

The Outflow of Filipinos to the Bundesrepublik Deutschland Since the 1960s

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Migration has been a historical characteristic of Filipinos, dating back from pre-Spanish times when ancestors arrived in the islands by boats. Outmigration has been a continuous stream, and migrants have come from varied backgrounds - students, professionals, skilled workers, entertainers, and domestics. This study traces the movement of Filipino migrants to Germany, their processes of adaptation and coping mechanisms. It calls for studies in migration ethnology to enrich merely historical or sociological research and to provide basis for public policy.

The migration of Filipinos to the Federal Republic of Germany is a *de facto* one which, like the immigration of other foreign workers (known successively as "Gastarbeiter," as "Fremdarbeiter," and then simply as "Ausländer"), came about as a result of initial solicitation from the host country. In the case of the Filipinos, the occasion was their intensive recruitment in the late '60s and early '70s for service principally as sailors and as medical and hospital personnel. Viewed from the Filipino side, however, the labor migration to Germany was part of a more general phenomenon not only of their more recent national history but of even more remote epochs. In the 20th century, the main goal of Filipino migrants has been the United States of America, followed by Canada and Australia. Reaching its peak in the 1930s, the emigration of Filipino workers tapered off in the 1950s, when more professionals began to establish themselves as quota or non-quota migrants or as legal or illegal migrant workers to the US and other host countries. This skilled and professional labor outflow has continued at a constant pace since the 1960s, so that by December 1979 Filipinos overseas were estimated to number close to 1.7 million, with 77,679 of them in Europe.

The study of Filipino migrants in Germany, therefore, constitutes an aspect of a much broader area of investigation for Filipinos, both from the historical and the socio-economic points of view. At the same time, it is also of some importance to German scholarship in connection with the quite

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understandable preoccupation in the Bundesrepublik with the so-called "Ausländerproblem," particularly as this affects the determination of political and economic policy.

The Filipinos do not really form a considerable segment of the foreign population of Germany, although their impact on the health service and merchant-marine sectors has been significant enough. Their number was placed statistically in 1984 by the Statistisches Bundesamt in Wiesbaden at merely 12,985, with 10,077 Filipinas predominating over only 2,908 Filipinos. In reality, the total should now reach somewhere around 30,000 at least, if one considered the fact that the seamen, together with those Filipinos working in various embassies and with families of diplomatic and consular employees, those attached to American bases, and children below sixteen years of age, do not have to apply for a residence permit; that illegals have increased in number over the last six years; that the rate of naturalization has likewise increased; and finally, that the children of German-Philippine marriages automatically take the German nationality.

The Study: Context and Methodology

Filipinos in Germany fall into the social category of "foreigners" (Ausländer) which, in recent years of economic crisis, has become more and more the object of concern from various official sector and of an increasing number of studies varying in competence and commitment. The literature on foreigners can be grouped into four categories. The first is constituted by official government documentation and officially commissioned studies on what has become known as the "Ausländerproblem" (i.e., foreigners as a problem for German society and its institutions). These come mainly from the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, the Federal Labor Office.¹

There have been studies sponsored by foundations and other private institutions. The Otto Benecke Stiftung, for instance, has issued studies on the problem of asylum seekers, the federal policy on political asylum and, of course, the Ausländerproblem² which has engendered a protest literature with some activist flavor.³

Studies with an ethnological viewpoint have also been done. Those by academics with some concern for the third-world cultures are either made or inspired by the "Ferntourismus" group around Professor Beuchelt of the University of Cologne or worked out by the Zentrum für Entwicklungsbezogene Bildung (ZEB).⁴

Except perhaps for the more popularly perceived (and journalistically more remunerative) involvement of Filipinas in the "bride trade," very little concerning Filipino migration to Germany has crept into the above studies. The Filipinos as such have nonetheless traditionally been the object of German scholarship, business interests and humanitarian solicitude. At the close of the 19th century, the German Kaiser himself wanted to help free the Philippines in order to put the country under the presumably more efficient

management of his own incipient colonial system. By then, the Germans had already become close commercial competitors of the British and Americans in the Philippines. To this day, they remain among the three top trading partners of the country. Training and scholarship programs set up in this connection have in fact afforded some migration-prone Filipinos the opportunity to somehow get installed in Germany. As for German scholarship as such, there has really been no let-up since the days of Semper, Blumentritt, Meyer and Schadenberg through Dempwolff and Kolb to the more recent Professor Tauchmann of Cologne, who has revived the German ethnographic tradition regarding the Philippines. Of late, German interest in the Philippines has also intensified in the fields of third-world economics and anti-imperialism solidarity.⁵

This study is concerned with Filipinos in Germany: what brought them to Germany and how they live in Germany. It is therefore less interested in the problems of the host country with regards to foreigners as a whole and to Filipinos in particular, than it is interested in the way Filipinos have adjusted to the German environment and have come to use it as a people and as human beings for their own needs. In this sense, the German environment is only one among so many that Filipino migrants have adjusted themselves to, from Australia and Papua New Guinea to Europe and Greenland through Japan, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa, as well as beyond to the United States, Canada and even South America. In Germany as well as in other lands where Filipinos have immigrated, the other more important problem for Filipinos is therefore how the environment affects them and how they can live in it, *tant bien que mal*. Finally, Filipino migration to and life in Germany should be seen in the overall context of Filipino migration in the 20th century. The reference point of the study is therefore the country and culture of origin, the migrant himself and his ethnic or national group. The approach can only be "holistic."⁶

This study of Filipinos in Germany will be the first to view migrant Filipinos in the context of Filipino migration as a historical phenomenon and of a specific migrant environment where they have come to live. The study of Filipino migration is still in its infancy, but quite a number of studies has already been done, although mainly with the view of influencing or informing government policy on internal migration in the Philippines. This particular study makes intensive use of written sources, interviews and participant observation. With regards to documentary sources, research has till now been quite rewarding in Germany, not only because of the facilities of the Institut für Völkerkunde but also because of the general efficiency and helpfulness of most German public services, from the Bundespresseamt to the various ministries and Caritas of Cologne. The newspapers of the Filipinos have also been of great help, particularly with regards to the reconstruction of migration history. But our main sources have been the Filipinos themselves, whom we interviewed (close to 150 individually) and talked to informally (over 500) from Hamburg to Munich, through *Nordrhein* Westphalia and other Länder (states) including Berlin. The interviews of course involved techniques of oral history, whereas our participant observation (in our case, really observant participation since we were of course already considered of the informants' society and culture) was purely anthropological.

Filipino Migration in History

In the homily delivered on the occasion of the burial of Ninoy Aquino, Jaime Cardinal Sin described his countrymen as "a pilgrim people, driven by poverty and lack of opportunity to find new life in foreign lands," many of its heroes having been "exiles, uprooted from their homeland, wrenched by oppressors local and foreign." More than the good cardinal probably realized, we indeed have been a migrating people throughout our history, but also for reasons deeper than just tyranny that we experience at home. We are a people less attached to places than we are to familiar human beings - i.e., we are more attached to kins, kindred and friends than we are to where we might happen to live. The frequent reason for "going abroad" is thus, in our times, to work for one's immediate and extended family or to follow in the wake of relatives and friends wherever they might have established a new network of relations among relatives, friends and friends' friends. The *balanghai*, which in our history attained a status of a mythical symbol for the Filipinos and his past, was at once a group of relatives and friends and the community boat they used in search of lands to settle. Flowing into and finding congenial acceptance in the original stock subsequently came merchants, exiles and migrants who were principally Chinese from mainland Asia and colonizing and religious adventurers who were mainly Spanish and South American in search of gold and converts across the Pacific. The concepts of *kamag-anakan* (clan), *sakop* or *tauhan* (retainers) have thus remained fundamental - at least till now - than that of *lupang tinubuan* (native land) in the socio-cultural consciousness of the Filipino from whatever ethnic source he might have originally come. Our historical consciousness, indeed, is that of people constantly on the move across the land and beyond.

