

## Introduction

Such as bigamist enter into a second marriage before the existing marriage was dissolved, binational urbanists begin to live from a certain point on in a second city in a second nation-state without saying goodbye to the first city. Binational urbanism is thus a special form of transnationalism, a phenomenon that results in sociology from social interactions across boundaries of nation-states, and a special case of multi-national urbanism in which people identify themselves with more than two cities in more than two nations and trigger social interaction between them. Binational urbanism is thus here to be understood as an urban way of life in which a person has a relationship to two different cities of two different nation-states at the same time. This person comes from all strata of society, including the working class as well as the highly educated and cosmopolitan "creative class". (@1) A binational urbanist moves ideally continuously between two cities back and forth and lives in constant transit between two homes (Heimaten). By the recurring change of location binational urbanists seem to be located in a certain utopian state, which could be characterized by a constant longing, or a constant homesickness, after the other not current city. "Home (Heimat) becomes a non-place and at the same time utopia. It is experienced most intense when one is away and it is missing; the actual home feeling (Heimatgefühl) is homesickness." (@2) Binational urbanists are basically extreme commuters. The most famous extreme commuters are probably work commuters, people that continuously move between their home and their workplace and forth. In Germany live, for example, approximately thirty million (@3) commuters, meaning that almost every second German leads a life between two locations. But binational urbanism also, or primarily, emerges as a global phenomenon. Never before was the mobility of individuals higher than today. Today people move between continents as thirty years ago between cities. Binational urbanism has probably the potential to become one of the most interesting form of life of the twenty-first century.

### **Theory**

In recent years, the literature on migration and mobility has experienced an enormous growth. Especially in the nineties there was an abundance of work that dealt with various aspects

of transnational spaces of flows. (@4) (@5) Many of these works were motivated by the desire to understand the causes and the consequences of the increased global labor migration and the economic impact of remittances on the development of the home countries (Heimatländer). (@6) (@7) Numerous cultural researchers tended to explore on the other hand the multiple identities and cultural forms that characterize diaspora experiences. (@8) Many of these works have a direct or indirect reference to those already in the fifties by Festinger formulated ideas about identity and identity contradictions. (@9) In the present study, Festinger's ideas could provide a particularly interesting possibility, to investigate the seemingly irreconcilable and incompatible contradictions of city residents who live between, or in two cities of two countries. Festinger argued, for example, that every decision leads inevitably to a cognitive dissonance. When we have to, for example, decide between two positive alternatives such as "to go to the theater" or "to go eating", one compares the two alternatives with each other and finds for both possibilities cognitive elements that are convincing. (@10) In social psychology, cognitive dissonance refers to an as unpleasant perceived emotional state, caused by the fact that a person has multiple cognitions - perceptions, thoughts, opinions, attitudes, desires or intentions - which are incompatible with each other. (@11) Initial condition for cognitive dissonance is the relevance of two elements to each other. (@12) Irrelevance is present when two elements in the consciousness of the recipient have anything to do with each other: „one cognitive element implies nothing at all concerning some other element". (@13) Festinger contrasts the cognitive dissonance with cognitive consonance, which is the much less problematic and more desirable state of the two. It comes into play when the two elements are consistent with each other: "if you only look at one pair of elements, and when actually each of these elements results from the other, then the relationship between them is consonant." (@14)

To this extent, the analytical framework and the theoretical basis of this present work can be found especially in the field of urban and political sociology, anthropology, social theory and social psychology. So it relates itself more broadly also to

