

Figure 7-12: Transylvanian Saxon food offered at the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010

Data source: Own photographs

Figure 7-13: Exhibition of church paintings at the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010

Data source: Own photographs

According to interviews and observation, the folk costume parade is always the main attraction of the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly. The event excels through impressive number of participants in the parade and the colourful and diverse display of Transylvanian Saxon traditional folk costumes (figure 7-14). The researcher observed that it was habitual during the parade for the participants to engage with the audience through waves, smiles and occasional shouts when recognising friends or acquaintances in the audience gathered on both sides of the road. The researcher was informed that the parade follows a pre-determined route through the medieval streets of Dinkelsbühl. The participants in the parade were of all ages, which concurred with statements previously expressed in the interviews that some of the committed parents still convince their children to come to Dinkelsbühl. The observation revealed that part of the audience, mostly Transylvanian Saxons with a certain status in the community, occupied places on benches specially arranged for the event.

All these examples show how the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl aims to reproduce and preserve Transylvanian Saxon community and culture through gatherings and the display of traditional Transylvanian Saxon folk costumes, dances, music, food and objects. Accordingly, the event is also regarded by members of the Transylvanian Saxon community as a good opportunity to teach the local Germans about their culture.

Figure 7-14: Display of traditional folk costumes during the parade at the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010

Data source: own photographs

7.5 Clash of cultures?

The following section attempts to examine to what extent the Transylvanian Saxon culture was shaped by Romanian, Hungarian and Balkan influences and how these known or unknown, acknowledged or unacknowledged influences have transformed Transylvanian Saxon culture into a hybrid culture up to the point that one could speak of a clash of cultures when comparing it to German cultural practices. The key questions of the analysis are therefore: To what degree has the Transylvanian Saxon culture departed from its German origins and how much of German culture is still preserved in its core? What are the similarities and the differences? Are the Transylvanian Saxon and German culture two different cultures? Is there a clash between the cultures?

First, this section discusses the evolution of the Transylvanian Saxon culture with reference to the evolution of Romanian culture. The interpenetration of cultures in the Balkan area, the import of these influences to the German world and the preservation of cultural identity in Germany from generation to generation are some of the aspects discussed in the first part of this section. Second, this section discusses problems of identity and the relationship between a 'native' German culture and the Transylvanian Saxon culture and moreover attempts to establish whether one can speak of a clash of cultures between the two.

7.5.1 Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity

It is known that the Transylvanian Saxons lived in Transylvania predominantly among Romanians but also occasionally among Hungarians and Gypsies. From a historical point of view, Transylvania was originally part of the Hungarian Kingdom, subsequently integrated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire, then under the rule of communist Romania, followed most recently by the current democratic republic of Romania.

When questioned about their opinions on cultural influences and borrowings from the Romanians and Hungarians, some participants were aware those there cultural borrowings on both sides during the over 850 years of co-existence:

> 'Very many things, very many things... Only the fact that you know the others, so that you know their customs, you know a bit of their language... well, I refer to the Hungarians, not to the Romanians because evidently, we know the language... the customs, the mentalities, the way of... I mean the cuisine... um the jokes, their experience of live and in family, so there are very, very many [influences]' (01).

Some respondents found it challenging to provide answers on cultural exchanges in South-Eastern Europe. On one hand, this may be the result, as the following quote illustrates, of a conviction that the German diaspora in Transylvania was so closely tied that cultural interferences would not have been possible: 'Nothing. It is amazing but it is this way. In Transylvania one population and two minorities co-existed that had little interpenetrations' (36). On the other hand, this may be the result of a strong ethnic nationalism or may be simply the result of unawareness. The following quotes are illustrative in this sense:

> 'I don't know. Actually every nation lived its culture and traditions but we knew and admired the traditions and culture of others. The Romanian soups are very good. When I was working, I had some Romanian colleagues and we exchanged some recipes' (37).

> 'More than they want to admit. Um... culturally... Firstly, they borrowed... the Balkan nature, so the Transylvanian Saxons are more Balkan than the local Germans and they also know this, they can be more Balkan' (16).

Some respondents pointed out that the cultural borrowings functioned both ways, Romanians and Hungarians borrowing culturally from the Transylvanian Saxons and vice versa:

'It is a difficult thing... also there... In general the population borrowed from one to another... and we also got along well, it always was a good understanding' (03).

In some instances, the interview participants invoked historical narratives in order to exemplify that it was not likely that their community borrowed cultural aspects from the host society because their community would have been much more developed than the Romanian community of mainly farmers.

The findings from the semi-structured interviews are revealing in terms of what was borrowed from the Romanian and Hungarian cultures and transferred to Germany. Probably the most cited cultural borrowing of the Transylvanian Saxon community are Romanian or Hungarian dishes, with one respondent stating 'I think we borrowed especially... in questions of cooking' (41). Examples are provided by *mici* [traditional Romanian dish], polenta and soups.

Interestingly, some respondents, especially those from the older and middle generations but surprisingly also some of the younger generations, named in some culinary dishes they imported from Transylvania in the Romanian language. This was a custom, as I was told by one of the respondents, among family and friends in Transylvanian Saxon circles. However, it was explained that when 'local' Germans would be invited to a meal and Transylvanian food is on the table served with the thought to show the 'locals' the food 'we had in Transylvania', German terms would be used in order to explain the dishes.

It can be said that another borrowing from Transylvania was definitely the Romanian language. Many respondents still master the Romanian language:

'I had the advantage, for example, comparative to my school friends... when I was a child my parents had a Romanian woman servant and I learnt as a child before going to school, for example, the Romanian language. And during that period in the primary German school we only needed to learn Romanian in the 3rd form but in the 3rd form I knew Romanian perfectly and others didn't. So I

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was able to speak it since I was a child. Of course the Romanian culture was difficult for us as children' (42).

Those from the younger generations only know words learnt in the family, through their culture or during their visits to Transylvania. Interestingly, one respondent mentioned that he knew only some Romanian words because of the attempt to preserve the Transylvanian Saxon culture:

'Well, I think in my family... um... my father always... he didn't want that we mix... um... the Saxon with the Romanian. There are other families who didn't take care so they, they... spoke a mixture between German, Saxon and Romanian. My father, he was a little bit... yes, strict, he wanted that... um... we didn't do that mix. So I think... um... food is the only thing that we... kept' (41).

Some respondents referred to the ethnic co-existence in Transylvania and consequently the development of their own culture as a result of these influences and especially of an 'openness' and 'easiness' towards life and people comparatively to the 'local' Germans:

'I think it was more a communicative experience, to succeed in communicating also with other nationalities. During the high school and university there was not this tendency of segregation, we had a natural relationship; friends among Romanians and among Germans without many differences. During my high school I had also some Hungarian colleagues with whom I had very good relationships. I cannot quantify this experience but it can be transmitted and applied to the coexistence with other nationalities here in Germany. I observe that the German population is more reserved in the relationship with other populations. It is a positive experience of communication, of coexistence with others' (43).

Findings from the interviews show that the Transylvanian Saxons from the older generation were more likely predisposed to reject any Romanian or Hungarian influences on their culture. This may be shaped by factors such as the rural

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environment and a firm belief of a pure Transylvanian Saxon culture. Transylvanian Saxons from the middle generations who also lived many years in Transylvania but have experienced other historical times, such as the dictatorship and the fragmentation of a community in Transylvania through emigration, have different views on the intercultural influences.

When questioned about cultural exchanges in Transylvania and the cultural borrowings they still use in Germany, some respondents cited Romanian words, Romanian sayings, Romanian cuisine and Romanian swearing because as one of the participants put it 'we don't have swearing in German language':

'The swearing... [Laughs]... Um...the way of cooking, maybe even the way of seeing the life... a bit easier not... so sad as it is among some Germans. Um... plus we still take part... we read the Romanian newspapers on the Internet and we are preoccupied with what happens there' (01).

Some respondents also cited some interference with respect to the traditional folk costumes and the art of embroidery:

'Many say that our costumes are very colourful, we think that we took something from the Romanians and I think also a bit from the Hungarians. Um... but otherwise at sawing I don't know how much we took, I think we also took a bit, this sawing with the red colour, you still have it in Romania and as Transylvanian Saxons we have many things saw with red and I think we took something but I can't tell you more. Yes, but me personally, I can't tell you if it's taken from... but I am sure there is a bit of an influence also from Romanians and Hungarians. I think there is' (62).

When questioned about their opinion on the relationship between Transylvanian Saxon culture brought over from Transylvania and contemporary German culture, some interview respondents identified significant differences between the two cultures:

'Well, there are differences. This culture we had during those hundreds of years, I mean during over 850 years... is very different to the culture in Germany. And our Transylvanian Saxon culture from Transylvania was... not rudimentary but a bit different than here in Germany. Here there was already a technology which... anyway [Germany] was more developed than Transylvania, even though Transylvania took on very quickly the technology which developed in Europe or in the world' (39).

7.5.2 Relationship between Transylvanian Saxon and 'local' German culture

Findings from the interviews show that the differences between the Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and German culture reside in the traditionalism of the former and the modernity of the latter. As the following quotes show some particular differences exist in the accent of the language and the preservation of traditions:

'OK, the language is the first which is the same but is a little bit different but it's only an accent, so, I think this is a big point for [Transylvanian] Saxons to come here and they all can speak and read and write perfect German because we've been in German schools and I think it's... there are not big differences between the German people and the Transylvanian people... um... They have a little other culture because... yeah, that's because of the history but I think that in general they are the same. I don't see so many differences' (40).

Findings from the semi-structured interviews suggest that some respondents think there are no differences between the Transylvanian Saxon culture they brought from Transylvania and the local German culture. Consequently, as the following quote illustrates, some Transylvanian Saxons confirmed that there are not two cultures but one and the same culture:

'There isn't any difference. I can say that we kept better than those from here the pure German heritage, in my case, in the area of song, of the choir. The

Germans here sing one strophe; we sing all five, and so on. This was the school system in Romania and we were not bothered by anybody to develop these things. And sometimes they are surprised 'how these people who are coming from Balkan are singing our songs more authentically than we are' (61).

