

Travel and the Greek migrant youth residing in West Germany in the 1960s-1970s

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Abstract

This article explores the travel patterns of young Greek migrants, both students and workers, who resided in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s and 1970s. It draws on recent scholarly works that call into question a rigid distinction between migration and tourism. In this vein, the article claims that their joint examination contributes to a more nuanced understanding of both the migratory experience of Greeks who lived in West Germany and of the youth culture that emerged in Europe at that time. In particular, while a growing number of peer groups of young people from West Germany engaged in tourism, especially the cross-border variety, from the 1960s onwards, travel was hardly an age-specific pursuit for young Greek migrants at that point: by contrast, their travel revolved (or at least was expected to revolve) around visiting their natal areas and reinforcing their links with relatives. A diversification of their travel-related lifestyle norms, however, occurred in the early 1970s as a result of the influx of Greek students at West German universities. Those youngsters, along with some young Greek migrant workers, began to travel as tourists beyond their country of origin as well as to acquaint themselves with aspects of the travel culture of local young people from West Germany, such as hitch-hiking. The article also challenges the argument that youth tourism in the second half of the 20th century helped forge a transnational European identity: for the young migrants in question, some of their tourism practices in the 1960s and 1970s reinforced the idea of a North–South divide.

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Reismuster von jungen Arbeitern und Studenten mit griechischem Migrationshintergrund, die während der 1960er und 70er in Westdeutschland gelebt haben. Basierend auf neueren Forschungsergebnissen, welche rigide Trennungslinien zwischen Migration und Tourismus in Frage stellen, wird hier die These vertreten, dass die Migrationserfahrungen von Griechen in Deutschland in Hinblick auf die beiden Phänomene weitaus komplexer waren, als bisher angenommen. Während eine wachsende Anzahl deutscher Altersgenossen den Vergnügungstourismus für sich entdeckten, war das Reisen für junge Griechen zu diesem Zeitpunkt eher Mittel zum Zweck. Letztere benutzten Urlaube, um ihre Geburtsheimat zu besuchen und den Kontakt zur Familie aufrecht zu erhalten (oder zumindest wurde dies von ihnen erwartet). Jedoch fand in den frühen Siebzigerjahren aufgrund des Influxes von griechischen Studenten an westdeutschen Universitäten eine Diversifizierung statt. Diese Gruppe wie auch einige junge Gastarbeiter fingen an, andere Länder zu erkunden und sich mit der Reisekultur von gleichaltrigen Westdeutschen – besonders dem Hitch-Hiking – vertraut zu machen. Der Artikel beleuchtet dabei kritisch die gängige These, dass der Jugendtourismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts dazu beitrug, eine transnationale europäische Identität zu schaffen. Tatsächlich nämlich entwickelten junge Migranten in den Sechzigern und Siebzigern ihre Reiselust im Schatten eines kulturellen Nord-Süd Grabens.

Keywords: tourism, migration, youth

Introduction

‘I went there on the *Kolokotronis* (...), the ship that transported all migrants to Germany (...) There were also a few tourists there, playing the guitar,’ recalls one Greek migrant who left for the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s.¹ These migrants² knew what it was like to travel as a tourist, however: In this article, I intend to demonstrate that their mobility, already during the 1960s, was far from confined to a one-way trip from their natal areas to West Germany.

The migration of people from southern to northern Europe marked the history of the continent in the post-World War II decades. Several countries, such as West Germany, Sweden and Switzerland, developed massive foreign labour recruitment programs.³ According to the various ‘guest worker’ agreements the government of the Federal Republic signed with countries such as Italy (1955), Greece (1960), Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Portugal (1964), and Yugoslavia (1968), incoming migrants were only supposed to temporarily reside in West Germany, as long as they worked for a German company. Henceforth, the number of migrants moving to the Federal Republic of Germany from southern Europe increased substantially. Between 1961 and 1973, when the oil crisis put an end to foreign labour recruitment, the Greek population in West Germany rose from 42,000 to 408,000.⁴ The vast majority of those migrants resided in urban centres in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and in North Rhine-Westphalia as well as Hamburg, which hosted or were close to industrial locations.⁵ Almost two-thirds (61 percent) of the Greek migrants to West Germany

¹ G. X., Matzouranis, *Ta paidia tou Notou. Mas lene Gastarbeiter...kai stin patrida Germanous*, Athens 1990, p. 97.

² Due to their ethnocentric connotations, I avoid referring to these migrants as ‘apodimoi Ellines’ [Greeks abroad] or ‘omogeneis’ [co-ethnics], terms which are commonly employed in public debates in Greece. On the use of those terms, see D., Tziouvas, ‘Introduction’, in: D., Tziouvas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700. Society, Politics and Culture*, Surrey 2009, pp. 1–14, here p. 7.

³ Actually, Germany had received migrants prior to the 1950s. According to historian Sebastian Conrad, from 1893 onwards the country was transformed from one that exported to one that received migrants. See: S., Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany*, Cambridge 2010, p. 46. About immigration policies in Germany prior to the 1960s, see, for instance: C., Reinecke, *Grenzen der Freizügigkeit. Migrationskontrolle in Grossbritannien und Deutschland, 1880-1930*, Munich 2010.

⁴ G., Panayotidis, *Griechen in Bremen. Bildung, Arbeit und soziale Integration einer ausländischen Bevölkerungsgruppe*, Münster 2001, p. 89. Panayotidis’ book contains data concerning the influx of Greeks in West Germany in general and not just in Bremen.

⁵ S., Skarpelis-Sperk, ‘Die griechische Diaspora in Deutschland’, in: E., Konstantinou (ed.), *Griechische Migration in Europa. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Frankfurt am Main et al., 2000, pp. 195-204, here p. 199.

from 1963 to 1973 were aged between 16 and 34 years.⁶ Yet, even after the 1973 *Anwerbestopp*, the so-called moratorium on foreign labour recruitment, Greeks continued to move to Germany, mostly as students. At the same time, Greek migrant workers began to return to Greece, attracted by the improving labour market.⁷

In this article, I probe the impact of the travel patterns of the young Greek migrants on their age and national identities, addressing the following questions: Did they travel with elderly members of their family or did they opt for trips with their peers? Moreover, did they mingle with youngsters from other countries on their travels? Did they visit destinations other than their natal areas and did such travel help reinforce or overcome national divisions? If they did form transnational bonds, how did those migrants refer to them? I scrutinise the main travel patterns of first-generation young Greek migrants who resided in West Germany,⁸ a group whose lifestyle, including their travel activities, has hitherto received scant scholarly attention. In contrast to the historiography of the Greek migrants in Belgium, which has also considered their leisure practices, relevant works addressing Greek workers and students in West Germany mainly focus on their education and their employment.⁹ A major exception is the recent monograph of historian Maren Möhring, who looks at the gastronomic cultures of those migrants and their impact on locals¹⁰ residing in West Germany.¹¹

This article wishes to critically interrogate the definition of tourism offered by Arthur John Burkart and Slavoj Medlik, experts at tourism management, according to whom tourism takes place away from the normal place of residence, is of a ‘temporary short

⁶ H.-M., Geck, *Die griechische Arbeitsmigration. Eine Analyse ihrer Ursachen und Wirkungen* (Materialien zur Arbeitsmigration und Ausländerbeschäftigung; 3), Königstein im Taunus 1979, p. 227. Still, I would like to clarify that neither Geck nor the migrants themselves depicted persons between 16 and 34 years old as necessarily young. While the narrators I have interviewed described people up to their late twenties as young, they do not subscribe to a rigid definition of the age limits of youth. Dealing with the latter, at least in this case study, involves a degree of arbitrariness.

⁷ P., Kazakos, *Anamesa se Kratos kai Agora. Oikonomia kai oikonomiki politiki sti metapolemiki Ellada, 1944-2000*, Athens 2001, pp. 320–24.

⁸ While West Berlin was not constitutionally part of the Federal Republic, it was politically closely linked with it. Thus, resonating with what other historians, such as Belinda Davis, have done, I include it when referring to the Federal Republic. See: B., Davis, ‘A Whole World Opening Up. Transcultural Contact, Difference, and the Politicisation of “New Left” activists’, in: B., Davis, W., Mausbach, M., Klimke and C., MacDougall (eds.), *Changing the World, Changing Oneself. Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s*, New York, Oxford, 2010, pp. 255–273, here p. 268.