Subsequent to this and before the advent of the Spaniards in the Philippines, the movements of population groups speaking Philippine dialects continued. For instance, a Sulu sultan went on a diplomatic mission to China and died there, prompting his followers to stay on and take care of his grave. To this day, their descendants have remained a distinct group in their new homeland. At the arrival of the Portuguese in Malacca, likewise, a "Filipino" settlement had already been firmly established there.

In 1565, Spain began to seriously colonize the Philippines. The various Austronesian-speaking population in the present area of the Republic of the Philippines, slowly at first, but more rapidly in the 19th century, developed into "Filipinos." In this process of becoming a nation under Spanish colonial tutelage, the Filipinos were caught in the vortex of fundamental socio-economic and political changes which pushed them to move in various directions as individuals and groups, within the country itself and outside of it. And this occurred as other "foreign" peoples than the Spaniards and South Americans entered and settled in the Philippines. These were primarily Chinese, but also Ternatans, Mexicans, Indians and Non-Spanish Europeans, among whom were some Germans particularly in the 19th century. Internally, the movements were occasioned by the establishment of Spanish political authority. Visayans were early inveigled or pressed into the service of the Spaniards for the invasion of Luzon. Later, Tagalogs, Pampangos and other ethnic groups from Luzon joined the Spaniards in the conquest of Mindanao and the founding of Zamboanga and other forts. Muslim Filipinos reacted and carried their attacks northward as far as Luzon, settling in

Mindoro for a time. Aside from this warlike movements, there were likewise peaceful ones of peasants and a constant increasing flow into Manila and the surrounding areas, in conjunction with the expansion of the capital city as a political and economic center of the colony.

The out-migration of Filipinos was connected in the movement of Spanish arms in Asia. It was principally a movement of Filipinos in arms under the command of Spanish officers and in pursuit of Spanish imperial arms. The best example of this was the settlement of the Marianas by Filipinos as a result of its colonization by Spanish-Filipino arms. Thus in 1945, it appeared quite obvious to anthropologist Felix Keesing that in the Marianas "all local families are now woven in complex fashion out of the Chamorro, Filipino and other strains." The Galleon Trade also caused Filipino sailors, servants and adventurers to move over to the Americas. In the 18th century, for instance, a certain Mallari was condemned in Peru for practicing the art of what we would call "faith healing" today. Finally, there were population movements towards Southeast Asia as a result of the "slave trade" fed by "Muslim piracy" in the Visayas and Luzon.

Beyond Southeast Asia and South America, Filipinos were also reaching the West, particularly after the opening of the Suez Canal. Reading our textbooks, it would appear that this population movement only carried the intellectual and economic elite. Indeed, pockets of Filipino *ilustrados* could be found in the second half of the 19th century in the more important cities of Latin Europe, particularly Rome, Barcelona, Madrid and Paris. This came about as a result of the "Propaganda," the campaign for reforms which had its base in Spain and some centers in other European countries. As Lopez Jaena remarked, however, there were in fact more Filipinos of the labouring classes, mainly domestics and sailors, who were all over Europe and in some Asian countries at that time. In other words, the main constitutive social elements of the present Filipino population in Europe had even then begun to migrate to other countries in the continent!

From the first decade of the 20th century up to the close of World War II, there was a continued "intellectual" migration or self-exile of elite Filipinos to Europe, often with educational intentions. Outmigration, however, had changed: Filipinos were now going to the US. They were principally labourers going to Hawaii and, from there, to the US continent. There were also students, "private" or *pensionado* (scholars), who often remained after completion of their studies. In contrast to the later movement to Europe, this was a "male" migration. Between 1920 and 1930, for instance, some 1,394 Filipinos emigrated to the US for every 100 Filipinas.

After 1946, the out-migration of Filipinos became worldwide in scale, accelerating in the mid-1960s. The Filipinos became "a major source of manpower for other nations," so that in 1975 Filipino workers could be "found in 38 countries, doing a wide variety of jobs from household help to aerospace engineering." The phenomenon has been described as a "brain drain," but the outgoing professionals actually could not find rewarding jobs in the Philippines, where employment among college graduates had become endemic. There was, in any case, a continuous stream of migrants to the US. These constituted the so-called second and third waves, which also brought in relatives of the earlier migrants, aside from the white-collar job-seekers who would increase with the years. Former Filipino soldiers in the US Army

became US citizens, spinning off another migration flow of kins. Getting into any of the branches of the US armed forces, now mainly into the Navy, has become in fact the main access route to the US for many young and able-bodied Filipinos. A number of these would be stationed in Germany and constitute a floating Filipino population with quite intense contacts with the actual Filipino migrant workers in the country.

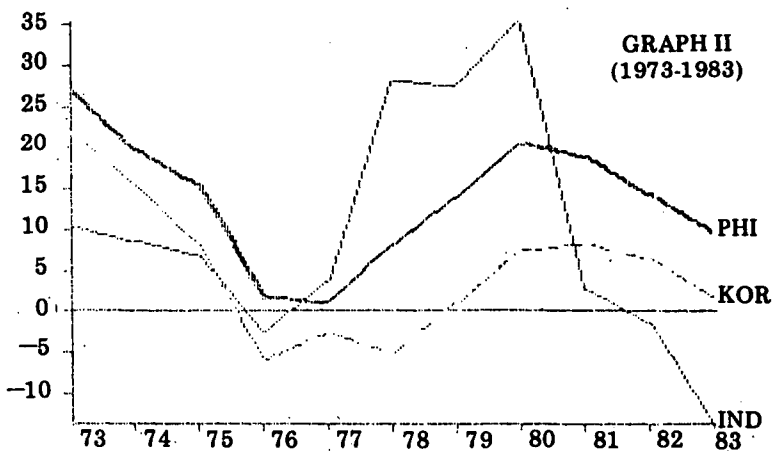
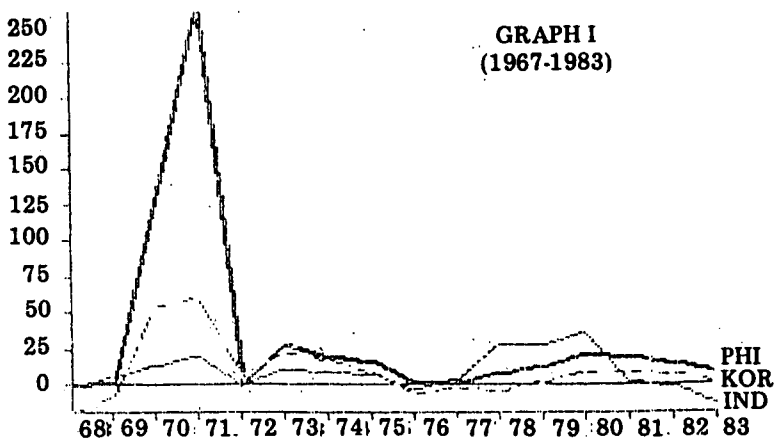
Aside from the US, Australia and Canada have also attracted Filipino migrants since 1946. In Asia, the main goals have been Southeast Asia, Hongkong, Japan and the Middle East. Singapore, Malaysia and Hongkong have drawn mainly domestic helpers, with Hongkong taking in some sailors. Filipino entertainers have gone everywhere in Asia, with Japan being the primary target. The Middle East became a prime destination of mainly skilled and migrant labor since the declaration of Martial Law in 1972, when the Marcos regime began to push its so-called "export of manpower." Africa also became a target of this labor policy, with Libya and Nigeria being the main "importers" of teachers, engineers and other professional groups.

The labor migration to Europe included domestics, principally in France, Spain, Italy and Greece; sailors in Germany, Holland and the Scandinavian countries; and medical and hotel personnel in England, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Entertainers have plied the entire European route from either Holland or Greece for at least the last fifteen years. From the late 1970s, the "brides," together with the illegals who are also called "tourists" in Germany and Italy, have become the principal migrant categories. This development came about as a result of the more severe restrictions imposed on the entry and employment of foreigners in practically all European countries.

