# 5

# Multiple Identities, Migration and Belonging: 'Voices of Migrants'

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# 5.1 Defining the Problem

Well me for example I do feel like being in between (1.5) I feel as neither nor a foreigner (.) or or well I don't know (.) sometimes when I am among Austrian girls (.) then I do feel like a foreigner (.) whereas I am not a I don't know I am not a pure foreigner I was only born here but my roots are in Turkey (0.5) and that is why I only know life as it is here (.) the life here and I do not know what it's like over there that is why when I go there I feel myself somehow different because because they are also well for example I do not know Turkish THAT well and so (0.5) and (0.5) well when I go there then they say that I am born there and so (.) and here when I come here then they say that I am I am well that I am Turkish (0.5) I am Turkish and so but (.) I am one but ((laughs)) I am not saying now that I am not but well I feel-I feel in between I don't know well I feel

(AT-FG5-F2) 1, 2

In the short text sequence quoted above, a young Turkish woman points to problems often faced by migrants nowadays in an extremely well articulated and moving way: where do we belong? Which identity/ies do we all have? Who am I?

These are issues which affect aspects of everybody's life. However, migrants experience the problem of 'not knowing where one belongs' in a much more acute way. The young girl seems not to belong anywhere anymore, neither to the country of her origin, nor to her target country. Wherever she moves, she does not (yet) belong, she has not been able to acquire a sense of either belonging or identification. She feels in between; even if she and/or her family have already been given citizenship in the target country. As repeatedly expressed in this short self-reflective quote, she just does not know.

Experiences (or voices) of migrants, such as the one referred to above, must be seen in a broader European context, where migration has become

frequently and increasingly stigmatized, both in public debates and in everyday encounters (cf. Wodak and Van Dijk, 2000). In Europe as a whole, and specifically in the eight (Western, Central and Eastern) European countries investigated in our study,<sup>3</sup> migration has had different meanings and has led to various reactions. Some common features and patterns can nevertheless be observed (i.e., statistically, migration in Europe is on the rise,<sup>4</sup> and it is generally agreed throughout the EU that Europe needs migration economically and demographically). However, migrants are treated in highly ambivalent ways in EU countries, not least through official policies which usually aim at cultural, linguistic and other coercive assimilation of migrants, rather than supporting integration and diversity. The official actions of the European Union seem to add to this particular ambivalence towards migration: European richness in diversity and the liberal stance on ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural plurality of European societies are praised on many occasions (e.g., in the 2001 – EU Year of Languages or in the recent Future of Europe Debates resulting in the widely debated and contested EU Constitutional Treaty, cf. Krzyżanowski, 2005 and 2007; Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber, 2007). On the other hand, Fortress Europe excludes many migrants and denies their right to mobility and residence in European countries, while it also makes 'combating (illegal) migration ... one of the top priorities of the European Union' (Busch and Krzyżanowski, 2006). Thus, in the European context, where migration has been approached statistically or as a demographic need and as a temporary anomaly rather than as a permanent and positive element of socio-political reality, the question of migrant identities and migrant belongings becomes particularly important and acute.

This chapter will address relevant aspects of migrant identities by analysing them from the point of view of their construction in/through discourse, that is, the main locus of reformulations and negotiations of migrant identifications. Such an approach allows us to present the vast array of dilemmas faced by the individuals in the objective context of migration as well as the frequent inherent contradictions which characterize migrants' subjective accounts of their personal experiences. In a similar vein, we will also illustrate how the personal and emotional aspects of migrants' identities (i.e., their desires, hopes, feelings and other positive/negative emotions) frequently clash with different structural conditions of membership (e.g., residence rights or citizenship) which limit their belonging to 'target communities'.

Unlike other approaches to the concept of belonging in the social sciences (cf. Castles and Davidson, 2000; Crowley, 1999; Favell and Geddes, 1999; Fortier, 2000; Kalpana, Vieten and Yuval-Davis, 2006; Westwood and Phizacklea, 2001; Yuval-Davies, 2006), we embed our research in the Discourse-Historical Approach of the CDA (cf. Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak et al., 1999). In sum, we analyse how migrants (of various ages, and of the first, second and third generation) of European and non-European

origin discursively construct their modes of belonging (a term we take from Sicakkan and Lithman, 2005), and thus their identities and identifications, in group discussions.

We begin our chapter by summarizing our theoretical approach. We focus on several crucial concepts developed in migration-related research within the social sciences in recent years while we elaborate the salience of, and interfaces between, key concepts such as 'belonging', 'identity', 'identification', 'membership' and 'citizenship'. We then propose a theoretical model which consists of the three crucial modes of belonging (including attachments, belonging and perceptions of membership) and which helps us analyse, understand and explain the range of discursive negotiations and co-constructions of migrant belongings. Moreover, we briefly portray how (i.e., through what linguistic means and forms of realization) different modes of migrant belonging are explicitly or implicitly constructed in discourse. Finally, in the concluding part of the chapter, we discuss our findings and link these to the theoretical concepts which we believe to be indispensable for the understanding of the many ambivalent and contradictory aspects of migrant belongings.

# Theoretical background: constructing identities and/or belonging(s)?

Although the social sciences have been more than effective in conceptualizing and researching individual and collective identities, some of the intricate aspects of the processes of identifying/belonging of the new 'nomads' (Augé, 1992; Urry, 2003) have not been dealt with in all their complexity. So far, theoretical approaches to individual and collective identities (e.g., Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998; Hall, 1996; Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003; Wodak et al., 1999) have proved to be particularly useful when dealing with the problematic, often fluid and vague concepts of multiple, collective or fragmented identities, but not with the processes of establishing identities or belonging. Moreover, none of these approaches seems to have dealt in an apt and exhaustive way with migrant identities. What makes migrant identities so 'special'? Why is it difficult to analyse identities in the context of migration in an adequate way both theoretically and methodologically?