the theories of nationalism like the one of Benedict Anderson, who became known especially by the by him coined concept of nation as an "imagined community". (@15) According to Anderson a communal consciousness could arise abstractly and without the need of a physical or territorial contact. Later, Anderson also spoke in relation to diaspora and exile groups from a so-called "long-distance nationalism". (@16) The sociologist and demographer Rainer Mackensen transfers such ideas more concrete on the city and addresses the question what importance the local level can continue to have in an increasingly interdependent and increasingly more widely organized society. (@17) Starting from the rather problematic notion of the habitat, in this case the one in settlements, Mackensen begins his starting point of the investigation. He thereby assumes that the city and the neighborhoods are build up by the lives of individuals. There he distinguishes the city as the macro-level from the individual city quarter as the micro level. As the city quarter Mackensen understands a local social unit or community. (@18) Quarters are considered as the everyday habitat of the actors as inhabitants of the settlements of different scale. They represent their environment which leads to an understanding of the city district as a social reality, in which the frame of reference is the local everyday life. (@19) Mackensen claims that communication would take place in the narrow sense only in the urban district, but not at the level of the city. Nevertheless, the mechanization of communication enables an extension of the geographic scope of communicative action, whereby communication between individual districts of different cities and countries takes place and a "long-distance nationalism" may arise in the sense of Anderson. Life worlds may arise that are space-indifferent, but usually turn out to be tied to certain spaces. What an urban district is and how it could be delimited, however, would result solely from the circumstances, the people had to it. The relative frequency of the relationships and actions can reveal a social area. (@20) Mackensen verifies his claims based on studies that he did in a new housing development in Falkensee, a small town close to Berlin. For the communication scientist David Morley gets the previously mentioned "long-distance nationalism" manifested spatially, for example, in numerous satellite dishes - the "antennes parabolique" - in the

suburbs of Paris, which led in France already too many public discussions. The antennas there are mounted and used mainly by North African immigrants to be able to receive the TV channels from their home countries. Morley describes these spaces as "Mediascapes". (21) In relation to this, the sociologist Kevin Robins emphasizes in his studies of culture and media practice of the Turkish diaspora in London that transnational television channels present media spaces, which respond to the cultural experience of the immigrants. Robins rejects the often-heard argument in Europe that the consumption of these stations would complicate the integration in the arrival country. He argues that the TV channels from their home countries are an important part of the everyday practice of Turkish migrants, allowing them to live in multiple worlds at the same time. In these mediascapes migrants can develop hybrid identities that switch between virtual and geographic locations and back and forth. (22) The cultural theorist and curator Regina Bittner argues in relation to this that these new forms of localization (Verortung), which no longer can be described and assigned along the axis between the origin and arrival society, and which result significantly from the links between migration and media, have brought forth their own cultural production. She explains furthermore that the productive force of imagination has now transformed the urban areas of the metropolis, which shows itself in the vital practice of many migrant quarters. Rosengard in Malmö, Kreuzberg in Berlin or Hoogvliet in Rotterdam, to name just a few - migrant economies that have often emerged from informal and family-based economic activities - have helped that these devalued and seemingly disadvantaged neighborhoods became vibrant and international city parts, which then as well became again attractive for the "creative class". (23) According to Richard Florida, this "creative class" is in fact important for the economic growth of a city. In his book "The Rise of the Creative Class", he made it clear that it is important for cities and regions to attract highly qualified people and retain them. For him the regional economic growth of regions and cities is related to the location decisions of "creative people", the carriers of creative and human capital, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. (24) Therefore for Florida no longer "work" and "capital" are the most important

factors for the “economic development” of regions and cities, but “creativity”. Moreover, in his theory companies and their jobs are traveling behind “creative people”. So when regions and cities manage to attract the “creative class” and thereby places are created where many “creatives” live, the right jobs will follow them or are these people will found new jobs themselves.