Filipino Migration to Germany

Germans came to the Philippines long before any Filipino ever thought of even coming to Europe. German sailors were with the Magellan expedition and one of the early written sources on the Philippines was written by a German student who interviewed the survivors of the same expedition. And German priests were members of some of the orders which evangelized the country. And it was then that the Filipino "invasion" of Germany began. It resulted from invitations extended by German hospital authorities for Filipino medical and paramedical personnel as from the recruitment of Filipino sailors by German shipping lines.

The abrupt rise in 1971 and the relative decrease of population growth from 1975-1977 are evident not only for the entire Filipino population in Germany but likewise for those of Korea and India, the two other "Anwerbeländer" — countries where legal recruitment was undertaken — for hospital personnel in the Bundesrepublik, when one analyzes the graphs of the growth rate of the three population groups for the periods 1967-1983 and 1973-1983 (See Graphs I and II). For this reason, the migration of Filipinos to Germany naturally divides itself into at least three periods — i.e., before 1971; 1971-1978; and 1979-1986. The first period can however be subdivided into two periods, with 1962 as the cut-off date in view of the fact that in that year the first Filipina student nurses were asked to come to Germany to study, but subsequently stayed.



	PHI.	KOR.	IND.
1968	349.	3946.	6981.
1969	353.	3565.	7316.
1970	817.	5510.	92.15.
1971	2979.	6824.	9791.
1972	2986.	9451.	9791.
1973	3795.	11318.	10751.
1974	4548.	13300.	11667.
1975	5253.	11410.	12457.
1976	5343.	13591.	12146.
1977	5409.	13231.	12587.
1978	3857.	12574.	16137.
1979	6667.	12705.	20603.
1980	8046.	13657.	27929.
1981	9566.	14733.	28630.
1982	10937.	15694.	28285.
1983	11989.	15960.	24474.

Relative growth of the Philippine, Korean and Indian populations in the Bundesrepublik from 1967-1983 and 1973-1983, in graphs and in absolute numbers.

SOURCE: Bundes Statistisches Amt.

Up to 1962 Germany was *terra incognita* to most Filipinos. As late as the early 1970s German diplomats were complaining to Filipino friends that the only image Filipinos had about Germans and Germany was culled from the American war movies which were filled with blustering Nazi soldiers. And this despite the many German nuns and priests serving in the Philippines as missionaries and teachers. Students and scholars who came to Germany were rare. There were practically no Filipino workers there either. The Filipinos had a fixation on America.

In the 1960s, the German hospitals found themselves in dire need of medical and paramedical personnel. With the economic boom taking its toll on the health of the population, new hospitals were being built and the old ones modernized; but very few Germans were attracted to the health service sector particularly in the fields of nursing and medical technology since more remunerative jobs were available everywhere. Industry itself had to import workers, first from the Mediterranean countries of Spain, Italy and Yugoslavia, later from Turkey and elsewhere. In 1962, a German priest in the Philippines thought of helping his native town of Stolberg near Aachen by bringing back with him a group of nursing students from his mission in Cebu. There were ten of them and they all finished in 1965. Only two of them, however, returned to the Philippines after working for some time in Germany, one going back in 1981 in order to start an export business in the Philippines with her German husband. The other eight remained in Germany, with three still employed by the same hospital where they were trained in Stolberg. A second batch of five, this time full-fledged nurses, also came to work in the same hospital in 1963, but they all left for the US and Canada after fulfilling their contracts. The third batch of seven nurses came in 1964. All migrated subsequently to Canada, except for one who got married to a Swiss. Germany was luckier with the fourth batch which came in 1966: they were all midwives and have since then stayed put in the country.

At that time the crisis in the health care service had reached alarming proportions. The German hospitals had begun to recruit Korean and Indian nurses or student nurses. In 1965 there was talk of bringing 1,000 Filipina nurses, with some 150 of them for the hospitals of Cologne and Dusseldorf. But very little appears to have come of it, mainly because the Philippine Ambassador then thought the Filipinas would not be getting good treatment and accommodations, a fear which the President of the Deutsche Krankenhausgesellschaft tried to dispel. In any case, in September 1966, some 70 hospital personnel were brought back by Director Dr. Weisswange of the Kreiskrankenhaus Bad Homburg direct from the Philippines where he had gone to personally recruit them. In the group were four doctors, one mechanic, 43 midwives, the rest registered nurses. After the three year contract, 40 left the hospital and were replaced by 40 new recruits from the Philippines in September 1969. The doctors and nurses were apparently quite mobile, since in 1971 only one doctor and eight nurses remained in Homburger Kreiskrankenhaus, out of a total of 87 which included 72 midwives.

Students and workers were also already drifting into Germany before 1970. Sailors were relatively rare, but they were already being recruited by German and other lines for service in the European area in ships touching Hamburg and Bremen. By 1970 unscrupulous recruiters had also begun to ply their trade. With the Filipinas joining the Korean and Indian medical and host personnel in various hospitals and clinics in Northrhine-Westphalia, the Asians soon became conspicuous enough for Monsignor Koenen of Caritas Koln to organize the first counselling service for Asian hospital personnel.

The period between 1971 and 1978 saw the rapid increase in the number of sailors and hospital personnel recruited by German shipping lines and hospitals, only to be followed by official policy restrictions on recruitment as a result of the economic crisis which soon hit the "Wirtschaftswunderland" Germany. Recruitment of hospital personnel and sailors was quite intense up to around 1974. There was also an experiment in hiring hotel and restaurant "trainees" in Hamburg, but it did not go beyond the first batch. The increase in the number of Filipinas necessitated the creation of a Philippine section in the counselling service of Dr. Koenen. Agnes Urban, a Filipina, opened the section in August 1972.

It was the "age" of nurses and sailors, in fact: but it likewise saw the beginnings of the "bride trade" and of "illegals" or "tourists." Actually the sailors and medical-hospital personnel left their country in crisis to come to a land of promise; but before long the opportunities for work disappeared. In 1974, the governments of both Germany and the Philippines signed an agreement regulating the importation of medical-hospital personnel from the Philippines; but two years later, in 1976, recruitment was completely stopped, with some exceptions for nursing aides. Many had to fear for their jobs or even for their resident permits.

There was agitation, principally among religious circles, to ensure the stay of "Lotusblümchen" (lotus flower) - the nickname of Asian nurses - in Germany. In the meantime, without too much effort, the martial law regime of Marcos had succeeded in "exporting" some "Philippine labor" and the recruiting agencies and airline companies had made their killing. As for the Filipino medical and hospital personnel, many would now decide to get married to their boyfriends or get their husbands to come to Germany.

The period from 1979 to 1986 was one of crisis and decision for the Filipino and other foreign workers, as these "guest workers" began more and more to be dubbed and considered as "foreigners." Willy-nilly for both Germans and Filipinos, the Bundesrepublik would become for the latter an immigrant country. Filipinos were caught between the intense political and economic crisis in the homeland and the fear of not being able to continue to live and work in Germany, whose economic crisis was prompting policy makers to tighten the screws on foreign workers and their families. Policy fluctuated on "Familiennachschub" - the right to have children join their parents in Germany - some politicians wanting to lower the age of eligible children to six years. This caused some panic on the part of many parents, who would finally decide to have their children come, and with them, the husbands, if these had not been made to come earlier. The husbands would then have enormous

problems of adaptation, particularly those who came later, because they would remain largely unemployed for years. Furthermore, since immigration had been stopped, Filipinos had to find other ways to get to stay in the country. Thus, there would be: (1) a constant increase in the number of illegals; and (2) an intensification of the "bride trade." This is the reason why, despite the recruitment prohibition and the increasingly strict application of entry laws, the number of Filipinos, in particular, Filipinas, continued to shoot up (see Graph I). The "old" migrants also began to consolidate their situation. Aside from legally taking advantage of "Familienzusammenführung" - family reunification policy - they would apply the technique and concept of *kuha* - i.e., to get their brothers and sisters and relatives to come to Germany, so that they could stay and find work there. If no jobs were found, the brothers, sisters and relatives were sent elsewhere in Europe - i.e., a broad area from Switzerland and Austria to Norway and Greenland as well as to Italy and Spain. Otherwise, marriage was resorted to as an extreme solution. Furthermore, the oldtimers who had resisted naturalization for a long time now decided to get naturalized. There is therefore more and more a desire to become naturalized.

