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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

GUEST WORKERS AND GERMANS: A STUDY IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF MIGRATION

A DISSERTATION

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

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BY

ROBERT EDWARD RHOADES

Norman, Oklahoma

1976

GUEST WORKERS AND GERMANS: A STUDY IN

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF MIGRATION

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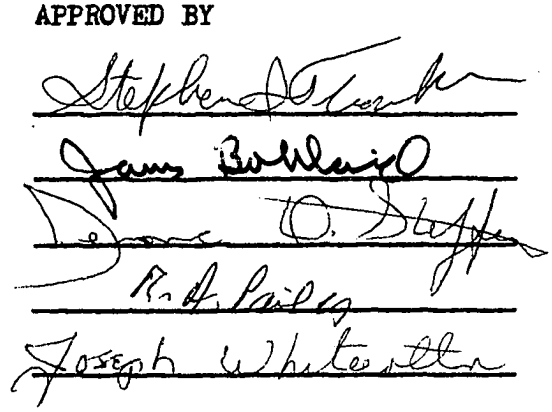

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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GUEST WORKERS AND GERMANS: A STUDY IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF MIGRATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Statement of Purpose

Human migration as an integral element of urbanization and industrialization has long attracted the attention of the social sciences. As a result of the far-reaching economic and social implications of large-scale migratory movements throughout the world, social analysts from all disciplines have been called upon to provide scientific comprehension of the complexities and evasiveness of human spatial movement. Today, a formidable body of published research is available in the separate disciplines and future interest in the study of migration is certain.

One of the key disciplines involved in the quest for understanding migration is anthropology. In a topical area which relies heavily on census data, survey questionnaires, governmental reports, and similar quantified data, anthropology has brought to the study of migration a refreshing "fleshing out" of skeletal statistics through ethnographic analysis of migrants at the local level. More than any other group of migration scholars, anthropologists have experienced

and researched the meaning of the "uprooting," particularly as seen by the migrants themselves. While the sophisticated statistical and mathematical models of the econometrician and demographer can elucidate the volume, direction, and abstract characteristics of large-scale population movements, the anthropologist complements these general measurements by describing the diversified behavior of individuals and groups as they struggle with the problems of migration. To gain insight into the subtlety of the moving and resettlement experience, ethnographers have researched the impoverished sending villages (e.g., Brandes 1975; Gulick 1955; Philpott 1973; Schapera 1947); some have even followed migrants to their urban destination (e.g., Bruner 1973; Gregory 1972), while most have investigated the problems of adaptation and assimilation to the urban environment (e.g., Banton 1957; Butterworth 1962;1972; Lewis 1952; Little 1965; Mangin 1970; Mayer 1961). Through such participant observation, ethnographers have captured a view of the "human dimension" (Alverson 1970) so crucial for an understanding of migration but rarely appreciated by anthropology's sister disciplines.

It is the anthropological perspective which informs the present study. Empirically, the research deals with selected aspects of one of the most significant population transfers of the 20th century: the contemporary intra-European migrations. Ethnographically, the study will concentrate on the movement of Mediterranean peoples, primarily those from Spain and Turkey, into an industrial area of the Federal Republic of Germany. Over the past two decades, more than ten million migrants from southern Europe and Turkey have departed from their homelands and crossed national boundaries in search of a livelihood in northwestern

Europe's expanding economy. The socio-economic ramifications of these movements have recently attracted the pre-eminent attention of social scientists representing a variety of perspectives (e.g., Böhning 1972; Castles and Kosack 1973; Kayser 1972; Kindleberger 1967; Rogers 1970; Rose 1969; etc.). Conspicuously absent, however, from the voluminous literature now available on the European phenomenon is the anthropological contribution.

Contrary to the intense anthropological interest in migration found in all other world ethnographic areas, the European case stands as a virtual void.[1] The volume of research carried out in Africa, Latin America, and Asia is testified to by numerous substantial review papers (e.g., Epstein 1967; Gulick 1973; Mayer 1962; Mitchell 1966; and Morse 1965) and published bibliographies (e.g., Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh 1965; Gutkind 1973; Simms 1965), not to mention the plethora of monographs, edited volumes, and journal articles. There even exists a trilogy on the migrants to a single African city (Reader 1961; Mayer 1963; and Pauw 1963)! In fact, urban anthropology in subsaharan Africa and Latin America is to a great extend synonymous with the study of recently arrived migrants in cities.

The neglect of the European movements, particularly the intra-continental pattern, is most surprising since the migrant contributing regions of Italy, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey are well known centers of anthropological activity in Europe. In passing reference, a number of recent monographs on European villages have commented on the social significance of village out-migration to other European countries (e.g., Aceves 1971; Barnett 1974; Halpern and Halpern 1972).

Moreover, given the likelihood of continuing cross-national movements and their implications for anthropological concerns, the following study justifies itself by attempting to close this present gap in the anthropological knowledge of the European ethnographic area.

Although aimed at a broader audience, an additional purpose of this study is to contribute an ethnographic analysis of a specific migration situation as a complement and a corrective to the macroscopic, multinational studies which dominate the non-anthropological research on the topic (e.g., Böhning 1972; Bouscaren 1969; Castles and Kosack 1973; Rose 1969). The more sociological and quantitative Pan-European migration studies are extremely valuable but sorely in need of verification through more narrowly focused, local level research. All too often, migrants are dealt with in a gross statistical manner in which they are viewed as production units or reduced to a few readily quantifiable factors recovered from census material and surveys (e.g., age, sex, family size, distance of migration, etc.). As a result, generalizations derived from such studies are unidirectional and based on statistical manipulations which create hypothetical "average" migrants, migrant families, and migration types. In the following study, gross statistical data and models are seen as useful tools but alone they do not tell us very much about the actual processes of migration and, in fact, can be quite misleading.

A further objective of this study is to examine the European case in order to reconsider the traditional anthropological approach to migration and suggest new research avenues. Initially, this study began as an ethnographic description of the adaptation of Spanish migrants to a specific German town. Ultimately, however, such a narrow framework

seemed as limiting, in a converse manner, as the broad macro-analysis just criticized. The ethnographic tradition of focusing on individual migrants or extremely small groups during some arbitrary time period, corresponding to the anthropologist's fieldwork in either the receiving or sending society, is inadequate for a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and social correlates of migration. Although data derived from fieldwork interview notes still constitutes a significant portion of the final report, I found it beneficial to expand my view of migration to broader analytical units. Thus, instead of seeking out socio-psychological characteristics of individual migrants, as is common in anthropology, I shifted my perspective to a social organizational framework in which migration is seen as a social process within the context of European social and economic institutions. From this conceptual position, which takes into consideration social conditions at both ends of the migration field, the migrating collectivity, and the dynamic linkages in the total system, traditional microscopic concerns of the etnnographer and broader continental questions of the economist and demographer can be brought into clearer focus.

2. Some Observations on the Anthropology of Migration

Although migration is considered a highly relevant demographic process in the study of complex society, very little theoretical consideration has been directed toward the subject (Jackson 1969; Lee 1969; Mangalam 1968; Thomas 1938). In fact, there is some debate as to whether it is even possible to formulate a general theory which takes into account the full range of migration types (e.g., Gade 1970; Lee 1969; Mangalam

and Schwarzweller 1970; Peterson 1969; Thomas 1938). In spite of inherent conceptual difficulties and differences in opinion, however, the past few years have witnessed significant theoretical advances, although developed outside of anthropology (e.g., Hägerstrand 1957; Mabogunje 1970; Mangalam 1968; Mangalam and Schwarzweller 1970). Within anthropology, however, there has been little reflection upon the conceptual difficulties surrounding analysis of migration, and it can be justifiably argued that anthropology has been the least systematic of the social sciences (Shannon and Shannon 1967).

While it is beyond the scope of this study to develop a general theory of migration, I will attempt to identify problem areas and point to research questions where present knowledge is fragmentary. Since no critical review of the migration literature in anthropology presently exists, it will first be necessary to delineate some methodological and conceptual difficulties. As a word of caution, it should be noted that I will discuss selected tendencies to which a few worthy exceptions exist. Also, given the recent upsurge in migration study, it is possible that some works have not come to my attention.[2] Furthermore, I should stress that the past anthropological contribution has been insightful and valuable as description. Nevertheless, the methods and research have been unnecessarily restrictive and until there is a re-evaluation and an attempt to correct the profound conceptual deficiencies, we cannot claim a thorough comprehension of any particular migration case much less of human spatial movement as a universal activity of mankind. Although quite interrelated and incomplete as a list of methodological problems associated with migration research, I have isolated five major tenden-

cies which will be dealt with in this study.

Firstly, anthropological migration studies are normally carried out within a timeless conceptual framework. Due in part to the methods of data collection and the short fieldwork period of one or two years, anthropologists often view migration through relatively static data. Granted, there are isolated attempts to "reconstruct" what was involved in the migrancy period prior to the fieldwork, but all too often this is reported in an oversimplified "before and after" snapshot image. Typically, anthropologists station themselves at some physical point on the migration route, e.g., sending society or receiving society, and record events which occur during this arbitrary time period. Accordingly, anthropological analysis often disregards business cycles, demographic fluctuations, and even changing aspirations of the migrants themselves. In the case of the intra-European movements, for example, it would make an enormous difference in one's view of the phenomenon if the fieldwork was carried out during the initial migrations (1954-55), a recession period (1966-67), the economic boom year (1971), or the energy crisis scare (1974). However, ethnographers rarely move beyond the time span of their immediate fieldwork period; thus, a truncated view of migration is the norm rather than the exception in the ethnography of migration. This remarkably static approach to migration is most puzzling, as J.A. Jackson (1969:3) notes, "... in view of the dynamic qualities of migration itself and the extra-ordinary importance which movements of population assume as both a catalyst and ingredient of social change."

Secondly, migration studies in anthropology approach human

spatial movement segmentally. Most research deals with either emigration from a rural area or immigration into an urban one. This piecemeal view of the migration process leads toward dissociated analysis and overlooks the crucial interrelatedness of all units in the migration field. In the case of immigration, the tendency has been to examine migrants as they enter the city using such analytical categories as adaptation, acculturation, integration, and assimilation (e.g., Ablon 1964; Abu-Lughod 1961; Banton 1957; Butterworth 1962, 1974; Gonzales 1965; Slotkin 1960). Subsumed under this general topic is a variety of specialized studies related to migrant life in the city, e.g., voluntary associations (Kurtz 1973; Little 1965; Mangin 1959; Mithun 1973), ethnicity (Bruner 1961; Cohen 1969; Kenny 1961), family and kinship (Bruner 1959, 1973; Cohen 1969; Gutkind 1963), and migrant housing and settlement (Gulick 1967; Leeds 1973; Pearse 1961), to mention only a few. Emigration studies are fewer in number but the burgeoning literature devoted to out-migration no longer makes it legitimate for ethnographers to justify such research solely with the excuse that sending society studies have not been done (e.g., Philpott 1973). Additionally, emigration research normally concentrates on a restricted set of problems: impact of depopulation on village and family life (e.g., Brandes 1975; Gregory 1972), the role of familial values or village institutions in fostering emigration (e.g., Douglass 1971; Kasdan 1965), and less often, the effects of return migration (e.g., Kenny 1972; Lopreato 1967). Understandably, selection of manageable topics is a methodological necessity, particularly since the ethnographer cannot physically cover all units of the migration field simultaneously. Alternatively, the difficulty of fieldwork mobility

does not preclude being sensitive to linkages and feedback operating in the total migratory system. As far back as 1918, Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), in their famous The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, argued and demonstrated that problems of migrants can be most fruitfully understood by considering both the area of origin and destination (see also Thomas 1938 for an early methodological plea for double-ended migration research). To approach migration systematically and holistically, however, it is necessary to expand one's methods beyond those of participant observation among extremely small numbers of migrants. Such a broader conceptualization of migration in no way decreases the value of the more "humanistic" approach of participant fieldwork, but aspires to strengthen conclusions drawn from the study of small group processes.

Thirdly, there is an unquestionable tendency for migration scholars, non-anthropological as well, to focus exclusively on the migrants. In so doing, the interactional aspects and the socio-economic forces governing migration are relegated to secondary importance or omitted altogether. Since the analytical target is the individual or small group of migrants, there is a tendency to view migration not as a social process involving social institutions and population dynamics but as the acts of individuals. This, in turn, leads to a psychological and socio-psychological orientation which stresses motivational, attitudinal, and personality correlates of migration. Frequently, such research attempts to compare small groups of migrants and non-migrants either in the rural setting or urban environment (e.g., Bradfield 1973; Butterworth 1972). Typically, motivational and characteristic studies are subsumed under the "push-pull" hypothesis which assumes migrants are naturally seden-

tary until psychologically driven away by some undesired condition at home or lured toward a new destination by opportunities or "bright lights" (Belshaw 1963; Gulick 1973; Slotkin 1960). The notion that migration is a normal problem-solving process not necessarily involving psychological maladjustment is rarely articulated. Of course, psychological reductionism has yielded valuable insights into individual behavior and decision making but it alone obscures an understanding of migration as a social process.

Fourthly, a corollary of the stress on the migrants as a research focus is the tendency to view migration as operating in a social vacuum. Migration is rarely seen as a process involving external socio-economic conditions and non-migrating population aggregates affected by or affecting the movement of migrants (e.g., receiving population, interest groups, employers, politicians, indigenous workers, migration officials, landlords, etc.) A knowledge of the institutions in which the migrant is embedded and the external conditions impinging on his situation is particularly crucial for understanding migrant adaptation and integration into the receiving society. Shannon and Shannon (1967:57) pinpointed this need some years ago in sociological and anthropological assimilation studies:

> Emphasis has tended to be on the characteristics of the individual migrants or the status of the group in comparison with persons who have always lived in the community rather than upon what was happening, where the migrants came from, what was going on in the city when they arrived, what was taking place in the city at the time that the study was being conducted, and how each of these increases or decreases the likelihood of assimilation.

If external social factors are considered at all they are usually seen as unidirectional, urban "conditions" which exert pressure on the migrant

sending villages. In this regard, a lively debate has erupted over the question of whether or not and to what degree rural values and institutions disorganize in the face of urban encroachment (Brandes 1975; Erasmus 1956; Gulick 1973; Kenny 1961; Lewis 1952; Miner 1965; Simić 1973). In either view, however, the migrant is seen as pitted against a homogeneous urban culture characterized by a set of shared norms to which the migrant must adapt to survive. Generally, so the argument goes, the trauma is made bearable or non-existent by the transference of rural institutions into the urban setting (e.g., Butterworth 1962; Lewis 1952; Simić 1973). Migrant interaction with the "host" society, however, is not with a mythical homogeneous "urban" culture but with a specific set of interacting interest groups which articulate with the migrant community.

Fifthly, most studies in the anthropology of migration are descriptive case studies; e.g., small groups of migrants, a village, a squatment, or a factory work situation. While case studies provide great depth of knowledge about the diversity of migration, they do not carry us far in isolating a systematic, integrated approach. To continue piling up case studies which offer no theoretical import for their findings would seem an unwarranted act of faith if we are truly concerned with isolating regularities in the study of migration. Absent, moreover, from the anthropological literature are the intellectual exercises which could lead toward a general theory of migration, e.g., theoretical discussion, comparative analysis, critical reviews, and typology construction.[3] Tied, no doubt, to this theoretical stagnation is an obvious lack of interest in the substantial theoretical advances occurring in anthropo-

logy's sister disciplines concerned with migration. In brief summary, therefore, it can be concluded that anthropology has few guidelines for the study of human spatial movement despite a widespread agreement that migration is, as one anthropologist (Brandes 1975:14) notes,"... one of the great forces operating today to dissolve the age-old relationship between rural peoples and their wider regional and national entities."

3. Framework for Analysis

While it is beyond the scope of the following study to erase the conceptual difficulties plaguing the anthropology of migration, I have attempted to avoid the particular deficiencies stated above. This requires a sensitivity to the dynamic qualities inherent in the migration process and a cognizance of the broader social context in which the movement occurs. It is my position that anthropologists, by narrowly and statically focusing on the migrants, have failed to grasp the implications of migration for the larger social order. In the European case, therefore, migration will be viewed as a social process in which migrants move from labor surplus, low-wage regions of Europe to labor demanding, high-wage post-industrial areas. In this regional exchange of resources (e.g., labor and wages), the migrating collectivity links two social systems and affects both: the area of origin by depopulation, wage remittances, feed-back communication, and periodic or permanent return and the receiving society by filling low status jobs and, through increased population, placing new pressure on an already strained societal infrastructure. Migration serves a specific function in the post-industrial economies of Europe north of the Alps and the immigrants' behavior and

adaptation must be understood in light of their relative social positions in both the society of origin and destination. From this social contextual framework, traditional concerns of anthropologists (e.g., migrant assimilation, housing, ethnicity, migrant organizations, prejudice and discrimination, etc.) along with previously ignored research areas can be illuminated.

To demonstrate how a sociological and holistic view of migration can be operationalized I have set down a series of basic propositions about the European case which will guide my inquiry. Each proposition, although succinctly stated below, will be explored in depth and will constitute a major chapter of this work.

1. The flow of foreign migrants from labor surplus regions into the German economy is a recurrent pattern as old as German industrialization. The foreign migrant phenomenon, therefore, is not "temporary" as often assumed but a re-appearing situation stretching over a 125-year period. Chapter II of this study is devoted to tracing the origins and history of the migrations into Germany.
2. The post-World War II Mediterranean migrations into Germany can best be understood as a dynamic, interrelated, and self-modifying process in which changes in one subsystem (e.g., migrants, receiving society, sending society, etc.) can be traced throughout the entire migration field. Accordingly, as the various migration streams from southern Europe and Turkey mature and necessary adjustments are made throughout the system, the migration process takes on new characteristics and becomes qualita-

tively distinct from earlier stages. A systemic overview will be presented in Chapter III to demonstrate the mutuality and dynamics of the present movements within Europe, particularly the Turkey/Spain to Germany cases.

3. The adaptation of Mediterranean workers and their families to German society can be best understood as the outcome of a complex interplay between the dynamics of the migration process, the migrants' socio-economic position within German society, and their own pre-migration cultural traditions which have been transferred into the host society. Each of these facets will be explored through a case study (Chapter IV) of Spanish and Turkish adaptations to a specific German industrial town.
4. Although rarely appreciated by students of migration, the influx of newcomers into a receiving context has significant implications for the indigenous population. In the German case, the recent immigration serves as an excellent laboratory for the study of reaction and adjustment of German nationals to the introduction of several million foreign migrants and their dependents. Chapter V will be devoted to an examination of the implications of immigration for the receiving society.
5. Perhaps the least explored subject in migration study is that of return migration. A careful consideration of the present massive returns in Europe is particularly timely given the potential impact of a rather sudden reversal of the intra-European migratory flows. Contrary to popular opinion, there seems to be no evidence to support the view that return migration con-

stitutes an inevitable spur to socio-economic development in Mediterranean countries. In addition to examining the return phenomenon, Chapter VI will consider more carefully the link between migration and the encompassing socio-economic structures which have generated the recent cross-national movements of populations.

4. Methods and Location of Research

It is a fundamental premise of this dissertation that the anthropology of migration can be improved by supplementing local level studies with statistical data and survey information drawn from a larger universe of migrants than the ethnographer can individually contact. A varied methodology is crucial for understanding the functioning of small migrant groups in terms of the larger migration process to which they belong. Thus, this study aims to combine participant observation fieldwork with the rich body of survey and census data made available by various private and governmental agencies in Europe. Through larger bodies of data, I could constantly check the representativeness of the smaller populations which served as the main base of research as well as test on a larger universe hypotheses generated from local level fieldwork.

The fieldwork covered two time periods: 1) from July 1971 until June 1972 and 2) from July through August of 1974. During both phases, the main research site was the industrial town of Geislingen (population 27,000), located in the Landkreis (county) Göppingen, an administrative unit of the state of Baden-Württemberg, and ideally located in the heart of industrial southern Germany. In addition to research in Geislingen, I periodically visited and interviewed migrants in two larger cities in

the same area, Stuttgart and Ulm, and in nearby villages. Geislingen was selected for several reasons: 1) it is strategically located within a foreign worker concentration area; 2) the town was characterized by an immigration pattern dating from the earliest stages which reflects fairly closely the migrant pattern for the nation at large; 3) Geislingen contained (in 1971/72) a reported foreign population approaching ten per cent of the local population; and 4) the town's population was small enough to allow contact with most of its migrants yet large enough to contain all nationalities.

During the first phase, I carried out intensive ethnographic research among the foreign migrants living in Geislingen. Turks and Spaniards in particular were selected for intensive study because they represented two disparate "aging" levels of migration stream maturity. Also, it had been observed that Turkish migrants rate low in terms of general adjustability to the conditions of northwestern Europe while Spaniards rate relatively high (e.g., Rose 1969:118-124). It seemed, therefore, that a comparative study on the local level might shed some light on differential migrant adaptation. Also, by force of the fact that I operated within foreign migrant circles, I gathered an abundant amount of data on other nationality groups living in the same town. Throughout the research period, I conducted both structured and unstructured interviews with well over 150 migrants; some were interviewed only once, others numerous times, and in several cases, interviews gave way to close friendships through which many informal hours were spent discussing the problems of migration.[4] I made every effort possible to gather a cross-sampling of the diverse types of migrants in terms of

such variables as length of stay in Germany, marital status, occupation, and age. However, ease of contact with the various types was not uniform. Communication with single migrants, e.g., unmarried workers or those without their families in Germany, was considerably easier than contact with migrating families.

To measure the implications of migration for the receiving society, I also carried out fieldwork activities among German nationals. I was particularly interested in those who deal directly with foreign workers, e.g., landlords, foremen, industrial bureaucrats, and social workers. Although I made no effort to obtain a random sampling, I attempted to interview Germans representative of as many social classes, occupations, and interest groups as possible. In this regard, I spent four months as a part-time "guest worker" assisting in a laboring class restaurant which also catered to Spanish migrants. Many of the German laborers who patronized the restaurant were internal migrants to the town and it was fruitful to compare their life-styles with those of foreign workers.

In addition to fieldwork interviews, I made intensive use of the abundant material on foreign workers made available through migrant newspapers, official surveys and reports, census data, labor union magazines, and the like. Also, the German newspapers and magazines provided a wealth of information on "social problem" areas such as crime, housing, working conditions, legal aspects, education, and discrimination. The problem of deficient statistical and census material which plagues migration research in Latin American and African cases does not exist in Europe.

Given my stance on the need for double-ended migration research, the weakest point in my own data concerns the migrant contributing regions. I was able to overcome this in part by taking two trips to Spain. The first was a brief tour taken during the workers' Christmas vacation in 1971 when I travelled with Spanish migrants from Geislingen on a special guest worker train to their homes. Later, in the spring of 1972, I returned alone and spent two months attempting to trace returned migrants; some I had known in Germany and others I met for the first time in Spain. In addition to the observation drawn from these two trips, I have been able to supplement my findings with several excellent studies on the effects of out-migration and return migration on Spain and Turkey. Also, I have kept in touch with a small number of returned migrants through the exchange of letters.

During the summer of 1974, I returned to Germany for approximately two additional months of follow-up research. Much of this time was spent collecting official government data and studies released since 1972. I also attempted to trace down migrants I had known before and to interview newly arrived migrants. It was during this fieldwork period that the world energy crisis began to have an impact on German industry and the migrants and sending countries faced the possibility that millions of foreign workers in Europe would soon return to the very economies which had built up a dependency on their absence and remittances. Through discussion with migrants and migration officials I realized that a knowledge of external forces impinging on the migrants is crucial for understanding migration and the problems of migrant adjustment and adaptation.

Brief mention should be made of special problems in the fieldwork process which hindered or facilitated research. Of course, the high spatial mobility of migrant workers made it difficult to maintain regular contact with all of the migrants. The situation was best described as highly fluid with large numbers of foreign workers periodically moving in and out as they changed jobs, returned home temporarily, or as their contracts expired. Language communication was also of some concern. English was of no value and most conversations were conducted in German, except among the Spanish workers where the medium was either Spanish or German or a combination of both depending on which arrangement was most functional. With the Turks and other foreign workers, however, I could use only German. Moreover, the German spoken by most of the workers was a form of Gastarbeiter Deutsch, or "pidgin German," further compounded by the fact that it was generally spoken in the local dialect and not in High German. Nevertheless, these difficulties diminished through time and I found my own "marginal" role between the Germans and the migrants to be favorable for fieldwork. I was neither a Südländer, a southern European, nor a German national. This neutral position was ideal in that both migrants and Germans freely discussed with me their views on the "guest worker problem," something they rarely did in each other's presence.

NOTES

1 To my knowledge there have been only two articles published by anthropologists which are concerned with intra-European migration (i.e. Buechler and Buechler 1975:17-29 and J. Buechler 1976:62-68). Also, Michael Kenny's article (1972:119-129), "The Return of the Spanish Migrant," deals in part with workers returning from northern Europe. Finally, David Gregory (1972) has written a dissertation which analyzes the effect of intra-European migration on an Andalusian agro-town.

2 During the short time when this dissertation was being written, a number of anthropological publications characterized by some theoretical sophistication appeared. The most notable among these were the two volumes of World Anthropology series (Safa and DuToit 1975 and DuToit and Safa 1975) and a brief but persuasive statement by Anthony Leeds (1976:69-76).

3 In anthropology, the most comprehensive review is Graves and Graves (1974:117-151). See also Kasdan (1970:1-6) for a much briefer review. The most detailed review of the social scientific literature on migration is to be found in a work by the German sociologist Günter Albrecht (1972). Although thought to be the "definitive study" of the contemporary state of the arts in migration research, I have discovered that vast segments of this work are palgiarized from Mangalam's Human Migration (1968). Mangalam's introductory statements and theoretical propositions have simply been translated into German without proper documentation.

4 My actual sample was larger than 150 individuals. However, given a limitation on time, I have not been able to analyze all of the material. This information will be incorporated into future publications based on this study.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Problems of Historical Interpretation

Early in the evolution of European industrialism exchange networks were established between industrial centers and agrarian regions along which moved capital, goods, services, and labor. The latter, in the form of rural to urban migrants, constituted that segment of the European population Marx labelled the "reserve armies of the unemployed" which he contended were necessary for the existence of industrial capitalism. Typically, the earliest industrial migrants came from the countryside within the national boundaries, thereby leaving rural areas with insufficient seasonal labor. This gap was immediately filled through the recruitment of manpower from the overpopulated, labor redundant agricultural sectors of neighboring foreign lands. Shortly thereafter, however, the expansion of industrialization and accompanying mechanization of farmwork channeled foreign workers into low status, industrially-related jobs, particularly during periods of rapid economic development. Thus, international economic migration of the intra-European variety had its origin in the process of industrialization and is a special case of the large-scale transference of rural workers to industrial centers. At later, more mature stages of industrial development, the agricultural regions of for-

eign lands served the same labor function and stood in a similar socio-economic relationship to the urban-industrial centers as the agricultural sector within the labor importing nation.

In the minds of scholars, however, the overseas "Great Migration" of European peoples during the 19th and early 20th centuries has overshadowed the magnitude and importance of mass cross-national movements within Europe. Today, the intra-European phenomenon is often considered a "reversal" of the traditional trans-Atlantic pattern (e.g., Beijer 1969; Krane 1973; Marziale 1967; Sauvy 1962). In actuality, however, the Continent's populations have never been at rest internally and the overseas current was inextricably tied to numerous other movements within Europe. In the case of Germany, the 1875-1885 emigration to the Americas was accompanied by internal migration from east to west and a concomitant immigration of foreign workers into the positions abandoned by the westward bound migrants. The coexistence of several such migratory waves around the turn of the century, both overseas and within the Continent, casts considerable doubt on the notion of a contemporary reversal of international migration trends (cf. Castles and Kosack 1973:16).

Although official statistics on migration are understandably suspect, data on intercontinental migration from Germany prove perhaps more reliable than those on intra-European movements since overseas emigrants normally exit and enter through a few major seaports. Land borders, however, can be crossed at many points and accurate statistical records are more difficult to obtain. For these reasons, European countries typically have better statistics on emigration by sea and few reliable records related to movements across land frontiers (Bergdörfer 1931:313).

Even in light of this difficulty, the available evidence suggests monumental and widespread European movements on par with the "Great Migration." From 1869 until 1955, for example, more than 5,400,000 Italians emigrated to the United States while more than 7,500,000 migrated to Germany, France, and Switzerland (Alberoni 1970:292-293). Other movements, such as that of the Irish to Britain, the Poles to Germany, and the Spanish to France, are only a few examples of the various migration currents criss-crossing Europe before the First World War (see Kulischer, 1948, for a detailed discussion on intra-European movements during the first post-war period).

Traditionally, Germany is thought of as a country of emigration. However, as far back as the 1870s, Germany had become a labor importing nation with some regions experiencing an excess of immigration over emigration, a pattern which became true for the entire country by 1900. Thus, since the founding of the German Reich in 1871, Germany has had a foreign worker "problem." This long-term relevance of foreign workers for Germany is little understood and rarely appreciated. Although most writers on contemporary intra-European migrations offer cursory historical overviews, it is apparent that the historical developments of such movements have not been properly investigated. Most time coverages are spotty at best and draw conclusions not borne out by the historical record.

Within the alloted space here, the intricacies of a century of foreign movement into Germany cannot be traced in detail. Yet, even a brief return to the original sources sheds considerable doubt on many of the widespread assumptions expressed by contemporary intra-European migration scholars. The popular notion, for example, that the pre-World

War II transnational European movement was exclusively agricultural in nature and totally unorganized cannot be supported by the available evidence.

Perhaps the most serious methodological mistake, and one which underlies most erroneous conclusions in historical interpretations, centers on an unquestioning approach to early official governmental data. Several writers (e.g., Borelli, Spremberg and Spremberg 1973:13; Fietkau 1972:13) note that Germany utilized 1.2 million foreign workers in 1910, an impressive volume that surpasses the alien worker population up to 1965 in the post-World War II trend. Others (e.g., Castles and Kosack 1973:19; Descloitres 1967a:23; Ernst 1973:181; Rose 1969:20) suggest equally high numbers for the early years of the 20th century. Most of these conclusions are drawn from early official material without scrutiny of the quality or characteristics of the original sources. The 1.2 million "foreign workers" mentioned above, for example, actually represent the total population of "foreign nationals" estimated in the German official census of 1910 (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1965:3). In no national population, including that of Germany today, are all foreigners able-bodied adult workers. Unfortunately, the German censuses of 1907 and 1910 did not make an effort to distinguish migrant workers from other foreigners living there at that time. An additional problem equally real in the present time, results from the negligence of foreign workers to register with authorities as required-- a matter intensified prior to 1930 when many states did not even attempt to enforce registration of alien workers (Bergdörfer 1931:378). A final complicating factor is that the official German census was taken at different times of

the year. For example, the 1910 winter census would no doubt reflect a different number of aliens than a summer census, such as taken in 1907, when large numbers of aliens were employed during harvest season. Overall, however, it seems likely that the official reports fall far below the actual volume due to the dual problems of clandestine movements and the propensity of alien workers not to register with authorities. In the following historical discussion, the data should be taken cautiously and only as suggestive of past immigration volumes to Germany.

2. The Foreign Worker: 1871 - 1939

As industrialization spread into the western provinces of Germany during the 1860s and 1870s, peasants and artisans by the millions were drawn from the countryside and towns into rapidly growing cities. In 1971, when the Reich was established, the rural segment constituted 64 per cent of the population; by 1900, that contingent had declined to 46 per cent (Hourwich 1922:189-190). To speed the urbanward movements, full freedom of migration was extended to rural peoples by 1867. Initially, out-migration characterized small landholding regions, but soon the process spread into areas dominated by large estates (Wunderlich 1961:23). Saxony was the first province to attract German workers from the eastern region, but shortly the migratory current moved to the Rhineland-Westfalian industrial area (Wunderlich 1961:63). These internal movements correspond in time to a massive emigration of Germans to the Americas.

To compensate for labor loss in the eastern provinces, the Prussian Junkers recruited foreign labor, primarily Polish, for seasonal agricultural work in the cultivation and harvest of sugar beet and other

root crops. The majority of alien migrants entered the country in spring, usually April, when fieldwork commenced, and remained until mid-August when the earliest return migration began (Bergdörfer 1931:378). By 1890, seasonal agricultural workers were required to register with the police and return to their home country during the winter off-season. The return trip could, however, be avoided by simply renewing the identification cards, although many aliens remained in Germany even without fulfilling this requirement (Bergdörfer 1931:379).