There are many answers to these questions, which, due to obvious limitations of space, cannot all be touched upon or developed here. However, let us elaborate on at least two key aspects of migrant identities in this chapter (see Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2004 and 2007; Delanty, Jones and Wodak, forthcoming).

Firstly, the specific dynamics and contexts, both socio-political and individual, of migrants' lives make migrant identities a very difficult object of study. Migration implies constant mobility and instability, an often endless search for belonging to the constantly changing other, as well as having to

cope with constantly shifting legal and bureaucratic requirements for social acceptance and divergent parameters for recognition. Therefore the identities of those who migrate cannot be simply explained with one concept, such as 'dynamism' (Hall, 1996), which is used for national collectives, national minorities or other groups who enjoy relatively stable points of reference.

Secondly, although migration is (correctly) seen by many as something which is undertaken by groups and collectives and frequently referred to by such labels as diasporas, migrant groups, ethnic minorities, and so on, recent studies suggest that migration remains a singular, subjective and unique experience which resists generalization. Neither identities of the individual self, nor 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991) allow for sufficient answers for what migrant identities might mean, how their construction proceeds, and how their dynamics influence various patterns of collective and individual identification.

One possible solution to the problem of approaching migrant identities might thus consist of rethinking the concept of identity in general. Here, we propose, taking up Anne-Marie Fortier's approach, to treat 'identity as threshold ... a location that by definition frames the passage from one space to another' and to look at migrant identities 'as transition, always producing itself through the combined process of being and becoming' (2000: 2) within 'identity spaces in between' (Krzyżanowski, 2007) or as 'passages' (Probyn, 1996).

Another way out of the dilemma posed by the dichotomy between individual/collective identities consists, we believe, in assuming that personhood 'is socially constructed through social interaction between individuals and/or between individuals and groups' (Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003: 211). If 'collective identities are constantly in a process of negotiation, affirmation or change through the individuals who identify with a given group or social category and act in their name' (Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003: 211), we approach migrant identities in a new and different way, cutting across the boundaries posed by the traditional divide. Thus we want to see 'how transient, sometimes unclear relationships between self and other contribute to an individual's position vis-à-vis a collective identity' (Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2004: 5). In sum, we focus on the interaction between objective (legal, socio-political) thresholds and attributed membership categories, and subjective experiences and self-assessments. We assume that these two, necessarily linked, perspectives often conflict and contradict each other or, on the other hand, determine a self-fulfilling prophecy of staying 'in between'.

#### 5.3 Identification

The socio-psychological concept of identification comes close to our understanding of belonging postulated here, since the former allows conceiving

of identity-construction of migrants as a multi-level process. By the same token, the conceptualization of identification presented below enables us to differentiate between its various constituent processes (e.g., those of articulation, differentiation or categorization described below) which we treat as identical to those identified in the discursive constructions of modes of belonging highlighted in this study.

Explaining the rationale for our turning to the process of identification (and relating the latter to the concept of identity), we claim with Brubaker and Cooper that 'identification – of oneself and of others – is intrinsic to social life; "identity" in the strong sense is not' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 14). When identification 'calls attention to complex (and very often ambivalent) processes ... the term 'identity', designating a condition rather than a process implies too easy a fit between the individual and the social' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 17). Additionally, identification is 'a processual, active term, derived from a verb' (p. 17) and hence it 'lacks the reifying connotations of "identity" (p. 14). Thus, identification 'invites us to specify the agents that do the identifying' (ibid.) while it also 'does not presuppose that such identifying (...) will necessary result in the internal sameness' (p. 14).

We also follow Ewa Rewers (), who defines identification (given in the Polish original as 'utożsamienie') as 'the possibility of being anchored ... just to strive for a certain identity' (2000: 86). Rewers views identification as functioning on the basis of processes of difference and recognition, which manifest as the subject's 'uncertainty stemming from the fact that he/she is not yet what he/she wants to become' (2000: 86). Thus, identification is based on the subjective and emotional process of 'identifying with the Other', which may lead to a referential process of differentiation entailing 'answering the question "Whom can I identify myself with in order to affirm my own identity?"'(p. 86). Hence, 'when someone wants that his/her belonging to a certain group, this or that culture, tradition or language community be recognized, he/she ... subsequently demands something more – the act establishing him/herself as someone whom he/she has not yet become' (p. 86).

Like Stuart Hall, we perceive identification as contained in 'a process of articulation ..., an over-determination not a subsumption; ... there is always 'too much' or 'too little', an over-determination or a lack, but never a proper fit, a totality' (1996: 3, our emphasis). Further, we also define identification 'as a process ... [which] operates across difference, it entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of "frontier-effects" ... requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process' (Hall, 1996: 3, our emphasis).

Finally, categorization, as the basic process accompanying identification, 'involve[s] identifying oneself (or someone else) as someone who fits certain description or belongs to a certain category' (Brubaker and Cooper,

2000: 17); however, it often is/needs to be juxtaposed with a 'psychodynamic meaning' (p. 17) of identification involving 'identifying oneself with another person, category, or collectivity' (p. 17).<sup>5</sup>

# 5.4 Membership/citizenship: recognized/'legal' belonging?

The political-scientific research on citizenship has witnessed a substantial turn towards 'identity' 'as one of the key aspects for defining the role of modern citizenship' (Kymlicka, 2002: 84; cf. also Soysal, 1994, 2000). Corresponding questions of who belongs and who does not belong legally in/to contemporary societies and polities have become crucial problems in defining the current and future roles of citizenship in a world characterized by transnationalism (Westwood and Phizacklea, 2001) and increased human mobility (Urry, 1998). According to Castles and Davidson, 'the growing international mobility of people questions the basis for belonging to the nation state' (1998: vii), while 'the heterogeneity of cultural values and practices grows exponentially, so there is no time for the processes of acculturation and assimilation' (p. vii), both frequently subsumed under the buzzword of integration. This ignores the fact that 'most nation-states have had groups on their territory not considered capable of belonging, and therefore either denied citizenship or alternatively forced to go through a process of cultural assimilation in order to belong' (p. vii).