Filipino Life in Germany

Filipinos in Germany find themselves in a new and sometimes completely different environment. That they are more or less ill at ease in their new "homeland" is evident in the following statement by a quite well-adjusted "oldtimer." "If only the Philippines were better off, only a little, I would not stay an hour longer here." But she and the vast majority of her countrymen nonetheless, stay, of course, and their children are becoming more and more "Germanized" as the years they study in German schools increase. For all intents and purposes, they can at best be considered as "reluctant migrants." One sees this clearly in the two types of Filipino residents, the "legal" and the "illegal."

The legal residents are composed of the "oldtimers," i.e., the overstay-ing students, medical-hospital personnel, sailors, hotel-restaurant people, foreign embassy workers and domestics, US Army base workers, itinerant entertainers, children up to 16 years of age, "brides" who subsequently become wives of Germans and other Europe nationals, and *Kuha*. The "illegals" are a floating population which include *kuha* whose legally permitted duration of stay has lapsed, "brides" who had fled their "fiancés," and sailors who have jumped ship (*bumaba sa lupa*). These last three categories often show a reluctance to go home and are herefore prone to all sorts of solicitations. Aside from them, there are also the "recruits" who are *na-fake*, i.e., fooled and have thus become "stranded" and remain "tourists;" adventurers from various areas in the Middle East and Europe; and real *kuha* for specific jobs as illegals. "T.N.T.s" (*tagu-nang-tago* or "always hiding") are thus products of the *kuha* system, the bride trade and illegal recruitment. Since the last one usually involves partners in both the Philippines and Germany like the "bride trade," illegals are closely linked to at least some of the relatively more established legal migrants who, of course, are not necessarily connected with our "reluctant migrants." In any case, the linkage betrays a certain will to migrate, if only to look around for work, among Filipinos in some way related to or "connected" with residents in Germany.

Germany has thus become a goal for many Filipino would-be migrant workers, after having been for some time just a "transit land." At the outset, quite a number of the present Filipino residents, among whom some have even become German citizens, considered Germany as just a "jumping board" or a "way station" to the US or Canada. Not only the nurses and the med-techs cherish this dream. All sorts of Filipinos actually came to Germany in the belief that they could thus enter the US more easily. The illegal recruiters nourished this illusion, which drew many to Germany where they were in the end "stranded." Some Filipinos were however able to enter the US through their qualifications or through some *abilidad* or tricks. Others were able to marry Americans stationed in Germany, many of whom were of Filipino origin. This is still a common way to enter the US among newcomers. For most of the oldtimers, however, America became much earlier an "impossible dream." Furthermore, they have grown accustomed to the rhythm of work and life in Germany; they had become, at least partly, "Germanized". Germany had become their second homeland.

At least four steps would have to be taken to really get integrated to this new homeland: (1) getting married to a German or to another Filipino working and living in Germany or if married to a Filipino in the Philippines, having him come to Germany to work; (2) having children in Germany or getting them to come to Germany; (3) buying a house in Germany; and, finally (4) becoming a German citizen. For most of the oldtimers, the third and fourth phase have already set in. Long before this, however, they had begun to set up a network of relatives and friends not only in Germany but also in other lands of Filipino migration in Europe. The network of relatives is more closely knit and easier to follow as a system. Implicitly based or worked out upon an actual network of friends in Germany and surrounding lands, it results from two interrelated processes connected with the *kuha*. Not all migrants have such familial networks at their disposal; but they developed the normal social networks to hold them to their new homeland. The original homeland of course remains for them a cherished reality, at least as a goal for future vacations, which have their reasons and rituals. In these periodic return to the native land, they enter into the recent category of the *balikbayan*, which has a psychology of its own. Even among those who would not dream of returning now or who think the home country too hot and too dusty during vacations continue to entertain the prospect of returning in old age, for one could not possibly think of retiring in Germany, where old people are obviously not treated well and remain so alone. In the meantime, the myth of eventual return keeps them in the two worlds, even as their children develop into some kind of Fil-Germans or German Filipinos, whichever becomes apt or convenient in the end.

The Migrant Environment

The new German environment is basically different from the old country. From their accustomed semi-urban environment, the migrants have found themselves, with some very rare exceptions, in a largely urban and technological society. Paradoxically, too, they are as Filipinos "dispersed" in this new environment whereas before, they had been "concentrated" among their kins, friends and countrymen, whether they were settled in Greater Manila or the province. Added to this alienation is the never completely eradicated barrier of language which, of course, barely exists for the children

brought in when they were young and does not exist at all for those born in Germany. The problem is cultural and both generations try to resolve it by varying degrees of bi-culturality. Finally, the migrants have to learn the difference between the rule of custom in the native land and the almost absolute reign of law and order in the new homeland.

Filipinos are dispersed across the Bundesrepublik, with some degree of concentration in Northrhine-Westphalia and in some cities like West Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Bonn. Occupational concentrations have also developed in certain areas. For instance, medical personnel are concentrated in certain hospital areas of any given city, sailors in the port areas of Hamburg and Bremen. Personnel working for diplomats and their families or in embassies or consulates are more likely to be found in Bad Godesberg and Bonn. Wherever there are US bases or facilities, there are bound to be Pinoys, as servicemen or workers both legal and illegal.

The kind of residence indicates the presence or absence of an intention to permanently stay or a spiritual attachment to the new homeland. The illegals house themselves as best they can - often in rooms where they can lodge together. Among hospital personnel, continued residence in the hospital particularly in conjunction with possession of a house in the Philippines and a periodic lump sum insurance instead of the regular life and retirement insurance shows a certain indecision with regards to residing permanently in the country. Many have chosen to reside in houses or apartments in the neighborhood, betraying a greater degree of integration into the German society - a fact which requires some certainty when the house or apartment is owned and not just rented.

The characteristics of the rooms in hospitals, the apartments and the houses also betray the occupants' integration to the new country. As a rule, the furnishing tend to become more German as the occupants get integrated. For instance, the hospital rooms and apartments tend to be furnished with things Filipino than the apartments and houses outside the premises of the hospital, whether this be owned or just rented. Some owned houses and apartments which are however partly or fully furnished the Filipino way, but the owners are usually in close contact with the home country, have some antiquarian streak or are intent on preserving their national identity, in the face of the quite obvious Germanization which has already set in.

Considerations of comfort or adequacy of accomodation would not be of much real concern for Filipinos. But as a matter of fact, the places are objectively really tolerable, partly in relation to what the occupants were used to before they came to Germany. Some Pinoys have built or bought apartments and houses in the Philippines which are comparable to those of the affluent. Their residence in Germany, in comparison, would indeed not be comfortable enough. But even the affluent householders in their homeland seem to be content with their abodes in Germany.

They compare well with those of Germans on the same social level, anyway. And they fall into place rather well with the German milieu which appears to be the least of the Pinoy migrant's problems, mainly because it is so well organized that anyone who has adequate command of the German language can easily survive in it. Part of this organization are the various

organisms and offices to help the foreigners adjust to German ways and institutions.

These organisms and offices function as intermediaries between the society and citizens. For the Filipino in particular, they can be both German and Filipino. On the German side, the Filipinos can take advantage of the social services of both the government and the church. The "Ausländerbegegnungsstätten" (meeting facilities for foreigners) are not particularly used by Filipinos. "Ausländerbeiräte" (consultative councils) exist practically everywhere, but it is only in Bad Homburg that a special representative is elected by Filipinos from among themselves. In other areas, the Filipinos are lumped together with other national groups. The Church through Caritas Köln, has a counselling service for Filipinos which operates as a Philippine Center (*Sentrong Pilipino*) in Köln and issues a magazine called *Tambuli*. Individual priests likewise serve the religious needs of the Filipinos. The Philippine Center cooperates with a chaplain for Filipinos who celebrates mass in Cologne at regular intervals. Hospital priests are sought out by Filipinos living in or in the neighborhood of the hospitals. Filipinos also go to the parishes of various American communities mainly for two reasons: (1) because they are bound to find Filipino-Americans there and (2) because the masses are said in English. Recently, the Filipinos in West Berlin have acquired a Filipino priest "of their own."