Very little is known about the social correlates and exact volume of these early seasonal immigrations into Germany, particularly as regards the non-Polish groups such as the Ruthenians and Italians. From 1880 until 1900, it appears that the majority of the migrants were ethnically Polish from Austrian Galicia and Russian Poland (Hourwich 1922:181 and Wunderlich 1961:198). From the eastern provinces there was a perpetual westward movement with various nationality groups supplanting each other. As Germans from the east moved toward the Rhineland-Westphalian industrial areas, they were replaced by Prussian Poles who then continued westward and were in turn followed by Russian Poles. Among the latter, temporary employment in Germany grew from 17,000 in 1890 to 138,000 in 1904 (Hourwich 1922:181). Although most likely a gross underestimate of the total volume, since it is based on identification cards actually issued by the governmental agency in charge of alien migrants, the following table allows some idea of the ethnic and nationality distribution form 1910 until 1918.

TABLE 2.1

AVERAGE NUMBER OF IDENTIFICATION CARDS ISSUED YEARLY BY THE DEUTSCHE ARBEITERZENTRALE TO FOREIGNERS OF ALIEN AND OF GERMAN DESCENT
1910 - 1918
(in thousands)

	1910-1914		1915-1919	
ORIGINS	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
German descent	83	11.1	103	16.0
Alien descent	668	88.9	543	84.0
Ruthenians	89	11.8	17	2.6
Russian Poles	302	40.2	373	57.8
Austrian Poles	75	9.9	12	1.9
Czechs	27	3.6	11	1.7
Other Aliens from Austria-Hungary	41	5.5	10	1.6
Other Aliens from Russia	10	1.4	17	2.7
Italians	54	7.2	12	1.9
Netherlanders and Belgians	60	8.0	79	12.2
French, Luxemburgers, and Swiss	1	0.2	4	0.6
Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and others	69	9.2	7	1.1
TOTAL	751	100.0	646	100.0

Source: Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv, Vol. 20, pp. 161ff., Jena 1930. Cited in Bergdörfer (1931:380).

Until the end of the Second World War, the labor reserve of Polish workers was by far the most important manpower source for Germany. In an article dealing with seasonal Polish labor from 1914 through 1937, Landau (1939:202) stressed the importance of state interference in regulating movements and selecting candidates from certain regions who were "members of the poorest families, with the heaviest responsibilities." Interestingly, most of the seasonal emigrants were women. Wunderlich (1961:64) reports on a 1927 study by Radetzki (1930) who surveyed 16,826 workers, 13,004 of whom were female migrants from five Eastern Prussian provinces. A study by Zahn, also reported by Wunderlich (1961:66), noted that 80 per cent of the workers from 1924 until 1926 were women and 90 per cent of all workers in agriculture were ethnically Polish. A later survey (Landau 1939:200-204) verified that most of the seasonal workers were women, two-thirds of these being under the age of thirty. In some regions, however, a large number of farmers' wives was recruited while presumably their husbands stayed at home to work the land. The same study, which was conducted in Poland, classified a large proportion of the migrants as landless peasants although peasant families owning "moderately large holdings" sent out members to earn supplemental income (Landau 1939:203). While in Germany, the workers labored eight to ten hours per day and even though working conditions were by no means ideal, there was a definite preference by Polish migrants for work in Germany over other areas, such as Latvia, because of superior wages and better working conditions (Landau 1939:207).

Although the Polish immigrations are the best known and no doubt proportionally the largest in volume, there were other significant streams

as well. By the 1880s, Italian and border nationalities (e.g., Dutch, Belgian, French, and Swiss) were crossing into southern and western Germany for industrial, agricultural, and construction work. Unfortunately, next to nothing is known about these movements, but the statistical evidence shown in table 2.1 suggests substantially large numbers of migrants. Many oldtimers in southern Germany still today recall working on construction crews with Italians prior to the First World War. According to Wander (1958:212), the area which roughly constitutes the Federal Republic of Germany experienced an excess of 253,000 immigrants over emigrants in the last decade of the 19th century and has continued to be an immigration area with the exception of the time period from 1925 to 1933. Isaac A. Hourwich (1922:545), drawing on official German sources, lists the number of Italians in Germany at 8,000 in 1880, increasing to 62,000 by 1900. From 1869 until 1915, Alberoni (1970:292-293) estimated that more than 1.2 million Italians migrated to Germany. In terms of the type of migration, he noted:

> For the most part it was a question of temporary emigration of agricultural workers from Piedmont and Venetia, going to carry out certain agricultural work in France or Germany, and to these were added the masons and builders bound for France, Germany, and Switzerland. The emigrants were predominantly male. The Venetian and Piedmontese peasants went abroad for certain periods of time leaving their parents or their wives and children behind in Italy. In general, they already knew where they were going, what work they were to do, and also how much they would earn and could expect to save.

Today, the intra-European migration literature stresses the notion that foreign labor before the Second World War was used "almost exclusively in agriculture" (Descloitres 1967a:24; Kolan 1973:10). There is, however, no convincing historical evidence which bears out this assumption. Since the earliest years of the German Reich, for example,

foreigners were involved in mining, construction, manufacturing, and other industrially-related occupations. In the general drift westward, and toward urban centers, former seasonal workers found non-agricultural employment in Berlin, Silesia, Rhineland-Westphalia, and the Ruhr. In the southern provinces of Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg, the building trade and industry attracted large numbers of Italians. Even in Prussia, the supposed hearth of foreign agricultural immigration, Bodenstein (1909) presents surprising data for the years 1905 to 1908 (see table 2.2 below) demonstrating that proportionally more aliens were classified as employed in industry.

TABLE 2.2

FOREIGN WORKERS IN PRUSSIA, 1905-1908
(in thousands)

YEAR	AGRICULTURAL LABORERS	INDUSTRIAL WORKERS	TOTAL
1905	207	247	454
1906	236	369	605
1907	258	475	733
1908	309	471	780
TOTAL	1010	1562	2572

Source: Bodenstein. Cited in Bergdörfer (1931:378).

Even more contradictory evidence to the general thesis that aliens were overwhelmingly used as seasonal workers in agriculture is provided by Isaac A. Hourwich (1922:545). Table 2.3 shows employment in non-agricultural occupations as being far greater than in agriculture; in fact,

51 per cent of the "foreign born" were employed in "manufactures" and only 15 per cent in agriculture.

TABLE 2.3

FOREIGN BORN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS IN GERMANY, 1900
(in thousands)

OCCUPATIONS	MALES	FEMALES
Agriculture	59	21
Trade	37	10
Transportation	13	--
Manufactures	245	32
Common Labor	26	10
Professional Pursuits	18	10
Living on Income from Property	18	16
Servants	1	23
TOTAL	417	122

Source: Ergänzungsheft zu den Vierteljahrsheften zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, 1905, Vol. 1. Cited in Hourwich (1922:545).

It is possible, however, that seasonal agricultural workers were excluded from the "gainful occupations" category thus skewing the statistics in favor of the more permanent jobs. Even accounting for this possibility, it appears that foreign involvement in industry was as strong as in agriculture. Further evidence for this hypothesis can be seen in the number of identification cards issued annually from 1910 until 1927 (Bergdörfer 1931:379). Although more cards were issued to agricultural workers (55 per cent) as opposed to industrial laborers (45 per cent), the difference

was not overwhelming and it was even possible that agricultural workers, since they were more temporary and crossed the border more often, applied for cards more frequently than settled foreign industrial workers. Until more meticulous research is carried out with the original documents, however, the above quoted statistics should be accepted with reserve. The category "foreign born" or "foreigner" was not inherently synonymous with "foreign migrant worker"; in fact, "foreign born" could even have included German nationals born outside the Reich.

If the statistical background for a historical analysis of German immigration is found lacking, knowledge about the social life of the early non-agricultural workers is almost non-existent. It is reported that in 1913 there were 1177 Polish associations in the Ruhr area and in one single town there existed a Polish party, newspaper, bank, and church (Fietkau 1972:14). The workers were generally recruited abroad through both government and private agents and often brought in on specially arranged trains. Like today's migrants, they came with the original purpose of earning money, saving, and returning home after a short stay. Often, work groups were organized along ethnic lines and guided by bilingual overseers. In some regions, such as the coal mining Ruhr, foreign enclaves became so large and concentrated that local reaction developed. The concern over the growing population of illegal immigrants brought about increased restrictions and deportations of undesirable and unregistered aliens. Ethnic conflict reached such a point that a law was introduced in the Ruhr in 1908 barring public use of the Polish language, thus giving rise to "dumb assemblies" in which the migrants did not speak to each other but communally read Polish leaflets aloud (Castles and Kosack

1973:20). Ultimately, the Poles who remained were assimilated and today the only trace found is a significant number of "names with an eastern history" (Fietkau 1972:15).

In connection with these early movements, modern writers make a further questionable assumption: namely, that they were "uncontrolled and unorganized" (Castles and Kosack 1973:19). In fact, when modern international migrations are compared with those of the past, there is the implied belief that today government regulations control against severe exploitation. C.P. Kindleberger (1965:647-658), in his comparison of contemporary intra-European movements and past international migrations, notes:

> The major difference ... lies in the correction, or at least the attempt at correction of the abuses of exploitation which such mass movements can lead to. In Germany and France, for example, the recruiting is (today) done by government as well as by employer.

This belief in free, uncontrolled migration of the past is maintained by a number of migration scholars (e.g., Beijer 1969:25; Castles and Kosack 1973:19; Edding 1958:239). While it may be reasonably expected that post-industrial societies would be more capable of control, the pre-war movements were not, as Beijer (1969:25) claims, a "rather haphazard, catch-as-catch-can affair" of the past. As early as 1905, recruitment and placement of foreign workers were centralized and controlled by the cooperative employment agencies of the Deutsche Feldarbeiterzentrale which by 1910 became known as the Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale (Bergdörfer 1931:377). By 1920, a number of supralocal agencies and interest groups e.g., trade unions, agricultural organizations, etc., were placing pressure on the government to limit employment of foreigners. Throughout

the first three decades, control of foreign migrant labor was gradually assumed by public employment offices until 1933 when it was officially placed under the Institute for Placement and Unemployment Insurance (Wunderlich 1961:64).

In addition to growing governmental supervision within Germany, special intergovernmental treaties, such as that between Germany and Poland in 1927, were concluded which regulated the seasonal immigration of workers. The treaty with Poland contained a number of clauses which ostensibly protected the migrant's interests. Wunderlich (1961:65) notes:

> The treaty accorded Polish agricultural workers the same treatment enjoyed by German workers in all matters pertaining to their protection, freedom of association, public assistance, and the regulation of the conditions of work, including arbitration, labor court procedures. They were exempt from income tax, entitled to accident and sickness insurance.

Landau (1939:200), in commenting on Polish migration in the second pre-war period, lends further support to the notion that migrations were carefully regulated:

> The outstanding feature of seasonal emigration, whatever the destination, is a marked degree of state interference. The governments concerned do not merely lay down the legal rules that govern the migration movements, but also fix the emigration or immigration quotas, the conditions of work, and above all the rates of pay. The public authorities take an active part in recruitment; in many cases the migrant has no say in the choice of his employer.

This seemingly fair treatment required by the intergovernmental treaties did not arise simply from altruistic motives but grew out of pressures by German labor unions to force equal pay, similar work loads, and the same rates for piecework and overtime for all workers. In order to protect German workers, the unions were able to push through annual

quotas for foreign laborers. In 1914, the quota reached a high of 436,000 but dropped to zero by 1932 when domestic unemployment was widespread (Wunderlich 1961:62). The very next year, however, the rise to power of Adolf Hitler signalled the beginning of a centrally directed war economy. By 1937, foreign workers were once again flooding into Germany and with the outbreak of the war a new and unique chapter opened in the history of Germany's exploitation of foreign manpower.

3. Foreign Labor in Nazi Germany: 1939-1945

Although Wilhelm II had attempted to utilize forced labor from Belgium in 1916, a plan abandoned because of international moral indignation, the Nazi regime was insensitive to outside pressure and launched in the course of the war elaborate programs for the utilization of voluntary and forced labor from other European countries. Ironically, the Nazis who promised to liberate Germany from her dependence on "subhuman" aliens became the very instrument by which an unprecedented number of foreigners was brought to the Reich. As early as 1937, the Nazis were forced to turn to foreign labor, a dependence which constantly plagued their racist Untermensch philosophy. In his definitive study, Foreign Labor in Nazi Germany, Edward Homze (1967:311) labelled the alien labor program a "microcosm of the Nazi world" complete with the fanatical contradictions, opportunism, and improvisation which characterized the Hitlerian state.

With the arrival of total war mobilization and the conscription of adult German males into the military, the nation's labor shortages became increasingly chronic leading to constantly stepped-up rates of

recruitment of both voluntary and forced foreign workers. It was not, however, until the fall of 1941 that the influx of foreigners reached pre-World War I levels; by 1942 almost one-fourth of the total labor force was made up of aliens (Wunderlich 1961:348). Under the continuing conditions of war, Germany's tapping of foreign labor reserves was intensified on an unprecedented scale.

While the hysteria of World War II certainly created unusual conditions in Germany, the case of foreign labor serves to highlight the recurrent dependency of the German industrial economy on labor pools from foreign nations. The actual need for foreign labor, although real enough as the war progressed, was initially as much a product of Nazi ideology as economic necessity. With their belief that women belonged in the home, the Nazis shied away from complete intensification of national labor reserves and opted instead to seek manpower from beyond their own border (Homze 1967:10). This policy, which stood in contradiction to the Nazi pledge to rid Germany of undesirables, brought about additional efforts to justify their action to themselves and the German public. Partially, this conflict between professed ideals and reality explains the harsh treatment handed to aliens as well as Germans who refused to keep a proper relationship with the foreigners.

Initially, Nazi leaders justified foreign labor recruitment by publicly asserting that the use of aliens would be temporary, a belief which underscored and guided the transitory policies and makeshift facilities geared toward handling foreigners. Furthermore, the Nazis propagandized that foreigners would be used only in occupations unfit for Germans and excluded from "noble" jobs such as agriculture

and mining. This pledge, in turn, led to further discrepancies between deed and act when the war economy, with its heavy demands on arms manufacturing, called for the efficiency of German workers, thereby channeling increasingly large numbers of aliens into the very occupation--agriculture--which was, by way of the Blut und Boden philosophy, glorified and ostensibly held off limits to all but the "pure" race. As the war continued, more and more foreigners were shifted into agricultural work; in fact, aliens actually managed farms in some regions (Wunderlich 1961: 350). Thus, the self-proclaimed protectors of racial purity and glorifiers of peasant values ironically played an active role in the very undoing of the sacred bond between the German and his earth.

The Nazi foreign labor program, however, was not guided by a monolithic policy but by constantly shifting strategies which decreed differential treatment to the various nationalities. Depending on origin, the foreigners stood in varying degrees of acceptability to the Nazis' concept of racial purity. In the most general terms, foreigners were divided into two types: those destined to remain foreign because of "blood" and those of German ancestry, such as the South Tyrolese, or the Sudeten Deutsche, Germans who were returning to the Reich. Of the non-German foreigners, the Western European workers (e.g., French, Belgian, Dutch) and nationalities friendly to the Reich (e.g., Italians, Spanish) ranked closer to German "purity" than Poles, Russians, and other eastern Europeans who constituted the Untermensch of Nazi philosophy. The treatment and attitudes toward the various groups varied accorfing to their position on the racial scale; Western workers and those from sympathetic countries were treated extremely well, espe-

cially voluntary migrants, but Poles and Russians were allowed only the basic necessities to insure their ability to work. Like the Jews, the eastern workers were required to wear an identification emblem and received an absolute minimum in wages, food, clothing, and housing. As the object of racial hatred, the eastern worker became the victim of a Nazi self-fulfilling prophecy. Homze (1967:169) notes:

> Often his poor clothes, gaunt features, and strange mannerisms seemed to reinforce the image of inferiority that Nazi propagandists had so assiduously cultivated in the minds of the German people. In short, he was subjected to literally thousands of minute legal and quasi-legal discriminations, he was always in a special category.

Recruitment of alien workers was carried out by numerous methods. In the early war years, the Nazi government entered into labor agreements with friendly nations (e.g., Italy, Croatia, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Spain) which provided "guest workers" who were treated in most respects as equals to German workers (Wunderlich 1961:346). Yet, such voluntary workers made up a small percentage of the total; in fact, Sauckel, Hitler's plenipotentiary of labor, admitted that less than 200,000 of five million alien workers had come to the Reich voluntarily (Nuremberg Proceedings, 1946-1950:314). The majority of the workers were coerced into the Reich by either indirect pressure, such as threatening to withhold state benefits, or by the direct force of rounding up aliens and placing them in labor camps (Wunderlich 1961: 346). The eastern workers in particular were subjected to systematic removal; they were first registered, politically and physically examined, marched by foot to railroad stations, transported to Germany on special freight trains, and placed in labor camps before the final stage of distribution to employers. Wunderlich (1961:347) reports on a "typical

street scene" in the market place of an agricultural town in Württemberg where Polish workers had been shipped for agricultural work:

> The Poles were grouped together; they could not speak German and had no interpreters. The farmers went among them and chose them like cattle. If it happened that one farmer chose the husband and another the wife, the Poles made frantic attempts to disclose their relationship. Later, however, it was discovered that separation of families impaired performance, and special regulations provided that families be allocated together.

The inhumane treatment accorded to certain nationalities by the Nazis, however, does not mean, as some writers have argued, that official policy was carried out "zealously by most people who came in contact with workers" (Castles and Kosack 1973:24). While the xenophobic hysteria of Nazi Germany must have fostered a degree of suspicion toward aliens living in the Reich, there is no convincing evidence that the German public overwhelmingly accepted the official propaganda. The very fact that severe punishment and constant sanctions were necessary, sheds some doubt on the enthusiasm of the populace for the Nazis' rules concerning foreign workers. Heinrich Himmler, acting on a Goering directive, ordered an arrest of all Germans having sexual relations or love affairs with Poles and that they be publicly humiliated before being sent to concentration camps. In the case of Poles, a sexual offense meant death and Himmler is reputed to have "unceremoniously" hanged 180 Polish farm workers for having intercourse with German women (Homze 1967:40-41). For Germans merely assisting Poles, a short imprisonment was requested.

Homze (1967:292-293) has argued that much of the harsh treatment dealt out to alien workers was a planned policy to foster a belief among the German workers that the government had in mind their interest

first. Yet, at the grassroots level, Nazi propaganda was far from successful:

> Judging from Nazi and Western sources, the German peasants, in particular, paid too little attention to the official policies of discrimination toward foreigners, much to the distress of Nazi officialdom. Frequently, foreign workers ate at the same table with the peasants and received the same treatment as German farm hands.

If the obviously complex view of the German working public can be summarized at all it was that they, too, felt themselves victims of exploitation and their sympathy for the foreign worker was tempered by their own deprivations under the conditions of war. Indeed, toward the end of the war when ideological racism took a back seat to economic reality, the status of the foreign worker changed accordingly so that by late 1944, even the hated Eastern European was officially labelled a "guest worker" and extended the same privileges as German workers.[1] In the final days of the war when the social order collapsed, Western observers predicted that foreign workers would seek revenge against their former oppressors. However, with the exception of a few isolated events, the foreigners remained amazingly passive, just as they had throughout their German experience. After the years of exile in forced labor, their main desire was to return home although a startling 750,000 mainly from the east, rejected repatriation and remained in Germany (Homze 1967:298; Shils 1946:15).

While the unusual circumstances of Germany under National Socialism would lead one to conclude non-comparability between the earlier periods and the present age of voluntary movements, the wartime phenomenon cannot be simply dismissed as the product of a small circle of mad men. The utilization of foreign labor, while intensified under

conditions of war, was a continuation of a German need as old as the Reich itself and one which was resumed within a few years after the war ended. The historian William McNeill (1974:173-174) pinpointed the attraction of the German industrial orbit when he wrote:

> When economic boom conditions returned to western Europe after 1948, men who had worked as slave laborers in German factories during the war were ready enough to return to Germany again as factory workers. Thousands of others followed. More generally, the postwar success of the Common Market was surely facilitated by recollections of the massive transnational migrations that had taken place during the war, when soldiers and prisoners of war as well as civilian slave laborers had criss-crossed Europe's national boundaries by the hundreds of thousands. The breakdown of Europe's national barriers thus appears as the ironic and altogether unexpected but probably most lasting monument to Hitler's ... career.

4. Conclusion

In comparing past and present intra-European migration, R. Descloitres (1967 :24) articulated a generally accepted historical interpretation when he concluded: "There can be no doubt that the present situation differs considerably from previous ones." Today, it is argued, migration flows from Mediterranean countries northward across the Alps instead of from East to West, the migrants tend to be employed in non-agricultural jobs instead of agriculture, and governmental guidance is omnipresent instead of maintaining the pre-war laissez-faire stance. Nevertheless, as the historical reconsideration in this chapter has attempted to illustrate, the differences in the German case are not as absolute as generally believed. While the tendencies cannot be denied, historical evidence casts some doubt on several of these assumptions. As demonstrated here, aliens have been employed heavily in industrially-related occupations throughout Germany's recent history and the national

government has played an active regulating role in migration.

While it is certainly true that today West Germany reaches greater distances for labor, e.g., the Mediterranean region and even Asia and the Americas, a number of the older streams remain intact. In 1971, Germany's neighbors contributed over one-quarter million workers to Germany's economy (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1971:74). As before, Italian, Spanish, and Yugoslav workers find their way to Germany; in fact, some families have migrated northwest for over three generations.[2] Although political and ideological factors have intervened to virtually halt eastern European migration to the territory now comprising the Federal Republic of Germany, this does not mean that westward migrations have ceased. It has recently been reported that 12,000 Polish and 13,000 Hungarian workers along with 5,000 migrants from other eastern European countries were employed in the German Democratic Republic. In addition, an unknown number of Polish frontier workers is employed in East Germany and in 1967 the Democratic Republic attempted to recruit 1,500 Polish women for work in the border region (Böhning 1974:20). There were some special cases of limited labor migration from socialist countries (e.g., Poland, Rumania) into the Federal Republic of Germany as well (Böhning 1974:21).

No discussion of migration into Germany can be complete without mention of the large numbers of repatriated Germans, primarily from the former eastern territories. Today, since returning German descendants have immediate claim to German citizenship, they are excluded from the foreign labor question. Yet, in the pre-World War II period, these same populations did not normally possess German citizenship and thus

were classified as aliens in the official records. Accordingly, when modern writers estimate past immigration volumes into Germany, they forget that unusually large numbers of the so-called aliens were actually Reichsdeutsche, Germans abroad who were ethnically German but foreign by birth and nationality. Prior to the First World War, about one-thirteenth of the total immigrants were German; during the war, their number rose to one-fifth; by 1920, that number had reached three-tenths, and by 1925 comprised two-thirds of the total immigration volume (International Labor Review 1922:312-313). Commenting on the 1925 foreign worker population, Bergdörfer (1931:389) took note of the German speaking immigrants:

> ... the majority of aliens residing in Germany are "foreigners" only as regards their citizenship. Two-thirds of these are so-called "outlanders" - roughly 700,000 out of the 900,000 have German as their mother tongue and thus are included within the German speaking peoples; but they are not German in citizenship or inheritance.

From 1945 until 1950, over 9.5 million German expellees and refugees entered West Germany (Schechtmen 1962:298). In fact, some economists (e.g., Kindleberger 1967:28-36) have noted that the drying up of this labor reserve in the early 1950s brought German industrialists and government officials to cast their net into the Mediterranean region for new sources of manpower. Although the repatriated Germans were legally German citizens, competition over scarce resources, such as housing and jobs, and cultural differences brought about an intergroup hostility between the resident German population and the newcomers similar in countless ways to the pattern of intergroup relations which exists today between Mediterranean migrants and German nationals.

Due to the immensity and complexity of the subject, it is little wonder that students of intra-European migration have stressed the diversity of historical situations while shying away from seeking comparative generalizations. Nevertheless, a number of commonalities which cross-cut the enormous range of historical vagaries can be discovered. The basic theme, moreover, is established: the inward flow of labor from Europe's labor surplus periphery toward the urban-industrial heartland is a process as old as European industrialism. This regional structural tie has maintained a century-old continuity threatened only by extreme economic depression. Generally speaking, the labor importing nations turn to extra-national labor reserves when their own internal reserves have been fully employed, In essence, therefore, the alien immigrant comes to Germany to accept a job abandoned by a German national; the job is by definition a low-status one. Furthermore, the receiving nation maintains spigot control over the alien population; the workers can be expelled almost at will. Since the workers' situation is perceived as temporary by all parties, including the migrants, few permanent provisions are made and necessary living concessions are brought about grudgingly and without long-term planning. Because the migrant enters at the lowest rungs on the occupational ladder, his entire lifestyle will tend to reflect this socio-economic position. Regardless of ethnic origins, all groups face similar adaptive problems due to their position in German society. Past descriptions of migrant social conditions and adaptations are amazingly reminiscent of today's patterns. Across one hundred years of migrant labor in Germany, one finds ethnic enclaves

housed in run-down sectors of industrial towns or makeshift wooden barracks. In foreign worker concentration areas, whether past or present, one finds similar scenes and events: foreign bars, cafes, social centers, migrant newspapers, cultural festivities, and language courses. Also, discrimination, ethnic conflict, and cultural misunderstanding can be seen as recurring results growing out of contact between Germans and migrants across the decades. Although such a task is neither possible nor feasible for the purposes of the present investigation, an in-depth historical examination of these and other facets of immigration into Germany is sorely needed for a proper understanding of European labor migrations.

NOTES

1 In post-war Germany, much has been made of reputed linguistic shifts from the use of Fremdarbeiter (alien worker) to Gastarbeiter (guest worker). According to some writers (Fietkau 1972; Schoenback 1970; Uhlig 1974), this shift symbolizes the guilt feelings held by modern Germans because of their nation's treatment of foreign workers in the past. One sociologist (Schoenbach 1970) even wrote a major psycholinguistic work based on the assumption that the term "guest worker" is a post-war development. During my research, however, I discovered that as early as July 1943, Hitler's plenipotentiary of labor, Fritz Sauckel, had officially described foreign workers as "guest workers" (see Fried 1945:197 and an exerpt from a leading editorial in the Frankfurter Zeitung of July 29, 1943). Already in 1942, a foreign correspondent related the term Arbeitsgäste (work guests) in his report (Fried 1945:195).

2 For example, Robert Stengl (1974), in Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (German Television, Channel II), produced a special documentary report on the Yugoslav village of Arzano. In the village today, grandfather, father, and sons of many families have all made separate trips, in different decades, to work in German factories.

CHAPTER III

CONTEMPORARY MEDITERRANEAN LABOR MIGRATIONS TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

1. Introduction

Although massive transnational population transfers have long affected the European social order, ethnologists interested in the Continent have rarely considered migration as a crucial variable in their research. This neglect is difficult to justify given the staggering volumes of past and present cross-national European movements. In addition to the overseas and intra-Continental migrations of the pre-World War II period, more than thirty million inhabitants of Europe were displaced from their own nations during the Second World War and in the subsequent decade (1945-1955), the same fate affected an additional twenty million persons (Schechtman, 1962:362; International Labor Office, 1945:ii). Following reconstruction and economic recovery, the labor demands of northwestern Europe again opened the way for renewed labor migrations so that by the early 1970s an estimated ten million foreign workers and dependents were living in the industrial nations of Europe.[1] The special relevance of the present labor movements for the ethnography of Europe lies in the fact that the vast majority of migrants originate from Mediterranean regions which have been traditional centers of anthropological

activity.

Overwhelmingly, the key analytical unit in the social anthropology of Europe has been the village. Despite a growing concern with the macro-processes of national and regional modernization, the mechanisms fostering the expansion of village networks is often relegated to a kind of "village and the outside world" parenthetical afterthought. Yet, as European villages are rapidly drawn into regional, national, and supranational economic and social activity, anthropologists will find it increasingly difficult to ignore the powerful socio-economic forces impinging upon and originating outside of the village.

Undoubtedly, one of the most tangible ways in which rural populations become linked to the broader social sphere is through migration: the actual bodily movement of individuals and families, either permanently or temporarily, into new geographical regions and social interactional contexts. This spatial movement generally involves far more than a simple double-ended adjustment for the sending and receiving societies; migration also sets in motion a series of complex and interrelated linking and feedback processes in which the migrants themselves become active agents in the alteration of village life. Through periodic or permanent return, letters, remittances, and their role in chain migration, the migrants feed into the village new aspirations, attitudes, knowledge of outside opportunities, and the material products of industrial society. While migration is only one social process among many involved in modernization and urbanization, it remains a crucial one and most certainly a phenomenon, particularly in the case of Europe which deserves careful anthropological scrutiny.

Although intra-European migration today does not match the sheer volume of movements within nations, the cross-national pattern is closely related to domestic migration and in many ways contains more significant social and economic consequences for the Continent as a whole. Strictly speaking, however, the movement of Mediterranean peoples to Europe north of the Alps is often an extension of preceding chain and step migrations from rural to urban areas within specific nations and should not be thought of as a totally distinct phenomenon.

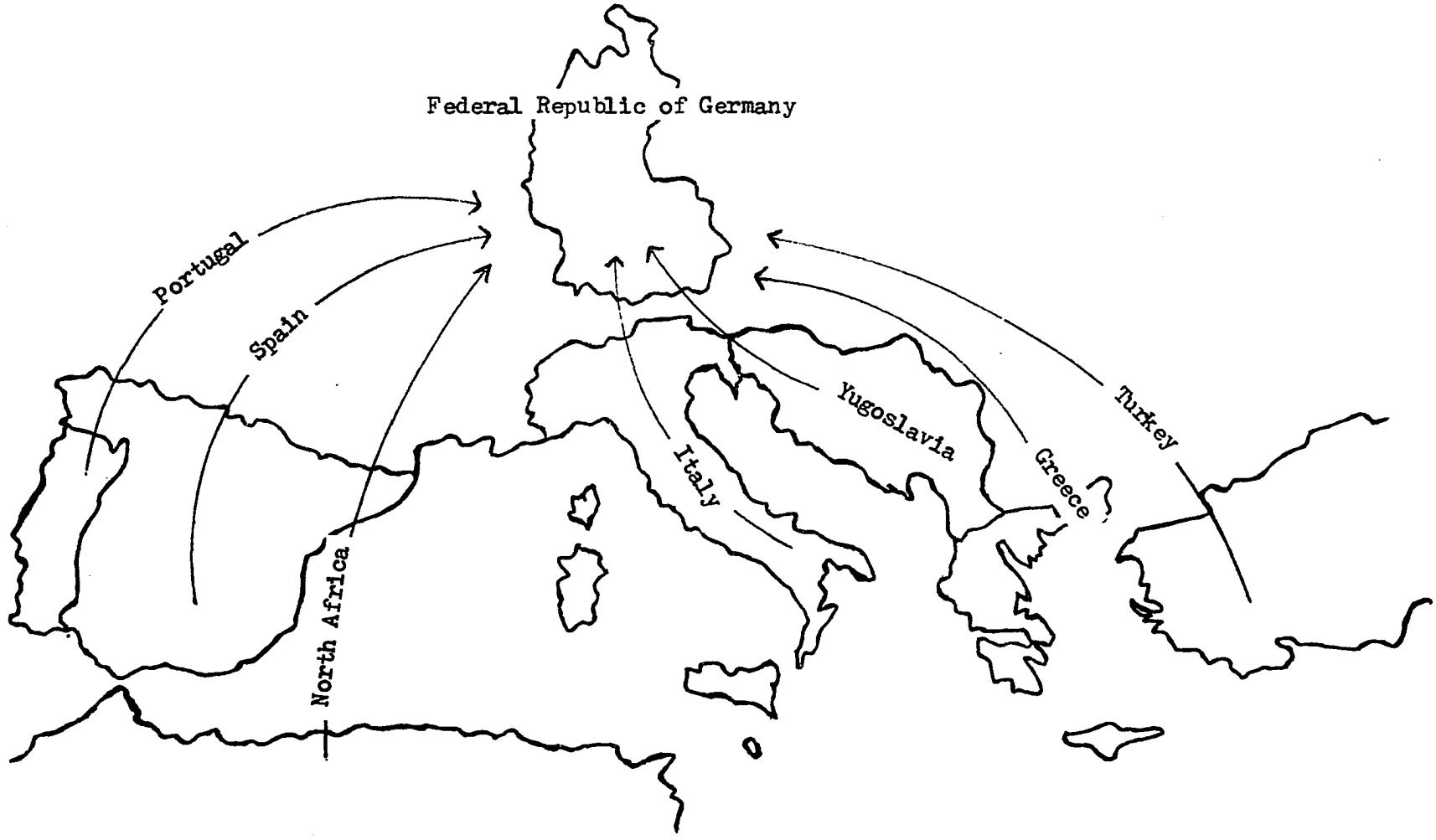
This chapter aims to survey in cursory fashion the dynamics and characteristics of recent intra-European movements from Mediterranean regions to West Germany. Limitations on time, space, and expertise necessitate omitting description of the mass of bilateral and multilateral agreements, treaties, laws, and regulations which officially govern the movements. Also, much of the now vast literature dealing with the macro- and micro-economic intricacies of labor utilization will not be considered here. Furthermore, given the multitude of migratory cross-currents flowing from Mediterranean Europe and Africa toward northwestern Europe, the following analysis will be restricted to the various flows into West Germany, although, broadly speaking, the migratory patterns are strikingly similar whatever the origin or destination of the migrants. Special emphasis will be placed on the cases of Spain and Turkey for purposes of illustration. Finally, instead of reiterating the chronological background of the development of the movements and descriptively listing the characteristics of the migrants, this chapter will concentrate on the systemic and dynamic nature of the general migratory system. This approach seems most appropriate for the purposes of this study,

both in terms of the anthropology of migration and the general intra-European literature since there has hitherto been a tendency to neglect the factor of time and the interplay between segments of the overall migration field.