Moreover, 'even those with formal membership have often been denied some of the rights vital to citizenship' or 'lack many of the rights that are meant to go with this' (Castles and Davidson, 1998: viii). As bureaucratic 'thresholds of citizenship' (Bauböck, 1994) have acquired various meanings for different groups of migrants, it has become clear that 'porous boundaries and multiple identities undermine ideas of cultural belonging as a necessary accompaniment to political membership' (Castles and Davidson, 1998: viii). Differently put, although citizenship has always been a clear marker of social/political belonging, 'increasing numbers of citizens who do not belong' have appeared (Castles and Davidson, 1998: viii), as have strict gate-keepers (within state-systems) guarding and controlling access to membership, recognition, and citizenship.

# 5.5 Belonging in discourse: a dynamic view on migrant identifications and the struggle for migrants' (recognition of) membership

To elaborate on the theoretical considerations spelled out above, we would like to introduce another perspective to the concept of belonging. We believe that the process of acquiring feelings of belonging 'captures the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places or modes of being' (Probyn, 1996: 19). Turning to the concept of belonging allows us to

focus on 'the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become' (Probyn, 1996: 19), while it also sees 'narratives of identity as part of the longing to belong, as constituted by the desire for an identity, rather than surfacing from an already constituted identity' (Fortier, 2000: 2).

In relation to these considerations, we follow an approach which allows for an understanding of the transience and fluidity of identity constructions of migrants, namely of those who have left one country and have not yet arrived in another. Even if they have arrived in their target location, they still do not or cannot (fully) belong to the target community. We are interested in studying the struggle for new attachments and new belonging as well as how the perceptions of the original migrant communities change due to growing ties with the target communities and due to the search for recognition in the eyes of the others and by the institutions regulating social life in the target countries.

As will be illustrated below, perceptions of belonging/not belonging change due to (altering) subjective perceptions of context(s) and due to objective legal-structural, bureaucratic and social conditions and criteria of membership (e.g., citizenship), language competence, access to education, and so forth. Finally, our discourse analysis of conversations, interactions and narratives of identity/belonging illustrates the constant and ongoing co-construction and reformulation through the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others. These are discursive strategies which are also applied by migrants, that is, those who are usually at the receiving end of processes of differentiation and social exclusion.

Our theoretical approach to the processes of 'belonging' thus integrates many aspects of the concepts of identification presented above. Moreover, we believe that belonging is anchored in the individual, emotional as well as in the structural bureaucratic process of becoming a member; this duality never allows for a quasi-static state of identity formation. The fluidity, identity shifts and processual identifications are particularly visible in discourses of migrants (see below), which display the process of becoming someone, rather than already being someone:

- 1. Like Brubaker and Cooper (2000), we believe that the concept of belonging is able to incorporate both aspects of identification: identification as, and identification with. Discourses of belonging manifest processes of identifying as desired members of a community or as its unwanted aliens, identifying with their target communities or with communities left back home. Furthermore, we attempt to distinguish between explicit and implicit, manifest and latent thresholds to particular groupings and collectivities.
- 2. As discourses of belonging are also strongly characterized by the 'uncertainty stemming from the fact that he/she is not yet what he/she

wants to become' (Rewers, 2000: 86), they also highlight an urge to identify strongly with the other, with them and almost never with the same or with us. Hence, discourses of belonging are almost exclusively constructed through highlighting differences and juxtapositions, thus re-highlighting the otherness of migrants.

- 3. We believe that our approach to the discursive construction of belonging could also shed light on contemporary meanings of membership and citizenship in Europe in the context of migration. By 'looking at the practices of citizenship on the ground' (Fairclough, Pardoe and Szerszynski, 2006: 99), our analysis allows us 'to get away from preconceptions about what citizenship is, and to force us to look at how it's done at the range of ways in which people position themselves and others as citizens' (p. 99). The concept of belonging thus helps us to gain insights into how citizenship (and other forms of collective membership) is done by migrants in discourse, as well as how it is perceived by the target population as opposed to by themselves.
- 4. Since belonging 'makes it possible to include sentimental, cultural, and symbolic dimensions in a discussion of what ties a collectivity together', and 'stresses that participation is not necessarily founded on membership' (Sicakkan and Lithman, 2005), we should be able to detect whether discursive constructions of migrant belonging are as tied to norms and rights as they are to sentiments, abstract attachments and emotional reasoning.
- 5. Our analysis also contributes to understanding the widely-debated forms of recognition of one's rights (Fraser and Honneth, 2003) in the context of social justice and inclusion/exclusion (Young, 1990 and 2002). As we will illustrate below, both moral (Honneth, 1996; Taylor, 1994) as well as economic recognition (Fraser, 1995 and 2001) are valued equally strongly, with greater importance ascribed to the access to equal economic opportunities than to recognizing migrants' social membership.

In line with the conceptualization of belonging put forth by Jones and Krzyżanowski (2004 and 2007), the discursive construction of modes of belonging necessarily includes: (a) tentative and random attachments; (b) a range of 'feelings' of belonging; and (c) legal forms of membership. Attachments and belonging represent types of migrants' self-definitions which may be developed in detachment from the actual recognition of one's membership in a particular collectivity. On the other hand, membership is to be defined as a separate category which entails official recognition of one's status and is rooted in legal and bureaucratic actions of institutions and therefore extends beyond or even conflicts with migrants' self-definitions (as is the case with, e.g., granting a citizenship).

