HOME AWAY FROM HOME?

SPANISH IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is based on my research among Spanish Immigrants in Germany. In-depth interviews, participant observation and a questionnaire were being used to explore, which meanings "home" can take on in the context of migrants' experiences in the migration process. Different aspects are considered, like background of the migration, development of long-term settlement, language and social networks to get an insight in the migrants' physical and emotional involvement in both, Germany and Spain.

I argue that the experiences and concepts of home in this context do not have to be limited to either the country of origin or the country of destination, but can entail both. The preservation of Spain as the true homeland does not have to preclude an emergent sense of home in Germany at the same time. Furthermore, I propose that the physical as well as cognitive movement between both countries might be an integral part of the migrants' conception of home.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Putnam notes that home is at the core of how people situate themselves in the world, it "provides significant spatial demarcation and is ordering ones past, present and future as well as relations of class" (1999: p.144). But if home means belonging somewhere (foremost spatially, but also culturally and socially), how does this notion relate to a world in which global movement is commonly seen as one of the quintessential experiences of our age (cf. Berger 1984). Increasing numbers of people are "uprooted" due to social, economic and political pressures and many "transplant their roots" to pursue personal endeavours or fulfil their dreams. Traditional conceptions of individuals as members of stationary, fixed and separate societies or cultures are no longer convincing (Malkki 1997, Gupta and Ferguson 1997). How then is movement crucial to individuals' self-conceptions and how do they cultivate, construct, negotiate and maintain their identity? Or, closely related to these questions, in what ways do people perceive themselves to be at home in today's world?

When I try to describe my own conception of home in the context and the light of my two-year sojourn in New Zealand, there are two predominant experiences that immediately spring to my mind. Firstly, after I had spent about a year in New Zealand and had decided to extend my stay and maybe even not return to Germany for a few years, I started to miss certain things about my homeland, of which I had not known that they had such an importance for me. This made me think for the first time, that I might possibly not be able to really settle and feel at home in New Zealand. Secondly, when I returned to Germany after roughly another year, I felt so much like coming home as I would never have expected to, not even when I made the decision to return. After all, I had left Germany earlier with the belief that this

was not the country I wanted to spend my whole life living in (which may nevertheless be true, but I have yet to find out). These two fundamental experiences are interconnected in quite a peculiar way: The things I actually missed most in my time abroad were not the same ones I found to give me that deep sense of home and belonging when I finally returned to my home country. Different aspects of experiences now felt important than I had anticipated when abroad.

It seems to be part of human nature that we often tend to be more aware of the things we lack than of the wealth we have in our physical, emotional and social lives, or perhaps this is what we learn in a Western industrial world promoting a seemingly endless range of possibilities and choices concerning all areas of individual and social life. It might be an experience many of us have had at some point, that sometimes we only learn to appreciate things we have taken for granted once we have lost them. Or looking at it from another angle, it is often difficult to see things clearly that are right in front of us and we get a different perspective on them from a distance. On the other hand it might also be familiar to many that (re-) gaining or finding something that was not there before or absent for a while all of a sudden can open our eyes for certain needs, wishes or shortcomings in our lives which we have not been consciously aware of before.

There is another aspect to these experiences though. While the distance has certainly contributed to my awareness of particular meanings of home, at the same time also the new experiences and personal developments would have reshaped and changed them in many ways. Contemporary theories of identity note that identity on the one hand becomes most perceptible through the experience of difference (or commonalities), while on the other hand it is at the same time constantly being reconstructed and renegotiated in relation to the social and individual context (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1997). I believe that the same could be said about perceptions of home.

In my research project about houseboat dwellers two years ago I found that the ideas and the physical expressions of home for the

participants were important aspects in their experience of individual and group identity. The two concepts of identity and home, I believe, are closely linked and mutually affecting each other. The experience of home is capable of shaping and defining identity and at the same time identity finds strong expression in what we call home. The search for home and for identity are then closely interconnected and may in many ways even be the same endeavour.

This thesis represents my effort to learn more about the meanings of home and how home is imagined, constructed and lived. But while the houseboat project I referred to above was mainly concerned with meanings of home in relation to dwelling, my central concerns in this current project are the factors and circumstances giving us the feeling of being at home or in exile in the more general context of a certain land (nation), culture or society. Working with migrants shifted the focus on being and feeling at home in a foreign country and on what home might entail apart from traditional spatial categories of belonging, thereby also touching questions of national and cultural identity. Dwelling itself in this context was only of subordinate importance.

1.1 Setting and Methods of the Research

My decision to work with Spanish immigrants was mainly based on the fact that I have some Spanish language proficiency and have also been to Spain several times on holidays and once for a five week sojourn, taking a course at a language school and boarding in a Spanish household during that time. So I do have some, however limited, personal experience with some aspects of life and culture in Spain. Furthermore, Spaniards make up a relatively small portion of Germany's resident non-nationals, and qualitative research on Spanish immigrants in Germany is scarce. At the outset I also thought that the developments within the European Union (EU), which Spain joined in 1986 (thereby changing the official status of Spanish immigrants quite profoundly) might be an interesting factor regarding

the way Spanish immigrants felt and thought about their situation in Germany. I was interested in finding out if a Europe developing towards stronger interrelationships and greater homogeneity in several areas of politics and economics might have had an impact on the conception of home among EU-member State immigrants in Germany.

In my study I gained access to the major portion of participants through the Centro Español (a Spanish club in Weinheim), which I will refer to in more detail later. A few were reached through personal social networks, although in general there was very little response by Spaniards who were given my information sheet by friends. Attempts to approach Spanish staff at the local university by email did not result in any useful contacts.

The data presented in this project is derived by three different methods. In depth interviews (eight altogether) took place at the Centro Español, with the exception of one interview at a participant's home and two that were held in quiet places in public cafés over a cup of coffee, as the participants preferred that setting. None of the interviews were audio taped, in some cases because the interviewee did not wish it and sometimes because the interview developed spontaneously from a casual talk.

A second important part of the research was participant observation at the Centro Español, where I spent most of my Saturday and Sunday evenings over a period of more than two months. In addition I prepared a short questionnaire in Spanish language (see appendix I), which was filled in by 34 Spaniards.

1.2 Limitations

Two main factors set the limits to the research I am presenting in this thesis. The range of my research participants certainly neither represents the total range of different types of Spanish immigrants, nor does it reflect the proportional distributions regarding age, social class or similar classifications among the Spanish population in Germany. This is a limiting factor to the research, and I can certainly

not make statements about Spanish immigrants in general. Also to further some of the arguments it would have been necessary to have a control group of Spaniards who re-migrated to Spain. This was not possible within the scope of this study. Being aware of the limitations I am facing, I do think I have received relevant and interesting data, on the basis of which I can make a significant contribution to my field of study.

The second issue is language: it sets a limitation to the research and enriches it at the same time by an interpretive dimension. Language is an important aspect in any research, because it is through language that we make ourselves known to others, that we communicate with our environment and that we learn to understand most of the complex relations in the physical and social world surrounding us. There are two ways in which language can be seen as a crucial aspect in this research. One is the meaning of language for social integration and feelings of belonging and separation, which I will deal with later. The other, which I am going to discuss here, are the particular problems that I had to deal with, working and speaking with people with a different mother tongue than my own and writing it all up in a third language.

It would have been much easier, if the central terms for the concepts I am looking at had been translatable one to one from one language to the other. The word "home" does not just translate into one German term with all the same meanings and connotations it has in English. And while English and German are both from the same family of languages (Germanic languages), Spanish belongs to the Romanic languages and the differences are even more profound. The English term "home" can mean a lot of things: physical structures and localities like a house (as in family home), a land or nation (home-land), or the place where ones "roots" are (back in my home-town). It can also relate to a feeling or ideal, often in combination with a certain place. We say that we do or do not feel at home in a certain place but also in a particular social situation or surrounding. In German

different terms are used for some of these meanings (like *Heim, zu Hause, Heimat*), and any of these can have slightly different connotations according to the context. It is quite unproblematic though to translate between these two languages, as the specific meaning is usually clearly indicated and understandable in the context. The bigger challenge certainly is finding adequate synonyms in Spanish. Here there are two main groups of terms relating to the concept of home. One of them consists of terms with the word *casa* (house), which is used with prepositions like *a* (at, to) and *mi* (my) to express being at home, going home in the sense of house. The other is made up of terms expressing a belonging to a bigger unit like, for example, *mi patria* (my homeland, my fatherland) or *mi tierra* (my land, ground, earth), both generally meaning the same, the latter with a slightly less patriotic connotation.

The in depth interviews were all held in German, and as most of the interviewees spoke the language very well, the translation between German and Spanish was not really a major issue in most cases. But while some of the interviewees had grown up bilingually or had learnt German at a very early age and could therefore be classified as native speakers, others did not speak the language quite so well and so meanings in German could occasionally get tangled, or contexts were unclear. Therefore, during the interviews I asked quite often how an interviewee would translate a term containing German equivalents of "home" he or she had used into Spanish in the specific context. While sometimes they could, at other times this was not possible, and the meaning had to be captured in a paraphrase. Both was helpful for the interpretation of what was being said and what meaning and connotations the term had for them in the particular context. That way I could also be quite sure that German terms were not just used as vehicles to translate particular Spanish idioms that might have different connotations. In this context the fact that different languages were involved was a positive aspect, because sometimes the differences in the languages themselves gave an enriching perspective

on some of the meanings of home and thereby could also serve as an interpretive tool for some of the aspects of home I will discuss later on in this thesis.

2. Home and Migration

2.1 Towards a Multidimensional Understanding of Home

In recent years, the meaning of home has increasingly become the subject of qualitative research as well as theoretical discourse among social anthropologists and sociologists. A lot of different aspects of home are considered: housing and domestic spaces (see for example Birdwell-Pheasant et al. 1999, Ciraad 1999), consumption in and of homes (see for example Chapman1999, Gurney 1990 and 1999, Wright 1993), ideas and the ideal of home (see for example Douglas 1993, Saunders 1989) and homelessness (see for example Somerville 1992). Though all of these authors focus on different aspects of home, there are a lot of common themes. But there is also some disagreement as to how home is to be defined and analysed. Gurney goes as far as suggesting that home can be adequately understood in terms of an "experiential agenda" (1990: 40-1), dismissing Saunders' approach of understanding home in terms of "taxonomic generalizations" (Gurney 1990: 28) and Somerville's view of home as a "socio-spatial system" (1989: 115). Somerville criticizes Gurney for going too far: "If home is *only* an ideological construct, then it becomes meaningless to ask if someone really has a home or not" (1992: 529). He argues that, although home is an ideological construct, it is not just a matter of "feelings and lived experience but also of cognition and intellectual construction" (1992: 530). I tend to agree with Somerville here and believe that the meaning of home must be described as a multidimensional concept; for an individual it can mean shelter, abode, roots, privacy, a specific social environment, like family, and possibly others. These meanings then take on a wider

symbolic significance and general connotations in relation to oneself and a wider social community.

The literature also explores sites in which people struggle to make and define home. Local and static visions of home might be resisted if economic or personal circumstances make it difficult to secure a home. If the struggle and the search cannot be resolved, this might raise the issue of homelessness in a new meaning and dimension. While Cuba and Hummon argue that "migration does not preclude an emergent sense of home but that migration at different stages of the life cycle does produce different patterns of place affiliation" (1993: 547) it might also be interesting to see under which circumstances migration can also lead to a sense of homelessness and displacement.

Dawson and Rapport (1998) describe home as a phenomenon, as that mysterious atmosphere of a personal kind, by which procedures and surroundings are made known as one's own. Home then is "where one best knows oneself – where 'best' means 'most', even if not always 'happiest'" (p. 9). I find this to be a most beautiful definition of home, and it will serve me as a working definition for the project I am presenting here. Individuals are most commonly at home in the story of their lives: in the narrative of identity with and through which they traverse their social environments. In this context the attainment of home could be considered as an individual search that involves, either or both, physical and cognitive movement. There are basic relations, a close link, between identity and movement (and home). A universal way in which human beings conceive of their lives in terms of a moving-between, a dialectic between movement and fixity concerning identity, relations, things, groups, cultures.... It is in and through the continuity of movement that human beings continue to make themselves at home (Dawson and Rapport 1998b). "Every voyage can be said to involve a re-siting of boundaries", Trinh Minh-ha writes,

> [t]he travelling self is here both the self that moves physically from one place to another, following 'public routes and beaten tracks' within a mapped movement, and the self that embarks on an undetermined journeying practice, having constantly to negotiate

between home and abroad, native culture and adopted culture, or more creatively speaking, between a here, a there, *and* an elsewhere." (1994: 9, emphasis in original)

2.2 Migration Processes and Transnational Realities

While it is not easy to classify migrants in certain categories, many authors have tried to provide a basic matrix in which to locate certain types of migrants, among them for example Collinson (1993) and Demuth (2000). The basic distinctions made in those typologies would mostly be voluntary versus involuntary and economically motivated versus politically motivated migration. Locating the Spanish migrants in Germany, most of them have migrated voluntarily for economic reasons (cf. Breitenbacher 1982). But this certainly is only a broad generalization, as the above classifications broadly overlap and are, of course, much more complex in individual cases. It might be a helpful tool, though, to start from some idea of where to situate a specific group of migrants, as long as one does not lose sight of the restricting qualities of the assumptions behind it and is willing to revise static classifications in the process of a study.

Immigration is an ongoing issue in political and societal debates in Germany, even more so with the opening of the European Union for working migrants in 1992. The history as well as the current situation of Germany as an immigration country is well documented by representatives of all relevant academic fields. Because of the enormous amount of contributions covering all areas and topics, from acculturation and assimilation to working conditions, I do not want to list single items here. Nevertheless, Bade's work *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland* [Germans Abroad - Foreigners in Germany] (1993) might be worth mentioning as a good and comprehensive overview and starting point. As far as the literature on Spanish migrants in Germany in particular is concerned, choice is much more limited. Spaniards are sometimes mentioned amongst other ethnic groups in studies relating to the guest worker system (for example Collinson 1993, Bade 1993), integration (see for example Thränhardt 2000, Seifert 1998) or migration and racism (see for example Casles

1987), but they are rarely treated as the main subject in monographic work. One reason for this might be that they constitute a relatively small group among the foreign population of Germany (and, interestingly, the only one which has been constantly decreasing over the last 25 years). Furthermore they are comparably 'inconspicuous': they are not as culturally distinct, ghettoised or prominent in criminal or unemployment statistics as many other ethnic groups in Germany and are also less a subject of open racist hostilities and the public debate about migrants. In short, they are not a major 'problem' in the integrational process. Among the work about Spanish migrants that has given me considerable input for my present work are Breitenbacher's comparative study of Italian and Spanish workers in Germany (1982), mainly based on quantitative data about the respective groups, and the PhD thesis of Albaladejo y Fuertes about migration and prejudice (1987), treating in some detail emotional causes and consequences of migration in the case of Spanish labour migrants.

Migration is an issue affecting nearly every part of peoples' individual lives as well as whole societies on many different levels. Hence, it is not surprising that research on migration is "intrinsically interdisciplinary" (Castles & Miller 1998: 19, see also Agozino 2000). Economics, political science, demography, history, sociology, psychology, law, social anthropology, all these fields are relevant and needed to contribute to a fuller understanding of all the different aspects of migration processes. All these disciplines have their different approaches in theory and methodology and as a result there is a large variety of devised theories of migration (for an overview see Massey et al. 1998).