2. Economic and Socio-Demographic Conditions in the Federal Republic of Germany

The most recent demand for foreign labor by German employers began over two decades ago and is a direct outgrowth of a constellation of interwoven economic, social, and demographic factors. The West German economic recovery after 1948 was so rapid that the millions of German refugees and expellees from eastern Europe and the German Democratic Republic were quickly absorbed into the labor force. By the mid-1950s, manpower shortages in certain unskilled occupations appeared and workers from neighboring countries and Italy were attracted into Germany. These labor shortages which continued to become increasingly acute as the Wirtschaftswunder (economic miracle) intensified, were due in part to demographic forces which originated during the war and subsequently served to slow down the domestic labor supply while simultaneously increasing, over time, the dependent, inactive population. By 1969, Germany's birthrate had dipped below reproductive levels (Böhning 1972:103). Although these demographic trends and the removal of large numbers of young German males from the labor force through build-up of the German Bundeswehr strongly affected Germany's labor shortages, it was the effect on the German working population brought about by unparalleled economic prosperity which ultimately set the stage for the importation of foreign workers. Under conditions of rising standards of living and

PRINCIPAL MIGRATORY FLOWS TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY



increasing opportunities for vertical mobility, the German laboring classes underwent a relatively rapid transformation in aspirations. This change was a product of and occurred simultaneously with the movement of Germany, under conditions of increasing global trade, from an industrial to a post-industrial society (Böhning 1974:49-50).[2]

The German economy reached full employment by the late 1950s and concomitantly the working population found itself with increased salaries in the midst of unparalleled material affluence and expanding opportunities for advancement into higher wage and status positions. As a result of the changing conditions, German parents encouraged their children to extend their formal education or vacational training to prepare themselves for higher paying, more prestigious employment, a pattern which served to remove larger numbers of youths from the labor force for longer periods. Simultaneously, there emerged an aversion to socially undesirable, manual work, e.g., garbage hauling, assembly line work, construction, and an increased unwillingness to accept such employment even though the wages may in some cases equal those of more prestigious jobs. Thus, between 1961 and 1970, the number of Germans in the manual sector receded by nearly one million (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1972:8), while 600,000 male Germans and 500,000 females entered white collar jobs (Böhning 1972:61). Given these conditions which Germans began experiencing fully by the early 1960s, the sociologist W.R. Böhning (1974:50) has delineated two options available to a post-industrial society such as West Germany:

> Firstly, it could pursue a strongly reformist man-power policy by adapting its social job structure to post-industrial requirements, i.e. to pay a social or historic wage for undesirable jobs.

> Secondly, it could fill these jobs with foreign workers admitted not for settlement but for the specific purpose of filling the supposedly temporary gaps in the labor market.

Predictably, the paying of a revolutionary wage scale for undesirable low-status occupations was found neither feasible nor socially acceptable to the society at large. If an historic wage were payed, this might entail, for example, paying a street sweeper as much as or more than some white collar workers. Furthermore, under a liberal capitalist structure, employers (both government and private) argued persuasively that severe economic consequences could arise from equalizing the wage distribution by affecting domestic inflation, profit margins, productivity, balance of payments, and other economic trends. Understandably, then, employers received a sympathetic audience in policy-making circles. Foreign workers coming temporarily from low-wage nations, it was argued, would eagerly accept traditional German wages for low-status work and, during periods of economic recession, could easily be dismissed and expelled from the country. Future flows into Germany would be swiftly halted and existing contracts allowed to expire. By maintaining careful control over immigration, the public's fear of permanent foreign enclaves was partially lifted. Thus, the need for alien workers was propagandized and believed to be a temporary, expedient condition which would pass when and if economic growth slackened. The calculated plan and accompanying belief system of actively recruiting aliens who can be expelled as need arises was labelled the Konjunkturpuffer approach in Germany and has been opted for by most northwestern European labor-importing countries.[3]

A central belief of the Konjunkturpuffer ideology is that

foreign workers will be used only for a limited period of time after which Germany will return to "normal" economic conditions and total reliance on indigenous manpower. Despite a migratory movement now entering its third decade and still continuing, although at less pronounced rates of increase since 1973, the belief still persists that Germany will soon have no need for alien workers. What was unforeseen and is rarely admitted even today was that once the migratory influx reached massive volumes, the general economy and the job structure of the receiving country became wedded to the existence of the additional workers who spend large proportions of their salaries on German products and for living in Germany. Ultimately, the foreign worker populations become supported by an elaborate infrastructure, e.g., schools, businesses, social work agencies, governmental offices, etc., which, as integral parts of the German economy cannot be easily dismantled without severly affecting the well-being of the national economy. This process has been labelled "self-feeding" migration (Böhning 1972:54-71).

Today, the German economy and its future short-term real economic growth remain inextricably tied to the constant supply of labor from the countries of Mediterranean Europe. Although the actual volume of recruitment is carefully geared to specific economic needs in Germany, the immigration of millions of alien workers and their dependents has in turn affected the very make-up of the German economy rendering it increasingly difficult for the Konjunkturpuffer approach to operate as theoretically planned. Even the German working class, which feels most threatened by the presence of alien workers, enjoys fewer working hours per week, longer vacations, and the potential to send their children

on to advanced education. These are aspirations and luxuries not likely to be given up easily. Thus, through a variety of causes and unplanned consequences, Germany has steadily stepped up its import of Mediterran nean workers. In 1954, only 72,900 alien workers, mainly from neighboring countries and Italy, were employed but two decades later there were over 2.5 million foreign laborers, the vast majority stemming from southern Europe (see table 3.1). The presence of these workers, along with 1.8 million dependents, turned Germany within two decades into a polyglot nation characterized by a large alien lower class population inhabiting ethnic enclaves throughout the industrial regions and in larger cities. As with any mass invasion of voluntary foreign migrants into a nation, the problems of housing shortage, language difficulties, educational deficiencies, and prejudice and discrimination arising from a sudden strain on a slowly expanding infrastructure became national "social problems" of eminent concern.

3. The Migratory Process

Although the "guest workers," as the migrants are euphemistically called in Germany, are often thought of by Germans as a homogeneous block of Südländer (southern Europeans), they in fact originated and were recruited from vastly diverse regions stretching from Portugal along both shores of the Mediterranean to Turkey. Furthermore, the various labor exporting countries entered into bilateral agreements with Germany in different years, thus setting in motion differential migration streams with each level of any particular stream characterized by its own unique socio-demographic composition. Given the multiplicity of external migratory flows and simultaneous backward flows existing between Germany and

TABLE 3.1

FOREIGN WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Year*	Total numbers	in %**	Nationalities						Other*** Countries
			Italian	Spanish	Greek	Turk	Portugese	Yugoslav	
1954	72,900	0.4	6,500	400	500	-	-	1,800	63,700
1955	79,600	0.4	7,500	500	600	-	-	2,100	68,900
1956	98,800	0.5	18,600	700	1,000	-	-	2,300	76,200
1957	108,200	0.5	19,100	1,000	1,800	-	-	2,800	83,500
1958	136,300	0.6	31,500	1,500	2,900	-	-	4,900	91,500
1959	166,800	0.8	48,800	2,200	4,100	-	-	7,300	104,400
1960	279,400	1.3	121,700	9,500	13,000	2,500	-	8,800	123,550
1961	548,900	2.5	224,600	61,800	52,300	-	-	-	208,700
1962	711,500	3.2	276,800	94,000	80,700	18,600	-	23,600	213,600
1963	828,700	3.7	287,000	119,600	116,900	33,000	-	-	266,800
1964	985,600	4.4	296,900	151,100	154,800	85,200	4,600	53,000	232,200
1965	1,216,800	5.7	372,300	182,800	187,200	132,800	14,000	64,000	254,200
1966	1,313,500	6.1	391,300	178,200	194,600	161,200	21,100	96,600	261,600
1967	991,300	4.7	266,800	118,000	140,300	131,300	17,800	95,700	214,800
1968	1,089,900	5.2	304,000	116,000	145,000	153,000	20,000	119,000	226,000
1969	1,501,400	7.0	349,000	143,100	191,200	244,300	29,500	265,000	279,300
1970	1,949,000	9.1	381,800	171,700	242,200	353,900	44,800	423,300	315,900
1971	2,240,800	10.3	408,000	186,600	268,600	453,100	58,400	478,300	365,600
1972	2,352,400	10.8	426,400	184,200	270,100	511,100	66,000	475,000	393,600
1973	2,595,000	11.9	450,000	190,000	250,000	605,000	85,000	535,000	480,000

*The annual census date from 1954 to 1960 is July 31; from 1961 to 1973 it is Sept. 30.
**Percentage of foreign workers in total labor force.
*** Moroccans and Tunesians have been omitted although their numbers are included in the "total" column. For the most part, Germany's neighbors comprise the "other countries."

Source: Der Bundesminister für Arbeit und Socialordnung -II c i - Bonn, 1974.

the various southern European and north African countries, the phenomenon is extremely difficult to unravel empirically since it is necessary to disentagle a series of parallel and interacting processes which constantly fluctuates in terms of internal structure. Yet, any analysis of intra-European migration which does not consider that the various nationalities and individual migrants are embedded in overlapping but disparate migratory streams is surely bound to a static and oversimplistic interpretation (e.g., Borris 1974; Castles and Kosack 1973; Descloitres 1967a; Rose 1969). In this section, a brief attempt will be made to construct a general framework through which to view the dynamics of migration streams between Germany and Mediterranean lands.[4] As with any overview, there will be individual cases which deviate from the general patterns; hence, the model should be considered as an ideal-typical formulation.

For any given sending country, assisted migration--the type chosen by most migrants today--is initiated when the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (German Federal Labor Office) establishes recruitment offices which work in conjunction with local and national emigration agencies and begins sending out information by various forms of media to potential migrants. The recruiting officers receive specific manpower requests from German employers along with detailed information of work conditions, wages, location of firm or work, benefits, and other details about the jobs in question. Workers fitting the precise specifications in terms of qualifications and age are sought through various methods (e.g., active recruiting in technical and professional schools, radio, newspapers, special announcements). Those applicants who qualify are

then medically examined and given a background check to make sure there is no record of criminal activity. Upon passing this stage, the future migrants will be informed, "theoretically" at least, about life in Germany as regards customs, living conditions, housing, and potential problems involved in cross-cultural living. Following this, those who still wish to emigrate sign a one year contract and will be sent to Germany, generally on specially arranged transportation. Ideally, the worker will fully understand the conditions outlined in the contract and the nature of his future job, but often a degree of misunderstanding becomes evident when the migrant arrives in Germany.

Assisted migration--the form just described--is chosen by the vast majority of the migrants. Large contingents also come unassisted by a variety of legal means, particularly in the early stages of recruitment or as chain and family migration develops, and illegal methods (see table 3.2 for percentage breakdown of legal assisted and unassisted entrees). With the exception of Italy which now enjoys free labor movement to Germany by virtue of membership in the European Economic Community, all countries have increased in proportion of assisted migrants, so that by 1971 more than 75 per cent of the migrants came by way of the recruitment system (see table 3.2). The change reflects in part the thorough coverage by the German recruitment agencies through time and an increasing reaching out to hinterland areas where potential migrants find the assisted migration method more secure in terms of minimizing risks. Those who enter without a contract often come under a tourist visa joining family members or friends already in Germany and then secure a work permit through formal channels. In addition to local

TABLE 3.2

DEGREE OF MEDIATION OF GERMAN RECRUITING OFFICES ABROAD
1961 - 1971

Country	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Italy											
total number	165,793	165,250	134,912	142,120	204,288	165,540	58,510	130,236	136,225	168,300	158,725
mediated	107,030	76,732	31,784	26,537	26,579	13,469	3,985	10,470	10,206	7,367	4,327
degree of mediation (%)	64.6	46.4	23.6	18.7	13.0	8.1	6.8	8.0	7.5	4.4	2.7
Greece											
total number	36,606	47,559	58,009	65,130	61,822	39,742	7,605	37,248	65,126	64,026	42,000
mediated	21,149	31,935	40,598	40,657	33,287	26,904	1,949	224,289	51,234	49,790	30,312
degree of mediation (%)	57.8	67.1	70.0	62.4	53.8	67.7	25.6	65.2	78.7	77.8	72.2
Spain											
total number	51,183	54,958	51,715	65,872	65,146	38,634	7,785	31,995	50,086	48,836	37,530
mediated	27,099	36,287	35,265	44,880	40,505	26,449	3,257	23,220	41,932	40,552	29,448
degree of mediation (%)	52.9	66.0	68.2	68.1	62.2	68.5	41.8	72.6	83.7	83.0	78.5
Turkey											
total number	7,116	15,269	27,910	62,879	59,816	43,449	14,834	62,376	121,529	123,626	112,144
mediated	1,207	11,024	23,436	54,918	45,553	32,516	7,233	41,450	98,142	95,685	63,777
degree of mediation (%)	30.8	72.2	84.0	87.3	76,2	74.8	48.8	66.5	80.8	77.4	78.5
Portugal											
total number	913	1,013	1,545	3,904	11,140	9,185	1,782	6,709	13,237	20,119	17,946
mediated	--	--	--	1,802	8,219	7,335	825	4,691	11,383	18,151	15,494
degree of mediation (%)	--	--	--	58.4	73.8	79.9	46.3	69.9	86.0	90.2	86.3
Yugoslavia											
total number	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	192,232	202,360	113,333
mediated	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	67,752	106,413	73,492
degree of mediation (%)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	37.3	52.6	64.8

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (1972:92)

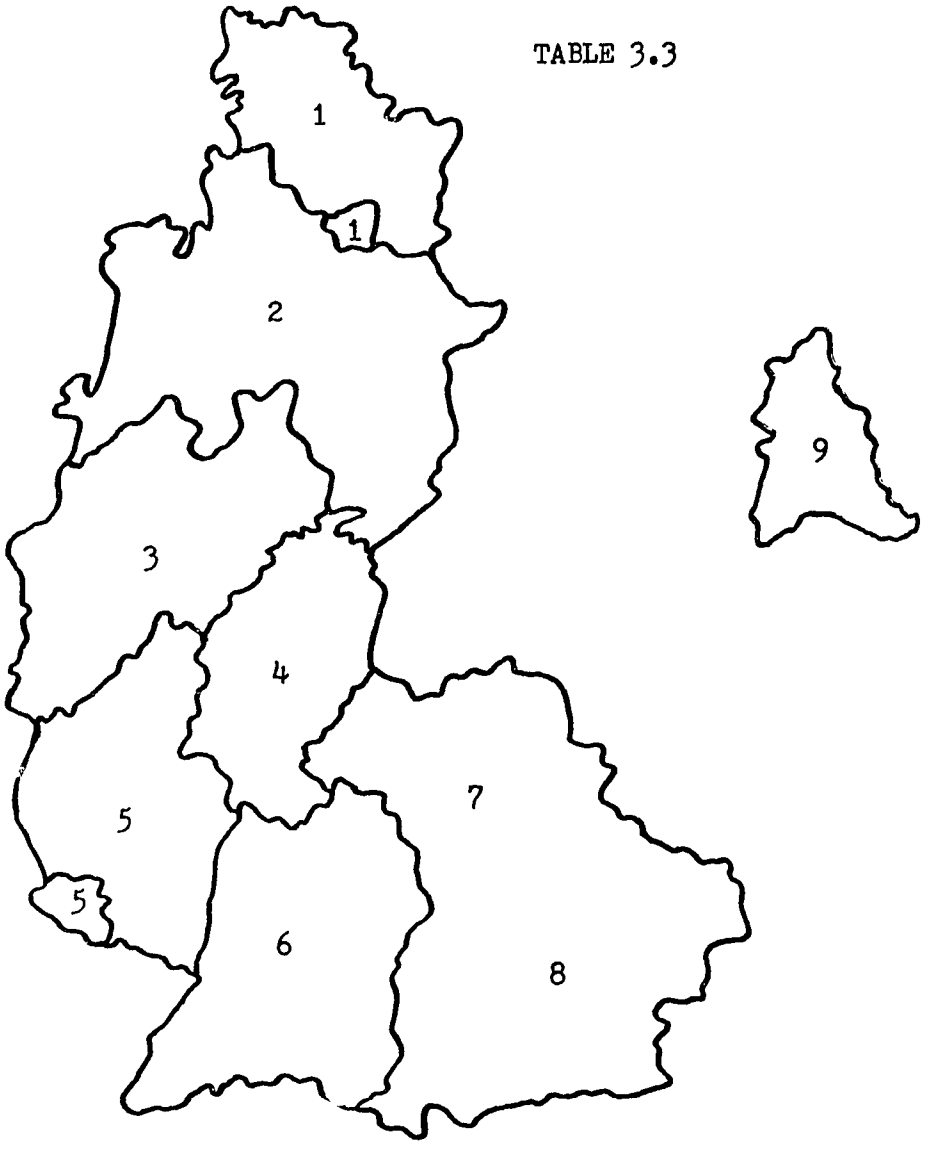
unassisted migration, surprisingly large numbers enter illegally, often smuggled in by various means, and find work negotiated through German or foreign Sklavenhändler (slave handlers) in the most undesirable jobs and living under miserable conditions. The exact volume of illegal migrants is obviously not known but estimates have been made that at least 15 per cent of all foreign workers never obtain residence and work permits (Castles and Kosack 1973:42).

Although guest workers are scattered throughout West Germany and originate from widely scattered regions in their home countries, the heaviest flows are between specific sending regions to the most industrialized areas and cities of Germany. Regional selectivity in the sending countries is due to a variety of factors such as proximity to urban-industrial centers, e.g., Barcelona or Madrid in the case of Spain, and the explicit policy of emigration authorities who channel German recruitment into particular areas (see Gutierrez 1974 for a regional economic analysis of Spanish assisted migration). The regulation of regional outflows are carried out within regional and national economic development objectives. Often, however, there is a step migration process in which rural migrants move first to larger towns or cities thereby gaining industrial employment, credentials which will allow them to secure work abroad. Moreover, not all Mediterranean regions sending migrants share the same characteristics. The cases of Spain and Turkey highlight such variation: Spanish emigration tends to flow from regions with past traditions of migration, low per capita income, and large populations employed in agriculture while external Turkish migrants tend to come from the three most urbanized industrial provinces (i.e. Istanbul, Ankara,

and Izmir), and from towns and provincial capitals (Gutierrez 1974:60; Kolars 1970:263). Within Germany, over 50 per cent of the workers are concentrated in Nordrhein-Westfalen (28.9 per cent) and Baden-Württemberg (24.3 per cent). Three German cities contain over 100,000 foreign workers (Munich 156,928; Stuttgart 130,163; and Frankfurt 122,253), a figure which constitutes almost one-fourth of the employed in each case (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1972:18-21; see map and statistical data in table 3.3).

As previously noted, the movement of Mediterranean populations into European society north of the Alps is not a unidirectional process of departing from one society and settling in another. In fact, contemporary intra-European migration is highly cyclical in nature and characterized by a multitude of informational "feedbacks" between the migrants abroad and those left at home, many of the latter being potential future migrants. Even though migrants may spend many years in Germany they remain in constant communication through regular home visits, remittances, letters, and serving as links in the important process of chain migration. The interplay between the migrant social order abroad and the migrant sending community is one of constantly fluctuating connections and needs to be elucidated if the overall migratory process is to be clearly understood. Although the experience of any single migrant or his family is obviously unique, general tendencies in the maturation of mass migration flows and system interdependencies can be phrased in ideal-typical terms (see chapter IV for a micro-analysis of a migrant community in a specific German industrial town). The key concepts which will be utilized here for understanding the dynamics and systemic nature

TABLE 3.3



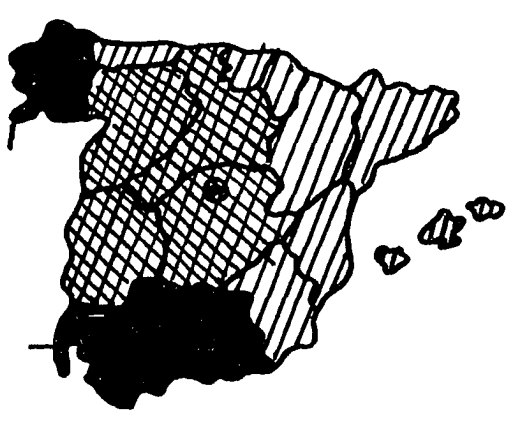
Regional distribution of foreign employees from recruitment countries (men and women), census date 9/30/71 (in %).

	Ital.	Greek	Span.	Turk	Port.	Yugosl.
1 Schleswig-Holstein/Hamburg	1.7	3.0	4.3	5.5	11.2	3.8
2 Niedersachsen/Bremen	5.5	5.9	12.6	8.2	8.5	5.5
3 Nordrhein-Westfalen	25.6	34.1	33.9	28.7	42.0	20.0
4 Hessen	12.7	9.4	19.8	10.7	11.9	12.2
5 Rheinland-Pfalz/Saarland	6.1	2.3	3.4	3.9	4.2	3.2
6 Baden-Württemberg	34.8	25.2	17.4	19.4	17.7	32.1
7 Nordbayern	3.8	7.6	4.4	6.4	1.9	4.8
8 Südbayern	9.0	10.4	3.5	10.1	2.1	14.3
9 Berlin (West)	0.8	2.1	0.7	7.1	0.5	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: adapted from Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1971:15

TABLE 3.4

REGIONAL ORIGIN OF MEDIATED SPANISH EMPLOYEES (1973)



to 1,000 migrants

1,000 to 2,500*

6,800 to 9,600

Office of German Commission

Mediated Spanish Employees According to Regions in Absolute Numbers and Percent

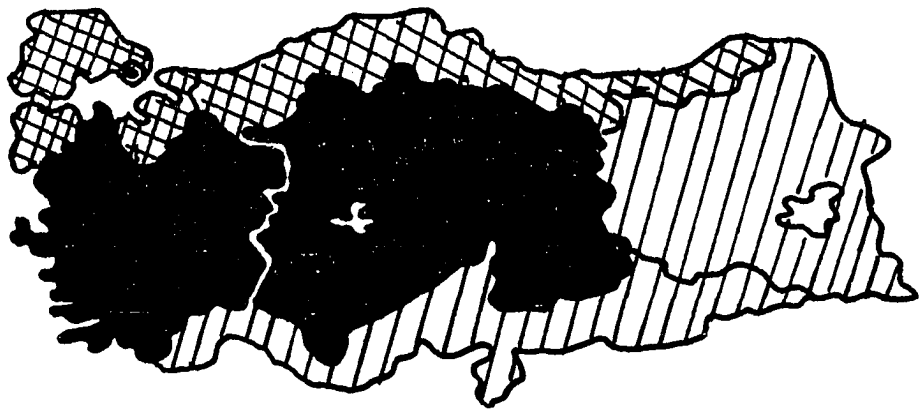
	1973		1971		1969		1967	
W/NW Spain	9,902	36.3	11,012	37.4	13,269	31.6	2,050	62.9
E/NE Spain	1,818	6.7	2,720	9.2	3,963	9.5	207	6.4
Madrid	1,722	6.3	2,026	6.9	2,010	4.8	136	4.2
S Spain	13,542	49.6	13,470	45.7	21,995	52.4	850	26.1
Span. Isles	276	1.0	195	0.7	212	0.5	13	0.4
Ceuta and Melilla	19	0.1	25	0.1	483	1.2	1	0.0
Total	27,279	100.0	29,448	100.0	41,932	100.0	3,257	100.0

* 2,500 to 6,800 does not occur

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit. Adapted from 1969:28 and 1972/73:47

TABLE 3.5

REGIONAL ORIGIN OF MEDIATED TURKISH EMPLOYEES (1973)





Office of German Commission | to 10,000 | 10,000 to 20,000 | 20,000 to 27,000

Mediated Turkish Employees According to Regions in Absolute Numbers and Percent

	1973		1971		1969		1967	
Istanbul/ Thrace	18,301	18.0	14,278	22.4	19,949	20.3	3,154	43.6
Ankara and Central T.	26,892	26.5	14,793	23.2	23,384	23.8	1,156	16.0
N Turkey	14,602	14.4	8,821	13.8	15,790	16.1	782	10.8
W Turkey	23,888	23.6	15,938	25.0	23,382	23.8	798	11.0
E Turkey	8,158	8.0	4,971	7.8	7,797	8.0	722	10.0
S Turkey	9,585	9.5	4,976	7.8	7,840	8.0	621	8.6
Total	101,426	100.0	63,777	100.0	98,142	100.0	7,233	100.0

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit. Adapted from 1969:28/29 and 1972/73:48/49

of movements northward are chain migration, step migration, migration stream maturation, and information flows.

Given the fact that the German recruitment commissions are located in larger cities and because of communication channels, information about employment possibilities in Germany first spreads through the more industrialized and urban regions of the sending countries. Böhning (1974:62) observed that the earliest migrants tended to be young, male, and single. These pioneer migrants were able to venture abroad first as "high risk individuals." They paved the way for later migrants and channeled back into their own society information about the greater wage possibilities. Almost immediately, intra-European migration intersected with internal step migration, and the larger cities of the sending nations, being recipients of internal rural to urban flow, became launching points for moves to the north. As information about jobs in Germany disseminated through the industrial areas, the migration stream picked up more workers. Again predominantly male, more tended to be married at this point, undertaking the move abroad, however, without their families. Since the married migrants were on the average older than single men, the migration stream "aged" slightly. By this point, return migration had become a significant information force as more and more workers returned from Germany, either permanently or on vacation. Bartels (1968:313-324), in a study of the diffusion of knowledge concerning life abroad, noted that only about eight to ten per cent of workers from Izmir were influenced by public sources of information and that the most influential source was the returning migrant. Akre (1974:18-19), in a report on the emigration impact on a Turkish village,

illustrated the "romanticization of life abroad" approach taken by returning workers:

> Migrants returning home, either on temporary leave, or, less often, on a final basis, would invariably make highly visible displays of their new found status and property. Conspicious consumption seemed to revolve around a fascination with a wide variety of gadgetry, and returning workers were certain to bring back with them at least the legal limit of such consumer goods not available in Turkey. A returning worker, in spite of often very unsuitable weather conditions in the village (mud, rain, etc.) would never be seen without his "uniform" - the latest in western style suit, shoes, hat, etc.

In the spring of 1972, I also observed a similar glorification in working class cafes and bars in Spain. To my surprise, after having heard the complaints of Spanish migrants about living conditions in Germany, I discovered a tendency among the returnees to romanticize their former life abroad. Through such exposure, hesitant workers then entertained the possibility of making application for employment in a northern European country. Subsequently, word spread rapidly into hinterland areas and once again, in new recruitment districts, "pioneer" single workers sought to emigrate, followed, in turn, by those who at first displayed reluctance. It should be remembered, however, that migration to Germany does not generally take place directly but follows a move through chain migration to a larger town or city where industrial experience is acquired.

Although the vast majority of migrants originally aspires to work in Germany for a relatively short time period, they soon discover that a set of factors (e.g., the cost of living abroad, expense of supporting a dual household in the case of married workers, changing patterns of consumption, etc.) mitigate against their short term goal of acquiring a personal pool of savings to be set aside for a variety of pur-

poses upon their return home. Many migrants, therefore, extend their stay in Germany. Increasingly, married male workers send for their wives who can also secure work abroad and thus add to the family's income. Frequently, the children are brought along if they cannot be left at home with the grandparents or other family members. At this juncture, the sex and age composition of the migratory stream begins to change in favor of greater numbers of women and children under sixteen yaars of age. Since it is difficult to house families in the barrack structures erected for single workers near the factories, and because of the migrant children, additional pressure is placed upon the German housing, medical, and educational infrastructure. The migrants' rising level of expectations and changing consumption patterns render it increasingly difficult for them to return home where their standard of living will be drastically reduced. Thus, there is a tendency to extend the stay in Germany. Through steady maturation of the migration stream with more family members migrating to Germany, the alien population of the country grows substantially. Given a foreign migrant population of over four million concentrated predominantly in the industrial cities and town of Germany, ethnic enclaves appear. The migrants of common nationality and regional origins tend to group together in the older sections of towns and cities and an elaborate infrastructure (e.g., cafes, bars, social clubs, religious centers, travel agencies, import stores), normally managed by fellow nationals, emerges to cater to the migrants' needs. For each nationality, the evolution of the migration stream follows its own path, and at any given time in Germany, before all streams have completely matured, the various migrant

communities will reflect different compositions and adaptive responses. Before discussing in more detail the nature of migrant communities, however, some consideration needs to be given to the pre-migration characteristics of the migrants themselves and of the larger population from which they are drawn.

4. The Characteristics of the Migrants: A Reconsideration of their Pre-Migration Backgrounds

Contemporary intra-European migration can be viewed in general as a process of Continental wage and labor exchange between regions of differential economic development. In terms of aggregate statistical indicators, it is known that the modern migrants originate from Mediterranean regions which, in comparison to European industrial "heartland" areas, are characterized by high unemployment, low standards of living and per capita incomes, high rates of natural population increase, low educational levels, and heavy employment in the primary sector. Generally speaking, the migrant sending regions tend to be among the most underdeveloped and economically depressed areas of the Mediterranean nations.

Reasoning from these macro-characteristics, both scholarly and popular writers have arrived at an archetypical description of the average migrant to northwestern Europe (e.g., Bright 1972:12-15; Castles and Kosack 1973:45-48; Descloitres 1967a:50-52). In a representative characterization of the migrants, Castles and Kosack (1973:46), in their influential work Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, assert:

> The immigrant worker, coming to Western Europe for the first time, may never have seen a factory before let alone have worked in one. He has probably lived all his life in a peasant community, using traditional production methods and pre-industrial technology. The hours and rhythms of work have been determined by the seasons and by the natural needs of plants and animals. The discipline and strict time-keeping required by industrial work therefore require a painful change in the habits of the immigrant. Urban life, too, can prove difficult and confusing.

Leaving aside the authors' obvious lack of knowledge concerning agrarian ecology in contemporary Mediterranean communities, they provide us with a succinct summary of a widespread scholarly view of the intra-European migrant. In short, he is portrayed as a classic peasant: unskilled, uneducated, impoverished, tradition-bound, and hopelessly ignorant of industrial-urban life. The "peasants," as they are often labelled, are reluctant to "leave (their) home town and go to far-away places" (Neyzi 1967:226), but when they do it is a process of being "brutally transplanted into an urban economy unprepared and virtually uneducated" (Descloitres 1967b:7). Castles and Kosack (1973:93) depict the migrants as arriving in "Western Europe from rural areas in backward non-industrial countries. They have little or no basic education and have never worked in industry or any modern type of undertaking in the services sector." As a sociological entity, immigrants are often viewed homogeneously, distinguished only by nationality and language, sharing common deprived backgrounds of being pushed from the deplorable conditions of the only life they have known--that of the backward, Mediterranean village.

Armed with similar stereotypes garnered from the intra-European literature, I began fieldwork in 1971 only to swiftly discover that the migrants I encountered rarely fulfilled their "peasant" qualities.

My immediate reaction was to rationalize away my own best judgements: surely the immigrants had already undergone intense resocialization in Germany; or they tended to overstate their pre-migration background and skills; or the particular workers I encountered were non-representative of Mediterranean migrants in general. Any doubts I periodically entertained about the backgrounds of the migrants were immediately dispelled through interviews with Germans of all social classes and political orientations. Employers, bureaucrates, laborers, and even housewives were quick to point out that guest workers at least had work in Germany whereas at home they had none. Thanks to opportunities in Germany, they could become skilled and trained workers; indeed, immigration was seen as a form of developmental aid offered by Germany to less advanced southern European countries. Even critics of the employers' use of foreigners, particularly Marxist-oriented students, charged that the phenomenon represented a classic case of the exploitation of the "reserve armies of the unemployed" impoverished peasantry (see Castles and Kosack 1973, for a neo-Marxist interpretation). Whatever his political hue or socio-economic position in society, the northwestern European's cognitive model of the migrant tended to be the same: the migrant represented the very epitome of the backward conditions of southern Europe.

As I will attempt to demonstrate below, these conclusions are grossly oversimplified and in many respects fundamentally inaccurate. Although a small segment of the migrants comes from the lowest rungs of the Mediterranean socio-economic ladder, and this percentage varies from country to country, from region to region, and over time, intra-European migration in fact represents a kind of "working class brain drain."