It is contended that Balkan and German cultural interferences have shaped the Transylvanian Saxon identity over eight centuries of co-habitation. It is suggested that the replantation of a distinct, hybrid Transylvanian Saxon identity in Germany supports the idea of a formation of a return diaspora. It can also be noted that there is no clash between the two cultures, but rather, there is a dynamic and dialogical relationship. On one hand, Transylvanian Saxon identity is redefined by strands of sameness and difference with the modern German culture, in relation to time, space and place. On the other hand, German identity is enriched by the diversity and complexity of the first (Woodward, 1997; Wang, 2007).

7.6 <u>Summary</u>

This chapter analysed findings from semi-structured interviews and participant observation in order to examine the cultural identity, practices and integration of Transylvanian Saxon migrants in Germany. Consequently, processes of Transylvanian Saxons' cultural reproduction and preservation were discussed and compared to contemporary German culture.

It is argued that over 850 years of cultural exchange on the Balkan attributed distinct cultural features to the Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity that differentiates it from contemporary German culture. Examining the empirical data has allowed an insight into some of the representative features of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity such as mentality and cooking, some aspects of which were borrowed from the Romanians or Hungarians and were still used after over 20 years from return in Germany. This is an argument that supports the idea of a 'return' diaspora that is well

integrated but still displays their distinct cultural traditions at the Annual Assembly of Transylvanian Saxons in Dinkelsbühl.

Findings from the empirical data, however, show that there is no 'clash of cultures' between the Transylvanian Saxon who returned to Germany after over 850 years of ethnic co-existence in Transylvania and the local German culture. Transylvanian Saxon linguistic accents and cultural practices seem to vary as much from Bavarian or Swab cultural traditions as those do differ from cultural practices in East. The main differences between the two German regional cultures result from the way in which they construct cultural identity in everyday life, one revolving around traditionalism and the other around modernism. The harmonious co-existence of the traditional culture and modern culture is 'liked by the local Germans' and considered by the German government as a reflection of past historical traditions. Moreover, Transylvanian Saxon culture is perceived as enrichment to present German culture: 'We enrich... A minister once said that... how do you say when you pick flowers and you have ... a bouquet... In the German bouquet, where there are Bavarians and all sorts there are also Transylvanian Saxons and Swabs and they enrich this bouquet with all sorts of songs and traditional costumes' (19). That the traditional and the modern co-exist harmoniously from a cultural point of view, however, does not apply in the realm of religion. Findings have shown that religion is largely unappealing for Transylvanian Saxons in 21st century Germany. The respondents acknowledged that they are church goers over Christmas and Easter holidays and attend one or the other religious confirmation or wedding but for most of them regular visits to church are not used anymore as an opportunity to get together with friends or acquaintances from the community as it had been a common practice back in Transylvania. This secularisation among Transylvanian Saxons might be an influence of an increasingly secular German society and thus the outcome of the old home and new host society shaping the return diaspora.

Findings from the interviews suggest that after over 20 years of diasporic return, the highest proportion of the participants consider Germany as their homeland. Moreover, findings have exposed that for some of the participants, particularly but

not solely for those from the age group of over 60 years, Transylvania is the homeland. In addition, some of the participants stated to have 'two homelands', which complicated essentializing notions of diaspora (Ho, 2012) and supports the idea of addressing the Transylvanian Saxons as a return diaspora shaped by three different homelands: the original German territories where Transylvanian Saxons came from; Transylvania as the home territory for over 850 years; and contemporary Germany, where most Transylvanian Saxons are living today. Examining the participants' accounts has revealed narratives of successful integration in Germany that have contributed to strong feelings of belonging. Those who consider Transylvania as their homeland, feel emotionally attached to their birthplace, family roots and childhood memories in Transylvania. It was also found throughout the empirical material that participants often differentiated between the 'old home' and the 'new home', or between motherland and fatherland, thus representing the complex identification processes of a 'return' diaspora.

Key aspects of maintaining Transylvanian Saxon culture include both the desire for preservation of Transylvanian Saxon cultural heritage in Transylvania through associational or international support and the reproduction of cultural events, practices and objects in Germany, either as a passive observer, and active participant, or an organizer of associational, communal and individually organised cultural activities. Some of these events have successfully transferred Transylvanian Saxon cultural knowledge to the younger generations, particularly in centres such as Geretsried and Dinkelsbühl, where some children speak the Transylvanian Saxon dialect and sometimes the Romanian language, use some dishes from the Transylvanian Saxon kitchen and even know them by Romanian names (such as *vinete* [aubergines] or *mici* [traditional Romanian dish]), sing in choirs and take part in other associational activities. Empirical evidence, however, suggests that Transylvanian Saxons in Germany, with some exceptions, did not transmit their tradition to third or fourth generations of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany so that future generations of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany will inevitably struggle to maintain cultural activities to the same extent as they have been conducted in the later decades of the 20th century.

In conclusion, it is argued that the return to the original 'motherland' will eventually assimilate Transylvanian Saxons' cultural identity within the former home and current host society. The change of location from Romania as a less developed modern location to Germany as one of the most modern countries in the world has become a challenge to Transylvanian Saxons' cultural traditions. The pursue of economic, political and social benefits and liberties in a democratic country, even if it is the original motherland, have proven to be detrimental for the Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity to such an extent that assimilation processes will gradually merge this distinct but eventually not too different identity with that of the modern 'new Heimat':

> 'I think that the Transylvanian Saxons are making systematically the attempt to... *Verschieben*... to say farewell from... the *Weltbühne* [global scene]... um... the Transylvanian Saxons are making the attempt to retire from the global level... They are disappearing... those who still live there; they don't have any chance because in 10 to 15 years it won't be as it might be today... My sister who lives there has two children here in Munich and in the present she is here... she comes to... her grandchildren, so she lives between two countries... and in general, our culture will be lost' (38).

Finally, it is argued that even if it is likely that the more distinct aspects of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity will be lost in the long term and only be preserved in archives, libraries and museums, events such as the Annual Assembly in Dinkelsbühl might contribute to the preservation of some cultural traditions, which then puts Transylvanian Saxon culture on one level with traditional Bavarian, Swab and other German regional cultures might still have an impact on shaping regional identities but that are also often not very relevant to the younger generations in an increasingly secularised, modern German society.

Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how the analysis of the Transylvanian Saxon community in Germany contributes to on-going conceptual debates and the advancement of knowledge within migration studies. It is argued that the concept of 'return' diaspora constitutes a pertinent conceptual basis for future studies on diasporas within migration studies.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section discusses the main findings of the thesis and points to some potentially valuable ideas for future research. The final section highlights the original contribution to academic knowledge.

8.2 The key findings of the thesis

This thesis has demonstrated, through a focus on education, work, cultural identity and history in Transylvania, the necessity to consider notions of hybridity in relation to time, space and place and to conceptualise Transylvanian Saxons as a 'return' diaspora. It has also shown the centrality of family behind migration motivations but also in relation to processes of migration and integration. By examining the social, cultural, economic and political dimensions after migration, this thesis demonstrated Transylvanian Saxons' integration in the homeland with a focus on education, labour market, financial situation and religion. Throughout this thesis, notions such as social networks, home/homeland and cultural identity have been illustrated as relevant for the understanding of the Transylvanian Saxon 'diaspora' in Germany. Their discourses of home and homeland, social unity and cultural distinctiveness describes

them as multiple, hybrid and in-between identities, and therefore, justifies their characterisation as a 'return' diaspora.

8.2.1 Key findings in relation to the research objectives

Using semi-structured interviews, participant observation, archival material and secondary data, this research has produced the following findings on the thesis' five research objectives:

1. To examine the life circumstances of Transylvanian Saxons before their migration to Germany with a focus on education, work and German cultural traditions.

This thesis has examined the life circumstances of Transylvanian Saxons before migration to Germany. In terms of educational provision, findings reveal that Transylvanian Saxons had a reliable educational system in Transylvania, largely provided in German-language schools, up to high school or University level. This confirms Wagner's (2000) assertion that Transylvanian Saxons had a good accessibility to German-language schools in Romania. However, findings also show an alteration of the privileged status of learning in German-language schools since the 1918 and which continued in the 1970s. This consolidates Glajar's (2004) claim that processes of Romanian centralisation in the communist regime have resulted in school loss for Transylvanian Saxons. In terms of culture, findings reveal that Transylvanian Saxons maintained their homeland-oriented culture and community in Transylvania, with high and low forms of culture, but also show, for the latter stages of existence in Transylvania, cultural fragmentation, with the traditional culture being more embraced in the rural than urban environment. Findings have shown that faith had predominantly a traditional character, which corroborates Cercel's (2011) contention that the church has lessened its significance at the beginning of the 20th century through processes of Nazification. Although ethnic religion suffered changes under the influences of secularisation, it remained a significant element for this community and it provided a cultural framework and a basis for human existence. Economically, Transylvanian Saxons claim overall an average economic situation

before migration, with some exceptions, mostly from the first generation, who describe a poor material situation. In terms of employment, findings have shown that the conventional system of employment in communist Romania facilitated one full-time employment for the majority of the Transylvanian Saxons. By exploring the educational provision, employment and culture in Transylvania, this thesis has demonstrated changes produced in these areas of existence. These changes go hand in hand with historical and political events and also with changes in the status of Transylvanian Saxons in Transylvania, from an elite population to an ethnic minority, more likely to be influenced and hybridised from 850 years multi-ethnic co-existence in Transylvania. Moreover, in doing so, this thesis has provided an empirical foundation for a better understanding of Transylvanian Saxons as a group in Transylvania, and also, it has positioned this ethnic group in the diaspora typology.