International migration theory has seen quite a lot of changes since about 1980. Most classical authors, starting from the first serious attempts by Ravenstein in 1885, have theorized migration as a more or less secluded process of one or two spatial movements (immigration/emigration or re-migration). They have mainly asked

why and how people migrate and what the effects on sending and receiving countries are on micro- *or* macro-levels, whereas more recent approaches have focused more on migration as a continuous, while ever changing, social and spatial process. Some of the central questions in contemporary migration research are about the factors which maintain migration flows and give them distinct qualities, and about the new transnational and social realities emerging in relation to current international migration processes (see also Massey et al. 1998). The concept of push- and pull factors as incentives for specific migratory flows, and thereby as a starting point for explanatory interpretations, is an idea that has been and still is prominent in migration research (cf. Brettell 2000). Also processes of integration, assimilation, marginalisation and the emergence of ethnic minorities and diasporas in the receiving societies as well as the effects of emigration in the sending societies have been areas of interest all along. But while in classical conceptualisations the processes in respectively sending and receiving societies have been interpreted as interconnected by certain modes of operation, but are still seen as separate entities, the new approaches treat these interconnections as another important area of interest in itself. They create a new space, characterised by the emergence of pluri-local and transnational realities, which constitute a distinct process, not only in-between starting point and destination of migratory movements, but broadly overlapping on both ends (cf. Pries 2001).

In 1943 Eugene Kulischer wrote:

> The migratory movement is at once perpetual, partial and universal. It never ceases, it affects every people ... [and although] at a given moment it sets in motion only a small number of each population ... in fact there is never a moment of immobility for any people because no migration remains isolated. (1943: 9)

Sarah Collinson argues that today "the international migrations of people are greater in magnitude, more complex, more diverse and interconnected than ever before" (1993: 1). She mentions three major trends in global migration, which also characterize the situation in

Western Europe over the last few decades, namely escalation, globalisation and regionalisation. The relatively new concept of "translocal communities" (Appadurai 1996) acknowledges these processes of growing and developing translocal and -national networks at a time when traditional concepts defining locality as an isolated and secluded unit do not seem appropriate any more, with social and geographical borders drifting more and more apart (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1997). People's conceptions of and search for home play an important role in the development of these transnational realities (cf. Levitt 2001 and Fouron and Glick-Schiller 2001). In *Nations Unbound* Basch et al. argue that, in the case of some groups of Caribbean immigrants in the United States, the migrants, together with their respective home societies, are engaged in building a new form of nation state by constructing an ideology that still allows these 'transmigrants' to be perceived as loyal citizens of their home nation, while at the same time they permanently settle in another country. They criticise that

> [n]either the representations nor the practices of these immigrants in relation to their "home" nation-states are encompassed within the analytical paradigms that predominate in migration studies, focusing as they do on immigrant incorporation within the country of settlement. The time has come... to rethink our conceptions of the migration process, immigrant incorporation, and identity. (Basch et al. 1994:3)

Subsequently they develop a theory of "transnationalism" that takes account of the processes by which immigrants link together their societies of origin and settlement by sustaining multiple social relations and involvements in both. I would not go as far as suggesting that the Spaniards in Germany form a transnational community with such very close interrelationships with their home nation. The idea that seems interesting to me here is, that if national and personal identities and even nations are bridging different countries without being confined and inscribed in certain places or circumscribed by national borders, the same might be true for people's perceptions and understandings of home. Basch et al. note

that "Transmigrants use the term "home" for their society of origin, even when they have also made a home in their country of settlement." (1994:7).

In this thesis I want to take a closer look at how perceptions of home might change in a migrant situation, how immigrants´ ideas and ideals about home influence the way they feel and live in the host country and how they relate to identity issues. Certainly we are all in a constant search for a home and for an identity that provides us with some security and support in the struggles and insecurities of the modern world. In a migrant situation, where traditional notions of being "rooted" in a homeland and belonging somewhere by "right of birth", by extended family networks and cultural affiliation are extremely disrupted, these processes might be even more essential and visible. We do not miss or search for things we have, and often we do not even realise that we do need them until we lose them. It could be assumed then, that migrants might have a heightened sense of home, because, with the temporary or even long-term loss of place-, family- and social affiliations, feelings of belonging that are otherwise often being taken for granted might take on an intensified meaning. As Malkki (1997: 53) says about refugees' conceptions of homeland and national identity, migrants' ideas about home may offer researchers a particularly focused tool to examine concepts and ideas of home.

3. Migration to Germany in the 20th Century

The great majority of the Spanish immigrants I worked with first came to Germany as guest workers, or spouses or children of guest workers between 1960 and 1973. The specific form of labour migration in this period clearly had a major influence on expectations, personal experiences and circumstances as well as on the social and economic conditions the migrants found themselves in. Also, the later development of migration in Europe had repercussions on their situation, as it partly shaped not only alien policies, but also public perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants.

Therefore, this chapter will first take a closer look at the rise and fall of the guest worker system and the mass labour migration to Western Europe and specifically to Germany, starting after World War II. Then I will briefly describe the general development of migration to Germany after this period and take a look at the effects of the EU on migration and on the migrants from EU member States in Germany. Finally, I will give a short account of the legal situation of Spanish immigrants in Germany between 1960 and today.

3.1 Building up Germany with Foreign Workers

From the beginning of the twentieth century up to the early 1950s Europe was mainly a region characterised by emigration, with significant numbers of people migrating especially to the Americas, but also for example to Australia and New Zealand. In the early to mid fifties, however, the fast developing industrial nations of Western Europe shifted to taking in growing numbers of immigrants while emigration decreased significantly (Massey et al. 1998: 108).

The period between 1950 and 1973 is characterised by the biggest expansion of world capitalism that had ever occurred. There are multiple reasons for the extremely long-lasting economic boom in

the industrial countries during this time (post-war rebuilding and high demand of various goods and services, later the wars in Korea and Vietnam and the Cold War are only a few of them). One of the most valuable goods that was indispensable for growing industries and economic development and insured the ongoing growth was labour. While in most of the highly industrialised European countries the natural population growth could not keep up with the growing demand for labour, the less developed countries still struggled with high unemployment rates and a comparably low standard of living among the population (Castles and Miller 1998: 68). A period of mass labour migration started in Europe mainly in south-north direction, supported and to a high degree organised and controlled by the governments of receiving as well as sending countries.

After the end of World War II Germany started building up the country from the chaos that was left in bombed cities and factories that had mostly been turned into sites for the production of warfare goods. While at first the labour market was satisfied by returning captives and refugees (first from the Soviet occupation zone, later from the German Democratic Republic and the former Eastern territories that now belonged to the USSR and Poland), soon it became obvious that the workforce was not going to be big enough to keep up with the demand of the industries (Bade 1993: 393). World War II had taken its toll, there was a lack of young people, especially men and birth rates were low. So in 1955 Germany, like England, France and other Western European nations before, started recruiting workers from the labour markets of the mostly agricultural Mediterranean countries. The first bilateral agreement was signed with Italy in 1955, Greece and Spain followed (1960) and later Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and the former Yugoslavia (all during the sixties). Though all the European industrial countries took in foreign workers and recruitment procedures and conditions were to some extent similar everywhere, over the years the German system came to be the most highly

organised and specific one, well-known throughout Europe as the German guest worker system (Castles and Miller 1993: 70-71).

The *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* (the German federal labour office) established agencies in the Mediterranean countries to recruit whole cohorts of workers, at first mainly for seasonal work in agriculture and the building economy, but shortly after that also for companies in the industrial sector who needed to fill up their production lines with unskilled and semi-skilled workers and could not find enough Germans to do the work. The foreign workforce in Germany grew from 95.000 in 1956 to 1.3 million in the first ten years, and then (after a short decrease because of the recession in 1966-67) to 2.6 Million in 1973 (Castles, 1987: 71), just before the end of the recruitment period. The "labour import" was regulated by a multitude of laws concerning status and rights of the immigrants, rights and obligations of the companies and bilateral agreements between the sending countries and Germany, defining for example issues like health, insurance, pensions, and allowances for children.

The assumptions that policies were based on were quite simple: guest workers came to Germany as mobile work units for a limited time. They could be employed, moved and sent back according to the needs of the labour market (Kühn, 1979: 10). Often workers were recruited for a specific job in a specific company and their right to stay in the country was tied to that particular employment. In turn, the companies had to provide accommodation and guarantee the job for the specified period of time. Family reunion, social and occupational mobility and real social integration were at first neither supported, nor wanted, and the guest worker was refused civil and political rights. Policies were made to keep foreign workers rotating in order to stay in control of the situation and prevent settlement (Seifert 1998: 83-84). Most of the migrants themselves started off with corresponding expectations, they were not planning to stay, they just wanted to save up some money or help their families with a better income for a while

and then return home and set up a better life there (cf. Breitenbacher 1982).

This could be seen as the first of three phases of the inner-European labour migration, followed by family reunion and settlement and finally the formation of new ethnic minorities, leading to the current situation in Germany and other industrial nations in Western Europe today. Maybe the most surprising fact about this first phase is that everyone, governments, the public and even the migrants themselves for quite a long time seemed to believe in the assumption that no long-term settlement and emergence of new ethnic minorities would arise from these migratory movements. It was in fact expected that this would only be a temporary situation, which would be almost completely reversible if conditions changed.

The institutionalised discriminations labour migrants had to face in their new country already become obvious here. The official position towards the inflow of migrants was one that denied the mere existence of immigration to Germany, in favour of calling it an interim solution that was completely controllable by the government. One positive aspect of this state propaganda, at least in the early years, was the absence of racist excesses against the labour migrants (at least on the surface). That is not to say there were no discriminating attitudes against guest workers at all. But in the general conception of the public they were needed and therefore welcome, as long as they served the purpose of helping Germany's economic growth and as long as they would leave when not needed any more (cf. Castles 1987). So unlike in the classical immigration countries, like the United States or New Zealand, where immigrants were the basis for the development of the society in every respect, structurally, economically, intellectually and socially, the guest workers were not seen as carriers of social capital. Immigration was regarded as the inevitable if not undesirable by-product of the import of labour. Germany did not want to be a new home for labour migrants, but only a work place, corresponding to the dichotomy between work place and home that had increasingly

developed with growing industrialisation in Western Europe from the late eighteenth century onwards.

While under these circumstances integration was not a real aim of either the state, the public or the migrants themselves, the interests of the employers were slightly different. While on the one hand the mobile labour force and the rotation-system had advantages for them, as it enabled them to react very flexibly towards fluctuations in productivity and kept social costs low, on the other hand, in a time, when labour potential was scarce, they also had an interest in building up a reliable stock of permanent staff and a good working climate to stimulate the motivation of their workers. So integration of the guest workers into the domestic labour force was an issue for them . Some of the foreign workers were induced to stay and as a result they started to let their families come to Germany, often facilitated by the employer by recruiting the wives of their workers. So in the sixties tendencies towards family reunion, leading to long-term settlement in the long run, had already started to develop and became obvious. Later, after the end of the recruitment phase, they became even more marked (cf. Bade 1992, Castles 1987).

3.2 Stopping Immigration Flows – New Alien Policies in the 70s

In 1973 Germany was the first Western European country to implement new alien policies as a reaction to an imminent recession caused by the World Fuel Crisis; other countries followed soon after (Massey et al. 1998: 108). In the presence of growing domestic unemployment the aim was to drastically reduce the share of foreign nationals in the labour force as well as in the resident population. Recruitments were stopped completely and no new working permits were issued to foreigners (except for European Union member States' nationals, e.g. Italians). While some labour migrants were forced to leave the country by withdrawal of their work permits, the majority of guest workers who returned to their native countries left because they lost their jobs or could not earn enough any more, due to cuts in

bonus payments and overtime hours. Re-migration was furthermore often encouraged by financial compensations. The foreign workforce in Germany sank from 2.6 million (12% of total workforce) in 1973 to 1.9 million in 1976 (9% of total) and to 1.7 million at the end of the eighties (Bade 1992: 396).

Nevertheless, a long-term decrease in the resident foreign population was not achieved. Faced with increasing unemployment rates and growing racism in Germany, many guest workers from the faster developing Mediterranean countries, like Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy did return home because they now saw better chances there (cf. Castles 1987). In the cases of Spaniards and Greeks this was further facilitated by the political changes in the respective countries in the mid-seventies (the end of military regime in Greece 1973 and in Spain the death of dictator Franco in 1975), while for example the Turkish population did not see better chances for employment in their country of origin (cf. Wilpert 1992: 184-85). Ongoing political terror and economic chaos in Turkey from the late seventies on finally made a return for many Turkish people impossible and even caused further immigration of Turkish refugees to Germany. So, altogether, the foreign workers leaving were clearly outnumbered by those who stayed despite these negative developments.

Another effect of stopping labour immigration was a reduction of transnational flows of migrants. Guest workers, who beforehand had to a certain degree shifted between Germany and their country of origin, were now reluctant to leave Germany at all because that could have meant an unwanted final good-bye (cf. Breitenbacher 1992 and Wilpert 1992: 185). This attitude in turn led to an increase in family reunion and as a result also growing birth rates among the foreign population. So while the share of foreigners in the labour force was decreasing, the portion of resident dependents (and unemployed foreigners) rose. This period marks a clear shift from the "temporary" guest worker situation to a "real" immigration situation, which

Germany had always sought to avoid (Castles and Miller 1998: 80, Bade 1992: 397-98).

Though the official attitude of Germany not being an immigration country was still promoted and further influenced alien policies, the State was now confronted with the need for adequate integration concepts facing the growing social tensions. Hostility to foreigners (to some extent foreigners in general, the main target group, however, being Turkish immigrants) was growing enormously, facilitated by different factors. First of all increasing unemployment in Germany meant a growing loss of economic and social security for many Germans. A generation that had come to age in a period of permanent economic growth and increasing prosperity with nearly full employment for over ten years now faced a serious threat to these privileges. Suddenly foreigners, instead of ensuring ongoing economic development, came to be competitors on the labour market and for available social resources. The ongoing propaganda of the government in the previous years, which had persistently negated the existence of "real" immigration, had certainly contributed to the extent of this disillusionment. The chance of facilitating integration at an early state, which could have now helped to ease interethnic tensions, had been wasted.

At this point I find it quite instructive to have a look at the analogies of the term "guest", as in guest worker, in a different context. The most likely association with "guest" is probably a person who has been invited to a certain place, maybe for a certain occasion. If we have a guest in our home, in the sense of house or flat, we might say things like "just make yourself at home", we want our guest to be comfortable, to feel welcome. We do not usually mean it literally though, in the sense of giving our visitor all the rights and duties we connect with our home. There is something like an agreement or a set of social rules that usually regulates the interrelationship between guest and host. One of these things, already inherent in the definition of the term "guest" is that a guest should leave at some point, at the

latest when the host wants him to. If he does not, he becomes an unwanted guest and he might eventually even be perceived as an intruder in our home, as a parasite using up our resources. This is very similar to the public perception of the labour migrants in Germany promoted by State policy and propaganda. They were invited to Germany as guests, guest workers, and therefore, when they did not leave eventually, thereby infringing the social agreement about the guest-host relationship, they turned into unwanted guests, intruders, parasites. These are all terms that have been used for foreigners in Germany (and unfortunately are still being used by some individuals and groups) and immigration has also been compared to a (home-) invasion by sympathisers of right wing nationalism.