From the Filipino side, the Embassy and its various consulates constitute a rallying point for at least some Filipinos on important national holidays. The problem of "double taxation" remains an area of friction between the Embassy and the migrants, who often decide to become German citizens only to escape the tax and to have more freedom of movement in Europe and in the world, the Filipino passport being too expensive not only because of its actual cost at each renewal but also for the cost of the visas which are hard to obtain for Filipino nationals in Europe.

Three religious groups have been identified until now: (1) an Iglesia ni Cristo community in Frankfurt; (2) an intermittent Santo Niño ("Tanto Ninyo") sect in both Frankfurt and Bonn; and (3) a Virgin mother procession and "exchange group" in Berlin. All three cities are areas of insecurity among Pinoys, mainly because of the presence of illegals and newly arrived "brides." But the clientele of the last two appears to be Pinays with unresolved family problems and undecided plans about the future. Finally, some itinerant priests from Rome have attempted to establish circuits in Germany for their vacations from study and teaching. One has been particularly effective with his appeal to religious and patriotic sentiments as well as through his use of the national language in his masses and sermons on his increasingly regular tournees.

Commercial organizations and business enterprises, mainly airlines and tourist agencies, attempt to use Filipino organizations for their ends either by their chiefs, organizing, or simply joining them. The working idea is always to help Pinoys with some of their problems with German authorities while they advertize their trips and goods. The oldest "national" organization of Filipinos, the German-Philippine Association, was associated from the very outset with a travelling agency which for some time almost exclusively transported the early migrant workers from the Philippines to Germany and

later took care of their vacation trips to and from the homeland.

Adjustment of the Filipino Migrants

All the above institutions, in a sense, constitute the outer ring of cohesion among Filipinos in Germany. They bring together the dispersed migrants to some degree. Almost from the very outset, the Embassy and its consulates, the German-Philippine Association and the Philippine Center and Counselling service of Caritas Köln sponsored festivities particularly Independence Day on a national scale. Caritas likewise organized seminars and conferences for all Filipino hospital personnel in various German cities. The others, like the sailors and illegals shifted for themselves or were taken care of by other social work groups.

In all of these activities, the Filipinos were just reacting to a convocation at regular and irregular intervals. At the base, other attempts were made to cement group solidarity in order to project the Filipinos in their new environment. These came along two lines: through local organizations and their publications. They are a recent development, often in reaction but also inspired by previous "all-German" organizations and publications. Their appearance constitutes an ambiguous symptom of both the probable intensification of integration and the attempt at preserving ethnic or national identity in the face of it all. It is also a function of the dispersal of the Filipino population all over Germany and its concentration in various urban settlement pockets.

The earliest organizations were on the level of hospital groups. Most were informal and have subsisted to this day as friendship circles. Their principal characteristic was that they functioned as some sort of Filipino clubs right in the places of work. Two organizations then cropped up in the early 1970s on the national scale; the German-Philippine Association (GPA) and the Samahang Pilipino sa Alemanya (SPA) or Philippine Association in Germany. The earlier one, GPA, was the natural outgrowth of a travel agency's activities and its close contact with the Filipinos it had brought and was still bringing to Germany. The idea was to help Filipinos adjust to life in Germany and at the same time to maintain close contact with them as perspective clients. To realize these aims, the GPA also published a magazine, the *Philippine Times*. The other organization was an outgrowth of the social work activities of the Philippine Counselling Center of Caritas in Cologne, Northrhine Westphalia. The SPA was therefore closely connected with the Philippine Center and Caritas magazine, *Tambuli*.)

Some competition and conflict naturally ensued between the SPA and the Philippine Counselling Center on the one hand and the GPA and its founding agency on the other. For a long while, the advantage was with the GPA, for at least two reasons: (1) its familiarity with the Filipinos whom the agency associated with GPA had brought to Germany and whose vacations were being booked either through the GPA or the agency; and (2) its understandably greater range in terms of finances and personnel. SPA was clearly disadvantaged in both aspects. Both organizations have however, engaged in various projects, from bowling tournaments to Independence Day celebrations. In recent years, SPA either disappeared completely or became simply a Northrhine-Westphalian organization, while the GPA progressively

broke into regional groups, among them that of Nürnberg. At the same time, various local organizations began to crop up, sometimes as consolidated avatars of the earlier hospital clubs.

Four reasons may be given for the decline of the "national" organizations and the rise of the "local" ones. The first is the increase of the number of Filipinos in Germany and their dispersal. The increase is mainly due to brides and illegals and these have not come to Germany through the GPA and its travel agency. They came either through various travel and recruiting agencies or through relatives and friends in Germany. On the other hand, the "primal experience" of German reality and its problems is through receiving agencies and family groups. From these families and groups have been formed some of the associations. The second reason is that the majority of the Filipinos have adjusted to German life and now know their way around; they have more and more intimate contacts with Germans outside their places of work. Thus, the need for associations as "bridges" with the local environment and as means for projecting identity. They may also be considered as the exteriorization of a guilt complex vis-a-vis the old country and culture. The third reason is that the majority of the Filipinos have now founded families which have attached them to the environment through their children who are in close contact with their German peer groups. The associations are then also a means for the children to stay in contact with the old country and culture. They have, thus, an educational value. Finally, the continued immigration through the hiving-in and hiving-over principles necessitates some receptive solidarity group which is somehow made available by the organizations where newcomers flock for resolution of their problems. Furthermore, associations can function as contact groups, particularly for the newly-arrived "brides" in need of initiation into the intricacies of German custom and culture.⁸

Often issued as organs of the more ambitious organizations, the Filipino publications function at once as a rallying point for Filipinos and as projection of their identity in the new homeland. The earliest newspaper, *Pahayagang Pilipino*, was set up in 1971 by an informal group of Filipino students in Bonn around Eddie Mendoza, who has since become a Ph.D. in Mathematics and now works with a consulting firm in Munich. It folded up sometime in 1973 due to ideological conflict with the Embassy. The magazine *Philippine Times*, which the GPA started to publish in 1972, was not quite as committed as the Pahayagan. Its second issue cover page was graced by the picture of the new ambassador with his curriculum vitae, and announced through the agency's star recruiter in the Philippines that martial law was "all very good." For its special correspondent, the country appeared to have become safer and foreigners are as welcome in this land of 7,107 islands as ever before. In November 1973 the Philippine Center in Köln began publishing its own magazine, *Ang Tambuli*, which the editors identified as the "Pahayagan ng mga Pilipino sa Alemanya" (publication of Filipinos in Germany). Both magazines have continued to appear till now, although rather intermittently of late.⁹

All this indicates the extent to which Filipino identity is in fact projected by the organizations and their newspapers. To a large extent, it is Filipino middle-class attitudes as these have been more or less imbibed and interpreted by the migrants which predominate in this national self-portrayal. The projected national self-image is also flavored by some

recurrent provincial themes like religious processions. Very little of the new Filipinization, like use of the national language as language of education and culture and elimination or minimization of American influence, of the last twenty years has crept into the view that the migrants have of the Filipino as a product of a basically native process. In fact, the cultural ideal one gleans from the activities of the organizations and from the articles in their magazines, with some notable exceptions, seems to be what Renato Constantino has called the "miseducated" Filipino elite.

The Social Matrix of Adjustment. As it now appears, the social behavior of Filipinos within German society turns around at least two central nodes; a core group with the same "primal experience" of the new homeland and a network of consanguine and affinal kins of *kamag-anakan*. Both nodes have interconnecting linkages. Around all of these and attached to any one of the two nodes or both are the circles of German and other foreign friends and acquaintances.

The core group is actually a *barkada* - its members being the *kabarkada*.¹⁰ The *kabarkadas* or members of core groups later formed informal groups with other Filipinos according to personal affinities. These informal groups usually gathered together on semi-public occasions like birthdays, weddings, baptisms and simple *salu-salu* (informal festing). These informal relationships often result in *compadrazgo* (alliances through godparenthood) usually on the basis of long-standing *barkada* relationship. *Compadrazgo* also widens the circle of the original *barkada*. Private events like gambling sessions, excursions, games and the like are also activities which may consolidate informal groups into a *compadrazgo* network. The core group or any one of its splinters could live in the same neighborhood, usually in the vicinity of the hospital where the members work.