For the most part, the migrants comprise a higher skilled, better educated and financially secure portion of the larger population out of which they are drawn. Voluntary migration is always selective, and given the specific demands of German employers and the control by home country emigration authorities, contemporary intra-European industrial migration is more selective than most cases of migration.

While it is no doubt presumptuous to question the latent assumptions of others, it might be speculated that the northwestern European cognitive view of the migrants is more a matter of ethnocentric, wishful thinking and ideological justification than reality. German employers have convinced themselves that they are providing employment and industrial training to previously jobless, unskilled Mediterraneans. Critics of the Konjunkturpuffer approach, conversely, wish to highlight how industrialists exploit the innocent and downtrodden European peasantry. Intriguingly, such conclusions are based on no more than qualitative impressions despite the existence and availability of a large number of excellent non-interpretative statistical surveys.

Before condemning outright those who adhere to the above described misconceptions, I must admit that I also was frankly disappointed when the migrants did not fit my own "romantic" image of a "rustic" peasantry. Lest I be misunderstood, I am not arguing for the opposite extreme stereotype of a sophisticated, urbane, and highly skilled migrant but for a realization that intra-European migration is a selective process giving rise to a complex mixture of migrants, generally non-representative of the larger population at home, and embedded in constantly fluctuating stream compositions guided by a variety of restraints:

namely, the recruitment system, employers' demands, sending country emigration restrictions, information channels, to mention only a few. In short, the make-up of the migrant population does not correlate precisely with the characteristics of the general rural population in the sending region as is often assumed, and for the most part the migrants have, prior to emigration, obtained a degree of educational, skill, and occupational experience of the kind valued by industrial employers.

As was pointed out in the previous section of this chapter, the characteristics, motives, and sociological composition of migration streams alter through time. Such dynamics, therefore, make it extremely difficult to pinpoint accurately the internal nature of the migrating unit. Several coterminous migration flows at different levels of maturation can be in motion from a single labor exporting nation rendering it doubly hazardous to slice through at a given time period and generalize about the characteristics of the migrants. Nevertheless, by holding a constant eye on the general changes outlined in the above section, broad regularities can be described. Since general demographic characteristics of the migrants have already been mentioned (e.g., age and marital status), more stress will be placed here on a reconsideration of what appear to be unfounded scholarly beliefs concerning the skill levels, urban-industrial experience, and pre-migration economic and employment status of the migrants (see table 3.6 for age structures).[5]

Because of employers' demand and at times because of the emigration countries' policies, the "typical" migrant, whatever his or her position in the migratory stream, tends to be better educated, higher skilled, fully or partially socialized to urban-industrial living, and

TABLE 3.6

AGE STRUCTURE OF FOREIGN EMPLOYEES ACCORDING TO NATIONALITIES

Nation	below age 25		25 to below 30		30 to below 35		35 to below 40		40 to below 45		45 and over	
	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968
Italian	25	27	16	18	15	14	12	15	12	11	18	15
Greek	8	7	19	25	23	29	24	21	14	11	11	7
Spanish	12	11	19	15	16	23	20	24	16	16	16	11
Portugese	4	--	18	--	27	--	22	--	16	--	12	--
Turk	9	7	21	29	33	31	22	18	10	11	4	4
Yugoslav	17	11	26	25	21	25	17	18	11	11	7	10
Other	22	--	21	--	17	--	14	--	7	--	18	--
Total	16	16	21	21	22	21	18	17	11	12	11	13

Nation	below age 25		25 to below 30		30 to below 35		35 to below 40		40 to below 45		45 and over	
	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968	1972	1968
Italian	38	36	16	20	12	15	10	11	11	--	12	--
Greek	25	30	23	24	21	20	16	15	10	8	--	--
Spanish	25	23	18	24	13	15	15	15	13	12	16	11
Portugese	27	--	26	--	20	--	12	--	9	--	--	--
Turk	32	32	24	23	20	18	12	17	7	--	--	--
Yugoslav	39	39	23	24	16	15	10	11	7	--	5	--
Other	30	--	25	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	32	32	22	23	17	15	12	12	8	9	8	9

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Repräsentativuntersuchung(1972:16)

economically better off than the general population from which they originate. To reiterate, this is not to say that they are true professionals but that they represent a kind of "cream of the crop" segment of those populations finding emigration a viable solution to their economic and social circumstances. To support this assertion, each of the above mentioned characteristics (education, skills, urban-industrial experience, and economic status) will be considered serially. The cases of Spain and Turkey will be utilized for purposes of illustration.

Scattered throughout the intra-European migration literature are references to the extremely low level of educational attainment by the migrants. Castles and Kosack (1973:47-48), in a typical expression, note:

> The majority of migrants come from the poorest classes. Their educational standards are therefore likely to be even lower than the national average for the countries concerned. Illiteracy is only part of the problem of general education which immigrants have. A large number of people count as literate although they are merely able to write their names.

While the educational level of the migrants is obviously lower than the average of northwestern European countries, their formal educational exposure as a group is much greater than realized and may even for some migrant nationalities (e.g., the Yugoslavs) approach that of German workers employed in the same manual occupations (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1972:28).

Intra-European migration is fundamentally a gravitation toward areas of higher wage levels even if the emigrants do not use their previously acquired skills. Yet, Descloitres (1967b:7), the foremost authority on migration adaptation in Europe, reversed the causal sequence in asserting: "The fact that these immigrants obtain only low paid jobs

in western Europe is a fairly true reflection of their lack of industrial training and poor quality of their basic knowledge." The reality of the matter is, however, that immigrants in western Europe obtain "low paid jobs"--which often pay three or four times as much as they receive in their home countries--simply because these are the jobs available to them and not necessarily because of their lack of industrial training or education. Another scholar, the American sociologist Arnold Rose (1969:122-123), has even attempted to develop a general index of migrant adjustability to northwestern European society based of national aggregate data on educational levels, illiteracy, and general economic development. His stated purpose was to develop a way to "measure the adjustability of emigrants" which he claims is a "fairly valid measure, even though the data for some of the components are not highly reliable." Reasoning from national statistics, he argues that "the prospects for the Turks are worst," because of Turkey's high illiteracy rates and economic underdevelopment.

A closer examination of the migrants' educational levels, however, reveals the selectivity biases in the migration process. Kolan (1973:53-55), for example, drawing on several surveys, points out the educational differences between the Turkish migrants and the total Turkish work force:

> On the whole, the migrant population is better educated than the working-age population remaining in Turkey. Nearly half the Turkish work force in 1970 was illiterate, compared with only about 5 percent of the migrants (most of whom are probably females). In addition to meeting age requirements, migrant workers must be literate, except women and certain workers requested by name by foreign employers.

Further supporting evidence comes from a survey by Aker (1972, cited in Kolan 1973:56), who claims in 1971 that 70.5 per cent of the Turkish

TABLE 3.7

FORMAL EDUCATION OF FOREIGN WORKERS OUTSIDE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

(in %)

Nationality	no schooling	4years	5years	6years	7years	8years	9years	10years and over	no statement
Men									
Italians	7	22	34	10	6	12	-	5	-
Greek	4	21	6	51	4	5	-	6	-
Spanish	6	24	8	12	10	23	6	10	-
Portugese	9	57	15	8		8		-	-
Turk	7	15	53	6	5	5	-	5	-
Yugoslav	-	20	6	11	7	35	-	17	-
Other	11	7			7	23	10	41	-
Total	6	19	22	13	6	17	3	13	1
Women									
Italian	-	30	38		12		12		-
Greek	7	23	7	51		6		5	-
Spanish	-	17	-	14	12	27	-	12	-
Portugese	11	67	10			11			-
Turk	18	17	40		11		7	-	-
Yugoslav	-	18	6	8	-	43	-	15	-
Other	-				30			55	-
Total	9	20	16	15	4	17	3	15	1

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (1972:28).

TABLE 3.8

DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE TURKISH LABOR FORCE AND WORKERS WHO MIGRATE, 1960-71
(in %)

	Turkish Labor Force				Migrant workers	
	1960	1965	1970	1960-70 (average)	1971	1967-71
Illiterate	72.3	52.6	45.1	56.7	4.7	5.6
Literate but did not graduate	--	12.9	10.0	11.5	--	23.0
Elementary	23.0	28.6	36.1	29.2	70.5	63.1
Junior high	2.1	2.3	3.2	2.5	5.6	3.4
High	0.8	1.0	1.6	1.1	1.7	0.8
Vocational	1.0	1.5	2.3	1.6	4.7	2.2
University	0.8	1.1	1.7	1.2	--	--
Unknown or undetermined	--	--	--	--	9.3	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.5	100.0

Source: Table and original sources cited in Kolan (1973:56)

migrants had at least completed elementary school compared to a 1970 figure of 36.1 per cent of the Turkish population at large (see table 3.8).

A more thorough breakdown of all migrant groupings is provided by a Bundesanstalt für Arbeit survey published in 1972 (see table 3.7). Variations between the various ethnic groups in Germany can be readily seen in the table: for example, only a small percentage of the Portugese migrants (8 per cent of the males and 11 per cent of the females) have completed more than eight years of schooling as compared, at the opposite extreme, to the Yugoslavs where 52 per cent of the men and 58 per cent of the women workers have completed eight years or more. Of special interest are the Spanish migrants, also thought to be poorly educated. According to the German survey, 39 per cent of both males and females have completed eight years of schooling or more and for both sex groups, at least 10 per cent attended school ten years or longer. While the table suggests considerable variation within each migrant category and overall the figures may not indicate an extraordinarily high level of education, they do point to a migrant population with educational attainment well above sending nation averages and, in all cases, there are extremely small numbers of migrants who have had no schooling (see table 3.9).[6]

As with educational levels, the skills of the workers are much more developed than generally believed. Interpretation of skill groupings is somewhat difficult given the variations in definition of skill categories and quality of occupational training from country to country. Additionally, several available surveys offer widely contradictory inter-

TABLE 3.9

FOREIGN EMPLOYEES WITH OCCUPATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

MEDIATED BY THE BUNDESANSTALT FUER ARBEIT

(in %)

Nationality	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965
Italian	19.4	45.7	36.1	29.9	27.1	24.2	39.2	44.5	36.9
Greek	15.5	13.6	10.9	5.2	2.4	4.7	8.4	15.9	8.7
Spanish	10.1	19.2	10.5	4.1	3.5	6.7	7.0	5.7	5.6
Portugese	33.1	31.0	23.0	14.9	13.1	10.3	16.1	11.5	17.0
Turk	29.7	30.3	46.3	34.0	28.2	26.4	32.8	31.2	34.8
Yugoslav	36.4	36.0	30.1	27.5	18.0	-	-	-	-
Tunesian	9.2	42.5	34.5	33.9	-	-	-	-	-
Moroccan	32.7	34.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	29.1	29.2	29.2	22.5	16.7	16.0	22.8	21.4	20.9

Source: adapted from Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (1969:32; 1971:40; 1972/73:59)

pretations and statistical findings on the degree of professional training attainded by the migrant groups. Because of sample bias or utilization of different skill categories, perhaps, Aker (1972, cited in Kolan 1973:57), for example, claims that 60 per cent of his Turkish sample were skilled while a Turkish Employment Service survey (cited in Kolan 1973:57) presents data categorizing almost 70 per cent of the workers as unskilled. More reliable and comprehensive data are perhaps provided by the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (various issues: 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972/73) which also demonstrate yearly variation in skill classification of the entering workers. Table 3.6 shows that the percentage of skilled workers moving into Germany since 1965 changes from year to year. In the case of Turkish workers, an estimated 26.4 per cent were skilled in 1968, but by 1971, over 46 per cent qualified for that category.[7] Overall, most nationalities have at least one-third skilled workers with the exception of Greece and Spain which show somewhat lower skill levels. Further evidence of professional training is provided by a 1972 Bundesanstalt für Arbeit survey (1972:45-46) on the type of training, i.e. "on the job" or "academic, institutional," for the migrants claiming an occupational education (see table 3.10). As noted in the table, the percentage range of trained migrants varies from 24 per cent for the Greeks to 62 per cent for the Yugoslavs. Of equal interest in the data on evidence of training is the rather lengthy period of time and the significant proportion of migrants who can submit such evidence as diplomas, since some writers have expressed concern that migrants tend to overrate their professional background (e.g., Gutierrez 1974:44; see also table 3.11 for statistical information).

TABLE 3.10

FOREIGN EMPLOYEES WITH OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING*
ACCORDING TO NATIONALITIES
(in%)

Country	Total	Men		Total	Women	
		on the job	trade school		on the job	trade school
Italy	26	78	22	11	--	--
Greece	24	78	22	15	80	20
Spain	29	74	26	14	--	--
Portugal	27	91	9	9	--	--
Turkey	34	76	24	16	46	54
Yugosl.	62	61	39	29	44	56
Other	62	49	51	60	37	63
Total	41	66	34	24	49	51

Source: Repräsentativuntersuchung (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit), (1972:45).

* Job training varies greatly in degrees of qualification from country to country. It may mean a "true" on the job training or trade school training, or simply a slowly progressive climb from day laborer to qualified worker.

TABLE 3.11

FOREIGN EMPLOYEES' OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING*
IN THEIR HOME COUNTRIES
(in%)

Duration of training	mainly on the job training		mainly trade school training	
	men	women	men	women
less than 6 months	10	15	6	12
6 to 12 months	8	13	5	12
1 to 2 years	13	21	7	17
2 to 3 years	26	24	20	27
3 years and longer	43	27	62	44
Total	100	100	100	100
Diploma presented	61	57	91	89
Italian	38	--	82	--
Greeks	27	--	72	--
Spanish	43	--	77	--
Portugese	48	--	--	--
Turk	50	--	90	84
Yugoslav	87	74	96	94
Other	76	--	94	91

Source: Repräsentativuntersuchung (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit), (1972:46).

* Job training in the different countries includes very diverse degrees of qualification. It can mean a "true" on the job training or trade school training, or gradual progressive climbing from simple day laborer to qualified worker.

Given these relatively high skill levels, it is difficult to accept the position that the migrants have had little or no industrial experience. Even in the case of Spanish migrants who, as a group, rate low in terms of skill attainment, the majority was already industrially employed before departure for Germany. Although migrants possibly do overstate their qualifications, Gutierrez (1974:46), drawing from a Spanish Emigration Institute survey of assisted migration (Instituto Español de Emigración 1963-1971, cited in Gutierrez 1974:45), notes that of all male emigrants in 1964, 71.9 per cent were previous industrial workers compared to a 1968 low of 46.1 per cent (see also Pascual 1970:78-70, for comparable data).

The apparent high degree of involvement in industrial work prior to emigration, however, must be carefully interpreted. Generally, we do not know how long the migrants worked in industrial occupations before departure; in some cases, the experience may have been only a few months. Undoubtedly, many workers were of rural origins but by the time they decided to emigrate they had acquired a degree of exposure to urban-industrial life in their home countries. Regarding Turkey, for example, Kolars (1970:263), notes:

> Only 9 percent of the workers left agricultural jobs in Turkey; two-thirds of the men and nearly half of the women were formerly employed in some form of industry. It is interesting to note in passing that a large proportion of the workers' fathers were farmers (38.9 percent), with merchants (18 percent), skilled laborers (15.4 percent), and administrators (12.5 percent) accounting for the rest.

Likewise, in the case of Spain, Gregory (1972:142) has isolated a process he labelled "double-displacement" in which migrants move through chain migration channels to larger cities where they acquire the industrial

exposure necessary to qualify for work abroad. Whatever the intensity of this industrial experience, there remains no evidence to assert, as Castles and Kosack (1973:340; see also Vogl 1973:102 for a similar claim) have, that: "Most immigrant workers ... are unfamiliar with industrial work."

As previously mentioned, intra-European migration scholars often argue that the migrants have had little or no exposure to urban life. Castles and Kosack (1973:47-48) see the migrants as "not equipped to find their way through modern urbanized society." For Descloitres (1967a:51), "they are hurled, so to speak, into industrial society (where they) will be ill-equipped to face daily life, seeing that their general level of education and occupational skill is low." Yet, large contingents have had a great deal of exposure to urban life; in fact, many migrated to industrial towns or live in German villages far smaller than those from which they came. One survey showed that 51 per cent of a Turkish sample came from cities of 100,000 or more and a Yugoslav governmental survey noted that 50 per cent of the migrants came from urban areas (cited in Rose 1969:189). Kolan (1973:56), reporting on Aker's study (1972), lists 46.7 per cent of the migrating Turkish workers as coming from cities (population over 20,000), 15.3 per cent from towns (population ranging from 5,000 to 20,000), and 38.1 per cent from villages of less than 5,000. Another survey (Tuna 1968, cited in Kolars 1970:263) on the Turkish migrants' birthplaces notes that 48 per cent were born in provincial capitals, 28 per cent in small towns, including county seats, and 24 per cent in villages. In Spain as well, the larger cities and provincial capitals, e.g., Sevilla, Cordoba, and Madrid, are

staging areas for moves to Europe north of the Pyrenees (Gregory 1972: 142; Pascual 1970:101). It should be noted, however, that migration to German industrial regions tends to be more of an urban to urban pattern while Turkish and Spanish agricultural migrants to France tend to be of direct rural origins (Stark 1975:19; Gutierrez 1974:47).

Finally, another questionable assumption widespread in northwest European academic and lay circles is that the migrants are unemployed prior to emigration. It is often stressed that migrants are pushed to the wall financially and job opportunities abroad constitute a form of aid both to the migrants and their home countries (cf. Beijer 1969:38-39). The "push" factor of unemployment is seen as the primary motive for emigration. While this is perhaps true in the case of some migrant groups (e.g., southern Italian and Portugese) during certain years, the assumption cannot be supported from evidence on other nationalities. Aker's study (1972, cited in Kolan 1973:59), for example, notes that 82.8 per cent of the Turks were gainfully employed prior to emigration. Of Tuna's (1968) sample, only 2.9 per cent were unemployed and of Abadan's (1964), only 0.2 per cent were without work prior to emigration (both studies cited in Kolars 1970:61). Likewise, for Spain, Pascual (1970:104) reports that from her small sample of 90 only four were unemployed before leaving, a figure roughly corresponding with official governmental data on pre-emigration employment status of emigrants to Germany during 1960-1967 which demonstrates that 88 per cent were employed (Pascual 1970:104). Somewhat lower pre-emigration employment figures (60 per cent) are provided by a Spanish Emigration Institute survey (1966) among 7,000 workers; but here, 90 per cent of

the unemployed had held this status for only one to six months prior to departure.

One possible reason many scholars have concluded that the vast majority of workers are "pushed" into emigration because of unemployment and financial hardship lies with the questionnaires on motives given to migrants. For example, one questionnaire administered to Turkish migrants noted that 62.4 per cent of the migrants indicated that "insufficient income" was their primary reason for migration despite the fact that they earned more, as a group, than 70 per cent of the Turkish population (Aker 1972, cited in Kolan 1973:61). The fact that migrants tend to stress insufficient income does not mean they are necessarily unemployed and without income prior to emigration. Maboqunje (1970:10-11), in writing on African rural-urban migration, points out the pitfalls of the questionnaire method in arriving at migrants' motives:

> The reasons for their migration are very often manifold and usually not easy to articulate in a few, simple sentences. What the questionnaire does, in fact, is to suggest to the migrant a set of equally plausible reasons, besides the obvious one of coming to earn extra income.

This brief reconsideration of the migrants' background characteristics and the overview of the general migratory process has been formulated on a macroscopic level through the utilization of available survey data. Systemically linked macro-processes have been delineated and an attempt has been made to demonstrate the interrelatedness of Mediterranean and northwest European socio-economic structures. Finally, widespread beliefs about the migrants' characteristics have been called into question. We shall return to this point in the concluding chapter when migration selectivity becomes important in evaluating the role emigration plays in socio-economic development.

NOTES

1 The ten million figure represents my own compromise formulation based on a variety of sources. Due to inadequate statistics, estimates on the number of immigrants in northwestern Europe vary widely. Böhning (1974:7) provides statistics showing six million migrant workers in the present Common Market countries and 1.5 million in Austria, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. Migration News (1975 No. 3:35) claims that the total migrant population of western Europe is 12 million. Power (1972:33) estimates, as of December 1972, there were ten million foreign workers in the then six Common Market countries. Humes (1973:3), however, argues that there were nine million migrant workers and dependents in Europe. Until more precise statistics are made available, therefore, one can only roughly guess at the total migrant population.

2 Böhning (1972:55) defines a post-industrial society as one characterized by a "relatively small agricultural sector, a large semi-automated industrial sector which tends to decline in relative terms, and an equally large and expanding tertiary sector."

3 The term Konjunkturpuffer has never, to my knowledge, been translated, even in English writings on intra-European migration, perhaps because of the difficulty of translation. Directly translated something like "economic situation buffer" would result. Puffer however, is also a term designating the bumper-like projections on railroad cars which function to absorb pressure from or for pushing other cars. Thus, the term refers to the utilization of foreign workers to stimulate the economy when needed and their release, for similar reasons, but in situations of economic slowdown.

4 A special intellectual debt in formulating this overview is owed to W.R. Böhning (1972, 1974a, 1974b, and 1975) whose analysis of intra-European migration stands as the most penetrating to date.

5 Although the migration streams tend to "age" slightly over time--at least until family migration becomes more frequent--the intra-European movements remain a process of draining off large contingents of young and able-bodied workers, both male and female, from

Mediterranean countries. By March 31, 1972, 77 per cent and 83 per cent of male and female migrants, respectively, were under the age of forty.

6 For example, the German Federal Labor Office (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1972:27) notes: "The portion of foreign employees in the Federal Republic who have never attended a school is far lower than has been generally assumed. In the survey, only six per cent of the men and nine per cent of the women stated not to have attended school (i.e. school of general education). Tendencially, the portion of illiterates is much higher in the six European sending nations."

7 It has almost become an unquestioned truth in the intra-European migration literature that as migration streams mature, the skill level of the migrants declines (e.g., Böhning 1972:69; 1974:64, Castles and Kosack 1973:93; Huber 1973:195). The explanation for this assumed decline is that, at later stages of migration, more rural and thus less skilled and less educated migrants are recruited. My examination of the trends from 1965 to 1973, however, reveals that the skill level of incoming migrants is correlated more closely with economic conditions in the receiving countries and not with the age of stream maturity. Those who argue for an increasing decline in skilled workers were observing such a decline during the 1966-1967 recession in Germany, a pattern which disappeared following economic recovery in 1969 (see table 3.9). Also, it cannot always be assumed that the greater the distance from urban centers, the less qualified the migrants. Bartels (1968:313-324), in his study of Turkish emigration from the region of Izmir, discovered that the further away from the city of Izmir the migrants originated, the higher their educational levels.

CHAPTER IV

"GASTARBEITER": AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF MIGRANTS IN A GERMAN INDUSTRIAL TOWN

1. The Need for Ethnographic Analysis

The socio-economic ramifications of the recent intra-European population movements offer an ideal laboratory for the study of a variety of topical areas central to the social anthropology of Europe. Within a relatively short time span, large contingents of culturally and linguistically distinct populations from Mediterranean Europe have become integral segments of the northwestern European social order. In response to this demographic redistribution, social adjustments and adaptations were made at virtually all levels of European society. Mediterranean communities and regions responded to the temporary or permanent absence of many young adults and the populations at the points of destination rapidly found themselves hosts to large numbers of aliens. These conditions, which can be viewed as developing from a clear historic baseline, present excellent opportunities for illuminating the more general problems of migrant adaptation, social change, culture contact, and ethnicity. Previous chapters of this study have concentrated on an historical and macroscopic overview; in this section, the perspective will

shift to the analysis and description of migrant life within the context of a German industrial town.

Perhaps no single public issue in post-war Germany has attracted the attention of social scientists, journalists, and government officials as much as the so-called "Gastarbeiterproblem." Over the past decade, a voluminous scientific and popular literature has appeared. Generally speaking, these German publications can be divided into two categories. The first, an impressionistic political "position" literature, represents the views of action-oriented individuals and interest groups who aim to highlight the exploitation of foreign workers by the German public and international capitalists (e.g., Fietkau 1972; Geiselberger 1972; Klee 1971, 1972, 1973; Uhlig 1974). This heavily politicized and opinionated literature is too value-laden and selective to be taken seriously as scientific research. The second research category is founded upon the spirit of questionnaire sociology and aims to reveal the migrant condition through the analysis of data gathered from surveys administered to large numbers of randomly selected "guest workers" (e.g., Borris 1974; Mehrländer 1974).

Unfortunately, however, a questionnaire research strategy alone yields little information about the complexity and functioning of the interactional systems within which the migrants are embedded. Survey research on foreign migrants has been directed toward aggregates of unrelated individuals within larger cities or throughout the Federal Republic and not toward sociologically tied migrant actors within functioning, on-going ethnic groupings, neighborhoods, and institutions. Thus, crucial aspects of the guest worker phenomenon are ignored; for

example, migrant settlement ecology, informal social networks, voluntary associations, articulation with the larger social context, ideological responses, and so forth. It seems, therefore, that data derived from ethnographic methods would greatly enhance our knowledge of migrant life.

An ethnographic focus on the migrants in West Germany needs little justification given the amount of official energy expended in discussing and formulating programs which claim to facilitate integration and adjustment of foreigners to German society. In fact, the sociologically inspired research mentioned above was funded and carried out to capture the essence of the migrant experience in order to offer recommendations on integration policy and programs (e.g., Bingemer, et al. 1972; Borris 1974; Mehrländer 1974). Yet, the precise relationship between questionnaire-discovered attitudes, values, and aspirations and actual migrant behavioral patterns remains obscure. All too often, the migrants emerge as numbers in tables or sterile correlations in metrices while the internal interactional order of their communities remains a sociological mystery. Furthermore, such studies prove overly static since interviews and questionnaires are normally administered at restricted points in time and yield information on what the migrants contend they are doing rather than what they actually may be doing. On more than one occasion, I have observed migrants tell a German one thing and moments later tell me or a fellow migrant virtually the opposite; migrants, like all humans, are at times fickle in their dispositions and attitudes. The barrage of questionnaires administered to the Gastarbeiter, usually through an interpreter or in German, fails to take into account that responses will vary according to such situational fac-

tors as mood, time during the work week or the year, length of stay in Germany, or the future employment outlook at the time of the interview.

To gain a close-up view of migrants at the local level, I carried out intensive ethnographic research among a population of Gastarbeiter in a West German industrial town. For approximately ten months, in 1971/72 and during the summer of 1974, I participated in the daily lives of Turkish and Spanish migrants. To my knowledge, this study constitutes the only intensive, long-term ethnographic research conducted among the millions of labor migrants now residing in the Federal Republic of Germany.

2. The Conceptual Framework

Although the following account of migrant life in a West German industrial town will be largely in the nature of ethnographic narrative, it will deviate in several ways from the traditional anthropological approach to migrants in the receiving contexts. First, borrowing an analytical distinction made by Castles and Kosack (1973:371), problems of adjustment and adaptation will be seen as a result of both transplantational factors (e.g., variations in customs, language, diet, climate) and socio-economic factors (i.e. the economic function and the social class position of the foreign worker in West German society). Typically, in migration research, anthropologists have stressed the former by emphasizing rural-urban differences, custom variation, linguistic problems, and other aspects of geographical dislocation and culture contact. However, without denying the importance of such factors, it will be argued here that migrant adaptation and behavior must also be seen in light of the migrants' socio-economic position in German society. As

members of the lower working class, they exist and operate within certain well-defined social spheres and this is as crucial to understanding their behavior as cultural background. Secondly, the present analysis will not focus exclusively on the migrants in social, political, and economic isolation but will attempt to discern how external forces affect migrant behavior and institutions. Thus, the impact of wider social and economic events such as strikes, recession, energy crisis, and political decisions will be related to migrant reaction. Thirdly, unlike the static approaches of most ethnographic research on migrants, the dynamics of the migratory process itself will be seen as influential in molding migrant behavior. Adaptation will be viewed as varying according to levels of migration stream maturity (see chapter I for additional comments on the need for dynamic analysis).

While this chapter seeks to portray as fully as possible many aspects of the migrant experience within a single German community, it remains necessary to pursue a selective ordering of data given the complexity and mass of available material directly relevant to the topic. Thus, for convenience, I have excluded a discussion of the migrants' working conditions, the tangle of legal maneuvers they constantly face, and, finally, limited attention will be given to "social problem" areas which European sociologists have thoroughly researched (e.g., crime rate, pathologies of migrants, medical problems, migrant children education). Instead, the concern here will be with more mundane, less sensational aspects (i.e. migrant settlement patterns, leisure time activities, inter- and intra-migrant group relations, ethnic organizations, informal networks, etc.). This face of migrant life is glimpsed only by those

who live it; during my many months among the foreign workers, I never encountered in their daily routine a single member of church and governmental groups which claim to guard the migrants' welfare. In spite of a great deal of discussion in Germany concerning migrant integration, policy makers and assistance agencies have rarely ventured beyond the statistical information provided by questionnaires to acquaint themselves with the everyday working of the guest worker communities. Protesting such neglect, the local Italians once launched a publicized complaint declaring that their consulate's representative had visited them only once in ten years (Südwest-Presse, Sept. 21, 1971:10).

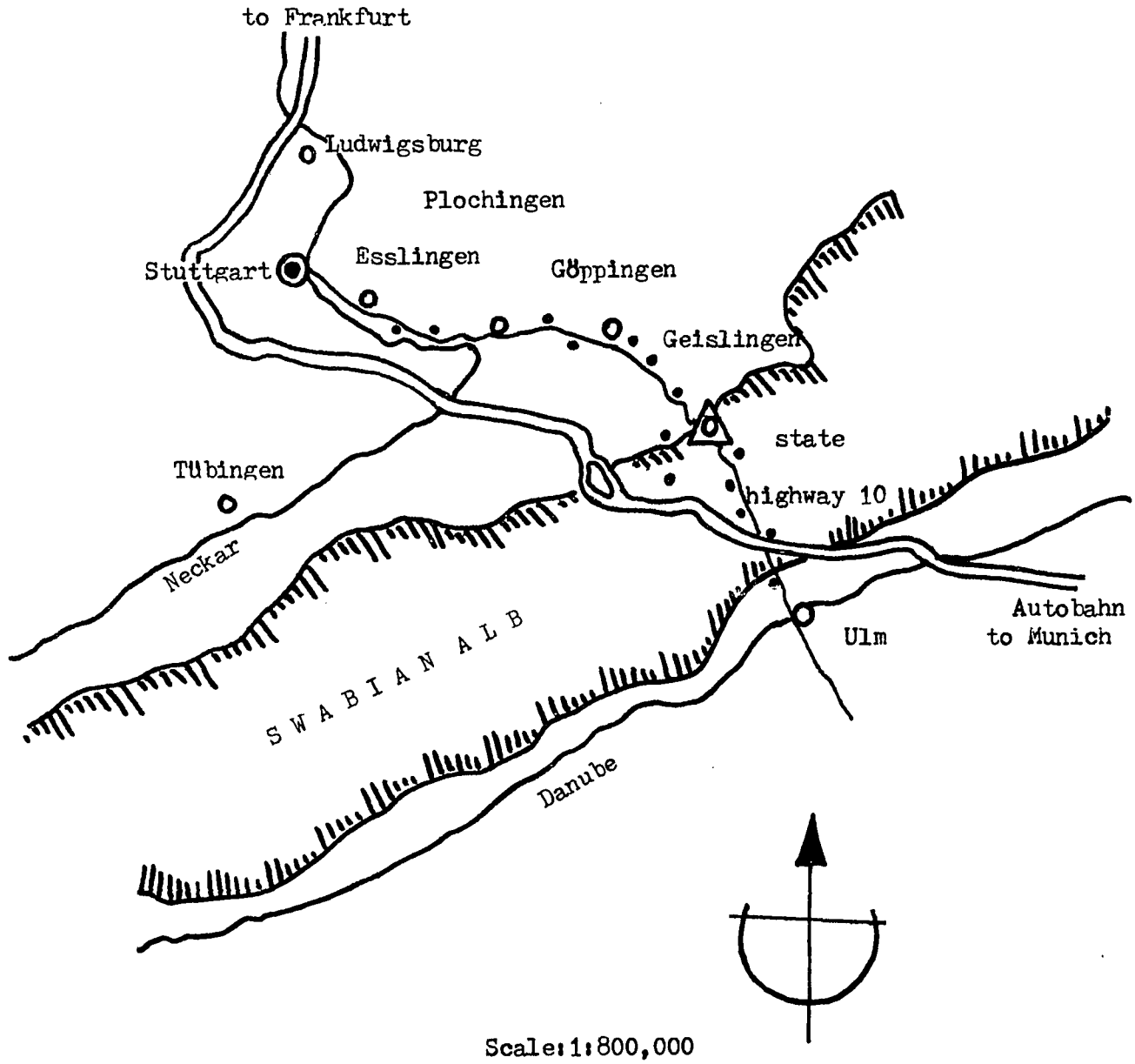
To illustrate the migrant condition in a single German town, I have set forth a number of specific tasks. First, the location of the fieldwork area will be described, and the migratory invasion pattern since the 1950s will be demographically delineated. Next, the migrant settlement patterns and housing ecology will be analyzed. Then, social organizational and adaptation patterns of the migrants will be examined. Finally, some consideration will be given to migrant ideology. Special reference will be made to Spanish and Turkish migrants.