⁹ For instance: D., Hopf, *Herkunft und Schulbesuch ausländischer Kinder*, Berlin 1987. About Greek migrants in Belgium, see: L., Venturas, *Ellines metanastes sto Velgio*, Athens 1999.

¹⁰ When referring to ‘locals’, I mean West Germans of no (recent) migration background. When using the term ‘Germans’, I include those who were and those who were not of migrant origin, in order to avoid implying that the former could not feel part of West German society.

¹¹ M., Möhring, *Ausländische Gastronomie. Migrantische Unternehmensgründungen, neue Konsumorte und die Internationalisierung der Ernährung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Oldenbourg 2012.

term character, with the intention of returning home within a few days, weeks or months’, and ‘destinations are visited for purposes other than taking up permanent residence or employment remunerated from within the places visited’.¹² This definition says very little about the motivation of the travellers in question: Their travel patterns amounted to a hybrid form of mobility, namely tourism/vacation *plus* other activities, such as overseeing work done in their place of birth.¹³ Moreover, on several occasions, as shown below in detail, such travel was meant to facilitate remigration, namely taking up permanent residence, in contrast with the definition offered by Burkart and Medlik. Actually, the travel patterns of those migrants were no carefree vacation, but, rather, lend support to the argument put forward by historians Ellen Furlough and Shelley Baranowski that researchers should seek the interconnections between vacation and tourism on the one hand and everyday life on the other. In order to capture the complex nature of the mobility of those migrants, this article resonates with the work of a growing number of scholars, who have been studying the interdependencies between migration and tourism.¹⁴ Some of them subscribe to the mobilities paradigm and claim that the ‘social world’ should be ‘theorised as a wide array of economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail and curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas, or information or objects’.¹⁵

In particular, I aim to analyse whether the consideration of the mobility of the migrants in question helps identify new directions for the research on youth cultures, tourism and migration. As historians Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried have aptly remarked, the late 1950s witnessed the emergence of a mass culture ‘which was

¹² A., Burkart, S., Medlik, *Tourism Past, Present and Future*, London 1981. Their definition has been critically interrogated in A. M., Williams and M., Hall, ‘Tourism and Migration: New relationships between production and consumption’, *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, 2.1 (2000), pp. 5-27, here p. 6.

¹³ I wish to clarify that I do not relegate travel to the status of an inferior, superficial type of mobility and elevate tourism to a means of self-improvement. Such a distinction has rather elitist connotations and is predicated on stereotypes about social class, which I reject: according to Furlough and Baranowski, ‘with the onset of mass tourism in the twentieth century and working-class tourists more present and visible, claims for the cultural superiority of “travel” over tourism increased in intensity.’ See: S., Baranowski, E., Furlough, ‘Introduction’, in: S., Baranowski, E. Furlough (eds.), *Being Elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor 2001, pp. 1–31, here p. 2.

¹⁴ For a comprehensive analysis of the diverse ways in which tourism and migration overlap, see: Williams and Hall, ‘Tourism and Migration’. Another example of scholarly work stressing such interconnections is the following: R., Römhild, ‘Practiced Imagination. Tracing Transnational Networks in Crete and Beyond’, *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures 11: Shifting Grounds. Experiments in Doing Fieldwork*, 2002, pp. 159–190, here pp. 179–182.

¹⁵ J., Urry, *Mobilities*, Cambridge 2007, p. 43.

primarily defined by the young age of its proponents and by their particular tastes in music, fashion, hairstyles, political practices, etc.’ They add that ‘post-adolescent’ spaces of freedom had spread throughout Western Europe by the end of the 1970s.¹⁶ Youth tourism was a core component of those youth lifestyles, although, as Schildt has argued convincingly, it ‘has neither been thoroughly researched as an integral part of youth culture nor as part of the burgeoning mass tourism since the 1960s’.¹⁷ In addition, historian Belinda Davis has demonstrated that the youth mobility patterns that emerged in Western Europe at that point, including the informal travel undertaken by left-leaning youth, were among the factors that helped them develop what they described as ‘*Weltoffenheit*’ [opening up to the world]. This resulted in these young travellers adopting ‘ideals and other notions’ that they discovered in the places they visited as well as expressing interest in issues that transcended national borders. According to Davis, they linked a sense of ‘*Weltoffenheit*’ with an excitement stemming from a ‘relatively early break’ with their ‘home’ region’ and the assumption that ‘*nichts wie weg*’ [nothing (is) like getting away]. Still, she warns that similar ‘encounters with ‘difference’ were not necessarily ‘conflict- and pain-free’.¹⁸ Moreover, I wish to address recent scholarly work that regards both migration and youth travel as types of movement that facilitated a process of ‘Europeanisation from below’. In particular, historian Richard Jobs analyses the cross-border travel of ideologically engaged middle-class Western European youth and asserts that ‘the events of that year [1968] marked a turning point in the emergence of a cohort of young people who had come, through travel, to conceive of themselves not merely as members of a particular nation, but as a continent-wide, transnational social group’, which he defines as ‘their own kind of European community’.¹⁹ Similarly, historian Karen Schönwälder makes the hypothesis that intra-European migration in the second half of the 20th century may have also led in this direction. She mentions that ‘it is unlikely that years spent in other European countries, and the encounters spent between Europeans, have been without consequences for people’s knowledge about

¹⁶ A., Schildt, D., Siegfried, ‘Introduction. Youth, Consumption, and Politics in the Age of Radical Change’, in: A., Schildt and D., Siegfried (eds.), *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Culture in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, New York and Oxford 2007, pp. 1–35, here pp. 5–7.

¹⁷ A., Schildt, ‘Across the border: West German Youth Travel to Western Europe’, in: A., Schildt, D., Siegfried (eds.), *Between Marx and Coca Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, New York/Oxford 2006, pp. 149–160, here p. 149.

¹⁸ B., Davis, ‘A Whole World Opening Up’.

¹⁹ R. I., Jobs, ‘Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968’, *The American Historical Review*, 114. 2, 2009, pp. 376–404.

each other, mutual attitudes, and attitudes to European integration'. Proposing a nuanced approach, she adds that the 'migratory' experience may not have been 'predominantly' a 'unifying, pro-European' one, as it reflected and potentially also reinforced divisions within Europe, such as between the labour-recruiting North and labour-exporting South.²⁰

This article is divided into three parts. The first outlines the travel patterns of young Greek migrant workers in the 1960s, showing that, at that point, they cannot be conceptualised as an element of a youth culture, since they aimed at reinforcing family links. Subsequently, the article looks at the diversification of their travel-related lifestyle patterns along age lines that occurred in the 1970s due to the influx of Greek students and the forms of sociality they engaged in. The final section shows that travel increasingly helped young Greek migrants develop a transnational perspective, which they construed through the metaphor of the 'broadening of horizons', which did not, in most cases, challenge their Greek national identity.

The article is based on diverse sources. I have analysed 30 oral testimonies that I gathered from people who were young Greek workers or students in various West German cities in the 1960s and 1970s and whose background differed in terms of social class and gender. I have also considered whether the narrators remigrated or settled permanently in Germany, probing whether this decision may have restructured their memory. I have also taken into account oral testimonies contained in the books of Eleni Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki and of Giorgos Matzouranis as well as on the website of the Goethe Institute and in the online database of the *Lebenswege* [life paths] project.²¹ Although the aforementioned sources have vindicated some of my findings, I have utilised them to a limited extent, since they do not always specify the methodology they use and its potential impact on the content of the narratives they contain. In general, when dealing with oral testimonies, I have not sought a 'representative' sample. Rather, those sources provide an exploration of the range of

²⁰ K., Schönwälder, 'Integration from Below? Migration and European Contemporary History', in: T., Lindenberger, K., Jaraus (eds.), *Conflicted Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, Oxford and New York 2007, pp. 154–163, here p. 158.