3.3 Changing Immigration Landscapes

From the mid-eighties onwards a new phase of immigration to Germany began, triggered by the relaxation of the Cold War. The so-called Iron Curtain slowly lifted with the political changes in the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe started to open its doors to the West. One result of the progressing liberalisation of departure regulations in the Eastern European countries was the largely uncontrolled influx of waves of immigrants from Eastern Europe to Germany, claiming citizenship on the basis of German ethnicity (Massey et al. 1998: 109). Also, continuously growing numbers of asylum seekers came to Germany, due to the (now amended) liberal provisions of the post-war constitution and the easy access to countries of Central Europe (a result of the relaxation of border controls between the EU member states). According to Oberg and Wils (1991) there was an influx of about 2 million asylum seekers to Western Europe between 1980 and 1990 with roughly half of them being taken in by Germany. The main sources were Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Lebanon and to a lesser extend India, Sri Lanka, Iran, Poland and Somalia. So there is a clear shift of the immigration origins away from Southern Europe towards Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. Southern

Europe in turn shifted from the domination of emigration towards taking in growing numbers of immigrants mainly from North Africa, but also from Eastern Europe, with a high share of illegal entries.

Meanwhile, the legal situation of former guest workers of Spanish, Portuguese and Greek nationality and their descendants improved, because the respective countries joined the EU during this period (Greece a bit earlier in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986). Thereby they now had (at least in theory) unlimited access to the German labour market and residency. For many of them this did not actually mean a big change, as they had already resided in Germany for more than ten years and thereby had gained unlimited residence permits anyway. Official statistics from September 1982 already note the average time of residency among the total foreign population in Germany with ten years. More than 2.2 million foreigners - roughly half of the total foreign population - had been in the country for over ten years already (*Wirtschaft, und Statistik Nr.1*, 1983).

During this period the second generation of the early immigrants (the former guest workers) had advanced through the German education system and was now entering the labour market, and more and more also tertiary education institutions. At the end of the eighties a surprisingly advanced integration process, accelerating intergenerationally, had developed on a day-to-day basis, characterised by an increase of acceptance and simple "normality" in the relationships between Germans and non-German residents (Bade 1992: 398). This was especially so in the younger generation, which is documented by polls and research of this time. The government, however, showed no willingness to react to these developments with adequate new immigration- and integration policies. These could have eased some of the hardships of the progressing immigration process, instead of hindering it by continuously refusing to officially accept and create a new legal basis for the fact that de facto Germany had started to become a modern immigration country in the lived experience of millions of people.

So while on the one hand there was an observable relaxation of social tensions and a development towards a new multicultural everyday life, public debate was meanwhile dominated by growing hostility towards foreigners on the other hand. Bade (1992) identifies three main dimensions of what he calls irritations and distortions in the public discussions in the context of the growing influx of ethnic Germans and refugees (asylum seekers) (p. 399) that I have described above. Firstly, the specific politicisation of the "problem of the foreign population" mingled it in an 'undifferentiated and polemic' (p. 400) way with the refugee problem and the use of horror scenarios and solution promises for election campaigns. Secondly, the inner migration from the former German Democratic Republic and the mass influx of ethnic Germans from the East led to a dissolution of the so far for many easily applicable categories of "German/indigenous" on one side and "foreign/strange" on the other, because all of the sudden there were "strange Germans" immigrating into the country, bringing about new polarisations in political debate (foreigners/aliens versus ethnic Germans) and a shift from the central topic of hostility against aliens to hostility against strangers in general (p. 400). Thirdly, a completely new dimension was brought about by the German reunion. One of the outlets of social frustration and aggression caused by the extreme pressures on the people in the former German Democratic Republic through the complete collapse of their social and economical systems and the mass unemployment resulting from this, was open hostility towards strangers. Bade argues that many Eastern Germans migrating to the West brought with them a deeply sceptical attitude towards the multicultural aspects of society that had developed in Western Germany.

> This was coinciding there with the fear of internal ethno-social tensions and of growing immigration pressure from the outside and a continuous lack of perspectives for the political shaping of the pending problems in the areas of conflict between migration and integration. At the end of the decade [1980s] stood the dangerous coinciding of political helplessness and social fear. (1992, p. 401, original in German)

3.4 Recent developments

The most recent phase in European Migration, which is still evolving and has started only in the nineties of the twentieth century, is characterised by 'the consolidation of Western Europe as a free internal market with unrestrained movement of EU citizens between member States' (Massey et al. 1998: 109). This coincides with more restrictive policies for immigration from non-EU countries with stricter controls on entry and a tightening of asylum criteria, also resulting in growing illegal entries.

Despite the growing influence and perceptibility of the EU in many areas of every day life these days, like politics, economy, labour markets and the introduction of the Euro in 2002, there still is no common concept for naturalisation among the member States and calls for a European citizenship are still dreams of the future.

According to official statistics, the foreign population in Germany at the end of 2002 added up to just over 7.3 million people making up 8.9 % of the total population and including a high share of German-born non-nationals (not including current asylum applicants still waiting for a decision on their cases). Of these, 5.8 million are from other European Nations (including Turkey), among them 1.9 million Turks and 1.8 million from EU member States. By far the biggest group among the latter with a share of about 30% are Italians, with the Spaniards following Greeks, Austrians and Portuguese in fifth place with a total of just over 127,000 (GENESIS Online, 2003). Even now Germany's willingness to accept itself as an immigration country and to introduce adequate immigration policies is a slow process. In 1993 Bade (p. 398) described the paradoxical situation many immigrants find themselves in: people who have been living in Germany for decades, who have seen their children and often grandchildren grow up in this country, are mostly legally still aliens, strangers no more, but "natives" with a foreign passport. In the experienced reality of these "foreigners" as well as of Germans there are increasingly flowing transitions that lead to paradox paraphrases,

used in the discourse about the multicultural everyday life of the (existent) immigration situation in a non-immigration country, like "native foreigners" or "foreign natives" and "foreign Hyphen-Germans".

There have finally been reactions to this situation though, and the new naturalisation laws that were introduced in 2001 now give children born to non-German residents who have been living in Germany for at least eight years German nationality by birth. They can also keep the nationality of their parents up to the age of eighteen, when they have to make a decision as to which nationality they want to keep, thereby maintaining the exclusiveness of German nationality. Also the terms migrants and immigrants more and more find their way into public and political debate as long due replacements for the former discriminating and excluding designations.

3.5 Legal Situation of Spanish Immigrants

The legal regulations regarding migration in both sending and receiving countries have a major influence on nearly all aspects of the migrant's life. Regulations for entry, residence and work permits and the immigration or alien acts shape the legal framework the migrant has to adapt to in the receiving society, while at the same time the native country sets the regulations regarding departure, the legal status as a non-resident national and, very important, the options of return. In the case of Germany and Spain there are, furthermore, bilateral contracts between the two countries, setting up agreements about the mutual recognition of health and annuity insurance, as well as educational degrees or diplomas, and regulating issues like settlement and schooling. These are all issues playing a central role in the way a migrant can actually organise and take control of his life in the new country, and to a high degree they shape his possibilities and choices. It is most unlikely, though, that an average migrant will at first completely understand how all these laws and regulations function and in which way they will actually determine his situation.

Most of the early Spanish labour migrants, who in general initially came to Germany by themselves (without dependent family members) and with the intention to stay only for a few years, would have been content in the beginning to know that they had permissions for departure from Spain and entry to Germany, and that work- and residence-permits were granted. All of these formalities were organised by the German recruitment agencies that were put up in Madrid and several province towns in Spain following the labour recruitment agreement in 1960. Work permits issued to the Spanish migrants usually had a term of one or two years and regulated the liability of the migrant to stay with his first employer for at least one year, who in turn had to provide accommodation for the guest worker. To change to another job or move to a different place in Germany was only allowed under certain conditions and with a special permission. Spanish guest workers were subjected to the provisions of the aliens act and the employment promotion act, the former meaning that they could be deprived of the permission to reside when the work permit ended, if they lost their job, or if they were unemployed for a longer period of time. The latter states that available jobs have to be offered to Germans and EU member State nationals first, and only if the job cannot be filled in by someone from these categories can it be given to a person of another nationality. Under these circumstances it becomes clear that the possibility to stay in Germany for a longer period of time was very much determined by the economic situation in the country. The migrant himself evidently could not take any direct influence.

Family reunion was not encouraged, but there were no special laws regulating it, except for the general validity of article 6 of the constitution act ('matrimony and family enjoy special protection of the state-order'). This was usually interpreted to the effect that wives and underage children could get permission to reside in Germany, providing that the husband could offer adequate accommodation and a secure income. Extended family could only follow to Germany if they were needed for the nursing of children (according to decisions of the

Supreme Administrative Court in 1973 and a Higher Administrative Court in 1978).

The bilateral agreement of 1960 already equalised Spanish employees with Germans regarding pension- and health insurances and the payment of allowances for all children, irrespective of which country the children resided in (until in 1975 allowances for children residing in Spain were adapted to the smaller amount usually paid in Spain). Further agreements followed. The bilateral agreement of 1966 introduced and regulated the possibility of the payment of unemployment benefits to Spanish migrants and, more importantly, the "agreement of settlement", which was signed in 1972 and which very much improved the legal status of Spaniards in Germany. The most important changes brought about by this latter contract were the free choice of whereabouts within the Federal Republic and the claim to an unlimited work permit for Spanish migrants, after they had either been in Germany for eight years or had held a work-permit without interruption for a period of five years. The unlimited permit could then also be extended to spouses and underage children. Breitenbacher (1982) argues, however, that despite the better legal position, the feeling of legal uncertainty among the Spanish employees could not be removed by the "agreement of settlement", as the discretionary powers within the scope of the aliens act were still being used against the Spaniards and the authorities often ignored the agreement's provisions. Decisions resulting from this then had to be revised in lengthy trials, if the migrant took the decision to claim his rights (p. 30).

The Spanish Emigration Act of 1971, on the other hand, guaranteed to migrants (at least in theory) a comprehensive safeguarding of their social and legal rights in Spain during the emigration period and on return, as well as protection by the State throughout the complete migration process. The aim was certainly not to provoke re-migration to Spain as long as the domestic labour market was still weak, but to maintain the principal willingness of the

emigrant to return, when with growing industrialisation the demand for industrial labour and skilled workers would increase. Furthermore Spain had an interest in keeping up flows of remittances, which in turn are most likely if the migrant includes a possible return in his future plans.

The inclusion of Spain into the EU in 1986 finally profoundly changed the official status of Spanish immigrants in Germany. They gained freedom of movement in all EU member States and unlimited access to the respective labour markets. Spanish employees now were equalised in nearly all respects to German employees, and they had the same rights to establish and carry on trades or businesses, all without the need to apply for a work permit. And as EU citizens the Spaniards were not subjected to the aliens act any more. The contracts of Maastricht (1991) and Amsterdam (1997) furthermore insured the right to vote on communal levels, and in 2000 Germany, France, Italy and Spain, like Austria before, determined the abolition of the need for residence permits for gainfully employed EU citizens (which EU nationals generally have a right to in the member States anyway).

4. Centro Español – Spanish Community Support in Weinheim

The Centro Español in Weinheim is one of many Spanish clubs, which have developed all over the main areas in Germany where Spanish immigrants were employed as guest workers from the sixties onwards. Most of them originated from and around the centres the *Caritas* (a German welfare association), set up in the early years of the guest worker system, which often included social services, rooms for the native language classes and a pub or cafeteria.

These clubs were set up as culture and leisure centres, organised by and for Spanish immigrants and maintained by the honorary work of club members. Most of them, like the Centro Español, are and always have been non-profit associations relying heavily on membership fees and the participatory work of their members. Back in the sixties and seventies, when the first generation of immigrants arrived, few of them spoke any German. They were often focused in certain areas, as they were usually employed in large groups by certain companies, and most of them did not even have to deal with language issues at their workplace. Furthermore, their migration was generally planned as a short-term one with the intention to go back to Spain after a period of usually about one to three years. This determined to a major extent the way in which the local population regarded and received them in Germany, as guests who would stay as long as needed for the workforce and not as people who came to stay and share local community life. This perception was also shared by most of the immigrants themselves. In this context it is quite understandable that the clubs came to be heavily frequented

and developed into a major social focus point of Spanish immigrants in the respective areas.

Here they could talk in their mother tongue, meet up with others in the same situation as their own, eat Spanish food and be in a social situation that resembled the one of a pub or café in their hometowns as much as possible. As non-profit organisations, the clubs sold food and drinks at relatively low prices, so it was affordable for everyone to spend a few hours there in the evenings at weekends. Nobody would look at them as though they did not belong, and children could be brought along as they usually are in Spain, while in German cafés and pubs they are mostly perceived to be too loud and lively to be pleasant company for a night out. It was – and still is – a general belief in Germany, quite contrary to Spanish habits, that children should be in bed quite early, even at weekends, and should not be taken to places where the adults drink, talk and celebrate in the evenings.

The Centro Español was founded in 1964, when it was a major focus of the social life of Spanish migrants in the area in their leisure time. Since that time the Centre had to move four times and also suffered a huge loss of popularity, despite the fact that the place and the surroundings of the new locality are most ideal and pleasant. In this chapter I want to describe some of my experiences at the Centro Español, the place and the people, how it operates, what it offers and what meaning it might have in the lives and maybe also for the construction of a home of the people frequenting it today.

4.1 First Impressions and Contact

The Centro Español in Weinheim today is located in a two-storey 19th century building, which used to be part of a medical spa bath, called *"Stahlbad"* (chalybeate bath) with a mineral water spring. The facility is quite beautiful, half-timbered houses arranged around a cobblestone yard, where one can still see the place where the well, dried out today, used to be. Although it is situated in the middle of a residential quarter with mainly low-cost housing, it is quite green and

peaceful, with some old trees giving shade and small residential roads with few traffic surrounding it. The *"Stahlbad"* is designated as a historical site to be preserved and is owned by the city of Weinheim, which is also responsible for the general maintenance of the site. The Centro Español is situated in one of the main buildings and has the right to use the yard, while the other houses, like the rest of the residential quarter, mostly accommodate socially weaker (working-class) people and families with a very high percentage of foreigners amongst them.

My first contact with someone from the Centro was on the phone, when I called there to find out a little more about it and to ask if I could come around and have a look myself. I was very lucky right then, having Ana on the phone, a woman who is not only very committed to the Centro, but also speaks German fluently and was very open and nearly enthusiastically helpful to me right from the start. She invited me to come around for the next Saturday evening, when the dancing class had a fiesta to celebrate the end of their course and a lot of people would be there for me to meet as well.

When I got there just before five o'clock the following Saturday, she greeted me warmly and then apologised that the fiesta would start two hours later and she had given me the wrong time. This meant that there was enough time so she could show me around, explaining a lot, telling me about the history, organisation, purpose and people of the Centro Español. After having had a look around, we sat down with a cup of coffee and had a chat about Spanish immigrants in Germany, about her and her family and her experiences with other people she had gotten to know during the over thirty years of her involvement in the Centro (her husband being a founding member in 1964). When the fiesta finally started, she had already told the dancing teachers about me and my study, and I was introduced to about six or seven people right away and invited to watch the dance and have a drink and some nibbles with everyone.