3. Fieldwork Location and Migrant Invasion Pattern

The small industrial town of Geislingen lies nestled against the northern edge of the Swabian Alb, a low-altitude mountain range stretching northeast between the Neckar and Danube rivers (see map I). Administratively, the town belongs to the Landkreis (district) of Göppingen which, in turn, is included in the Land (state) of Baden-Württemberg. Situated along the main railroad line from Munich to Stuttgart, Geislingen is also connected to the larger cities northwest (Stuttgart)

MAP I

STUTTGART-ULM INDUSTRIAL REGION



Scale: 1:800,000

Source: Reise- und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart n.d.

and southeast (Ulm) by the Stuttgart-Munich Autobahn and the Bundesstraße 10 (state highway).

Historically and economically, the city has been tied to its strategic location on an important and ancient trade route which leads from the Mediterranean to the Rhine. A late medieval settlement, Geislingen was founded by the Knights of Helfenstein who recognized the military and trade strategic importance of the narrow Rohrach valley which forms the beginning of the most convenient passage across the Alb. The presence of the nobility promised Geislingen a bright future but poor planning and lack of foresight led to the mortgaging of the town to the Imperial City of Ulm in 1382. Geislingen then became a seat of the magistrate of Ulm and an artisan and crafts center of the northern Ulm region.

In the 19th century, large scale economic and social changes arrived with the advent of industrialization and the construction of the Stuttgart-Ulm railroad in the 1850s. Several industrialists made Geislingen their home and from these early beginnings, the town became industrially based. Today, Geislingen serves as home office for three large enterprises: the Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik (WMF, Metal Manufacturing of Württemberg), a large firm specializing in the production of fine metal articles; the Maschinenfabrik Geislingen (MAG, Geislingen Machine Manufacturing Works); and the Süddeutsche Baumwollindustrie (SBI, Southern German Cotton Industries). Furthermore, there are many small enterprises such as Licht und Kraft and Ullman which are primarily engaged in small-scale production of metal, plastic, and electrical articles. Although the town has remained relatively small in size, industrial growth was accompanied by a population increase;

in 1841, Geislingen had 3,000 inhabitants while by 1971, this number had risen to 27,000 (Städtisches Kultur-und Verkehrsamt 1970/71). Much of this increase has occurred through in-migration, the latest wave (1955-1975) being that of foreign workers from the Mediterranean basin.

Geislingen is located within the heavily industrialized Stuttgart-Göppingen economic region and thus is one of the major migrant receiving areas in the nation. The railroad line Ulm-Stuttgart and the parallel running state highway 10 are lined with a chain of smaller industrial towns in continuous succession. Within the district of Göppingen, migrants find employment in the capital (Göppingen) itself, in Geislingen, Eislingen, Ebersbach, and Faurndau. Geislingen, along with its "satellite" suburbs and villages (Altenstadt, Giengen, Kuchen, Mühlhausen, and Wiesensteig) contains nearly 25 per cent of the foreign worker population of the Landkreis (Landratsamt Göppingen. Meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee, Jan. 18, 1972). Most of the Mediterranean laborers found employment in construction, vehicle and machine manufacturing, iron and metal industries, and in textile factories. By 1971, however, foreigners had begun to move into the service sector as well (Arbeitsamt Göppingen 1971:3).

The earliest post-war movement if Mediterranean workers into Geislingen proper began in 1956 (Ordnungsamt Geislingen, Verwaltungsbericht). During the mid- and late 1950s, however, the migrant influx was insignificant for Geislingen as it was for the Federal Republic at large; but merely fifteen years later, the registered migrant population had climbed to almost 2,600 which, in 1970/71, represented approximately 10 per cent of the total population. Most of these migrant

were drawn from six nations: Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia.[1] In addition to the foreign workers of Geislingen proper, over 1,300 registered Gastarbeiter and an unknown number of dependents lived in the nearby hamlets and villages mentioned above. Socially, however, they were linked with the various migrant groupings and activities of Geislingen and can thusly be considered a part of the local migrant subculture under study.

Migrant movement into the fieldwork area can be offered as a microcosm of the regional and national pattern since it reflects closely the general migratory influx into all receiving areas (see chapter III for a discussion of migration streams). The continuous increase in the number of foreigners (with a temporary decline during the 1966/67 recession period) over the past fifteen years has been accompanied by changes in the socio-demographic composition of the migration streams. A careful accounting for these changes is crucial for an understanding of migrant adaptation. Each ethnic group entering the town has its own history, each beginning at different times, and their own rates of population increase. Thus, Geislingen had moved from being primarily what local burghers called an "Italian" town (the Italians were the first nationality recruited in large numbers) to one also containing substantial numbers of Yugoslavs, Turks, and Spaniards (see table 4.1). Each ethnic group, according to its own time path, has carved out unique local organizations and adaptations.

The concept of "stream maturation" is a relatively old one in the social sciences, but it has been rarely tapped by anthropologists who have shown a somewhat static approach to the study of migration

TABLE 4.1

FOREIGN MIGRANT INFLUX INTO GEISLINGEN
BY NATIONALITY: 1957-1971

Census dates are Sept. 30 for 1957-1970; Dec. 31 for 1971.

Census date*	Greece		Italy		Yugoslavia		Portugal		Spain		Turkey		Total
1957	-	-	68	76.4	21	23.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	89
1958	2	1.4	77	55.4	58	41.7	-	-	2	1.4	-	-	139
1959	1	0.5	131	64.8	67	33.2	-	-	3	1.5	-	-	202
1960	37	7.2	405	78.3	50	9.6	-	-	23	4.4	2	0.4	517
1961	95	9.5	669	67.2	56	5.6	2	0.2	170	17.0	3	0.3	995
1962	83	8.0	660	63.5	59	5.7	10	10.0	166	16.0	60	5.8	1038
1963	90	8.2	614	56.4	62	5.7	10	0.9	243	22.3	70	6.4	1089
1964	79	5.6	643	46.1	65	4.6	32	2.3	449	32.2	126	9.0	1394
1965	103	6.0	951	55.5	112	6.5	41	2.4	386	22.5	121	7.0	1714
1966	105	5.7	976	53.2	159	8.7	57	3.1	377	20.6	160	8.7	1834
1967	99	7.3	631	46.5	130	9.6	56	4.1	263	19.3	177	13.0	1356
1968	97	5.5	832	47.8	140	8.0	52	3.0	310	17.8	308	17.7	1739
1969	99	4.0	918	37.1	492	19.9	56	2.3	382	15.4	525	21.1	2472
1970	92	3.9	810	34.5	528	22.5	67	2.8	364	15.5	485	20.7	2346
1971	96	4.0	829	35.0	515	21.7	72	3.0	329	13.9	529	22.3	2370

Source: Adapted from Ordnungsamt Geislingen Statistik.

(cf. Bogue, et al. 1957; Bogue 1959). As pointed out in chapter III, migration stream maturation can be analytically broken down into distinct stages. Thus, in addition to the staggered movement of the various nationality groups into Geislingen, each specific migratory stream is characterized by definable internal socio-demographic changes (see Böhning 1972 for a macroscopic view). Fluctuations in stream composition are also closely tied to chain migration processes. Chain migration, however, refers to smaller migrating units (e.g., family, villages, kin groupings) while stream maturation designates changes in stream composition of a single nationality group or the total immigrant population. For the district of Göppingen and the town of Geislingen, essentially three interrelated socio-demographic changes related to migration stream maturity should be stressed.

First, there has been a steady increase in the migrant population (except for 1967/68 when a mild recession slowed down recruiting). Each separate ethnic group, however, has experienced its own trajectory. Thus, some nationalities climbed constantly in volume (e.g., Turks, Yugoslavs, and Portugese) while others (i.e. Greeks, Italians, and Spanish) had peaked in numbers earlier and had started to decline by the late 1960s. Thus, the relative percentages of the various groups in the total migrant population have shifted. In 1961, the district's alien population was predominantly Italian (62.2 per cent). By 1971, the Italian share had declined to 29.7 per cent. During the same timespan, the Italian population in Geislingen declined from 67.2 per cent of the total foreign population to 35 per cent. The Turks, on the other hand, were hardly represented at the Kreis (district) level in 1961

(in Geislingen, three individuals were registered) but by 1971, they accounted for 21.1 per cent of the district's foreigners (in Geislingen, their percentage was 22.3). In 1971, three groups (Italians, Turks, and Yugoslavs) constituted 77.8 per cent of the foreign employed in the Landkreis while the same nationalities constituted 79 per cent of all registered foreign workers in Geislingen that year. The growing size of the migrant community at large and for each group separately is closely tied to a number of migration-related processes (e.g., chain migration, stream maturation, settlement ecology, etc.). The basic demographic factor of population size, as will be discussed shortly, can influence enormously the nature of the migrant interaction system and resource utilization.

Second, as the migration stream matures, the sex ratio of the migrant population shifts, collectively and for each ethnic group, from a predominantly "single male" flow toward a more balanced sex ratio (although males still predominate) as wives and single women tend to join the migratory movement.[2] As noted in table 4.2, which represents migrant influx into the Landkreis from 1961 to 1971, the female worker population increased 313 per cent while that of males increased only 121 per cent. Likewise, in Geislingen in 1957, adult women made up only 4.5 per cent of the total registered foreign population; by 1971, however, they constituted 26.5 per cent (see table 4.3). Obviously, the constant increase in the number of adult females primarily reflects the arrival of wives to join their husbands (see table 4.4). As this occurs, a family-oriented migrant sub-culture appears along with the older "single male" culture.

TABLE 4.2

DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGNER EMPLOYMENT
IN GÖPPINGEN DISTRICT
SINCE 1961

Census date	Men	In-crease	Women	In-crease	To-gether	In-crease	Portion of Women in total work force
30.9.61	5,015	= 100	1,090	= 100	6,105	= 100	= 17.9%
30.9.62	6,012	+ 19%	1,613	+ 57%	7,625	+ 25%	= 21.0%
30.9.63	5,564	+ 11%	1,873	+ 72%	7,437	+ 22%	= 25.2%
30.9.64	6,734	+ 34%	2,168	+ 99%	8,922	+ 46%	= 24.4%
30.9.65	8,224	+ 64%	2,542	+ 133%	10,766	+ 76%	= 23,6%
30.9.66	8,547	+ 70%	3,126	+ 187%	11,673	+ 91%	= 26.8%
30.9.67	6,107	+ 22%	2,411	+ 121%	8,518	+ 40%	= 28.3%
30.9.68	7,014	+ 40%	2,804	+ 157%	9,818	+ 61%	= 28.6%
30.9.69	9,617	+ 92%	3,689	+ 239%	13,306	+ 118%	= 27.7%
30.9.70.	10,876	+ 117%	4,499	+ 313%	15,375	+ 152%	= 29.3%
30.6.71	11,076	+ 121%	4,497	+ 313%	15,573	+ 155%	= 29.3%

Source: Arbeitsamt Göppingen, Statistik 1971.

TABLE 4.3

FOREIGN MIGRANT POPULATION IN GEISLINGEN

Census Date	Men	%	Women	%	Children	%	Total
9 - 30 - 57	73	82.0	4	4.5	12	13.5	89
9 - 30 - 58	100	72.0	21	15.0	18	13.0	139
9 - 30 - 59	154	76.2	31	15.4	17	8.4	202
9 - 30 - 60	460	89.0	38	7.3	19	3.7	517
9 - 30 - 61	872	87.6	91	9.2	32	3.2	995
9 - 30 - 62	832	80.1	148	14.3	58	5.6	1038
9 - 30 - 63	822	75.5	186	17.1	81	7.4	1089
9 - 30 - 64	1096	78.6	235	16.9	63	4.5	1394
9 - 30 - 65	1236	72.0	308	18.0	170	10.0	1714
9 - 30 - 66	1221	66.6	413	22.5	200	10.9	1834
9 - 30 - 67	795	58.6	289	21.3	272	20.1	1356
9 - 30 - 68	1093	62.8	339	19.5	307	17.7	1739
9 - 30 - 69-	1651	66.8	473	19.1	348	14.1	2472
9 - 30 - 70	1409	60.0	538	23.0	399	17.0	2346
12 - 31 - 71	1182	51.8	604	26.5	495	21.7	2281

Source: adapted from statistics provided by the Ordnungsamt Geislingen.

TABLE 4.4

INCREASE OF FOREIGN MIGRANTS IN GEISLINGEN

Base: 9/30/1961

Date	Men	+%	Women	+%	Children	+%	Total	+%
9/30/61	872	100	91	100	32	100	995	100
9/30/62	832	- 4.5	148	+ 62.6	58	+ 81.2	1038	+ 4.3
9/30/63	822	- 5.7	186	+104.0	81	+153.0	1089	+ 9.4
9/30/64	1096	+25.6	235	+158.0	63	+ 96.8	1394	+40.1
9/30/65	1236	+41.7	308	+238.0	170	+431.0	1714	+72.3
9/30/66	1221	+40.0	413	+353.0	200	+525.0	1834	+84.3
9/30/67	795	- 8.8	289	+217.5	272	+750.0	1356	+36.3
9/30/68	1093	+25.3	339	+272.0	307	+859.0	1739	+74.7
9/30/69	1651	+89.3	473	+419.0	348	+987.0	2472	+148.4
9/30/70	1409	+61.6	538	+491.0	399	+1146.0	2346	+135.8
12/31/71	1182	+35.5	604	+563.0	495	+1446.0	2281	+129.2

Source: Ordnungsamt Geislingen, Verwaltungsbericht
(statistics adapted from official data)

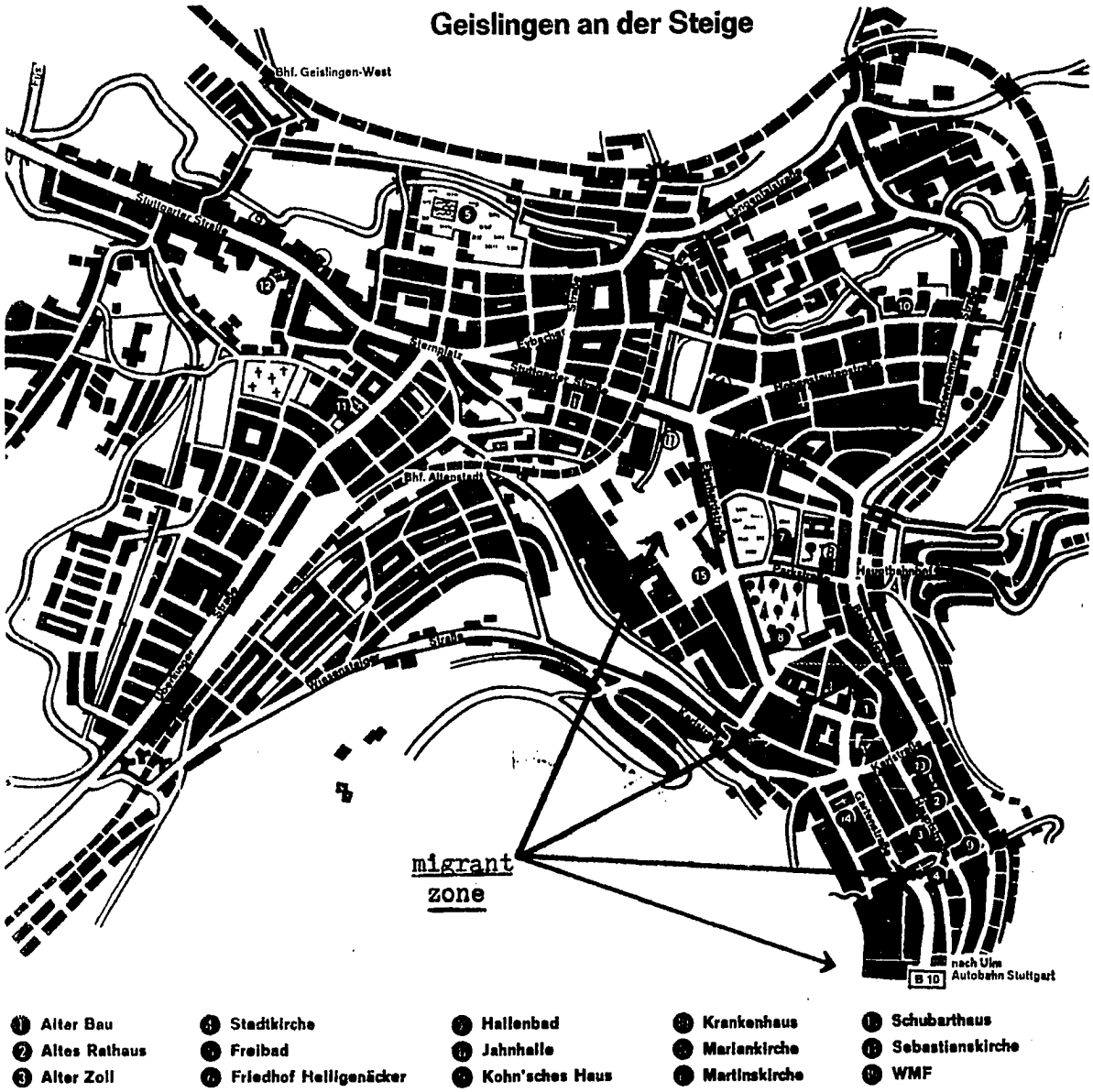
Third, correlated with the changing sex ratio is an increase in the number of dependent family members. These are predominantly children under the age of fifteen although some older dependents (e.g., parents or grandparents) are included. The introduction of this migrant element into German society places additional pressures on the local infra-structures (e.g., kindergartens, schools, hospitals, housing, etc.). By this stage, moreover, large contingents of migrants become socially and economically entrenched and the predicted "temporary" in-migration takes on more the characteristics of a permanent immigration.

Any penetrating analysis of migrant ecology, social organization, and ideology should be sensitive to such socio-demographic dynamics as outlined above. In the evolution of a migrant community, each stage will be characterized by a different social and demographic arrangement. Over time, the ethnic communities tend to become more formalized in terms of representing more autonomous social systems. In Geislingen, this is reflected in the establishment of ethnic bars, businesses, restaurants, sports and mutual aid organizations as well as increased participation in labor union, political, and local government affairs (e.g., on community level as Gemeinderat or Elternbeirat).[3]

4. Migrant Ecology: Settlement and Housing

In cases of industrial labor migration throughout the world, migrants enter urban areas in regular patterns, giving rise to definite migrant ecological arrangements (cf. Burnley 1974; Schwirian 1974; Ward 1974). The rapid influx of working class people into West German cities and towns has brought forth a similar social ecology. In Geislingen, migrant activity is concentrated spatially within a well defined segment

MAP II



Source: Städtisches Kultur- und Verkehrsamt, Geislingen, n.d.

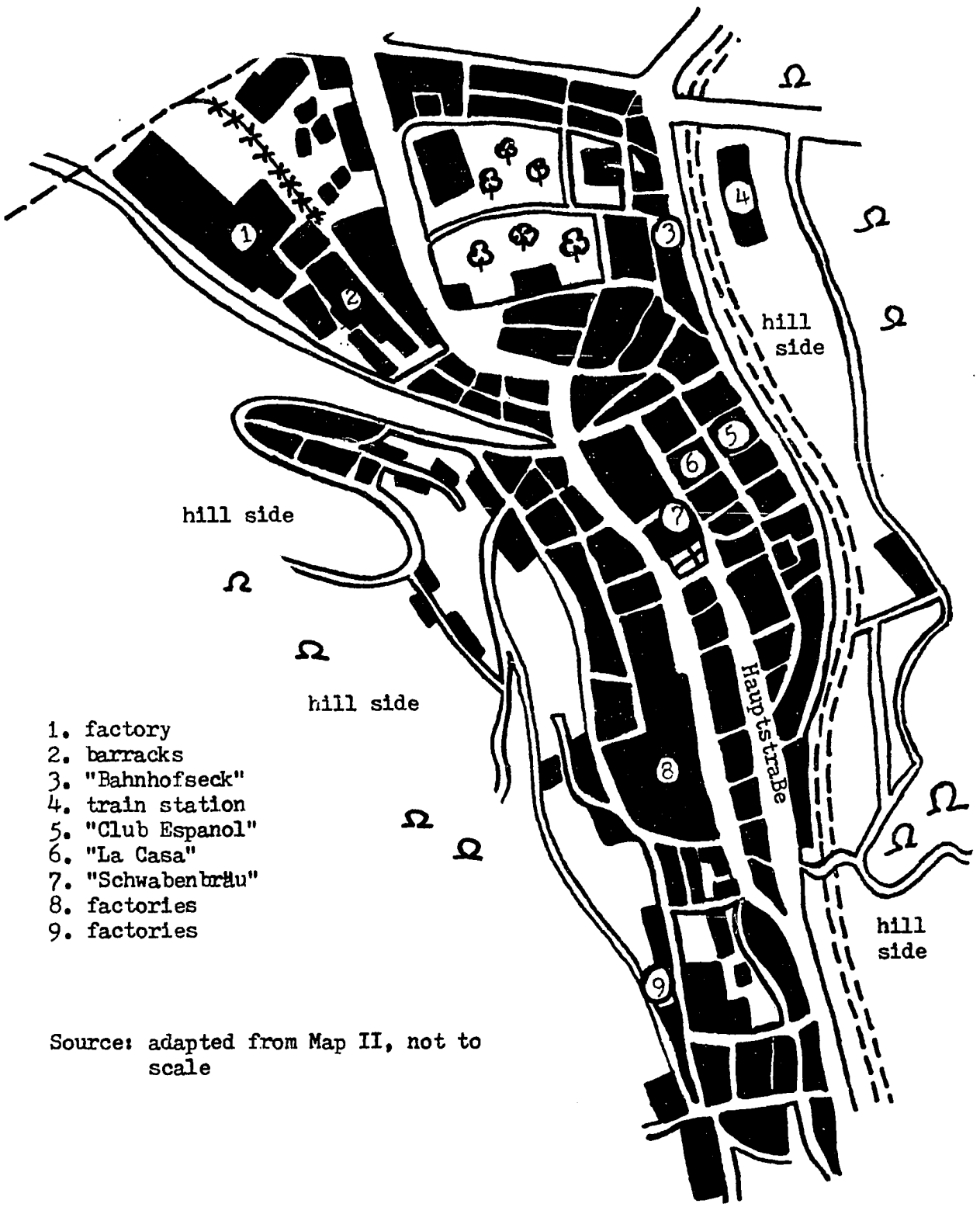
of town, a section I have labelled the "migrant zone." Within this zone, a series of key subsystems directly relevant to migrant activity can be isolated: housing, ethnic bars, migrant-oriented businesses, voluntary associations, to mention only a few. As in other German towns, the heaviest concentration of foreigners in Geislingen is found in the older downtown sector.

In Geislingen's development, the industrial and business sections have grown up in the narrow Rohrach valley which lies at the southeastern leg of the town. Both the railroad and highway 10 descend from the Swabian Alb plateau into the valley where they run parallel for some distance before angling further apart at the mouth of the valley as they pass through the town. Enclosed by steeply rising hillsides on the east and west, this narrow "island" between the BundesstraBe and the railroad tracks is the site of Geislingen's primary economic activity. Here, located near or on the HauptstraBe (main street), one finds factories, wholesale houses, retail stores, banks, hotels, restaurants, and government offices. The Rohrach valley sector is also the oldest part of the town; in fact, due to the energy source of the swift flow of the Rohrach creek, this section has supported cottage industries since the late Middle Ages (Städtisches Kultur- und Verkehrsamt 1970/71; see also maps II and III).

The evolution of the "migrant zone" is tied to a variety of factors. Most importantly, this older, run-down central city contains housing resources which are readily available to the guest workers. Since the German economic boom, there has been a steady exodus of the indigenous population toward the suburbs. Also, the appearance of the downtown "migrant zone" must be related to the socio-economic position

MAP III

GEISLINGEN MIGRANT ZONE



1. factory
2. barracks
3. "Bahnhofseck"
4. train station
5. "Club Espanol"
6. "La Casa"
7. "Schwabenbräu"
8. factories
9. factories

Source: adapted from Map II, not to scale

of the immigrants within German society. Jobs are available in the most densely populated regions of Germany; there, also, the greatest housing shortage exists. Thus, in these areas, renting is an extremely difficult task for Germans or aliens alike. In the migrant case, moreover, three additional factors demand consideration: 1) the southern Europeans are not accustomed to spend large proportions of their income on housing in their homelands, 2) their desire to spend as little on housing as possible, and 3), "legal" discrimination by many German landlords who favor renting to German nationals over foreigners, especially single males and families with children. All of these factors assist in creating a geographical concentration of migrants in the "blighted" area where enterprising "slum" landlords are willing to rent to foreigners, often at exorbitant rates. It should be noted, however, that this same area houses not only alien workers but also lower income, transient German populations (see chapter V for further discussion).

Housing available to foreign workers can be classified into two types: the company owned barracks or hostels and private housing. Although there is some overlap, the two housing types tend to attract sociologically disctinct populations: single male migrants predominate in the company quarters while migrating families, women, and established male migrants reside in private housing. Thus, the housing utilization patterns reflect the migration stream stages outlined in the previous section. Typically, single males tend to reside in employer housing for reasons of availability, contractual agreement, convenience, and low cost. Sociability is also important since the migrants are housed, whenever possible, according to nationality. As the migration stream

matures, however, the arrival of wives and dependent family members brings a shift toward local private housing markets. There is no absolute, clear-cut correlation, however, between sociological status and housing utilization; single males who have lived in Germany for some time may also move out into private quarters.

In 1970, 73 per cent of the foreign employees lived in private housing and the remainder, predominantly single males, in employer housing (Arbeitsamt Göppingen 1971:4). With increasing duration of German residency, the tendency to move into private housing increases, and by the late 1960s, migration into the district was well advanced in terms of family settlement. Only one-third of the men who had been in the Landkreis less than two years resided in private housing while four-fifths of those with seven years and more lived in private apartments. Undoubtedly, many of the single males of short duration living in private quarters have, through chain migration, moved in with already established kin. A 1968 national survey noted that 85 per cent of foreign workers with spouses and dependents in Germany lived in privately-owned housing while only nine per cent lived in factory owned apartments and six per cent in "other" forms of factory buildings (cited in Arbeitsamt Göppingen 1971:12).

Even though a distinction can be drawn between company and private housing, both lie relatively close to the downtown industrial sector. The barracks are located on company grounds next to the factories and the heaviest concentration of migrants in private housing exists within or adjacent to an oblong island between the HauptstraBe and state highway 10. Each of the two forms of housing and their social correlates

will now be considered.

Single Men in Barracks

When the male migrant arrives alone or ahead of his family, he normally moves into company housing. The dormitory structures inhabited by single male Gastarbeiter vary widely in quality; within Geislingen's surroundings, they ranged from newly constructed modern apartment complexes (such as the "single's" barracks in Süssen and Türkheim) to large, delapidated wooden shanties. Linguistic designation of these housing types reflects their role in the migration process: most of the migrant living quarters are not labelled "houses" or "apartment complexes" by employers or government officials but Unterkünfte (singular Unterkunft), which connotes a very temporary accomodation. Throughout Germany, these barracks/hostels are generally overcrowded, lacking proper sanitation facilities, poorly ventilated, and fire-prone. In Geislingen, for example, during September of both 1970 and 1971, two such Unterkünfte burned to the ground taking the lives of four foreign workers.

Legally, it is only possible for a company to recruit abroad and bring workers into Germany if sufficient housing is provided. The Unterkunft must meet certain government-imposed standards. Often, the companies are heavily subsidized by the German National Labor Office in the construction of guest worker accomodations. In 1970, for example, over one-third of the foreign housing structures in Göppingen were supported by the government at 4.25 million marks (Arbeitsamt Göppingen 1971:11). Most barracks had hot and cold running water, kitchen facilities, baths, and recreation rooms. Since the barracks were located on company property, they were often surrounded by high, sometimes barbed

fences which intensified the unusually drab appearance of the unpainted housing units. Also, the residents had to live under strict house regulations, restraints which eventually led to dissatisfaction with the barrack living arrangement.

While the above described conditions were far from ideal and the criticism of many Germans and foreigners alike, the single males later, after they had competed in the private housing market, recalled that their days in the barracks were not so bad after all. They reminisce that it was through barrack life that they gained a foothold in Germany, paying relatively little for a bunk and room shared with people from their own cultural background. Of course, many workers did not adapt to conditions in Germany and shortly returned home, disappointed and disgraced; but for those who remained, the barrack-living stage constituted a turning point: here, they saved and ultimately sent for their families who could, when they found employment in Germany, share in the earning process.

The single period is one experienced by large contingents of male migrants. Since they live close together and face common problems, men from the barracks tend to form friendships with barrack compatriots. They recognize that their lifestyles are different from those of migrants with families in Germany. In fact, the Spanish migrants residing in the factory buildings called themselves Los Gitanos (the gypsies), as opposed to Los Matrimonios (the marrieds) despite the fact that many of the self-proclaimed Gitanos had wives in Spain. When the decision is finally made, however, to bring the wife and children, they are forced out onto the regular housing market where they meet high prices and discrimination.

The Migrants in Private Housing

Although firms employing foreigners are legally required to find housing for workers recruited abroad, they are not obligated to do the same for foreigners changing jobs within Germany or for workers sending for their families. Also, single workers who wish to move into private quarters must do so on their own even if they maintain their old jobs. Once a decision is made to live in private housing, a number of difficulties arises in simply finding an apartment. The procedure of renting in Germany is an exceedingly complex process requiring considerable knowledge of German. One cannot go directly to a landlord as in the United States, for example, but must first locate an available apartment through a newspaper advertisement or through a renting agency. Very often, the ad will explicitly state whether the landlord will rent to foreigners or only to Germans. A Geislingen renting agency displayed rent notice signs in the window stating clearly: Nur Deutsche (only Germans), Keine Ausländer (no foreigners), or even Bitte, keine Ausländer (please, no foreigners). A few signs do read, however, Auch Ausländer (foreigners also), or, more frequently, Auch Ausländerin (female foreigner also). In the case of newspaper ads, the interested party must write to the landlord in care of the newspaper, giving his name and address; in the case of the renting agency, the landlord will be informed as to who the prospective renters are. In either case, unwanted prospects can be avoided by simply not responding to the rent request. Gastarbeiter rate low on the renting preference scale and many German landlords refuse outright to rent to foreigners. In the German mind, a stereotyped view of migrant behavior has arisen and this, in turn, makes

it difficult for any alien to find housing. One local landlord, for example, rented a small apartment to a "young, well-mannered" Turkish worker. To the landlord's dismay, however, the man's immediate extended family, numbering more than 15 persons, arrived fresh from Turkey two weeks later. Stories are also told among local Germans that some Mediterranean families number up to 40. A landlord will, of course, remain uninformed about additional inhabitants until suddenly they appear (for a more detailed discussion, see chapter V on the German point of view). Such occurrences, although perhaps exaggerated in the German mind, are not entirely false. Very often, when a "pioneer" male decides to send for his family, which he is legally entitled to after three years of residency in Germany, he must ideally present evidence to the authorities that he can provide sufficient living space. In reality, however, the migrant merely needs to find any kind of apartment and present the renting contract. For the migrant, the small apartment may only be a "launching pad," a place to satisfy legal requirements and house the migrating family in transition to other areas of employment or, later, to a larger apartment. Thus, through real or imagined abuses by guest workers, conflict invariably arises between landlords, government health officials, and migrants.

Except for the few migrants living in attic or cellar apartments in other parts of town, most foreigners are concentrated in the area which the local Germans claim would have better been destroyed during the war. One section of the main street where the foreigners live has been dubbed ItakkerstraBe by some local residents, Itakker being a deragotary term for "Italian." The street does, in fact, have a Mediterranean aura, particularly on Saturday or Sunday afternoons when the

sidewalk is crowded with playing Mediterranean children, darkly attired workers strolling, and clothes hanging from the back windows for drying. All along that street, houses bear name plaques of Latin, Slavic, and Turkish origin.

Within this sector, most migrant activities are carried out. Establishments serving the various nationalities, as well as their work places, are located within five minutes' walk of the "ghetto." Despite the age and bleakness of the houses where the foreigners live, the in-migration has had the effect of increasing the value of older property faster than that of post-war housing (Krah 1971:4-5). As in North American cities, however, such neighborhoods are considered social and physical eyesores and are marked for renewal and destruction. During my fieldwork period in 1971/72, some of these older buildings were torn down thus forcing the migrants to locate other quarters.