Once the possibility of a “long-distance nationalism” in the sense of Anderson had been decoupled the ethno-national feeling from territorial requirements, also other theorists began to conceptualize the relationship between globalization and mobility. For many, the revised understanding of identity and community in the wake of globalization meant a call to re-theorize the established understanding of social connections and solidarities. The anthropologist Ulf Hannerz drew, for example, the attention to transnational “forms of life”, where, for example, the daily life of a Nigerian in a delta village is constructed to a great degree by diasporic connections to London. (@25) Despite the enormous distance between the two places were parts of the local culture preserved and added. Hannerz had in 1987 already transferred the concept of creolization to his subject, to describe culture in the age of globalization as a dynamic, flowing, creative, and mutual transformation process. “Meanings and meaningful forms can only persist if they remain continuously in motion and reinvent themselves perpetually. [...] In order to maintain culture, people as actors and networks of actors need to re-invent culture perpetually and reflect and experiment with it.” (@26) In his book “Cultural Complexity - Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning” Hannerz argues that the anthropological concept of culture, as it had been developed around the turn of the 20th century in relation to small-scale and relatively isolated societies outside Europe, is no longer sufficient in the context of cultural complexity, as it exists in today’s cities increasingly worldwide due to the intense global circulation of cultural products. (@27) Accordingly, Hannerz points out that today to capture “culture” field research must be not only “multi-local”, but “trans-local”. (@28) The units to be investigated should be no more nodes, but the network between these. It is about “ethnography between

these sites". (@29) This research attitude corresponds with his concept of "cultural flows": it places the "in-between" in the center. (@30) The sociologist Manuel Castells emphasized in relation to that, especially the role of the new transnational networks in creating and sustaining social relationships across large spatial distances. (@31) Castells argues that due to the technological progress the age of the network society dawns, in which the conventional "space of places" would be replaced by a "space of flows": Society structuring processes such as production, consumption or power could be less and less identified in concrete locations, but are embedded in the communication flows within the growing information networks. In the "space of flows" a, from the locations detached, form of socio-spatial organization would be created. (@32) (@33) Thus networks are understood as spaces of flows, in which social actors, either present or absent, communicate and interact.

A further significant expansion in the understanding of the political dimension of transnationalism was offered by Arjun Appadurai, another anthropologist, who theorized it, similar to Hannerz, as "translocality". (@34) According to Appadurai translocality stands for the idea that the nation-state as the exclusive agent of connections and relations between political communities is obsolete. It can then be said that, for example, certain villages in Bangladesh are more closely connected with suburbs of Bradford in Northern England than with cities in Bangladesh itself, what can be described as an "international" relationship, in which the nation-state is merely one actor among many others. Appadurai's translocality was particularly well and illustratively substantiated by ethnographers such as Olwig or Levitt, who described in great detail the current lifestyles of migrants with their often simultaneous and multiple relationships. (@35) (@36) In contrast to Sassen, Levitt focused more on the social impact of remittances than the economic. (@37) Levitt points out that an increasing number of migrants continuously participate in the political, social and economic life of their countries of origin, even after they have settled in the host country, such as the USA. The so-called "transnational villagers" keep their feet in both worlds and create communities that bridge national boundaries. Levitt reveals the

strong family, religious and political connections that arise between Miraflores, a town in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica Plain, a neighborhood in Boston and analyzes the way how these connections changed the life in the host and home countries. She claims that in a time of increasing economic and political globalization, such transnational lifestyles become rather the rule than the exception. (@38) Jorge Duany describes this way of life, for example, as a "circular flow of migration", which is made possible by "mobile livelihoods". The circulating migrants establish "dual home bases", one in the country of origin and one in their host country, in this case the United States. (@39) Very special transnational lifestyles occur also, for example, in the border regions between nation states. According to historian Oscar Martinez lives, for example, the Chicano borderlands population, on the border between the US and Mexico, in a permanent inter-ethnic strife, social exclusion and cultural marginalization, in which it tries to stabilize and only very occasionally materializes the feeling of otherness in a third, neither purely American nor purely Mexican, mental space of existence. This ultimately borderless identity space Martinez describes as a kind of "Third Country". (@40) The border area is transformed into an interdependent, binational border economic landscape between the so-called "First and Second/Third World" (@41) with annually cross-border migration of 235 million people on both sides with a large variety of livestock, mining, tourism, manufacturing industry and high-tech, and the US-Mexican sister cities such as San Diego-Tijuana and El Paso-Ciudad Juárez as trans-frontier metropolis. (@42) (@43)