I spent about two hours at the fiesta, having little talks with a few people in between dances, especially with the dancing teachers, a married couple, but mainly just watching the dancers and the animated social encounters at the tables that were set up along the walls of the room. There were around 25-30 people of all ages between about 20 and maybe 55; all in couples (as you would expect in dancing classes), most of them Spanish, but quite a few German ones as well and one or two mixed couples. It was a relaxed, open atmosphere with a lot of laughing to be heard and a wild mixture of Spanish and German, not only at the tables, but also in the instructions and comments of the teachers. The male dancing teacher had asked me about my study and about Social Anthropology in general, and he had obviously come to his own conclusion of what this was all about. Half an hour later, after a funny incident involving a lot of chaos on the dance floor and various collisions between the dancers – this had been caused by several misunderstandings regarding the instructions, which were given half in German, half in Spanish - and ending in a lot of laughter, he came up to me laughing and said: 'See, there you've got your inter-cultural understanding.' Before I left, his wife insisted that I had to try the Spanish sweets she made for this occasion and was then just about take out. They were indeed delicious.

Although everyone was very friendly towards me, I still felt a little bit odd, as you might do in situations where everyone, except for you, knows each other quite well. I was also a bit uncomfortable in my position of a researcher, but on that evening certainly not because I was not Spanish. Still, this first time I went to the Centro was the one time I felt the least extraneous of all my visits that were still to come, and maybe it showed what a Spanish culture and leisure centre could be at its best: a place for communication between people across national and age boundaries. On all my following visits I experienced the atmosphere as very different to the one on this evening; I felt much more as an intruder and out of place on those later occasions and the

fact that my Spanish was quite rusty and bumpy played a bigger role than on the fiesta.

The general appearance of the Centro from the outside is more that of a private house. But there is a sign on the outside wall, with the name "Centro Español" and the logo of the beer brand that is served inside on it, like a pub would have. The entrance lies in the passage to the yard, which has to be entered through a gate from the road. Entering the door one finds oneself in the hallway with the staircase, where a few steps up on the opposite wall the eye is caught by a notice board with information and announcements in Spanish on it. Then, following the narrow corridor on the right hand side around the corner past a door, leading to the spacious kitchen, and passing a poster with the human rights in Spanish and a print of a copperplate engraving of the old "Stahlbad", one reaches the pub and café. This is one large open room, with tables, which can accommodate a maximum of roughly 40 people with all seats occupied, and a bar. Quite a prominent feature of the room is a big TV screen that is turned on nearly all of the time, showing Spanish sporting reports, news or commercials.

Turning to the left in the hallway instead, straight through the toilets are located, and on the left hand side the stairs lead up to the second storey. Upstairs one finds the large room where the fiesta took place on my first visit. It can be set up differently depending on the day or time, according to what it is going to be used for next. On the evening of the fiesta it was decorated with colourful garlands and bustling with life, on my second encounter no one was in it, the garlands were gone, tables and stairs stacked along the wall making even more empty room in the middle. But with the large windows all along two of the walls, on the left opening the view to the yard and the beautiful facility in general, and with sun and light pouring in through them, it nevertheless looked friendly. The room is decorated with framed art-prints of Spanish artists, Velasquez, el Greco, Picasso and others, which can be found on the walls of the room downstairs, too. It

also holds what Ana proudly calls 'our little library', shelves with maybe some 100 books, mostly in Spanish language. Next to this big upstairs room is a very small room, which is connected to it by an opening in the wall and serves as a projection room for the Spanish cinema most Sunday nights. Furthermore, a medium sized room hosts the office, which is usually in a state of orderly chaos, with several tables dotted with papers, a computer, printer and phone and several shelves with files on them.

Apart from this friendly untidiness everything is very orderly and clean, though the overall impression is just a little bit shabby, due to most of the cafeteria-style furniture, the pictures on the walls and the sanitary facilities being quite old and not in the very best state any more. It still is a great place, better than all the ones before, as Ana tells me. She mentions that the Centro owes this to the former mayor of Weinheim, who has done a lot for the town and especially for the foreign population and the socially weak, making the *"Stahlbad"* into what it is now and also developing the whole quarter, which used to be a bit like a ghetto with a very bad reputation, which still sticks to it today to a certain degree.

4.2 Activities and Organisation

As I have mentioned earlier, the "Centro Español Cultural y Recreativo" is a non-profit making association. The aims, as stated in the statutes, are the "preservation and maintenance of the Spanish *Heimatgedanke* (homeland heritage)" and the "advancement specifically of the German-Spanish cultural exchange, in order to contribute to a progressive understanding between the different national population groups". All the work is done by members, which, like the board of management, is honorary. Membership fees are 36. - Euro per year, with possible concessions and, for the members of the "Club Sesenta" (Club Sixty) for people from the age of fifty onwards, half of that amount. Together with the small surplus they make on food and beverages and a small annual contribution from official

funds, these fees are the only regular source of income of the Centro Español. Until the mid-seventies the club had at some times up to three hundred full members. Now there are only about eighty full members, and another seventy in the Club Sesenta, mainly due to the decrease of the Spanish population in Weinheim since that time (approximately 2500 until the mid-seventies decreasing to about 900 today). But also, as Ana sadly notes, because the young people do not come any more.

The dance class is only one of several organised activities provided by the Centro. Other regular offers are gymnastics classes on two nights a week, a mother- or father-child playgroup once a week and a Spanish movie-feature in the upstairs hall nearly every Sunday night. Furthermore, there are some occasional events like the excursions of the Centro and the Club Sesenta every year, the annual Fiesta del Verano (summer party) and special happenings on occasions like Mother's day or Easter. There used to be a lot more different activities, Ana says, 'when one of us [Spaniards] knew how to do something, he instantly had to show all the others', but now people simply do not seem to have so much time any more, they are too much involved with their own lives.

While there is nothing particularly Spanish about some of these activities like dancing or gymnastics classes (except for the teachers being and also teaching in Spanish), others are specifically aimed at maintaining Spanish cultural heritage, especially with regard to language. So the children's group was established by a group of mothers who wanted their children to develop their Spanish language skills not only in the isolated situation of the family at home, but also in a social situation and the play with others. The Spanish movies alternate between children's films, classic features and sometimes a modern film that is available on DVD in Spanish. The main target groups again seem to be children and older people.

The Centro itself, apart from being used for the activities of the groups mentioned above, and with it the pub is open every Saturday

and Sunday night as well as Sunday mornings for a couple of hours. The kitchen provides a small selection of food, like sandwiches with cheese or chorizo (a special kind of Spanish sausage similar to salami), hot chips and, very importantly, seafood. Spanish wine and German beer are served at the bar, along with the usual range of hot and cold drinks. Prices are very low, a mineral water for example costs 0.50 Euro, about a third or even less of what it would be sold for in a normal pub or restaurant. Of course there is cable TV, and the live screening of soccer-games of the major Spanish leagues could probably be described as one of the main events at the pub, apart from the general socialising. In the next section I will take a closer look at some of the things happenings at the Centro and at the atmosphere as I experienced it.

4.3 People and Atmosphere

Walking into the Centro Español on a normal Saturday or Sunday evening is maybe a bit like entering a community centre in a non-touristy little town in a foreign country, with the difference that a minute before, out on the road, I was still in a familiar surrounding. Everyone there knows everyone else and the Spanish language is absolutely predominant. German visitors are rare, and most of them are partners of their Spanish spouses. After a few evenings I know most of the regulars by sight and some from occasional chats at the bar, yet there are still only very few I feel comfortable enough with to approach them and start a conversation. But most of the time I just want to hang around and listen and watch anyway. In the beginning my main contact has been to Ana; we sat together for a chat sometimes or she helped me revise the questionnaire with regard to language and to some of the questions, which she thought were too complicated the way I had formulated them. One evening, when she was not at the Centro when I arrived, a woman even approached me right away to tell me that Ana was not in and to ask if she should call her at home to let her know I was here. But meanwhile all the regulars

know who I am and what I am doing, too, especially after many of them have read my information sheet and filled in the questionnaire. While they do know what I am interested in and why, and they understand that I want to interview people and get respondents to the questionnaire, most of them obviously do not understand, why I would want to hang around and just do nothing. They do not mind though. Even if I explain to someone, they still seem to find it odd. My presence is just too unusual, I am German, alone, and much younger than most of the people that come here to just hang around. Here I become the stranger.

On a Saturday evening the usual group of people sits around the big table opposite the bar in the front part of the room. About six to eight men and women between about 50 and 65 years old, talking, one of the women bends over a piece of crochet-work. On a small table next to them sits a German couple in their late fifties with their daughter, who live in the neighbourhood. They have been coming here for a couple of beers nearly every Saturday and Sunday for at least a year since they had a look at the place for the first time, as Ana tells me. The table they occupy is "their" table, they have become regulars, though they mainly keep to themselves. In another corner of the room there is a man around 60 reading a Spanish newspaper. Through the ceiling I can sometimes hear a faint sound of music and the steps of the people in the dance class, which is taking place upstairs. When they have a break and after class has finished, they flock down to the bar in little groups to get a drink or have a chat with the barkeeper. A German woman tries to order her drink in Spanish but cannot remember the name of what she wants properly, which results in a little talk about funny names for drinks in Spanish and German or a mixture of both, between her, the barkeeper and one or two other members of the dance class. Most of them leave shortly after the class has finished, except for the teachers and three or four others, who join the now growing group in the pub. As time goes by, more people come in, all of them Spanish, but now also some younger ones of maybe

about 30 to 35 years. Yet the age average is still clearly above 45. The table of the regulars is now more than full, and there are people at most other tables as well now, but most of them flock around the front part of the room and the bar. Conversations are often held across the boundaries of single tables and get difficult for me to follow now. There is a lot of laughter and sometimes the dancing teacher, who sits between the regulars' table and the German family, translates a joking comment for them, so they get involved at times, too. The conversation might then swap to German for a few minutes.

At about seven o'clock there are maybe about 25 people in the room altogether. There is nothing static about the scene, a lot of movement occurring. People move around, change tables for a while or grab a chair somewhere to join the regulars' table in second row. A Spanish soccer game is on tonight. This is the reason why there are so many people in the pub that evening. On an average evening, there are maybe a maximum of 15 people at once at any given time, except for peak times before or after the dance class or a movie-feature. The barkeeper stands in front of the TV and zaps through the channels, it seems to be unclear which channel is going to screen the game. Tonight the designated barkeeper according to the roster is a man of about 40 who speaks German as well as Spanish fluently. Ana says that he is an electrician with lots of work to do and he has very little time, so she thinks it is great that he nevertheless comes and does the bar-service once a month. Someone being in charge of the bar, as well as of the kitchen does not mean, though, that all the others are merely guests. It is not at all unusual that someone else walks behind the bar to fix a drink, gets some nibbles out of the kitchen or collects the money for my food and beverages. Likewise, the phone behind the bar can be picked and used by many different people. So, during any one evening it is possible to see up to maybe eight different people behind the bar. When the soccer game finally starts, it does not seem to be that important after all. Though the volume is turned up a bit, conversations do not cease. Only at crucial moments of the game the

attention of most focuses on the screen, men and women alike. Though many of the people have come specifically for the game, on the whole socialising in general seems to be of greater importance than the sporting event itself.

On a Sunday at five o'clock, just after opening, it is still quiet. Ana is upstairs, working in the office, and her husband is preparing the upstairs room for the movie screening. He sets up chairs in rows, darkens the windows and prepares the screen and the projector. At the regulars' table in the pub there are more or less the same people that have been sitting there at the beginning of the evening of the soccer game; they always seem to be there. The women who are in charge of the bar and the kitchen are among them. In this quiet atmosphere I can follow most of the conversation quite easily. At first they talk about the upcoming excursion of the Club Sesenta. They are looking forward to it and they start memorising little events of previous trips and wonder how many people will come this year. Ana has told me that for many of the older generation these annual excursions are the only times they really get to know places and areas of Germany other than the one they live in. The only place they ever go apart from that is to Spain once or twice a year. The conversation then jumps between different topics, sometimes ceases for a few minutes. Recurring themes seem to be the Centro, children, the weather, which is exceptional at that time in Germany (and most of Europe) in being extremely hot and dry for weeks on end - episodes of everyday life, just like maybe in a regular café among a group of friends. I notice that quite often references are being made to Spain, sentences might begin with 'when I went to Spain last year...' or 'in the town of...' (in Spain), but altogether this does not seem too prominent.

From about six o' clock onwards, more people start to turn up, among them a group of men who begin to play cards, which is a diversion that can be observed quite regularly at the Centro, mostly among the men but also sometimes with children together with older people. Families with children are arriving as well now, because

tonight's movie is an old Disney film about the Spanish relatives of Donald Duck. It gets loud now in the pub as the children run around and the parents start chatting. While the parents talk in Spanish, the children obviously prefer German. Some of children seem very comfortable and chat with different people, while others are comparably shy, like a little blond girl of about six years, who holds her father's hand and only nods or shakes her head when he asks her something. A lot of hot chips are ordered and eaten and at seven everyone goes upstairs to watch the movie, except for some of the older people and the card players, who just stay where they are for the rest of the evening. There are maybe about twelve children among the roughly 30 spectators of the film. It seems that they enjoy the movie, which is a mixture of animated and live picture, with Donald Duck taking us on a journey around Spain and some places in Latin America, with lots of songs and dance and some geographical and cultural information. When Donald talks himself, I can hardly understand a word and I suspect that many of the children cannot either. Nevertheless, the film is quite informative in places and also fun to watch. One or two of the older women in the audience sometimes hum along with a Spanish tune, they obviously enjoy the occasion just as much as the children.

Altogether the atmosphere at the Centro is very relaxed. Unfortunately there are usually very few children, except for the times before and after a children's movie. Many of the older people always seem to be there and Ana tells me that the Centro is all they have. This is their second home, their diversion and family. The atmosphere is indeed familiar. It seems much more like a big family gathering than a public place. At times someone even gets a phone call here. Ana says that it is also a place to find support for problems people cannot solve by themselves, for example, if they have to write an official letter, they can get help at the Centro. Reconsidering the aims of the Centro Español, which I mentioned earlier, I think it certainly does contribute to the maintenance of Spanish cultural heritage, also with regard to

children. Though to a small extent there certainly are intercultural encounters at the Centro, the intercultural achievements are maybe more to be found in the involvement of the Centro in multicultural festivities, like a Turkish-Spanish fiesta they held together with a Turkish community shortly after my first visit or the multicultural festival in Weinheim which is described in the next section is.

4.4 A Multicultural Festival in Weinheim

The motto of this year's international culture festival in Weinheim, which was held for the 12th time in 2003 under the auspices of the Lord Mayor of Weinheim, was "living together – celebrating together". It was organised by various groups and institutions, amongst them the Centro Español, the Turkish Labour Association, the office for youth and social issues and several other educationally, politically or culturally engaged initiatives and organisations. The invitation leaflet described the festival as an intercultural forum with the aim of providing an opportunity for a friendly meeting of people from different cultural backgrounds in a relaxed, festive atmosphere, thereby promoting intercultural understanding and the perception of "the multicultural society as a chance for enrichment". The motto is supposed to set a positive signal as a counterweight to the hate expressed in recent defacements on the facades of the mosque and other buildings in Weinheim with racist paroles.