Concentration of foreign workers in ghetto areas also puts them indirectly in control over many of the resources there, including housing. It has been stressed earlier how difficult it is to obtain an apartment through "normal" channels. After several years of foreign occupation there evolved a pattern whereby the renting and right to rent of certain apartments was passed down exclusively among migrants, often along given nationality lines. There are numerous such apartments in Geislingen which have been occupied solely by guest workers for ten or more years. I discovered several cases where Spaniards would, just prior to their return home, turn over their apartment to another, newly arrived Spanish family only after extracting a "right-to-rent" pay-off and a considerable price for their old furniture.[4] This form of "Black Hand"

extortion was made possible because of language difficulties and the connection between the German landlord and the old renter.

The Migrant Businesses and Social Clubs

In addition to the residential patterns discussed above, some comment should be made about the ethnic businesses which have sprung up in the wake of the migrations. These establishments, catering to migrant needs, were managed by former migrants or foreign entrepreneurs. Some German owned bars and restaurants located in the "migrant zone" had also become centers of guest worker activity. There were five general types of enterprises for the migrant community: the bar/restaurant combination, (Gastwirtschaft), grocery stores (food import stores specializing in foreign foods), clothing stores, travel agencies, and social clubs. The most important, as far as the migrants' social needs were concerned, were the Gastwirtschaften which, in the Spanish case, also doubled as headquarters for the Spanish voluntary association. In 1971, before the formation of an official Turkish club, two Turkish bar/restaurant establishments represented the primary focal points of informal Turkish social activities. During this same year, one could also find two Yugoslav establishments and several Italian "hangouts," not to mention the several neighborhood "front-room apartment" stores that presented articles as well as food and beverages from the respective home countries. Two pizza restaurants operated by Italian migrants catered to the German public, hoping to duplicate the "imagined" success of their American cousins. The social functions of the strictly "ethnic" Gastwirtschaften will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.[5]

While the physical domain just described has been the focal area for most of migrant activity (work, leisure, and business), it should not be assumed that this is the limit of geographical range of the Geislingen migrants. Migrant populations are highly fluid and constantly move in and out of the town's boundaries, either temporarily or permanently. Intervillage and interclub soccer matches were often held and the migrants from nearby villages and towns regularly travelled into Geislingen for leisure activities and socializing. It should be noted here that, contrary to popular belief, living in Geislingen and especially in the surrounding villages was not, for many of the migrants, a change from rural to urban life but rather vice versa. The guest workers often complained about the rural characteristics of German towns and villages in contrast to where they had last come from (e.g., Barcelona, Ankara, Cordoba, or Istanbul). In fact, a recurrent complaint centered on the lack of social activities except routine drinking or going to a periodic movie imported from the homeland.[6]

5. Social Adaptation of Migrants in Geislingen

Commonly in migration studies, immigrants are depicted as a homogeneous block of aliens interacting with an equally homogeneous host society. Any migrant community, however, can be analytically subdivided into a variety of distinctive types using such differentials as regional origins, age, marital status, occupation, length of time abroad, and position in the migration stream. Simultaneously, however, the internal diversity of the guest worker population should not cause one to overlook the common problems and constraints faced by the migrants regardless of their position in the migration stream or their unique socio-

demographic qualities. In the following ethnographic description of migrant social adaptation in Geislingen, no pretense will be made to cover all of the potential varieties of migrant responses. Thus, this discussion will be concerned primarily with migrating units, not individuals or small groups, and thus will gloss over much of the internal diversity. Furthermore, during the early stages of fieldwork, a disproportionate amount of data was collected from single males and only later, when I was able to establish a wider rapport, was information gathered from migrating couples and extended kin groupings. Nevertheless, the following analysis will aim toward a balanced view between general and specific adaptational forms. Special attention will be given to the rhythm and cycle of migrant activity, informal and formal social groupings, and inter-ethnic interaction. The Spanish and Turkish cases will be utilized for purposes of illustration.

The Rhythm and Cycle of Migrant Activity

For most migrants, a fairly well defined weekly and yearly rhythm of activity can be delineated. During their early months abroad, newly arrived migrants are busy learning basic skills (e.g., linguistic, occupational, and social) necessary for functional operation in Germany. Before long, however, they become entrenched in predictable patterns of activity. Typically, their lives fluctuate around a five-day work week and a weekend of rest and recreation. Also, once a year, normally at Christmas, the migrants make their annual pilgrimage home where for two to four weeks they are reunited with their families. The workers anxiously look forward to this brief visit home, but shortly after the New Year, most return to resume their duties at their German work stations.

In the Federal Republic, the foreign migrants are employed in a wide variety of working class occupations and generalizations about their working conditions are difficult to draw. Most, however, labor in manual, low-status occupations connected with construction, assembly line work, metal pouring, and other "dirty," physically demanding and hazardous jobs which require a minimum of technical skill and knowledge of German. Migrants employed in large factories or by construction firms often work in single nationality crews directed by bilingual overseers and German foremen. In larger cities, such as Stuttgart or Frankfurt, it is not uncommon to see street repair crews comprised entirely of Turkish or Spanish workers. Smaller factories, such as Geislingen's Ulo-Werk, have multinational work teams but normally the Gastarbeiter perform lower status tasks.

It is during the non-working hours, however, that the informal and formal structure of the migrant community can be best observed. Swiss playwright Max Frisch's often quoted remark (cited, for example, in Geislinger Zeitung, Jan. 19, 1972:10), "we called for manpower and people came," sums up the reaction of many northwestern Europeans who did not foresee that the migrants would do more than work. Yet, one of the first things a migrant will do, especially if he arrives alone, is reconstruct a network of interpersonal relations. Although the guest workers of each nationality may originate from different regions and have no knowledge of each other before emigration, they are drawn together in the German context through ethnic and linguistic bonds. Of course, the style and degree of participation of individual migrants in this new community hinges on a variety of personal and sociological factors.

Single males pursue a different line of leisure and social activities than males with families in Germany or, obviously, single female migrants who are few in number. A fairly typical rhythm of migrant life, however, can be identified for the majority of migrants.

Like laborers throughout the industrial-capitalist world, the Gastarbeiter work forty hours per week, a schedule which allows little free time from Monday to Friday. Frequently, however, friends will congregate after work for a cup of coffee at the German coffeeshops or drop by their respective ethnic bars for a single drink and a game of cards or dominos. Others come just to sit and talk with their colleagues or to read the latest migrant newspaper. Some regularly go to the public swimming pool or stroll through the streets if weather permits while many remain in the barracks or in their apartments to watch TV or play ping-pong in the factory recreation rooms. A few workers enroll in German courses when these are offered, but interest in attending the classes subsides rapidly: the workers claim to be too tired to attend the night sessions and, besides, "German is too difficult." Time is also consumed with general chores of daily life such as laundry and shopping. Also, two local theaters sporadically offer low grade foreign movies for the various ethnic groups.

Communication and interaction among the guest worker population is most intense during the weekend where activities have a purely social end. The migrants will don their best clothing, take in dances and movies, engage in sporting activities, parade up and down main street, and, single males in particular, consume large amounts of alcohol. There are indeed those frugal workers who remain in their rooms on weekend

nights or, in the larger cities, assemble in the train station where they can lounge and talk. Most foreign workers, however, gather in the comfort of their co-ethnics and drink away the boring work week. Although the ethnic clubs or bars are more family oriented than their cognates in Turkey or Spain, they still are frequented mainly by males. Women and children typically remain confined to the home in non-working hours; their favorite pastime is bargain shopping in the larger German department stores ar attending a movie imported from their country.

Informal and Formal Migrant Activities

In addition to securing housing and a job, the most pressing need of migrants in Germany pertains to their social life. The migrants' desire to reconstruct their social fields arises not only from psychological need but serves immediate practical purposes such as gathering information on permits, welfare benefits, visas, housing, and so on. When most individuals or families first arrive, they find themselves strangers even among their own countrymen. Of course, through the operation of chain migration, some may join kin or friends in the Federal Republic. Even then, their wider informal social field must be created anew.

Migrant communities in Germany are highly fluid social systems since participating members are constantly moving in and out as contracts expire or workers return home voluntarily and new migrants enter. Yet, there is a continuity to local migrant communities and their institutions despite the constant substitution of participants. The newly arrived migrant will almost immediately seek out his co-nationals who already exist in functional interdependence. Few of the migrants I knew in 1971,

for example, could be located in Geislingen in 1974 since most had returned home or changed jobs in Germany; but in both years, the migrant community was viable.

Analytically, the social organization of Geislingen's migrant communities can be described in terms of informal and formal structures. The former refer to friendship cliques and small group primary relationships while the latter designate the more structured, formal social creations such as voluntary organizations and sports clubs. Of course, this distinction is somewhat arbitrary since informal and formal activities tend to overlap and are based on similar migrant needs. To some degree, both informal networks and local voluntary associations replace the traditional forms of kin, neighborhood, and village ties so crucial in southern Europe (see Graves and Graves 1974:128-140 for a review of the literature on formal and informal modes of migrant adaptation).

A comparison of Geislingen's Turkish and Spanish communities can serve to highlight variations and similarities in the non-kin based social adaptations of two migrant populations. In 1971/72, these two groups were characteristic of different levels of migration stream maturation: the Turkish pattern lagged some five to six years behind the Spanish since intensive recruiting began later in Turkey than in Spain (see tables 4.5 and 4.6). Thus, in 1971, Geislingen's Turkish community contained proportionally more single males (65 per cent of all Turkish migrants) than the Spanish population which was well advanced in terms of family chain migration. By 1971, however, the Turkish community, as can be seen in the table, was beginning to receive increasing numbers of women and children. While cultural heritage influences

TABLE 4.5

REGISTERED SPANISH MIGRANTS IN GEISLINGEN

1958-1971

Year*	Men	%	Women	%	Children**	%	Total
1958	-	-	2	100	-	-	2
1959	1	33.3	2	66.3	-	-	3
1960	17	73.9	3	13.0	3	13.0	23
1961	142	83.5	22	12.9	6	3.5	170
1962	118	71.1	36	21.7	12	7.2	166
1963	180	74.1	44	18.1	19	7.8	243
1964	368	82.0	55	12.2	26	5.8	449
1965	268	69.4	80	20.7	38	9.8	386
1966	242	64.2	89	23.6	46	12.2	377
1967	159	60.5	53	20.1	51	19.4	263
1968	190	61.3	59	19.0	61	19.7	310
1969	250	65.4	61	16.0	71	18.6	382
1970	193	53.0	87	23.9	84	23.1	364
1971	150	48.0	88	28.0	75	24.0	313

* Census dates are Sept. 30 for all years except 1971, where census was taken on Dec. 31.

** Children under 12 years of age.

Source: Ordnungsamt Geislingen (data adapted from official statistics to yield percentages for individual nationalities).

TABLE 4.6

REGISTERED TURKISH MIGRANTS IN GEISLINGEN

1960-1971

Year*	Men	%	Women	%	Children**	%	Total
1960	2	100	-	-	-	-	2
1961	3	100	-	-	-	-	3
1962	51	85.0	5	8.3	4	6.6	60
1963	55	78.6	9	12.8	6	8.6	70
1964	109	86.5	11	8.7	6	4.8	126
1965	92	76.0	18	14.9	11	9.1	121
1966	123	76.9	27	16.9	10	6.2	160
1967	135	76.3	21	11.9	21	11.8	177
1968	248	80.5	35	11.4	25	8.1	308
1969	454	86.5	39	7.4	32	6.1	525
1970	386	79.6	48	9.9	51	10.5	485
1971	339	65.1	87	16.7	95	18.2	521

* Census dates are Sept. 30 for all years except 1971, where census was taken on Dec. 31.
** Children under 12 years of age

Source: Ordnungsamt Geislingen (data adapted from official statistics to yield percentages for individual nationalities).

the particular adaptive responses of each community, socio-demographic composition is an equally important determinant of migrant social activities.

Social Adaptation of Turkish Migrants

In 1972, the Geislingen Turkish community had not yet developed a formal voluntary organization, but by 1974, an official organization was established. During the fieldwork period, the Turkish association in nearby Göppingen served the Turkish community of Geislingen. Several of the guest workers also belonged to a Turkish soccer team which had been founded in Donsdorf, a village not far from Geislingen. The vast majority of Turks, therefore, carried out their non-kin social life strictly along informal lines.

Besides the daily routine interaction in the factory and barracks, the foci of informal social intercourse were two Gaststätten which catered specifically to Turkish migrants. Both were located in the "migrant zone," not more than a minute's walk apart. In fact, the migrants often made several trips a night between the two bars sometimes failing to carry their coats and hats with them even in the coldest weather. The two clubs had divided functions. While drinks could be bought at either place, the smaller bar, known as La Casa, served the migrants for card playing, dominos, and related games to pass the time.[7] A strictly masculine affair, La Casa was a cozy establishment with six tables, a juke box which contained Turkish records, and a small stand-up bar. On a typical Friday and Saturday night, twenty to thirty card-playing Turkish men were crammed into the smoke-filled room. The Schwabenbräu Turkish bar, however, had the added attraction of a larger back

room which was always converted into a dance floor and area where the migrants could play their traditional instruments. Here, Turkish meals could be purchased and because of this more family-oriented characteristic, other guest workers and sometimes Germans were willing to venture through its doors on weekend nights. Both places were managed by Turkish nationals, individuals who came to Germany first as guest workers and later started businesses for themselves. The atmosphere in both social centers had been created to simulate as much of the home culture as possible. In the Turkish Schwabenbräu, posters, paintings, rugs, hookas, and other artifacts of Turkish material culture were displayed on the walls and a stern, paternalistic portrait of Atatürk presided over the bar. In the center of the back wall hung a large drum with the inscription Gurbet Ekibi, which was translated by one of the migrants as "exile team," designating the Geislingen Turkish migrants. Despite local German beliefs, both bars were amazingly clean and orderly.

Although most migrants seldom went to the tavern during the working days, a few lounging Turks could be found there at most times. Some came for Turkish coffee late in the morning, particularly those on sick leave, the unemployed, or those who worked night shift or were on vacation. Drinking of alcohol was restrained during the week unless special events such as birthdays, national holidays, or the arrival of a relative from Turkey gave good cause for celebration. On Friday and Saturday night, however, large numbers of Turkish workers entered the bar and drinking tended to be intense. At any given time from eight until midnight, 50 to 80 Turkish men were found in the smoke-filled Schwabenbräu drinking, dancing, and listening to music played on Turkish instruments by their fellow guest workers. Once or twice during the night,

the Turkish bar girl performed belly dances much to the pleasure of the Turkish males.

By examining more carefully, however, the internal workings of this migrant "coffee house," we find there is much more to its significance than a beer and dance hall. In addition to its important psychological function, the bar served wider social and economic purposes as well. The Schwabenbräu stood as a crucial information center and hinge in the articulation of the Turkish worker with the outside society. The club also was their rendezvous place. In the larger German cities, migrants gather in the train station where it is warm and where one can meet friends and pass away the hours without spending any money. In Geislingen, however, there was no large train station to serve as a "psychological link to home"; instead, the Turkish Schwabenbräu functioned to this end. Here also the workers could meet other Turks to discuss legal strategies in terms of passports, work permits, customs, taxes, financial problems, and so forth. In the Schwabenbräu, migrants let off steam after making important decisions such as sending for the rest of the family or signing up for another year's contract. Here, too, many hours were spent discussing their life in Germany, Turkish politics, the virtues of the various regions in Turkey, and what they would do upon their return home. It was "home territory" away from home, serving a multitude of functions: education, socialization, orientation, information, and recreation. In the bar, they found solace, mutual support, their own language, and the same interests and orientations.

Although the Turkish Gaststätten were the center of Turkish social life in Geislingen, the bars were considered dens of inequity by the local citizens and officials and kept under close police surveillance.

While strolling the street, Germans often peaked through the bar's windows, cautiously surveying what to them must have represented a forbidding atmosphere. Yet, for this same reason, the bar attracted certain elements of German society: drunk German males often entered the bar seeking prostitutes or drugs; and young hippie types of both sexes came for the atmosphere and "exoticness" of Turkish culture. The only German women who visited the Schwabenbräu were, predictably, the same individuals who also frequented Geislingen's lower class German bars. Most of these women were in their forties or, if younger, suffered from some physical defect which rendered them unattractive to German males. Among the Turkish workers who were without feminine contact, these women had many admirers and were, on the whole, treated better than by German men. Interestingly, many of them spoke "GI" English and had played the same role--at one time--for American soldiers. Some also were obviously prostitutes and because of the police such women, when discovered, were rejected from the establishment by the management. The kinds of Germans the migrants contacted in such circumstances reflected in part their lower socio-economic position in German society.

A word of caution is in order concerning the above discussion on migrant social activities and the central role of the ethnic migrant cultural center/bar. A large portion of the local Turkish population, particularly the women, children, and those males forced to save every penny, were cut off from legitimate social outlets. They were confined, by necessity or choice, to the barracks or congested apartments. They may have watched TV or played some game in the barrack recreation room or strolled the streets. Turkish women sometimes entered the Schwabenbräu during the day with their husbands or brothers, but never at night

(see Castles and Kosack 1973:361-371 for a general discussion of the special adaptational problems faced by women and children migrants in northwestern Europe).

The Spanish Social Patterns: Informal Networks and Voluntary Association

The informal leisure-time activities of the Spanish migrants did not differ structurally from those of the Turkish workers even though obvious culturally defined variations existed. However, Spanish social activity in Geislingen during 1971 and 1972 was far more formalized and organized than that of the Turks. This, no doubt, reflects an older settlement pattern and higher ratio of family migrating units. The main focus of Spanish social life centered around the Club Español, or, as some called it, the Centro Español. It was located directly in the downtown area, only a minute's walk from the Turkish bars and was reminiscent of the thousands of working class bars found in Spain. In one corner hung the omnipresent and ever blaring television set and beneath that to the right was a German slot machine that constantly twirled when the migrant felt lucky. In the club's southwest corner was a newspaper rack containing the La Fecha, the Spanish migrant newspaper, and other newspapers from the larger Spanish cities. Directly across the room, on the entrance door, was a bulletin board crowded with notices of many varieties and in the northwest corner, next to a Spanish juke box, was a display case holding the trophies won by the local Spanish soccer club.

Like the Turkish Gaststätten, the Spanish club served a variety of informal and social functions. In addition to finding fellowship and a card or domino game, workers congregated at the club to learn the ins

and outs of life in Germany: for example, how to get an apartment, where to register, how to pay taxes. When a Spanish migrant faced a difficult situation or needed information about a problem, his first stop was the Club Español where he found more experienced and knowledgable colleagues.

The Club Español, however, also served as the official headquarters of the Spanish colony's association. In contradistinction to the Turkish case, the Spanish migrants had founded and organized a mutual self-help voluntary society. The Colonia Español de Geislingen was officially registered with the local German authorities and had elected officers, a treasury, and monthly dues of 5 marks per member. The association held its offical meetings on Sunday afternoon when as many as 100 Spaniards would crowd into the club's main room. Here, they discussed the pressing problems of their community and initiated a variety of social and self-help activities.

The Geislingen Club Español was amazingly generalized in its functions. In addition to its obvious role of fostering cultural pride, providing channels for individual status not attainable in the larger society, and socializing new migrants, the club engaged in a host of consciously planned social and economic activities. Thus, they sponsored fiestas, pageants, contests, and a soccer team. More important, perhaps, was the practical mutual aid for any member in difficulties. Upon death of a member, for example, the association arranged for burial service and financially assisted the deceased's family. A major concern also centered on the Spanish children of Geislingen. Repeatedly, the association attempted to recruit Spanish teachers since, according to one member, "our children speak German better than Spanish and know noth-

ing of their homeland." The association also served as a link with extra-community institutions and organizations. For example, during the 1971 nation-wide strike of metal workers when many migrants feared they would lose their jobs, the association arranged for a Spanish member of the union to discuss such matters as unemployment, strike activities, return of tax money, and other aspects related to job termination and the strike. The association's bulletin board was another indicator of the club's linkage to the outside: a brief glance over the notices demonstrated the wide variety of governmental offices and other organizations which were concerned with the migrants. Finally, it should be noted that while the Geislingen Club Español received some limited assistance from the Spanish government for its operation, most of the activities originated with and were carried out by the local migrants themselves.

Given the relatively small size of the Spanish community in Geislingen, the Centro Español had no special regional or occupational orientation; the Club was pan-Spanish and generalized in its concerns. In the larger German cities, however, Spanish associations based on a wide variety of specialized interest can be found. A cursory glance through the pages of the Spanish migrant newspaper 7 Fechas demonstrates the almost unlimited variety of migrant voluntary organizations: soccer, boxing, musical clubs, associations of family fathers, association of foreign wives, associations of Spanish teachers, regional associations, aid-to-home-village societies, to mention only a few (see also Ministerium für Arbeit, Gesundheit und Sozialordnung, Baden-Württemberg, n.d. for a partial listing of associations in Baden-Württemberg for 1972).

Internally, Geislingen's Club Español was organized much like other generalized associations found throughout the Federal Republic. The bar/restaurant was privately run by a Spaniard and his wife who had operated a small bar in Spain before coming to Germany. The elected officers were surprisingly numerous: president, vice-president, secretary, vice-secretary, treasurer, vice-treasurer, social director, special events director, and several minor directors. It almost seemed that an effort was made to allow everyone to hold office in the club. The nature of the events (fiestas, weddings, contests, etc.) sponsored by the Spanish clubs in Germany revealed an attempt to imitate cultural activities which were remote to working class populations in Spain. In Germany, removed from the immediate presence of the Spanish middle and upper classes, the migrants seemed to strive for the outward displays of status which in Spain lay beyond their reach. 7 Fechas, for example, carries its own social pages with photos of locally elected "Miss Spains," ostentatiously decorated weddings and double-weddings, elected officials, and "honored" migrants. In fact, enthusiasm for social activities and group-coordinated events and the effectiveness with which they were carried out is startling given the purported inability of the Spanish lower classes to cooperate. Even the Spanish migrants themselves realize the new sense of organization found outside their homeland. The anthropologist Jerome Mintz (1972:54-62) has discovered that among the tales and jokes told by returned migrants in Andalusia the concept of cohesiveness appears:

> In one factory, some Spaniards were said to have battled with a group of German workers. The police were called, but the Spanish workers would not give in. Then the German chief of police

> jumped on the table. "Friends," he cried, "it is good to see you so united. If you had been as united in Spain as you are today, you would not be here."

While the formal nature of the Club Español has been stressed in order to compare the more entrenched and older Spanish colony with the Turkish informal activities, it should not be forgotten that the Spanish Club also was a recreation and dining establishment, a place where workers engaged in leisure-time activities and social intercourse. The club was equally open to Spanish women who gathered among themselves for conversation while their husbands played cards or dominos. For these casual activities, the Spanish and Turkish Gaststätten were structurally virtually identical. In the Spanish case, however, the migrant community organization had--probably because of the more mature age of the migration stream--moved beyond strictly informal lines to a formalized voluntary organization.

Variations in Adaptive Strategies

Close-hand observation of the internal workings of any migrant community is bound to leave the investigator impressed with the rich diversity of migrant types and adaptive responses. In this regard, Geislingen was no exception. Thus, as a partial corrective to the generalizing approach taken in this dissertation and elsewhere in the intra-European migration literature, brief attention will be given to the varieties of adaptive strategies. For convenience, these variations will be discussed under the following categories: service migrants, single male laborers, and migrating families. Individual case studies will be utilized for each type. No attempt, however, is made to describe all identifiable categories of migrants uncovered during the field-

work research; those examined below are presented as illustrations of variability, not as the full range of migrant types and adaptations.

Service migrants designate those individuals within the migrant social system who function as cultural brokers, businessmen, entertainers, and in other roles which offer direct services to the migrant populations or facilitate their articulation with the larger society. In the Geislingen area, service migrants could be classified into two structural types: 1) "formal" migrants such as interpreters employed by firms, migrant representatives of labor unions, social workers, priests, etc.; and 2) "informal" self-employed, independent middle-men who operate among the workers supplying them with demanded goods and services. In addition to serving as cultural brokers by mediating between migrants and Germans, the service migrants also provided ways which linked their co-ethnics to their home communities and traditions (see Wolf 1956:1076 for an early conceptualization of the cultural broker notion). They also functioned to assist in the satisfaction of needs arising out of the peculiarities of the migratory process. In many cases, therefore, "informal" service migrants operate illegally by securing false permits, smuggling in workers, transferring black market goods, providing prostitutes to single males, to mention only a few illicit activities. Others, such as owners of food import shops, travel agency managers, bar operators, etc. were far more common and typical of service migrants, however.

Most individuals who ultimately set up an ethnic business in Germany migrated first as common laborers. The desire to become independent small business operators, which other workers may aspire for on

their return home, often moves many to try their luck in Germany. Interestingly, several Italian and Greek guest worker businessmen described to me the avowed success of an entrepreneurial brother or cousin in America and they hoped to duplicate that reputed success in Germany. Thus, after building up some savings, an investment in a migration-related enterprise was often made. Entrepreneurial families from the sending countries, however, were also quick to capitalize on the migrant condition abroad. The case of a Turkish family operating in the Geislingen area is exemplary of this type and will be utilized in the following case study.

The most powerful and respected Turkish migrant in the Geislingen-Göppingen area was, surprisingly, a single woman in her early forties. Although unmarried, Miss M. (as I will name her), "headed" an extended family unit which operated a number of migration-related businesses. Miss M., who always wore pants and frequently smoked cigars, originally came to Germany in 1962 through her work with a Turkish travel agency. As the Turkish migrant population increased, she decided to invest in a Gaststätte in Göppingen and later also opened the Schwabenbräu in Geislingen. Yet, according to German law, she could not legally own and manage such establishments since she held only a work visa and had not passed the required restaurant state examination. To circumvent the authorities, Miss M. entered into a private arrangement whereby a German couple received 1,500 marks per month to pose as the owners. They came to the bars periodically to support the facade.

In the meantime, Miss M. had attempted to gain legal control through illegal means by paying a local lawyer a considerable sum to push

through the proper papers and assist her in getting certified to operate a public restaurant. The lawyer had intended to demonstrate to the authorities that the Geislingen bar was a bona fide Turkish cultural center and should be given special attention before the law. The plan failed, however, although I was never able to uncover the exact sequence of events. When I terminated phase I of my 1972 fieldwork, the legal process was still under way. By 1974, when I re-visited the fieldwork site, the Geislingen establishment had come under German management and the bar itself had become a Yugoslav hangout.

While operating within the Göppingen-Geislingen area, Miss M. and her family provided a variety of services to the migrant population. In the Turkish bar/restaurant, the migrants found national food, drinks, entertainment, and a social life. Through her travel agency, the workers were transported between Germany and Turkey. Miss M. and her teenage nephews, because of their fluent German, served as cultural brokers by frequently handling affairs where German and Turkish parties were involved. Miss M. and her family, which included parents, brothers, sisters, nephews, and other kin, all assisted in the operation and were afforded a great deal of prestige and status by the migrant population. In fact, they considered themselves socially superior to the regular migrants and always made a concerted effort to inform "respected" outsiders that they were not "ordinary guest workers." The younger members of the family went to German college preparatory schools (Gymnasium) and none of the older members worked in manual occupations.

Employed in Miss M.'s business was another Turkish female who represented a different type of service migrant. This was Nezike, the

bar maid and belly dancer who migrated from Turkey in 1969 when she was 22 years old. Back home, she had no family except one brother. She first went to Ludwigsburg where she had a contract to work in a factory. There she met a Turkish man with whom she lived for a year before finding out that he had a wife and two children back in Turkey. Nezike wanted to leave him but he forced her to stay, promising to divorce his wife and marry her. After he beat her several times, she left Ludwigsburg and came to Göppingen where Miss M. offered her a job and protection from persecution by her former lover.

The cases of Miss M. and Nezike demonstrate the extreme variations in the migration process. Typically, intra-European migration is thought of as a male dominated, male controlled movement. While this is generally the case, significant numbers of women operate independently or as leaders of migrating units. While most women follow their husbands or brothers to Germany and undergo limited value change, both Miss M. and Nezike were openly critical of the position of women in Turkish society. Both admitted that their experiences in Germany had led them to increased dissatisfaction with the behavior and attitudes of Turkish males. While my own data on female migrants are regrettably incomplete, the position of women in the migratory process stands in need of greater examination if we are to understand the full consequences of migration (see Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 49, No. 1, 1976, for a special issue on women and migration).

Most of the ethnographic data in this study has been collected from interviews among single male migrants. Given the lack of immediate family pressures on their time and their propensity to lounge in the

social centers, I was able to conduct more thorough interviews among this group. Since much of this data has been reported elsewhere in this dissertation, I will offer only two contrasting types of single male migrants, one from Turkey and the other from Spain. Neither individual is necessarily representative of his respective national groups in Germany: in fact, both "types" can be found among either the Spanish or Turkish workers.

Ali was my main informant among the Turkish workers. He migrated to Germany from Adana at the age of 22 leaving behind his widowed mother and four younger siblings. He arrived in Geislingen only nine months before I began field research and worked for Licht und Kraft, a medium sized factory that manufactures electrical parts. Although Ali was a trained machinist, and had completed high school along with some vocational training, he was essentially an unskilled laborer in Germany. Ali lived with two other Turkish men in an attic apartment for which they payed 75 marks each. They did most of their own cooking and rarely spent money unnecessarily. Every month, Ali sent home as much as 60 per cent of his take home pay. Periodically, he would get incredibly drunk, but this came only once every three or four months. Within his short stay, Ali had learned excellent German and had adapted well to the host society. Although he expressed a great admiration for Germany, he constantly talked of returning home. At times, he would become depressed, a mood which led to drinking and complaining that life abroad without his family was unbearable. According to his goals, Ali worked out his contract and returned promptly to Adana. He did not extend his stay in Germany beyond the projected visit by even a single day.

Compared to the frugal and well-planned migration strategy of Ali, the response of my primary informant among the Spanish single male population was virtually the opposite. Antonio, who was five years older than Ali, was one of the first migrants I encountered in Geislingen. This first meeting with an "Andalusian peasant migrant" was a shattering experience in terms of the stereotypes of migrants I had built up in my mind during the pre-fieldwork research stage. The first night I encountered Antonio he invited me to visit the Club Español. We got there at high and dangerous speeds through the narrow medieval streets of Geislingen's old downtown sector in his brand new Opel GT which displayed such extras as an elaborate stereo tape deck, sheep wool seat covers, and numerous other accessories and gadgets about which I was totally ignorant. Antonio's complete wardrobe was also a marvel; on this night, he wore a frilled buckskin jacket and high heeled boots. The local Spaniards had nicknamed him "Buffalo Bill" because of his "cowboy" appearance. Antonio's lifestyle had not always been so ostentatious. He was born and reared in a village not far from Cadiz. Before signing up for Germany, he worked in construction in Cadiz. In Geislingen it was rumored that he was married and had deserted his wife, but if this was so I never had the information confirmed by him. By 1972, he had been in Germany for over four years but had failed to save even a few hundred marks because of his obsession with mass produced luxury items. His relatively expensive furnished apartment was complete with television, radio, and tape-deck. Toward the end of his stay in Geislingen, Antonio stopped working altogether; instead, he hung out constantly at his favorite bar, the Bahnhofseck, drinking and playing the

slot machine. He would regularly buy drinks for the house and flash large rolls of German bills for everyone to see. Antonio finally left Geislingen broke and dejected. In his four years of labor he had saved nothing and had even, prior to his departure, hocked his car and most of his gadgets for extra drinking money. Antonio left Germany under pressure from the local authorities and joined members of his family who were presumably working in the agricultural harvest in France. His greatest dream, he once had claimed, was to get a Sueca (originally designating a Swedish girl but sometimes used as a generic term for all northern European girls, particularly blondes) and race up and down the Costa Brava or Costa del Sol in his sports car. Although most migrants sharing Antonio's orientation fail to achieve their "luxury life," the model remains a powerful one and brings large numbers of migrants into consumption patterns which eat up their earnings and send them homeward broke and ridden with feelings of failure. Such cases are not unusual in the latest wave of intra-European migration.

"Single" migrants who extend their stays in Germany often send for their spouses and, at times, other family members. The composition and strategies of these migrating family units, however, are quite varied. In Geislingen, they ranged from young married couples to pairs of brothers to extended families complete with grandparents. Among my sample, I interviewed two Turkish brothers who escaped Turkish authorities following a violent village vendetta. In another case, a Greek woman had migrated first, sending later for the family, but leaving the husband behind to care for the farm and to invest the money she and the children sent home. One Spanish family was comprised of eleven indivi-

duals, including the elderly parents and small children of the workers. The older people were often confined to the apartment to look after the pre-school children and do the chores, an existence which probably led to the premature death of the grandfather only six months after their arrival in Germany.