Because transnationalism, and the approach of transnational migration has emerged in the nineties of the migration research, should this, at this point, be treated with a little more detail. As in the early days of migration research it was still assumed that migrants changed their places of residence for an extended period and would not change between the old and new home. Accordingly, the scientific and especially the social scientific focus were in relation to immigrants on the processes that take place with a complete assimilation of immigrants. In this regard the work of the American sociologist Robert E. Park and the Canadian sociologist Ernest Watson Burgess from

the twenties of the last century can be mainly considered. In their early theoretical work they have, for example, classified the process of assimilation in relation to time. (@44) (@45) They developed, for example, the model of race-relation-cycles and the so-called phase or sequence models of assimilation, which focused on an ideal type of integration course. However, these models were directed solely to the interests of the host society and remained therefore very inflexible and rigid. Thus they only allowed limited conclusions for non-ideal types of integrations. Even models were developed that aimed at a complete prevention of any kind of assimilation or an approximation of immigrants to the host society. In contrast to that presented the British sociologist Thomas Humphrey Marshall in the 1950s the concept of incorporation. (@46) A far less rigid approach and a development of the assimilation approach was primarily developed in the 1950s and 1960s by the Israeli sociologist Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, the American sociologist Milton Gordon and the Australian psychologist Ronald Taft. (@47) (@48) (@49) They proposed to break down the assimilation of immigrants into subdimensions and to pay more attention to the determinants of assimilation. All three researchers have in common that they regarded the appropriation of cultural basic techniques, the attainment of social contacts and the development of identification with the host society as important dimensions of assimilation. In general it can be said that the complete integration of immigrants in the host society was no longer seen as the only way, but became a possibility among other possibilities. It has been departed from the idea of the final and full assimilation. These approaches ultimately led to the recognition of ethnic difference in the society and a rejection of assimilation as a concept of integration, which led over the years to different concepts of cultural pluralism, which can be summarized under the term multiculturalism.

For the migration researcher Klaus J. Bade and the sociologist Michael Bommers form, for example, individuals as the carriers of culture together the community, whereby the ethnic collectives become the focus of integration policies. (@50) The approaches that the individuals of a society are to retain their ethnic and cultural identity, paved ultimately the way to concepts of

transnationalism, involving the cross-border passing activities and relationships of immigrants, where the immigrants become intermediaries and commuters between different cultures while having different and changing identities. The American sociologist Rogers Brubaker stresses in relation to this the so-called inclusion-exclusion approach, which does not impose that the immigrants necessarily have to be embedded fully in the host society. (@51)

This work is an attempt to apply the before mentioned ideas and theories, which mainly come from the fields of political sociology, anthropology, social theory and social psychology, more concrete on the city, or on the use of cities and the commuting and living between cities of different nation-states, and to link them in a new way and to check whether they may already belong to the urban reality. While applying them more directly to the city they should as well be supplemented with new perspectives and developed further. More concretely applied to the city, combined with each other and analyzed should thus be mainly the transnational spaces of flow of Castles and Miller, but above all also the ones of Hannerz; the cognitive dissonances of Festinger, which often lead to identity contradictions; but also the "imagined communities" and the "long-distance nationalism" of Anderson; Hannerz' idea that culture in the age of globalization can be described as a dynamic, flowing, creative and mutual transformation process; Castells' transnational networks, in which the conventional "space of places" is replaced by a "space of flows"; Appadurai's translocality; Levitt's social impacts of remittances through which her "transnational villagers" keep their feet in two worlds simultaneously; Duany's "circular flow of migration"; and Martinez' idea of a "third country", which he has developed with his study of the Chicano borderlands population, on the border between the US and Mexico.

#### **E80**

The verification, combination and development of the mentioned ideas and theories should be carried out on a concrete phenomenon and example. As an example should serve the connection of the European roads between Turkey and Germany and the urban ways of lives they produce. On these European roads commute an-

nually thousands Turks, or Turkish-born people between Germany and Turkey back and forth. Turkish immigrants seem to be located only at first sight firmly in their host country Germany, but are actually very mobile and use parallel the best of both cultures and have been living for years a culture as binational urbanists.