The leaflet sets out the programme in three languages, German, Spanish and Turkish, but amongst the groups involved in the different stage performances were apart from the Spanish, Latin-American, Kurdish and Turkish folkloristic (and modern) dance and music groups also representatives of other nationalities, for example an Indonesian dance group and a Greek music ensemble. Because I only arrived there in the late afternoon, unfortunately I missed out on the children's programme in the park surrounding the Weinheim castle. But I had plenty of time to look around the stalls in the courtyard

providing information about foreign policy, asylum politics and different cultural and integration projects and groups, as well as a range of international foods from traditional German cakes to Spanish tortilla, and to watch several acts on the main stage.

The general participation was vivid. The yard was packed with people walking around, sitting on the long tables eating, drinking and talking or just standing around watching the stage show. The majority of the crowd would have been of Turkish and Spanish descent, judging by the looks as well as the dominant languages that conversations were held in. There was also a considerable number of German people visiting the festival. Families with children up to about twelve or thirteen years and older people were clearly over-represented and apart from the participants on stage there were hardly any juveniles to be seen. While food stalls were heavily frequented and most people attentively watched performances on the stage, the general interest in the politically motivated information stalls seemed to be less vivid.

There were two stage acts that particularly impressed me. One was the street- and break dance group of the organisation "Youth Mobile". So far my personal (non-TV) encounters with break dance had mostly taken place in the middle of the night in some nearly deserted hall of a major railway station or a similar setting, where a group of young people, often with a high share of "non-Germans", danced to music I did not particularly like, coming from the indispensable ghetto-blaster. In these situations I usually had a feeling of slight unease, sometimes even fear, which prevented me from really observing the scene, on the contrary, I would in most cases walk past in a "secure" distance as fast as possible, especially if I was by myself. The performance group managed to stage the very same scene, creating a completely different visual angle, artfully combining artistry- and dance-skills with a careful social critique. The dance performance itself was interpolated with short conversations between the actors, reflecting problems, hopes and disappointments of the specific social environment break dance has mainly developed from.

The production was an aesthetical firework of impressions with a high level of skill, creativity and attention to details (the music was even coming from a ghetto-blaster!). It was a striking example of how an activity often degraded by society by giving it the questionable title of a "sub-cultural" achievement can turn into something socially accepted and even "culturally valuable" without any major changes but to give it an "adequate" setting (like a festival-stage).

Secondly, the performance of the Spanish Flamenco group "Macarena" was very interesting for me in a completely different way. While I had experienced the break dance performance as very authentic, despite the completely different atmosphere on stage compared to the setting it originated from, the Flamenco performance at first seemed to me somehow artificial and out of place. I cannot really explain why, maybe it was the comparison to the Flamenco I had seen in Spain before, where the whole atmosphere had seemed full of energy, the music was live, the dresses fitted in with the colourfulness and the style of the surroundings, and the dancers were not just dancing but telling a story through their dance, living the dance. The performance here seemed strangely staged to me, like the attempt to recapture something that has once been a living part of a culture, but now is only a memory without tangible meaning and reality, maybe a bit like a posed photography that shows a scene but cannot communicate the event. My perception changed within an instance though, when my eye was caught by one of the dancers, a young girl, whose face and movements expressed so much dignity and concentration, while she seemed to be totally absorbed in her dance. All of a sudden the whole scene became alive for me. The meaning and experience for the dancers and the spectators might, or might not, be different to that on a fiesta in Spain, but it certainly is not absent. I was not surprised when a little bit later, having a look around the audience, I noticed an older Spanish woman who watched the performance with tears in her eyes.

The festival was clearly multicultural with regard to the ethnic composition of the visitors as well as the participating groups and organisers represented. But intercultural interaction on the basis of encounters between individuals seemed to be mainly limited to the level of the latter two categories. The spectators more likely experienced the cultural "other" mediated through stage performances and the consumption of food, with the exception of some of the children running around and playing together. This was particularly observable at the tables, where one could see the formation of certain clusters of whole groups of Turkish or Spanish people. Between the different groups or families, even if the space was very limited, there would often be a small, but recognisable, gap. Of course, this was also the case between groups of the same ethnicity, but in those cases conversations would more likely jump the gap after some time, while otherwise the physical gap also seemed to serve as a boundary-line that prevented any contact exceeding a quick glance or smile. Nevertheless, it was an occasion bringing together people of different ethnic backgrounds in a shared experience of celebration and it certainly was informative in many ways. I do believe that it is important not only for intercultural communication but also for the respective ethnic groups to have a public forum, where they can contribute and represent their specific cultural identity within the framework of the surrounding community.

5. A Sense of Exile, A Sense of Home - Spanish Immigrants in Germany

The Spanish nation has a long established migration tradition, still visible today in the former colonies of Latin America. Emigration to the colonies in the early times was even a privilege for those getting permission to do so. After the loss of the colonies, the Spanish government, in agreement with the Spanish speaking countries of Southern America, kept promoting emigration in order to keep up the ties of the old "motherland" Spain with the New World, thereby also securing Spain's economical interests there. It seems appropriate to call this process an endeavour to form a transnational Spanish community bridging the Atlantic and very much making Latin America a home away from home for the Spaniards. The vivid cultural exchange still existing today gives evidence of this process.

Emigration to the industrial countries of Europe had a completely different structure. The migrant was initially not leaving to settle and make a home in a new country, but was seen as a potential returnee. His value for the homeland was not grounded in the deepening of connections between Spain and the destination country, but in the temporary relief for the domestic labour market and the financial capital, and in the know-how the migrant would bring back to his native country on return. Therefore the aim of the Spanish emigration policy was mainly to maintain the ties of the emigrants to their homeland and secure the possibilities for re-migration, which was very congruent with the aim of the German government to facilitate only temporary migration, as I have shown earlier. These circumstances, of course, also had a great influence on the expectations of the individual Spanish migrant.

I want to start this chapter by giving, in reported speech, my composite of the accounts of four Spanish immigrants:

José[1] is in his early sixties and came to Germany in 1965. The recruitment agency in Spain had arranged for him a two-year contract for a low-skilled job in a metalworking factory in Mannheim. Back then he did not know anything about Mannheim or the surrounding area, except that other Spaniards from his native region in Andalusia were migrating there, too. What the area, the job itself and the accommodation, which was organised by the employer, would be like, and if he would like it there, did not seem very important at the time. José initially planned to return to Spain after the two-year period of his contract, or maybe extend the stay for a maximum of one or two years, if things were going well. He expected that after that period he would have some money saved, which would help him invest in the small business his parents ran in their home town. Thereby he wanted to secure its existence and turn it into a more profitable enterprise, capable of providing a good living for the whole family, including his prospective wife and children.

Arriving in Germany, José was quite content with his situation there at first. The communal lodgings were small but tidy and not very homely. Everything was well organised, the work well paid and people were friendly but reserved. He did not have much opportunity, time or money for leisure activities, but there were other Spaniards, working in the same factory and living in the same accommodations, to socialise with, sharing memories, hopes and future plans all relating to life in Spain. So, while physically he was in Germany, his heart and mind were still dwelling in his home country. In a way the time in Germany did not even really seem to belong to his life, but was something like a break from the real life, which was to be continued upon return. While he missed a lot of things right from the beginning, like the Spanish climate and food, family members and friends (which

[1] All names have been changed

he had expected to miss), after a while there were other things making him uncomfortable that he had not anticipated. In his home town, for example, he had spent most evenings in the local pub or with friends, and even at lunchtime he had often met up with friends to have a chat and a beer in some public place. He had hardly ever spent much time at the family home he was living at, let alone by himself in his room. Now that this home he would return to after work had turned into the main site for socialising, he longed for the loneliness and privacy of an own house or at least a room of his own, as a possibility for retreat. And while socialising with friends in Spain had often been a means to get away from family life, from every day routines and worries about the future, in Germany these issues became central to conversations, everybody making an effort of maintaining their presence by sharing and memorising them.

Quite soon it also became obvious that things did not work out according to his initial plans. José realised, that despite living in communal lodgings and receiving wages relatively higher than those in a comparable position in Spain, he could not save as much money as he had wanted to. Costs of living were higher than he had expected and he already had to send part of his income home to support the family business, which was struggling harder and harder. It seemed to him more and more unachievable to turn the dreams he had had when leaving Spain into reality. So, when the company he worked for offered him a prolongation of his contract he took the opportunity. At this point he also asked his fiancée Teresa to join him and to take up a job in Germany, too, for a while. After the wedding in their hometown she managed to get a job as a seamstress not too far away from José's workplace. They both assumed that with the joint income they could put up savings faster, but again living costs rose with having to rent a flat of their own, with longer ways to work and, as José mentions, with his higher expectations towards the standard of living in matrimony than when he was still by himself. However, their situation did improve bit by bit, especially when José got offered a

better-paid job in the same factory, which at the same time meant a promotion within the company hierarchy into the category of permanent staff. Their social network extended further now, beginning to include colleagues of Teresa's as well and also more and more Spaniards who had been in Germany for several years and had started to settle in their life here. Instead of putting everything aside for the return to Spain, they rather adapted their living standard to financial improvements: they could soon buy a car, move to a bigger flat, afford little luxuries, continuously postponing departure. When their first child was born in 1970 Teresa stopped working and they now had to rely on a single income again. José's work at that time provided a security the situation in Spain could not live up to, and when the recession started in 1973 and again he did not lose his work, they decided to stay for an indefinite time. At this time the second child was on the way, and a few years later the children were an important factor in continuously renewing the decision to stay in Germany for another while. They were starting school and made friends in Germany, and José and Teresa did not want them to have to start all anew. José found that now, that he had children, he set great store by the quality of education and medical care, which he perceived to be better in Germany than in Spain. But altogether he cannot say that he ever really made a decision to settle in Germany permanently. In his mind the migration still is an interim situation, despite having lived here for nearly 40 years now. He and his wife still want to go back to Spain some day, probably when he retires in another two or three years.

In the meantime, José feels quite at home in Germany, especially since they moved away from Mannheim to live in Weinheim, a smaller town nearby. A lot of the couple's friends live there, too, and the Centro Español is a pleasant place to socialise. José's circle of friends still consists mainly of fellow nationals, but there are also some Germans and people of other nationalities amongst them, mainly parents of his children's friends from school and one or two German

work colleagues. But it is still not the same for him as being in Spain, where they have spent their holidays at least once a year throughout all these years. Although he has only spent about a third of his life in Spain, the country, the people and their way of life still seem much more familiar to him there. He laughs when he tells me that he has really only gotten to know the Mannheim area in Germany, and lately a bit of Stuttgart, since his daughter moved there three years ago. In Spain he has not been to many places outside his home province of Andalusia either, but at least he has a much clearer mental idea of the whole country than of Germany. Spain just feels familiar to him, while, when stepping out of his immediate surroundings in Germany, he still often feels lost and very much like a stranger.

Ana is around 60. She migrated in 1967 to join her husband Rafael, who had left Spain with the first waves of Spanish labour migrants a few years earlier and by then had established himself in Germany. Unlike José, economic circumstances were not Rafael's only reasons to emigrate. One of his main motivations was to avoid having to perform his military service for the Franco regime, a government with which he principally disagreed. This meant that his plans for the length of sojourn and for returning were not as clearly formulated as in the cases of many other migrants. The earliest possible return would have been at the age of 28, when he was not obliged to serve in the army any more, unless the political landscape of Spain would have changed in the meantime. His rejection of the Franco regime did not, however, impair his general feeling of connectedness to Spain as his homeland and his general wish to return eventually. When Ana joined him, they initially planned to stay for another four years. She did not think too much about whether she wanted to live in Germany at all. Back then it just seemed natural to her to migrate, because her husband was working and living there. They, too, lived in Mannheim at first and moved to Weinheim later, where Rafael worked. In 1964 he had been a founding member of the Centro Español (CE). Because of Rafael's

involvement in the CE, Ana, upon arrival in Germany, found an already existent, still further developing Spanish immigrant network, in which she was deeply involved right from the start. Of course she did miss her family and friends, who stayed behind in Spain, but then here was her husband, new friends and the CE as a task to engage in, helping other Spanish migrants to cope with their situation. In the beginning she did not speak a word of German, and to her the language sounded like war: rough and abrupt. She had to learn it all by herself, bit by bit, and still regrets that there were no adequate language courses she could have attended and that her German therefore is not perfect (though it is indeed very fluent and good). After the four years had passed, they stayed, because they both had work and their daughter, who had been born in the meantime, already went to the local kindergarten. The early seventies were a good time for her. There were lots of Spaniards in Weinheim and the CE was a vivid community centre. Then in 1975 many migrants returned to Spain because of the recession and Franco's death, and Ana and her family stayed like many others because of jobs and children.

Ana is today at home in Germany in many ways. In her social engagement for migrants she seems to have found her mission in life. Not only is she still one of the most active and leading members of the CE, but she also works for an organisation which tries to help immigrants' children to cope better with German schools and make the best of their educational possibilities. All her life-work and its outcomes are here, and it is here where she has by now spent the major part of her life. It is obvious that she is proud of the CE's achievements and sad about the fact that nowadays its vividness and activities are declining because of the lack of interest of the younger generation. Through her work there she takes an active interest in the general community work of the town and other cultural organisations. Also, she is by now more familiar with bureaucratic procedures and the social and political systems in Germany than with those of Spain. Her knowledge has built up mainly through her work and through

helping other migrants with bureaucratic issues at the CE. In this process she has often come across situations that have made her feel uncomfortable about Germany. She has seen a lot of institutionalised discrimination, especially in the educational system, and has often had the feeling that German institutions, or individuals representing them, do not meet the needs of non-national fellow citizens adequately. In this respect Spain's EU membership seems to have eased some of the hardships, though for everyday life it does not make that much of a difference for most of the people she knows.

Another thing that has bonded her with Germany is that she has raised her daughter Carmen here. Here are most of the places that carry the memories of seeing her growing up and of all the happy and difficult times they had together. But still Ana and Rafael have a longing for Spain and for their hometown in Andalusia, and maybe they will return there, when Rafael finally retires from work. Carmen, who, like her mother, understands herself to be Spanish at heart, and who regards Spain as the country she ultimately belongs to, recently actually went "back" to Spain to live there (for the first time in her life). She is now in Madrid with her Spanish husband and her 10 months old child, working for the sociology department of the university. She, like her parents, loves the country, the people, the climate there. She told her mother that she would like her child to grow up bilingually, with Spanish and German, but as her husband does not speak any German, this will probably not be an easy task, if at all possible.

Nicolas is 47. His father was the first member of the family to migrate to Germany in the sixties. Then his mother followed with the two youngest children some years later. Nicolás and his sister, who at that time already went to school, stayed in Spain in a boarding school not far from their hometown in Andalusia. As his parents had planned only to stay in Germany for a few years, they thought it would be better not to interrupt the schooling of the older children and thereby give them more stability in their education. When, after a four-year

sojourn in Germany, in 1969, the return to Spain still was just a future prospect, Nicolás (then aged 13) and his sister were given the choice of staying at the boarding school in Spain or joining their family in Germany. They both decided to come to Germany.