2. To analyse the motivations of Transylvanian Saxons to migrate to Germany and their experiences with migration.

This thesis has demonstrated that the Transylvanian Saxons' motivations for migration to Germany are very complex. Findings have revealed that socio-cultural motives are closely related to the economic and political motives, up to the point that the Transylvania Saxon movement to Germany developed into a pattern of community mentality. In relation to this, findings demonstrate that Transylvanian Saxons' migration decisions predominantly related to family reunification as the prime incentive for migration (see also Koch, 1992). Empirical evidence show that for some Transylvanian Saxons historical ethnicity grounded in the past has steered processes of community migration. The image of a romanticised Germany for those in diaspora and the privileged admissions in the homeland contrasted strongly with the reality in diaspora, manifested through cultural fragmentation and an average economic situation in an economically deprived Romanian communist system. Findings show similarities in the process of migration of pre- and post-1990 Transylvanian Saxon migrants. However, it has to be noted that the process of migration was slightly easier for migrants who left Transylvania after 1990, as they confronted less with obstacles raised by the tensions of a communist regime. Overall,

pre- and post-1990 migrants perceived the process of migration as a negative one, in some instances due to a temporary separation from family and friends or in others due to feelings of uncertainty resulting from leaving a safe environment and move to a new environment. Findings also demonstrate migrants' romanticised views of Germany through discourses relating to their first impressions of Germany. Participants reveal the superior German well-being mostly drawing on the following discourses: a better organised system and cleanness or higher standard of life in Germany comparatively to Romania.

3. To investigate the life experiences and integration of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany.

This thesis has investigated also the life circumstances and the integration of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany. This objective has resolved the social, economic and political dimensions of Transylvanian Saxons' life in Germany. Findings have indicated that many Transylvanian Saxon migrants received some form of education after moving to Germany, which consisted mostly in vocational training (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1997). It can be stated that the proportion of respondents who continued to work in full-time positions decreased substantially over the years, as some respondents reached, in their 'second life' in Germany, the retirement stage. However, findings demonstrate that some migrants choose to remain active after retirement through other activities, such as honorary positions, intended at the maintenance of Transylvanian Saxon culture in Germany and Transylvania. Findings also demonstrate that Transylvanian Saxons in Germany have overall an average economic situation, or as they put it: 'the same as in Transylvania (average), but better'. Transylvanian Saxons who claimed a modest material situation are from the first and the third generations of migrants. Politically, findings have revealed that the older generation of Transylvanian Saxons are less involved in German national politics due to age or frustrations from the Nazi period and the communist regime. However, decreased active political involvement is revealed at individual level and higher at associational level. The majority of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany claim an active interest in local German politics and also, the election attendance is high.

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Socially, findings have revealed that community and social life have been of great significance for Transylvanian Saxons, both in the place of origin and in the place of destination. It was consistently noted throughout the empirical findings that migrants have maintained relationships and friendships from the 'old home' after migrating to Germany. Therefore the majority of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany declare their social networks as being mainly formed of Transylvanian Saxons. However, at the same time, many Transylvanian Saxons express the necessity of being 'multicultural' and acknowledge the multi-nationality of their social networks. This thesis also demonstrates the complexities of Transylvanian Saxon identity, which align with migrants' 'return' to the homeland and with the paradoxical nature of diaspora. Findings reveal ambiguous and adjusted views of identity, with some migrants considering themselves as 'Transylvanian Saxons from Romania', but 'still Germans' and with 'disappointments' of German nationality and identity and perceptions of being 'different', sometimes being called 'Romanians' among 'local Germans'. At the same time, findings demonstrate that the large majority of respondents consider themselves integrated in Germany. For the respondents who fall into this category, integration can be based upon the possibility of having families and old friends nearby, the possibility to reproduce the Transylvanian Saxon culture up to some level as it was in the 'old home', the good employment and the good quality of life, the familiarity with the German cultural context and the assurance that they had moved from 'home to home'.

4. To consider the relationship of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany with their homeland in Romania.

This thesis demonstrates that Transylvanian Saxons engage in transnational processes in Germany, reaffirming Koser's (2007) statement that Transylvanian Saxons participate in west-east temporary circulatory movements. This also supports Vertovec's (2001) contention that migrants' negotiate homeland-orientated identities in more than one place. Findings reveal that Transylvanian Saxons' motivations of returning to Romania are very complex. Many respondents draw on discourses of nostalgic return, to rediscover familiar places or people, to relive temporarily the

community and culture, to be 'like before' in relation to place, or to show to the youngest where they were born and raised. Findings also demonstrate seasonal returns, for holiday purposes, mostly for the respondents who still own a house in the 'old homeland', for tourism in its own right and for heritage preservation. As in the case of the Transylvanian Saxons' motivations for migration to Germany, their desire to return to Romania is shaped by family linkages and usually manifests themselves in return trips with family living in Germany for rediscovering Transylvania or for visiting the few relatives left in the 'old homeland'. Findings demonstrate that the desires of return are also shaped by friendships, which include 'local Germans' and Transylvanian Saxons from Germany but also friends in Romania. This thesis demonstrates that Transylvanian Saxons maintain family ties and friendships in the spaces of the 'old home' (Romania) and the 'new home' (Germany), but also, that they perpetuate transnational practices between the 'old home' and the 'new home'.

5. To explore the preservation of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and cultural heritage in Germany.

Empirical findings reveal that Transylvanian Saxons preserve and reproduce the culture in Germany. Findings show how Transylvanian Saxons' associations maintain their culture in Germany by publishing different material about this community, such as newspaper, flyers, booklets and books, and organising events. At an individual level, findings demonstrate participation in dance groups, choirs, fanfares and other groups organised by local Transylvanian Saxon associations and attendance at the Transylvanian Saxon annual assembly in Dinkelsbühl. More committed parents aim to transfer Transylvanian Saxon culture and dialect to their children by practicing them in everyday life. Representative features of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity, such as mentality and cooking, that originated in Transylvania through processes of hybridization are still used in Germany after more than 20 years since migration. This thesis also shows that the majority of Transylvanian Saxons declare Germany as their homeland; at the same time, however, many respondents regard Transylvania as their homeland or acknowledge having two homelands. These ambiguous views of home and homeland sustain Christou and King's (2010) assertion that 'homecomings'

are rather fluid than static and the fluidity of identity extends also over notions of 'home' and 'homecoming'.

Findings also show that there is no 'clash of cultures' between the Transylvanian Saxons who returned to Germany after over 850 years of ethnic co-existence in Transylvania and the local German culture. This supports the idea that Transylvanian Saxon linguistic accents and cultural practices seem to vary as much from Bavarian or Swab cultural traditions as those do differ from cultural practices in east or northern Germany. The main differences between the Transylvanian Saxon and other German regional cultures result from the way in which they construct cultural identity in everyday life, one revolving around traditionalism and the others around modernism. Furthermore, this reaffirms Wang's (2007) assertion that there is a dynamic and dialogical relationship between the two cultures, with constructions of identity for Transylvanian Saxons and enrichment and diversity for Germans.

8.2.2 Key findings in relation to the cultural, social, economic and political aspects of Transylvanian Saxons' lives in Germany

Another way to emphasise the key findings of the thesis is to focus on the analysis of cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of Transylvanian Saxons' lived experience in Germany.

First, by unravelling the narratives of 'home' and 'homeland', the findings stress the importance of Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity and heritage and complex connections with contemporary German culture. It is shown that notions of 'home' and 'homeland' have different meanings for Transylvanian Saxons; exemplified by some Transylvanian Saxons stating that Transylvania was still their homeland, whilst the others either regarded Germany as their homeland or identified with 'two homelands'. If Germany was perceived as the homeland, this was underpinned by such factors as: present residence, a return to the 'roots' of their ancestors, or a total integration and adjustment to the new life up to the point of feeling 'at home'. It is therefore argued that these complex and diverse feelings of belonging among

Transylvanian Saxons in Germany justifies their characterisation as a 'return' diaspora that was the outcome, as Koranyi and Wittlinger (2011) put it, of the Transylvanian Saxons' move 'from diaspora to diaspora' (p.112). This argument is underlined by the Transylvanian Saxon migrants' efforts to preserve their culture and community in both Transylvania and Germany, for example, by participating in *Landmannschaft* groups, by organising activities in a voluntary or honorary position, by holding a leading position in the Transylvanian Saxon Association and by attending the annual assembly in Dinkelsbühl. In everyday life, those words, sayings, songs, folk costumes and dishes that were adopted from the Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania are important elements of the hybrid Transylvanian Saxon culture that therefore differs from contemporary German culture and thus constitutes a 'return' diaspora. For this 'return' diaspora, the significance of religion has changed over time in line with developments in an increasingly secularized host society, from the older generations having experienced compulsory attendance at church and still maintaining religious practices in their everyday life to the younger generations that tend to have relatively loose connections to both faith and church, often practising religion only at Christmas and Easter as well as for baptisms, confirmations and weddings. In quite similar ways, many Transylvanian Saxons considered themselves being strongly integrated in Germany and thus did not transmit Transylvanian Saxon cultural traditions to their children. Therefore, this thesis argues that it is appropriate to address Transylvanian Saxons in Germany as a 'fading-return-diaspora'.