To provide a specific example of such a connection of European roads between Turkey and Germany, should specifically the route between the German city of Duisburg and the Turkish city of Istanbul be regarded as a representation and symbol of all other connections between German and Turkish cities. It represents then, for example, as well the connections between the German cities of Siegen, Kassel, Mönchengladbach, Castrop-Rauxel, and Cologne, and the Turkish cities of Izmir, Manisa, Ankara, Trabzon, Giresun, Kayseri, Edirne, Eskisehir, Nevsehir, Kars, Adapazari and Eregli. Because between all these cities the people commuted that were interviewed for this study. At the same time the car is intended to represent all other possible methods of transport such as the plane, the train, the bus or the ferry (*Fig. 1*). The German city of Duisburg is especially interesting, because in no other city in Germany the Turkish population is as high as there. Around fourty thousand people of Turkish origin are living in Duisburg, which corresponds to around eight per cent of the total population of the city. (@52) On average, the percentage in the major German cities is around four percent. Duisburg is generally an immigrant stronghold with a proportion of migrants well above the national average. The city is located in one of the most populous and economically powerful German state of North Rhine-Westphalia, in which more than a quarter of all immigrants in Germany live. One-third of the approximately 1.8 million in Germany living Turks is thus based in North Rhine-Westphalia. (@53) So there are around 1.8 million potential extreme commuters living in Germany (*Fig. 2*). According to data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) traveled in 2002 only 6.5% of Turks living in Germany not to Turkey, but therefore 93.5% at least once, which is a figure equivalent to around 1.7 million (*Fig. 3*). (@54) This number is comparable to the population of the German city of Hamburg (population 2006: 1,754,317). (@55) Hamburg is behind Berlin after all, the sec-

ond largest city in Germany and the seventh largest city in the European Union, which is not the capital of a member state. One can therefore say that a population mass of the city of Hamburg moves every year from Germany to Turkey and back (Fig. 4). If one considers also the number of Turks who live in Germany and already have the German citizenship, around 2.6 million potential back and forth travellers can be assumed. (@56) Germany has in Europe in general, in terms of their share of Turks, an exceptional position, because it is home to about seventy-five percent of all Turks living in Europe. Across Europe, there are a total of only about 2.7 million Turks.

As a representation of the connection of all European roads that connect Duisburg and connect Istanbul, as well as for all other connections between German and Turkish cities, the term "E80" will be used from now on. The route, simplified and coded as E80 should be understood as a symbol and discernible sign representing the phenomenon of the binational urbanism that is described and analyzed in this book. The actual route from Duisburg to Istanbul however has eight different sections of eight different European roads: E35, E41, E45, E56, E57, E70, E75 and E80 (Fig. 5). Along this road is the fastest way to go by car from Duisburg to Istanbul. This route has a total distance of approximately 2400km and can be traveled in twenty-four hours. (@57) A full day is needed when one moves without a break and a speed of 100km / h from one city to the next. Only the last part of the route consists of the real E80 and leads from the Serbian city of Nis to Istanbul. But since the section of the E80 is with 732km the longest path, it was chosen as being representative of all the other ones.

The E80 thus becomes a metaphor of the home (Heimat) of the binational urban lifestyle and a projection of any desires, hopes and dreams of the binational urban way of life. The E80 becomes utopia and paradise at the same time.

The E80 runs through seven European countries. The approximately 2400km cut through Europe diagonally and connect Germany, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria with Turkey. The E80 can be seen both as a functional transit route, and in some

respects, as a spiritual pilgrim path.