Attachments (cf. (a) above) can vary in their strength (there can be stronger and weaker attachments); in their character (there can be abstract

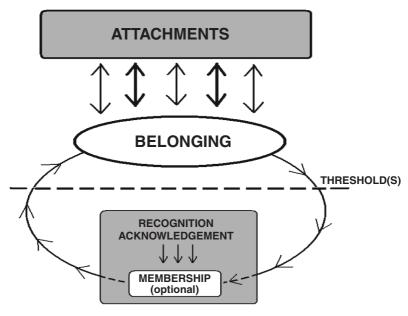


Figure 5.1 Schematic representation of modes of belonging Source: Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2004: 9.

attachments to tradition, culture, religion, etc.; and functional attachments to places and collectives within which certain life-functions can be fulfilled; e.g., attachment to one's workplace allowing someone to earn his/her living); and in their functions (attachments can arise from one's ability to e.g. support oneself and one's family in the target country in comparison to a difficult financial situation back home). As abstract and functional attachments can very often contradict each other, they may be perceived as frequently creating inherently ambivalent multiple attachments. As is illustrated in Extract 1 (below), attachments are tentative initial forms of belonging, characterized by uncertainty, and therefore suggest the search for identities.

#### Extract 1

We want to be at home because we have nothing to live on, no work and here we are fine (1.0) but it is not our home, I mean, not fully ours. Nor because we are not fine here but because our roots are there (.) in the Ukraine. We have friends there, a family ... (incomp. -2.0)

(PL-FG3-F3)6

On the other hand, belonging can be developed from a set of sustained attachments, such as long-term economic ties to the target country and

positive contacts with the members of the target community in the workplace, and so on. Belonging is (a) elective, developed by a migrant, irrespective of the recognition of his/her status as belonging to a certain collective and may sometimes remain purely abstract in nature (as is the case with, e.g., attachments to places/persons without visiting/meeting them even once); (b) is also characterized by resetting the perception of one's 'home' (Rapport and Dawson, 1998), that is, displaying the new, yet well-grounded, belonging to target communities (see Extract 2, below).

#### Extract 2

I know that I am Italian in my heart I sense things Italian especially when I am with Germans but I cannot say that Italy is my home [Heimat] my home [Heimat] is Germany is Köln [...]

(DE-FG3-M1)

The electiveness of belonging seems to vanish, however, once the construction of belonging enters the third stage within which various forms of membership (e.g., residence or labour rights, citizenship, as well as many other forms of collective membership) are sought for by migrants. Here, the importance of particular institutional and bureaucratic thresholds of membership – legal and structural barriers to the recognition of one's belonging to a community - is apparent in the process of becoming a member of a particular real-life collectivity. Recognition and acknowledgment of one's rights and one's belonging become pivotal for the final grounding of one's belonging, as the latter cannot remain a question of one's choice, but must be recognized and acknowledged by institutionalized sets of practices (e.g., citizenship or other residence and work rights). If someone's membership in a particular (target) collective is granted, one's belonging becomes stabilized. However, if the recognition of one's status as a member is denied or challenged, a retreat to previous modes of 'belonging' may be chosen (by weakening the feelings of belonging and turning them 'back' into attachments), thus reinforcing the feeling of remaining in-between (cf. Extract 3, below) various collectives and not belonging to any of them (see Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2004 and 2007, for further details).

#### Extract 3

a German passport does not bring more social acceptance it is not so it is a piece of paper I would have been legitimate but still excluded [ausgegrenzt] for this reason this piece of paper isn't worth it [lohnt sich nicht] [...] if I had two passports I would have felt better if I only had a German passport I still would be a foreigner here

(DE-FG2-M4)

#### 5.6 'Voices of migrants': discourse and belonging

Modes of belonging and lived experiences are highly fragile and unstable in nature. Therefore, we assume that the representations and constructions of various modes of belonging can be traced through detailed and systematic linguistic analyses of discourses (of 'voices of migrants', in our case). We assume that 'discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Hence, migrant identities and belongings are discursively constructed and reformulated; macro-social and discursive practices influence these constructions and re-reformulations.

## Design and categories of analysis

In order to systematize the large corpus of empirical data stemming from more than 45 focus groups, 7 we first undertook a qualitative content analysis which resulted in the range of topics developed by the participants of the focus-group discussions organized in the eight European countries.8 The number of salient discourse topics was constructed according to: (a) the relevance in all focus groups to the issues directly and indirectly linked to belonging, inter-group relations, migrant identities, and so forth; and, (b) within those passages, we were particularly interested in discursive representations of attachment, modes of belonging and membership/citizenship.<sup>9</sup>

Although they are continuous conversations of two or more hours, the analysed group discussions consist of a variety of sub-genres, such as narratives (exemplary stories), self-reflections of an almost monologous type (descriptions/reports), and argumentative or even justificatory accounts. Almost none of the genres, moreover, are entirely consistent; the feelings of in between are necessarily realized in ambivalence and contradictions, according to what Michael Billig labels 'ideological dilemmas' (Billig et. al., 1988). We can only illustrate our in-depth analysis with a few examples and summarize the most relevant patterns (see Wodak et. al., 2004, for the detailed analysis and comparison of the data from eight investigated countries). We focus, inter alia, on the following categories:

• Discursive strategies of (collective and individual) self and other-presentation. We distinguish between: (a) reference and nomination, (b) predication, (c) perspectivation and involvement, and (d) intensification and mitigation (see Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). While examining reference and nomination, we focus mostly on the naming of social actors and their positioning in discourse (personal-deictic forms, nominalizations, etc.). Secondly, the analysis of predications aims at defining characteristics ascribed to the social actors. Thirdly, we characterize the ways in which 'speakers express their involvement in discourse and position their point

of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 45). Finally, we investigate which elements influence the discursive representation 'by sharpening or toning it down' (p. 45). This analysis thus sheds light on how migrants position actors/objects and which characteristics they attribute to them. Moreover, we analysed how constructions of attachments, modes of belonging and perceptions of membership/citizenship were intensified or toned down.