Second, from a social perspective, the empirical findings demonstrate the importance of processes of integration, and in particular, the construction of social networks in Germany and the maintenance of contacts in Transylvania. Crucially, the majority of respondents consider themselves integrated in Germany. This key finding is in alignment with Koopmans' (1999) statement that the German state's conception of citizenship and national identity facilitated the integration of migrants. The factor in the narratives of integration in Germany is the closeness of families and old friends, or the possibility to reproduce, to some extent, the culture and the community from the 'old home'. For many respondents, the work place and good quality of life were

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significant reasons for feelings integrated within Germany. Transylvanian Saxons established social relations with 'locals' through neighbourhood community, school, job or church contacts. Overall, the findings suggest overwhelmingly positive relationships with 'local' Germans – some developed up to 'beautiful friendships'. The more intense relationships with 'local' Germans are maintained by Transylvanian Saxons from the younger generations who draw on narratives of 'roots' when they declare that the 'local' German community has the highest significance in their everyday life. Interestingly, for some young Transylvanian Saxons there is a predominance of Transylvanian Saxon social contacts in their social connections as a result of their upbringing in the Transylvanian Saxon culture by culturally committed parents. Interestingly, Transylvanian Saxons generally desire to be 'multicultural' in the context of contemporary globalization. Hence, more than one-third of the interview participants (35%) recognised that their social networks in Germany were constituted by 'all sorts of social contacts' including Transylvanian Saxons, 'local' Germans, Romanians, Hungarians, or Swabs from Banat. Yet, the highest proportion of Transylvanian Saxons acknowledged that their social network in Germany is formed mainly of Transylvanian Saxons. These respondents consistently draw on narratives of 'same mentality', close relationship with family and friends, or professional work relationships when explaining the motives behind their Transylvanian Saxon social network. Both the nature of the Transylvanian Saxons' social networks in Germany and the frequency of their return visits to Transylvanian support the idea of a 'return' diaspora and reveals that Transylvanian Saxons indeed live the kind of transnationalism that has been outlined over the past two decades by authors such as Glick Schiller et al. (1992) and Vertovec (2001). Whereas the frequency of return visits to Transylvania has varied among interviewees between none and several visits per year, depending on existing social connections and the migrants' economic situation, the analysis has shown that Transylvanian Saxons refer to cultural heritage, holidays, family and friends and nostalgic tourism when explaining their reasons for return visits. The latter materialises in rediscovering familiar places and culture with family, children or groups of friends from Germany. The presence of second households in Transylvania enhances connections and social

ties to both people and place and is linked to the phenomenon of the 'summer Saxon' when extended periods during the summer are spent in Transylvania. The empirical findings reveal that Transylvanian Saxons usually place the family at the centre of their migration decisions and some of the temporary migrants, who frequently return to Transylvania, are still drawn there for family reasons. Transylvanian Saxons' persistency over time in maintaining the old social networks since moving to Germany might again justify speaking of a 'return' diaspora.

Third, the analysis of the economic dimensions show the centrality of issues of education, labour market positions and financial situations in the migration processes of Transylvanian Saxons to Germany. Although many Transylvanian Saxons in Germany acknowledge the good education received in Transylvania, the move to Germany is generally considered a positive step from both an educational and economic point of view. Findings show that Transylvanian Saxons appreciate better educational and economic perspectives in Germany, perceiving the move as an investment in their educational and economic future, particularly for their children. In line with the German state's policy scheme for ethnic German integration, most Transylvanian Saxons who moved to Germany received one or the other form of education. The majority followed professional courses, with the highest rates in IT courses. In terms of their labour market position, the highest proportion of Transylvanian Saxons was in full-time employment, besides those who were retired. Findings also demonstrate that the majority of respondents occupy the office sector or the professional sector in the German labour market, and only few have senior/managerial positions. Although very few respondents were reluctant in providing details on their economic situation, it has been noted that the highest proportion of Transylvanian Saxons has an average economic situation in Germany. Those with a more modest income are from the old or young generations represented by pensioners or students. Fourth, by focusing on the personal involvement in German politics it is revealed that many respondents declare themselves uninvolved actively in politics and only few Transylvanian Saxons are involved or were actively involved in German politics. As findings suggest, this high rate of political non-involvement corresponds with motives such as 'no interest' or no vocational

inclination towards a career in politics. In some cases this apolitical attitude was explained by feelings of aversion or disappointment towards politics, which resulted from their experience with a communist past or with dissatisfaction from their attempts of involvement in a local political context. Despite this, Transylvanian Saxons have an 'active' interest in politics, usually manifested by following local and national politics in the press. Largely, the Transylvanian Saxons declared that they attend electoral elections and justified this with reference to 'national commitment' or 'democratic right'. Thus, it can be contended that the Transylvanian Saxons' involvement in German politics does not go beyond voting or an 'active' interest, at least at personal level.

As this thesis focuses solely on the case of the Transylvanian Saxons from Romania, it can be suggested that the 'return' diaspora may be a relevant conceptual basis for future studies of ethnic Germans from other sending countries. Thus, future studies may also contribute to academic debate by focusing on particular social, cultural, economic and political considerations specific to ethnics from different backgrounds. It is argued that the focus on commonalities and differences between ethnics from different sending countries may deepen the wider understanding of ethnic German 'return' diaspora.

In summary, the thesis therefore clearly meets the main aim of this research by having explored the cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of post-migratory lives of Transylvanian Saxons, and examined how the meanings of these dimensions have changed across generations of migrants in Bavaria and Baden Württemberg.

8.3 <u>Conclusion</u>

One of the key arguments made in this thesis is that the interconnections between ethnic German population and the concepts of diaspora and 'return' diaspora have tended to be overlooked in scholarship within migration studies. By unravelling the

inter-linkages between transnational migration, cultural identity, diaspora and the case of the Transylvanian Saxons in Germany, the key findings from the thesis beg questions about the prevalent understandings of the conceptual bridge between ethnic Germans and the notions of diaspora and 'return' diaspora.

After eight centuries of German, Romanian and Hungarian cohabitation in Transylvania, it is argued that distinct cultural features have consolidated the Transylvanian Saxon cultural identity. It is contended that the maintenance of 'old' social networks, cultural practices and transnational processes differentiates the Transylvanian Saxon identity within contemporary German society. Therefore, this thesis draws attention to the formation of a new 'return' diaspora that preserves the hybrid culture acquired in Transylvania but at the same time being altered through influences from the former German home and new host society.

Key here is Hoerder's (2002) statement that ethnic Germans and German-language immigrants have not been conceptualised as diasporas. Similarly, Ohliger and Münz' (2002) discussion about 'return' migration with reference to the ethnic Germans who moved back to Germany and Austria after the First World War is also pertinent. This thesis extends these previous studies by showing that the Transylvanian Saxon community in Germany can clearly be considered a diaspora, given it is in alignment with the paradoxical nature of diaspora. Responding to the call made by Hoerder (2002), and in alignment with Ohliger and Münz's (2002) notion of 'return' migration, this thesis has expressed the importance of cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany, and also emphasised how the meanings of these dimensions can change across generations of migrants in pivotal ways.

Usually, the scholarship has approached the study of ethnic German populations with a focus on their existence abroad (*Auslandsdeutsche*), on their existence in the host country (Hoerder, 2002) or on their 'return' to the homeland. This research has illustrated through the case study of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany that diasporic populations may negotiate their identities and belongingness as in-between, hybrid

and ambivalent, and therefore, it has permitted to consider the Transylvanian Saxons, and ethnic Germans in general, as a 'return' diaspora. Throughout this thesis, it has been shown that Transylvanian Saxons draw on discourses of 'two' homelands in relation to 'here' and 'there, defining these spaces differently in relation to the place in which they live and different periods in their lives. Through attempts of maintaining a 'unique' and hybrid cultural identity while negotiating German national identity and integration into German society, Transylvanian Saxons' identities have 'dual allegiance' (King and Christou, 2010). Moreover, their maintenance of distinctiveness is also contributing in terms of culture and identity to an increasingly diverse Germany, and therefore, Transylvanian Saxons demonstrate a dynamic and dialogical relationship with their original 'homeland'.

By advancing the notion of 'return' diaspora in relation to ethnic Germans, this thesis disrupts traditional conceptualisations of these populations, and it contributes conceptually to the literature on ethnic Germans and wider literature on return diaspora. Moreover, it demonstrates that ethnic Germans, together with Jews, Armenians or Greeks, can also be positioned within the wider literature's norms of 'ideal type', 'legitimate' or 'return' diasporas that 'return' to the ancestral home (Safran, 1991; King and Christou, 2010). It also demonstrates that, despite discourses of 'homeland' integration, those in diaspora do not forget or lose contact with lives and identities they have constructed in diaspora and therefore it highlights the salience of 'dual allegiance' and the necessity to understand further the relationships between those in diaspora and their homes and homelands. Moreover, it consolidates Mavroudi's (2007) assertion that diasporas need to be perceived as dynamic and evolving, rather than static processes, in relation to time/space and place.

To conclude, this thesis makes an important and original contribution to academic debates by stressing the significance of return diasporas for such processes of international migration, and the findings may also have wider resonance to other geographic contexts and studies of historical and contemporary population movements and integrations into places of destination.

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Appendix A: Semi-structured interview guide

I. Life, education and work in Transylvania before migration to Germany

1. Where and for how long did you live in Transylvania?

2. Could you tell me about your experience as a minority group in Transylvania?

3. To what extent did your German heritage influence your everyday life?

4. What was your education/professional training in Romania?

5. What jobs did you perform?

6. How was your economic situation in Romania?

II. Migration to Germany

1. When did you leave Romania and move to Germany?

2. What were your motives for migrating to Germany?

3. Where have you settled in Germany and why?

4. Could you tell me about your experience of migrating to Germany?

5. In your opinion, was it a good idea to come and live in Germany?

III. Life, education and work in Germany

a. Education and work/ Economic aspects

1. Did you undertake further education/professional training in Germany?

2. What is your job history up to your present job/retirement?

3. I'm going to ask a few questions about your economic status? How is your economic situation in Germany?

4. Do you have a better/worse economic situation than other generations?

b. Social aspects

1. Which are your social contacts? Transylvanian Saxons, Germans, Romanians?

2. Do you live near Transylvanian Saxons or near family?

3. Do you consider yourself a minority in Germany? And if so, why do you get this impression? Has this changed over time?

4. Do you feel integrated into Germany? What does integration mean to you?

5. To what extent do you consider Germany your homeland?

6. Do you still visit Transylvania and if so for what reason? (Family, friends, job)

c. Cultural aspects

1. As a consequence of German, Hungarian and Romanian interpenetration of cultures in Transylvania, what do you consider you have borrowed in terms of culture?

2. From what you had borrowed, what do you still use today in Germany?

3. What is the relation between your German heritage from Transylvania and the German culture you experience today?

4. What are in today's Germany the cultural performances of Transylvanian-Saxons? [Are you involved (do you attend) in the cultural representations/performances of

Transylvanian Saxons such as dance groups, the annual meeting of Transylvanian Saxons, etc.?]