In this respect the appearance and use of the E80 is to a certain extent comparable to the famous transit that from 1945 and 1990 connected the then Federal Republic of Germany through the former GDR with West Berlin. (*Fig. 6*) The shortest and thus most frequented and important transit route led from Helmstedt, the so-called Checkpoint Alpha, up to West Berlin and was only 180km long. Just as the E80 connects today, for example, the city of Istanbul with cities in Germany, joined the then transit route, via a link through foreign territory, two mutually related homes (Heimaten) to each other. Users of the transit route, was every leaving of the road, such as, for example, for little trips or excursions, prohibited. Transit passengers had to travel the distance as possible without interruptions and only short stays at the highway rest areas, in the service areas or petrol stations were made and were allowed. Meeting with GDR - citizens was strictly forbidden. In fact, along the E80, although not required by law, a similar behavior can be observed. Although the range of E80 is ten times longer than that of the former transit route, people nevertheless seem to try to pass it as quick as possible and with a minimum number of stops. Only little interest seems to exist among the travelers in the crossed countries. Just as the GDR transit route was development to a much higher technical state as the surrounding context, lies also the E80 as a jewel, in the partly and especially in the eastern part of the route less developed context. Especially in Serbia and Bulgaria, the contrast between the transport infrastructure of the E80 to the yet in many parts structurally rather underdeveloped environment appears to be particularly extreme. The famous German technically sophisticated highway culture appears to be extended in some way to Istanbul. Furthermore, both the E80, as well as the GDR transit route cross former or partially former territory, what produces a particularly interesting situation. Just as the GDR transit route ran through the former united Germany, the E80 also passes through former parts of the Ottoman Empire. Such a situation of simultaneous closeness and alienation establishes the uniqueness of both routes. "It allows the individual mixture of closeness and distance to the place, memory and desire, reality and imagination, which corresponds

to the individual concept of home (Heimat).” (e58)

Although the reciprocating travel on the E80 is not primarily motivated by religion, there are still some parallels between religious pilgrimage routes and the E80 in terms of the motivation and the situation of its users. Literally translated is the pilgrim a stranger, who travels into the unknown, to improve in some ways his life situation through, for example, indulgences, or by the hope of answered prayer in a particular cause or cure of a disease. But the pure desire for religious deepening can make out of a person also a pilgrim. A pilgrimage is made to a place that promises all these life changes. The many Turks who have put themselves up to this day along the E80 on the way to Germany, their pilgrimage, where leaving mainly their homes (Heimaten) to improve their economic living conditions. They left as pilgrims their home (Heimat) behind and went in the hope of a better life to a foreign country.

One of the most famous pilgrim trails in the world is the Way of St. James that has its pilgrimage in the Spanish Santiago de Compostela and the grave of the apostle James. Parallel to the beginning of increased back-and-forth travel on the E80 in the 1960s, experienced the around thousand year old St. James as well a big boom. While in the eleventh century it reached only from Santiago de Compostela to the Pyrenees, today people flock from all over the world to the city. Increasingly, also pilgrims from Germany embark on the journey along the Way of St. James. In 2004, allegedly around 8000 German went on a pilgrimage to Spain and traveled around 2000km from the German border to Santiago de Compostela, a distance that deviates only slightly from the length of the E80, which is around 1800km long when measured from the German border to Istanbul. (Fig. 7)

However, the E80 is not only the link between the cities, but also a connecting piece between two cultures - Occident and Orient, two continents - Europe and Asia, and the two largest religions in the world - Christianity and Islam. The E80 allows and thus produces not only binational urbanism, but also bicultural, bicontinental and bireligious urbanism.

With the help of the phenomenon of the E80, the central question of this work is to be answered: can a theory of a binational urbanism be developed from the lifestyle of the in Germany living people of Turkish origin, who regularly commute between cities in Germany and cities in Turkey?