The reason for Nicolás' parents to migrate was to save up some money, in order to pay off a few minor debts and to be able to afford to buy a house in Spain. Nicolas is not absolutely sure about their motives to stay longer than originally planned. He thinks that it just took them longer than they had initially thought to reach their goals. Then, in 1969, the situation on the labour market in Germany was still good and they started to be able to afford certain luxuries, like living in a nice house and driving a good car. He assumes that going back to Spain might have meant accepting some cuts in living standards again, and, having settled into their situation in Germany, they were not willing to give up economic security for a less secure position in their home country. They finally returned to Spain in the mid-eighties without their children, who were then all grown up and led independent lives.

While, of course, going to Germany was a major change affecting all parts of Nicolás' life, meaning the loss of friends and familiar surroundings and a journey into the unknown, in another way it was also a coming home – home to his mother, father and younger siblings. Social integration seemed comparably unproblematic for him. He had his family and quickly found friends at school. The most difficult thing for him at school in Germany was language. He did not feel isolated or excluded by his fellow pupils, but he reckons that because of the language problem he could not really follow most of the lessons for quite a while. This was not too much of a problem though, as the Spanish Ministry of Education ran a school in Mannheim providing classes in all major subjects in Spanish language, including German as a foreign language. These classes were held in the afternoons, and pupils could graduate with a degree with which they gained access to technical universities in Germany. These classes

enabled Nicolás to keep up with the curriculum until his German had improved, and he later graduated from a German school.

His initial plan was to return to Spain after he had finished training for a profession, but when he had completed his training as an engineer at the Institute of Technology in Mannheim, he got a good job in a major city about 120 km from Mannheim, where he worked for ten years. An offer from a Canadian railway engineering company in Mannheim followed about five years ago. He then lived and still lives with his wife and their three children in the Mannheim area, so this was a major improvement, as he did not have to travel to work that far any more. Several years back his company planned a big new project in the Madrid branch, and Nicolás was asked if he wanted to shift there. After some inner struggles he and his wife made up their minds and made a positive decision, despite their worries what it would mean for the children. But then the start of the project (that should have been six months later) was postponed again and again. When it finally got underway with a few years delay, they did not want to go any more. Nicolás had gotten to know Madrid and also the company's branch there in the meantime, and he found the city to be too big, expensive and loud. Together with the doubts they had already had beforehand, these factors turned the scale and they stayed in Germany.

On a day-to-day basis Nicolás feels absolutely at home in his life in Germany. He is not a stranger and he does not feel that he is in any way different from others. When he first arrived, most social contacts were to other Spaniards mainly through his parents, who did not really have any German friends. Back then it was normal that all the Spaniards of a region clustered together in specific areas of town, in clubs and even workplaces, one main reason probably being that many did not speak German. This has changed a lot for the following generation. Among Nicolás' friends at least half are German and a lot of the early contacts established by his parents have been lost over time. Nicolás' wife came to Germany at the age of three and speaks

German better than Spanish, as do his children, who were all born here. So most of the conversations between family members are held in German. But while Nicolás thinks the children might consider themselves to be both, Spanish and German, he himself still feels to be Spanish in his heart. He has never considered or thought about getting the German nationality because it would not change anything for him, and he would certainly never give up his Spanish nationality for it, anyway.

On first thoughts Nicolás is not quite sure where he most truly feels at home. He is very comfortable in both countries, Germany and Spain, but he is also very aware that he has no experience of living or working in Spain for longer periods. Since he moved to Germany, he has really only been to Spain for holidays. On these holidays (that take place once or twice a year) he always has a strong feeling of coming home, though. He finds there all the things he misses sometimes when he is in Germany: the warm weather, the local food, his relatives and the greater cordiality of people in everyday life. But what he finds there most of all is the feeling of being somewhere he has always belonged, where a lot of people know him and some have known him all his life, where he is not a foreigner to others. It is a good feeling, but every time after about three or four weeks he in turn starts missing his home in Germany: the privacy of the house he owns, which is home to him and his family, where all his personal belongings are and which is filled with his and the other family members' personality. So home is in both, Germany and Spain, though in different ways. Switching to his native language, the difference suddenly becomes very easy to tell: 'España es mi tierra y Alemania es mi casa' is his answer. 'Spain is my home-land.' The term *tierra* actually signifies earth, ground and soil, together with *mi* (my) it takes on a metaphorical meaning, which may best be translated into homeland. My earth, my soil, the place where he is "rooted", grounded, nourished in the most basic way. 'I am at home in Germany' or 'my home is in Germany'. Though *casa* can mean a lot of different things, among them house, home, flat,

household and in certain idioms even family, 'being at home' as a translation of the context here probably resembles most what Nicolás means by it.

Isabel is forty and migrated to Germany with her parents at the age of six. Isabel's parents had been thinking about leaving Spain for several years, because the bakery her grandparents were running, together with their son (Isabel's father) and daughter and their respective spouses, had started to become a less secure income for the family. They started thinking about a new orientation, and when the family business declined even further, especially after the death of Isabel's grandmother, it became clear that it could not serve as an economic basis for all the family members involved any more. Isabel's father had been to Germany once in 1962 to visit a friend who was working there at the time and to evaluate the possibility of an immigration at a later time. He had quite liked Germany then, and so in 1969 first he and half a year later Isabel and her two younger siblings followed with their mother. When they first arrived, she missed Spain a lot. She remembers well that living in a very small town in the *Odenwald* (a mountainous region in *Hessen*) she felt very much out of place right from the beginning.

One of the details she recalls is that the house they lived in at first only had an outside toilet, so that she had to leave the house to walk to the toilet cabin in every weather at any time of day, which made her feel quite uncomfortable. She wondered what kind of a country they had come to, where they did not even have proper toilets, which everyone she had known in Spain did have. Of course, she found out later that having a toilet inside the house was not something unknown in Germany either, even in the quite rural area they lived in, though it was not common there at the time. Still, it must have given her the feeling of a loss in the standard of living right from the start. But the major loss she felt was that of her social and part of her family networks. Of course she missed the extended family

she grew up with and her friends in Spain. And these social relations were not easy to replace, if this is at all possible. .

Many social situations made her feel uncomfortable in the new country as well, especially in the early years. Back in Spain it used to be normal for parents to take their children along, when they went out for a drink in the evening or to meet friends in a café. The children would then in turn meet other children to run around and play with. Isabel's parents stuck to this custom when they came to Germany, but Isabel quickly noticed that in many situations lively and loudly playing children were not too welcome. So, when she behaved in the way she had usually done in Spain, she attracted annoyed glances or even comments from other people around. Often she and her siblings even were the only children present, especially if they went somewhere in the evening. Likewise, after a few months, when she had already learned to speak and understand German quite well, she was sometimes given money and sent to the butchers to buy something for the family, as she had often done in Spain. But while in her home town people had smiled at her and had asked how things were going at home, here she got the impression of the other women in the shop shaking their heads to each other behind her back. Several times she overheard pieces of conversation between them, like 'can't that woman do her shopping herself...' or 'how can they do that... such a young child like her...' Even though she understood that the women were not criticising her, but her parents, and although everyone was friendly with her, she still felt as though there was something wrong with her, because obviously there was something wrong with her family. When I asked Isabel if, as a child, she had thought that she was very different from everyone else around her, she laughed and said 'oh, yes, absolutely. I sometimes felt as though I had a green face or something like that.'

Though she learned German quite quickly, integration in school was a problem. Because she had to learn some German first, she joined her class some time later, well into the first term, which, in

addition to her being the only Spanish child there, further deepened her feeling of being an outsider, because the others had already had time to get to know each other and build up friendships. The feeling of not belonging to and being different than her classmates would be her companion for the following seven school years, until she started her secondary schooling. That things at school started to brighten up for her from then on, she mainly owes to her parents. The school system in Germany knows three different kinds of secondary schools, leading to different levels of education and thereby different possibilities of vocational training or tertiary education. In *Hessen* the years five and six serve as an orientation level to decide on the adequate secondary school for a child. While usually the achievements of the respective child decide about its further schooling, Isabel tells me that back in the seventies all children of foreigners were generally recommended for the lowest level of secondary schooling, without regard for their achievements in terms of grades in the orientation years. So was she, despite her good grades, which would have for a German child resulted in a recommendation for the *Gymnasium*, the only type of secondary school that led to the *Abitur* (bursary), and, after completion, gave direct and unlimited access to all forms of tertiary education, specifically universities. She was still a child (aged thirteen by then), but that did not mean that she could not see the injustice in and suffer from this institutionalised discrimination. Thanks to her parents, who stood up for her right of adequate education against the customary procedures of German schools and authorities, she was nevertheless able to attend the *Gymnasium*. Here, for the first time, she was able to develop a feeling of belonging, at least to a certain degree. She had no disadvantages concerning language any more, and the new school was new for everyone. There were also other children of immigrants, and although they were mostly ethnic Germans, who had migrated from the former Eastern German territories, they nevertheless shared some of her experiences that most of the other children could not sympathize with. Furthermore, the school was

situated in a medium-sized town, much bigger than that of her primary schooling. Also, as it was a *Gymnasium*, aimed at preparing children for university studies, the average pupil had a more sophisticated and often higher class social background, less prone to xenophobia and prejudice than in the small town primary school Isabel went to before. Here she found some friends, and especially one other Spanish girl, who came to be her best friend, and who she stayed in contact with for many years after they finished school.

Isabel is the only one of my participants, who clearly states that for her Spain is not home any more. She considers herself to be at home in Germany now, but it was a long and sometimes painful inner as well as physical journey to arrive at this point. Throughout the struggles and the good times, during happy and painful moments of her childhood and youth in Germany, she had maintained an idealised memory of Spain and her native town, which had meant home to her, a place, where she would not be an outsider, where she really and truly belonged and where everything was better than where she was living. Her immigration to Germany had more or less coincided with the beginning of her school-life, which marks a new period of development in a child's life anyway, bringing about new tasks and responsibilities and a new set of social constellations with its inherent problems and difficulties. This must have intensified the experience of a rupture in her life and the feelings of strangeness and insecurity she faced.

Isabel always wanted to return to Spain, and her parents told her that she could do so when she was eighteen years old. In a way she had always been waiting for the day when she could finally return home to that place of her early childhood, which had seemed so perfect to her during all these years. When she had finished school, she did go to Spain with the intention to stay and live there again. There she found out that the reality was not compatible with the dream she had dreamed of Spain for so many years in Germany. She realised that Spain had become a strange country for her in many

ways. She had felt more at home in her memory of Spain while still living in Germany, than she felt now actually being in her native country again. So she returned to Germany after a nine months sojourn. There she moved to Heidelberg, a large university town, where she started studying law. She hoped to escape the depressingly petty bourgeois atmosphere she had hated so much in the *Odenwald* region she had grown up in. Back in Germany, once again she felt very lost and homeless, having lost everything that meant home to her for the second time in her life. While the first time she had physically moved away from home, the second time she had to leave behind a mental picture, an idealised memory that had come to mean home. This was a difficult time in her life, characterised by a time- and energy-consuming course of study and by an inner journey, searching for a home, for the feeling of belonging and being taken good care of, for self-knowledge and a secure basis in her life. It took her ten years until she could leave Heidelberg again. Then she felt secure enough to go somewhere else, but even then at first it was only to Mannheim, just 50 kilometres away. Her roots and origins, through her family, are in Spain, but Heidelberg has come to be her home-town and the place where she found her inner home and stability, so she could finally leave it behind without feeling homeless again.

And now? Now she is living with her German husband and her recently born son in a town in the *Odenwald* again, in the region she never wanted to return to ever again, as she swore to herself 20 years ago. While her husband would like to try living in Spain, she does not want to or intend to move there again. But she does feel comfortable there when she visits her family on holidays (Her parents have finally returned to Spain in the eighties).

5.1 Motivation and Expectations

One thing that is immediately striking about all four accounts is that in each case the return to Spain was a part of the near future

plan. The same is true for Marisa, another first generation immigrant[2] I interviewed, and for 13 out of 17 respondents of the questionnaire belonging to this category (the other four being women joining their husbands in Germany during the eighties and nineties). They all first migrated to Germany with the expectation of a limited sojourn of about three to four years on the average. This is congruent with the findings of former research on this topic, which documents that nearly all of the early Spanish migrants were at first planning to return home within a few years (Breitenbacher, 1982:48). There are some differences in the reasons for the migration expressed by the individuals, but they are mostly connected to the economic situation in Spain. Often, like for José, Marisa or Nicolás' and Ricardo's parents, the migration was seen as a means to reach a certain aim, relating to the home-country, like helping the family who stayed behind or putting up some savings to be invested back in Spain, in a house, in the children's education or in a family business. Other motivations stated, mainly of women and of course at the time of migration of underage children, were family reunion and in Ana's husbands case also the political situation in Spain. Of the 34 people who completed my questionnaire (not counting the questionnaires filled in by interviewees), 10 stated their economic situation to be the main reason to migrate, two said that they came to be with family and to get a job, five (all of them women) came to join their spouses, another 15 came with their parents, and two were born in Germany.

In a poll of the Instituto Español de la Emigración from 1967 about the migration motivations of the Spanish emigrants, help for the family and better wages were stated by over 90% and putting up savings by just under 90% of the emigrants[3]. Nearly 70% wanted to achieve a better subsistence for their children, 65.4% wanted to buy a

[2] In this study I am going to use the term "first generation" for those who have migrated as adults, "1.5 generation" for those who were born in Spain and have migrated to Germany with their parents as children or youths and "second generation" for migrants' children born in Germany.

[3] As a result of the possibility of giving multiple reasons, the percentages add up to more than 100%. Percentages refer to the single items.

house (in Spain) and nearly 50% hoped to be able to pay off debts. Things like learning languages and getting to know foreign countries also appeared in the list of motivations of 40-45% of the immigrants, but judging from the total picture they seem to be clearly secondary. Just under 10% stated personal and only 3.3% political reasons.

The motivations of the migrants leaving their country to start a new life in the United States might have been mostly economical as well, but while the decision to go that far away had more of a final quality and a long-term orientation, the guest-worker schemes in Europe opened up a whole new perspective on improving one's economic situation with a much less definite break with the old life. And in fact the numbers of Spaniards emigrating to the US sank with the beginning of the inner-European labour recruitments. This new form of migration did not necessarily entail a conscious effort in the search for a new home, but more likely, meant an investment in what had been home so far.

Only one woman in the questionnaire sample stated that she had chosen Germany because she knew people there, who were not family members, and she had migrated quite late, in 1972, just before labour-recruitments stopped. Incidentally, she is one of only three people out of the questionnaire sample who specified that they have no intention to go back to Spain to live there again one day. None of the other participants really seem to have consciously chosen Germany out of the various possible destinations for labour-migrants at that time in Europe, except for those who already had family there. Four of the ten people not migrating to Germany to join family did not respond at all to the question why they went to Germany and not to another country, and half of them stated that this was where they got a work contract. This is also what Ana, José and others told me: if there happened to be a German recruitment agency in the area and they could offer you a contract, well, this is where you went, and if you had been offered a contract in Switzerland, you would probably have migrated there. Owing to the small scope of my study I cannot claim

these findings to be representative, but there are strong indications from other research on labour migration that this is true for a major portion of the migrants. This is congruent with the observation, that in fact a very high percentage of the Spanish population in the different receiving countries originates from different specific areas in Spain, where the respective countries concentrated their recruitment efforts. Though this is not really surprising, looking at the structure and organisation of the guest worker system, it does underline the fact that for most of the migrants the main incentive to migrate to Germany (instead of maybe to Switzerland or Belgium) was the availability of a job. The specific circumstances of living in the host country were not really taken into consideration. An interesting detail in Isabel's account is that her parents had actually thoughtfully chosen to migrate to Germany, and they had obviously (maybe as a result of good beforehand information) had the intention to stay for a comparably long period of time right from the beginning. In strong contrast to this, Isabel herself insisted on her return to Spain as soon as possible, which was in this case on reaching majority, when she was able to do so independently of her parents. This also seems unusual compared to other 1.5-generation immigrants from my sample (except for Nicolás). None of the 1.5 representatives in the questionnaire sample nor the two other interviewees belonging to this group could make any statements about the time of sojourn in Germany their parents had initially intended.