²¹ E., Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki, *Lebenswege. Zeugnisse griechischer Einwanderer in Deutschland*, Thessaloniki 2005; Matzouranis, *Ta paidia tou Notou*; <http://www.goethe.de/ins/gr/lp/kul/dug/gid/egb/deindex.htm> (last accessed: 3 June 2014); <http://lebenswege.rlp.de/sonderausstellungen/50-jahre-anwerbeabkommen-deutschland-griechenland/aufwachsen-zwischen-den-kulturen/> (last accessed: 3 June 2014). The latter project is supported by the Ministry for Integration, Family, Children, Youth and Women of the federal state Rheinland-Pfalz of the Federal Republic of Germany.

experiences among Greek migrants in the period under study. Similarly, I have refrained from distilling quantitative data and dates from oral testimonies, since, as Alessandro Portelli aptly remarks, oral testimonies are no guarantee of factual validity.²² In order to find information about the lifestyle practices of the migrants in question that were affected or were shaped by their travel patterns, I have referred to social surveys conducted in West Germany at that point. I have also found some details about the destination and purpose of their travel as well as the means of transportation they used in the minutes of meetings of various Greek associations in West Germany as well as in articles published in *Die Zeit* newspaper. Nevertheless, as is shown below in detail, the Greek migrants usually opted for informally arranged travel and, consequently, the written sources from the Greek associations include only limited information in that regard.

The 1960s: Family visits

The 1960s was a rupture in the history of tourism in West Germany. A rapidly increasing number of people began to engage in tourism. Youngsters served as trendsetters: the percentage of teenager travellers significantly exceeded the national average at that point. As Schildt puts it, this decade was the ‘golden age of youth tourism’. While several young local people from West Germany travelled with their families, cross-border travel of peer groups comprising solely young people became growingly common. These youngsters usually opted for hitch-hiking, while individually-planned, cheap rail travel became an option in 1972, when the Interrail pass was launched.²³ Travel was no terra incognita for young Greek migrants during those years; nevertheless, in contrast with the travel experience of several young locals, it was not an age-specific pursuit. Throughout the 1960s, they solely or mainly travelled in the summer, in a way similar to – and often together with – older compatriots of theirs.

In particular, their destination was their natal areas, which they generally reached by train. In fact, in 1963 the *Hellas-Express* train, which ran from Dortmund to Athens

²² A., Portelli, ‘What makes Oral History different’, in: A., Thomson, R., Perks, (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, New York 2006, pp. 63–74, here p. 36.

²³ Schildt, ‘Across the border’, pp. 153-54. Testament to the spread of youth tourism in West Germany at that point is also the fact that pedagogist increasingly dealt with this phenomenon from the late 1950s onwards. See: J., Reulecke, “‘Mit Hirn, Charme und Methode’”. Zur Ausbildung von Jugendreiseleitern in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren’, *Bildung und Erziehung* 53.2 (2000), pp. 171-182.

through Yugoslavia, was established. The whole trip lasted over two days. In 1967, the *Akropolis* international train service between Munich and Athens, again through Yugoslavia, was launched. Both continued to run until the early 1990s, when they were terminated due to the Yugoslav wars. There is no data available on the number of Greek migrants who travelled to their place of birth while on vacation. Still, a wide array of sources, including the oral testimonies that I have collected, those gathered by Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki, Matzouranis and the Goethe Institute, as well as narratives of Greek migrant workers contained in social surveys conducted in the 1960s, point in the same direction: that these visits constituted a *lifestyle norm* for those migrants: regardless of whether they actually managed to pursue it, they construed such travel every year as a core component of the way in which they had and wanted to behave in relation to their relatives and friends who resided in Greece. Quite tellingly, Marina Kostilinopoulou, a Greek worker in West Germany at that point, mentioned in her testimony, which is included in the database of the Goethe Institute, that ‘we spent every summer in Greece and the kids loved that’; similarly, Elpida Domokou-Tsakiri and Manolis Tsakiris, a married couple who migrated from northern Greece to West Germany at the age of 23 and 31, respectively, narrated that they longed to travel to their place of birth every year.²⁴ Still, crossing the very border of the Greek state was a major problem for those Greek migrants residing in West Germany who were avoiding military service. They could only stay for a brief period of time as well as on special occasions, for instance during elections. Left-wing migrants also faced impediments to travelling to Greece, especially during the 1967–1974 dictatorship. The authoritarian regime stripped several left-wingers of their Greek citizenship by cancelling their passports.²⁵ In his testimony, Stathis Gortynos, who went to West Germany in 1966, aged 25, to work initially in Nuremberg and, subsequently, in Munich, regretted that he did not manage to visit Greece at all during

²⁴ See: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/gr/lp/kul/dug/gid/egb/deindex.htm#7899551> (last accessed: 8 May 2012); Interview with Elpida Domokou-Tsakiri and Manolis Tsakiris, 20 May 2012. Secondary sources that touch upon the issue of the migrant workers’ children that stayed in Greece away from their parents, as mentioned below in more detail, also demonstrate this lifestyle norm. See, for instance: M., Gogos, ‘Big Fat Greek. Versuch über die griechische Diaspora in Deutschland’, in: Institut für Kulturpolitik, ed., *Beheimatung durch Kultur. Kulturorte als Lernorte interkultureller Kompetenz*, Essen 2007, pp. 180-188, here p. 183. Still, it should be stressed that social surveys conducted in West Germany in the 1960s contained brief references, if any, to the cross-border travel patterns of the migrants that resided in that country. Demonstrating a methodological nationalism, they assigned weight to the leisure pursuits of those migrants *within* the West German society.

²⁵ The cancellation of the passports of left-wingers by the dictatorship was also lambasted in a document published by the Greek student association in West Berlin. See: Syllagos Ellinon Foititon kai Epistimonon, *Deltio Kataggelias*, West Berlin 1975. In Yannis Kallipolitis’ possession.

the seven-and-a half-year dictatorship.²⁶ Those migrants who did not manage to travel to their natal areas recall the pain this caused to them. It is quite common for them to specify the number of years that they were able to travel to their country of origin, which they described as a signifier of the difficulties of the migratory experience. As Kostas Piperidis, who moved from northern Greece to West Germany at that point, said, ‘we had to bear up for three years before we were finally able to travel to Greece’.²⁷

This lifestyle norm was not imposed or even facilitated by any institution of the Greek state, but stemmed from the strong ties those migrants maintained with relatives and friends in their place of birth. Both young and elderly migrants construed the visit to their natal areas as a means of reinforcing family links. Their travel can clearly be defined as a VFR one, namely as ‘a form of travel involving a visit whereby either (or both) the purpose of the trip or the type of accommodation involves visiting friends and / or relatives’.²⁸ To borrow a term from sociologist Ludger Pries, such travel helped create ‘transnational social spaces’, namely ‘durable configurations of social practices’ spanning more than one nation-state.²⁹ In the narratives of many of my interviewees, what featured prominently in the description of their first years of migration was the distance from family members who remained in Greece. According to Domokou-Tsakiri and Tsakiris, ‘communication with relatives was very difficult’. ‘You waited for a letter to arrive (...) you visited Munich central station, when Greek migrants were arriving, to find an acquaintance and ask for news from Greece’.³⁰ In contrast with Turkish migrants, most of the Greek workers who were married brought their spouse to West Germany.³¹ Nevertheless, other relatives, however, such as the

²⁶ Interview with Stathis Gortynos, 28 March 2013. Most of the names of the interviewees are pseudonyms.

²⁷ Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki, *Lebenswege*, p. 268.

²⁸ E., Backer, ‘VFR travel- An examination of the expenditures of VFR travellers and their hosts’, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10.4, 2007, pp. 366-377, here p. 369. An issue that awaits further examination is whether friends and relatives of those Greek migrants also visited them in West Germany and whether such trips motivated them to migrate to that country as well.

²⁹ L., Pries, ‘The approach of transnational social spaces. Responding to new configurations of the social and the spatial’, in: L. Pries (ed.), *New Transnational Social Spaces. International Migration and transnational companies in early twenty-first century*, London 2001, pp. 3–33, here p. 5.