## **10 Theses**

This theory of a binational urbanism is to be formed with the help theses, which are derived from the preceding explanations on migration, mobility, the stated theoretical basis from the field of urban and political sociology, anthropology, social theory and social psychology and the involvement and consideration of the phenomenon of the E80. Thereby the following ten propositions are established that need to be empirically verified:

Binational urbanism, understood as the urban way of life of a person who maintains a relationship with two different cities of two different countries at the same time, should firstly be an urbanism, where the binational urbanists are motivated to travel to the respective other city primarily because of social connections and not because of the buildings and streets of a city. But the travelers should not primarily be seen as migrants, but first of all as extreme commuters, as, for example, frequently traveling businessmen from London may also be. So the emphasis is on commuting, which may accordingly as well be compared with ordinary travel for the purpose of visiting or or the commuting of people in long-distance relationships. However in this case the commuting activity should be a particularly extreme, exceptional, national borders and culture crossing variation. This should result in forms of socio-spatial organizations that are, such as Castells' "spaces of flows", detached from the place. (e59) The concept of urbanism itself is here to be understood sociologically-descriptive and as a concept of urban studies that attempts to consider the phenomenon of the city as a whole. Urban Studies are to be understood here as the study of cities in economic, social, geographical, administrative scientific, cultural and urban design aspects.

Binational urbanism should secondly be an urban lifestyle, in

which the disadvantages of one inhabited city are offset by the advantages of the second inhabited city, which takes place across borders and in the form of a "long-distance nationalism" as formulated by Anderson. (@60) The binational urban way of life becomes due to this effect a very free way of life that continuously provides alternatives and options. Such a cross-border urban lifestyle thus distances itself from old accustomed social theoretical ideas of places, while it breaks with the widely shared conventions that believe in local and territorially anchored lifestyles. The urban sociologist Walter Siebel rejects, for example, in this respect to relate the character of the European city only to its shape (Gestalt), but stresses that this forms Gestalt) is and always was also the vessel of a particular urban lifestyle. (@61) What he called urban lifestyle is for him no longer tied to a special place, but urbanity has become placeless for him as a way of life. Special places of urbanity are therefore also only to be expected insular and temporarily. In addition to the emigration and return migration occurs more and more a form of transnational migration. It is ideally characterized by the spreading out of the life practice, the life projects and and social spaces of binational urbanists between places of residence or geographical areas in different countries.

Binational Urbanism appears thirdly as an urban way of life in which people move in a more or less regular way back and forth between two cities of two nations, what Duany describes as a "circular flow of migration", which is made possible by "mobile livelihoods". (@62) Even if such a life, as mentioned earlier, appears in all of the social stratifications of society, it is also interesting to look at this point to Richard Florida's creative class, because it is mobile above average and often moves between particularly attractive regions and cities. (@63)

By the back-and forth travel of people gets also Castells' concept of global spaces of flows shape. (@64) Due to emigration communication and traffic streams created a network and spaces of flows and a flow back and forth. Because of these flows, supported by technical developments in the field of telecommunications and by the increased mobility, is the creation and

maintenance of such networks of relationships easier today. The resulting occurring mental multiple coding is a feature of a global net-urbanization that Castells describes as an informational city in the network of flows. (@65) This multiple coding then also influences in many ways the urban life of the binational urbanists, but also has a direct influence on the urban environment, and the neighborhoods in which they live. The urban sociologist Ulf Matthiesen represents in this regard the thesis that the term of the urban milieu has become a crucial meso social structure category, due to a confusing situation around the millennium with multiple upheavals, system transformations, the increasing superpositions of phenomena of different spatial scales and areas with new mixtures of economics, politics and culture. (@66) Matthiesen thereby rejects the conventional reading of urban milieus as closed entities in terms of contact and solidarity grouted network formations, which still is considered as normal in wide theory circles. (@67) He speaks of new urban milieus, which he regards as broken wholes, to which features belong such as a non-finalization (Nichtfinalisierbarkeit) and in-determination (In-Determination). (@68)

Binational urbanism should fourthly be, in the migrational sociological sense, as well an urban lifestyle, in which relations between city residents develop in several countries regardless of state mediation, what makes the culture in urban space, according to Hannerz, to a primarily free fluctuating culture. (@69) In this respect, binational urbanism embeds itself in a research direction, which is summarized under the terms transnationalism research and transnationalism and has developed in the social sciences and humanities since the 1990s. The focus there is on economic, cultural, political and social relations and interdependencies that exceed the boundaries of nation-states, but are not created primarily between states or governments. According to Pries such social relations, networks and social spaces are not global and earth encompassing and not everywhere and "de-localized" present, but span between very specific locations and spaces across national borders. (@70)