Summarising, it can be said that the intention was in most cases not emigrating to set up a new life elsewhere and maybe find and make a new home; neither were the migrants forcefully expelled or driven out of their home-land by life-threatening conditions. More likely, here migration could be described as a journey to return from in the foreseeable future, undertaken in order to improve the situation in the place and setting that meant home already. Two participants told me independently of each other that one of the main differences between Spaniards and Germans is that the latter 'live to work', while

'Spanish people work to live'. Both times this remark was accompanied by a little wink, and although it certainly is an over-simplification and just stating a classic stereotype, this does not mean it is generally untrue. Carrying this to extremes, it could be assumed that, regarding their initial expectations, many of the Spanish labour migrants would even have thought that their time in Germany would in a way not be a real part of their lives, somehow detached from it, a break from which they would return to carry on living. José said that indeed he did at first experience the situation in Germany as an interruption of what he thought of as his life, a time not really lived, but meant to enable him to carry on with his 'real' life under better conditions later on. Also, many married men went by themselves at first, leaving their wives behind, or sometimes even couples came without their children, not with the intention to have them follow once they had established themselves, but to return to them, like Nicolás' parents had intended to. In combination with the fact that many Spaniards, especially the older ones, expressed the importance and high value of family relations in their life (especially as opposed to what they had observed in Germany), this gives me the impression that maybe in their minds and hearts their lives carried on more in Spain, while they were actually physically staying in Germany. Unfortunately I could not test this idea further, because it came to my mind after the conclusion of the fieldwork period, and the given time frame did not permit going back into the field to find out more about it by then. In this context it would also be interesting to take those Spaniards into consideration who actually did return after a few short years.

5.2 From Interim to Long-term Settlement

Going somewhere for a relatively short period of time usually does not invoke associations of that place or situation as home. However, we might feel at home in some of these places and situations, especially if they are connected to recurrent experiences,

like a friend's house, or a certain holiday destination. They might then also become a part of what home means to us, but eventually we usually return to whatever we foremost call home (in this context home does not necessarily have to be a specific place – like a house or town – but could just as well mean, for example, a nomadic lifestyle). The transition from an intended interim sojourn to long-term settlement, which was the plan of most of the Spanish migrants, as I have shown above, could therefore in some ways be compared to a home-making process. Or maybe, on the contrary, it could sometimes be a process of becoming homeless (not necessarily physically, but emotionally or cognitively). In this section I will have a closer look at how some of the interviewees experienced this process.

The individual accounts to a certain degree do seem to represent general patterns, as the interviewees' references to the stories of other immigrants they know and statements from casual interviews suggest. Of course, the interpretive potential of these findings for an analysis of the main factors facilitating or, on the contrary, preventing long-term settlement is severely limited by the fact that I have no means of comparing the personal motives of the Spaniards who stayed in Germany with those of the many others that did actually return to Spain after a comparably short period. But my data does give relevant information about the way long-term settlement developed in many cases.

For José, like for Nicolás and Ricardo's parents, the first step on the way to real settlement was family reunion. Not being able to reach their aims in the intended time frame, there came a time when they had to make a decision on whether they wanted to drop their goals and return to Spain, or prolong their stay in Germany and continue to suffer from being lonely and separated from their families, or have the family, or part of it, follow them to Germany. The decision for the latter possibility had several consequences. For José and for Ricardo's father it meant first of all having to move out of the communal lodgings and looking for a flat of their own, which could be considered as a step

towards home-making. It meant, at least in a physical sense, an own private space and shelter, even if it might not have met their idea of the ideal dwelling they would have liked to call home. Reunion with family also soothed one of the main grievances of having left home: loneliness as a result of losing close relationships in everyday life. José notes that living as a couple and having a flat of their own for him also resulted in a more stable social network, as together with Teresa he now went to a local Spanish club more often and started building up friendships with other couples and families instead of mostly hanging around with the other men in the communal lodgings (which had a considerable shifting rate). For women joining their spouses in Germany, of course, the migration process just started at this point, like for Ana and Marisa. This is not to say that the process was therefore necessarily easier for them, though it might have been in individual cases.

With the birth of a child in the host country (or letting children still living in the country of origin follow) another important step on the way to settlement occurs. Like José and Ana, Marisa in this context mentions the growing importance of economic security, as well as of the social system and educational possibilities, which in all three cases were additional incentives to postpone the return. Especially when children start being integrated in the educational system of the host country – kindergarten and later school – the decision to shift to another place is generally not as easily taken as before. Also, the social networks of the parents tend to extend further, for example through new friends of the children or the membership in a parents' association.

As an additional process in most of the accounts, there is a noticeable improvement in the general standard of living over time, which the migrants got used to quickly. It could be assumed then, that to leave home looking for an improvement of living circumstances with regards to the economic situation is a more likely thing to do, than to return from a "non-home" to a home that provides less

financial security and affluence. Or, taking a different approach, economic security might in fact be quite an important aspect of what we need to feel at home, or at least it provides us with important means to make a home. In this sense, while possibly being more consciously aware of the things that were still making them feel out of place or the things they missed about their country of origin, these migrants were maybe already quite at home in Germany at the same time.

The transition from interim to long-term settlement strikes me as a long-standing and often even partly unconscious process. Although there are single steps visible in the life histories of individuals which do involve decisions taken by the migrant, and although these steps seem to follow a common pattern on the way to long-term (or even permanent) settlement (language acquisition, a relatively secure job, involvement in the local immigrants' community, improvement of housing and standard of living, marriage or family reunion and the birth of children in the host country), there are only very few participants who could mark a point where they actually had made a clear decision to settle in Germany for a long-term period. It seems that the realisation that initial aims could not be achieved as fast as expected, the continuous availability of work, the improvement of personal living conditions and the growing integration in everyday life had led to a repeated prolongation of the sojourn, eventually resulting in settlement. While this points to a great emotional bondage of the migrants with their homeland, it does not preclude an emergent, though maybe in some cases limited, sense of home in Germany at the same time.

5.3 Language

If we look again at the definition of home proposed by Dawson and Rapport "home is where one best knows oneself ..." and combine this with the fact that we partly know ourselves through finding ourselves reflected in the mirror of how we are known and received by

others, communication with our environment could be regarded to be an important means of making ourselves at home (in the sense of known to others and thereby to ourselves).

There are different levels on which communication takes place, through things we do, the clothes we wear, our play of features and body language, and, of course and most obviously, through the use of spoken language. With the acquisition of language we are able to express our needs, wishes and emotions in a more differentiated way. A baby that has to rely on non-verbal expression of its needs might cry of hunger, pain, fear or maybe a feeling of loneliness. While his own mother or father might be able to tell in most situations what the reason is for their child's discomfort in the particular situation, people who are less involved will probably not be. With the acquisition of language the child gradually gains independence, because it can communicate by itself with other people as well. Bit by bit its survival depends less on the very few people with whom it shares exclusive understanding.

A migrant who comes to a country where he neither understands nor speaks the language might find himself in a similar situation of at first having to express himself through other means of communication to most of the people around him. In some situations this can work perfectly well. If I want to buy a loaf of bread in a bakery it is very likely that my intention will be understood if I simply point at it. But the more complex the situation, the more complicated it becomes to communicate problems and needs. The migrant as well as the world around him is "mute". The connection between levels of language acquisition and integration of migrants in the host society is well documented. The higher the language proficiency of the migrant, the easier he gets access not only to "scarce" goods such as accommodation, work, justice etc., and the greater are usually the possibilities and the readiness of the migrant to participate in the social systems of the host country.

All of my interviewees speak German very well, though some of them (notably the older generation) with an easily recognisable accent. But the majority of the first generation Spanish immigrants rarely ever speak German at all if it is avoidable, so Ana told me. Some of them can speak quite well, but do not like it or are simply too shy to do so, while she assumes that maybe as much as half of them have only a very limited knowledge of the language. According to a BMFT-inquiry in 1979 54% of the Spanish population in Germany spoke the language poorly. Even José says that he does not particularly like speaking German and sometimes even tends to avoid situations where he has to. So does Marisa and to a lesser extent Inez, Ricardo's second wife, who is 49 and only came to Germany 14 years ago but nevertheless speaks the language well. Not wanting to speak the local language obviously has some consequences for everyday live. Marisa generally avoids specific situations like, for example, going to shops where she has to ask for things in order to get them or might get offered assistance. She prefers shopping in supermarkets and warehouses, where nobody will talk to her. It makes her sad that often she even feels a bit uncomfortable, when her son visits her and brings along his German wife, who she likes very much. Consequences are even more severe for those migrants who do not speak the language at all, or only very little. As I have described above, it means confinement of social relations to the own ethnic group as well as a permanent dependence on others for certain necessities of life, like writing an official letter or filling in a form.

Isabel, Ricardo and Manuel, who all belong to the 1.5-generation, all speak German as well as Spanish completely free of accent. While Nicolás' vocabulary and grammar is just as good as that of any average German person, his accent is still recognisable, but not as heavy as that of most immigrants of the first generation. Of course his Spanish is also perfect, but he tells me that his wife, who came to Germany at the age of three, speaks both languages without an accent but has a larger stock of vocabulary in German than in Spanish due

to a lack of practise of the latter. They all state that they are comfortable with both languages alike.

The intergenerational shift is fast. While insufficient knowledge of the German language has still been a major issue for the 1.5 generation, when they first arrived, and also for the early second generation, especially in their schooling, today the older generation's concern is more likely to find ways to maintain the Spanish language heritage among the second and third generations growing up now. From the age of about 17 or 18 onwards Nicolás used to function as a translator when his parents had to deal with anything official in Germany because they had never learned enough German to actually cope with those issues by themselves. 'We mostly speak German at home' he says today, relating to his own family. He has often tried to speak Spanish with his children more consistently, but they usually answer in German anyway. Sometimes he even pretends that he does not understand if they ask for something in German, but he has never been really consequent about it. Furthermore his wife is also more comfortable with German and then the children often have German visitors in their house. So it has just become a habit to speak German at home most of the time. On one occasion at the Centro Español I observed two children, a boy and a girl of maybe about ten and twelve years, playing cards with an older woman, possibly their grandmother. She consistently spoke Spanish with them and they would answer with *sí* or *no* in Spanish or sometimes use a short sentence, while they kept talking to each other in German. When the girl counted points at the end of a game she would start off in Spanish quite slowly and then, getting faster all of a sudden reaching six or seven, switch to German.

5.4 Away From Home

The extent of the feeling of loss of home after leaving Spain seems very much to depend on the particular circumstances of the individual migrant. All my participants perceived themselves to be

strangers in their new environment, but with regard to very different things and situations and to different degrees. One common theme here is that in the beginning they all were severely restricted in the communication with their environment, as none of them spoke German upon arrival – strangers because they could not locate themselves in the encounters with the environment surrounding them in the way it might make us feel strange picking up our name in a conversation between others without knowing what else is being said. We know we are in the story but we cannot capture exactly in which way.

A useful distinction here is again the one between first and 1.5 generation. Children migrating with their parents at least had their core family to stay with or were even re-united with it by moving to the new country, while adults often migrated on their own. This is not to say that the children did not suffer from having to leave their home, but in some cases this might have been eased by the fact that they could sustain the immediate contact with some of their most important and nearest relatives. Ricardo, who migrated at the age of three, cannot remember anything about his early childhood in Spain or the first one or two years in Germany. His mother told him that he did not want to move away from their house in Spain and that at first he said he wanted to stay there with his grandma. But once they were in Germany, he was very excited about all the new things to discover, and although he kept asking when he could go back to meet up with his best friend in Spain for quite a while, he settled into the new situation easily and quickly made new friends. As we have seen in Nicolás' case, although he came to a strange place, he also at the same time came home to a family he had been separated from before. He describes getting used to the new circumstances as a relatively easy process for him, facilitated by the integration into his family and their at that time already existing social network.

On the other hand, not being given a choice (and most of the children as opposed to Nicolás could not chose) might also sometimes

increase the feeling of displacement, as it did for Isabel. She had the feeling of being forced to leave home and this reduced her willingness to accept Germany as a possible new home. Combining all the stressful new experiences of being in a different country with different customs, people and living conditions, having to learn a new language, leaving behind all social contacts except for the core family and in Isabel's case additionally the transition into a new life-period (starting school), it is easy to imagine that in a child's mind life as it used to be back home might in comparison seem much more pleasant and comfortable (unless living conditions had been exceptionally bad). Problems that may have existed in the country of origin might weigh much lighter and be forgotten quite quickly facing all the difficulties of the new situation. Of course, this could also be true for a lot of adult migrants. Even if a migrant had to deal with major problems in his native country, these might often, in the light of new ones, seem less troublesome. We also know of this idealisation of and identification with a true homeland from accounts about different diasporas throughout the world (cf. Safran 1991 and Cohen 1995). Often, but not necessarily, this is combined with a lack of actual personal experience with life in the respective country, and sometimes there is great disillusionment in the case of return, as, for example, described by Rapport (1998) for American Jews migrating to Israel, or, with regard to my project, also for Isabel (who is the only one among my participants who actually did try to return).

For José, being away from home brought about a new consciousness of some of his needs and wishes for life, as we have seen in the first section of this chapter. The same is true for Marisa, who, while back in Spain she had thought she could only truly be happy being close to her husband, no matter where he was, once reunited with him in Germany realised just how important for example the regular visits at her mother's house had been for her well-being. These could not be replaced by talks on the phone. Neither could her husband's presence or the fact that she had more money to spend and

an income of her own make up for all the little things she missed, like being greeted by other women she knew from occasional chats at the bakery on the ten minutes walk through town to her parents' house or buying freshly caught fish directly from the fishing-boats.

It seems to be mostly the embeddedness in a familiar social environment that is missing. And also the simple procedures of people's everyday lives they are so well acquainted with, these basic reoccurring encounters with themselves and others, that get lost in a strange environment, where they can neither be known to others nor yet to themselves.