5. Could you tell me from your experience how the culture of Transylvanian Saxons changed from your generation to an older/younger generation in Germany?

6. In which ways does religion matter in your everyday life?

7. What does community means to you? How do you experience German community in your life?

d. Political aspects

1. Are you involved in the political life?

2. Do you vote?

3. Are you an active member of a political party (in Germany or elsewhere)?

4. Is your generation more or less involved in politics than the previous generation?

IV. Biographical information

1. What is your age?

2. Where did you live in Transylvania?

3. When did you migrate in Germany?

4. Where did you arrive in Germany?

5. Where have you lived in Germany?

Appendix B: List of respondents

R	Respondent details
1	Female, 57 (age group 40-60), researcher, interview conducted in her office, in May 2010, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). The interview was carried out in Romanian. She lived in several locations in Transylvania. She migrated late to Germany, in 1999, at the age of 46. She has been in Germany for 11 years.
2	Female, 77 (age group <60), retired, occupant of the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). She left Transylvania in 1989, age 56. She lived in Germany 21 years. The interview was carried out in her room, in June 2010, in Romanian.
3	Female, 89 (age group <60), retired, former nurse, lives in the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). She left Transylvania in 1979, age 58 and has been in Germany for 31 years. The interview was carried out in her room, in Romanian.
4	Female, 43 (age group 40-60), archivist, interview conducted in June 2010, in the Transylvanian Saxon Institute, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). The language of the interview was English. She does not speak Romanian, but understands some words. She was born in Transylvania but left together with her parents in 1974, age 7. She has lived in Germany for 36 years.
5	Male, 83 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg) in the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home. The interview was carried out in Romanian. He has been in Germany since 1990. He left Transylvania age 63.
6	Female, 65 (age group <60), retired, former economist in Transylvania and accountant in Germany. Occupant of the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). Interview carried out in Romanian, in June 2010. She left Transylvania in 1990.
7	Female, 86 (age group <60), retired, former photograph and school teacher. Interview conducted in her room in the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. She arrived in Germany in 1963, age 39.
8	Male, 73 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in June 2010 in the Transylvanian Saxon Institute, Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). Language of the interview was Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1981, age 44. He has lived in Germany for 29 years. He visits often Transylvania.

| 9 | Male, 73 (age group <60), retired but actively involved in the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home activities. Interview conducted in the Transylvanian Saxon Institute, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). The language of the interview was Romanian. Originally from Sighişoara, he left Transylvania age 53, in 1990. He has lived in Germany for 20 years. |

| 10 | Female, 88 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in her room, in the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). Interview carried out in Romanian. She had a Hungarian husband. She migrated to Germany in 1990, age 68. |

| 11 | Female, 79 (age group <60), retired, occupant of the Transylvanian Saxon nursing home, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). Interview carried out in her room, in Romanian, in May 2010. She was married to a Romanian. She still has relatives in Transylvania. She left Transylvania in 1995. She lived in Germany for 15 years. |

| 12 | Female, 67 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in the Transylvanian Saxon Institute, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. She left Transylvania in 1980. She has lived in Germany for 30 years. |

| 13 | Female, 68 (age group <60), retired, involved voluntarily in the Transylvanian Saxon Institute's activities. Interview conducted in the Institutes' library, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). Language of the interview was Romanian. She lived 49 years in Transylvania and migrated in 1990. |

| 14 | Male, 48 (age group 40-60), senior/managerial position, interview conducted in his office, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). Language of the interview was Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1991. He has been in Germany for 19 years. |

| 15 | Male, 69 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in the Transylvanian Saxon Institute's Library, in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg). Interview carried out in Romanian. He visited Transylvania only three times since he left in 1984. He lived in Germany for 26 years. |

| 16 | Male, 63 (age group <60), curator, interview conducted in Gundelsheim (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1989 and he has lived in Germany for 21 years. |

| 17 | Female, 52 (age group 40-60), senior position, interview conducted in her office, in Romanian, in Nurnberg (Bavaria). She is actively involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association. She left Transylvania in 1989. She lived in Germany for 21 years. |

| 18 | Female, 65 (age group <60), owner of a business. Interview conducted in Heilbronn (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. Interview was carried out in the premises used by the Transylvanian Saxons for their activities. She is married to a Transylvanian Saxon. She left Transylvania in 1980 and she has been in Germany for 30 years. |

| 19 | Male, 72 (age group <60), retired, location of the interview Heilbronn (Baden-Württemberg). Interview conducted in Romanian, in May 2010. He left Transylvania in 1978. He has been 40 years in Transylvania and 32 years in Germany. |

| 20 | Male, 59 (age group 40-60), engineer, interview carry out in *Haus der Heimat*, Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. He migrated from Transylvania to Germany in 1980. He has lived in Germany for 30 years. |

| 21 | Female, 60 (age group 40-60), secretary, interview carry out in Romanian. Interview conducted in *Haus der Heimat* Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg) shared with the Banat Swabs, in May 2010. She is married to a Romanian. She has been in Germany for 19 years, since 1991. |

| 22 | Male, 71 (age group <60), retired, interview carry out in *Haus der Heimat* Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1980. He has been in Germany for 30 years. He visits Transylvania every year. |

| 23 | Male, 65 (age group <60), senior position, interview conducted in Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. He is in Germany for 24 years. |

| 24 | Male, 68 (age group <60), former electrician, retired, interview carry out in *Haus der Heimat* Stuttgart (Baden-Württemberg), in Romanian. He has lived in Germany for 45 years, since 1965. |

| 25 | Male, 49 (age group 40-60), office worker, interview carry out in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria), in Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1991, age 30. He has lived in Germany for 19 years. |

| 26 | Female, 46 (age group 40-60), senior position, interview carry out in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria), in Romanian. She left Transylvania in 1974, age 10. She has lived in Germany for 36 years. She speaks Romanian fairly well. |

| 27 | Female, 21 (age group 20-40), student, interview carried out in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria), in English. She was involved as a helper at the Transylvanian Saxon annual assembly. She was born in Transylvania but left with her parents when she was 2 years old, in 1991. |

28	Male, 74 (age group <60), retired, interview carried out in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria) but he resides near Munich. Interview conducted in Romanian, in May 2010. He has been in Germany for 48 years, since 1962.
29	Male, 54 (age group 40-60), veterinarian, interview conducted in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria), in Romanian. He is married to a Romanian. He has been in Germany since 1991.
30	Female, 70 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria) in Romanian. She is involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities in Germany. She has been in Germany for 30 years, since 1980.
31	Male, 77 (age group <60), retired, interview carried out in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria), in Romanian, in May 2010. He left Transylvania in 1978. He has been in Germany for 32 years.
32	Male, 26 (age group 20-40), artist, interview carried out in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria), in Romanian. He is actively involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities. He was 6 years old when he left Transylvania. He lived in Germany for 20 years. He speaks the Transylvanian Saxon dialect and German. His Romanian is average.
33	Female, 26 (age group 20-40), student, interview conducted in Dinkelsbühl (Bavaria), in Romanian, with interpreter. She migrated with her parents in 1990, age 6. She used to speak the Transylvanian Saxon dialect while in Transylvania, now she speaks only German. She understands some Romanian words.
34	Male, 57 (age group 40-60), electrician, interview conducted in Fürth (Bavaria), in Romanian. He lived in Transylvania for 39 years and in Germany for 18 years. He migrated in 1992.
35	Female, 49 (age group 40-60), office worker, interview conducted in her home, in Fürth (Bavaria), in Romanian, in March 2010. She is not involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities. Her children do not speak the Romanian or the Transylvanian Saxon dialect. She left Transylvania in 1992, age 31. She has been in Germany for 18 years.
36	Male, 48 (age group 40-60), engineer, interview conducted in Fürth (Bavaria), in Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1988. He has been in Germany for 22 years.
37	Female, 80 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in her home in Fürth (Bavaria), in Romanian. She migrated to Germany in 1991. She has lived in Transylvania 61 years and in Germany 19 years.

38	Male, 70 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in Geretsried (Bavaria), in Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1977. He has lived in Germany for 33 years. He is involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities.
39	Male, 60 (age group <60), technical designer, interview conducted in Geretsried (Bavaria), in Romanian. He has been in Germany for 35 years, since 1975.
40	Female, 29 (age group 20-40), office worker, interview conducted at her home in Geretsried (Bavaria), in English. She knows some Romanian words but she is not fluent. She left Romania with her parents in 1990, age 9. She is actively involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities.
41	Male, 26 (age group 20-40), student, interview conducted in the Transylvanian Saxon Association in Munich (Bavaria), in English. He knows some Romanian words. He speaks with his parents in the Transylvanian Saxon dialect. He left Transylvania in 1990, age 6. He has been in Germany for 20 years.
42	Male, 79 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian. Actively involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities. He has been in Germany for 31 years, since 1979.
43	Male, 48 (age group 40-60), journalist, interview conducted in the Transylvanian Saxon association in Munich (Bavaria). Interview carried out in Romanian, in March 2010. He immigrated to Germany in 1991. He has lived 29 years in Transylvania and 19 years in Germany.
44	Female, 58 (age group 40-60) senior position, interview conducted in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian. She arrived in Germany in 1977.
45	Male, 52 (age group 40-60), IT worker, interview conducted in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1975. He has lived in Germany for 35 years.
46	Male, 56 (age group 40-60), IT worker, interview conducted in Munich (Bavaria) in Romanian. He has been in Germany for 28 years, since 1982.
47	Female, 69 (age group <60), former teacher, interview conducted in the Transylvanian Saxon association in Munich (Bavaria). Interview carried out in Romanian, in March 2010. She has been in Germany for 26 years, since 1984.
48	Male, 62 (age group <60), researcher, interview conducted in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian, in March 2010. He left Transylvania in 1990, age 42. He has lived in Germany for 20 years.