Binational urbanism should be fifthly an urban lifestyle, in which the city residents are sometimes confronted with par-

tially insoluble and seemingly irreconcilable contradictions due to their life in between, or in two cities of two countries, which can be described according to Festinger as cognitive dissonances. (@71) The increasing internationalization shows thereby conflicting patterns in people's lives and cross-border intertwining relations appear. While transnational relations exist side by side and are interwoven.

Furthermore should binational urbanism sixthly also be described as an urban lifestyle, in which the cultural double coding of the lives lead to a productive and innovative enrichment of both cities, in which is lived. Accordingly, binational urbanists can simultaneously feel in a city both as settled as well as tourists, what makes them in a certain way to settled tourists. Martinez describes such a space of existence of constant inter-ethnic strife, for example, as a "third country". (@72) In such a space networks of extended families can, for example, span over long distances and through many generations and across several countries and generations can swing back and forth between different nation states.

Binational urbanism should also be seventhly an urban lifestyle, in which the paradoxical contradictions in urban life complement each other. The motivation for combining the contradictions should be explained with the help of Festinger, who claims that an existence of dissonance, being psychologically uncomfortable, causes people to reduce the dissonance and to produce consonance. (@73) In relation to this clarifies Pries that spatial mobility was not always understood like this. (@74) He explains that originally existed an understanding of spatial mobility of people in concentric circles. Similar to Russian dolls there was therefore a local mobility within local communities, a country-internal migration and an international long distance migration. Accordingly the idea of national container societies solidified, where people normally spend their entire lives in the same communities and only move to another place because of external constraints, such as unemployment, etc. But in these cases also only in the form of internal migration, which then only takes place between different communities or cities. International migration happened therefore only

under exceptional conditions. (@75) This seventh description of binational urbanism differs from the previously mentioned, because city dwellers are not only exposed to contradictions or their life torn in pieces by it, but it is possible only with its help, to give their lives a certain wholeness, which ultimately turns out as an independent urban quality of life.

Binational Urbanism should eighthly be also an urban way of life, in which out of two different cultural traditions a new third new one arises. Such a lifestyle aims to build on Hannerz' idea of hybridization of culture in urban spaces. (@76) Just as in biology an individual emerges from a cross between parents of different species or subspecies, a hybrid urbanism could emerge from an intersection of different cultures. Due to the mixing the original cultural order will be exceeded or overthrown. Such hybridization is facilitated by the adaptation strategy of the transmigrants. The adaptation strategy of ideal transmigrants to his circumstances consists of the ongoing change between different national societies, which is not determined by the national, but by the social relations.

Additionally binational urbanism should ninthly be understood as an urban lifestyle, in which a continuous urban discourse is being led by a constant balancing of different and sometimes conflicting urban lifestyles, whereby it can be developed ever further. Such continuous reinventing defines Hannerz as a condition to maintain culture at all. (@77) This leads to open-ended approaches when it comes to the explanation of integration conditions. Such an approach is necessary in order to capture the integration conditions with the major underlying adaptation strategies. In contrast to the previously mentioned theories, this creates a discourse between the two different cultures of the binational urbanists, what could make out of binational urbanism an intelligent way to use cities. Because the led discourse and the associated continuous weighing of the different urban lifestyles, could provide the opportunity for continuous improvement and perfecting of the life of binational urbanists.

The tenth and final thesis is that binational urbanism can be

described as an urban lifestyle, at which the option always exists to opt for the other way of life. Levitt has shown, for example, that an increasing number of migrants continuously participates in the political, social and economic life of their countries of origin, yet even after they have become home to the host country, which keeps the different options constantly be alive. (@78) Correspondingly, it must be decided neither against assimilation, nor against cultural pluralism. Rather, the different lifestyles complement each other and a new overall image is created.