³⁰ Interview with Elpida Domokou-Tsakiri and Manolis Tsakiris, 20 May 2012. Moreover, social surveys show that around 50 percent of the migrant workers in West Germany in the 1960s sent letters once a week to their country of origin, although Greeks and Turks did that less often than Spaniards and Italians. See: K., Bingemer, E., Meistermann-Seeger, E., Neubert, *Leben als Gastarbeiter*, Opladen 1970, p. 119. The authors of the latter collected data only from the area of Cologne. However, they claim to have cross-checked their data with analyses referring to other areas of West Germany where migrants resided, maintaining that there are no important discrepancies.

³¹ Bingemer, Meistermann-Seeger, Neubert, *Leben als Gastarbeiter*, p. 117.

parents, usually stayed behind. Moreover, some of those young migrants, such as Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki and Tsakmakis, initially left their children in Greece to be looked after by relatives. The separation from offspring is addressed particularly in the oral testimonies of women of all ages, pointing to the importance of motherhood as a core component of their identity. As one narrator, 'Eleni', mentioned to Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki, 'I suffered whenever I saw mothers playing with their children [in Germany] because I could only see mine during short holidays in Greece'.³²

The encounters with relatives and other people back in their natal areas did not always go smoothly, however. Many of my interviewees complained that they were treated as 'foreigners' by some of the people who continued to live there. Grigoris Parakampos, who was a young worker residing in West Berlin in the 1970s, provides a stark example: 'They called us "Lazogermanoi"'.³³ The latter is a pejorative term that addresses those Greek migrants in Germany whose origins are in the Black Sea (*Pontos*) and who were lambasted for being too integrated into German society. Nevertheless, as Parakampos' narrative indicates, this term may have been used for Greek migrants in general, regardless of their origin. However, Greek migrants were also critical of what they viewed as the mentality of their compatriots who still lived in Greece. At least some of them argued, even in the 1960s, that Germans were better than Greeks in terms of 'punctuality', 'discipline' and 'cleanliness'. Without necessarily renouncing their Greek national identity, those migrants stressed that they got used to 'German standards', adding that those staying in their country of origin lagged behind.³⁴

In any case, such travel was also indelibly linked with the regime of consumption that reigned supreme among those migrants at that point, which I would like to depict as 'remigration-focused'. The available social surveys on their leisure practices show

³² Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki, *Lebenswege*, p. 239.

³³ Interview with Grigoris Parakampos, 11 November 2012. A similar sense of disillusionment is captured in the testimonies of first-generation migrants collected by Giorgos Matzouranis, who narrated to him that 'we were "guest workers" in Germany and Germans in Greece'. See: Matzouranis, *Ta paidia tou Notou*, pp. 143-154.

³⁴ For instance, Nikos Pladas went to West Germany in 1970 as a young worker and remigrated to Greece in 1975. He narrated that, after his stay in the former country, he found it very challenging to put up with behavior patterns he argued that he had encountered in the latter, such as 'greed for money'. His narration is contained in: Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki, *Lebenswege*, pp. 315-321.

that they tried to save as much as possible.³⁵ Their motivation was not an ascetic ideal of frugality, but, rather, linked to two factors: the remittances they sent to their relatives in Greece as well as their intention to remigrate.³⁶ According to sociologist Klaus Unger, they contemplated returning to Greece throughout their time in West Germany; upon remigration, they used their savings in order, among others, to buy a home, furnish it as well as establish their own business.³⁷ However, some of them, regardless of age, started channelling money in this direction prior to remigration. In this vein, they began to build houses in their natal areas or elsewhere in Greece. Thus, when visiting during the summer, they worked on the construction of their home, which they also fitted out with appliances that they had brought from West Germany. Such activities were certainly demanding and consumed most of their time. Quite interestingly, in most testimonies, Greek migrants made contradictory statements as to whether they viewed such visits as ‘vacation’. Some workers, for instance, saw them as ‘holidays’, understood as time apart from job-related tasks in Germany. Yet, they also juxtaposed their stay in Greece in the 1960s-1970s with an image of ‘carefree vacation’. Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki asserted that ‘we did not go there to swim, as we do now (...) we got really anxious (about accomplishing those works), we exhausted ourselves, but we were young and stronger’.³⁸ They consciously shaped their vacation in such a way that it prefigured what they hoped would be their everyday life upon remigration.

³⁵ J., Wagner, *Studie zur sozialen und beruflichen Situation ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik*, Frankfurt am Main 1973, p. 158. This survey is based on results harvested from both questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, namely ones that are not based on a rigorous set of questions. Although this survey was conducted in the early 1970s, it mentions that there was no change in the attitude of Greek migrants in this respect in comparison to the preceding years. Moreover, the survey of Franz Kilzer also indicated the importance of saving for migrant workers. He shows that the third most important factor for return migration was that the migrants had managed to collect the money they had planned [*‘Sparziele erreicht’*]. In particular, 33.8 percent of those migrant workers remigrated due to this reason. See: F., Kilzer, in collaboration with S., Papatthemelis, *Remigration und Reintegration griechischer Gastarbeiter*, Bielefeld 1984, p. 67. Kilzer’s survey is based on the questionnaires completed by 626 former migrant workers in West Germany - 37.9 percent of whom were women - who had remigrated both to urban centres and rural areas in Greece.

³⁶ From 1955 to 1982, Greek remittances (in general) represented around 4-5 percent of the Gross National Income. See: C., Kasimis, L., Venturas, D., Ziomas, ‘Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe. Executive summary: Greece’, April 2012, p. 2. This document was commissioned by the European Commission. According to Nicholas Glytsos, those remittances covered about one third of Greece’s trade deficit during the 1960s. See: N. P., Glytsos, ‘Measuring the income effects of migrant remittances: a methodological approach applied to Greece’, *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 42.1, 1993, pp. 131–168.

³⁷ K., Unger, ‘Migration und Regionalstruktur in Griechenland’, in: H., Körner, M., Werth (eds.), *Rueckwanderung und Reintegration von ausländischen Arbeitnehmern in Europa*, Saarbrücken/Fort Lauderdale 1981, pp. 19–48, here p. 35. Unger examined Greeks who remigrated in the early 1980s, having migrated in the preceding decades.

³⁸ Interview with Elpida Domokou-Tsakiri and Manolis Tsakiris, 20 May 2012.

Even though Greek migrants experienced such travel as a means of reuniting themselves with their families, friends and acquaintances from West Germany were not unwelcome. In this vein, already in 1962 the newspaper *Die Zeit* reported that local people from West Germany had begun to informally arrange excursions to destinations in southern Europe, such as in Greece, Italy and Turkey, where they were invited by migrant workers.³⁹ Since it was not uncommon for Greek migrants to get married to local people from the Federal Republic of Germany, some migrants have also narrated that they visited their parents in Greece with their intended spouse.⁴⁰ Such joint excursions, however, did not necessarily eliminate national boundaries among the travellers. In inviting local friends or partners of theirs, who came from West Germany, it seems that at least some of the Greek migrants, again regardless of their age, wished to demonstrate ‘hospitality’ as a quintessential aspect of their national identity. For instance, Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki narrated that ‘we had given our address (in Greece) to some of our colleagues, they visited us, we hosted them, Greeks are hospitable (...) we treat our hosts as though they were kings’.⁴¹

One more travel pattern that Greek migrants developed, again regardless of age, was travel within West Germany, which was arranged by the Greek communities. The latter multiplied from the early 1960s onwards in locations where Greek migrants lived. Such communities were founded, for instance, in Frankfurt (1964) and West Berlin (1964).⁴² The Greek community of Hannover and its hinterland, for instance, organised one-day excursions to nearby locations, such as one to Hamburg in 1963.⁴³ Those trips, however, complemented travel to Greece: the activities in which the travellers engaged revolved around what the migrants signified as ‘Greek customs’, such as ‘Greek dances’.

³⁹ ‘Gast beim Gastarbeiter’, *Zeit*, 7 December 1962, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Delidimitriou, *Lebenswege*, p. 329.