- Argumentation / Metaphors. We focus primarily on topoi as both explicit and implicit 'content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 75). This analysis allows investigating various context-dependent topoi which supported the argumentation(s) for or against attachments and belonging, as well as providing arguments for positive or negative perceptions of membership and citizenship. While analysing topoi, we also focus on particular relevant, reoccurring metaphors and the cognitive frames established through their use (Koller, 2004; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).
- *Grammatical categories transitivity*. The analysis of verb categories portrays the more 'emotionally-loaded' or rational analytic constructions of attachments and belongings.

#### 5.6.2 Discursive constructions of attachments

Extract 4 illustrates that frequently metaphors (such as 'home', 'family', 'sun') are highly emotional in their meaning, and intensified by possessive pronouns ('my'):

#### **Extract 4**

Cuba is my home my family my sun Everything is there I am here for love and because I wanted a better future but I do not belong here everything in me says it I am not German [...] and I would not like to become German either.

(DE-FG2-F1)

This emotionally laden discourse contributes to constructing a strong attachment to one's own group of origin. Attachment to the target group is rejected by the statements 'I do not belong here' and 'I would not like to become German', which are linked through the reference 'here' (spatial deixis = Germany) in the first statement and becoming 'German' in the second one. Such constructions manifest that attachments depict belonging as depending on one's place of origin as well as one's place of living (geographical conditions).

The metaphor of family which supports attachment is well developed in many parts of the analysed discourse, and is strongly linked with the salient topos of family (a container-metaphor, cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980):

#### Extract 5

I have my parents. My mother is over there, my father, my younger sisters, my brothers are over there. (...) We endure all this suffering in France to make our parents in Senegal happy.

(FR-FG6-F1)

Mental verbs referring to experience ('endure') strengthen the emotional aspects experienced by this migrant.

The importance of a time-factor in discursive constructions of attachments is typically realized as follows, most frequently in form of a narrative:

#### Extract 6

At the beginning, this happened a bit also to me, but now I am at ease ... at the beginning, seeing as I did not know even how life was outside my country, I found myself like a fish out of water. I was a little bit closed. At the beginning, I looked for people from my country, maybe I would have felt more relaxed. But later, with the passing of time, I opened up. But yes, more or less, it is the same friendship that I have with others ... at this point, it counts only if someone is friendly or not, if you like to be together or not ...

(IT-FG5-M1)

In this quote, the initial attachment to one's group of origin ('my' and 'country') is portrayed by the search for contacts with one's fellow-nationals ('I looked for people from my country'). The metaphor 'like a fish out of water' emphasizes this initial attachment. The element of time is marked with a temporal clause 'at the beginning' as well as by the adverb 'later'. The topos of friendship ('friendship', 'friends') to all (multiple attachments) oscillates between the search for similar 'others' and feelings ('friends' and 'friendliness').

The 'in-between-ness of belonging' (cf. Probyn, 1996; and above) is frequently realized through multiple attachments (i.e., attachments to both the target group and the group of origin) which are predominantly constructed through context-dependent topoi of multiple attachments. These topoi include the specific both/and and neither/nor patterns of arguing for one's belonging. In this case, ambivalence and emotional dilemmas are marked through the contrast between 'knowing and not-knowing' (cf. Extract 7, below):

### Extract 7

I am Turk and I am Swede, and it is really hard to stand on them equally, I do not really know WHAT I AM, I am like CONFUSED, you understand.

(SE-FG1-F4)

Topoi of multiple attachments are also frequently supported by metaphors ('my heart', 'my home' = my fatherland = my 'Heimat'), like in Extract 8:

#### Extract 8

I know that I am Italian in my heart I sense things Italian especially when I am with Germans but I cannot say that Italy is my home [Heimat] my home [Heimat] is Germany is Köln [...]

(DE-FG3-M1)

In the following passage (see introduction),

#### Extract 9

Well me for example I do feel like being in between (1.5) I feel as neither nor a foreigner (.) or or well I don't know (.) sometimes when I am between the Austrian girls (.) then I do feel like a foreigner (.) whereas I am not any I don't know I am not any pure foreigner I was only born here but my roots are in Turkey (0.5) and that is why I only know life as it is here (.) the life here and I do not know what it's like over there that is why when I go there I feel myself somehow different because because they are also well for example I do not know Turkish THAT well and so (0.5) and (0.5) well when I go there then they say that I am born there and so (.) and here when I come here then they say that I am I am well that I am Turkish (0.5) I am Turkish and so but (.) I am one but ((laughs)) I am not saying now that I am not but well I feel-I feel in between I don't know well I feel

(AT-FG5-F2)

the topos of multiple attachments is realized through mitigating particles ('well', 'but', 'somehow'). While mental verbs play a predominant role here ('feel', 'know'), the overriding self-reflective strategy is further amplified by the topos of example as well as by the metaphor of roots ('having roots'). Being neither attached to X, nor Y is particularly constructed through the use of deictic forms. While spatial deixis refers to physical locations ('here' = Austria, 'there' = Turkey), the actual lack of any other groups is realized through the vague pronoun 'they' (both Austrians and Turkish: 'when I go there they say' and 'I come here they say').

Self-reflective constructions can be identified quite frequently,

#### Extract 10

I also have gotten a feeling that I am a stranger here and I am a stranger there.

(SE-FG1-F3)

while the topos of neither nor is supported through the self-reference as 'stranger' (to whatever groups, in whatever locations).