More typical of the migrating family units, however, was the young nuclear family. Within this category, I gathered the most significant data from Miguel and Maria Moreno. Both originated from a village located near Teruel, Spain. In 1966, Miguel and his unmarried brother Juan decided to emigrate because there were few opportunities for industrial work in the Teruel region. The brothers received contracts with the WMF factory in Geislingen and upon their arrival, they moved into the barracks where they shared a room along with one other Spaniard. From the beginning, Miguel was unhappy about the separation from his wife and he anxiously looked forward to the Christmas vacation each year. After four years, Miguel finally decided to send for his wife. Originally, he and Juan had only planned to stay for two years but it was much more difficult to save money in Germany than anticipated and they feared unemployment upon their return home. When I asked Miguel why he sent for his spouse, he responded: "Life in the barracks was good. Three of us in one room, a bunk a piece, hot and cold running water ... but no woman. Life in Germany is unbearable alone, with a woman and family back home." He then manipulated his face into a "you know what I mean" expression and held up his left hand, making a circle with the thumb and index finger and banging away with his open right hand. But the forces behind Miguel's decision were far more complex than he

let on. He knew his wife could work and almost double their income and there world be only one houselold to support. When his wife arrived they moved into an upstairs apartment not far from the factory for which they payed 95 marks per month. Miguel worked a night shift and his wife worked during the day; both took overtime work whenever it became available. Yet, they complained bitterly about routine and boredom in their existence abroad and they still saw little hope for returning to Spain in the near future. Despite a desire to save, the couple invested heavily in luxury items. Their apartment was nicely furnished complete with a large television set which constantly was turned on when either of them was at home. In 1972, Miguel's wife became pregnant, an event which finally facilitated their decision to return home. Maria left first to be joined by her husband in 1973 when his contract expired. Because there was no work in the village, however, they soon departed with their young son to a resort town on the coast where Miguel found employment in construction.

The vast difference in migrants and their responses to the migration experience should stand as a cautionary note to those who wish to pigeonhole migrants into rigid, pre-conceived categories. At present, our knowledge of migration differentials is not yet adequate to allow us to explain such differences. Nevertheless, while the ethnographic description of individuals in the migratory process is a worthwhile endeavor, migration itself is not explicable in terms of individuals alone. For a more complete understanding of migration, ethnographic micro-analysis of localized migrant groups would be complemented with macro-investigations such as outlined earlier in this dissertation.

Inter-Ethnic Social Relations

Although guest workers are often thought of as undifferentiated Mediterraneans sharing a common cultural tradition, the various migrant populations of Geislingen were socially separate. While friendships sometimes formed across nationality lines through the factory work units, such bonds were rare. In fact, it is no overstatement to note that the foreign ethnic groups were as suspicious of each other as they were of Germans or the Germans of them.[4] These feelings, however, existed under an often expressed egalitarian philosophy and an outward spirit of brotherhood among guest worker populations. When groups of migrants casually talked in bars they would symbolically recognize their common situation through the German phrase, Alle Menschen sind gleich (all people are equal), or through criticism, in German of their German hosts. In privacy, however, it was not uncommon for the migrants to speak in unflattering terms about their "colleagues." Spaniards, for example, often noted that Turks "stink, live like pigs, and carry knives," a stereotype not far removed from the Germans' view of Turks. Likewise, the Turks found the Spaniards equally degenerate in addition to being "dumb," particularly when it came to speaking German.

Throughout the fieldwork period, there was a widespread feeling of comradeship among Geislingen's migrants only once, and this case in the face of tragedy. Before dawn on September 12, 1971, a migrant workers' barracks burned to the ground killing two young Italians and seriously injuring five more. Precisely one year before, two Spanish migrants had died in a similar fire which destroyed a wooden hut belonging to the same company. Because of the unusual coincidence and the lingering memory of the previous year's tragedy, rumors spread through the shaken

migrant community that arsen was involved. More significantly, however, the 1971 event brought the entire migrant population temporarily together in their frustration about the housing problem. In the local ethnic bars, monetary collections were taken voluntarily for the benefit of the deceased and their relatives (Geislinger Zeitung, Sept. 13, 14, 21, 1971). The Italian and Spanish soccer clubs staged a benefit soccer match with a direct appeal to the local German population to help financially by attending the game. Predictably, however, the 150 spectators were exclusively foreign. A further special appeal by the editors of the Geislinger Zeitung (Sept. 21, 1971:8), the local newspaper, to the native populace for "the honorable gesture of monetary donation" went unnoticed except for one small group of local liberals. Within two weeks, the militant mood of the migrant community had passed, but briefly the Geislingen migrants bordered on coordinated political action.

In southern Germany, numerous attempts have been made by politically oriented German organizations--such as the Young Socialists--to instill a class consciousness in the foreign migrants. From time to time, Gastarbeiter fairs sponsored by radical groups are held, but their success is minimal. The typical guest worker is politically uninvolved and his loyalties rarely extend beyond his family or close group of co-ethnics. Also, many migrants fear that political involvement may lead to their deportation. In 1974 when war broke out between Greece and Turkey, Germans feared that violence might also erupt between the two migrant communities. Instead, surveys conducted among them revealed a far greater concern with job layoffs in Germany because of the energy crisis than with the distant war (Südwest Presse, Aug. 4, 1974).

6. Migrant Ideology

Philpott (1968:474; see also Philpott, 1970:20, and Graves and Graves, 1974:124-125) has defined migrant ideology as "the cognitive model which the migrant holds as to the nature and goals of his migration." Many of the sociologically constructed surveys mentioned earlier in this chapter have attempted to uncover the migrants' perception of the migration situation. Such short answer questionnaire methods, however, rarely consider the dynamics of migrant ideology or the relationship between stated attitudes and actual behavior. This section aims, therefore, to examine the ideological component of the migrant subculture in Geislingen. The data was gathered by participant observation and interviews with Geislingen migrants at various intervals from 1971 to 1974.

Besides bringing to Germany their own cultural worldviews, there are unique aspects of the migrant situation itself which affect the migrants' psychological disposition regardless of national origin. First, it should be recalled that the foreign worker to Germany perceives his sojourn abroad as temporary; he is, as Böhning (1972:62) noted, a "target worker." Initially, most workers plan to emigrate temporarily, work for a few years, save as much as possible, and return home to begin a new life with the savings. This ideal pattern, which is hoped for even after obvious failure, underscored the belief system of most migrants in Geislingen. There was a constant orientation toward home, including plans for the return even after years of physical existence abroad and the prospect of more time in Germany.

Because of this anticipated temporary stay abroad, many migrants

see little advantage in investing money, time, or even energy in attempting to increase either their status position or security in German society. Their reference group, or social unit of orientation, lies with the migrant community and the village or primary groups left at home. Thus, large numbers of migrants acquire only a functional level of the German language--if that--and they make little effort to establish social relationships with indigenous populations.[8] This self-imposed aloofness is also replicated by the German population, but ethnic segregation cannot be entirely ascribed to prejudicial attitudes of the German public. The migrants, too, are not enthusiastic or even mildly interested in "integration." In fact, every guest worker interviewed emphatically proclaimed that he or she same to Germany for the D(eutsche) Mark only and stay for the same reason, no other.

The reaction of foreign workers to German society is not dissimilar to the psychological state labelled "culture shock" (Bock 1970: ix-xii). Early in their stay abroad, the migrants often demonstrate an enthusiasm for learning German and a general excitement about their new work experience and host culture. Before long, however, the migrant regresses into a state of mental glorification of his homeland. In his mind's eye, he creates unreal images of what life must be like back in his natal town. There, he dreams, the people are friendly, the climate is perfect, the food inherently superior, the wine tastier. The verbal target of the migrants suffering from "culture shock" is the German culture. Without denying the superiority of German technology and economy, or the worth of the D-Mark, the migrant finds little to admire about life in Germany: the weather is unbearable, the food is bland, the people un-

friendly, and the language irrational. Thus, after the newness wears off, many workers drift headlong into a syndrome of nostalgia and loneliness, particularly if they had come to Germany alone. Sometimes the workers openly admit their dissatisfaction as a result of Heimweh (homesickness), a condition they also describe vividly with the German phrase Allein sein ist scheiBe (to be alone is the shits). Before long, the migrant gives up all interest in learning German or having social contact with the indigenous populace. Instead, he turns inward and interacts only with fellow ethnics in the barracks or bars.

One major barrier to cross-ethnic communication involves language. After the above mentioned initial flurry of interest, the typical migrant makes little effort to gain more than a functional use of German. In Geislingen, the courses of Deutsch für Ausländer (German for foreigners) for each nationality group were regularly offered by the local Volkshochschule (people's highschool). Each term, however, the response was the same: initial enrollment was excellent but the follow-through was almost non-existent. The 1971 fall course "German for Spaniards," for example, began with 21 enthusiastic Spaniards but only three finished the class. Obviously, a few workers do acquire a degree of fluency; the majority, however, settles for a broken Gastarbeiter "pidgin" German.

Of the two ethnic groups discussed in this chapter, the Geislingen Spaniards were more intensely critical of Germany. They migrated solamente para dinero, el marco, nada más (only for the mark, nothing more). They found Germans to be aloof, impersonal, and stiff; attributes expressed by the Spanish description of Germans as no tienen corazón (they have no heart), or no saben como vivir (they do not know how to

live). The Germans, from the Spanish point of view, "live to work," whereas the Spaniard more rationally "works to live." Within the company of themselves, Spanish migrants would sometimes act out their exaggerated versions of a "typical" German. My fieldnotes of August 28, 1971, captures a typical interview scene with a group of Spanish migrants, one which was to reoccur in similar form many times during the research period:

> Unanimously, they agreed on their displeasure of living in Germany, but they liked the mark. When I asked them about Germans, Ramon immediatly offered his acting services, his imitation of a typical" German. The effect was vaguely similar to a big barking dog: he lowered his head, twisted his mouth around, projected his lower jaw downward, and loudly emitted rough, deep barking sounds. All of this was much to the pleasure and laughter of his Spanish colleagues.

Despite the workers' vociferous dislike of living in Germany, those who remained there for several years gradually underwent a major value reorientation. In numerous ways, their aspirations and habits were brought more in line with those of Germans. These "rising expectations" among the migrants dictated a whole new set of values concerning housing, clothing, savings, and so forth. One of the most visible expressions of this change came in terms of increased consumption of luxury products. Although most migrants were undoubtedly exposed to consumer markets prior to emigration, the higher wages earned in Germany and greater availability of goods allowed for a fuller realization of their consumption desires.

The importance of guest worker spending patterns on non-essentials was underscored in December of 1971, when the nationwide metalworker strike and temporary recession caused foreign workers to refrain

from buying luxury gifts to be taken to their home countries on Christmas vacation. The jewelry and camera shops in Geislingen were hardest hit, much to the displeasure of the local proprietors (Geislinger Zeitung, Dec. 14, 1971:10). Immediately when the successful end of the strike was announced, just shortly before the holidays began, however, the sales shot back to "normal" as migrants rushed to buy last minute gifts for the trip home.

Contrary to popular belief, guest workers spend significant sums of their earnings in Germany, particularly the single males who frequent the bars and seek out weekend entertainment. They are not willing to defer gratification while in Germany and thus lay out considerable cash for both leisure activities and material goods. In fact, some German business branches have actually calculated a guest worker fcctor in their production predictions and have come to rely heavily on foreign migrant purchases (Borris 1974:80). Even migrants desiring to save most of their wages were partially drawn into the German consumption economy. In Geislingen, for example, I had the opportunity to observe a newly arrive Anatolian migrant change his outward appearance. He had arrived in Germany wearing a red stocking cap, baggy pants, dark dusty low-cut shoes and carrying a cardboard suitcase. By winter, a short five months later, he had acquired a fur collar top coat, a felt hat, black shiny shoes, and a briefcase. This attire constituted the "Turkish guest worker uniform" and could be observed in any Turkish bar or at closing time of the factories. The "uniform" is an obvious attempt to model dressing style after that of the German white collar workers.

A year later, the same Anatolian worker had also gathered a wide array of gadgets including a television set and radio, fountain pen, camera, and an old green Volkswagen.

In this brief discussion of migrant ideology it has been noted that, paradoxically, the "target worker" orientation remains directed toward home, but still he undergoes a series of value changes abroad (see Böhning 1972:61 for a general discussion). In earlier sections of this chapter, other aspects of migrant ideology (political, economic, and social) have been mentioned and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that virtually all migrants experience at least some value change, even those who attempt to save all their earnings and remain socially isolated. These alterations may not be easily observeable in Germany but become more evident upon the migrnnt's return home when his newly acquired standards may clash severly with non-migrants holding traditional worldviews. Problems related to migrants returning to the home countries will be discussed in more detail in chapter VI.

NOTES

1 Three sets of statistical data are used to arrive at the Göppingen Landkreis and Geislingen migrant populations: 1. the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit's Ausländische Arbeitnehmer, issues from 1969 to 1972, 2. mimeographed reports of the Göppingen Labor Office, 3. registration records of the Geislingen Ordnungsamt. The problem of foreign population assessment on the local level becomes evident when the official statistics of Göppingen are compared with those of the German National Labor Office which mediated the recruitment and placement of workers. According to figures published by the Bundesanstalt, the number of foreign workers should be twice that of the locally reported figures; for example, the National Office (1971:71) indicated a September 30, 1970 foreign worker population of 46,808 while the local office (Arbeitsamt Göppingen 1971, supplement) could only muster up 15,375 Mediterranean and Turkish workers. The discrepancy is overwhelming, to say the least, and I suspect it would be safer to lean toward the national figures. In all cases, however, the figures should be accepted with caution.

2 The term "single male" refers to those males migrating without their wives or families as well as to marital status.

3 Demands for granting foreign workers at least the communal franchise had been voiced especially by the Young Socialists and party membership for guest workers was contemplated by the Christian Democratic Union as early as 1972 (Geislinger Zeitung Feb. 16, 1972:1). The Goetheschule in Offenbach/Main was probably the first school which allowed a guest worker parent to be elected into the "parents' council" (Elternbeirat) of the school. Later, in 1974, regional committees of the European Union suggested to grant the local franchise to those guest workers from the countries of the European Union who had been in Germany for at least three years (Südwest-Presse March 30. 1974:6; and April 1974:6).

4 In one case, the payoff for the right to rent (para entrada) amounted to over 1,000 marks. The incoming couple, migrants from Galicia, also received as a part of the price the departing migrants' old and essentially worthless furniture.

5 It is interesting to note parenthetically that migrant businesses change hands along ethnic lines. One bar, which was frequented mainly by Turks in 1971, had by 1974 become a Yugoslav establishment. This was true also of several other migrant businesses.

6 Mehrländer (1974:71) notes that "sex as well as school or vocational training or previous occupation and reason for migration have no influence on the appearance of disappointments with the first residence in the Federal Republic. In contrast, however, it becomes evident that the informants from large cities in their homeland experience disappointment more frequently than the rest of the interviewed."

7 One Turkish informant told me that the bar La Casa was once a Spanish bar which, if true, accounts for its Latin name. When the Spanish community in Geislingen declined there was no longer a need for two Spanish centers whereas the growing Turkish population could support two easily.

8 According to the National Labor Office (Repräsentativuntersuchung, 1972:29), 68 per cent of all workers spoke broken or no German. By 1972, however, only 43 per cent were classified as knowing German "poorly " (schlecht) or "not at all" (garnicht).

CHAPTER V

THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON GERMAN SOCIETY: A CASE STUDY

1. Introduction

In the vast anthropological literature on migration, few studies concentrate on the impact of immigration on the receiving society. If the host society is considered at all it is in terms of, as Graves and Graves (1974:141) have noted:

> ... the effect of the host economy, political system, immigration laws, and policies and attitudes of its members on the adjustment of the migrants rather than on adaptations being made by members of the host community.

This same research hiatus appears in the intra-European case; in particular, the German response to the sudden and massive influx of foreign migrants remains an empirical unknown. Paralleling the sociological research conducted among guest workers mentioned in chapter IV, surveys attempting to uncover German attitudes about migrants have been abundant (e.g., Infas 1966:7-19; Meistermann-Seeger 1970:35-40; see also the review by Castles and Kosack 1973:433-435). Nevertheless, such surveys generally ignore the social and economic milieu within which the sample population is enmeshed and therefore rarely reveal much more than short-answer responses to a restricted set of questions. Thus, the purpose of the following chapter is to describe the adaptation of

specific segments of the German population to the immigrations. Special ethnographic attention will be given to a small group of working class German migrants to Geislingen.

Serving as host to large numbers of foreign laborers is by no means new to the German populace (see chapter II for an historical discussion). However, the contemporary intra-European case provides a fertile field for the study of German society and social psychology in the post-war era. These migrations present Germany with its first major test, so to speak, in intergroup relations since the tragic results of the National Socialists' minority policy. Today, critics of German guest worker policy draw analogies to Nazi treatment of the Jews or Anglo-American attitudes toward Blacks (e.g., Klee 1971, 1972, 1973; Uhlig 1974; Schönbach 1972; Fietkau 1972). Some argue that the modern German's prejudice is still partially shaped by Nazi propaganda (Castles and Kosack 1973:25) while others strongly suggest that he remains a "good German," merely expressing his innermost beliefs just as he did during the heyday of the Third Reich. The difficulties of foreign worker "integration" lie, it is pointed out, solely with German prejudice and discrimination against aliens.

The following inquiry, in opposition to the above psychological explanations, will regard prejudice as a dependent variable, a psychological reaction arising from a specific socio-economic condition. To assign a primary role to prejudice is, as Schermerhorn (1970:6) has pointed out,

> ... to put the cart before the horse. If research has confirmed anything in this area, it is that prejudice is a product of situations, economic situations, political situations; it is not a little demon that emerges in people simply because they are depraved.

The circumstances surrounding the contemporary migrations into Germany are vastly different from those giving rise to the hysteria of Nazi Germany.[1] While analogies with American racism and Nazi treatment of Jews and gypsies may be tempting, the present circumstances are more appropriately comparable to other cases of voluntary migration when alien groups move into a host country seeking economic opportunities and where the indigenous population is numerically superior and controls the political and economic institutions (cf. van den Berghe 1967:14; Lieberson 1968:46-49; Schermerhorn 1970:113).

Furthermore, it is necessary to realize that the migrations have not had an equal impact on all societal levels and geographic regions of Germany. Mediterranean workers are recruited for specific jobs located primarily in industrial regions, and they enter German society at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Therefore, channeled distribution of foreigners within Germany and within the German social structure makes for varying relationships between Germans and migrants. In 1973, two-thirds of the foreign labor was concentrated geographically in seven per cent of the nation's territory (see chapter III, table 3.2). Socially, migrants articulate not with the totality of German society but with special segments which are involved, economically and administratively, with foreigners. Migrants, for example, come into contact more frequently with landlords, foremen, migration officials, Ausländerpolizei (special foreigner police), bar owners, and related occupations which usually are concerned with the working class rather than with other segments of the society. Consequently, because of diversity within the host society and limited social and geographical distribution of the migrants, most Germans have minimal

contact with foreigners. Nonetheless, the introduction of 2.7 million migrant workers along with their dependents has affected, if only indirectly, all socio-economic levels of German society ranging from the financial elite to the working class Germans who bear the brunt of competition for jobs and housing with the Gastarbeiter. The manner in which each segment of German society responds depends upon its position within that larger context and the nature and degree of interaction with the alien workers. Thus, trade unions, government and private (church) welfare agencies, business interest groups, etc., have all made differential adjustments to the influx of foreign workers according to their own objectives. A thorough study of any one of the various German interest groups' adaptations to the presence of Mediterraneans would constitute a major work in itself. Here, the aim is more modest and restricted but it is a first step toward an understanding of indigenous responses and adjustments to the guest worker invasion.

2. The Bahnhofseck Workers: German Migrants in Geislingen

While conducting fieldwork among the Geislingen migrant population, I also carried out unstructured interviews with Germans representing many walks of life: foremen, company officials, teachers, government officials, socialist students, social workers, to mention the major categories. The most systematic research, however, and from which the bulk of data in this chapter is drawn, was accomplished among a group of working class Germans in Geislingen. Many were internal migrants to the town and were employed in ths same occupations as guest workers. Research among this group was not pre-planned; contact was

indirectly established while working with a group of Spanish migrants. Both frequented, although socially apart, a small bar, the Bahnhofseck, which was located near the train station. Initially, communication with the Germans was strictly non-anthropological, the result of casual encounters in the Bahnhofseck. It was soon realized, however, that a proper ethnographic investigation of this group might shed light on differences and similarities in adaptation of "single" foreign male migrants and that of German internal migrants to the same location.

The core group of German "regulars" was made up of 12 with a significantly large number of peripheral members. A few regulars were natives of Geislingen but most had come from surrounding villages or other towns in Germany to work exactly in the same types of jobs available to the Gastarbeiter. They were employed in house and road construction, garbage hauling, metal pouring, as carpenter's helpers, and similar manual unskilled work. None had more than the minimum of legally required years of public school education although a few had spent additional time in apprenticeship training. In age, they ranged from 18 to 42, with an average of 26. Their monthly earnings were approximately 1,000 marks with a take-home salary around 700 marks, an amount matched by the average Mediterranean migrant.

Aside from the obvious cultural and linguistic differences, the weekly work patterns and the rhythm and nature of leisure-time activities varied insignificantly between foreign and German migrants. In fact, the common forces of age, sociological status, and socio-economic rank seemed more powerful in determining informal behavior than national origin. Like the Mediterranean migrants, the German workers gathered

with clock-work regularity, at their Stammplatz ("favorite hangout") on weekend nights to "drink away the boring work week." Like most working class single males, they swapped work stories, played the pin-ball and slot machines, talked girls and sports and, most of all, consumed enormous amounts of beer. Few of the friendship clique were employed by the same firms and none worked in the same units. German laborers are often criticized by liberals for not socializing with their foreign colleagues after working hours. In this case, however, none of the men socialized with their German work mates either. Leisure time associations were based more on the principles of residential and ideological proximity than on that of adjoining places at the assembly line.

Viewed in the larger societal context, many special problems facing the alien migrant are non-existent for Germans. Difficulties involving language, culture, and the special migrant legal restrictions or requirements are of very minor concern to nationals. Yet, since they co-exist with the foreign migrants in the lower working class, the Bahnhofseck Germans confront strikingly similar obstacles in other areas: housing, jobs, work conditions, potential job mobility, to mention a few. Although the Gastarbeiter and the Bahnhofseck workers differ in cultural traditions, many adaptations which arise from being members of a given socio-economic group are structurally similar: the Bahnhofseck Germans lived in the same type of housing, often in the same area of town; they labored in equivalent occupations, drank at the same bars (except for the strictly ethnic ones), earned equal amounts of money and faced similar futures while aspiring for identical consumer possessions. To a large extent, the two groups dealt with many of the same individuals

from other occupations: landlords, foremen, managers of cheap restaurants, police officials, and even the women who frequented the "ethnic" bars. Erasing cultural differences and peculiarities facing the alien, the gross structural elements of both migrant units were impressingly similar. In some regards, therefore, certain adaptations by the Gastarbeiter may not be a product of ethnic and nationality status but rather the result of membership in the lower working class and as temporary residents of the community.

Despite commonalities in behavior and adaptation, and although the Bahnhofseck workers stood in a similar functional relation to the economic system as did foreign workers, the "cognitive model" or ideological framework was drastically at variance between the two groups. The intensity of prejudice against the guest workers was, in fact, greater among the unskilled German laborers than any other group of Germans I interviewed in Geislingen. Furthermore, the Bahnhofseck Germans rarely criticized the social system or the industrialists responsible for importing migrants to Germany; instead, the core of their attack centered on perceived personal characteristics of Mediterraneans (e.g., they are lazy, shifty, dirty, criminal, etc.). Castles and Kosack (1973:459), in discussing worker prejudice against immigrants in various European countries, pointed out:

> Usually the real causes of this hostility toward immigrants are not understood by the working class people concerned. Instead, they rationalize their feelings by saying that immigrants are dirty, bring in disease, chase women, and start fights. Even when the risk of competition for jobs and housing is named as one of the problems connected with immigration, this tends to lead not to criticism of the socio-economic system which produces such insecurity, but rather to antipathy toward the immigrants themselves. Immigrant workers therefore take on the function of scape-

> goats for the deficiencies of capitalist society, which is unable to provide adequate living conditions and to guarantee security to the whole of the working population.

A 1966 survey among 564 persons revealed that only 2 out of 10 members of the middle class "wanted to dispense" with the foreign workers while 6 out of 10 semi-skilled and unskilled workers wanted to get rid of them (Infas 1966:19). A study in Cologne (Bingemer, et al. 1972:37) discovered that 35 per cent of those interviewed regarded the guest workers as a "necessary evil" and as taking jobs which could go to Germans. The same author concluded:

> The upper strata welcomes the Gastarbeiter as worker and views him in a more favorable light than the lower strata. He widens the labor resource and limits the position of power and monopoly of the German workers ... while the working class sees its position of power endangered: "We can do without Gastarbeiter."

Although it is impossible to determine whether the Bahnhofseck Germans are exemplary of the larger German working class, their reaction toward foreign workers was equally negative. Most expressed opinions paralleling the official position of the National Democratic Party (NPD) which proposed to dispel all foreigners from Germany. Like the NPD, the Bahnhofseck group argued that Germans need only put in one extra hour per work day to solve the labor problem. They insisted that migrant workers are in Germany primarily to profit from the benefits of a welfaristic state (e.g., "free" medical treatment, unemployment pay, Kindergeld, etc.) and that Germans, under recession conditions, would lose their jobs before guest workers. The causes for hostility must also be correlated with the reality of contact in everyday life. Both communities, German and foreign, occupy the same niche in a capitalist-industrial society as members of the lowest socio-economic level. They compete

for the same resources: jobs, housing, economic benefits, and public services and facilities.

Although few of the Bahnhofseck workers grudgingly agreed that the Gastarbeiter was a "necessary evil" for the welfare of the German economy, most felt the migrants were unnecessary burdens. All members of the sample group argued that ultimately no one benefits from the immigrations except the foreign worker who should be more grateful for the opportunities available in Germany. They believed, as did government officials and social workers, that employment of foreigners was a form of benevolent "economic aid." The arme Hunde (poor wretches), as the Bahnhofseck migrants sometimes called foreign workers, surely were on the verge of starvation back home. While in Germany, they had jobs, income, and a "good life." Thus, in their view, the alien worker had no right to criticize Germany much less place extra demands on the society or economy.

In an effort to focus more specifically on areas of concern to the sample group, I have arbitrarily chosen three significant guest worker-German conflict spheres: i) jobs and economic benefits, ii) housing, and iii) problems arising from cultural differences. Each of these will be considered serially.

3. Job and Economic Benefits

Advertised at official levels, confirmed by intellectuals, and believed whole-heartedly by the lay public, the recruitment of Mediterranean migrant workers has been interpreted by all segments of German society as a form of "developmental aid."[2] Monetary income, occupational

training, and better living are all seen as being offered to the "rustic, unskilled Mediterranean peasantry" by the German nation. To the Bahnhofseck group and local officials alike, Germany symbolized the land of "milk and honey," a place where the "impoverished and deprived" southern neighbors could, temporarily at least, enjoy the "good life" (Krah 1972: 3-4). Industry and government spokesmen have in fact played on the theme of "Northern Big Brother" who extends a helping hand to "surplus" unemployed Mediterranean workers. One informant, a railroad worker, philosophically captured the essence of the group's interpretation of the migrations:

> Foreign workers come to Germany bony like poor dogs and here we give them bread to flesh them out. But, remember this, a "guest" worker is just that: a guest. Someday, the southerners must go home and if you feed a dog too good and return him to his old diet, this makes him mean. In Germany, they can earn plenty, buy cars and clothes, but at home they cannot...

Officials representing government and business have attempted to assure the working class that foreign employment is temporary. There lurks, however, a well-founded suspicion among the Bahnhofseck Germans that the government may not have their interest in mind first. As mentioned in chapter III, foreign worker impact on the German occupational and class structure is multi-faceted. The aliens are recruited and brought to Germany in order to fill specific types of low status jobs allowing for upward mobility of large numbers of Germans. Conversely, however, the immigrations also served to depress improvement in wages and working conditions for many working class Germans. Also, foreign competition within lower working class levels has created a perceived threat to job security. It has been observed through attitude surveys, for

example, that prejudice and hostility tend to rise during periods of economic recession and rising unemployment (Castles and Kosack 1973:453). Undoubtedly, competition for the same resources and the occupation of a similar niche in German economy and society underlies much of the expressed hostility and prejudice on part of the German workers.

Like any other social issue of central concern to a population, the Gastarbeiterproblem has generated its own body of oral lore among the Bahnhofseck Germans. Many of the stories are told to relate how guest workers take advantage of Germans. There was, for example, a cunning Italian who worked in Germany for five years, two in Switzerland, and another three years in Austria only to retire back to Italy at a young age where he reaped lucrative social security benefits from all three countries. The tale of the Turk drawing incredible sums of child support money (Kindergeld) for his "flock" of 40 back in Turkey also enjoyed frequent circulation. Kindergeld is a federal child support; for each child above one in a family, the government pays a monthly allowance to the parents which automatically comes with the salary check. Due to labor recruiting agreements, the recruited foreign workers with children are entitled to the benefit. The money is even payed if these children never set foot on German soil. Many Germans assume that guest workers falsely represent themselves in declaring their offspring and some popular sensationalist newspapers, especially the Bildzeitung--a daily devoured by working class Germans every morning on their way to work--foster such beliefs. "Bildzeitung does not print anything unless it's true," one worker explained to me after reading an article on how many Gastarbeiter collect more through child support money than through

their regular wages.

Germany's birthrate is, in fact, increased by the presence of the guest worker populations. They do tend to have large families and according to the Federal Labor Office, 420,300 foreign workers had a right to claim Kindergeld in 1972/73 (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1972/73: 35-36). Also, the age structure of the migrant population is generally more favorable for reproduction since they are overwhelmingly in the fertile age brackets. Of course, a greater portion of migrant females is employed than of the native populace. Thus, proportionally the migrants contribute more to the total Sozialprodukt (social welfare product) than the latter. Appeal to the "facts," however, does not lessen the emotion or position of the Bahnhofseck Germans. Selective perception causes them to notice the "ever pregnant" Mediterranean women and the large numbers of foreign patients in doctors' offices. Moreover, each worker has his personal evidence. One related to me that when his wife had their only child, she was the only German in the Geislingen maternity ward among 12 Gastarbeiter women.

Despite the reality that guest workers pay taxes, the German laborers expressed the view that they were essentially receiving totally free social services. Their cognitive view of the Gastarbeiterproblem and its solution tended to reflect a kind of industrial "image of limited good," a notion which implies that the foreign workers are unjustly taking from what Germans had built up in many years of hard labor during the post-war period. In their view, southerners came to reap the social welfaristic benefits while contribution to growing inflation by sending unser Geld (our money) to their home countries.

4. Housing Problems: The German View

Next to the Gastarbeiterproblem, the Bahnhofseck Germans felt the housing shortage to be Germany's most pressing problem and, as they noted, the two national sores went together. In the housing case, however, other elements of German society, namely private landlords and industrial bosses, enter into the picture since they, too, are deeply implicated in the foreign worker housing condition. Thus, this section on the German view of the housing problem will attempt to incorporate a wider variety of perspectives than found only among the Bahnhofseck group.

As discussed in chapter IV, the step-up in family reunion put additional pressure on the German infrastructure. Even in the early stages of male solitary migration, there existed a shortage of apartments and rooms for single workers. With the added number of dependents, however, the problem became acute. While single male workers could be accomodated in the factory barracks, this arrangement was not possible for couples even if the children were left in the sending country with grandparents which was the case for 60 per cent of migrant families (Mehrländer 1974:26). They had no choice but to enter the competition for local housing which had become insufficient for German needs even without the presence of foreigners. Obtaining sufficient housing is difficult for everyone who rents in Germany; thus, extreme care needs to be taken to isolate housing problems specific to foreign workers from those of the general German renting public.

Since the migrations began, German newspapers have carried stories of extreme usury and exploitation of foreign workers through

exorbitant rents (e.g., Geislinger Zeitung Jan. 19, 1972:10). Much of socialist and church literature also portrays the German landlord and the German public as exploitative culprits: housing problems of foreign workers are seen as a clear-cut matter of prejudice and discrimination and further evidence for the claim that Nazi ideology is alive and well in modern Germany. Closer examination of the discrimination patterns, however, reveals that foreign worker housing difficulties may stem from other factors than simply German dislike of foreigners per se. In fact, much of the discrimination is against single males and families with small children, regardless of national identity. Reluctance to rent to young single males arises from a perceived difference in lifestyles on the part of the generally older landlords and landladies. Noise and destructiveness are probably the two major reasons that families with several small children rate low on the renting preference scale. The following excerpt from a letter entitled "With Three Children It Is Impossible To Find An Apartment," written by an irrate mother to a popular women's magazine illustrates the housing problem of German families with children:

> We have two children, a three year old girl and a two year old boy, and one is on the way ... we have been looking for an apartment for years without success. Ninety per cent of the landlords say: no children. Even if the apartment had 100 square meters. One asks, what is a retired couple or a single lady (the preferred renters) going to do with so much room? Two years ago, we once again looked up an apartment: four rooms, kitchen, bath. The apartment was unfinished. Neither doors nor windows were painted. But my husband and I were happy when we heard that the children would be welcome. We rented the apartment ... and finished it ourselves. We can only heat one room, the roof leaks. In one year, we caught 48 mice ... For that, we pay 200 marks a month. We are still looking for an apartment and are willing to pay up to 450 although we really cannot afford to do that (Brigitte Jan. No. 1, 1972:69).