⁴¹ Interview with Elpida Domokou-Tsakiri and Manolis Tsakiris, 20 May 2012. Actually, interviewees, including Tsakiris and Domokou-Tsakiri, usually equated this hospitality with carefully preparing and serving copious quantities of food. They stressed that they did those for ‘free’, which they juxtaposed with what they described as the tight-fisted comportment of their German colleagues and friends. According to Domokou-Tsakiri, ‘you asked them for a cigarette and they gave you one only if you paid them 10 pfennigs!’

⁴² Announcement of the creation of the Greek community in West Berlin, 17 August 1964, Archive of the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg (hereafter FZH), Gemeinde der Griechen in Hamburg e.V. 1961–64. About the history of the Greek community in Frankfurt, see the information posted on their webpage: <http://www.ggfu-frankfurt.de/index.php/geschichte.html>, respectively (last visited: 17 January 2014).

⁴³ Letter of the Greek Community of Hannover and its outskirts to that of Hamburg and its outskirts, Hannover, 22 July 1963, FZH, Gemeinde der Griechen in Hamburg e.V. 1961–64.

One way or another, travel did not serve for the young Greek migrants as a crucible for the forging of a youth lifestyle during the 1960s. As in the case of their elderly compatriots, it involved sustaining family links and prefiguring their intended remigration.

The 1970s: An era of diversification in terms of age

As the 1970s dawned, summer travel to Greece continued to be a lifestyle norm for Greek migrants. However, their lifestyle, including their travel patterns, was not a static category. A significant development that contributed to its diversification was the growing influx of young migrant students from Greece to West Germany from the 1970s onwards.

In general, the number of Greek university students abroad - Italy, France, the UK and West Germany were their countries of choice - rose significantly in the 1970s: from 9,985 in 1970 to 29,480 in 1975 and 39,786 in 1980. The majority of such students were graduates: numbering 7,944 in 1970 and 32,111 in 1980; still, the figure of Greeks who chose to pursue their undergraduate studies abroad also increased from 1,349 in 1970 to 5,961 in 1980.⁴⁴ During the 1970s, at least according to sociologist and political scientist Ilias Katsoulis, there were more than 6,000 Greek undergraduate and graduate students in West Germany.⁴⁵ Migrant workers and students differed in many respects. As political scientist Yannis Voulgaris points out, the migration of the former was the outcome of times of hardship, while the latter left thanks to growing prosperity.⁴⁶ By the end of the 1960s, the Greek economy had substantially improved: The gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate from 1960 to 1972, prior to the 1973 oil crisis, was 7.4 per cent on average.⁴⁷ The spending patterns of the two groups also differed: While migrant workers sent remittances to their relatives back in Greece, Greek students abroad received money from their families to cover their living expenses.⁴⁸ This support was essential as in West Germany, for

⁴⁴ A., Hadjiyanni, 'Youth', in: D., Charalambis, L., Maratou-Alipranti, A., Hadjiyanni, *Recent Social Trends in Greece 1960–2000*, Quebec 2004, pp. 54–60, here p. 60.

⁴⁵ I., Katsoulis, 'Demokraten gegen Obristen, Griechen in Deutschland', in: W., Schultheiß, E., Chrysos (eds.), *Meilensteine deutsch-griechischer Beziehungen*, Athens 2010, pp. 291–298, here p. 291.

⁴⁶ Y., Voulgaris, *I Ellada tis Metapolitefsis, 1974–1990*, Athens 2002, pp. 124–125.

⁴⁷ Kazakos, *Anamesa se Kratos kai Agora*, pp. 268–269.

⁴⁸ According to data published by the Bank of Greece, US\$19,393,000 were sent to Greek students abroad from people and institutions in Greece in 1971, a figure which reached \$88,238,000 in 1979.

example, there were clear legal restrictions on the right of ‘foreign’ students to work; unless they received a scholarship from the host society or their country of origin, they had to rely on the financial support of their family.⁴⁹ Due to those differences, some of the former students said in their testimonies that they did not see themselves as ‘migrants’. Still, those workers and students tended to mingle in various settings, especially Greek tavernas and community [*Gemeinde*] halls.⁵⁰ Thus, it would appear that these were two overlapping, and not distinct, categories.

The diversity of Greek migrants in West Germany was reflected in their attitudes towards travel. From the 1970s onwards, it is apparent that the pursuits of Greek university students in West Germany were becoming increasingly distinct from those of their compatriot workers. Oral testimonies, according to oral historian Alessandro Portelli, encompass the ‘horizon of shared possibilities’ that the interviewees entertained; in this case, they provide a clear indication of the range of the travel activities, in which migrant students engaged.⁵¹ In particular, summer trips to their natal areas continued to feature prominently in the schedules of both categories, as suggested by their oral testimonies.⁵² However, Greek students in West Germany were less committed than Greek migrant workers to summer travel to Greece to reinforce family links, in a development that opened up opportunities for a broader repertoire of travel patterns. Besides such trips, these students went on non-VFR excursions to various European locations, including Greece, provided they could afford to. Although relevant quantitative data is not available, some of the destinations mentioned in the oral testimonies were Spain, Austria and France.⁵³ According to the 1974 and 1977 *Reiseanalysen*, namely analyses of the vacation trends of young

This capital outflow was classified in the statistics of the central bank under the category of ‘foreign travel’. The total capital outflow from Greece due to ‘foreign travel’ in 1971 and 1979 was \$73,655,000 and \$302,391,000, respectively. By contrast, in 1971 Greek workers abroad sent remittances to the total value of \$344,559,000 and \$1,168,222,000 in 1971 and 1979, respectively. See: Bank of Greece, Monthly Statistical Bulletin, volume XLV, November-December 1980, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁹ Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, *Der ausländische Student in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 1977, p. 32. This issue was also addressed by political organisations of Greek students in West Germany. See, for instance: ‘Programma Drasis tis Panspoudastikis s.k.’, without date, apparently mid-to-late 1970s; ‘Theseis tis AASPE gia tis ekloges stous foititikous syllogous sti D. Germania kai D. Verolino’, 10 November 1976. These sources are kept by Yannis Kallipolitis.

⁵⁰ N., Papadogiannis, ‘A (trans)national emotional community? Greek political songs and the politicisation of Greek migrants in West Germany in the 1960s and early 1970s’, *Contemporary European History*, forthcoming December 2014.

⁵¹ A., Portelli, *The battle of Valle Giulia. Oral History and the art of dialogue*, Madison, 1997, p. 88.

⁵² For instance: Interview with Grigoris Asimatos, 30 July 2013; Interview with Aspasia Frangou, 27 March 2013. Both were students in West Berlin in the early 1970s.

⁵³ I should stress again that this is nothing more than an indication, since, as already mentioned in the introduction, in selecting the interviewees, I did not aim at finding a representative sample.

people from West Germany published by the *Studienkreis für Tourismus* [Tourism Study Group]⁵⁴, these were actually among the most popular cross-border travel destinations of young people from West Germany.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, spending time in tourist resorts instead of their natal areas also began to gain momentum among migrant university students. Yorgos Kallidromitis, a university student who has lived in (West) Berlin since the 1970s and was at that point a member of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece [*Epanastatiko Kommounistiko Kinima Elladas*, EKKE], narrated that ‘from 1975 the young members of the Party travelled together, we visited Chalkidiki, Samothraki, we camped together; at night we used to sing together as a group of friends’.⁵⁶

Travelling to destinations outside of West Germany and their natal areas in Greece were not totally alien to Greek migrant workers in the 1960s. For instance, some members, young and old, of the branches of the Greek Left that were active in West Germany, which were rather influential among migrants, visited Eastern European countries and the USSR in the 1960s both to establish political links with the regimes of those countries and for leisure.⁵⁷ However, in their narratives, these migrants were steadfast that these trips were an ‘exception’ to the general lifestyle norm that dominated the travel culture of the Greek migrants in West Germany at the time.⁵⁸ In their testimonies, on the other hand, students explained without hesitation how these visits were a core component of their travel patterns during those years.

A further aspect of this diversification of travel-related norms of the migrants in question was associated with the shifting transport cultures of the students. The latter increasingly became acquainted with the staples of youth mobility of the 1960s and 1970s: hitch-hiking and Interrail. The former was particularly popular for some of them at least, functioning as a means to distinguish themselves from the workers. Young working Greeks in West Germany in the 1960s and the 1970s were routinely

⁵⁴ An institute, established in 1961, that conducted research on tourism from a social science perspective.