#### Extract 11

(...) And since 7 years (.) I've been standing astride, one leg here and another there. We want to be at home because we have nothing to live on, no work and here we are fine (1.0) but it is not our home, I mean, not fully ours. Nor because we are not fine here but because our roots are there (.) in the Ukraine. We have friends there, a family ... (incomp. -2.0)

In Extract 11, multiple attachments and ambivalence are constructed through metaphors such as 'standing astride' and 'one leg here and another there'. Attachments for functional reasons (to the target country = 'here') are collectivized through the personal pronoun 'we' ('here we are fine') in juxtaposition with the description of the situation 'there' (in the country of origin: 'we have nothing to live on, no work'). The attachment to the home country is intensified by metaphors of 'the roots' being 'there'.

Attachments are also emphasized by topoi of difference, in which the difference from group X or Y is constructed as a point of reference for one's identity and range of attachments. The topos of different religion (Extract 12), the topos of different culture (Extract 13) or the topos of different mentality (Extract 14) were all used to emphasize such differences:

#### Extract 12

LF2: I know my religion keeps me apart from the English people because nearly every English person was a protestant.

(UK-FG2-F2)

#### Extract 13

Having another culture is useful ... it is important to know where one is from ... many don't know. I like to talk about it, because if you don't know your origins and your roots, it has no sense.

(IT-FG5-F3)

#### Extract 14

Because you see other people with other ideas different from you (IT-FG5-F3)

#### Discursive constructions of belonging

Constructions of belonging (to the target community) can frequently be observed as denying one's previous attachments and origin:

#### Extract 15

Poland has become another mother country for me, no matter there are good or bad Poles, well, I don't know, gentle or not. (.) I tolerate all, I like all, also the drunk in the street, also drug addicts, these learned or not, and it hurts, what I see, because I treat it as mine. And now a moment came that I thought to go to Armenia, I have such a complex, that I come there, it was my dream for many years and I will look at all this from the other side; it is like a Pole who visit Armenia.

(PL-FG1-F2)

The new belonging is intensified by the topos of the idyllic presentation of the target country, framed by disclaimers ('I tolerate all', 'I like all'), by the overriding wish to integrate with the target group ('I treat it as mine'), as well as by metaphors of vision ('dream'). The denial of one's origin is furthermore manifested through spatial deixis ('Armenia' = 'there') as well as through the choice of perspectivation: the speaker becomes external to his group of origin and looks at it from the other side.

Time continues to play an important role in the construction of belonging. Temporal deixis ('when', 'at the beginning', 'much later') marks this feature, either marking sequentiality of events or stages:

#### Extract 16

I think it happens to everyone when they arrive here at the beginning, they find themselves a bit lost until they understand a little the situation, the people, class mates, the group ... I, at the beginning looked for someone to cling to, someone from my country, because I also felt a bit lost. (...) At the beginning, you find yourself in difficulty and later you understand the situation and meet people, and manage to open up and then things get easier. But much later.

(IT-FG5-F3)

Interestingly, in these cases, the topoi of feeling lost and of looking for contacts with fellow-nationals are replaced by the topos of opening up to the target group, emphasizing the processual character of belonging and the fact that belongings are dependent on time and growing/aggregating attachments. This factor is particularly emphasized in the second generation of migrants,

#### Extract 17

But I am born in Sweden (.) I am Swedish (.) And they are like 'you are joking with me' (.) But my parents are from Turkey (.) I am born here so I am then well Swedish

(SE-FG1-F4)

who make a clear reference to themselves as Swedish ('I am Swedish', mentioned twice). Moreover the spatial reference to 'Sweden' as one's place of birth reinforces the fact that belonging depends on geographical location ('I am born in Sweden') in opposition to their parents, born elsewhere.

Belonging is also constructed through metaphors of 'home' (see Extract 18).

#### Extract 18

I have been here almost 9 years and it took such a long time to say, now I am going home to Sweden, it took so long to say the word HOME, to feel like that I was going home.

(SE-FG1-F3)

The ambivalent feelings of belonging are moreover emphasized through a topos of self-definition ('who you really are')

#### Extract 19

F1: (...) Or Who you really are? And after some time I started to think (.) are you from this side or from that side. It's not possible to be on a borderline. And then (.) I became more conscious who I was.

Mod: So, who you are? How would you answer this question, from an angle of nationality, this is what I mean.

F1: From an angle of nationality...

Mod:

F1: A Pole, who found himself outside his mother country (1.0) (PL-FG2-F1)

which incorporates the topos of multiple attachments ('to be on a borderline', see above).

Finally, the explicit attachment to the target group and country allows developing feelings of belonging through symbolic recognition by the target group:

#### Extract 20

Yes I've been here since 1965 and I've always found people here very friendly and I've made lots of friends here - more than I ever had in Ireland ... I always feel at home here and always did from the minute I came

(UK-FG2-F3)

This recognition is constructed in reference to the target group ('people'-'here'), further elaborated by the topos of friends, all in all portraying the target group positively (positive other-presentation; the other becomes similar to oneself).

### 5.6.4 Discursive constructions of membership/citizenship

Unlike attachments and belonging, constructed through a set of content-dependent topoi (Kienpointner, 1992), discursive constructions of membership/citizenship are realized by means of formal topoi (Kopperschmidt, 1989).<sup>11</sup> The topos of example is frequently employed in order to depict 'formal' artefacts of membership, which however do not correspond to one's recognition of belonging to the group within which one's membership has been acknowledged. In Extract 21, 'passport' is used as an example of an artefact of one's membership

#### Extract 21

a German passport does not bring more societal acceptance it is not so it is a piece of paper I would have been legitimate but still excluded [ausgegrenzt] for this reason this piece of paper isn't worth it [lohnt sich nicht] [...] if I had two passports I would have felt better if I only had a German passport I still would be a foreigner here and when I would fly back home also a foreigner where do I then belong my identity would be gone

(DE-FG2-M4)

Citizenship is also perceived as a form of official membership which clearly does not correspond to one's self-assessment:

#### Extract 22

EE-F4 – I forgot to mention that I hold the Austrian citizenship but I REALLY don't care which citizenship one holds (...) I I gave up the Swedish citizenship but actually I AM Swedish (0.5) I I just have to open my mouth and speak my mother tongue then nobody asks who I am ((laughing))

(AT-FG3-F4)

While the importance of citizenship is overtly denied ('don't care'), intensified by the adverb 'really' (with an audible emphasis), one's perceived belonging is emphasized by the topos of language ('my mother tongue'), displaying one's primary identification.