| 49 | Male, 67 (age group <60), senior position, interview conducted in the Transylvanian Saxon association in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian. He left Transylvania, age 30, in 1973. He has lived in Germany 37 years. |

| 50 | Male, 74 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian. He left Transylvania in 1975. He has lived in Germany for 35 years. |

| 51 | Female, 55 (age group 40-60), secretary, interview conducted in a park, in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian, in June 2010. She arrived in Germany in 1980. She has lived in Germany for 30 years. She is actively involved in the association's activities. |

| 52 | Male, 35 (age group 20-40), researcher, interview carried out in his office in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian. Interview conducted in June 2010. He left Transylvania in 1988, age 13. He speaks Romanian fluently. He has lived in Germany for 22 years. |

| 53 | Male, 73 (age group <60), artist, owns business. Interview conducted in his office, in Munich (Bavaria), in Romanian. He left Transylvania early, in 1965. He has been in Germany for 45 years. |

| 54 | Female, 66 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in her home, in Munich (Bavaria). Interview carried out in Romanian, in June 2010. She has lived in Germany for 30 years, since 1980. |

| 55 | Female, 22 (age group 20-40), shop worker, interview conducted in Nurnberg (Bavaria), in English, in March 2010. She is actively involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities. She left Transylvania in 1990, age 2. She has been in Germany for 20 years. She visits Transylvania very often. |

| 56 | Female, 37 (age group 20-40), nurse, interview conducted in Romanian. Interview conducted in *Haus der Heimat* Nurnberg (Bavaria), in March 2010. She left Transylvania in 1989. She has lived in Germany for 21 years. She has never returned to Transylvania. |

| 57 | Male, 52 (age group 40-60), garage worker, interview conducted in Nurnberg (Bavaria), in Romanian. He has been in Germany for 21 years, since 1989. |

| 58 | Female, 84 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in *Haus der Heimat* Nurnberg (Bavaria), in Romanian. She is voluntarily involved in some of the association's activities. She immigrated to Germany in 1982. She has been in Germany for 28 years. |

| 59 | Female, 67 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in Nurnberg (Bavaria), in Romanian, in March 2010. She has been in Germany for 21 years, since 1989. |

60	Male, 65 (age group <60), retired, interview conducted in *Haus der Heimat* Nurnberg (Bavaria), in Romanian. She has been in Germany for 37 years, since 1973. Actively involved in the Transylvanian Saxon association activities.
61	Male, 78 (age group over <60), retired, interview conducted in *Haus der Heimat* Nurnberg (Bavaria). Interview conducted in Romanian, in March 2010. He has lived in Germany for 17 years, since 1993.
62	Female, 51 (age 40-60), IT worker, interview conducted in Nurnberg (Bavaria), in Romanian. She has been in Germany for 38 years, since 1972. She speaks Romanian well.
63	Female, 45 (age group 40-60), secretary, interview conducted in Nurnberg (Bavaria), in Romanian. Her Romanian is good. She has been living in Germany for 20 years, since 1990.

Appendix C: Programme of the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010 (Data Source: Transylvanian Saxon Association, Munich)

P R O G R A M M

FREITAG, 21. MAI 2010

19.00–
0.45 Uhr
TANZVERANSTALTUNG
Tanz und Stimmung auf der Willkommensparty mit **AMAZONAS-EXPRESS** (siehe Anzeige Seite 18)
Festzelt auf dem „Schießwasen"

SAMSTAG, 22. MAI 2010

SPORTTURNIERE DER JUGEND
8.00–
18.30 Uhr
Fußball: *TSV-Sportplatz, Alte Promenade*
Verantwortlich: KURT BENING, HANS-CHRISTIAN GUIST
9.00–
18.00 Uhr
Tennis: *TSV-Tennisplätze, Alte Promenade*
Verantwortlich: LEONTE-IONEL POP
9.00–
18.00 Uhr
Volleyball: *Dreifachturnhalle, Ulmer Weg*
Verantwortlich: ELMAR WOLFF
Siegerehrung im Anschluss an die Turniere
Die **AKUSTIK-BAND** spielt ab 14.00 Uhr auf dem Basketballplatz (siehe Anzeige Seite 20)

9.00 Uhr ERÖFFNUNG DER AUSSTELLUNGEN UND VERKAUFSAUSSTELLUNGEN
- „**Gesichter der Berge**". Fotos von HANS WERNER. Ausstellung des Deutschen Alpenvereins, Sektion Karpaten
  Einführung: HANS WERNER
- „**Fotos unbekannter Siebenbürger – wer erkennt sie?**" Ausstellung des Siebenbürgen-Institutes Gundelsheim, Moderation: JUTTA FABRITIUS
- Buchausstellung des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde und des Fördervereins der Siebenbürgischen Bibliothek Gundelsheim; **Buchpräsentation** von Neuerscheinungen
  Einführung: Dr. ANNEMARIE WEBER, Geschäftsführerin Siebenbürgen-Institut
- Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Heimatwerk
- Schiller-Verlag Hermannstadt
- Antiquariat Leonhardt und sonstige Bücher
- CDs und MCs von HANS-GÜNTHER KASPER und von der Band „MEMORIES²"
- Kochbücher von KATHARINA GABBER und GUDRUN MÜLLER
- Kunstgewerbe u.v.m.
  Katholisches Pfarrheim, Kirchhöflein 1

Freitag

Samstag Samstag Samstag Samstag

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9.30 Uhr AUSSTELLUNGSERÖFFNUNGEN

- „**Mehr als ein Hobby – Kunst**". Aquarelle von FRIEDRICH EBERLE, SIGRID JAKOB, BRUNHILDE MARTIN und Intarsien von RICHARD GOBER
  Einführung: HANS-WERNER SCHUSTER, Bundeskulturreferent des Verbandes
- Fotoausstellung mit Verkauf **Bilderdienst Siebenbürgen**
- Buch- und Verkaufsausstellung **Buchversand Südost** und **Edition Wort und Welt & Bild**
- „**Kirchen und Kirchenburgen in Siebenbürgen**". Aquarelle von FRIEDRICH EBERLE

Evangelisches Gemeindehaus St. Paul, Nördlinger Straße 2, Refektorium, 1. und 2. Stock

10.15 Uhr AUSSTELLUNGSERÖFFNUNG

- „**Gemeinsam unterwegs. 25 Jahre Partnerschaft Dinkelsbühl – Verband der Siebenbürger Sachsen**"
  Einführung: Prof. Dr. JÜRGEN WALCHSHÖFER, Altbürgermeister von Dinkelsbühl

Kunstgewölbe im Spitalhof, Dr.-Martin-Luther-Str. 6

11.00 Uhr ERÖFFNUNG DES HEIMATTAGES

Begrüßung: HELGA SEEGER, Vors. der Landesgruppe Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein

Moderation: INGWELDE JUCHUM-KLAMER, Vorsitzende der Landesgruppe Hessen

Ansprachen: Dr. CHRISTOPH HAMMER, OB der Großen Kreisstadt Dinkelsbühl
Dr. MARKUS SÖDER, Bayerischer Minister für Umwelt und Gesundheit

Grußworte

Umrahmung: **Dinkelsbühler Marketenderin** mit **Solotrompeter** der **Dinkelsbühler Knabenkapelle**
Geschwister MARC, GERO **und** FINN TREIN, Lgr. Berlin/Neue Bundesländer

Schrannen-Festsaal

13.30 Uhr PLATZKONZERT *vor der Schranne*
Siebenbürger Musikanten Pfungstadt
Leitung: HANS-DIETER WAGNER

14.00 Uhr UNSER NACHWUCHS PRÄSENTIERT SICH
Bühne frei für kleine Könner: Solisten & Gruppen
Leitung: INGWELDE JUCHUM-KLAMER, SJD
Moderation: STEPHANIE KEPP, SJD
Schrannen-Festsaal

14.00 Uhr LESUNG des Schriftstellers und Kulturpreisträgers JOACHIM WITTSTOCK. Statt einer Einführung: „**Joachim Wittstock. Erlebend schreiben – schrei-**

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bend erleben". Filmporträt von CHRISTEL UNGAR-ȚOPESCU
Evangelisches Gemeindehaus St. Paul, Nördlinger Straße 2, 2. Stock

14.15 Uhr **„Der Komponist Waldemar von Baußnern"**. Konzert und Dokumentarausstellung des Siebenbürgischen Museums Gundelsheim, des Siebenbürgen-Institutes an der Universität Heidelberg und der Baußnern-Gesellschaft e.V.
Einführung: MARIUS JOACHIM TATARU, Leiter des Siebenbürgischen Museums
AMARDEO SARMA, Geschäftsführer der Baußnern-Gesellschaft e.V.
Musik: YANNICK HOLTKAMP, Klavier, CHRISTINE FREY, Flöte, HARALD FREY, Klavier
Konzertsaal im Spitalhof, Dr.-Martin-Luther-Str. 6

18.15 Uhr **„Das Wunder von Bistritz: Aus Schutt und Asche zu neuen Höhen – Die Evangelische Stadtpfarrkirche Bistritz 2008-2010"**. Mit Bildern untermalter Vortrag von HORST GÖBBEL
Evangelisches Gemeindehaus St. Paul, Nördlinger Straße 2, 2. Stock

18.30 Uhr BRAUCHTUMSVERANSTALTUNG
„Siebenbürgische Bräuche im Jahreszyklus"
Mitwirkung: **Siebenbürger Singgruppe Berlin**
Leitung: BRIGITTE SCHNEIDER, Kulturref.
Geschwister MARC, GERO und FINN TREIN, Lgr. Berlin/Neue Bundesländer
Urzeln der Landesgruppe Rheinland-Pfalz/Saarland
Leitung: ORTWIN GUNNE, Landesvors.
Karpatentänzer, Wolfsburg
Leitung: GERHARD SCHUNN, Vors. der Kreisgruppe Wolfsburg
Tanzgruppe Kokeltaler, Wolfsburg
Leitung: HARALD HERMANN
Siebenbürgische Kindertanzgruppe Pfungstadt, Lgr. Hessen
Leitung: HILDA ZALL
Leitung: BRIGITTE SCHNEIDER, Kulturreferentin Lgr. Berlin/Neue Bundesländer
Schrannen-Festsaal