⁵⁵ Information on the destination of what the informants described as their ‘main vacation’ in 1974 as well as differentiation according to gender, age and education status can be found in: *Reiseanalyse 1974, Urlaubsreisen 1974, Tabellenband I*, pp. 34–37. Relevant information for 1977 can be retrieved in: *Reiseanalyse 1974, Urlaubsreisen 1977, Berichtsband*, pp. 55–56. I have found both volumes in the Historical Archive on Tourism in Berlin.

⁵⁶ Interview with Yorgos Kallidromitis, 23 January and 22 October 2013.

⁵⁷ In fact, according to a *Verfassungsschutz* [Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution] report in 1974, 2,200 of them were affiliated with Greek ‘orthodox’ Communist organisations. Support for the wide array of associations in West Germany linked with these groups declined during the period, from 19,000 in 1971, to 14,000 in 1973 and 9,150 in 1974.

⁵⁸ For instance, interview with Stathis Gortynos, 28 March 2013.

dismissive of such activity in their oral testimonies. One, Gortynos, recounted: ‘this [hitchhiking] was trendy among students and pupils (...) I admit, I was negatively inclined towards it’.⁵⁹ By contrast, Dimitris Katsantonis, who has lived in Munich, Mannheim and Heidelberg since the 1960s, narrated that ‘I engaged in hitchhiking’, contrasting this to the travel patterns of the workers, who, in his view, ‘were more conservative’.⁶⁰

Some of the Greek students were clearly influenced by the travel patterns of ‘alternative’ locals. The latter pitted themselves against mass tourism, used cheap means of transportation and accommodation and, in cases, visited radical land communes and squats while on holidays abroad in the 1970s.⁶¹ A case in point is Teos Romvos. He studied cinema in Paris from 1966 to 1969 and subsequently moved to Frankfurt and Munich, where he also attended a school and became a camera operator. He participated in the 1968 protests and continues to subscribe to anti-authoritarianism. Influenced by literary works promoting ‘freedom from work ethics’, such as the books of Jörg Fauser, who was a friend of his, he wandered around the world for many years. He construed hitchhiking as a core element of his lifestyle.⁶² Drawing on this experience, he wrote articles and compilations of short stories, such as *Tria Feggaria stin plateia* [Three moons in the square], first published in 1985. An article, which he co-authored in 1980, provides hints on how to spend less on tickets and accommodation by being hosted by anarchists and feminists as well as on how to finance trips by playing music or writing on a piece of paper that ‘I have run out of money’.⁶³ However, other Greek students who enjoyed hitch-hiking, such as Katsantonis, did not share these ‘alternative’ views on travel; as in the case of young locals, ‘alternative’ travel should not be construed as a metonymy for youth tourism at this point.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Interview with Dimitris Katsantonis, 17 February 2013.

⁶¹ A., Bertsch, ‘Alternative (in) Bewegung. Distinktion und transnationale Vergemeinschaftung im alternative Tourismus’, in: S., Reichardt, D., Siegfried (eds.), *Das Alternative Milieu. Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983*, Göttingen 2010, pp. 115–130. Historian Massimo Perinelli and anthropologist Manuela Bojadžijev argue that ‘alternative’ Germans and Greek migrants mingled in some Greek tavernas. See: M., Bojadžijev and M., Perinelli, ‘Die Herausforderung der Migration. Migrantische Lebenswelten in der Bundesrepublik in den siebzigen Jahren’, in: S., Reichardt, D., Siegfried (eds.), *Das Alternative Milieu. Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968-1983*, Göttingen 2010, p. 141. However, the contact between those groups and its impact on both sides requires further examination.

⁶² Interview with Teos Romvos, 17 October 2013.

⁶³ The article appeared in the magazine *Trypa* [hole], which he published. Three issues of *Trypa* circulated in the early 1980s, mostly in Greece.

The differing forms of sociality of workers and students played the most important role in the diversification of their attitudes towards travel. The latter were influenced by networks and institutions that promoted youth tourism. Kallidromitis recalled that ‘we booked tickets at a location opposite the TU [Technical University] and we went to Spain (...) we benefitted from student offers’.⁶⁴ Similarly, Fanis Varelopoulos, who was born to Greek parents in Istanbul and studied in Stuttgart in the 1970s, recounted that he participated in an excursion organised by the General Students’ Committee [*Allgemeiner Studierendenausschuss*, AStA] to Salzburg in Austria.⁶⁵ Moreover, some Greek students in West Germany maintained links with high-school friends who were studying in other Western European countries. It was not unusual for them to visit the locations where the latter studied. As Costas Grigorakos, who was born in a village in central Greece, moved to West Germany in 1974, initially to Nuremberg and then to Munich, where he still lives, narrated, ‘two of my old schoolmates – we had attended the same high school – worked in Rome (and) I stayed at their place’.⁶⁶ The financial circumstances of those students, as already mentioned, also provided them with the opportunity to avoid the restrictive spending patterns of Greek migrant workers in West Germany. As a result, they felt free to indulge in activities that Greek workers in West Germany regarded as incompatible with their target to make savings, such as travel beyond Greece. In this vein, some of those migrant students narrated that they travelled by Interrail for several weeks, relying only or mostly on the financial support of their family in Greece.⁶⁷

Still, similarities in the travel activities of students and young workers should not be underestimated. For instance, Parakampos narrated that in the early 1970s he was in

⁶⁴ Interview with Yorgos Kallidromitis, 23 January and 22 October 2013.

⁶⁵ Interview with Fanis Varelopoulos, 20 March 2013. Similarly, publications of Greek students in the UK show that they were familiar with youth travel concessions offered by the National Union of Students (NUS) at that point there. See: ‘Taxideyontas’, *Dimokratikos Agonas Londinou*, November 1976, pp. A22-23. The magazine was published by a group of left-wing Greek students in London. Transnational student exchange also facilitated their tourist visits to destinations beyond West Germany and Greece. As Jannis Stafanakis narrated, while studying in West Germany, he also secured funding from the Italian government to study the Italian language in the early 1970s. Apparently, during such exchange programs, migrant students did not spend all their time in the classroom, but also took the opportunity to visit sights. However, the issue requires further examination. The oral testimony of Stefanakis is accessible here: <http://lebenswege.rlp.de/sonderausstellungen/50-jahre-anwerbeabkommen-deutschland-griechenland/aufwachsen-zwischen-den-kulturen/> (last accessed: 4 June 2014).

⁶⁶ Interview with Costas Grigorakos, 20 February 2013.

⁶⁷ It should be stressed that neither the oral testimonies nor the surveys indicate that they opted for what they would consider to be ‘lavishness’ during their holiday.

contact with four female pen pals, from the UK, France, Denmark and Sweden. At one point, he decided to visit the British one and travelled to a location near London by train and ferry. During his trip, he encountered and got to know a group of local young men and women from West Germany. ‘They were those people who travelled by train and had backpacks,’ he recounted. ‘We loved the same music, the Beatles, this brought us together’. For him, this wasn’t a superficial encounter that merely complemented his annual travel to Greece: ‘I found a lifestyle that I really liked in meeting them’.⁶⁸

Did, then, the 1970s signal the era when young Greek migrants became accustomed to a youth culture that had been spreading in West Germany since the late 1950s, through which young locals distinguished their lifestyle from that of their parents? The assumption that there was such a time lag may be misplaced, especially when one considers their music and dancing pursuits. Even in the 1960s, there were some Greek young workers, especially men, who liked to dance to Anglo–American popular music in dance halls, discotheques or parties in private apartments. Lefteris Mataoglou, who comes from the northern Greek town of Veria and who briefly worked in Bamberg in the mid-1960s, narrated that ‘we met [local] young women there (at the dance halls), we asked them, “Fraulein, Tanz? [Miss, dance?]”’.⁶⁹ This trend perpetuated in the 1970s. Parakampos recounted that ‘at parties we listened to the English songs (...) we were boys, we also frequented German discotheques, we had German girlfriends’.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, hardly any female worker migrant narrated that she visited a dance hall by herself and invited a man to dance with her. Gender is one factor that complicates distinguishing Greek migrant leisure activities, including music tastes and travel, during the 1960s and 1970s along worker/student lines. In this vein, Greek migrants did not regard it as legitimate for women, especially those who were single, to travel, regardless of the destination, unless they were escorted by a male relative of theirs. This attitude, however, was challenged by West German women’s initiatives, such as

⁶⁸ Interview with Grigoris Parakampos, 11 November 2012.