As for the *kamag-anakan*, its constitution is discussed in connection with the *kuha-technique*. The *kamag-anakan* as a network of consanguine and affinal kin is a later phenomenon than the *kabarkada*. As a matter of fact, the latter often helps in the formation and consolidation of the network. However, if the *barkada* is usually localized to a region of Germany, the *kamag-anakan* can be pan-European in extent.

Basically, a function of the place of work, the German network of friends generally has access to the Filipino community through the organizations and their various activities. Some Germans have however also entered the two central nodes of social interaction through marriage or the *compadrazgo*.

The Economics of Migrant Adjustment. The economic factor is of course fundamental to the coming of the *Finoys* to Germany, to their decision to stay further as reluctant migrants and to the continuing migration of job-seekers and brides. However, the factor is only a matter of degree in Filipinos. Those who have stayed longer and have jobs are less tempted to engage in other forms of economic activities as their normal occupations. Among these are most of the Filipinos who found and become members of associations if only for the fact that this entails a lot of time which others who engage in business would not have. But all migrants have a very strong economic motivation and the associations have sometimes been used by some business-minded Germans and Filipino members for their business ventures and interests.

The primary economic motivation is to send money back home, to earn as much and as fast as possible in order to send money home and to procure for kins an economic headstart in the Philippines. This is particularly so for the brides who, after getting their residence permits, usually set about to look for a job in order to be able to remit money to their parents or married brothers and sisters. They thus behave exactly like the earlier migrants, which shows, among other indicators, that the "bride trade" is just the continuation of labor migration through other means.

Another aspect of the economic motive is *magpundar* - to build the future for the immediate family, particularly strong in those with the intention to return and most maintain the myth of one day returning to the native land is the drive to invest their hard-earned money in land either for construction of a family house or for rice cultivation and in some businesses like sari-sari stores, jeeps, auto repair shops, apartments and the like. The properties are usually left in the care of parents, husbands, siblings or relatives, with some complications for many.

Getting by is not only through regular jobs. Some are inclined or forced into the recruitment trade, i.e., the business of getting Filipinos to enter Germany on the promise of jobs or German husbands and in some cases German wives. A certain connection exists between recruitment and the *kuha* system, the *kuha* applies to both relatives and friends. It was first engaged in by established Pinoys, although they are more fearful of the consequences than the illegals and brides, who have also began their own network in a more profitable way. The *kuha* is a long-term phenomena which was there at the outset of Filipino migration in Germany. Earlier, it was easier to get one's kins because jobs were easier to get. Now, the one "taken" is either sent to Switzerland, Austria, Norway, Italy, Spain or some other land in Europe or he/she becomes an illegal or a bride who then spins off another series of *kuha*. *Kuha*, therefore, is a form of de facto recruitment.

Recruitment itself is a business and a lucrative one at that. The entire migration to Germany was in fact pushed by the amateur and professional recruiters. With the passing of restrictive legislation in the middle of the 1970s, recruitment became an illegal business. It is one of the sources of illegal workers in Germany. More or less legal is the recruitment of brides. The recruitment of illegals is more of a Filipino enterprise with the Philippines as base, although the recent arrest of a gang in Frankfurt showed that local Filipinos are also involved. The recruitment of brides used to be a German monopoly. Recently, however, more and more Filipinos have been entering this business.

The recruitment of both illegals and brides is thus now engaged in by migrants. One reason for this is the fact that the husbands do not easily get jobs even after the obligatory wait of four years has elapsed. Since the men generally are professionals, they are "inconvenienced" by being forced into the least-paying and lower-order jobs.

The migrant also participates in his own way in the export-import flow between the Philippines and Germany. Some small-time smuggling of food, trade goods and industrial items in the context of the custom of *pabalin* (asking to have something brought home) and *pasalubong* (brought-home presents). More and more Filipinos, usually married to Germans are engaging

in the importation of Philippine goods, in particular, food, furniture and household decorations. This is sometimes done in connection with various fairs in Germany.¹¹

In Germany itself, the migrants have now moved into the entrepreneurial area. From the very outset, some Pinays supplemented their incomes by selling self-made Filipino delicacies like *kakanin*, *lumpia*, *longganisa*, *balut*, and others as well as Philippine and Asian foods brought home from vacation. Manufacturers and distributors use them as agents for kitchen utensils, perfumes and even encyclopedia and books. The jobless men usually find this a convenient way of earning a living. Selling tickets for airlines is likewise an expedient. Others actually engage in licensed businesses like travel agencies, stores, clubs and restaurants.

Although the vast majority live on their work, whether this be "traditional" ones - in the health service, the merchant marine and the hotel-restaurant are or the more recent ones as domestic helpers, some Filipinos are now engaging in business, a new phenomenon which derives from various factors. The most important is that some have acquired capital for the more legitimate businesses. More and more are also opting to become German citizens, which allows them to engage in business. This is also an index of integration. Finally, engaging in business is sometimes the only way men can get decent jobs away from the health sector.

Family Life

The de facto immigration of Filipinos to Germany has resulted in the transplantation of a people with reflexes of the extended family. Having been formed by circumstances to come to Germany, many accepted the difficulties and risks of maintaining their families apart, with the father and children in the Philippines and the wife in Germany. This solution could also have continued indefinitely for many, were it not for unexpected pressures from the German side.¹² This forced many parents to make a choice of having their children follow them to Germany. These forced "family reunifications" would take place more rapidly between 1979 and 1983.

Other problem areas can be identified. A greater majority of these families come from the lower middle-class in the Philippines or from just at the point of entry to the lower middle-classes, with quite a number still from the peasant milieu. The sudden projection into a highly technological urban environment had to result in social and psychological dislocations. Aside from this, in the face of unexpected relative prosperity, most families tend to be upward-moving in their behavior with great ambitions for their children. This would complicate adjustment particularly for the children initially raised in the Philippines not only because of language difficulties encountered but likewise because of the lack of the necessary "back-up" cultural and scholastic background within the family. As for the brides, their social origins are in the main only a bill lower than the professionals. As a matter of fact, many are also professionals. Their problems are compounded by the differences in culture and sometimes social and educational background between husband and wife. For their part, the illegals who are mostly married have to adopt the solution of keeping spouse and children in the Philippines.

Except for the children, there are very few single people among the migrants. Illegal singles easily get married to regularize their situation, females generally with Germans or resident foreigners, whereas males look for available Filipina residents. Singles tend to come to Germany as *kuha*. If they find themselves as stranded, they tend to keep together as batches and sooner or later land with some relative or friend. They then sponsor the coming of a sibling or relatives with whom they live as a family. There are also cases of separated married woman coming to Germany as singles, with the intention of getting married and sending later for their children. Some actually succeed.

There are two types of couples. The Pinoy-Pinay (P-P) couple may have (1) the husband in Germany with a job from the very beginning or shortly after his arrival in the early years, or still jobless because he has come after the recruitment prohibition; (2) the husband in the Philippines, in some other land in the Middle East or Africa, or at sea, as sailor. In the Pinay-Foreigner (P-F) as well as Pinoy-Foreigner (P-F) marriage; the foreigner is usually German. The foreigner may be married with (1) an old-time whether health personnel, sailor or hotel-restaurant personnel; (2) recent arrival through the bride trade or the illegal recruitment trade; or (3) somebody he got acquainted with in the Philippines or in a third country, usually a middle Eastern one.

Couples are generally condemned to the "nuclear family" form, particularly those of the P-F type. The extended family (the wives in the case of P-Fs), nonetheless, influences the family even in Germany, particularly in terms of attitudes and behavior. Among P-Ps, the extended family network is maintained: (1) through relations with family members and relatives in the Philippines - this is particularly so among those who would like to return, if only when they retire; or (2) through *kuha*. *Kuha* is in fact caused by and maintains the extended family.