TANZVERANSTALTUNGEN
18.00-	*Festzelt:*	**FRANZ-SCHNEIDER-BAND**
0.45 Uhr		(siehe Anzeige Seite 18)
20.30-	*Schranne:*	**Siebenbürger Musikanten Pfungstadt**
1.00 Uhr		Leitung: HANS-DIETER WAGNER

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SONNTAG, 23. MAI 2010

8.00 Uhr EINLÄUTEN DES HEIMATTAGES
durch ALFRED DEPNER

9.00 Uhr PFINGSTGOTTESDIENST

Predigt:	Bischofsvikar REINHART GUIB
Liturg:	Dekan HERMANN SCHULLER
Lesung:	Dr. BERND FABRITIUS, Bundesvors.
Fürbitten:	INGE ERIKA ROTH, STEPHAN ROTH, SJD Rheinland-Pfalz/Saarland
Mitgestaltung:	**Chor „Vocalis" Nürnberg**
Leitung:	WILHELM STIRNER
Orgel:	ILSE MARIA REICH

St.-Pauls-Kirche, Nördlinger Straße

10.15 Uhr AUFSTELLUNG DES TRACHTENZUGES *auf der Bleiche und Wörnitzstraße*

Verantwortlich: INES WENZEL, RAINER LEHNI, EL-MAR WOLFF, MICHAEL KONNERTH

10.30 Uhr TRACHTENZUG: *Bleiche, Wörnitzstraße, Altrathausplatz, Ledermarkt, Nördlinger Straße, Wethgasse, Lange Gasse, Turmgasse, Marktplatz, Dr.-Martin-Luther-Straße, Obere Schmiedgasse, Bauhofstraße, Koppengasse, Kapuzinerweg, Segringer Straße, Marktplatz, Dr.-Martin-Luther-Straße*

Moderation: INES WENZEL

(Aufstellung der Gruppen auf Seite 13-16)

11.30 Uhr KUNDGEBUNG *vor der Schranne*

Geistliches Wort: Bischofsvikar REINHART GUIB

Ansprachen: DR. BERND FABRITIUS, Bundesvorsitzender des Verbandes

VASILE BLAGA, Innenminister von Rumänien

Dr. CHRISTOPH BERGNER, Parlamentarischer Staatssekretär beim Bundesminister des Innern, Beauftragter der Bundesregierung für Aussiedlerfragen und nationale Minderheiten

Deutschlandlied – Siebenbürgenlied

Begleitung: **Siebenbürgische Blaskapelle Schorndorf**

Leitung: BERNHARDT STAFFENDT

(Texte für Choral und Hymnen auf Seite 17)

MUSIK ZUM MITTAGSTISCH

12.30 Uhr *Schrannensaal:* **Siebenbürgische Blaskapelle Schorndorf**

Leitung: BERNHARDT STAFFENDT

13.00 –	*Festzelt:*	**Siebenbürger Musikanten**
16.00 Uhr		**Pfungstadt**
		Leitung: HANS-DIETER WAGNER

13.00 Uhr **„Zaubershow für Klein und Groß"** ASTRID RHEINER
Einführung: KARIN NÄGLER, SJD
Konzertsaal im Spitalhof, Dr.-Martin-Luther-Str. 6

14.00 Uhr AUS TRADITION UND LIEBE ZUM TANZ
Volkstanzveranstaltung der SJD (*entfällt bei Regen*)
Leitung: CHRISTINE GÖLTSCH
Vor der Schranne
Moderation: UTE SCHULLER
    EDWIN-ANDREAS DROTLEFF
Musik: **Petersberger Blaskapelle**
    Leitung: HANS MARTINI
Altrathausplatz
Moderation: KERSTIN ARZ
    HANS-CHRISTIAN GUIST

15.00 Uhr **„Zum Schriftstellerlexikon der Siebenbürger Sachsen".** Vortrag von Prof. Dr. Dr. HERMANN A. HIENZ, Kulturpreisträger 2010
Evangelisches Gemeindehaus St. Paul, 2. Stock

15.00 Uhr BERATUNG DER BUNDESRECHTSREFERENTEN
- Rentenfragen: RA ERNST BRUCKNER
- Bundesvertriebenen- und Lastenausgleichsrecht: Dr. JOHANN SCHMIDT
Rathaus, Segringer Straße 30, Nebenraum der Festkanzlei, Sitzungssaal im 2. Stock

17.00 Uhr PREISVERLEIHUNGEN
Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Jugendpreis 2010
an: ANNA und HARALD JANESCH
Laudatio: RAINER LEHNI, Stv. Bundesvors.
Ernst-Habermann-Preis 2010
an: MIRJA HARMS
Laudatio: Dr. IRMGARD SEDLER, Vorsitzende des Trägervereins des Siebenbürgischen Museums Gundelsheim e.V.
Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Kulturpreis 2010
an: Prof. Dr. Dr. HERMANN A. HIENZ
Laudatio: Dr. Dr. h.c. CHRISTOPH MACHAT, Vorsitzender des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Kulturrates
an: JOACHIM WITTSTOCK
Laudatio: Prof. Dr. HORST SCHULLER
Musik: CAMI HOTEA-SCHULZ, Violine
    VALERIA LO GIUDICE, Violoncello
    ANGELA GEHANN-DERNBACH, Klavier
St.-Pauls-Kirche, Nördlinger Straße

Sonntag   Sonntag   Sonntag   Sonntag   Sonntag

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Sonntag

TANZVERANSTALTUNGEN:

18.00 - 0.45 Uhr	*Festzelt:*	Die Band **INDEX** heizt uns allen richtig ein (siehe Anzeige Seite 19)
20.00 - 1.00 Uhr	*Schranne:*	Tanz und Stimmung mit der Band **TOP 40** (siehe Anzeige Seite 19)

21.15 Uhr AUFSTELLUNG FACKELZUG *vor der Schranne*
Verantwortlich: RAINER LEHNI, ELMAR WOLFF, SJD

22.00 Uhr FEIERSTUNDE *an der Gedenkstätte*
(bei Regen in der St.-Pauls-Kirche)
Ansprache: HANNES SCHUSTER, Landesgruppe
Niedersachsen/Bremen
Großer Zapfenstreich der
Dinkelsbühler Knabenkapelle

MONTAG, 24. MAI 2010

Montag   Montag   Montag

9.30 Uhr PODIUMSDISKUSSION, *Kleiner Schrannensaal*
„60 Jahre Siebenbürgische Zeitung – 10 Jahre siebenbuerger.de – Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und Medienkompetenz"
Teilnehmer: SIEGBERT BRUSS, Chefredakteur SbZ
Prof. PETER MIROSCHNIKOFF, Journalist
HERMANN SCHULLER, Dekan, Vors.
des Hilfskomitees der Siebenbürger
Sachsen und evangelischen Banater
Schwaben und Betreuer von „Kirche
und Heimat"
ROBERT SONNLEITNER, Internetreferent
ROHTRAUT WITTSTOCK, Chefredakteu-
rin „Allgemeine deutsche Zeitung
für Rumänien"
Moderation Hon. Prof. Dr. KONRAD GÜNDISCH,
Leiter des Wissenschaftsbereichs Ge-
schichte des Bundesinstituts für Kul-
tur und Geschichte der Deutschen
im östlichen Europa

ABSCHLUSS DES HEIMATTAGES *im Kleinen Schrannensaal*
Dr. BERND FABRITIUS, Bundesvorsitzender

HOLZFLEISCHESSEN *neben der Schranne*

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Appendix D: Display of the Transylvanian Saxon groups and folk costumes presented at the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly in Dinkelsbühl, May 2010 (Data Source: Transylvanian Saxon Association, Munich)

TRACHTENZUG
Sonntag, 10.30 Uhr · Moderation: INES WENZEL
Bleiche, Wörnitzstraße, Altrathausplatz, Ledermarkt,
Nördlinger Straße, Wethgasse, Lange Gasse, Turmgasse,
Marktplatz, Dr.-Martin-Luther-Straße, Obere
Schmiedgasse, Bauhofstraße, Koppengasse, Kapuzinerweg,
Segringer Straße, Marktplatz, Dr.-Martin-Luther-Straße

1 Bundesjugendleitung der SJD   Ltg.: RAINER LEHNI
2 Kreisgruppe Dinkelsbühl – Feuchtwangen
           Ltg.: SOFIA SCHUSTER
3 *Dinkelsbühler Knabenkapelle*   Ltg.: HERBERT MATERNA

Landesverband Berlin/Neue Bundesländer
           Vors.: BEATRIX SCHENKER
4 Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Singgruppe Berlin
           Ltg.: BRIGITTE SCHNEIDER

Landesgruppe Niedersachsen/Bremen
           Vors.: VOLKMAR GERGER
5 Tanzgruppe der Siebenbürger Sachsen Salzgitter
           Ltg.: HERMANN SCHIEB
6 Siebenbürger Trachtengruppe „Karpatentänzer" Wolfsburg
       Ltg.: MONIKA SCHUNN, GERHARD SCHUNN
7 Kultur- und Trachtengruppe „Kokeltaler" Wolfsburg e.V.
           Ltg.: RUDOLF MIKOLAJCZYK

Landesgruppe Hessen   Vors.: INGWELDE JUCHUM-KLAMER
8 Kreisgruppe Kassel   Ltg.: MICHAEL THEUERKAUF
9 Kreisgruppe Mittelhessen   Ltg.: MARTIN RAMSER
10 Kreisgruppe Rüsselsheim mit HOG Großscheuern
         Ltg.: SOFIA GUIST, HANS GUIST
11 Kindertanzgruppe Pfungstadt   Ltg.: HILDA ZALL
12 Tanzgruppe Pfungstadt   Ltg.: ANITTA KRAFFT-DANIEL
13 *Siebenbürger Musikanten Pfungstadt*
           Ltg.: HANS-DIETER WAGNER