⁶⁹ Interview with Lefteris Mataoglou, 8 August 2012.

⁷⁰ Interview with Grigoris Parakampos, 11 November 2012. However, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, their leisure activities did not revolve solely around youth lifestyles. Greek national, as well as regional identities were of paramount importance for them. They performed them through singing and dancing to Greek popular and folk music at events in the relevant associations. Such gatherings brought together Greek migrants of different age groups. Thus, their performance of youth identities was situated in particular settings. See Papadogiannis, ‘A (trans)national emotional community?’.

the evangelical *Verein für Internationale Jugendarbeit – Arbeitsgemeinschaft Christlicher Frauen* [Association for the International Youth Work – Group of Christian Women], which is associated with the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). Indeed, in its work with Greek female migrants, the *Verein* collaborated with its Greek branch, the Christian Union of Young Women [*Hristianiki Enosi Neanidon*]. This initiative was run both by migrant and local women.⁷¹ The *Verein* actually organised excursions within West Germany, addressing and including only women.⁷² Still, bias against women travelling unchaperoned did not disappear overnight: Theodosia Karamanopoulou-Thielmann came with her parents to West Germany in the late 1960s; they worked there, while she studied in Münster and Bielefeld in the early 1970s. As she recalls, ‘my parents would not let me travel by Interrail’.⁷³

In any case, as the 1970s progressed, young Greek migrants, students and some workers increasingly opted for age-specific travel patterns, without severing their ties with their elderly compatriots.

‘Nichts wie weg’?

Youth tourism, as Schildt has aptly remarked, has been crucial in the shaping of the perceptions of the ‘self’ and of the ‘foreign’ among youngsters.⁷⁴ This applied both to young locals and migrants in West Germany. In fact, as the 1970s progressed, the latter were increasingly affected by developments that took place in the Federal Republic of Germany, which propelled into the limelight the issue whether they would reside permanently there, which also made them reflect on how their attachment to both their country of origin as well as the host society. According to historian Rita Chin, from the late 1970s, the West German state ‘first acknowledged the continuing presence of over two million foreigners and initiated a formal policy of “integration”’.⁷⁵ This shift arrived at a point when Greeks living in West Germany

⁷¹ The issue whether those initiatives were influenced, even indirectly, by the second-wave of Feminism, which flourished at that point in West Germany and elsewhere in the ‘West’, certainly merits further exploration.

⁷² H., Braun, L., Kladou, ‘Griechische Frauenarbeit des Vereins für Internationale Jugendarbeit. Berichte, Frankfurt am Main, 23.9.1981’, *Dokumentation. Ein Informationsdienst*, 8 Februar 1982, p. 30.

⁷³ Interview with Theodosia Karamanopoulou-Thielmann, 4 February 2013.

⁷⁴ Schildt, ‘Across the border’, p. 151.

⁷⁵ R., Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 10–11.

were becoming increasingly uncertain about whether they would remain: although a substantial part of them remigrated, as mentioned above, some used the money they had accumulated as workers to set up their own business in Germany, usually linked with gastronomy.⁷⁶ Regardless of whether they considered remigration or long-term residence in West Germany, the young migrants found themselves caught in what sociologist Peggy Levitt and anthropologist Nina Glick-Schiller have labeled a condition of simultaneity: their ‘transnational migration experience’ was ‘a kind of gauge, which while anchored, pivots between a host land and transnational connections’.⁷⁷ Oral testimonies are rather revealing in this sense: regardless of whether they opted for return migration or not, the testimonies of narrators who were students or young workers in the 1970s demonstrate that cross-national encounters and travel not only to their place of birth, but also beyond Greece actually reinforced their Greek national identity. Therefore, the analytical concept of ‘integration’, which presupposes adaptation to the norms of the host society, is too narrow to describe either their main motivation for travelling or the outcome of their excursions from that point onwards.⁷⁸

As mentioned in the previous section, VFR travel continued to figure prominently throughout the 1970s in the mobility pattern of young Greek migrants residing in West Germany, strengthening their attachment to what they depicted as their ‘origins’. As Parakampos narrated, ‘we had the desire to go to the places, where we were born’, deploring that ‘once didn’t manage to travel to Greece for five years. I couldn’t even find my way home!’⁷⁹ When referring to ‘origins’, they construed them in two overlapping ways: from the perspective of both Greek national and sub-national, local identities. Repeated travel to their place of origin in the summer vindicated both. As Grigorakos stated: ‘I first travelled [from West Germany] to

⁷⁶ Actually, the proportion of those Greek migrants who owned their own business rose from 2,1 percent of their total population in 1974 to 10,8 percent in 1983. See: Möhring, *Ausländische Gastronomie*, p. 394.

⁷⁷ P., Levitt, N., Glick-Schiller, ‘Conceptualising Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society’, *International Migration Review* 38.3, 2004, pp. 1002–1039, here p. 1003.

⁷⁸ On critical approaches to ‘integration’, see: S., Hess and J., Moser, ‘Jenseits der Integration. Kulturwissenschaftliche Betrachtungen einer Debatte’, in: S., Hess, J., Binder, J., Moser (eds.), *No Integration?! Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Integrationsdebatte in Europa*, Bielefeld 2009, pp. 11–25.

⁷⁹ Interview with Grigoris Parakampos, 11 November 2012.

Greece in the summer’. Later in the interview, he added that ‘when I refer to Greece, I really mean the village where I come from, even today’.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, Greek migrant students and some young workers, who opted for cross-border travel beyond Greece, viewed it as a means of edification. Kallidromitis narrated that ‘my best vacations ever were to Spain. We visited museums, the place where El Greco was born, the oldest university of Europe’.⁸¹ Kostas Papadopoulos, who studied in Bonn in the early 1980s, recalled that, when travelling by Interrail through Western and Eastern Europe, he ‘was a happy man, my eyes were satiated all day and night at the sight of new locations’.⁸² Various young Greek migrants in the 1970s, regardless of their political orientation, described such travel as ‘broadening their horizons’.⁸³ Still, this was not a synonym of the ‘*Weltoffenheit*’ that young locals who were involved in the protest movements of the late 1960s had developed also through travel. In contrast with them, young Greek migrants of differing political orientation did not embrace the assumption of ‘*nichts wie weg*’ [nothing (is) like getting away].⁸⁴

Indeed, some Greek anti-authoritarian students in West Germany, such as Romvos, shared no particular desire to return or visit their place of birth in Greece. As already mentioned, he travelled around various countries, such as Zaire⁸⁵ and India, for many years.⁸⁶ Still, the appeal of anti-authoritarianism among the migrants in question, at least in the early-to-mid-1970s, was negligible.⁸⁷ The travels of other young Greek migrants, politicised or not, even to destinations beyond West Germany and their natal areas did not challenge, but, actually, reinforced their Greek national and, in some cases, also their sub-national local identity. A telling case is the association of Greeks from the northern Greek region of Epirus who lived in Stuttgart. This group

⁸⁰ Interview with Costas Grigorakos, 20 February 2013.

⁸¹ Interview with Yorgos Kallidromitis, 23 January and 22 October 2013.

⁸² Interview with Kostas Papadopoulos, 17 December 2012.

⁸³ For instance, interview with Yorgos Kallidromitis, 23 January and 22 October 2013.

⁸⁴ Davis, ‘A Whole World’, p. 262.

⁸⁵ This was the official name of the Democratic Republic of Congo between 1971 and 1997.