Among P-Fs, the *kuha* system operates in different ways. P-Fs with Asian spouses do not have insurmountable problems in this regard. The extended family is understood by the spouse and the sending of *sustento* (aid in the form of money) and other forms of behavior indicating solidarity is joined and supported by the spouse. Spouses from the East European countries who consider themselves migrants behave in practically the same way. Is there a common migrant behavior of solidarity with those left behind? With German spouses, some great problems exist. Germans tend not to understand, although those who have gone to the Philippines can be more tolerant. More tolerant are those whose relations with the wife are good to excellent. In any case, a sub-network is created among Filipinas married to Germans. They tend to come together and constitute a social group which is often a secondary solidarity group of the recruitment or German language class "batch." Aside from this, the extended family tends to be reconstituted by these brides through the *kuha* system. There are many cases of sisters getting married successively to various Germans. The *compadrazgo* as indicated above also operates.

With regards to the solidity of marriage under the obviously stressful circumstances of migration, only incomplete observational and interview data can be made available. It would seem that those marriages already existing in the Philippines before the wife came to Germany were exposed to a great deal

of tension. Many wives came, in fact, because their husbands were already unfaithful or because their marriages were already going on the rocks. In the latter case, the husbands got involved with other women after their wives left. A number of women going there to marry German men have already broken marriages behind them or had hopeless common-law relationships with men who abandoned them with children. Those couples constituted after the coming of the future wife to Germany are just as solid as those P-P couples constituted in Germany. The most important problem relates to cases where the husbands are not yet in Germany or are there but cannot find jobs. In any case, those couples who got married there as migrant workers tend to be more solid. Since divorce does not exist in the Philippine law, Filipinos get divorced only when they become Germans, or they become Germans to get divorced.

Among P-Fs, there are more divorces, even among oldtimers who married much earlier. But this is the case especially among the new wave doubtless because the Filipinas knew less of German culture before marriage and because of the circumstances of marriage. This is the category known to journalists and specialists of protest literature.

The spouses of the P-Fs are of course mainly Filipinas as a result of migrant characteristic. There are also Filipino males who are husbands of Germans, but they are not many, except perhaps in Hamburg. Here the dividing line is between oldtimers and newcomers, where the main problems are with the later. The husbands constitute a category with problems, Filipinos as well as Germans. Filipinos must adjust to a new environment and culture in the face often of a jobless future. The Germans, on the other hand, have to adjust to their Filipina wives and another culture, an "environment across the sea."

As for the children, the dividing line is between (1) those who are born in the Philippines and brought to Germany and (2) those born in Germany, whether they be purely Filipinos or mestizos. The latter constitute the second generation, the former, the transplanted generation. Some of them are just as transitional as their parents, and although less so, the younger they were when they were brought to Germany. They face mainly bicultural problems. They are the ones who would constitute groups like Samahan sa Ikauunlad ng Kabataang Pilipino sa Alemanya (SIKAP).

Conclusion

Implications may be explored with regards to the continuing migration of Filipinos, to its international pattern, and to Europe in general, and to Germany, in particular. From the global point of view, the US will continue to be the ideal goal of Filipinos, primarily because emigration to the US has a tradition, i.e., a network has been established and will continue to be used. Canada and Australia will also continue to attract Filipinos for the same reasons. Asia and Africa do not seem to interest Filipinos, except as temporary places of work. On the other hand, Europe has come to loom large in their consciousness. Migration to Italy seems to be the most dynamic, at present, despite its lesser possibilities, principally because of the laxity of both its laws and its authorities. Spain is more or less like Italy, which however has the advantage because wages there are considered to be higher. Britain has already been forced through decision of the European parliament

to agree to the reunification of families as a matter of human right. As for Germany, despite restrictions, Filipino immigration will most probably continue, particularly along three lines: (1) the bride trade; (2) illegal stay of workers; (3) legal stay of students and entertainers. The first two methods are the most "productive" at the moment, the last being rather peripheral.

The implications to German-Philippine relations are on the whole, rather positive. Familial relations are increasing between Germans and Filipinos through continuous intermarriage. The willingness of most Filipinos to get integrated should also contribute to a more positive attitude of the German people and government towards Filipinos. The desire of many Fil-German couples to retire in the Philippines should bring about an analogous situation in the Philippines vis-a-vis Germans and Germany.

Some further research perspectives may also be speculated upon. On the German side, the Filipinos in Germany will probably not constitute a vast field of research or even simple interest, except in relation to the bride trade which can still be exploited by various people in politics, religion and journalism. It is a "paying" subject. On the Filipino side, however, the field is wide open. Filipino migration in general and to Europe and Germany in particular has been touched only superficially as a research area.

Aside from the historical aspect, the subject of migration should give rise to what might be called "migration ethnology" in contrast to "migration sociology." Some work has already been done in this direction in Germany and in some European countries. Research can however get into the moralistic pitfall which in Germany at least seems to have two directions: (1) the third world "sympathy syndrome"; (2) the "j'accuse" syndrome - the polemicization of the Ausländer problem.

Migration ethnology should have at least two major points of view, both of them ethnic; (1) the point of view of the migrating ethnic group; and (2) the point of view of the host ethnic group or society with the application of traditional concepts of acceleration integration and the like. One sees that in both directions one can at once be really ethnographer first before becoming an ethnologist, which is the glory of the discipline.

Migration ethnology could furnish migration history the necessary sociocultural depth that is lacking in most historical research. Migration ethnology in historical perspective thus is nothing less than social history in depth. Finally, this kind of indepth research can provide more data inputs to public policy, both in the Philippines and the Bundesrepublik.

Endnotes

¹See for instance: *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer 1972-73*, Nürnberg: 1974 and *Sozialversicherungspflichtige Beschäftigte*, Nürnberg: 1983; and the Bundesministerium des Innern, the Federal Interior Ministry (cf., for example: Marplan, *Gasterbeiter in Deutschland*, 1984)

These documents and studies, understandably, are preoccupied with the maintenance of law and order and the integration of foreigners into the sociopolitical system of the Bundesrepublik. Ethnic differentiation can hardly be expected from them, since the underlying viewpoint naturally that of the German state, society and culture.

*Among the more relevant are: *Ausländische Mitbürger in der Fremde daheim; Chancen der Massenmedien*, Baden Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1982 and O. Kimminich, *Der Aufenthalt von Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. As with the official sources, both investigations are concerned with the socio-cultural adjustment of foreigners in the host country. The Stiftung Volkswagenwerk has likewise published a whole series of researches financed by it on the Ausländer problem. These H. Körte and A. Schmidt reviewed in *Migration und ihre Sozialen Folgen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1983. The main emphasis on research support by the Volkswagen Foundation has been on the areas on 1) economic development and employment of foreigners; 2) school and socialization; 3) professional training; 4) language acquisition 5) dwelling and segregation; 6) remigration and reintegration; 7) political participation; and 8) sickness and health care. Foreigners thus constitute a sociopolitical block for social engineering, a view which allows for only very minimal ethnic differentiation.

From Ernst, Klee's *Gastarbeiter. Analysen und Berichte* to Günter Wallraf's *Ganz unter* through Siegmund Geiselberger's *Schwarzbuch: Ausländische Arbeiter* and Haris Katsoulis' *Bürger zweiter Klasse. Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik*, these writings have been largely journalistic or ideological in character. They view foreigners as victims of conservatism or racism in the host society or of the international capitalist order. The migrants are not always seen as groups with specific ethnic characteristics in an environment which is at once primarily that of the host society's making and one which they also create in various adaptive ways. Even the relatively more objective historical study by Ulrich Herbert of the employment of foreigners in Germany from 1880 to 1980 falls into the German historical context and is actually a chronicle of what various German regimes did to foreign workers!