Moreover, perceptions of citizenship manifest a large number of contradictory statements ('dilemmas'). While the speaker in Extract 23 overtly rejects any need for membership and belonging in a set of negative clauses, he ends his statement by referring to his country of origin as 'my country':

#### Extract 23

I don't belong to any nation, I don't need a citizenship. I don't have an identity problem, I didn't have it with my family and all that ... If they ask what I am, I don't know. I'm not interested in asking for a specific citizenship. I'm from my country

(FR-FG1-F1)

In Extract 24 the official artefact of membership ('Croatian passport') is seen as coinciding with the subjective sense of belonging, intensified by the adverb 'actually':

#### Extract 24

- so if I go on vacation ((clears throat)) and you pull out a Croatian passport
- (.) then you know (.) that you're actually Croatian (.) you feel Croatian too
- (.) in my own case actually (.) and uh as soon as you put the passport back in the drawer you're a normal fellow citizen again (.) actually

(DE-FG4-M4)

#### 5.7 **Conclusions**

Constructions of attachments and belonging (which, although treated separately, remain strongly linked) display numerous discursive-grammatical features which emphasize the emotional character of attachments/belongings, their ambivalence, their processual character as well as the importance of 'difference'. Emotional elements, such as metaphors of home, roots, fatherland, and so on; topoi of family and home; and mental verbs, illustrate the salience migrants ascribe to their search for new identifications and identities. Moreover, the processual character of attachments/belongings (topoi/ metaphors of searching contacts, or the better future) manifests the aspiration of migrant identifications as well as the ongoing struggle to become or belong.

Both the emotional and processual aspects of attachments/belongings are framed through a high degree of uncertainty and ambivalence about one's status and social position, realized through topoi of multiple attachments or the topos of neither-nor. This illustrates the insecurity of migrant trajectories. Often many weak attachments are preferred rather than opting for one target identity. All aspects of attachments/belonging are, in a way, responsive to difference (topoi of culture, of religion, or of mentality). As we have shown above, the discursive constructions of belonging are thus also constructed by highlighting differences and juxtapositions, while almost always drawing borders between migrants and the target communities and re-highlighting the otherness of migrants.

In general, the discursive constructions of attachments and belonging thus display a huge range of options, because migrants develop these in the search for specific points of reference for their identifications.

On the other hand, discursive constructions of membership and citizenship (formal 'topoi of examples' – of language or of legal/symbolic artefacts of citizenship/membership) are limited to pointing to certain aspects of social life on which migrants have no influence and which are defined by others. This illustrates that constructions of citizenship/membership only react to hegemonic elements of social and political organization, imposed by the dominant groups (e.g., citizenship with its artefacts) which migrants

have to accept and which they are unable to change or influence. The rarely perceived recognition of migrants' membership in societies/ communities illustrates the critical role of this aspect in sustaining and grounding migrants' belongings on the way to becoming recognized and desired members in the host country (e.g., note the emphasis above on the 'long time' needed to feel 'at home' in the target country or the persistent feeling of 'not belonging' or being 'excluded' even if officially granted citizenship).

When referring to the theoretical concepts which frame our analysis and interpretation, it becomes clear that this study illustrates how different options for identification are realized in migrant constructions of belonging. Hence, we may conclude that, indeed, migrant belongings are always perceived as having 'too much ... or too little' identification and never reach 'a proper fit' ((Hall, 1996)) of origin and target communities. As we have seen, the subjects' relations to the target communities are particularly troubled in this respect: while migrants do want to, in a personally-specific and emotionalized way, construct the 'identification with' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000) their target communities, the latter rarely provide the migrants with their reciprocal 'identification as' true and desired members thus impairing their sense of belonging. When analysing the ways in which membership and citizenship are 'done' (Fairclough, Pardoe and Szerszynski, 2005), the 'thresholds of citizenship' (Bauböck, 1994) and other forms of official membership are frequently referred to by migrants as the main means of exclusion from the target communities (at the structural-institutional level). This, of course, reflects on the personal experiences and feelings of belonging to those communities, since, as it appears from the analysis above (e.g., in Extracts 5, 9, 12 or 21), the official and institutionalized thresholds of membership are paired with (and actually reflect) the everyday thresholds of migrants (not) being accepted as members of the target communities.

Similarly, the critical discourse analysis of the many meanings and forms of belonging illustrates the complexity and multilayered character of migrant identities theorized earlier on. The (necessarily brief) analysis of discussion sequences and narratives highlights the in-betweenness and ambivalence which migrants encounter and are exposed to in their everyday lives in Eastern and Western European countries. These salient features are reformulated and recontextualized in discourse and illustrate in which way categorization and differentiation of self from the other leave a traumatic stigma on individual and collective identifications. These features (e.g., the frequently stated 'not knowing' or the immense hesitance in the majority of the quoted statements) also display that 'uncertainty' of becoming (Rewers, 2000) is one of the key characteristics of the analysed discourses.