Single males in their teens and twenties, whether foreign or German, face even greater difficulties in locating housing. German landlords who rent only a small apartment or room of their house or their rented apartment (sublease) are reluctant to rent to yonnger males whose lifestyles are thought to be at odds with the more quiet, routine-oriented existence of older people. Furthermore, long-term renters are preferred over transient ones. Since most of the Bahnhofseck workers were single, it is hardly surprising that they viewed the foreign workers' charges of housing discrimination as unfounded. One informant, the bartender and cook of the tavern, put it this way:

> Quatsch! (nonsense) We are all discriminated against then: Germans, foreigners, everybody. Germans pay as high rent as the guest workers. There are simply not enough housing facilities to go around and its tough for all of us. If a German prefers to rent to a German because of the language problem or because he knows the foreigners do not take care of the apartment, then that's his right. Besides, foreigners will not take care of apartments and they are loud. In the hostel where I live, we also have a lot of guest workers: Italians, Spaniards, and Yugoslavs, and they shit all over the floor. You should see their rooms, they are messy and stink like sows' stalls!

Typically, as the above passage demonstrates, the social system is accepted and antagonism is not directed toward landlords or the industrialists bringing the foreign workers to Germany, but toward the guest workers themselves and their personal characteristics.

In Geislingen, two types of landlords could be identified. The first involves home owners, often elderly ladies, who wished to rent out only a few rooms of their home for supplemental income. As mentioned above, the reluctance to rent to families or single males in these cases hinges partly on a difference in lifestyles between young and old. Thus, they preferred to rent to "quiet, childless" couples or single ladies.

Very often, single foreign females were quite acceptable as tenants.

The second category of landlords encompassed those who catered specifically to foreigners in hope of reaping high profits. Such "slum" landlords are responsible for pulling back into the housing market old buildings and housing or converting formerly uninhabitable parts of buildings (e.g., attics, cellars, storage rooms, etc.) into Gastarbeiter-Unterkünfte. At times, enterprising landlords, in their rush to capitalize on the housing demands of foreigners, have supplied German Young Socialists and liberal critics with "evidence" for the resurgence of Nazism. The following ad, which appreared in a south German daily newspater, illustrated the point:

> Separate farmhouse in good condition, with stables and barn, on large grassy lot, possibility for additional purchase or building. Excellent opportunity for horse keeping or guest worker quarters. Stable and attic areas suited for remodelling, six rooms, kitchen, bath, WC. 200 square meters living area, ready for immediate habitation, to be sold.... (Südsest-Presse, cited in Klee 1971:1; emphasis added).

Numerous cases of usury in letting apartments have been reported throughout Germany, especially in areas of heavy industrial concentration. According to German law, however, the renting of an apartment is a "private" matter and belongs legally in the sphere of private law suits. Thus, in cases of usury, very often the courts and police are powerless if the usurped renter does not file charges. This is not very likely in the case of foreigners who are unversed in German legal matters and are not willing or able to put up the money involved in legal procedures. The public officials will intervene only in cases "where conditions result which endanger public safety and order, as, for example, unsanitary conditions and overcrowding in housing" (Geiselberger 1971:124).

The Federal Labor Office (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit) requires firms to provide adequate housing only for recruited workers, not for dependent family members. This task falls strictly to the migrants themselves. In this actual everyday struggle over scarce housing resources, migrants, German renters, and landlords confront each other; the problem is totally removed from the employers who are uninvolved although, as one Young Socialist put it: "The capitalists profit most from the import of foreign workers but they place the burden of keeping the Gastarbeiter on the shoulders of the German people." In fact, since the housing market is saturated, the labor-importing firms are heavily subsidized by the federal government through the Labor Office for building housing for the migrants, primarily the single males. In some cases, the firms may actually profit from renting to migrants the same living space which was erected with tax money. Horst Kammrad (1971:119-111), a worker representative in a Berlin firm, documented a case where the yearly intake from such barracks was more than the employer's initial output for the total structure:

> It is possible to accomodate 52 persons in 13 four-bed rooms of approximately 16 square meters each in a two-story barrack building. Per sleeping place provided, the BfA (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit) pays (in subsidies) 3,000 marks. The city senate (of Berlin) pays 1,000 marks, so that together the factory owner is presented with 208,000 marks from tax money for providing his workers with housing. The building costs, including inside furnishings, total 240,774 marks. The small sum of actual employer's expense is tax deductable. As rent, approximately 80 marks per person per month are charged. The inhabitant has also right to use kitchen, washing, toilet, hall, and recreation facilities, so that all together he has an average of 8 square meters space available, thus paying an average of 10 marks per square meter--a lucrative business for the employer. The intake from one barrack building of the above described size in rent amounts to 49,920 marks per year.

Despite such cases, the Bahnhofseck workers rarely criticized industry for introducing the workers or failing to absorb the total cost of housing the migrants. Any criticism is normally directed toward the guest workers themselves, not toward social elements most responsible for the importation of alien workers.

5. Variation in Cultural Habits

Variation in cultural habits and customs between Mediterranean countries and central Europe also underlie much of the antipathy between the German and guest worker populations. Such differences involve a wide array of behavioral complexes related to attitudes toward time, space, work, entertainment, and so forth. In attitudes toward the proper function and use of the home, for example, southern Europeans and Germans differ drastically. The migrants frequently entertain co-ethnics and kin in their apartment in a manner Germans consider improper if not "uncivilized." Mediterraneans often invite, from the German landlord's perspective, too many guests and at rather odd hours. Thus, the greater intensity of alien cultural activity and the resultant "noise" invariably creates tensions between landlords and foreign tenants. To compound the matter, many German houses are constructed so that a renter must share a common entrance hall, bath, and often toilet with the co-residents which might include the house owner. Germans normally visit friends at home only upon proper invitation and then the social gathering will be, according to Mediterranean standards, a very stiff and formal affair. Potential problems involving language, food and spice preferences, and volume of sound backdrop must be added to the virtually

endless list of cultural misunderstandings. In summary, it is not difficult to understand why German landlords prefer, as most newspaper ads state, a ruhiges deutsches Ehepaar (quiet German couple).

Cultural differences between Germans and guest workers in the use of space extends beyond the immediate living quarters to the outdoors. Germans are not an "outdoor" peole in a Mediterranean sense: family life is not extended beyond one's apartment door. Guest workers, however, spend considerable time strolling through the towns and parks to escape the congested barracks or apartments. They use train stations and parks as "plaza substitutes," congregating in nationality groups late into the night. Because of this trait, German stereotyping has given them the reputation of Messerstecher (knifers) which, in turn, can cause locals to overreact to migrant outdoor activities. Around migrant housing it is quite common to find foreigners conducting all their social activities outside when weather permits. To the Germans' dismay but true to southern custom, they barbeque, drink, eat, and converse loudly and uninhibitedly. Even more upsetting to German neighbors is the tendency of foreign women to hang their wash outside to dry on Sundays--a most unforgivable sin.

Different attitudes and views concerning work ethics also exist between German and guest workers. Germans, on the whole, value hard work and regimented approaches to both work and play. Thus, Germans find the southerners' working patterns nerve-wracking. For example, they often sing and whistle on the job and, according to the Bahnhofseck crew, work too slow and take too many breaks. Swapping stories about guest workers was a favorite pastime in the bar. Experiences with a few guest

workers tended to become generalized to the whole body of foreigners. The Germans related "real" instances of migrant worker antics and follies, stories which were told to emphasize the mental deficiencies of their foreign colleagues. One guest worker, for example, when asked to fill the radiators of the company trucks and vehicles with water mistakenly put water in the gas tanks. Another story involved four Turks who one day were given a specific loading task for the following day. In the morning, however, only one of them showed up. He reported that one of them had gotten sick during the night and the other two stayed with him so he would not feel lonely. In fact, the Bahnhofseck group believed that most guest workers are habitually "playing sick" to get out of work. When a German missed a couple of days on the job because of illness, the others jokingly accused him of "acting like a Turk." Often, "Turk" was used as a generic, derogatory term for foreign workers regardless of nationality.

The Bahnhofseck Germans were quick to point out that guest workers had an obligation to conform to German ways. Cultural relativism was not part of their thinking. Given the assumed superiority of German ways, and considering the "invited" status of the foreign workers, the migrants sollten sich anpassen (should conform) to the host society. One informant summed up the general mood of the Bahnhofseck gathering:

> The guest workers come to Germany for the D-Mark but they are not willing to conform to our customs. They drain away our money and do not return anything. They harass the German girls and treat them like dirt. The must adapt to German ways. Whenever I go to Australia, or America, I must not rape the women, pinch their asses or shit on the floor like they do in the Oedenturm. (a local hostel). If I went to Spain, or Turkey, and did the same I would be thrown into jail. What if I went to Spain and criticized the Spanish government like Spaniards criticize the German government? You know what would happen! These countries are not like Germany.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has briefly touched upon the impact of intra-European migration on selected elements of German society. Interviews and participant observation among a small group of working class Germans in Geislingen have revealed aspects of German working class reaction and adaptation to the influx of Mediterranean co-workers. As repeatedly stressed, the Bahnhofseck group directed its verbal attack toward the immigrant and not toward the industrial-capitalist structure responsible for their presence in West Germany. The antagonism and prejudicial feelings can be said to arise in part from the potential competition of occupying the same employment niche in the West German economy. Given their strikingly similar lifestyles and economic positions, it almost seems as if the working class Germans--by benefit of their nationality--wished to drive a distinguishing social wedge between themselves and the foreign workers. Their jokes and linguistic labels often served to increase the social distance between the two groups of laborers.[3] One favorite joke, for example, illustrates this point well: a German complains that his automatic garage door does not work anymore; his neighbor assures him that it's not necessary to repair it as long as he can hire an Itakker (a derogatory term for Italian) to open it for him. Also, it is not uncommon for Germans to use the impolite Du-form of address with guest workers where in the same situation with Germans the polite form would be mandatory.

Further research into the reactions and adaptations made by other elements of German society would be a valuable addition to the growing literature on intra-European migration.[4] It is hoped, there-

fore, that this preliminary study has, as a first contribution, demonstrated that the host populations are crucial elements in migration systems and should become research targets in their own right.

NOTES

1 See Peter G.J. Pulzer (1964) for a discussion of the special conditions giving rise to political anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria.

2 Even a few German socialists view the migrations as a form of developmental assistance; see, for example, Geiselberger (1972:19).

3 For example, guest worker trains are called Zwiebelexpress or Knoblauchexpress (onion or garlic express). Italians are also known as Spaghettifresser (spaghetti devourers; fressen is a derogatory or non-human term for "eating").

4 Unfortunately, limitation on time and space have precluded discussion of other segments of German society in this dissertation. The local school teachers, police, restaurant owners, etc. all had felt the impact of foreign in-migration. Even dying occupations such as the "horse butcher" and the shepherd received a sudden boost in business when foreign workers flocked to buy the cheaper horse meat and the valued lamb.

CHAPTER VI

RETURN MIGRATION AND SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

1. Homeward Migratory Flows

In the formidable body of literature on international migration, no single area of study remains in such conceptual and theoretical poverty as that dealing with the return of migrants to their countries of origin. Traditionally, migration scholars have been preoccupied with a few restricted themes: namely, migrant adaptation and acculturation to the receiving society, the effects of immigration on the host population, and the consequences of emigration for the sending communities. Although the past decade has brought a proliferation of pleas for more systematic and systemic analysis of migration, the question of the socio-economic ramifications of homeward flows of migrants has been relegated to a minor position in research. In fact, thorough studies of return migration are so limited in number that the existing literature would constitute no more than a mere handful of publications.[1]

In the European case, this empirical and theoretical state of affairs finds a parallel in matters of administration and policy making. In 1966, for example, when the "little recession" in western Europe temporarily sent millions of workers back to their Mediterranean homes,

a seminar dealing with the problem was called in Athens, Greece. At both the factual and policy levels, it was frankly admitted that virtually nothing was known about return migration. One participant (Schlotfeldt 1967:72), in summarizing the reports, pessimistically noted:

> We know almost nothing about what happens to the returnees, what they do in their home countries, whether they are employed in jobs they had worked at in the industrialized countries, or whether they are unemployed.

Likewise, at the administrative level the symposium's general rapporteur (Reverly 1969:69) concluded that in spite of the disagreements over policy between labor exporting and labor importing countries, there was

> ... one point (of) complete agreement, and the facts on which it reposed are indisputable: the ignorance of the authorities and of management circles in both the emigration and immigration countries concerning nearly everything connected with the return of migrant workers.

The present homeward flow brought about by the world energy crisis (1973-1976) and economic slowdown in the western European industrial nations is no doubt destined to be more final than the "prolonged holidays" pattern of the 1966-1967 recession when workers were temporarily sent home (Kayser 1972:51). Since late 1973, West Germany has taken steps to reduce its dependency on foreign labor and similar actions in other labor importing countries have set up a backward flow of migrants unparalleled in the post-war period. In fact, some Mediterranean lands and regions have for the first time since World War II experienced a net immigration over emigration. Reverse migration streams of this type represent a demographic phenomenon of far-reaching social and economic consequences at both the supralocal and local levels of European

society.

An objective of this chapter--in addition to offering some concluding observations on intra-European migration--will be to examine the ramifications of the homeward flows which have been growing in magnitude since the onset of the energy crisis and economic recession in 1973. To what extend western Europe will continue to reduce its dependency on southern European labor cannot be determined at this point. Already, however, the volume of return has reached massive numbers and the potential impact of reversed streams has brought forth considerable speculation and debate in intellectual circles.

If one assumes, moreover, that a systematic study of the processes underlying return migration and reverse adaptation should be a necessary prerequisite for the formulation of effective policy, then this hiatus in migration research must be closed. To assure the meaningful reintegration of millions of former migrants into their native society is a matter of immediate social and economic importance. Yet, the haunting question remains as to whether the Mediterranean lands of Europe can effectively reabsorb the very citizens upon which they had built a degree of economic dependence by way of currency remittances from Europe's industrial core. If the return homeward reaches massive proportions and nothing is done to facilitate a healthy re-entry, then a host of grim economic prospects and social consequences is most likely forthcoming. The economist C.P. Kindleberger (1965:52) has warned of only one danger of many if the worker cannot find a place in his homeland:

> ... the mass migrant of today will become a man without a country, one who has left one life and finds that he cannot stay where he is and cannot go home again. The problem of belonging is difficult enough within one's own borders. Unless Europe achieves a social and political identity, it may develop a problem of "flying Mediterraneans," restless spirits with no home.

By the winter of 1974/75, Germany had nearly one million unemployed, a figure which was estimated to reach 1.4 million in February of 1976 (7 Fechas Feb. 18, 1976:6). Although this was among the lowest unemployment figures in the industrial-capitalist world, for Germany it comprised one of the highest rates in the post-war era. Foreign workers, who make up approximately 10 per cent of Germany's labor force, were especially affected by unemployment. Italians and Greeks, for example, had an unemployment rate of over 4 per cent (Braunthal 1975:126). The Spanish migrant paper, 7 Fechas, reports that for the spring of 1976, 14 per cent of all unemployed workers were foreigners. Some firms, such as Audi and Volkswagen, offered special bonuses for workers willing to resign their contracts early and return home. In addition, Baden-Württemberg paid, in cases of unemployed returnees, a ten months enemployment fee in advance if the workers left the Federal Republic (7 Fechas Feb. 18 1976:6). For many foreigners, these two sums amounted to over 15,000 marks, an attraction which was accepted by many as an alternative to an insecure job market or working for less in any job offered (Südwest-Presse July 29, 1975). Although the federal government did not completely close recruitment offices abroad, active recruitment has been suspended since November of 1973 (Der Spiegel Jan. 13, 1976:26-27). Also, special efforts have been made to intensify the removal of illegal immigrants (Braunthal 1975:126). Thus, through a variety of mechanisms, West Germany and other industrial labor-importing nations have stimulated the

reversal of modern European migratory flows. Updated statistics on the volume of returnees are not yet available; comparable figures for 1969, reflecting the 1966/67 recession and normal returns, show that returnees of only four guest worker nationalities (Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Turkish) were already approaching two million (see table 6.1).

TABLE 6.1

RETURN MIGRATION FROM GERMANY (1961-1969)[2]

Year	Italian	Greek	Spanish	Turk	Total
1961	85,400	5,100	5,800	2,100	98,400
1962	113,100	19,100	22,700	4,700	159,600
1963	124,700	21,900	26,200	13,500	186,300
1964	133,000	27,200	34,400	10,700	205,300
1965	131,000	39,000	42,000	16,000	228,000
1966	170,000	45,000	55,000	27,000	297,000
1967	198,000	70,000	75,000	52,000	395,000
1968	84,000	25,000	26,000	24,000	159,000
1969	93,000	13,000	20,000	22,000	148,000
Total	1,132,200	265,300	307,100	172,000	1,876,600

Sources: adapted from Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung (special issue of Feb. 27, 1966) and Kayser (1972:13).

Given the paucity of systematic research on contemporary European returns, social scientific knowledge remains largely at the level of conjecture. Still, a few preliminary observations can be made although no amplified claims should be voiced as to their validity. These observations have been pieced together from a few scattered publications (e.g., Gregory 1972; Kayser 1972; Kenny 1972; Krane 1973; Pascual 1970;

and OECD 1967a, 1967b) and a brief six week fieldwork excursion into Spain in 1972. Thus, the following observations must be accepted as highly tentative and awaiting empirical examination.

Return migration can be viewed in terms of its economic impact on the one hand, and its social implications for the individuals and the society at large on the other. Predictably, the economic ramifications are of eminent concern, but the problems of social reintegration may be ultimately of greater importance, at least for the returnees themselves. Although the social and economic elements of return migration are not empirically distinct, for analytical purposes they will be considered separately.

In previous chapters it has been noted that northwestern Europeans regard recruitment and employment of foreigners as a form of benevolent economic aid. In addition to remittances and unemployment relief for the labor exporting Mediterranean regions, a further benefit is thought to be the acquisition by the migrants of more modern human skills of both a technical and socio-psychological nature. Because of his migratory experiences in Europe's industrial core, it has been predicted that the returned migrant will play a significant role in social change and economic development in his home region. The retrained migrant, through his newly acquired skills, savings, knowledge, values, norms, and overall behavior can serve as an innovator and leader in rural change.

Preliminary evidence, however, calls into question the supposition that returned migrants can have even a minor influence on economic development. A cursory study of the return phenomenon indicates there is already sufficient evidence to declare as a myth the belief that

return migrants are agents of economic development and modernization (Böhning 1975; Gregory 1972; Kenny 1972). Essentially, there are at least two major questionable suppositions in the notion that workers acquire abroad the skills and values conducive to modernization: 1) that migrants work in and/or learn skilled occupations in northwestern Europe, and 2), that they are unskilled and pre-industrial in abilities prior to emigration. In chapter II it has been argued that many migrants were in fact skilled or semi-skilled and employed in industrially-related jobs before leaving their homelands. Realizing this, it could be felicitously asserted that the labor exporting countries are offering a form of development aid to the northwestern European nations in terms of young, industrially-experienced and gainfully employed workers. Furthermore, even if a migrant acquires new skills abroad it is not likely that the skill will be applicable in his home region, particularly in the agricultural sector. In fact, because of better working conditions which the migrant has experienced in Germany, he may place more demands on his employer causing a reluctance among the latter to hire returnees (Pascual 1970:154-164). Also, it is possible that returnees, because they have been at their new jobs for shorter periods, may get layed off before non-migrant workers who have built up more tenure. Finally, there is some evidence that the higher skilled migrants, because they are entrenched in Germany and earn higher wages, will not be as likely to return as lesser qualified workers (Böhning 1975:267) and thus will not contribute at all to their nations' economic development.

While migrants' remittances and savings have obviously been a welcome input into Mediterranean economies and for individual family

security, there is no evidence that such investments have drastically benefited the mass of rural peasantry or altered the socio-economic structure. The avowed individual motive for Spanish emigration to Europe north of the Alps is to acquire as rapidly as possible a personal monetary reserve which will provide the basis for building a new life at home (e.g., a small business, farming, investments, shops, restaurants, taxis, etc.). Many migrants never accomplish this goal; the cost of living abroad, maintaining two households, and changing consumption desires mitigate against accumulating the aspired pool of wealth. Returned migrants, moreover, are quite varied in desires, experience, and goals. Unsuccessful migrants return home often shortly after their departure and re-enter the society at the same status and occupational level. Those who adjust and acquire some savings--and perhaps skills--frequently return to the cities of their home countries, not to their natal towns and villages.

Unfortunately, and reflecting the lack of theoretical consideration in the study of return migration, few attempts have been made to distinguish structural types of returnees. Perhaps the most elaborate conceptual approach to the problem has been made by Cerase (1970:223-239) who, in a study of returned Italian migrants from North America, defined returnees in the following manner:

1) failure: migrants who cannot or chose not to adapt to the host society and return to the home country at the same socio-economic level as prior to migration;

2) conservatism: migrants who after a successful sojourn abroad invest their earnings and energies in terms of the "traditional" schemes proper to their home country. This generally involves the long cherished return to the native land;

3) retirement: migrants who in later life return for nostalgic and family reasons to their homeland and countryside;

4) innovation: migrants who have assimilated well into the host society but are "willing and prepared to take new values and new means with them to the old society."

As regards socio-economic change, Cerase ultimately rules all four types essentially inconsequential. Since any hope for effective change would lie with the "return of innovation," however, this type deserves closer scrutiny. In a recent article, the sociologist W.R. Böhning (1975:251-277) has attempted to apply Cerase's typology to the intra-European case and has isolated for special attention the "return of innovation." Böhning (1975:264) describes the fate of "innovative" returnees, however, in the following manner:

> The innovative returning migrant tends not to buy a piece of land. His eyes are set on a new job, a small guest house, a little transport undertaking and other enterprises of this nature. In attempting to realize his ambitions he quickly encounters opposition from the local elite, which views him with mistrust and sooner or later confronts him with the alternative "adjust or take the consequences." If he comes to terms with the power holders, his migration-induced potential for innovation will wither away--as evidenced by the rows of uneconomic shops, abandoned trucks, and the irrelevance of the guest house vis-a-vis the multinational chain of hotels. If he choses not to adjust, he will probably move to an urban centre.

Even if a migrant saves while abroad, inexperience in investment and financial management and the tendency to invest in marginal businesses at home often doom returnees to failure (Pascual 1970:151; also see Gregory 1972 for a series of interesting case studies on returned migrants). Many towns and villages have experienced an increase in the number of remodelled homes due to migrant return. Outside appearance, however, does not reflect major internal change; the social organization and economic structure remain essentially unaltered. Jobs are still elsewhere, in the cities or in tourist areas, and many workers--as Böhning has

observed--will seek to re-emigrate (see also Borris 1974:70).

In the long run, however, it may be that social re-integration will pose more difficulties to the returnees than economic survival. In several countries, returning migrants are considered politically suspect; in Yugoslavia, they "lack a sense of socialism" while the rise in communist votes has been blamed on them in Italy; in Spain, returnees are believed to be over-represented in anti-Franco demonstrations (Marques 1971:137-146). There is, however, no evidence upon which to base these charges.

A traditional viewpoint of the social sciences is that geographical mobility in industrial society, particularly the rural to urban pattern, is conducive to vertical socio-economic mobility for the individual migrant. The cyclical nature of intra-European migration, however, suggests an alternate case: that of temporary wage increase in low-status industrially related occupations abroad and re-entry into the home occupational structure at approximately the same wage and skill level as prior to emigration. Of course, some will have built up a savings which, temporarily at least, may superficially lift returnees' standard of living, but overall no social mobility will have occured (see Krane 1973: 427-436 for an analysis of the effect of intra-European migration on Turkish socio-economic mobility). Moreover, because of their newly acquired "wealth," the migrants may well meet with increased hostility and jealousy from non-migrants, particularly those of the lower middle stratum who feel most threatened by the returnees.

Despite the workers' open dislike of northern European culture, they have in actuality undergone a complete secondary socialization dur-

ing the migrancy period. Upon returning, this new lifestyle and world-view may find its psychological expression in a kind of "reverse cultural shock." The Heimweh (homesickness) of Germany will be replaced by descontento (dissatisfaction) in Spain. The home community, whether rural village or urban barrio, will in turn react to the returnee, possibly placing extreme demands on his reconformity to the traditional culture. In light of these pressures it may be well true, and Michael Kenny (1972:127) observed, that "social adjustment of the returnees presents a greater problem than his economic integration."

Unfortunately, there are enormous gaps in our knowledge today about returned migrants. The few available publications concentrate exclusively on adult male returnees to rural areas. As is often the case in the study of migrant labor, however, dependent family members--particularly wives and children--have been totally ignored. Yet, in the return, they too will face problems of social integration. In many cases children born abroad and educated in German schools will experience the ironical situation of language difficulties and culturally determined learning disabilities. Additionally, we know virtually nothing about the returnee's political behavior, his attitudes toward labor policy, or special organizations of returned migrants--if any exist. These and many other facets about return migration need careful consideration; until such studies are carried out, our knowledge must remain purely speculative.

2. Conclusion

This dissertation on the cyclical mass movement of Mediterranean populations to and from the Federal Republic of Germany has attempted to avoid a number of conceptual shortcomings characteristic of the anthropology of migration. First, to overcome anthropology's typical ahistorical approach to migration, a portion of this work has addressed itself to the century-old reliance of the German economy on foreign labor. Second, to correct the segmented and static interpretation of modern movements, chapter II has aimed to present a dynamic, holistic overview which considers place of origin, destination, and linkages in the total migratory cycle. Third, in an attempt to strike a balance between macrocosm and microcosm, an ethnographic study of migrant adaptation is offered as a supplement to the broader macro-analysis. In this case, migrant adaptation is considered in terms of the migrants' cultural tradition and their socio-economic function and position within German society. Fourth, an attempt has been made to demonstrate that host populations affect migrant adaptation and, in turn, are affected by the immigrants. In the Geislingen case, the ethnographic data indicates that the most intense prejudice against the guest workers emanates from the German working class which--instead of projecting their antagonism toward policy makers or employers--chose to blame the alien workers for undesirable social conditions in Germany. Fifth, brief attention has been given to the reverse flows of migrants which have been intensifying since the recession and energy crisis beginning in 1973. Although our knowledge about the return stage of the migration cycle is incomplete at this time, it appears that the presumed positive effects on socio-economic develop-

ment have not been forthcoming.

In attempting to keep an analytical eye on both general and specific conditions related to the European trans-national movements, and given the limitations on time and space, important topics and data related to the migrations have had to be excluded from this dissertation. Considering these omissions, the traditional ethnographer may yearn for more descriptions of individual migrants, migrating units, and specific case studies of adaptation. Conversely, the macro-analyst may argue that the study has only superficially touched upon the link between migration and socio-economic development, particularly as regards developmental change in the sending regions. I would like to conclude with a brief discussion of the two weaknesses. First, it will be argued that anthropologists--while they should not give up entirely their valuable ethnographic approach and concentration on individuals--should try to analytically lift themselves above the morass of incredible detail to place migratory patterns within the larger socio-historical context. While migration per se can be studied as an end in itself and should be studied as such, it seems at this juncture far more beneficial to carry out migration studies to help understand such general societal processes as urbanization, industrialization, modernization, colonization, and other socio-economic processes entailing the physical movement of populations. Second, and actually a close corollary to the above argument, I intend to question the widespread assumption that emigration is conducive to economic development; in fact, certain types of emigration may assist to preserve the economic status quo and/or further depress rural sending regions.

Migration is not an aberrant condition; it is clearly one aspect of on-going demographic change characteristic of the processes and structures which encompass the movements. In short, any general theory of migration--if such theory is possible--resides with an understanding of larger socio-economic forces and systems which generate population movements and not with the migration process itself. The spatial movement of human beings (laborers, colonizers, tourists, slaves, etc.) is normally only one exchange flow among many. Nevertheless, because it involves people and societal institutions and not simply capital, products, services, etc. the anthropologist is as vital to a scientific understanding of migration as the economist.

In addition to their micro-migration studies, anthropologists should examine the structural linkages which exist between geographical regions. In the European case, one "indicator" of regional interdependence between the industrial "heartland" and the "underdeveloped" Mediterranean periphery is an elaborate interchange of goods, capital, raw materials, labor services, tourists, wages, etc., all pointing to a structural relationship which reaches beyond just migration. Once we have shed the nation-state and the village unit as our analytical categories and considered Europe as a single, interrelated system, many of the thoroughly entrenched beliefs about socio-economic development in Europe's poorer regions can be called into serious question. The interchange is not, in every respect, mutually beneficial and functionally supportive for all populations in the core and periphery. The exchange is, in fact, in some instances an unequal and exploitative one. This proposition brings us, finally, around to the problem of the link between

socio-economic development and migration.

Since the onset of the post-war intra-European migrations, there has existed the belief that the export/import of Mediterranean laborers was precisely the exchange needed to solve many of Europe's economic ills. Northwestern Europe needed labor for its expanding economy and the southern lands suffered from widespread unemployment, particularly certain regions characterized by stagnant agricultural systems. Few argued with the rationality of this belief; labor for wages was just what the situation seemed to require. In policy-making circles, and later among the general public, it was propagandized that Germany needed additional manpower to maintain its phenomenal economic growth and that Mediterranean peasants, in turn, would receive employment and training in industrial skills. Through remittances and savings, Europe's poorer nations would gain a part of the continent's wealth and strengthen their balance of payments. The greatest benefit, however, would accrue to the labor-exporting nations when their migrants returned home. The image portrayed was one of a peasant-turned-innovator who, upon his return from Europe's advanced countiies, would offer his unenlightened countrymen the attitudes and skills necessary for the advancement of modernization. Thus, not only would remittances and savings have helped, but the individual returnees would be able to assist in lifting their depressed home villages from the present backward state. Whatever the nature of the return, whether human or monetary resource, proponents of intra-European movements argued that the result was destined to be a positive, beneficial contribution to the labor exporting region.

Unfortunately, these assumptions overlook one basic fact about migration: it is a highly selective process. In the case of Europe, this is even more true since employers request and recruit the types of workers most beneficial to their economic goals, not for the economic advancement of the labor exporting regions of southern Europe or Turkey. As we have seen in chapter III, the migrants to Germany tend to be young, able-bodied, gainfully employed at the time of emigration and better educated and trained than the working class population average out of which they are drawn. Through step migration, many nave already had urban-industrial experience. Logically, this is precisely the segment of the Mediterranean labor force that is most needed at home, not in Germany. Their absence from either rural villages or urban-industrial centers robs the nation of its most vital work force. In Germany, however, they do not work in skilled positions and most do not learn a new trade or receive vocational training. They function as lower class, manual and unskilled laborers, but at wages far above what they might receive at home. In the meantime, their absence has brought changes in the rural sectors; villages are depopulated, the elderly and very young acquire a geater burden in the agricultural sector, landlords mechanize, and agricultural productivity may, in fact, decline, thus further deteriorating the rural sector's economy. Moreover, remittances and savings are typically channeled off into unproductive, marginal investments or squandered on luxury status goods or projects of no economic return. Simultaneously, both the populations left at home and those experiencing migration will have been exposed to mass manufactured consumer goods more intensely than ever before, thus further raising their expectations,

wants, and frustrations. As long as migration to northwestern Europe is possible and post-industrial wages obtainable, the expectations and accomplishments do not conflict. When industrial employers no longer need the Mediterranean work force, however, migrant laborers will be directed homeward. Europe, in the mid-seventies, has reached that cross-roads. Whether the migrants will be successfully re-integrated, whether they will be violent or orderly agents of change, shall be known in the not too distant future.

NOTES

1 Although discussions on return migration were quite frequent early in the 20th century, there are few studies which deal comprehensively with contemporary return migration. Recently, however, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development has published a series of reports (e.g., OECD 1967a, 1967b; and Kayser 1972) concerned with the intra-European case. Other studies concerning the phenomenon elsewhere include Saloutos (1956), Form and Rivera (1958), Appleyard (1962), Hernandez-Alverez (1967), Richmond (1968), and Myers and Masnick (1968).

2 It should be observed that homeward migration has increased enormously since 1969 and that Yugoslavs, the second largest group now in Germany, have been omitted from table 6.1. From 1963 until 1971, 243,105 Yugoslavs had returned home; over 70,000 returned in 1971 alone (Böhning 1975:258).

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