Examples are: G.F. Pfäfflin, *Tourismus, Prostitution, Entwicklung, Dokumente*, 1983 and Susanne Lipka. *Prostitutionstourismus in die Dritte Welt und Heiratsmarkt mit Frauen aus der Dritten Welt: Ursachen und Auswirkungen - eine soziologische Analyse*, Universität Münster Diplomarbeit, 1985. Again all "foreigners" or "third-world peoples" are lumped together as a presumably homogenous category for scientific inquiry. Other studies, however, have properly ethnological interests and contrast with those by concerned and activist academics through their avoidance of prescriptive values from the host culture. More specifically, they can be considered as belonging to a major ethnological direction taken by the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Cologne under Professor Ulla Johansen. Examples of this direction are Barbara Wolbert's *Migrationsbewältigung* and Angelika Busch's *Migration und Psychische Belastung* which inquire into the psychological and adaptive problems of migration. Ulla Johansen and Barbara Wolbert's attempts to integrate bibliographically the "Gastarbeiterproblematik" (guest worker problem complex) into the domain of cultural anthropology. The truly ethnographic (and ethnological) aspect (i.e. the description of a specific migrant group and its culture in the German environmental context), however, has apparently not been attempted; but the Cologne School might yet develop in the direction of this task.

Of the journalistic type are two books by R. Siebert: *Tod auf Mactan. Spuren im fall Magellan gegen Lapulapu* and *Bambas läßt sich nicht brechen*. The solidarity group "Aktionsgruppe Philippinen" has brought out *Philippinen - wenn der bambus bricht*, together with various translations of activist literature from and about the Philippines. A. Kaiser analyzes the right to rebel in relation to justified revolution in Philippine context in his *Widerstandsrecht und Gerechte Revolution am Beispiel Philippinen*. No less committed is R. Werning in *US-Imperialismus auf den Philippinen. Der Mindanao-Konflikt* and *Agrarreform und Kriegsrecht auf den Philippinen. Anatomie einer Pazifizierung*.

All the above sources are concerned only with Filipinos in the Philippines. Their authors are moved by socio-cultural and political forces and contradictions in their own society and state. In a sense, their works are just personal responses to their being Germans in the German society and state. However, the Filipinos in Germany have also attracted the attention of other German writers. But, as objects of study, Filipinos are interesting to these writers only to the extent that they have gotten involved, as victims, in an "evil" that at present disturbs the moral conscience of at least some Germans. The "evil" refers to the importation of "third-world women" into Germany as brides or probable prostitutes. Aside from the more common newspaper exposés, Frau Lipka's thesis and the ZEB report mentioned above, H.G. Schmidt's *Der neue Sklavenmarkt. Geschäfte mit Frauen aus Übersee* includes some cases involving Filipinas. These brides and probable victims of white slavery, however, do not just enter a journalistic or social category for moral

indignation but likewise form part of a migratory phenomenon which finds more properly its origin and, at least partially, its explanation in Philippine history and contemporary reality.

⁶One study that gives a partly holistic (and historical) treatment of a migrant ethnic group is Nermin Abadan-Unat's *Turkish Workers in Europe, 1960-1975*. However, its viewpoint is not ethnological nor fully historical. The specific migrant environments of the Turks in Western Europe are not seriously considered for a deeper historical analysis of the ethnic context of an important European migration.

⁷We shall call these "hiving-in" and "hiving-over." When a migrant gets (kuha) his sister, brother or relative, it is with the intention of getting him or her a job in the area of his residence to constitute a family network. This process is "hiving-in," the ideal one for the family-oriented Filipino. Even illegals use this method of "installing" their immediate kins in areas around their place of work. But the circumstances do not often permit, so that the Filipino migrant (or, sometimes, the illegal) in Germany is forced to work out an expedient. He or she maneuvers, through contacts (friends or relatives), to "organize" for his or her relative, sister or brother to get a job in the nearest possible Western country around Germany (for example Switzerland, Austria, Holland, etc.). Sometimes, he is satisfied with a land farther off, like Italy, Spain or Norway. The operation may be called "hiving-over." However, the Filipino migrant might just be temporarily residing in Germany on the way to some other land. He might, for instance, be an illegal or someone with relatives in the United States. He is thus only waiting for an opportunity to enter the U.S. In that case, he is just "hiving through", which might involve living with relatives or friends or simply being an illegal worker. All these processes result in a network of relatives and friends which can be quite vast, depending upon the assiduity of the "founder".

⁸Excluding the informal groups, there are over 30 organizations in Bonn alone two adult ones and three youth groups, with SIKAP Alemana (Association for the Advancement of Philippine Youth in Germany) having members in five other cities. Leadership is mainly Filipino, although husbands of some Filipina residents tend to operate behind the scenes. The *Barangay sa Alemana*, based in the Ruhrgebiet, has made Filipino top-rank leadership statutory, whereas the *Philippine Family Association* in Bonn allows Germans to be elected to the board. At least one organization has apparently been set up for tax exemption and other financial purposes by a German tax expert married to a Filipina. Although the organizations are generally competitive among one another (particularly those in one area), there have been some attempts made to unify them from the base, at least on the level of Northrhine-Westphalia. The Philippine Center, SIKAP and Barangay sa Europa, an outgrowth of Barangay sa Alemana, have pioneered in this task.

⁹Other magazines have begun to appear on the "local" level in the last three or four years. Among these are: *Balik* of the Samahan sa Ikauunlad ng Kabataang Pilipino sa Alemana (SIKAP Alemana); *Bavarian Philippine News* of the Bayerisch-Philippinische Gesellschaft in Munich; *Komm Inform* of the Philippinische-Deutsche Gesellschaft of Nürnberg in North Bavaria; PFAB Digest of the Philippine Family Association in Bonn; and *Umalahokan* of Barangay sa Alemana in Essen. Although some have names in Pilipino, practically all the publications make no significant use of the national language, with the exception of *Tambuli* and *Balik*. Among progressive social researchers this has been dubbed as the ritual use of the national language. In fact, *Umalahokan* also carries the secondary name of "Barangay Crier", its English translation. In *Balik*, the young people (who still had some education in the Philippines) persist in composing poems in English, instead of in Pilipino or German, where they are quite obviously more proficient. Projection of Filipino identity, in Germany as in the Philippines, is thus carried out in the colonial language. This unnatural preference is recognized but explained away through the common belief that it is only through this borrowed and uneasily mastered language that the Filipino will be understood by foreigner - although German itself is more readily admitted than Pilipino - (if at all) for a number of articles in the publications. With significant exceptions, the quality of the English used quite naturally leaves much to be desired.

¹⁰*Barkada* - (from 'barco', ship or boat) is the Spanish rendering of the native *barangay* or *balanghai*, the term for boat or boatload of settlers consisting of a *dato* and his *sakop* or followers. *Barangay* came to be used for the political group or the smallest administrative unit (village); whereas *barkada* came to designate any congenial and like-minded group, like the old "boatloads" of friars who came to evangelize the Filipinos. As a matter of fact, the newcomer is generally referred to as a *bagong salta* (from the Spanish "saltar", to leap, jump as from a ship), although he now generally "leaps" from a plane instead of a ship, except of course if he is a seaman. In the case of the medical and paramedical personnel of the early years, the primal group upon arrival was the *kaeroplano*. Since each plane-load was distributed among various hospitals the barkada

in the end was formed by a hospital group *kaospital*, which usually also constituted a class for learning German. The hospital groups often became the cores of the later more formal organizations. As a matter of fact, one basis for the "split" between the two organizations in Bonn is their different working backgrounds - i.e., between the workers in the various foreign embassies and the others. Brides and illegals also form *barkadas* on the basis of their having been recruited by the same agent or agency or of their having attended the same German language course.

¹¹The export of industrial goods from household items like televisions and radios to Mercedes-Benz cars and auto spare parts has been engaged in by more enterprising migrants. For the lucrative Mercedes-Benz business, there were actually three methods used: (1) members of the entire *kamag-anakan* go home one after the other as regular *balikbayans* with each a Mercedes-Benz for subsequent disposal in the Philippines; (2) actual returnees bring home the coveted car or cars; (3) one could also pay *balikbayans* their vacations, provided they each brought home a car.

¹²There was a threat in the late 1970s because of first the complete recruitment stop in 1976, then the threat of possible restriction on the admission of children beyond 16 years of age and later even of children less than six years of age.