Landesverband Bayern   Vors.: HERTA DANIEL
14 Nachbarschaft Lohhof   Ltg.: BERND RIECH
15 Siebenbürgische Tanzgruppe Aschaffenburg
         Ltg.: ANNA KRECH, HELMUT SZEGEDI
16 Kreisgruppe Ingolstadt Ltg.: GERDA KNALL, WILLY SCHENKER
17 Jugendtanzgruppe Ingolstadt   Ltg.: INGRID MATTES
18 Erwachsenentanzgruppe Ingolstadt
        Ltg.: REINHARD SCHNEIDER, MONIKA TONTSCH
19 Kreisverband Nürnberg   Ltg.: INGE ALZNER
20 Jugendtanzgruppe der Siebenbürger Sachsen Nürnberg
       Ltg.: BRIGITTE HAHNFELD, STEPHANIE KEPP
21 Tanzgruppe der Siebenbürger Sachsen Nürnberg
       Ltg.: ROSWITHA BARTEL, JOHANN SCHUSTER

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22 Siebenbürgische Jugendtanzgruppe Herzogenaurach
     Ltg.: Brigitte Krempels, Hans Schobel
23 Nösner Nachbarschaft   Ltg.: Annemarie Wagner
24 *Vereinte Siebenbürger Blaskapellen Augsburg & Böblingen*
     Ltg.: Helmut Martini, Gerhard Weber, Klaus Knorr
25 Kreisgruppe Augsburg   Ltg.: Gottfried Schwarz
26 Kindertanzgruppe Augsburg
     Ltg.: Vivien Kellinger, Nathalie Schwarz
27 Jugendtanzgruppe Augsburg
     Ltg.: Ute Schuller, Rosemarie Schwarz
28 Siebenbürgische Jugendtanzgruppe Traunreut
     Ltg.: Jürgen Filff

Landesgruppe Nordrhein-Westfalen Vors.: Rainer Lehni
29 Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Tanzgruppe NRW
     Ltg.: Christa Brandsch-Böhm, Rainer Lehni, Jens Schwager
30 Siebenbürger Volkstanzgruppe Herten
     Ltg.: Edith Lochner, Karin Roth
31 Trachtengruppe Wuppertal
     Ltg.: Gertrud Bredt, Adele Depner

Landesgruppe Baden-Württemberg Vors.: Alfred Mrass
32 Kreisgruppe Schwäbisch Gmünd
     Ltg.: Mathias Penteker, Albert Terschanski
33 Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Kindergruppe Heilbronn
     Ltg.: Astrid Kelp
34 Siebenbürgische Jugendtanzgruppe Heilbronn
     Ltg.: Christine Göltsch, Ines Wenzel
35 *Siebenbürgische Blaskapelle Schorndorf*
     Ltg.: Bernhardt Staffendt
36 Kreisgruppe Schorndorf   Ltg: Dieter Thiess
37 Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Tanzgr. Stuttgart-Schorndorf
     Ltg.: Anita Gross, Sunny Mai
38 Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Kindertanzgruppe Stuttgart
     Ltg.: Erika Guist, Rykarda Heim
39 Kreisgruppe Stuttgart   Ltg.: Reinhold Zöllner
40 Siebenbürger Sachsen Kreis Böblingen e.V.
     Ltg.: Hildegard Kijek
41 Kreisgruppe Biberach   Ltg.: Astrid Göddert
42 Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kindertanzgruppe Biberach
     Ltg.: Astrid Göddert, Marion Mailat
43 Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Jugendtanzgruppe Biberach
     Ltg.: Astrid Göddert, Evelyn Schuster
44 Kreisgruppe Heidenheim   Ltg.: Günther Dengel
45 *Kreisgruppe Bietigheim-Bissingen mit den*
  Neckartalmusikanten Ltg.: Horst Ongert, Heinz Mieskes

Bundesverband der Siebenbürger Sachsen in Österreich
     Vors.: Volker Petri
46 Bundestanzgruppe der Siebenbürger in Österreich
     Ltg.: Manfred Schuller

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Regionalgruppe Nordsiebenbürgen Vors.: HORST GÖBBEL
47 Heimatortsgemeinschaft (HOG) Deutsch-Zepling
          Ltg.: MARIA GÖTTFERT, THOMAS GÖTTFERT
48 Gemeinde Weilau   Ltg.: SUSANNA FARR, ROSINA REHNER

Regionalgruppe Unterwald Vors.: WILHELM SPIELHAUPTER
49 Trachtengruppe Hamlesch   Ltg.: MATHIAS WEBER
50 HOG Reußmarkt   Ltg.: SIMON SAMUEL SCHENKER

Regionalgruppe Zwischenkokelgebiet
                      Vors.: HANS GÄRTNER
51 HOG Rode   Ltg.: HANS KARL BELL, ANNETTE FOLKENDT
52 HOG Groß-Alisch   Ltg.: ALFRED DROTLEFF
53 HOG Bulkesch e.V.   Ltg.: MARTINA-MARGITTA SCHUSTER

Regionalgruppe Mediascher Umgebung
                      Vors.: PETER DONIGA
54 Siebenbürgische Nachbarschaft Meschen e.V.
                      Ltg.: HANS REINERTH
55 HOG Großprobstdorf mit ihren Adjuvanten
              Ltg.: HANS GUNESCH, PETER DONIGA
56 Trachtengruppe Frauendorf   Ltg.: HANS GEORG SCHUSTER

Regionalgruppe Schäßburger Raum Vors.: LUKAS GEDDERT
57 HOG Trappold   Ltg.: SIGRID SCHNELL
58 HOG Meschendorf   Ltg.: HEINZ-GEORG DÖRNER
59 HOG Keisd   Ltg.: MICHAEL FILP
60 Heimatverein Deutsch-Kreuz e.V. Ltg.: JOHANN HELLWIG
61 HOG Arkeden   Ltg.: ROSINA SCHMIDT

Regionalgruppe Repser Umgebung Vors.: ILSE WELTHER
62 HOG Schweischer   Ltg.: CHRISTIAN LUTSCH
63 HOG Deutsch-Tekes   Ltg.: GERHARD BAKO
64 Kreisgruppe Nürtingen mit dem Karpaten-Express
            Ltg.: HANS STAEDEL, HANS-OTTO MANTSCH
65 HOG Stein   Ltg.: WERNER KELLNER
66 HOG Hamruden   Ltg.: GERHARD HALLAS
67 HOG Felmern   Ltg.: ILSE WELTHER

Regionalgruppe Hermannstadt und Umgebung
                  Vors.: CARMEN SCHEINER
68 HOG Talmesch   Ltg.: GEORG MOODT
69 Nachbarschaft Stolzenburg
         Ltg.: IRMTRAUT GIERELTH, GERLINDE KANZ
70 Trachtengruppe Reußen   Ltg.: HANNI SCHWARZ
71 Trachtengruppe Neudorf   Ltg.: JOHANNA MÜGENDT
72 HOG Michelsberg   Ltg.: TONI-ERNST PIELDNER
73 Neppendorfer Musikkapelle   *Ltg.: MATHIAS HUBNER*
74 HOG Großau   Ltg.: MARIA SCHENKER, ANKE WISERNER

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Regionalgruppe Harbachtal und Großschenker Raum

Vors.: HANS-WERNER KEUL

75 HOG Scharosch b. Fogarasch Ltg.: HANS-WERNER KREMPELS
76 HOG Probstdorf im Harbachtal   Ltg.: KATHARINA HÜGEL
77 Trachtengr. Mergeln Ltg.: ELKE SCHNEIDER, DIETER WELTHER
78 HOG Jakobsdorf bei Agnetheln   Ltg.: GEORG BARTHMES
79 HOG Hundertbücheln   Ltg.: HERMANN ONGERT
80 HOG Agnetheln   Ltg.: HANS-WALTHER ZINZ

Regionalgruppe Burzenland

Vors.: KARL-HEINZ BRENNDÖRFER

81 Zeidner Nachbarschaft   Ltg.: UDO BUHN
82 Heimatgemeinschaft Wolkendorf   Ltg.: INGE PETYAN
83 Petersberger Nachbarschaft mit ihrer Blaskapelle

Ltg.: MANFRED BINDER, HORST JAKOB JUN.
84 HOG Weidenbach   Ltg.: KLAUS OYNTZEN
85 9. Tartlauer Nachbarschaft   Ltg.: HERMANN JUNESCH
86 Rosenauer Nachbarschaft   Ltg.: MELITTA BARTESCH
87 HOG Neustadt im Burzenland   Ltg.: HELFRIED GÖTZ
88 Marienburger Nachbarschaft

Ltg.: BRUNHILD SCHOPPEL-GROZA
89 Honigberger Nachbarschaft   Ltg.: ANNELIESE MADLO
90 Heimatgemeinschaft Heldsdorf Ltg.: THOMAS G. NIKOLAUS
91 Dorfgemeinschaft der Brenndörfer   Ltg.: HUGO THIESS

Liebe Gäste unseres Heimattages!

Bekenntnis zur Gemeinschaft heißt auch Beitritt zum Verband der Siebenbürger Sachsen.

Nur mit Ihrer Hilfe können wir Probleme lösen, die uns heute alle gemeinsam angehen.

Familienmitglieder (Ehegatten und Kinder im Sinne des Kindergeldgesetzes) können beitragsfrei Mitglieder werden.

Jugendliche unter 27 Jahren können Mitglieder der „Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Jugend in Deutschland" (SJD) werden.

Beratungen und Beitrittserklärungen erhalten Sie in der Festkanzlei und am Informationsstand vor der Schranne.

Seit über 40 Jahren in Dinkelsbühl: Die Gedenkstätte der Siebenbürger Sachsen.   Foto: Josef Balazs

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Appendix E: Map of Dinkelsbühl with significant locations for the Transylvanian Saxon Annual Assembly marked (Data Source: Transylvanian Saxon Association, Munich)