Moreover, the search for new attachments and new belongings (e.g., the 'wanting to be at home' or the actual, not only official or institutional

acknowledgment of one's membership in the target community, cf. above) is discursively constructed as a particularly troubled struggle for recognition (Fraser, 1995, 2001; Fraser and Honneth, 2003), while the perception of the original migrant home communities changes due to growing ties with the target communities, the intense search for recognition in the eyes of the others, and the institutions regulating membership in European countries (cf. also Rapport and Dawson, 1998). Frequently, these dilemmas stay unresolved. Thus, the emotional phenomenon of feeling in between relates to a material and real experience of having left home but not having arrived (in a primarily abstract sense). Migrant identities, we thus conclude, are inherently ambivalent and constantly subject to inherent and continuous change. On the other hand, the discourses of belonging signal the lost agency of subjects who are 'longing to belong' (Fortier, 2000), yet who are rarely given the possibility to truly belong to the European societies which are (still) based on obsolete principles of exclusiveness and ethnic homogeneity.

#### **Notes**

- 1. Key to Coding (applicable to all quoted extracts): (a) country (AT = Austria, CY = Cyprus, FR = France, DE = Germany, IT = Italy, SE = Sweden, PL = Poland, UK = UK); (b) number of a focus group discussion in a particular country (FG 1, FG 2, FG 3, etc.); (c) participant's gender (F = female, M = male) and number (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.).
- 2. Transcription symbols:

Symbol	Function
M1, M2, (or other)	Speakers
(.)	Short pause
(6.0), (8,0), (9,0),	Longer pause (six seconds, eight seconds, nine seconds,)
(incomp. 6.0)	Incomprehensible elements of speech
[	Overlapping speech
Mhm. Eeeeeh	Paraverbal elements
((leans back)),((laughs))	Non-verbal behaviour
[Heimat]	Elements of original language (difficult to translate)
I would not say so	Normal speech
THIS	Accentuated/stressed element of speech
(1)	Rising intonation (if significant)
( <del>\</del> )	Falling intonation (if significant)

- 3. The data used in this chapter comes from an EU-Fifth-Framework Research Project 'The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and Politics of Racial Discrimination', coordinated by Masoud Kamali (Uppsala University, Sweden, cf. www.multietn.uu.se) 2002–05. The project investigated socio-political developments and attitudes towards migration as well as mechanisms of social exclusion of migrants in eight European countries (Austria, Cyprus, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Poland, and the United Kingdom). We participated in the project as the 'Austrian partner institution' located at the Research Centre 'Discourse, Politics, Identity' and Department of Linguistics, University of Vienna.
- 4. As suggested by the recent report of the Council of Europe (CoE), 'the total recorded stock of foreign population living in European countries in 2001/2002 or before ... stood at around 22.72 million', thus constituting 'some 4.5 per cent of the aggregate population of Europe' (Salt, 2003: 11). The estimated increase of 'foreign population' (between 1995 and 2001/2002) in Western Europe, largely converging, before its enlargement, with member states of the EU, is estimated in the same report at 11.4 per cent
- 5. Unlike many other theoreticians, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) do not point to the presence of *self* and *other* or any *subject* and *object* in the process of identification. As the authors suggest, identification 'invites the specification of agents that do the identifying ... yet identification does not *require* a specifiable "identifier"; it can be pervasive and influential without being accomplished by discrete, specified persons or institutions ... can be carried more or less anonymously by discourses or public narratives' (ibid.).
- 6. In the provided extracts, we are using either original transcripts of the extracts or translations of those transcripts which we received from our project-collaborators (cf. note 3). As the transcripts are based on recorded speech, they might include grammatical mistakes which were left in the text in order not to distort the original material. The analysis is based on the original and not on the translated data.
- 7. In this chapter, we summarize empirical data from more than 40 focus groups organized in all eight European countries under investigation (cf. note 3). These focus groups analysed 'voices of migrants', i.e., a set of discourse-based experiences of migrants collected throughout a specific time in their contacts with institutions and members of societies in the countries in question. The analysis of these individual and collective experiences helped us deconstruct discursive and material phenomena which reproduce racist and discriminatory (everyday and institutional) practices. Through focus groups, we approached the largest migrant groups (according to their origin) in each of the investigated countries (e.g., Turks, migrants from the former Yugoslavia and Poles in Austria; or Turks, Greeks, former-Yugoslavians and Poles in Germany, etc.). We would like to express our gratitude to our colleagues from all partner institutions in the project for their permission to use the empirical material gathered in their countries.
- 8. The resulting topics in our focus group came as a response to several general stimuli which were used to structure and moderate the focus groups. Taking this *two-step* development of topics into consideration, our analysis consisted of: Content analysis and subsequent systematization of those sub-topics developed by the participants/interviewees in the debates which relate to 'attachment, belonging and citizenship' (see below), by categorizing them according to (a) the explicitly formulated different linguistic realizations of both *attached to X* or *feeling of belonging to X*, and (b) the positive and negative attributes for or against *citizenship* and/or *membership*. Whereas the former occur in specific transitivity

- processes, the latter tend to construct argumentative patterns. This content analysis also allowed us to detect that some themes were country specific, but that most of them, however, were developed irrespective of the country.
- 9. See Jones and Krzyżanowski (2004 and 2007), for an extensive description and interpretation of content-analysis.
- 10. Linked to the specific contents of discourse (i.e., the 'discourse topics' described above, cf. notes 8 and 9) the specific topoi are, in line with their definition provided in the text, derived by means of summarizing the arguments expressed by the participants of the focus groups. While the actual list of identified topoi (as well as their naming) is largely congruent with that of the discourse topics (cf. Jones and Krzyżanowski, 2004 and 2007, for details) the closer focus on topoi in the text allows identifying the key elements deployed by the speakers in discourse to support their claims (arguments) which are then grouped according to our theoretization of constructions of different *modes of belonging* described above.
- 11. The 'formal' topoi are the ones which are based on the set of 'classical' topoi or 'loci' (such as the topos of 'difference', 'analogy', 'example', 'equality', 'consequence', etc., cf. Kopperschmidt, 1989), whereas topoi which are context dependent (or content dependent, cf. Kienpointner, 1992) are 'unique' and 'typical' for the aims of the texts which have previously been structured according to aims set up by the author/speaker

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