5.5 Social Networks and Participation

Only five of the Spaniards in the questionnaire sample state that the majority of their family members now live in Germany, the two second generation women, who are at the same time the youngest in the sample (the only ones belonging to the age group 25-35) and three of the 15 respondents belonging to the 1.5 generation[4]. This is not surprising, considering the relatively short history of Spanish migration to Germany. But that most of the 1.5 generation immigrants still have the major part of their families in Spain and many also told me that their parents, like Nicolás', Ricardo's and Isabel's, had by now returned to Spain, points to the fact that chain migration of family members is comparably low and returning rates after retirement high. This means that most of my participants, at least in Germany, mainly have to rely on non-family related social networks. Especially for the older immigrants, who mainly come from rural regions in Spain, where, especially back in the sixties and seventies, extended family still was a very important social unit, this might have been a difficult

[4] I will not distinguish between the two respondents belonging to the second generation and those of the 1.5-generation from here onwards for different reasons. a) They belong to the quite early second generation and seem to show considerable similarities to the 1.5-generation, especially to those who were very young at the age of migration. The categorisations are problematic anyway because differences very much depend on the individual circumstances, so they are just meant to give a loose orientation. b) When I compare first and 1.5 generation with regard to the questionnaire, the overall picture does not seem to change taking them into the latter group.

situation to adapt to. Marisa thinks that she would not have "survived" in Germany without the Spanish community in Weinheim which could absorb at least a little bit of this grievance. It seems that in a situation of exile from the familiar social environment, feelings of belonging and memories of home can more easily be recaptured, and identities maintained and developed, among people who understand one's language and share the same cultural background and common experiences.

As I have argued earlier, many of the older generation are not very comfortable with the German language or do not really like to speak it at all. In this context it is not surprising that over 70% of this group in the questionnaire sample state that the majority of their friends in Germany are Spaniards, the others having a mixed group of friends, often including members of other than Spanish or German nationality. Furthermore, a third say that they have as many friends who are living in Spain as in Germany, and nearly another third have the majority of their friends in Spain. It is also very understandable then that all of them consider it to be very important to live in the vicinity of other Spaniards. The latter is also true for most of the 1.5 generation, although in this group the shift towards a social network extending further beyond the local Spanish community is obvious. Only about a fourth of them have a circle of friends mainly consisting of Spaniards, while 20% have mostly German acquaintances and friends, and the rest a mixture of both. Ricardo presents himself in public as a very outgoing and independent person and seems to take everything easy. He tells me that it does not matter to him at all if someone is Spanish, German or from Timbuktu - there are nice people in every ethnic group. Certainly, differences in mentality are sometimes there, but he gets along with most people. He is involved in the local Spanish community, but he says that it is not important to him to live in the vicinity of other Spaniards. While his wife Inez shares this big group of friends of different nationalities with her husband and mentions that she has more friends in Germany than

back in Spain today, she nevertheless perceives most of the German people to be very reserved and often unfriendly. Not at all would she want to live anywhere, where she could not see and talk to other Spaniards on a regular basis.

To rely mainly on the immigrants' community for social contact, also means, of course, a limited participation in the host society. If most social encounters and leisure activities take place in the local Spanish club, this also results in limiting oneself to the range offered there. The possibility of building up friendships on a basis other than ethnicity, for example on specific shared interests, which could be a considerable source of personal development, contentment and feelings of belonging and acceptance, is then also severely limited. Furthermore, it would contribute to the improvement of language skills and to the subsequent gain in self-confidence to actually expand the horizon of involvement beyond the ethnic community. It is a vicious circle. On the one hand the ethnic community can be an important compensation for part of what has been lost by leaving home and a source of support, on the other hand it could also be argued that in some ways it hinders the process of home-making in the new society. Among the 1.5 generation, the integrational process and the participation in the host society is much more advanced within the same period of time, maybe owing to the higher pressure to develop adequate language skills and to find a place among their German peers on their way through the educational system. In this younger group I also found the first immigrants who had German spouses or partners, as for example Isabel and Manuel and four of the seventeen individuals from the questionnaire. This does not seem that many, but among all the participants belonging to the first generation there were none.

In the context of participation in the host society it is also interesting to have a look at the general interest that the immigrants take in political and social developments in the host country. Even if information is derived mainly through the media or through

discussion within the own ethnic group, it can still be regarded to be a form of participation in society, though in an indirect way. Also, the extent of interest in these issues relating to the country of origin might give an indication of the importance and prominence of links to the old home in everyday life. In the questionnaire sample it became obvious that all first generation immigrants took active interest in political developments in Spain and other events in Spanish society. But information about the corresponding issues in Germany was valued by most as well, with only two respondents out of seventeen answering with a categorical no to the question, if they were interested in what was going on in Germany. The 1.5 generation, on the other hand, generally perceived their knowledge about both, Germany and Spain, in these regards to be much more profound. Interest in Spain seemed a little bit less vivid in this group, though, with four respondents out of 17 stating that they did not follow the political development and/or societal events in Spain with much enthusiasm.

5.6 Contentment and Intended Return

Despite the difficulties facing Spanish migrants and despite the mostly limited involvement in Germany and the great importance of Spain as a reference point for feelings of belonging and home, general contentment expressed with life in Germany is high. Three quarters of the 1.5-generation and still nearly 60% of the first state that they feel very pleased with life in Germany. The rest were still more or less satisfied. None seemed to be completely unhappy. These results do not completely correlate to the respondents' answers to the question about their contentment with having come to Germany at all, which is slightly lower, nor with the question if, looking back, they would decide to migrate to Germany again. Obviously, the majority of the 1.5 generation had not made that decision themselves before, but 13 of them answered the question nevertheless, eight affirmatively, two said maybe and three would, given the power to turn back time, rather have tried staying in Spain. Among the first generation only two

respondents are sure that they would make the move again, eight maybe, four said no and three that they did not know.

Inez says she is only moderately happy to have come to Germany. Though she is tolerably comfortable being there, she feels much happier and more at home on the annual holidays back in Spain, surrounded by her relatives and Spanish people in general. Looking back, she is not sure if she would emigrate again. While she is of course content to be with Ricardo, she thinks that, if she had known what living in Germany would be like for her, she might have put more pressure on him to come back to Spain and live there with her instead. Likewise Marisa thinks that if she had known in advance how hard it would be for her getting used to the new country, she would not have come at all. Yet she considers herself to lead a happy life in Germany today. But like a striking 97% of the questionnaire respondents, she also still is very much at ease in Spain and she is impatiently waiting for the time when she will finally return. The intent to return to Spain to live there again at some point seems to be part of the future plans of an overwhelming majority of my participants. Only Isabel and three questionnaire respondents (two of them first generation immigrants) answered this question with a categorical no. While Nicolás' first reaction is 'yes, I will go back some day', on second thoughts he is not so sure any more. He has thought about this option so many times and has never actually taken an opportunity, so that now he no longer feels sure about it. Ricardo in turn is happy to be in Germany, as well as in Spain on holiday once a year. He would always choose to spend the major part of his life in Germany again, while he thinks that for his old age he will want to return to Spain for the ocean and the better weather. This is not very different from the visions of many native Germans who see in Spain a pleasant place for retirement!

5.7 Between Homes – At Home in Between?

Ricardo's answer to the question of whether he feels at home in Germany is prompt: 'of course, I am a German – well, I'm also a Spaniard, I'm a Spanish German!' For him it really seems to be as easy as that, without any reservations, and he states that he already grew up in this feeling. The question of belonging has never been a problem, and he has always been in the right place. *Su tierra* (his home land, his soil) in his first intuitive reaction he reckons is nevertheless Spain, but within seconds he carries on, elaborating on the topic: 'But that's nonsense, Germany is just as well *mi tierra*, or maybe I should say Europe, we're all Europeans, aren't we, really the whole world is *mi tierra*, it's all nonsense. I could go and live anywhere, we are all just humans in the end, the whole world could be my home'. It seemed to me that this was not an idea well thought through beforehand, but that he just spoke out aloud a train of thought as it developed in his mind, initiated by my questions about the meaning of *mi tierra* for him. His statement gave me very much the impression of an intuitive rebellion against the metaphorical quality of the term, inscribing and rooting people in one particular place and thereby in one way also limiting them in their possibilities of personal development and expansion. Unlike Nicolás, Ricardo is very convinced of the fact that he would be just as comfortable and happy living in Spain, or any other country really, if he chose to do so, despite never actually having tried it. The thing he likes most about Germany are the people. Not just friends and family but the people in general. He does not specify what he likes about them or why, he just gets along well with them.

Similarly, Manuel could imagine living in Spain again some day and feels he very much belongs to both countries, though he is probably most at home in Germany at the moment. His background is quite different from that of my other participants in many ways. He was born in Barcelona and his nationality is Spanish, while his parents are both from Uruguay, from where they had emigrated to

Spain, starting a chain migration of half of the family. When he was six years old, his parents put him in a German school in Barcelona. This was not because they had planned to emigrate to Germany in the future, though Manuel's mother had always wanted to, having a special liking for the country, since she had had German neighbours back in Uruguay. The incentive was more likely that in their home town in Uruguay there was a German school as well, and the logic behind it was that in case of a return Manuel would not have to adjust to a new education system. So Manuel already grew up with the idea of several places that were called home and the possibility of shifting between them.

Every single one of my participants travels to Spain at least once a year, some even two or three times. And they have been doing so for many, many years. Going "home" to Spain every year is an integral part of their lives, and after these holidays in turn they come "home" to Germany again. In the questionnaire I asked the respondents what they miss most about Spain and what, on the other hand, they like best about Germany. The most dominant single item in the answers regarding the first question is proximity to the family, mentioned by 50% (17) of the respondents. This is followed by the climate with 41%, the way of life with 24%, Spanish food (17%) and the tranquillity in Spain (15%)[5]. Two to four nominations (6-12%) were reached by ambience, being in the place one belongs and where one is not a foreigner, language, the people in general, friends and the ocean. Distributions stay roughly the same if the sample is divided in categories of gender or immigrant-generation (first and 1.5). While all single answers to this question add up to 70 (meaning an average of just above two nominated items per respondent), answering the question of what they liked most about Germany only about one third of the respondents mentioned two different things. Prominent answers here are law, order or norms with 35% and the beauty of the landscape with 21%. Furthermore, workplace or working possibilities

[5] As multiple answers were possible percentages add up to more that 100%.

were still mentioned by 17%. Other answers included social security, health care, mentality and people in general as well as educational possibilities. The things we consciously appreciate the most in our known, everyday environment, as I have argued earlier, might not necessarily be the same ones we miss most when this environment changes. Keeping this in mind, I nevertheless find it interesting to compare the respective answers of the respondents to the above questions.

Differences become most striking, if the answers are grouped in loose categories relating to certain aspects of the socio-cultural and physical environment. Regarding the question about Spain, 50% of the respondents mentioned that they miss specific personal social contacts (family and/or friends), nearly as many referred to geographical features (climate, ocean) and 65% to the general socio-cultural environment (like food, way of life, atmosphere, leisure activities, language, people). Regarding their preferences about Germany, just over 50% refer to structural organisational features of German society (law, order, social and medical systems). In the second place are geographical features (landscape) with 21% (though I wonder if some of the respondents also wrote this to be polite to me!). Work and education and the general socio-cultural environment (people and mentality) were each mentioned by 18% of the respondents, while only 6% (two respondents) referred to specific personal relations. So, while Germany above all seems to be seen as offering a well-organised system providing a comparably stable framework in which to organise one's life, Spain has all the virtues relating to the pleasant and emotionally charged things in life for many of my participants.

Taking another look at Nicolás' distinction between *mi casa* and *mi tierra* might be interesting in this context. *Mi casa* – literally: my house – brings up associations of a physical structure. Extending this notion a bit, this seems very much what many of my participants appreciate about Germany - providing structures on the basis of which life can be organised and a certain degree of financial and

thereby physical security achieved. *Mi tierra* brings associations of familiar territory and belonging, my land, my soil. It could mean being rooted in a place and nurtured in every way, physically and emotionally - the ground to blossom on as it carries the memories of our needs, like a mother does in the idealised sense of the term. The beauty of *mi tierra* lies in the fact that it could also translate into my earth, my world, and invoking virtually unlimited expansion. The whole world could be "one's own", could be made known and mean home, like roots can also travel underground. Like Minh-ha notes, "home has proven to be both a place of confinement and an inexhaustible reservoir from which one can expand".

In psychological theory it is argued that the wishing for and aspiring towards personal fulfilment only develops on the basis of basic social needs being satisfied. These in turn can only be developed after very basic physical (or biological) needs have been met (cf. Maslow 1968). It could be argued that in people's search for home all these levels might be of importance, unless we assume that individuals, who never reach the point where they foremost strive for personal fulfilment, must necessarily be or feel homeless. So home at any time might entail all of these things, while different levels of needs can maybe seem more or less important at different times. While a shelter or sufficient food by themselves to most of us do not seem enough to make a home, when we lose them, our privilege of striving for personal fulfilment might not seem as important any more. In this sense, both could be part of what home means, in Spain and Germany in their own distinct ways.

Or maybe home could be found in the space in between, overlaying both separate spaces. A transnational home filled by all the back and fro, memories of journeys shifting between homes, friendships and family links bridging the distance and the knowing that none of these journeys will be the last.

6. Conclusion

In the case of the first generation of Spanish immigrants to Germany the specific context of the migration and the expectations regarding the purpose and length of stay in the host country have been crucial for their conceptions of home. Home was the place left behind, while the destination of the migration was never supposed to become home. Nevertheless, it could be argued that a home-making process has taken place over the years, also noticeable in the intergenerationally progressing development of a sense of belonging.

At least part of the first generation of migrants has meanwhile found a "partial" home in Germany, in a life's achievement, memories inscribed in different places or friends and children who live here, but also, and maybe foremost, in the structural and financial securities they found in the host country. Nevertheless, for many the feeling of marginalisation and strangeness in Germany is still strong, beyond the confinements of the local Spanish community and the immediate surroundings of workplace and dwelling. They maintain strong emotional ties to their country of origin, most of them still long for it and plan to return eventually – home. They have settled long-term but not permanently. Without the conception of Spain as a homeland, a place of belonging and being rooted, they would maybe have considered themselves to have become homeless. These ties are not merely cognitive but are also kept up and strengthened by annual holidays in Spain and a strong orientation towards a Spanish immigrant community, which also helps them to maintain their national identity as Spaniards.

The major part of the 1.5 generation of Spanish migrants seems to feel very much at home in Germany and Spain. Most of them state

that they are at home in Germany, that they are not strangers any more. They have made their surroundings and procedures in Germany their own in their everyday lives. Most of their lives' memories, their social networks (which often include the immigrant community but also extend far beyond it) and their personal achievements have their roots here. They do maintain a national identity as Spaniards nevertheless. And, for most of them, like for the first generation, Spain also is still an integral part of their idea of home – as the place of origin and of their own or family roots, as a homeland to identify with and also as a place to return to. While all of them know Spain quite well from the regular holidays and some also remember life there from their childhood years, most of them do not have any personal experiences with living or working in Spain for extended periods of time. Therefore it could be assumed that some might carry an idealised conception of Spain as a homeland, which might possibly not be compatible with the experienced reality in the case of a return, though I certainly do not want to argue that this necessarily has to be the case.

It could be said that most of the Spanish immigrants consider home to entail both, Germany and Spain, though in different ways and to different degrees. For the first generation, Germany might be conceived as a place nurturing mainly their physical needs, while with their hearts they still dwell in the "ideal home(-land)" providing emotional and spiritual fulfilment. For the following generation these qualities of Spain still are vivid, but they also start to relate in a similar way to their "new" home, breaking out of the categories of foreigner versus indigenous. The movement between these home sites physically and cognitively is an integral part of the overall concept. Identity might be partly constituted in this context through the movements and possible shifts between these sites, which themselves become part of what home means. If these different sites and aspects of home represented in the two places - Germany and Spain - can be harmonized in this way, this might prove to be an enrichment instead

of a threat for the migrant's identity and may be a step on the way to become at home in the world.

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