⁸⁶ Interview with Teos Romvos, 17 October 2013. In contrast with the oral testimonies I have harvested and the publications of Greek associations in West Germany at that point, the article he co-authored in *Trypa* contains the only reference to the metaphor ‘opening up’ through travel, which resembles the term ‘*Weltoffenheit*’ used by left-wing locals. See: T. Romvos, ‘Open Up’, *Trypa*, June 1980, pp. 18–20; Max, ‘To na taxideyeis einai anthropino, to na taxideyeis tsampa theio’, *Trypa*, June 1980, pp. 24–25. The latter was based on data provided by Romvos as well.

⁸⁷ For instance, the *Verfassungsschutz* report of 1974 does not refer to ‘anti-authoritarianism’, but lists ‘spontaneism’ and ‘anarchism’ as ideological currents that attracted limited support among locals. By contrast, these labels do not surface in its description of the ideological landscape of Greek migrants.

addressed young people in particular. From the late 1970s, it organised excursions to various locations beyond Greece and West Germany, such as Belgium, Austria and Hungary. However, expressing some anxiety, the association stressed that one of its main aims was to ‘protect’ those youngsters from a ‘foreign way of life’ and secure their link to the ‘fatherland’, referring both to Greece in general and Epirus in particular. Thus, the association encouraged its members to engage in practices it described as ‘Greek’ or Epirus’ customs, such as to sing folk songs, even when travelling to the above mentioned destinations.⁸⁸ Maintaining such an affinity was not merely the aim of some Greek associations; several young Greek migrants also felt this need due to their travel patterns. Papadopoulos, who travelled by Interrail through Western and Eastern Europe in the early 1980s, described the journey as a mind-opening experience, adding, however, that since he had not worked in these countries, his knowledge of the local people remained limited. Nevertheless, he asserted that he would not be able to settle permanently in any of these places; he considered and still regards Greece as the only country where he can live and work.⁸⁹ Kallidromitis, who finally opted to stay permanently in (West) Berlin, did not grow less attached to his country of origin due to his travel patterns, either. He first visited Spain in the 1970s and claimed that what he found striking during this excursion was the common ground, in his view, between what he defined as ‘Mediterranean’ people. Referring to the Greeks and Spaniards, he said: ‘Mediterranean people are distinct, they are more sensitive, but also more cunning’. Kallidromitis still views Greece as his ‘motherland’ and he often travels there as well as to other destinations in southern Europe, especially in Spain. He also narrated that, when he is overwhelmed by stress, he tries to think about time spent on holiday in the south. In this sense, his excursions to Spain complemented his travels to Greece, making him feel part of an imagined community of people living around the Mediterranean.⁹⁰ In general, to appropriate a concept introduced by historian Rüdiger Hachtmann, tourism functioned as a ‘mirror’⁹¹ both for those young Greek migrants who decided to prolong their stay in West Germany

⁸⁸ C., Tsilis (ed.), *Istoria kai Drasi tou Epirotikou Syllogou Stoutgardis*, 1996, pp. 10–11.

⁸⁹ Interview with Kostas Papadopoulos, 17 December 2012.

⁹⁰ Interview with Yorgos Kallidromitis, 23 January and 22 October 2013.

⁹¹ Hachtmann defines this function of tourism in many ways: as reflecting economic, cultural and political structure, technological changes as well as distinction in terms of gender, class, education, age, religion, family condition, political orientation and national identity. In this article, I employ it in terms of culture, understood in this context as representations of the migratory experience, and national identity. See: R., Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, Göttingen 2007, pp. 172–183.

and those who opted for remigration: when reflecting on the locations they visited beyond West Germany and Greece, they compared them with both their host societies and natal areas, expressing their attachment to the latter. Thus, in ‘broadening their horizons’, young Greek migrant workers and students simultaneously reproduced classifications of locations and people in Europe along national and regional lines. In this vein, rather than developing a feeling of common belonging to a European community, they reproduced the sense of a North–South divide in Europe.

Moreover, numerous testimonies attest to the fact that such travel was also an opportunity for Greek migrants in general to test bonds they had established where they lived. Similar to the 1960s, mingling with locals was not uncommon among Greek migrant workers. As social surveys from the early 1970s demonstrate, although 57 percent of Greek migrants said they socialised only with their compatriots, a significant 28 percent said they mingled with both compatriots and locals.⁹² Young workers and students did not differ in this respect: they also sometimes travelled with non-Greek friends and acquaintances to their natal areas and other destinations in Europe. Their peer groups contained not only young locals from West Germany, but also other migrants. As Grigorakos narrated, ‘I travelled with a female friend from Sweden and a male from [West] Germany up to Brindisi [in Italy]’.⁹³ Again, they often tried to demonstrate to their non-Greek fellow travellers a number of activities that they linked with their country of origin. Parakamos recounted that ‘I told them that, in Greece, we eat chicken using only our hands (...)’.⁹⁴ In addition, when visiting Greece with young locals and migrants from other countries, they continued to measure this against a standard of ‘hospitality’ that they viewed as a quintessential aspect of their ‘Greekness’.⁹⁵

The perceptions of the ‘self’ and of the ‘foreign’ of Greek migrants in West Germany would soon become more complicated: In the early 1980s, young Greeks who had been born in West Germany, the so-called ‘second generation’ of migrants, also began to travel. According to anthropologist Regina Römhild, those migrants established ‘new connections apart from both their parents’ culture and German culture’.⁹⁶ In

⁹² J., Wagner, *Studie zur sozialen und beruflichen Situation ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik*, Frankfurt am Main 1973, p. 165.

⁹³ Interview with Costas Grigorakos, 20 February 2013.

⁹⁴ Interview with Grigoris Parakamos, 11 November 2012.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Römhild, ‘Practised Imagination’, p. 163.

order to probe a potential link between such endeavours of second-generation migrants and their travel patterns, further examination is required, however.⁹⁷

Conclusion

This article explores the travel norms and practices of young first-generation Greek migrants, workers and students, who resided in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s. It shows that their travel was a hybrid pattern of mobility, which combined tourism with other activities, such as overseeing work in their natal areas; moreover, throughout the period in question, travel helped those migrants shape perceptions of their migratory experience as well as prefigured the lifestyle of many of them who remigrated. Thus, the article complements the work of scholars who have recently challenged the rigid distinction made between tourism and migration as well as between tourism and everyday life. Moreover, it touches upon the existing scholarly work on youth culture and tourism in Europe around the 1960s. Schildt has made the hypothesis that the 1960s were the ‘golden age of youth tourism’ in West Germany, adding that youth travel was a core component of the emerging youth culture. However, this assumption only partially applies to the young Greek migrants who lived in West Germany, since many of them indeed engaged in travel at that point, without construing it, however, as an aspect of a youth lifestyle: the norm for young Greek migrants in the 1960s was VFR travel, namely to travel to their natal areas, but usually along with elderly compatriots of theirs and in order to meet relatives and reinforce family links. During those years, they did not construe their travel activities as an age-specific practice. However, the pursuits of those young migrants were neither static nor homogeneous. A diversification of their travel-related norms along age lines occurred around the 1970s, when a growing number of young people moved from Greece to West Germany in order to study. The forms of sociality in which they were involved, in combination with the opportunities provided by their financial circumstances, exposed them to travel patterns that were novel for migrants, such as hitch-hiking. Less committed to the lifestyle norm of summer travel to their natal areas to meet relatives, these students engaged in a broader repertoire of travel patterns, which growingly included non-VFR travel. This shift also affected some young Greek workers. In this sense, their travel patterns became increasingly

⁹⁷ Actually, the very issue whether the so-called ‘second-generation migrants’ regard themselves as migrants also needs to be scrutinised.

transnational in scope. Nevertheless, this did not necessarily involve them jettisoning their Greek national identity. In contrast with a segment of the local youth, which belonged to the radical Left and, according to Davis, developed a sense of '*nichts wie weg*', such an attitude was rare among Greek migrants, even the left-wing ones. Not only did they continue to visit their places of birth, but they also reproduced, through their trips elsewhere in Europe, the mental concept of a North–South divide of the continent. This mental map was predicated on their affinity to the South, and Greece in particular, which, however, they did not approach necessarily in an idealised fashion. Thus, while the component of leisure became more pronounced in their travel in comparison to the lifestyle norms of their elderly compatriots, travel did not signify for them an escape from everyday life, but, rather, stirred once again reflection on it.

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